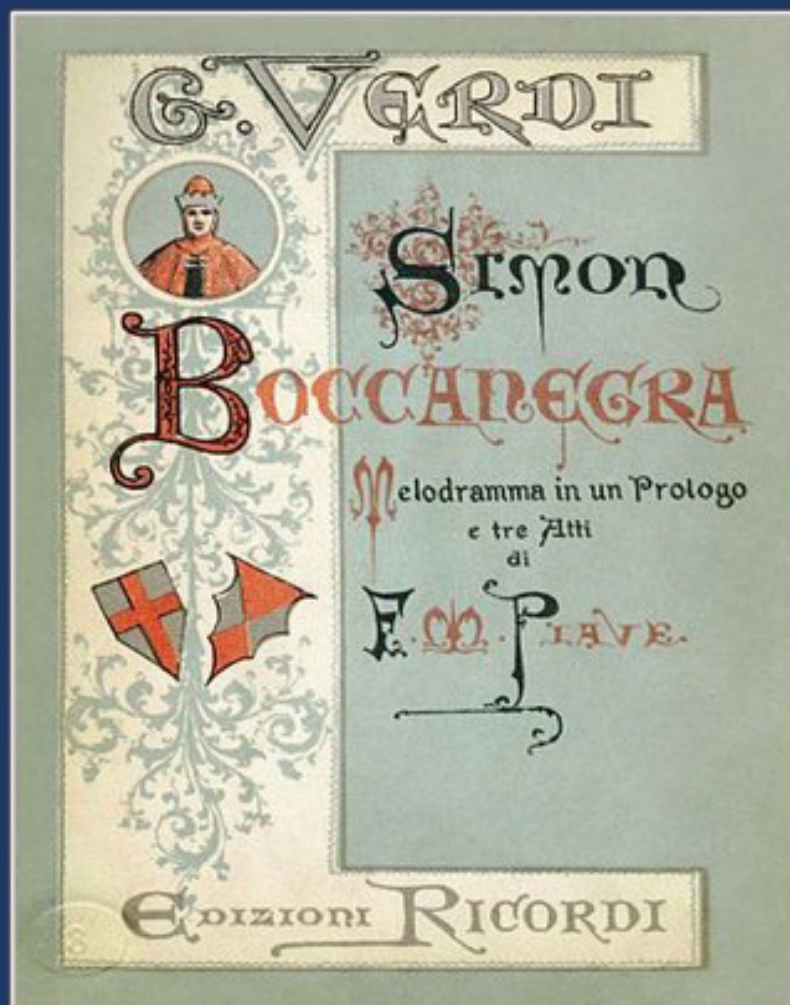


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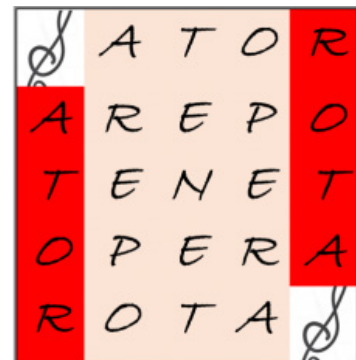


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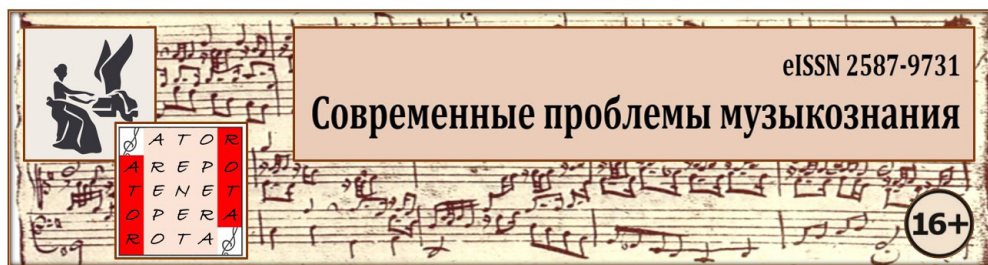
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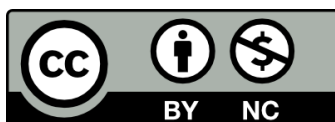


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The Terms *Selete* and *Pause* in the Manuscripts of the Productions of *The Seven Joys of Mary* in Brussels: the Significance and the Functions

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Abstract. The article is devoted to an issue present in the studies of music and musical terminology in the Dutch mysteries of the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. Two terms are examined here in detail – namely, *selete* and *pause*, present in the comments of two manuscripts of the productions in Brussels of *The Seven Joys of Mary*, consisting of various episodes in the lives of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary. The productions of *The Seven Joys of Mary* took place in Brussels from 1448 to 1566 and were timed to the annual procession in honor of the miraculous statue of the Virgin Mary. Analysis of the terms *selete* and *pause* is carried out with the consideration of the practice of production of the mystery theater, the peculiarities of the arrangement of the play space of the simultaneous scene, as well as the theatrical activities of the rhetoricians. A number of questions is raised in the article: whether or not there exists any connection between

Translated by Dr. Anton A. Rovner

the *selete* and a particular stage setting, whether the functions of the terms *selete* and *pause* differ, how does the use of the term *selete* in the Brussels manuscripts correlate with the practice of production of the German Passion and Easter rites of the late Medieval period, and the term *pause* – with the productions of mysteries in France, what musical instruments were used, what chants and musical episodes signified the indicated terms, and also, where were the musicians placed during the performance. In the process of analysis of the manuscript text, various types of comments are revealed being of direct concern to the music of *The Seven Joys of Mary*. Among them there are side notes containing only *selete* and only *pause*, comments in which one of these terms is supplemented by the specification *sanc of spel* (*singing or playing*), as well as side notes indicating the musical accompaniment, but not containing the terms *selete and pause*. As the result of the undertaken research, a conclusion is arrived at about the polyfunctionality of the terms *selete and pause* in the productions of *The Seven Joys of Mary* and their correspondence to the traditional terms of mystery theater.

Keywords: *selete, pause*, musical terms, *The Seven Joys of Mary*, side notes, simultaneous scene, production of mysteries, scene of rhetoricians

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Музыкальная терминология

Научная статья

**Термины *selete* и *pause* в рукописях
брюссельских постановок «Семи Радостей Марии»:
значение и функции**

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена проблеме изучения музыки и музыкальной терминологии в нидерландских мистериях позднего Средневековья и начала Нового времени. В ней подробно рассматриваются два термина — *selete* и *pause*, содержащиеся в ремарках двух рукописей брюссельских постановок «Семи Радостей Марии», включающих различные эпизоды из жизни Иисуса Христа и Богоматери. Представления «Семи Радостей Марии» проходили в Брюсселе с 1448 по 1566 год и были приурочены к ежегодной процессии в честь чудотворной статуи Девы Марии. Анализ терминов *selete* и *pause* проводится с учетом исполнительской традиции мистериального театра, особенностей организации игрового пространства симультанной сцены, а также театральной деятельности риторов. В статье поднимается ряд вопросов: существует ли связь между *selete* и определенной мизансценой, различаются ли функции указаний *selete* и *pause*, каким образом соотносится использование термина *selete* в брюссельских рукописях с постановочной практикой немецких Страстных и Пасхальных действ периода позднего Средневековья, а *pause* — с мистериями во Франции, какие музыкальные инструменты использовались, какие песнопения и инструментальные эпизоды обозначали указанные термины, а также где располагались исполнители во время представления.

Анализ текстов рукописей помог выявить различные типы ремарок, имеющих непосредственное отношение к музыке «Семи Радостей Марии». Ряд таких ремарок содержит только *selete* и только *pause*, в других один из этих терминов дополнен уточнением *sanc of spel* («пение или игра»), в третьих указывается на музыкальное сопровождение, но без употребления *selete* и *pause*. В результате проведенного исследования сделан вывод о многофункциональности терминов *selete* и *pause* в постановках «Семи Радостей Марии» и их соответствии традиционной лексике мистериального театра.

Ключевые слова: *selete*, *pause*, музыкальные термины, «Семь Радостей Марии», ремарки, симультанная сцена, постановка мистерий, сцена риторов

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Introduction

Turning to the subject of terminology in the manuscripts of medieval theater is perceived to be important for the study of the conceptual nomenclature of the mystery scene, since it contains direct relations to the issue of the historical (authentic) versions of theatrical terms. The preserved manuscript texts and the “theater producers” copies of the Passion and Easter acts, miracles, morality plays, and plays devoted to the episodes of the life of the Virgin Mary written in Latin and the old European languages contain various types of terms. Most of them are closely connected with the production practice of medieval theater: the player space, the stage setting and the music. However, this theme remains on the fringe of research of Russian theater historians, who give their preference to basic concepts of the study of theater, “the creation of a terminological apparatus adequate to a new understanding of theater” [1, p. 171].

Undoubtedly, the solution of the goals of topical theater studies is of utmost significance, but without the consideration of the specific features of authentic theatrical terminology of the “distant” times (from the times of Ancient Greece to the Enlightenment), the history of 20th and early 21st century theater would not be complete and, what is more essential, would not be veracious. It is necessary to develop a strategy and methodology for researching historical theatrical terms (the self-designations of the epoch),

considering the similar experiences of contiguous scholarly disciplines, including musicology, where steadfast attention is paid to the study not only of contemporary, but also of authentic musical terms. During the course of recent years, numerous articles have appeared devoted to various aspects of the comprehension of the terminological apparatus of music scholarship, among which the historical conceptions from the 16th to the 18th centuries, and their correlations with contemporary musical knowledge [2; 3; 4; 5] are examined. In 2019, the *Fourth Congress of the Russian Society for Music Theory* devoted to these issues. The chief content of the reports of the participants of this musicological forum demonstrated that “discussion of the term is hardly limited to the discussion of words and names, but it is primarily a conversation about the substances of the phenomena themselves” [6, p. 3]. In the present article, the attempt is made on the example of the texts of two manuscripts from the texts of the Brussels productions of *The Seven Joys of Mary* to example the meanings and the functions of *selete* and *pause*, indicating at the necessity for a musical insertion.

The Prehistory

The history of the productions of *The Seven Joys of Mary* in Brussels is closely connected with the festive procession of the Brussels Ommegang¹ devoted to the miraculous statue of the Virgin Mary from the *Church of Our Lady of Sablon*.²

According to a legend, one pious lady, a native of Antwerpen, dreamed several times of the Virgin Mary, who commanded her to take the statue of her³ from the Antwerpen church and bring it to Brussels. The woman stole the statue and, as the result of a series of wondrous events, transported it on a boat to Brussels, where she passed it to a guild of arbalesters, who placed the statue in their chapel built in Sablon in honor of the Virgin Mary, the patroness of the guild.⁴ In memory of this event, the members of the executive board of the guild promised to organize a festive procession, which has received the name of Ommegang. Starting from 1348, each year, during the Sunday before Pentecost, the miraculous statue of the Sablon Virgin Mary was brought along a particular route from the church to the town hall at the Grote Markt. As part of the process, various scenes from the lives of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary were shown in living pictures presented on the wagons. After a century, in 1448, after the end of the procession, they began showing the Bliscap⁵ — *The Joy of Mary*. Historian of Dutch literature, Herman

¹ The Dutch word “Ommegang,” stemming from “omgang,” means: detour, religious procession, and festive pageantry. All the translations of the names and titles from other languages have been made by the author of this article.

² The Dutch word “Onze Lieve Vrouw van de Zavel” (the Church of Our Lady on Sands”), but the more widespread French variant of the name is the Church of Our Lady of Sablon (L’Église de la Notre-Dame du Sablon).

³ In Dutch: “Onze-Lieve-Vrouw op ‘t Stocxken” (“Our Lady on the Perch”).

⁴ The story narrates that the Virgin Mary helped shooters from an arbalest to win competitions, and since then arbalesters began worshipping her as a benefactress of the guild and in gratitude to her help built a chapel in honor of the Virgin Mary in 1304.

⁵ Bliscap, from Dutch “bleidschap,” means – joy, merriment.

Pleij reckons the Bliscaps among the traditional “games before the processions” [7, p. 130]. Altogether, there were seven so-called Marian plays devoted to important episodes from the life of the Mother of God: the Annunciation, Christmas, the Adoration of the Magi, the Resurrection of Jesus, the Ascension of Christ to heaven, the Descent of the Holy Spirit on Mary and the Apostles, and the Ascension of Mary. Each year, one of the seven plays was presented and, thereby, a recurrent seven-year cycle was formed, which was interrupted in 1566 because of the iconoclastic insurrection.

The Ommerang, which happened in the morning, and the Bliscap, which was carried out during the day,⁶ was organized by the guild of arbalesters, with the exception of the period between 1559 and 1566, when at the request of the executive board of the guild, the performances were directed by the commissioner of the *Brussels Chamber of Rhetoric (Rederijerskamers) De Corenbloem (The Cornflower) Frans van Ballaer*.⁷ The rederijers were fans of poetic versifications pertaining to various different urban social categories, engaged in theater productions and organized festive processions in the city.

The reason the guild of arbalesters turned to the commissioner of the chamber *The Cornflower*⁸ is unknown, but the fact itself is not surprising. Close connections existed between the shooters' guilds and the chambers of rederijers, including those in regards to preparing city festivities. Thus, for example, during the triumphant entrance into Brussels of Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Friedrich III on July 21, 1486, in addition to the living picture presented by the guild of arbalesters, the chambers of rederijers *The Book* and *The Cornflower* performed one play each [8, p. 111].

The Manuscript Texts

Only two of the seven manuscripts of the Bliscaps were preserved — the first and the seventh.⁹ The first is devoted to the Annunciation — this scene concludes the act, and it is preceded by episodes occurring in hell, in paradise, in heaven, on earth. Not only Biblical characters participate in them, but also allegorical ones, such as *Envy (Nijt)*, *Bitter Suffering (Bitter Ellende)*, *Intimate Prayer (Innich Gebet)*, *Compassion (Ontfermicheit)*, and *Truth (Waerheit)*.

The action begins with a scene from hell, where Lucifer and Envy decide to send the Serpent to tempt Eve with the forbidden fruit. After the scene of the Fall, God drives Adam and Eve out of Paradise. Then two devilish feasts are held, where Lucifer

⁶ First in front of the Church of the Sablon Virgin Mary, and subsequently in front of the town hall.

⁷ In Dutch: rederijers, from the French: rhetoricien and Latin: rhetorica — rhetoric. Commissioner (factor) — a sort of artistic director of the association of referijers.

⁸ At that moment, in Brussels, in addition to the *Cornflower*, there were three more chambers of redereikers: *The Book*, *The Lilly*, and *The Violet*.

⁹ The manuscript of the Seventh Bliscap became open to the public in 1882, and the manuscript of the First Bliscap — in 1962. Both are written on parchment, not by their author, but are copied by the selfsame copyist. At the present time, they are preserved at the Albert I Royal Library in Brussels (the First Bliscap — hs. IV 192, the Seventh — hs. II 478).

and Envy celebrate their victory. In the following episode, Adam tells his children that he is old and ill and sends Seth to Paradise to find out whether there is any medicine that could help him. The angel gives Seth a branch and informs him that Adam shall free himself of his malady and obtain redemption from the branch of the tree from which the forbidden fruit was plucked. Upon returning home, Seth finds Adam dead and feels obligated to plant the branch over Adam's head, from which a beautiful tree would grow. Subsequently, the action is transferred to the threshold of Hell, where Adam, Eve, David, Job and its other inhabitants abide in despair. The allegorical characters, Bitter Suffering and Intimate Prayer send the character Compassion to Heaven to intercede for the fate of the righteous people stranded in hell. Compassion and Justice engage in an argument before God. The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit confer with each other and with the help of Truth arrive at a decision that is consoling for the righteous people. Next follows a scene in which Joachim sees how the bishop and the priests reject his sacrificial lamb, because his childlessness is perceived as a chastisement sent by God. Joachim escapes from his shame to the desert, where an angel appears to him with tidings from God; he returns to the city, meets with Anna at the Golden Gates, and then informs the priests about the birth of Mary. In the following scene, Joachim and Anna leave Mary in the Temple, which is followed by her betrothal to Joseph. The action of the First Bliscap is concluded with the Annunciation scene.

The action of the Seventh Bliscap, in contrast to the First, is dedicated to one event – the Death of the Virgin Mary, the allegorical characters do not take part in it. In the first scene, John brings Mary to his home at the foot of Mount Zion, himself setting out to reach to the populace, while Mary visits the places connected with the final days of the earthly life of Jesus. The Jews are outraged by the behavior of the Mother of God and decide that her body must be burned after her death, and the ashes scattered. Mary prays to God that he would take her to heaven, after which an Angel appears and tells her of God's consent. In a miraculous way, first John, and then the other Apostles, with the exception of Thomas, gather in Mary's house. She announces to the Apostles of her imminent death and bids each of them farewell. Lucifer sends two devils to tempt and torment the Mother of God at her deathbed, but they are driven away by Archangel Michael, who guards the entrance to Mary's house. The culmination of the act is the Virgin Mary's hour of death and God's acceptance of Her soul. The Apostles in a funeral procession carry Her body to a grave in the Valley of Jehosaphat, while the Jews, carrying out their threat, attempt to gain possession of the body, but as soon as two of them touch the Virgin Mary's coffin, they go blind and their hands "fall off." In the following episode, Thomas appears, having tardily arrived from India. He tells the Apostles that on his way back, he met an angel, who told him about everything. The Apostles go to Mary's grave, but find there only Her clothes. The act ends with a threefold hymn of praise pronounced by the Apostles John, Peter and Andrew.

The text and the side notes of the manuscripts contain various stage directions, among them, *selete* and *pause*,¹⁰ (literally, *silence* and *pause*) repeated numerous times, stand out. They have a direct relation to the music.

For the first time, the meaning of these terms was commented by Dutch literary historians, Gerrit Kalff and Pieter Leendertse (1907).¹¹ And while Kalff only touched upon the issue of applying the terms,¹² Leendertse advanced several hypotheses. At first, he equated *selete* and *pause* to an instrumental piece or a pause, then presumed that both terms may have signified a break (rust) in the action and appeared only in those cases when “the action was fully transferred to the other side of the stage, so that the audience was compelled to relocate to another part of the theater space. In order to hold the audiences’ attention during the lengthy intermission, performances were organized — living pictures or pantomimes — and music was played.”¹³ But, in the final outcome, I was inclined to think that *pause* may indicate both instrumental and the cessation of action between the scenes, and *selete* — the change of the place of the action.

Willem Hendrik Beuken, who realized the first scholarly publication of both manuscripts,¹⁴ equated the terms *selete* and *pause* with each other and made an assumption that both terms may mean a musical insertion, as well as a break in the action. Along with the German literary historian Ernst August Schuler,¹⁵ he examines *selete* as a purely technical production element, indicating at its connection with the stage setting. Beuken also marked out two functions of the *selete* and *pause* — the connection with the previous and the anticipation of the subsequent scene.¹⁶

Notwithstanding the importance of the issue, as historian of Dutch literature, Willem Hummelen notes, “the question of the significance of the terms *selete* and *pause* has never brought to a precise research.” In his opinion, *selete* and *pause* are “most important terms, signifying at the necessity of music-making in late medieval plays

¹⁰ In the texts of both manuscripts, there is a predominance of the Latin form *selete* (be silent!) and the French form *pause*, with the exception of the later additions, where the Latin form *silete*, *pausa* is used.

¹¹ Kalff, G. (1907). *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde. Tweede deel*. Groningen, pp. 368–369. Leendertz, P. (ed.). (1907). *Middelnederlandsche dramatische poëzie*. Leiden, pp. LXXXVII–XCII. Kalff published the texts of the first and the Seventh Bliscap, and Leendertse – only the Seventh.

¹² Kalff, G. (1907), pp. 368–369..

¹³ Leendertz, P. (1907), p. LXXXIX.

¹⁴ Beuken, W. H. (ed.). (1973). *Die eerste bliscap van Maria en Die sevenste bliscap van Onser Vrouwen*. Culemborg. In 1978 the second edition appeared: Beuken W. H. (ed.). (1978). *Die eerste Bliscap van Maria en Die sevenste Bliscap van Onser Vrouwen*. Tjeenk Willink / Noorduijn, Culemborg (Original work published 1973).

¹⁵ Schuler, E. A. (1951). *Die Musik der Osterfeiern, Osterspiele und Passionen des Mittelalters*. Kassel [enz.], pp. 46–48. In his monograph devoted to the music of German Easter and Passion actions, published in 1951, Schuler examines “selete” only as an indication towards “the purely stage direction nature” (rein aufführungstechnische Natur).

¹⁶ Beuken, W. H. (1973/1978), pp. 27–28.

of the 15th and 16th centuries” [9, p. 133]. It could be added to this that the terms *selete* and *pause* in the side notes of the manuscripts of the Bliscaps present important keys to the research of the production practice of the mystery theater and are tightly connected with them. In order to reveal this connection, it is important to examine not only the meaning but the function of these terms.

The quantity times the respective terms *selete* and *pause* appear in the stage comments of the two manuscripts differs. In the First Bliscap — *selete* appears 10 times (2 times among them, with the specifications *short* and *very short*), while *pause* appears 3 times (2 times among them, with the specifications *short* and *small*, as well as three comments of another kind: *Selete; sanc of spel, Selete; pause, Pause; sanc of spel*. The Seventh Bliscap has *selete* appear 9 times (one of them with the specification *short*), while the appearances of *pause* are numbered from 1 to 6.

Both terms in the Bliscap texts appear in the most varied situations, at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the scene; at the same time, *selete* is used much more often than *pause*; moreover, in the First Bliscap we discover additions to both terms. Hummelen, while analyzing the text of the First, marks out the comments that “include the two terms, which do not have the same meaning. After all, it would not be logical” [9, p. 135]. Such indications as *Selete; sanc of spel, Selete; pause, Pause; sanc of spel*, where the terms stand close to each other, are called *incoordinate (ongecoördineerde)* and assumes that particularly they disclose the path towards the answer to the question of what *pause* and *selete* mean in the manuscripts of the Bliscaps.

Let us examine *selete* and *pause* with consideration of the organization of the stage action, plot twists, music and performance tradition of the German and French mystery theater of the late Middle Ages.

The Stage of the Bliscaps

The Bliscaps were staged on wooden platform floorings (*stellages*), where several places of act, following the laws of simultaneous stages, organized a single playing space. During the performances of the Seventh Bliscap, the platform flooring could present: the alley of Jehosophat with the Virgin Mary’s grave, Mount Zion, the Virgin Mary’s house on Zion, Golgotha, three Heavens, Jerusalem, the plaza on Ephesus, several nameless cities, India, and Hell [8, p. XCVII]. Since no information survived about the positions of the “places of action,” only one thing may be assumed with certitude — that Paradise and Hell, according to the stage practice of mystery theater, were situated not adjacently to each other, but at a considerable distance from each other, very likely, at the opposite sides of the wooden flooring.

There are no depictions or descriptions of the productions of the Brussels Bliscaps available, but considering the cultural connections between the Netherlands and the adjacent countries, it makes sense to turn to the German and French theater traditions of the neighboring lingual areas, as well as to the production practice of the rederijks who participated in the productions (1559–1566).

In the German productions of the Passion and Easter performances, most often, separate “places of action” were set up directly on the ground and, for the most part, against each other, while in France, as a rule, they were set on the wooding floorings in rows. Most likely, the Brussels-based artists viewed the French version as their reference



Illustration 1. Timothy De Paepe.
Antwerp Landuvel Scene (3D model, 2008).

Available at:

<https://3dtheater.wordpress.com>
(accessed: 01.08.2024)

point. In any case, up to that time, until Frans van Ballaer engaged himself in the Bliscap productions. It was quite likely that since that time the playing space was set up differently, in correspondence with the stage practice of the rhetoricians. The performance continued to be carried out on the wooden floorings, but already not in front of separate constructions, but of the facades (a type of *scaenae frons*) with several apertures covered by curtains, beyond which was the inner space (compartimenten), made use of during the performances. Such a presumption is possible not only because of the depictions of the scene of the two Landjuweels — from Ghent (1539) and from Antwerp (1561, see *Illustration 1, 2*), but also of the stage side notes inscribed by Van Ballaer’s hand into the manuscript of the Seventh Bliscap in regards to the opening and the closing of the Heavens, Hell and Mary’s house, as well as the custom of the rhetoricians creating living pictures in the compartments.

The Selete: the Stage Space and the Stage Setting

There is no other information available about the stage settings other than that which may be brought out from the text itself and the production practice of the mystery stage. According to Hummelen, “the *selete* must be audible, must last a certain period of time and must serve as a signal towards continuing the playing, even if no speech has been pronounced. The only thing that meets these requirements and fits the medieval plays is music” [9, p. 135].

Analysis of the side notes in the manuscripts of the First and the Seventh Bliscaps has shown that the appearance of the term *selete* in them is in a number of cases directly connected with the protagonists moving within the stage space from one place of action to another. But there is one nuance here. In the Seventh Bliscap, God, following Mary's request, commands the angels to gather the Apostles together at the Virgin Mary's deathbed. The angels lift up first John, and then the other Apostles, with the exception of Thomas, and bring them to the threshold of Mary's house. This occurs the following way. At the end of the scene of John's sermon in Ephesus, the commentary states: "Here two angels appear and envelop St. John with clothing resembling a cloud. Having covered him in this fashion, they deliver him to Mary's threshold; or transfer him in another fashion, depending on what is more convenient."¹⁷ The dialogue between Mary and John is followed by a side note: "*Selete*. Now the Apostles should gather in one cloud in front of Mary's doorstep, and they will be very surprised."¹⁸

One cannot fail to observe that of these two comments, only one contains the word *selete*. There is an explanation to this elucidating one of the functions of *selete* in the Bliscap productions. During John's transferal from Ephesus to Mary's house, a conversation was taking place between three parishioners who were discussing John's sermon and his sudden disappearance. Hummelen draws our

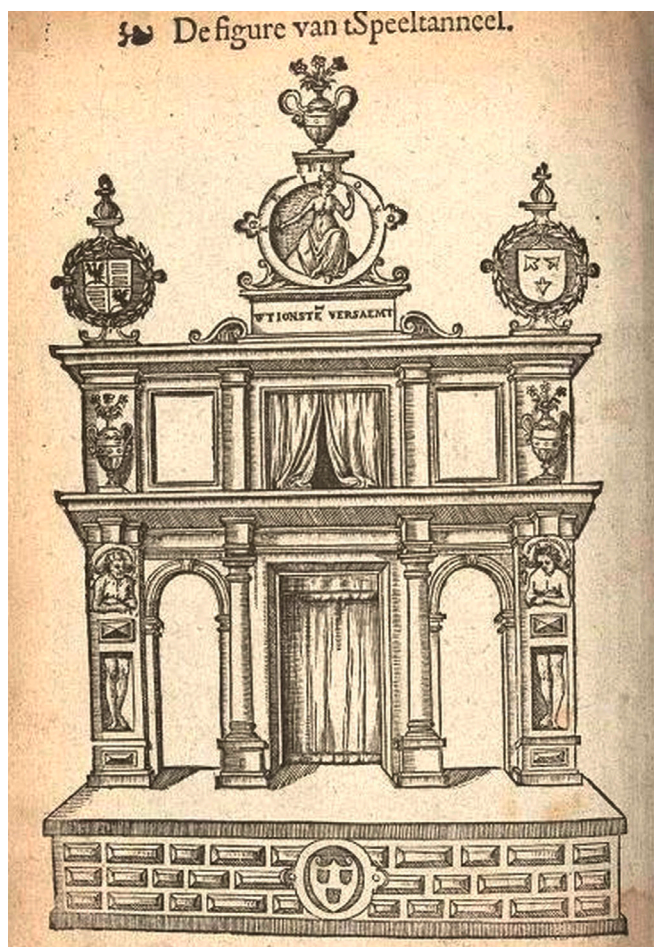


Illustration 2. Unknown artist. Antwerp Landjuweel scene from 1561 (engraving from the book *Spelen van sinne*, Antwerpen, 1562, 21.7 x 15.3 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Source of illustration:
Vandommele J.J.M. *Als in een Spiegel: vrede, kennis en gemeenschap op het Antwerpse Landjuweel van 1561*. Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. s.n. Verloren, 2011. P. 35.

¹⁷ Beuken, W. H. (1973/1978), p. 164. The content of the commentary testifies to the fact that the author of the Seventh Bliscap based himself on the text of *The Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine: "At the time when John was preaching in Ephesus, there was a clap of thunder among the clear skies, a snowy-white cloud enveloped the Apostle and, raising him up, transferred him to Mary's threshold. After having knocked at the door, John came into Her private rooms, immaculately, greeting the Virgin. Upon seeing him, Mary stood transfixed with happiness...". See: Voraginskiy, I. (2019). *Ob Uspenii Presvyatoy Devy Marii, Glava CXIX* [Jacobus de Voragine. About the Assumption of the Holy Virgin Mary. Chapter 69]. In Voraginskiy I. *Zolotaya legenda*. [Jacobus de Voragine. *The Golden Legend*]. In 2 Volumes. Izdatel'stvo Frantiskantsev [The Franciscans' Publishing House], vol. 2., pp. 190–191.

¹⁸ Beuken, W. H. (1973/1978), p. 172.

attention to the fact that such a scene is absent in the sources to which the author may have turned, which means that it was thought of specially for the sake of covering over the action occurring simultaneously to it. As the result of the use of such a *covering up scene*, the *selete* was not required during John's transferal. On the contrary, during the Apostles' transferal to the house of Mary, there was no other action taking place, so the necessity appeared for the "selete," indicating the musical insertion.

The Selete: the Change of Place of Action and the Appeal towards Silence

One cannot help noticing that the *selete* in the side notes in the Bliscap manuscripts also appears during the change of scenes, which testifies to the close connection of the Brussels production with the tradition of Silete-singing prominent in the European mysteries, where it appeared in similar cases: when the place of action transferred within the space of the simultaneous stage, and the audience changed their positions, following this, creating a sizeable amount of noise. In order to reestablish silence, a sort of a signal addressed to the audience was necessary. The function for such a signal was taken up by the Silete-singing performed by the angels' choir as an appeal towards silence. In the German mystery theater, beginning from the 14th century, in the Passion and Easter acts, the following formula obtained broad dissemination: "Silete, silete, silentium habete!" ("Be silent! Be silent! Observe silence!") [10, p. 293]. In the numerous texts of the Passion and Easter acts, Silete-singing appears numerous times during the course of the action particularly as an appeal to the audience from silence.¹⁹

Thereby, in the productions of the First and the Second Bliscaps, during the change of the place of the action and the transferal of the audience, the *selete* carried out the function of Silete-singing in the mystery scene. While in the other scenes it is far from always clear, whether *selete* signifies the singing or the music, in this case, it undoubtedly means singing. Although the manuscripts of both Bliscaps do not contain any information about the performers, it may be presumed that in the Brussels productions, as well, the scenes of the *selete* were sung by a chorus of angels, following the performance tradition of mystery theater.

The Selete: an Appeal to Attention

From the function of the *selete* as an appeal to the audience for silence, its other role developed: to induce the audiences to pay attention in especially important moments of the action, to accentuate them. For this reason, we find the *selete* in the scenes of the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Virgin Mary and the Apostles, the prayers of the Virgin Mary, the prayer of the Apostles, and the sacrificed offered by Joachim. This comment is also used upon the indication of the protagonists' statuses. It comes with the appearance of angels with messages from God, as well as the appearance of God Himself. Thus, at the end of the First Bliscap, it is expressed in the episode when Gabriel descended from Heaven to Mary's room to bring Her the glad tidings; it appears in the Seventh

¹⁹ For more detail, see [8, pp. 293–294].

Bliscap before God's address "to His heavenly host." We also find the *selete* in the scenes occurring in Heaven (at the beginning and the end). It is unknown to us, what was it that particularly sounded, since there are no indications present about this in the comments. Nonetheless, if we consider the production practice of the mystery scenes, we can assert that the "selete" on the staged Heaven was performed by angels.

The functions of the *selete* are not limited to the aforementioned examples. In the First Bliscap, the *selete* also symbolizes the flow of time: at the end of the dialogue between the two priests glorifying the birth of Mary, it is stated in the comment after the *selete*: *three years later*; and after the scene of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary into the Temple, after the *selete* it is written *eleven years later*.

Selete and Pause: Live Pictures

An analysis of comments found in the Bliscaps shows that in the silent scenes *selete* and *pause* are used on an equal footing. We find both terms in the scenes of the wordless prayer. In the First Bliscap, it is Mary's prayer at the time of Gabriel's visitation: "*Pause* cort. Gabriel kneels before Mary, who is praying in her room, reaching her hands forth to God."²⁰ In one of the side notes in the Seventh Bliscap, it is said: "*Selete*. Mary lies in her room, immersed in prayer."²¹ Another side note states: — "*Selete*. Here the Apostles shall lie, immersed in prayer. At that time, Lucifer appears and calls upon his servants to send for Mary's soul."²²

In the latter case, we encounter an interesting example of combining together two scenes that the audience viewed at the same time. Against the background of the taciturn action in one section of the playing space, in the other speech is heard: Lucifer gives the order with detailed instructions to two devils to lure the Virgin Mary on her deathbed to temptation, in order to ruin her soul. The Apostles' prayer is undoubtedly presented here, as in the other cited examples, as a live picture.

It is also possible to relay to live pictures the pantomimic scene in which three young Virgins prepare Mary for burial, added by Van Balaer in 1559, when he was working on the production of the Seventh Bliscap. The appearance of the live pictures is unsurprising; they were met in many of the rederijkers' plays, where they were always accompanied by music:

In the Middle Ages, a live picture was considered to present a full-fledged theatrical form and was frequently used during processions on chariots and on the wooden floorings along the route during the Triumphal Entrances on the wooden floorings and triumphal arches. Under the name of *toog*, it was also used in rederijks' morality plays, where it was usually disclosed at the end of the play [11, p. 45].

²⁰ Beuken, W. H. (1973/1978), p. 139.

²¹ Ibid., p. 155.

²² Ibid., p. 181.

However, the rederikers in the commentaries to their plays indicating at the presentation of a live picture, as a rule, made use of the term *pausa*, rather than *selete*. In texts, in similar cases, we find *pausa*, as well as *selete*. It could be presumed that the use of any particular timbre is connected with the indication of various kinds of musical accompaniment: singing (*selete*) and instrumental music (*pausa*).

All the manifestations of the term *pausa* in the manuscript of the Seventh Bliscap were numbered, as has been mentioned before. Hummelen expressed the hypothesis that the numeration may have been connected with the necessity of carrying out payments for the musicians who performed the intermezzi, since unlike the boys' choirs, they did not have anything to do with the church [9, p. 136]. As another presumption, let us add that in this case, the live pictures themselves, since all the *pausas* with the indication of the numbers were inscribed in Van Ballaers' hand, the rederijkers in their plays frequently used the term *pausa* for the indications of the musical accompaniment of live pictures.

What remains is to elucidate the question connected that, which was indicated by *selete* and *pause* in the scenes of wordless prayers presented as live pictures — music (*Pause cort* in the First Bliscap) and chant singing (*Selete* in the Seventh Bliscap)? Or was it that *selete*, along with *pause*, indicated an instrumental piece? The presumption of the genre-related division of two terms, previously uttered by Leenderts, is confirmed by one of the side notes from the First Bliscap: *pause spelen (to play the pause)*. Another argument in favor of Leenderts' hypothesis may be found in the text of a Middle Dutch play *About the Five Wise Virgins and the Five Foolish Virgins (Van de V vroede ende van de V dwaenze magden)*, dated the late 15th century.²³ The play begins with the indication: *pause*, while in one of the side notes it is inscribed: *and they play the pause (ende men speelt pause)*, that is, *pause* here clearly indicates at an instrumental performance.

Selete and Pause + Sanc of Spel

In two side notes in the First Bliscap, along with *selete* and *pause*, the word-connection *sanc of spel (singing or playing)*. In both cases, playing on musical instruments is presumed. In the episode of the banishment of Adam and Eve from Paradise, it is indicated in the side notes: *Selete; sanc of spel*, while Anna's address to God with gratitude about the conception: *Pause, sanc of spel*. But in the scene in Hell, after the conversation between the righteous people and at the end of the dialogue between the allegorical characters, the side notes indicate only *sanc of spel* with *selete* or *pause*.

²³ The original manuscript of this play from the late 15th century is lost, while the preserved text is dated the early 16th century. The other texts of 15th century plays preserved until our days do not contain the term *pause* or are known from later listings, which does not present a veracious perspective in relation to the content of the comments.

From Hummelen's point of view, it is absolutely obvious that here the distinction has been made between *selete* and *pause* in the comments: *Selete; sanc of spel* and *Pause; sanc of spel*. He considers that such a distinction "is possible only in that case, if *selete* corresponds to one of the parts of *sanc or spel*, and *pause* pertains to the other" [9, p. 136]. In other words, according to Hummelen's discourse, *selete* must correspond to *sanc* (singing), a *pause* – *to spel* (playing). However, another supposition may be expressed. The specifications *sanc of spel* together with *selete* and *pause* testify, in this case, that the producer was presented the possibility of choosing between *singing* and *music*. Regardless of the enumerated suppositions, it must be observed that the specification of the terms *selete* and *pause* with the word-connection *sanc of spel* discloses the variability of the terms *selete* and *pause* and characterizes their musical nature.

In addition to the terms *selete* and *pause* in the text of the First Bliscap, we also find other comments having a direct relation to music. Some contain the indication of singing and instrumental music, for example, "Here in the Heavens there must be singing and dancing by the throne"²⁴ before God sends the Angel to inform Joachim that a child shall be born unto him. In others we could perceive the possibility of choice, for example: "Here must be singing or dance, and then Lucifer comes"²⁵ after the scene where Seth plants the branch from the tree of knowledge. Or the duration of the musical insertion is indicated, for example: "Singing, playing rather lengthily"²⁶ at the end of the scene of the meeting of Joachim and Anna near the Golden Gates. These comments do not contain musical terms, but, nonetheless, they can be called with certitude "musical comments," since there are concise indications of *singing* and *playing* given in them.

The Tradition of Musical Insertions

For a comprehensive analysis of the terms *selete* and *pause* in the manuscripts of the Brussels Bliscaps it would be necessary to examine their usage in the context of other Middle Dutch plays of this kind. However, as has been mentioned before, besides the "Play of the Five Wise Virgins and the Five Foolish Virgins" of the 15th century, the plays of the Medieval period have not been preserved. For this reason, the production tradition of the French-speaking Netherlands, in particular, the *Book of Guidance of the Theater Producer (Livre de conduite du régisseur)*, written especially for the performance of the *Mystery of the Passion of our Savior Jesus Christ* (1501, Mons, 50 kilometers to the south-west of Brussels) must be taken into account.

In the *Guidance*, the indications *silete* and *pose*, similar to those of the Brussels productions, are frequently encountered in one comment and, as in the Bliscaps, the singing and the instrumental music in certain scenes are presumed at the discretion of the producer. Thus, for example, when Noah says

²⁴ Beuken, W. H. (1973/1978), p. 115.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 85.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 118.

a prayer, it is stated in the side note “in Paradise one *silete* is sung, or the minstrels play on some kind of instrument, or an organ pause”.²⁷ Just as in the texts of the two Bliskaps, when the characters are required to pass from one to another, their *path* is frequently accompanied by music. For example, while Joachim and Anna “go to the Temple to present Mary, the *Silete* sounds,”²⁸ In the side notes, we can also find the coordination of *silete* and *pose* with the continuance of the transferal, for example: “Then they leave. An organ *pause*, or something of that sort, sounds as they go.” The seven days of the expectation and the return of the raven and the dove to the Arc are resented with the help of *petite pose* and *een sillete*.²⁹ Thereby, the *pose* and *silete* as a musical accompaniment in the *Mystery of the Passion* from Mons, as in the Bliskaps, symbolizes the flow of time. Thereby, the use of the terms *selete* and *pause* in the manuscripts of the Brussels productions corresponds to the general traditions of the mystery stage.

The Musicians

There remains another circle of issues not connected directly with the functions and the meaning of the terms *selete* and *pause*, but having a direct relation to the performers of church chants and musical pieces sounding at the time of the *selete* and *pause*.

The bookkeeping accounts (*rekeningpost*) connected with the production of the Bliscap in 1486 contain the following fragment: “also 4 trumpet players of this city were paid 10 s. gr. for 4 evenings for playing the trumpet between the intermissions at the front façade of the town hall and on the house of Our Lady.”³⁰ This short note makes it possible to judge of the place of the position of the musicians in the playing space, about the musical instruments, about the music sounding at the Bliscaps and about the payment for the musicians.

It follows from the stated note that the trumpet players were situated on top of Mary’s House. Hummelen expresses the supposition that such a *house*, most likely, appeared in the productions of the entire Seven Bliscaps [9, p. 137]. Most likely, that was the way it was. However, due to the absence of the descriptions and depictions, unfortunately, it is unclear, what the *house* looked like, on top which the trumpeters were situated. It is also unclear, how the three Heavens looked, within the space of which not only the protagonists, but also the choir of angels, and the musicians performing the *heavenly* music was supposed to be situation. According to the comments in the texts of the two manuscripts, the performances of the Bliscaps included the participation

²⁷ Cohen, G. (ed.). (1925/1974). *Le livre de conduite du régisseur et le compte des dépenses pour le Mystère de la Passion, joué à Mons en 1501*. (Original work published 1925), p. 29.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 48.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 28.

³⁰ Keyser, P. de. (1934). Nieuwe gegevens omtrent Colijn Caillieu (Coellin), Jan de Baertmaker (Smeken), Jan Steemaer (Perchevael) en Jan van den Dale. *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taalen Letterkunde. Jaargang*, 53, p. 276. We also find a similar note in regards to the years 1501–1502.

not only of trumpet players and an organist, but also of a choir of angels, i.e., a boys' choir from the *Church of Our Lady of Sablon*.³¹

It remains not entirely clear, which musical instruments were used in the productions of the Brussels Bliscaps³² besides trumpets (*pijpen*), organ (*orgel*) and certain string instruments³³ mentioned in the comments and retorts of the characters. Thus, for example, in the text of the Seventh Bliscaps, after the Archangel Michael drives away the devils from Mary's house, the side note: *slaet af pijpers*. In the scene of Mary's funeral procession, an organ is mentioned, while the music sounding in it is labelled by one of the Jews as "orgelen en somtijts snaren": "Sometimes it seems to me that I hear music on the organ, sometimes strings sound out, sometimes it sounds like singing."³⁴ Here we find an indication of a Psalm: "Upon the Exodus of Israel from Egypt" sung by the Apostles: "Here they raise their stretcher and sing: 'Upon the Exodus from Egypt. Alleluia. And the angels around the throne shall also sing and play the organ.' Hearing this, the Jews come and raise a disturbance."³⁵ This is the sole example of a concrete title of a chant, in contrast, for example, to the play *About the Five Wise Virgins and the Five Foolish Virgins*, which indicates performances of *Te Deum laudamus*, the antiphons *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*, and the Psalm *Suscipe nos Domine*.³⁶ In the "Guidance" for the Passion from Mons, instead of the titles of the chants, we find extensive characterizations: *ung beau* (very beautifully), *joyeux silete* (joyous silete) or genre-related definitions: "In heaven there is great joy and melody, when in the limb one motet is sounded,"³⁷ "Here it is possible to perform one motet that is heard in Paradise."³⁸ It is not unthinkable that the productions of the two Brussels Bliscaps included, besides the psalm "Upon the Exodus of Israel from Egypt," other psalms, antiphons, hymns and church chants were sounded, but their titles are absent from the side notes of the manuscripts.

³¹ The trumpet players were in the service of the city, participation in theatrical productions did not form a part of their duties, so they received additional remuneration for it. No information has been preserved about payment to the organist and the choir. Similarly, we can turn to the list of expenditures of the production of the "Passion" from Mons. It does not mention the payments to the choir or the musicians, but indicate about the remuneration of the vicars and organists who sang and played the organ. See: Cohen G. (ed.) (1925/1974). *Le livre de conduite du régisseur et le compte des dépenses pour le Mystère de la Passion, joué à Mons en 1501*. (Original work published 1925), p. 575. Apparently, the boys' choir of the Church of Our Lady of Sablon did not receive any payment for their performance in the Bliscaps. The question concerning the remuneration of the organist remains open.

³² In contrast to the manuscripts of the German Passion and Easter acts from the 15th and early 16th centuries, where we discover such musical instruments as trumpets, harsthorns, drums, bagpipes and pipes. See: Schuler, E.A. *Die Musik der Osterfeiern, Osterspiele und Passionen des Mittelalters*. Kassel. 1951. S. 48–52.

³³ Undoubtedly, by "orgel," what is presumed here is the portable wooden organ, widespread in Europe between the 12th and the 15th centuries.

³⁴ Beuken, W. H. (1973/1978), p. 199.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Cohen, G. (ed.). (1925/1974), p. 126

³⁷ Ibid., p. 341.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 451.

In the texts of the First and the Seventh Bliscap, we find direct and indirect comments also indicating at the sound of “heavenly music.” Thus, for example, in the First Bliscap, Joachim’s address to God with the question, why is he punished by barrenness, is followed by the comment: “Here in heavens it is proper to sing and play music.”³⁹ In the Seventh Bliscap, Mary, lying on her deathbed, says that she hears angels singing and playing — apparently, after when on the staged Heavens angels have really begun to sing. The sound of music and singing is mentioned in Peter’s words about Mary’s Ascension and in Thomas’s narration. But we do not know what kind of music was there, and whether there was any music.

Conclusion

The undertaken analysis shows that *selete* and *pause* as terms indicate at singing and instrumental music; correspondingly, they are directly connected with the playing stage and the production practice of the mystery stage. However, it was not only these two term that defined the *score* of the two Bliscaps. Along with them, in the texts of the manuscripts we find the words *sanc*, *singen*, and *spelen*, containing quite concrete references to the sound of music. So why was it that there arose the need for the terms *selete* and *pause*, not containing direct indications towards performance, and wherein lies their distinctness? It may be presumed that both terms are connected with the age-old tradition of indicating musical insertions, and so they are present in the manuscripts of the Brussels Bliscaps. They are neutral and relative, do not reflect any concrete action, but have the character of generalization, so in a certain sense they are convenient for the indication of musical episodes, and coexist on par with the concrete indications *sing* and *dance*.

These musical terms are of great interest for studying not only the peculiarities of the performance of the Brussels Bisklaps, but also other productions of medieval theater, because during the course of a lengthy period of time it was used in theatrical plays of various genres for the indication of musical insertions.

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The Scene of the Council Hall: the Storyline and the Structure of the Grand Final Scene in the Second Edition of Verdi's Opera *Simon Boccanegra*

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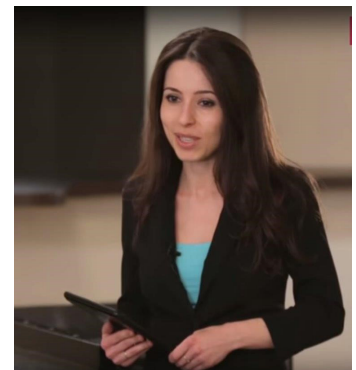
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Abstract. The comparison of different authorial redactions of operas presents one of the through themes of world Verdi studies. The opera *Simon Boccanegra* holds a unique position, since the second version of the opera was created by Verdi almost a quarter of a century following the first. The depth of the changes, first of all, in the final scene of the first act, for which a new interpretation of the content was found is stipulated by such a temporal distance. Also important is the fact that the edition of *Simon Boccanegra* became the first large-scale collaborative work of Verdi and Arrigo Boito. In the two versions of the opera, the interconnection between the storyline and the structural laws is examined in the context of the general evolution of Verdi's pivotal final scenes. In the original version, the composer still followed the conventional traditions, having created the most conservatively structured scene of that kind

Translated by Dr. Anton A. Rovner

of all of his works from the 1850s. In the version of 1881, the final scene was transformed into one of the boldest and most original mass scenes in Verdi's music.

While initially the introduction of the episode missing in the play by Antonio García Gutiérrez (the festivities in honor of the anniversary of Simon Boccanegra having been elected as the doge of Genoa) was stipulated by the tradition of the mass grand final scene, the typical structure of which was in many ways "prompted" the scenario, in the second redaction, already the storyline and the verbal text of the scene of the Council session predetermined its musical-dramaturgical structure. However, even in this innovative final scene, Verdi does not abandon certain attributes of the typical structure. The result was a paradoxically organic combination of tradition and innovation of the scene in the Council Hall, which has become one of the pinnacles of the combined artistic work of the outstanding musician and the playwright.

Keywords: Giuseppe Verdi, Arrigo Boito, Francesco Maria Piave, *Simon Boccanegra*, Francesco Petrarca, final scene, la solita forma, storyline, libretto

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Техника музыкальной композиции

Научная статья

Сцена в зале Совета: сюжет и структура центрального финала во второй редакции оперы Дж. Верди «Симон Бокканегра»

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Аннотация. Сравнение авторских редакций опер — одна из сквозных тем мировой вердианы. Особенное положение в этом отношении занимает «Симон Бокканегра», поскольку вторую версию оперы Верди создал почти через четверть века после первой. Подобной временной дистанцией обусловлена глубина изменений прежде всего в финале I акта, для которого было найдено новое сюжетное наполнение. Важно и то, что редактирование «Симона Бокканегры» стало первой крупной совместной работой Дж. Верди и А. Бойто.

В двух версиях оперы взаимосвязь сюжета и структурных закономерностей рассмотрена в контексте общей эволюции вердиевских центральных финалов. В оригинальной редакции композитор еще следовал устоявшимся традициям, создав наиболее консервативно построенную сцену такого рода среди всех сочинений 1850-х. В версии 1881 года финал превратился в одну из самых смелых и самобытных массовых сцен у Верди.

Если изначально введение отсутствующего в пьесе Г. Гутьерреса эпизода (торжества по случаю годовщины избрания Симона Бокканегры дожем Генуи) было обусловлено традицией массового центрального финала, типовая структура которого во многом «продиктовала» сценарий, то во второй редакции уже сам сюжет и вербальный текст сцены заседания Совета предопределили ее музыкально-драматургическое строение. Однако даже

в этом новаторском финале Верди не прощается с некоторыми атрибутами типовой структуры. Парадоксально органичное сочетание традиции и новаторства сцены в зале Совета, ставшей одной из вершин совместного творчества выдающихся музыкантов и драматургов.

Ключевые слова: Джузеппе Верди, Арриго Бойто, Франческо Мария Пьяве, «Симон Бокканегра», Франческо Петрарка, финал, *la solita forma*, сюжет, либретто

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Among Giuseppe Verdi's operas existing in several redactions, *Simon Boccanegra* holds a special position. The two versions of the opera are divided by a distance of almost a quarter of a century, that is record-breaking for the composer — 1857 and 1881. The significance of this fact is strengthened by the fact that the 1860s and the 1870s became a time of experiments and innovations, the time of *Don Carlos* and *Aida*. Alla Konstantinovna Koenigsberg distinguishes three basic types of redaction in Verdi's practice: the composition of additional numbers or scenes for new productions, the adaptation of the written music to a new libretto, and stylistic changes made simultaneously with composing a new, dramaturgically important scene [1, p. 213–214]. The revision of *Simon Boccanegra* pertains to the latter type, the most interesting in terms of the evolution of the views of Verdi the dramatist. The comparison of the scenes carrying out a similar function, — the final scenes of Act I in the two versions with a concentration on the issue of interaction of the storyline and the structural regularities — becomes illustrative.

The Original Version: from the History of the Creation

Verdi engaged in composing *Simon Boccanegra* following the initiative of librettist of the Venetian theater *La Fenice*, Francesco Maria Piave, who convinced the directory to consent to any of Verdi's terms. Having twice before rejected the proposals of *La Fenice*¹, this time, the composer accepted the commission from Venice.

The plotline was chosen by Verdi himself,² who turned once again to the dramaturgy of Antonio Guttierrez, to which he was directed both by the success

¹ In the beginning of 1855, Verdi was occupied with his work on *Re Lear* [*King Lear*] and new redactions of the operas *Stiffelio* and *La battaglia di Legnano*.

² The contract was signed in May 1856, in two months Verdi decided about the plot of his opera, about which he informed Piave on July 31, while the title appeared for the first time in the letter to Piave from August 23 [2, vol. 2, p. 245].

of *Il Trovatore*, the first opera set to this author's play, and the place of the action — the composer's Genoa, where, starting with 1861, the composer would spend his winter months.³ Apparently, the translation into Italian was done by Giuseppina Strepponi, just as in the case of *Il Trovatore* [2, vol. 2, p. 245].

The libretto of *Simon Boccanegra* is close to the dramatic source, which is in accord with Verdi's principles⁴, but for the grand final scene, indispensable for Italian opera of the first half of the 19th century, as it frequently happened, it was necessary to create the situation artificially. In Gutierrez play, the episode was chosen of the return of Simon Boccanegra's kidnapped daughter (Act I, Scenes 15–18⁵): for the sake of creating a mass scene, the plotline is supplemented with festivities in honor of the anniversary of the election of the doge of Genoa.

The work on the libretto was complexified by the geographic distance — at that time, Verdi was in France. The composer hoped to come to Sant'Agata to meet with Piave, however, the trip did not take place,⁶ so he found it possible to turn for help to the writer and prominent figure of the Risorgimento, Giuseppe Montanelli, who lived in Paris from 1856 to 1859.⁷ At the same time, Piave, not suspecting about the involvement of yet another author, continued his work. On February 27, 1857, he shared his ideas about the grand final scene, but in his return letter, Verdi declared to the poet that the text was completed without his participation: “Here is the *libretto*, more or less abridged and changed, as it was required. Whether you sign it with your name or not, remains your decision.”⁸ It is noteworthy that Piave in the aforementioned letter suggested to avoid the “formal festivities” and, instead of this, to create “a grandiose march in honor of the doge,” however, by that time Verdi had already made his choice, incorporating Montanelli's text for the festive-ceremonial section.⁹

³ By 1868, Verdi was bestowed the title of honored resident of Genoa. It is symbolic that the palace of *Villa Sauli* on the hills of Carignano, where Verdi lived from 1866, — the building, constructed by Galeazzo Alessi, has not been preserved. It was built in 1554 for Ottaviano Grimaldi Ceba — one of the representatives of the dynasty that is also mentioned in the plotline of *Simon Boccanegra*. From 1774 to 1900, Verdi rented the *Palazzo Doria* in the center of Genoa. See: Rostagno, A. (2014). Genoa. In R. M. Marvin (ed.) *The Cambridge Verdi Encyclopedia*. Cambridge University Press, p. 193.

⁴ The most essential change was the abridgment of the second act with its main protagonist Lorenzino Bucchetto, a usurer and the unfortunate pretender to the position of doge, who is merely given casual mention in the libretto.

⁵ Gutiérrez, A. G. (1843). *Simón Boccanegra: drama en cuatro actos, precedido de un prólogo*. Impr. de Yenes, pp. 56–59.

⁶ Verdi informed the librettist about this on October 27, 1856 [2, vol. 2, p. 245].

⁷ The beginning of 1857, when Verdi was already living in Italy.

⁸ Undated letter. Cit. from: [2, vol 2, p. 249].

⁹ “...You haven't said anything about the last chorus... that I have written in four verses, according to your own idea; even if it does not satisfy you, tell me, what would you like me to do... In my turn, I would create, for example, instead of a formal festivity, a grandiose march in honor of the doge, who would stride to the throne during the chorus, and as soon as the festivities begun, they would have been interrupted by the appearance of Adorno, etc. O God! If we had acted together, this could have been done so simply!” (Piave's letter to Verdi from February 27, 1857.) Cit. from: [ibid.]

The Structure of the Final Scene

In the first version of the opera, the final scene is structured according to the principles of *la solita forma*, which is perceived as an anachronism; after all, starting from 1842, Verdi transformed the four-section structure¹⁰ of the massive final scenes, reducing them by means of the conclusory section (*stretta*).¹¹ In correspondence with the storyline¹² and the situation typical for final scenes, the scene is opened by the ceremonial introductory section consisting of three numbers: The Chorus of the People and the Barcarole, the Oath of Fidelity to the Doge and the Dance of the Corsairs with the Chorus (*Scheme 1*).

Coro de popolo e barcarola	Inno al doge	Ballabile di corsari africani con coro	Scena e sestetto		Racconto e stretta	
			Tempo d'attacco	Pezzo concertato	Tempo di mezzo	Stretta

Scheme 1. Giuseppe Verdi. *Simon Boccanegra*, 1st Version.
The Structure of the Final Scene of Act I

The first number reminds in its texture of the beginning of the festive chorus in the grand final scene of *Stiffelio*, while the juxtaposition of the sound of the male chorus with the *a cappella* voices (the barcarolle) carried from the sea was previously applied by Verdi in the second final scene of *I Vespri Siciliani*. The doge's greeting during the solemn procession forestalls the hailing of Philip II during the auto-de-fé scene from *Don Carlo*. An intermezzo episode is what the dance of the African pirates becomes, the music of which is devoid of any Oriental motives whatsoever. The section is concluded by a general chorus, in which, once again, the sources of the solemn chorus from the grand final scene of *Don Carlo* are divined, moreover, not only the figurative ones, but also the intonational.

The section marked *Tempo d'attacco* begins with the cries of *Treason!* sounding from behind the stage, and culmination can be marked at Gabriel Adorno's arioso. The unexpected appearance of Amelia obtains lyrical comprehension in the sextet with the chorus (*pezzo concertato*). In such ensembles, two elements may be highlighted in Verdi's music: the *tutti* (the collective reaction), such as, for instance, in the scene

¹⁰ Following the terminology established in present-day musicology, the typified structure includes the following sections: *tempo d'attacco*, *pezzo concertato*, *tempo di mezzo*, *stretta* [3, pp. 424–425]. An overview of *la solita forma* with examples from arias, duos, introductions and final scenes from Verdi's operas is presented by Steven Huebner [4, pp. 206–290].

¹¹ See, for example, the final scene of Act II of *Nabucco*.

¹² At the height of the festivities marking the anniversary of the coronation of the doge, the news spreads about the abduction of Amelia. Boccanegra suspects Paolo, while Gabriel Adorno, the beloved of the main heroine, accuses the doge himself of the abduction (*tempo d'attacco*). Suddenly, Amelia appears, who refutes Gabriel's accusation (*pezzo concertato*, *tempo di mezzo*). The people demand that the villains be punished (*stretta*). For greater detail, see: [5, p. 140].

of the killing of the king in *Macbeth*, and the solo, such as in *Traviata* [for greater detail, see: 3, 426]. The first final scene of *Simon Boccanegra* presents a late example of the choral element; it is marked *pezzo concertato*: the people repeat in amazement: “She is saved!”

The particular feature of the section marked *tempo di mezzo*, which functions most frequently as a transition to the conclusive *stretta*, may be considered to be the lasting solo episode — Amelia’s narration, so that the appeal to justice in the *stretta* becomes a lawful reaction to the description of the perfidious abduction.¹³

The conservative quality of the structure of the final scene signified a peculiar boundary in the composer’s musical style, having marked a departure from similar attributes in such scenes as the state of festivity in the introductory section, the typified *stretta* in the role of a conclusion, and a *tutti* in the beginning of the *pezzo concertato* (for greater detail, see: [5, 140–142]).

The New Final Scene

The idea of revising the opera may have come to Verdi in 1875, when being in transit in Cologne, the composer watched Schiller’s early play *Fiesco’s Conspiracy in Genoa*, and, as legend has it, exclaimed, “Ah, Piave! What a remarkable libretto could be made of this work!”¹⁴ In fact, *Simon Boccanegra* is indebted for its second birth to Giulio Ricordi, who came up with the idea of staging the opera at the *La Scala* Theater during the 1880–1881 concert season. As Harold Powers observes, the choice particularly of this opera may be explained by Ricordi’s special fondness of it: the head of *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano*, a brilliant music critic, manifested himself in his youthful years as a gifted composer,¹⁵ and the piano fantasy on themes from *Simon Boccanegra* became one of his first compositions [see: 7, 103]. At first, Verdi had a skeptical attitude towards the idea of reviving the opera:

Yesterday I received a large package, which, it seems, presents the score of *Simon* — the composer wrote in response to Ricordi’s proposal on May 2, 1879. — If you come to Sant-Agata in six months, a year, two or three, etc., you shall find it untouched, the same as you have sent it to me. I hate unnecessary things [2, vol. 2, 255].

¹³ The unison theme with its emphasis on the diminished seventh chord inherits the *stretta* theme from *Giovanna d’Arco* [*Joan of Arc*]. Overall, the scene invites parallels with the final scene of Act I of Saverio Mercadante’s opera *Il bravo*. For more detail, see: [5, p. 141].

¹⁴ Translation by Vassily Korganov. The story about this is contained in Arthur Pougin’s work, in one of the first biographies of Verdi translated into Italian in 1881 by Jacobo Caponi (under the pseudonym of Folchetto). On the initiative of Giulio Ricordi, the composer familiarized himself with the Italian translation before its publication, having put in the necessary corrections. Pougin’s book, published in 1886 with Caponi’s additions, lay at the source of the first Russian language biography of the composer written by Vassily Korganov (1897). According to Folchetto, Verdi was especially impressed in Schiller’s play, performed in German, which the composer did not know, how the drama unfolds against the background of the rebellion [see: 6, p. 64].

¹⁵ Giulio Ricordi manifested himself in this quality under the pseudonym of Jules Burgmein.

A few months later, the composer's position changed: in October 1880, Verdi and Boito put *Otello*¹⁶ aside for the sake of *Boccanegra*, the work on which continued until March 24, 1881.

Apparently, the conservative quality of the grand final scene became one of the reasons why, according to Verdi's conception, particularly the first act had to undergo the most significant revisions. Once again, the situation for the final scene of the new redaction, was thought of by the creators of the opera, just like before. Verdi peruses through various possible scenarios, among which there are not only festivities, but also hunts and even battles with African corsairs.¹⁷ Along with these common or farfetched variants, he suggests an idea in the spirit of Risorgimento — to show the “preparations for war with Pisa or with Venice.”¹⁸ Moreover, Verdi also immediately suggests the documents that must be attached to the libretto, — namely, Francesco Petrararch's letters that were included in the *Letters about Familiar Matters* [*Rerum Familiarum Libri*].

In that regard, two amazing letters by Petrarch come to my mind: one of them is written to the doge Boccanegra,¹⁹ the other — to the doge of Venice, in which the poet tells the rulers that they are instigating a fratricidal war, since they are both sons of one mother — Italy, — Verdi writes to Ricordi on November 20, 1880. — The sensation of the native land as a single Italy is matchless for that time! Of course, this is politics and not drama, but a talented person may have undoubtedly dramatized that fact. For example, Boccanegra, struck by this thought, may have wished to follow the poet's advice, he could have convened the Senate or a private conference, brought the letter to the notice of all the attendees, and informed them of his wish. There is an overall consternation, exclamations, fury — up to the point that the doge is accused of treason, etc., etc.²⁰

At this stage of the work, Verdi was not conscious of how resolutely the grand final scene would be transformed. On November 26, 1880, he wrote to Ricordi: “As for the libretto, since the Idea²¹ for the creation of the main portion of the final scene has been found <...>, it remains to complete a small matter ... It would be necessary to retain

¹⁶ Boito set to work on *Otello* at the end of 1879 — in the letter from December 2, the librettist expresses his joy in regards to the upcoming collaboration with Verdi. Conati, M., Medici, M. (Eds.). (1994). *The Verdi-Boito correspondence* (Eng. lang. ed. prep. W. Weaver). The University of Chicago Press, p. 3. Since Piave was no longer alive, Boito also turned out to be Verdi's coauthor in the work of editing *Simon Boccanegra*.

¹⁷ Bouchène, A. (Ed.). (1973). Pis'mo Verdi k Dzh. Rikordi ot 20 noyabrya 1880 g. [Verdi's Letter to Giulio Ricordi from November 20, 1880. In *Verdi Dzh. Izbrannyye pis'ma* [*Verdi G. Selected Letters*] (2d ed.), Muzyka, pp. 231–232.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 230.

¹⁹ Simon Boccanegra was chosen as a doge twice, having been at the head of the republic from 1339 until 1344, and then from 1356 to 1362. Petrarch's letter, addressed “to the doge and consul of Genoa,” is dated 1352, when Genoa was ruled not by Boccanegra, but by Giovanni da Valente. This is pointed out by Marcelo Conati. See: Conati, M., & Medici, M. (Eds.). (1994). *The Verdi-Boito correspondence* (Eng. lang. ed. prep. W. Weaver). The University of Chicago Press, p. 1.

²⁰ Bouchène, A. (Ed.). (1973). Pis'mo Verdi k Dzh. Rikordi ot 20 noyabrya 1880 g. [Verdi's Letter to Giulio Ricordi from November 20, 1880. In *Verdi Dzh. Izbrannyye pis'ma* [*Verdi G. Selected Letters*] (2d ed.), Muzyka, pp. 231–232.

²¹ Particularly so — starting with the capital letter — this word is written by Verdi.

Amelia's narration, in which I would like to change a considerable part of the music, and I shall leave much of it in the *stretta*...."²² In his letter to Boito from December 2, Verdi is likewise optimistic: "if we could find a good beginning for the final scene, one that would bring diversity... into the exceeding monotony of the drama, then all that is left to do after that would be reduced to a few verses here and there, a change of several musical phrases, etc."²³

But, as the result, the final scene was essentially created anew, with the exception of Amelia's story, which was subjected to significant changes, while the *stretta* as a section of the form, mentioned by Verdi, was altogether eliminated.

As it is well-known, Verdi was not averse to reflecting ideas of a social-political character on stage, as well as the aspiration towards historical precision towards regional color.²⁴ In *Simon Boccanegra* the search was held, first of all, within the space of the storyline and the libretto. In the first version, the occasion for the festivity was the "silver jubilee" of Boccanegra assuming his position, which diverges from the true chronology of the events that Guttierrez holds onto: the year 1339 on the Prologue and 1362 in the main action. Having rejected the festivity scene in the grand final scene, Verdi avoided the deviation from accuracy.

Boito immediately set to work on *Simon Boccanegra* and already on December 8 sent Verdi two possible scenarios at once for the new redaction, moreover, in both cases involves another documentary source in his work — the *Annals of the Republic of Genoa* by Agosto Giustiniani.²⁵ According to the second variant offered by Boito, Acts I and II are combined together into one, and a new act is brought in with the scene of the siege of the Church of St. Cyrus, based on the events of 1356 described in Giustiniani's chronicles.²⁶

²² Pis'mo Verdi k Dzh. Rikordi ot 26 noyabrya 1880 g [Verdi's Letter to Giulio Ricordi from November 26, 1880] [2, vol. 2, p. 256].

²³ Pis'mo Verdi k Boyto ot 2 dekabrya 1880 g [Verdi's Letter to Boito from December 2, 1880]. Conati, M., & Medici, M. (Eds.). (1994). *The Verdi-Boito correspondence* (Eng. lang. ed. prep. W. Weaver). The University of Chicago Press, pp. 8–9.

²⁴ Thus, as he was creating *Aida*, Verdi immersed himself in the study of ancient instruments and rites [see: 8, pp. 58–60], and while searching for materials for the insertion of the ballet in *Otello* before the Paris production turned his attention to 16th and 17th century lute pieces. [see: 9, pp. 57–59].

²⁵ Conati, M., & Medici, M. (Eds.). (1994). *The Verdi-Boito correspondence* (Eng. lang. ed. prep. W. Weaver). The University of Chicago Press, pp. 11–12. Agostino Giustiniani (1470–1536) was a monk of the Dominican order, a bishop, who taught Eastern languages in various educational institutions, including the Paris University; he prepared the 'Bible for the Polyglots,' from which he was able to publish only the *Psaltery* [10, pp. 46].

²⁶ Boito turned to that episode in the history of Genoa, when during the siege, Boccanegra was chosen as the doge of Genoa. See: Giustiniani, A. (1856). *Annali della Repubblica di Genova*, vol. 2. Presso il libraio Canepa, p. 56.

In the first scenario, Boito elaborated Verdi's, presenting the plan of the session of the Council at the Palazzo degli Abati.²⁷ Having been inspired by Verdi's suggestion that he use Petrarch's text, Boito suggests inserting two more fragments — this time, from the letter to the doge of Genoa:²⁸

The doge announces to the Council that Toris, the Tatar khan has sent emissaries to ask for peace with Genoa (see: *Annali della Repubblica di Genova* Volume 2, Book 4). The entire Council unanimously hails peace. Then the doge advocates for an end to the war with the Venetian Republic. The objection of the consuls, expressions of dissatisfaction. The doge shouts: "You consent to peace with barbarians and infidels, while at the same time you want war with our brethren. Are you not satisfied with your triumph? Has not the blood spilled into the waters of the Bosphorus not satisfied your brutality? You fly your triumphal flags over the waves of the Tyrrhenian, Adriatic, Euxinus Pontus, Ionian, and Aegean Seas," and here we may quote the most beautiful passages of the fifth letter from the 14th book of letters of Petrarch. In particular, he writes there: "It is good to resist your opponent with weapons, but still it is better to conquer with the magnitude of one's heart,"²⁹ and where he speaks with such deep feeling about the splendor of the Ligurian Sea — the introduction of this last digression would not lengthen the scene excessively, but it is so beautiful, when he pronounces: "And the helmsman, struck by the new landscape, dropped his oar and in his fascination stopped his watercraft in the middle of the route"³⁰.³¹

Verdi decided on the scene in the Council hall,³² allowing himself only a few things to note.³³ Among other things, the composer was worried whether the khan's letter would provide sufficient reason for the meeting: "Would it be possible to add some other state affair, for example, a carried out attack by some corsairs; and, possibly, the Venetian

²⁷ *Palazzo degli Abati* is a building created in 1291 upon the decision of the captains who headed the city, Oberto Spinola and Corrado Doria, subsequently reconstructed into the Palazzo dei Dogi.

²⁸ Apparently, the librettist's letter is lost; however, Verdi's answer followed already on December 28, 1880: "Dear Boito, this scene in the Senate is very good, full of motion and regional color, with very elegant and strong verses, which we usually write." Conati, M., & Medici, M. (Eds.). (1994). *The Verdi-Boito correspondence* (Eng. lang. ed. prep. W. Weaver). The University of Chicago Press, p. 15. Verdi and Boito in their correspondence call the final scene "the scene in the Senate," but in the final version, the Council Hall (*Sala del Consiglio*) was designed as the place of action.

²⁹ 'Bello è superare l'avversario alla prova del brando: bellissimo è vincerlo per magnanimità di cuore'. Fracassetti, G. (Ed.). (1856) *Lettere di Francesco Petrarca delle cose familiari libri ventiquattro ora la prima volta raccolte volgarizzate e dichiarate con note di Giuseppe Fracassetti*, vol. 3. Le Monnier, p. 318.

³⁰ '... Ed ammirato il nocchiero alla novità dello spettacolo lasciavasi cadere il remo dalle mani, e fermava per meraviglia la barca a mezzo il corso'. Ibid., p. 321.

³¹ Conati, M., & Medici, M. (Eds.). (1994). *The Verdi-Boito correspondence* (Eng. lang. ed. prep. W. Weaver). The University of Chicago Press, pp. 9–10.

³² "... We must settle for the scene in the Senate, which, having been created by you, could not — I am certain of this — fail to impress," — Verdi wrote on December 11, 1880 — "... In the long run, let us try to try and create this final scene with the presumed Tatar ambassador, with Petrarch's letters etc., etc." Ibid., p. 15.

³³ Verdi was fully satisfied with Boito's text: "The rest is beautiful. Entrancing, from "plebeians, patricians, and people" until the end with the words "Be cursed!" Ibid.

war, maledicted by the poet?” the following comment by Verdi is characteristic of him: “Obviously, everything must be done quickly, in two words.”³⁴

Not limiting themselves to the time of the action of the play (1362), and not adhering strictly to the chronology of the two terms of Boccanegra’s rule, Verdi and Boito combined in their new libretto of the final scene several storylines at ones from the history of that period connected with the republic’s external politics, its economics and relations with Venice, as well as the inner social infighting. This included both the conflict between the plebeians and the patricians, which has found reflection in the episodes of insurrection (*Death to the Patricians!*), and the struggle between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. The war between Genoa and Venice, who competed with each other in the trade on the Northern Mediterranean coast (1350–1355) was connected with the republic’s economic interests at that time. For both cities, which were separated from the rest of Italy by lagoons or mountains, maritime commerce was of great significance, and the struggle for predominance on the sea had not ceased since the 12th century. The Genovese merchants had a great influence in Crimea, where they established a colony in Kaffa (Feodosia), while the Venetians owned the settlement of Tan in Azak (Azov). From Kaffa there was intensive exchange of merchandise going on with the Golden Horde: the Genovese brought textiles, purchasing grain and hides [10, p. 114], even in circumvention of the union established with Venice, one of the provisions of which prohibited trade with the Horde. Particularly in connection with this conflict, Petrarch dispatched epistles to the heads of the republics. As has been indicated above,³⁵ the “letter to doge Boccanegra” that inspired Verdi, was addressed by the poet “to the doge and the council of the Genovese republic”³⁶ after their victory over the Venetians in the Bosphorus battle (on February 13, 1352) and is dated November 1, 1352, when it was not Boccanegra, but Giovanni da Valente stood at the head of the republic. The letter of the Tatar khan mentioned at the very beginning of the session may very well have been discussed by the Chambers of the Consuls — and, once again, that did not happen during the years of Simon Boccanegra’s rule.³⁷ In particular, in 1347 established a peace treaty with the khan of the Golden Horde Janibek, whose army unsuccessfully lay a siege of Kaffa. However, Boito initial scenario mentions “the Tatar khan Toris.” In Giustiniani’s *Annals* for 1344, it is really written

³⁴ “1. Are you certain of the necessity of demonstrating at the very beginning that Amelia is saved and asks for justice? 2. Do you think that the Tatar plan suffices for gathering the Senate? Would it be possible to add some other state affair...” [Ibid., p. 15–16]. In the third comment, Verdi suggests shortening Amelia’s request to pardon Gabriel, whom she already calls her fiancé, otherwise, all the sense of the scene between the doge and Amelia in the third act is lost. All the three wishes were considered in the final version of the libretto.

³⁵ See footnote 16.

³⁶ ‘Franciscus Petrarca duci et consilio reipublicae Ianuensis’. Fracassetti, J. (Ed.). (1862). *Petrarcae F. Epistolæ de rebus familiaribus et variæ*, vol. 2. Le Monnier, p. 292.

³⁷ On December 23, 1344, a coup was organized in Genoa — the patricians came to power, and Giovanni da Murta became the doge. But, just like Boccanegra, Murta stood for an agreement with Venice. See: [11, p. 115].

about the embassy of a certain khan Toris.³⁸ It may be presumed that “Toris” is connected with the toponym *Tebriz* — this city was later annexed by Janibek to his realm. This is particularly how *Marco Polo* calls Tebriz in the *Book of the Diversity of the World*.³⁹ As J. Heyd asserts, Giustiniani in his “Annals” based himself on the chronicles of Giorgio Stella (1365–1420), the official chronicler of Genoa from 1395, who knew that the prince who ruled in Tebriz in 1344 sent emissaries to the doge and the commune of Genoa.⁴⁰ Apparently, this referred to Ashraf,⁴¹ who held the highest position in Iranian Azerbaijan during the years 1344–1356. On the other hand, Giustiniani assumed that Toris was the name of a person.⁴² In the final version of the libretto, the name of the khan is prudently not concretized. Thus, the authors pieced together the text of the final scene, creating an extensional portrait of the epoch with all of its contradictions, boldly and at the same time delicately gathering together historical facts of different times. We can hardly fail to remember Verdi’s words: “It may be very good to paint from reality, but inventing reality is better, much better.”⁴³

The Voice of Petrarch

The letters of Petrarch present prosaic texts in Latin, incorporated in the compilation of the *Book of Letters on Everyday Matters*,⁴⁴ at the same time Verdi, most likely, turned to Giuseppe Fracassetti’s Italian translation⁴⁵ which he had in his library in Sant-Agata [7, p. 111]. In the final libretto, only one parallel is indicated. The phrase from the letter to Venetian doge Andrea Dandolo from March 18, 1851 (Book XI, Letter 8) that Venice and Genoa ought to comprise a unified entity

³⁸ ‘E l'imperatore de' Tartari nominato Toris mandò al duce Boccanegra ed alla città un ambasciatore, richiedendo pace con Genovesi; ed offeriva restituire le robe che aveva pigliato e risarcire i danni dati’ Giustiniani, A. (Ed.). (1856). *Annali della Repubblica di Genova*, vol. 2. Presso il libraio Canepa, p. 75.

³⁹ In Chapter 26, *Marco Polo* describes “the majestic Toris” — “a large city in the country of Iraq,” “the best in the whole region.” Polo, M. (2018). *Kniga o raznoobrazii mira [Book about the Diversity of the World]* (I. Minaev, transl. from the Old French, M. Vilkov. introd.). OOO Izdatel'stvo “Palmira”; OOO “Kniga po Trebovaniyu,” p. 39.

⁴⁰ Heyd, G. (1868). *Le colonie commerciali degli Italiani in oriente nel medio evo: dis*, vol. II. Stabilimento tipografico Antonelli, p. 85.

⁴¹ Al-Maliq al-Ashraf was a naib in 1343–1353, and the sultan of Azerbaijan in 1353–1357.

⁴² According to another hypothesis, *Toris* should be corrected to “Tana” (the city founded by Venetian merchants at the site of the present-day Azov). See: Heyd, G. (1868). *Le colonie commerciali degli Italiani in oriente nel medio evo: dis*, vol. II. Stabilimento tipografico Antonelli, p. 85.

⁴³ Bouchène, A. (Ed.). (1973). Pis'mo Verdi k Klare Maffei ot 20 oktyabrya 1876 g. [Verdi’s Letter to Clara Maffei from October 20, 1876. In *Verdi Dzh. Izbrannye pis'ma [Verdi G. Selected Letters]* (2d ed.), Muzyka, p. 216.

⁴⁴ Petrarch decided to compile his letters into a book, after familiarizing himself with Cicero’s combination of books in the summer of 1345.

⁴⁵ Fracassetti, G. (Ed.) (1856). *Lettere di Francesco Petrarca delle cose familiari libri ventiquattro ora la prima volta raccolte volgarizzate e dichiarate con note di Giuseppe Fracassetti*, vol. 3. Le Monnier.

and not torment the body of Italy,⁴⁶ are referred to by Simon Boccanegra's words "Adria and Liguria possess a common fatherland."⁴⁷ The excerpts from Petrarch's second letter, those most literal digressions that Boito was fond of, did not find their way into the final text. The firm understanding that "the public requires brevity,"⁴⁸ gained the other hand: the verbal text of the pivotal final scene cannot do otherwise than astound by its laconic quality. The fact itself is noteworthy — a letter addressed by Petrarch to the government of Genoa, a genuine historical document, became a part of a plotline of an opera and an occasion for bringing in the massive scene of the Council session.

Despite the fact that Francesco Petrarch's name is not mentioned in the opera, Verdi clearly wished to emphasize that invisible presence of another historical personality, and for this reason he attempted to outline this image in a more relief manner. "Of the 2000 audience members attending the premiere, hardly twenty people would be familiar with the two letters by Petrarch," Verdi wrote to Boito on January 15, 1881. — "Nonetheless, we shall introduce a peculiar footnote for the public, so that Simon's lines would not remain a mystery."⁴⁹ Thus was the libretto text embellished by refined descriptions characterizing the poet in diversified ways: "the hermit of Sorgo" (as it is well-known, Petrarch owned a house in the valley of the Sorgo River where he lived during the years 1337–1353), "the singer of the white-haired beauty from Avignon" (meaning Petrarch's beloved Laura), and "he who called out to Rienzi."⁵⁰

Petrarch's voice sounds out not only in the initial section of the scene, but also in the *pezzo concertato*. The conclusive call for peace in Boccanegra's solo (*E vo gridando: pace! E vo gridando: amor!*) is inspired by the last line of the canzona

⁴⁶ 'Venetos cum Januensibus unum fieri, quam formosum corpus Italiae lacerari'. Fracassetti, J. (Ed.). (1862). *Petrarcae F. Epistolæ de rebus familiaribus et variæ*, vol. 2. Le Monnier, p. 132. '... Si stringessero in un corpo solo Veneziani e Genovesi, dei quali narra invece la fama che gli uni i tiranni dell'Occidente, e i tiranni dell'Oriente chiamarono gli altri a parte del loro furore per lacerare spietatamente le belle membra dell'Italia lor madre comune!' Fracassetti, G. (Ed.). (1856). *Lettere di Francesco Petrarca delle cose familiari libri ventiquattro ora la prima volta raccolte volgarizzate e dichiarate con note di Giuseppe Fracassetti*, vol. 3. Le Monnier., p. 61.

⁴⁷ 'Adria e Liguria hanno patria comune'.

⁴⁸ Pis'mo k Ch. De Sanktisu ot 29 marta 1851 g. po povodu libretto opery *Trubadur* S. Kammarano [Letter to Cesare di Sanctis from March 29, 1851 regarding the libretto of Salvatore Cammarano's *Il Trovatore*]. Bouchène, A. (Ed.). (1973). Pis'mo Verdi k Dzh. Rikordi ot 20 noyabrya 1880 g. [Verdi's Letter to Giulio Ricordi from November 20, 1880. In *Verdi Dzh. Izbrannye pis'ma [Verdi G. Selected Letters]* (2d ed.), Muzyka, p. 55.

⁴⁹ Conati, M., & Medici, M. (Eds.). (1994). *The Verdi-Boito correspondence* (English language edition prep. by W. Weaver). The University of Chicago Press, p. 30.

⁵⁰ In June 1347, Petrarch wrote a letter to the Roman tribune who took a stand against the nobility for the sake of establishing a republic and unifying Italy, expressing his hopes at the revival of the great spirit of the Roman people [12, p. 133]; in addition, during the insurrection headed by him, Petrarch wrote the canzona "the High Spirit" where he also addresses Rienzi: "I believe that you shall help the noblest dominion to stand on her feet again." Cit. from: [Ibid.].

ce!
DORE - zia - - to il ciell!
E vo gridan - do: pa - ce! e vo gridan - do: a.
pu - gno d'un cor.sar!
- len, di ve - len.
- vez - za al - men.
Pa - - - - - ce! ti spi - - -
Ah!..... di - - - - - sde - - - - - gna, di - -
- mor!..... e vo gri.dan.do.a.mor!
Sta la cit - - - - - tà su - -
No, l'an.gue che mi.....
Tut - - - - - to fal - - - - - la.....
Vol di so - - - - - a - - - - - ve.....
Vol di so - - - - - a - - - - - ve.....
Vol di so - - - - - a - - - - - ve.....
XX
dim. pp

Example 1. Giuseppe Verdi. *Simon Boccanegra*.
Second Version.
The Final Scene of Act I. Mm. 350–356

*My Italy (I' vo gridando: Pace, pace, pace)*⁵¹ [7, p. 114]⁵²; in addition, the entire phrase would be heard one more time in the culminating moment of the section (Example 1)⁵³. Moreover, the words *pace* become the key word in the contrapuntal fabric of the ensemble. It appears eleven times in Amelia's part, and the especially significant intonation *pezzo concertato*, which permeates the entire texture at the conclusive link of the chain form, coincides particularly with this word (Example 1, m. 6).

The canzona *My Italy* is sometimes compared with the song of the Jews in the Babylonian captivity [14, p. 54] — as it is known, particularly this psalm became the preimage of the chorus from Act III of *Nabucco*, so, when turning to Petrarch's verses, Verdi makes a peculiar reference to the opera from 1842, having once again elegized the woes of long-suffering Italy. The idea itself to demonstrate the session of the council during an internecine war — the council one which an agreement with a foreign ruler was being discussed and the appeal towards the unification of the country was sounded, — reminds of *La battaglia de Legnano* (1849). Thereby, in the second version of *Simon Boccanegra* the political theme is not merely enhanced considerably. The plotline and the text of the scene

⁵¹ The absence of precise quotations upon referencing particular phrases reminds of the 15th century, when the texts of madrigals and ballatas included in themselves separate lines from Petrarch's sonnets with new continuations [13, pp. 4–5].

⁵² Apparently, the only known musical interpretation of this text belongs to Philippe Verdelot: as Susan McClary presumes, his madrigal may have been written in response to the incursion by the imperial forces of Charles V into Rome in 1527 [14, p. 54].

⁵³ In Franz Werfel's free translation, this line is replaced by the following words: 'Liebe ist Sinn der Welten, Der Mensch allein ist kalt, Nur ihr seid starr und kalt!' ("Love is the final goal of the universe, only man is cold, only man is cruel and cold"). As L. Čapka indicates, these words bring reference to Novalis' aphorism from *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*: "Love is the final goal of world history — a universal Amen" [15, p. 4].

of the conclusion of the opera generates parallels with the operas of the period of Verdi's music that passed under the sign of the Risorgimento.⁵⁴

The New Final Scene: the Structure

Such a concentration of historical facts and actions could not have confined itself within the previous scheme. The grandiose construction of the final scene was derived after the text following the content, bound together by intricate motive connections. Five sections are perceptively highlighted in it:

- the scene of the session,
- the insurrection,
- Amelia's narrative⁵⁵,
- Simon's monologue, passing into an ensemble (*pezzo concertato*),
- the curse⁵⁶.

Particularly such a rubrication is set in the first edition of the libretto of the new redaction [7, p. 111] (*Scheme 2*):

<i>Scena del consiglio</i>	<i>Sommossa</i>	<i>Racconto</i>	<i>Pezzo d'assieme (concertato)</i>	<i>Maledizione</i>
Allegro moderato	Allegro agitato	Moderato	Andante mosso	Largo assai

Scheme 2. Simon Boccanegra. Second Edition. Final Scene of Act I

From the very first measures, the scene immerses the listener into the tense atmosphere of the session, beginning with Boccanegra's address to the consuls. Until now, no other opera by Verdi the beginning of the massive scene of the pivotal final scene was more remote from the function of the "introductory section" [5, p. 188] – the emotional filament of what is occurring is too high, and each episode

⁵⁴ A no less acute political subject of this scene in the Council hall was sounded in another country than Italy in the 20th century. At a performance by the Berlin State Opera in 1944, Boccanegra's monologue at the beginning of the *pezzo concertato* aroused lasting ovations, while the baritone who performed the part of the doge was summoned up for interrogation for "an attempt to descript the military action" [15, p. 5].

⁵⁵ In the narrative, only the first period was preserved without any considerable changes; in particular, the freedom of the changes of timbre and the fluidity of the transitions from the cantilena to the recitative grew.

⁵⁶ At the Council Boccanegra speaks with a call for the unification of Venice and Genoa. The doge's speech is interrupted by shouts: the people roused to rebellion demand his death. Simon Boccanegra's impassivity captivates the crowd, but the unrest does not abate, the reason for which turns out to be the killing of the Genovese Lorenzino carried out by Gabriel Adorno, since, after all, it was Lorenzoni who abducted Amelia. The responsibility for the kidnapping is laid upon by Adorno on Boccanegra. Gabriel makes an attempt on the doge's life, which is hindered because of the appearance of Amelia, who vindicates Simon (as heard in Amelia's narrative). The adversarial relation between the plebeians and the patricians is intensified (*tempo d'attacco*), and once again the crowd is stopped by Simon, who preaches peace in the name of the common motherland (*pezzo concertato*). Understanding Paolo's involvement in the abduction, Boccanegra resorts to a psychological maneuver, inducing everybody, including Paolo, to pronounce a curse on the culprit. For more detail, see: [5, pp. 187–188].

is too significant in its content: the warily menacing introduction, the strict recitative manner of the part of the doge, the elemental vigor of the crowd in the insurrection episode⁵⁷, the effect of which is comparable with the *Dies irae* from Verdi's *Requiem*.

The theme of the insurrection becomes a source of motives binding together the three sections of the scene (see *Example 2*).

Particularly in the insurrection scene, Wolfgang Osthoff and, after him, Daniela Goldin Folena perceive the influence of Schiller's play *The Conspiracy of Fiesco in Genoa* [16, pp. 141–142]⁵⁸.

At first, Verdi was ready to reject the *pezzo concertato* ensemble traditional for the pivotal final scene: On November 26, 1880, he wrote to Ricordi: "I do not think that any reason whatsoever exists to create one of the usual *pezzi concertati*" (cit. from: [2, vol. 2, p. 256]). But already on January 26, Verdi informs Boito: "Without having realized it, I have written a *pezzo concertato* in the new final scene. Of course, Simon will first sing all his sixteen lines solo ("Plebeians! Patricians! People!") then a *concertato* follows, an unconventional one, but, nonetheless, a *concertato*."⁵⁹ Indeed, this section begins as a monologue, while the episode perceived at first as an ensemble addition,⁶⁰ as a result, grows into a full-fledged *pezzo concertato*,

Example 2. Giuseppe Verdi.
Simon Boccanegra.

Second Edition. Final Scene of Act I.
Mm. 57–63

⁵⁷ It is noteworthy that even in the chorus of the insurrectionists, Verdi advocated for a lucid conveyance of the text: "I tried, in spite of the restless movement in the orchestra, to preserve the clarity of all the words," — he writes to Boito on February 5, 1881. — "The orchestra roars, but it roars quietly." Conati, M., & Medici, M. (Eds.). (1994). *The Verdi-Boito correspondence* (Eng. lang. ed. prep. W. Weaver). The University of Chicago Press, p. 37.

⁵⁸ At the basis of Schiller's play is the conspiracy organized by aristocrat Gian Luigi Fieschi in 1547 against the doge of Genoa, Andrea Doria. In Act II, a rebellion gradually erupts around the Fieschi palace: the people demand Doria's death; in the same way, in the new final scene of *Simon Boccanegra* the approach of the crowd of rebels chanting *Death to the doge* is shown.

⁵⁹ Conati, M., & Medici, M. (Eds.). (1994). *The Verdi-Boito correspondence* (Eng. lang. ed. prep. W. Weaver). The University of Chicago Press, p. 34. About the role of the chorus in the final scene through the prism of Aristotle's ideas, see L. Belloni [6].

⁶⁰ Thus, in his letter from February 2, 1881, Verdi urged Boito to shorten the number of lines for Amelia, emphasizing that the *pezzo concertato* here is, "first of all, a large-scale solo for the doge with the addition of the other parts at the end." Conati, M., & Medici, M. (Eds.). (1994). *The Verdi-Boito correspondence* (Eng. lang. ed. prep. W. Weaver). The University of Chicago Press, p. 36.

the through structure of which anticipates the analogous moment in the final section of Act III of *Otello*.⁶¹ An ensemble with an unfolded solo sung by the baritone is one of Verdi's favorite types,⁶² and in *Simon Boccanegra* it receives its last and most



Example 3. *Simon Boccanegra*, Second Version.
 Final Scene of Act I. Mm. 386–390

by a vociferous *tutti*, and three more times — almost in a whisper, as a conjuration. At the same time, the second of the two orchestral themes in the *Largo* tempo⁶⁵ (see Example 3), on which the entire scene concludes, forms an arch with the *pezzo concertato*, reminding of its key motive, *pace*.

elevated manifestation.⁶³ Here we witness the development of the idea of the extensive arioso-monologue, manifested earlier in the final scene of Act II of *Aida*, but on a new level of monological freedom of expression.⁶⁴

Instead of a swift *stretta*, the final scene is crowned by a section in the tempo of *Largo*: the doge induces Paolo to curse the abductor, after which the villain is maledicted by all those present —

Conclusion

Particularly in the second version the grand final scene of *Simon Boccanegra* obtained its magnitude and depth, which made it into one of the most powerful scenes in all of Verdi's music. The most important role therein was played by its structure, with its opening sections, striking by their formidability (the doge's speeches and the insurrection) and their effective conclusions (the curse of Paolo).

⁶¹ Verdi stands against the commentaries “aside” traditional for such ensembles, which “cause the artists to remain immobile.” Letter to Boito from January 24, 1881. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁶² See the grand final scenes of the operas: *Un Giorno il Regno* (Act I), *Nabucco* (Act I), *I Lombardi alla prima crociata* (Acts I and II), *Ernani* (Acts I and III), *Alzira* (Act II), *Attila* (Act I), *Macbeth* (Act II), *Traviata* (Act II), *Un ballo in maschera* (Act II), and *Aida* (Act II).

⁶³ “The most beautiful monument that Verdi created for the baritone,” “a hymn for universal brotherhood, as inspiring as Beethoven's ‘Ode to Joy,’ and just as simple in its structure...” is how J. Budden calls this solo [2, vol. 2, pp. 3–12].

⁶⁴ *Boccanegra*'s solo presents two large parallel periods with the tonal correlation between the keys of *es-moll* and *Fis-dur*. It is noteworthy that for the second parallel period Verdi chooses, contrary to custom, not the parallel major, but a key enharmonically equal to the relative major, highlighting with a special color the supplication for peace.

⁶⁵ At the basis of the first theme lies a descending motive, the initial sounds of which remind of the *stretta* theme of the first version, at the same time forestalling the theme of Iago from *Otello*. (In particular, J. Budden indicates at this [2, vol. 3., pp. 314–315]). The second theme, with its reliance on the motive of “singing around the note,” is derived from the theme of Amelia from the *pezzo concertato*.

It is paradoxical, but the history of the creation of the scene in the Council Hall indicates that this innovative and to the utmost degree original composition has appeared in many ways *as the result of* the conventionalities related to opera in the first half of the 19th century. After all, when the first version of *Simon Boccanegra* was being composed, Guttierrez' play was supplemented by a scene of a mass ceremony for the sake of bringing in the grand final scene, indispensable for Italian opera, constructed in correspondence with the typified rules *la solita forma*. In the second version, the traditional mass finale turned into a scene striking by the depth of its content and the abundance of its text, created on the basis on chronicle sources and encrusted with allusions to Petrarch's works. Now the new conception itself and the storyline manifesting it predetermined the structure of the scene. The multivalent final scene, the introduction to which was initially dictated by the implicit laws of Italian opera, in the second version breaks with them almost entirely. Almost — because even in such an original scene, the composer retains connections with the tradition of *la solita forma* in the lyrical core of the final scene — the ensemble with the chorus, *pezzo concertato*, which follows Simon Boccanegra's chief monologue, that this “hymn to universal brotherhood” [2, vol. 3, 312] becomes universal in the literal sense of the word: here the *pezzo concertato* is not an obsolescent formality, but a manifestation of the crucial idea of the final scene.

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From the History of the Publication of the Opera
The Woman with the Dagger:
Vladimir Rebikov — Boris Jurgenson — Arthur Schnitzler

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Abstract. The article elucidates the history of the publication of Vladimir Ivanovich Rebikov's opera *The Woman with the Dagger* in the Moscow-based publishing house *P. Jurgenson*, spanning the years 1910–1912. The context is disclosed of the creation of the work occurring at the beginning of the late period of the composer's creativity, and a short characterization is given of the opera's dramatic source — a play with the same title by outstanding Austrian dramaturgist and writer of the modern period of the early 20th century. The vicissitudes of the signing of the contract between the composer and the dramaturgist for the right of making use of the play leading to the two men's resulting agreement with the publishing house are set forth in detail. Special attention is drawn to the new Russian copyright law of that time, created in 1911 with the influence of European legislation,

Translated by Anton A. Rovner

and the rules are described that had to be followed by composers who set their music to already published texts when their works were performed outside of the Russian Empire. Light is shed on the circumstances of the creation of a new Russian libretto for the opera that simultaneously met the requirements of the law, Schnitzler's wishes and Rebikov's already written text (an adaptation of Lina Esbeer), the picture for the cover of the piano-vocal score (drawn by Czech artist Rudolf Adamek), as well as the details of the publication of the piano-vocal score and the brochure with the libretto by Jurgenson's publishing house.

The materials of the article are based on the correspondence of Vladimir Ivanovich Rebikov, the publisher at that time, Boris Petrovich Jurgenson and Arthur Schnitzler, the manuscripts of the opera *The Woman with the Dagger* (the piano-vocal score and the full orchestral score), as well as Rebikov's biography, all of which are preserved in the archives of the Russian National Museum of Music. The epistolary is brought into scholarly use for the first time in that capacity; Schnitzler's letters are published for the first time.

Keywords: Vladimir Rebikov, Boris Jurgenson, Arthur Schnitzler, opera, *The Woman with the Dagger* (*Die Frau mit dem Dolche*), copyright

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*История музыки
в письмах и документах*

Научная статья

**Из истории публикации
оперы «Женщина с кинжалом»:
В. И. Ребиков — Б. П. Юргенсон — А. Шницлер**

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Аннотация. Статья освещает историю публикации оперы Владимира Ивановича Ребикова «Женщина с кинжалом» в московском издательстве «П. Юргенсон», охватывающую 1910–1912 годы. Раскрыт контекст создания произведения, приходящийся на начало позднего периода творчества композитора, дана краткая характеристика драматической основы оперы — одноименной пьесы выдающегося австрийского драматурга и писателя эпохи модерна Артура Шницлера. Подробно изложены перипетии заключения договора между композитором и драматургом на право использования пьесы, ведущие к итоговому контракту авторов с издательством. Особое внимание уделено новому российскому закону об авторском праве (1911), созданному под влиянием европейского законодательства, описаны правила, которым должны были следовать композиторы, обращающиеся к уже опубликованным текстам в случае исполнения их произведений за пределами Российской империи. Прояснены обстоятельства создания нового русского либретто оперы, отвечающего одновременно требованиям закона, желаниям Шницлера и уже написанному тексту Ребикова (адаптация Лины Эсбир), рисунка для обложки клавира (автор — чешский художник Рудольф Адамек), а также детали издания клавира и брошюры с либретто фирмой Юргенсона.

Материалы статьи базируются на переписке Владимира Ивановича Ребикова, тогдашнего главы издательства Бориса Петровича Юргенсона и Артура Шницлера, рукописях оперы «Женщина с кинжалом» (клавире и партитуре), а также автобиографии Ребикова, содержащихся в фондах Российского национального музея музыки. Эпистолярная впервые в таком объеме вводится в научный оборот; письма Шницлера публикуются впервые.

Ключевые слова: Владимир Ребиков, Борис Юргенсон, Артур Шницлер, опера, «Женщина с кинжалом», авторское право

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Introduction

The figure of the Russian musician of the modern period of the early 20th century Vladimir Ivanovich Rebikov has remained underestimated up to the present — in terms of both performance and music scholarship. Rebikov's musical legacy has been insufficiently researched: besides Olga Mikhaylovna Tompakova's monograph about the composer's life and work, which has already become a classic [1], as well as Valentina Alexandrovna Loginova's textbook endowed with a tutorial-methodological directedness [2], among the large-scale works devoted particularly to the composer's oeuvres, only Angelina Alexandrovna Rybina's dissertation for the degree of Candidate of the Arts can be named¹.

Rebikov was not only an intriguing composer, but also an outstanding teacher and a well-known public figure. He boldly transformed traditional musical genres, created new ones, his quest in the realm of modes and harmony have made a significant contribution to the development of the art of music. But, as Loginova mentions on it “many [critics] strongly disapproved of the composer for the extreme limitations of his arsenal of musical-expressive means, the static quality of the composition when contrasted to its outward fluidity, the affectingly sentimental intonational sphere of the compositions, the excessive avocation for the popular genres of domestic music-making (i.e., the programmatic miniatures for piano and lyrical vernacular romance)” [2, p. 24]. Rebikov's oeuvres aroused mixed emotions among his contemporaries. While in other countries his music was well-known and, on the whole, accepted [3], in Russia more often than not it aroused skepticism. Polarly contrasting evaluations were bestowed upon the composer: from “the woe-flower and the barren flower of Russian modernism”

¹ Rybina, A. A. (2016). V. I. Rebikov: Lichnost', tvorchestvo, èstetika, stil' [Vladimir Rebikov: Personality, Creativity, Aesthetics, Style]. [Unpublished Cand. Sci. dissertation]. Moscow State Tchaikovsky Conservatory.



Illustration 1. Vladimir Rebikov

Photo studio A. M. Ivanitsky, Kharkov (no date).

Dedication inscription: *To dear friend Boris
Petrovich Yurgenson in fond memory from
Kuka.*

Available at:

<http://pjurgenson.ru/vladimir-ivanovich-rebikov-1866-1920-g/> (accessed 20.08.2024)

Rebikov's work presents a rare example in the Russian opera theater of impressionist musical drama, the drama of moods. In both the rendition of the images and the musical style, we can observe the traces of the so-called "musical

(Asafiev)² to "an interesting, talented, assiduous inventor" (Kashkin).³

Rebikov's operas stand out, most particularly, among his extensive musical legacy. With the exception of the first — *The Christmas Tree*, and the last — *A Nest of Nobles*, they were practically unknown to his contemporaries. Nonetheless, Rebikov's operatic works are diverse and multifarious. Notwithstanding all of their individuality and inimitable qualities (which the composer especially insisted on), in one way or other, they reflected the artistic and aesthetic quests of the modern epoch in Russian art and that of other countries.

The Materials

The opera *The Woman with the Dagger* was written based on a one-act play with the same title by Arthur Schnitzler. Despite the fact that Schnitzler's works were very popular in Russia, opera composers turned to them extremely seldom. In particular, the play *The Woman with the Dagger* attracted attention to itself only on the part of Mikhail Andreyevich Ostroglazov (1907; the opera has remained in manuscript form) and Vladimir Rebikov, who turned to it slightly after, in 1910.

² Asafiev, B. V. (1915). Vladimir Rebikov. Ritmodeklamatsii [Vladimir Rebikov. Rhythmic Recitations]. *Muzyka*, 238, p. 51.

³ Kashkin, N. D. (1908). Ocherk istorii russkoy muzyki [An Outline of the History of Russian Music]. P. Jurgenson, p. 58.

psychography,” which the composer himself considered to be determinative for this artistic method. The writing is discerned for its chamber qualities, its attention toward details, and the intricacy of the harmonic and timbral nuances. The orchestra plays the leading role in the creation of images and moods. The logically and compactly elaborated construction of the opera is perceived very well: its three scenes are symmetrical in their scenic and musical aspects; the through development is provided by the leitmotif technique.

The musicological interest towards this opera is connected not only with the literary source and the musical text, but also with the dramatic story of its creation and publication. Composed during the course of a few weeks, in one breath, it waited more than a year for its publication, although Boris Petrovich Jurgenson (*Illustration 2*)⁴ was ready to publish the composition immediately, as soon as he received the musical score from the composer.

It has become possible to reveal the reasons for the delay of the publication by means of three letters of Arthur Schnitzler (one original letter and two copies) discovered at the *Russian National Museum of Music (RNMM)*. To give a complete picture, it has also turned out to be expedient to study Rebikov’s extensive correspondence by letters with Jurgenson. They had a warm friendly relationship with each other, and Rebikov signed his letter with the facetious name of Kuka, while Jurgenson signed his name in a more reserved manner, as Borya. Their letters shed light on the circumstances of the creation and publication of many of Rebikov’s works, including the opera *The Woman with the Dagger*. Another substantial support was also provided by other materials preserved at the *RNMM*: the contracts between Schnitzler and Rebikov and those between Rebikov and the Jurgenson publishing house — for elucidating the legal nuances; the manuscripts (the full score and the piano vocal score), on which the dates of the beginning and the completion of the work on the composition



Illustration 2. Boris Jurgenson.
Photo studio Cherer, Nabholz & C.,
Moscow (no date).

Available at:

<http://pjurgenson.ru/boris-petrovich-yurgenson-1868-1935g-6/>

(accessed 20.08.2024)

⁴ Together with his brother Grigoriy Petrovich, he inherited the firm of his father Piotr Ivanovich Jurgenson, the founder of one of the best musical publishing houses in Russia.

are induced, and the composer's autobiography *From My Life*⁵ — for recreating the chronology of the composition's emergence.

The problem range that opens as a result of studying these documents, is not limited only by the process of compositional creativity — although, undoubtedly, this is also very important. The focus of the researcher's attention includes the questions of the publishers' contracts and copyright. In the jurisprudence of the Russian Empire, the latter passed their own peculiarities, not entirely fitting the European process, stimulated by the Bern Convention of 1886. The most part of the Russian composers, with only very few exceptions (such as, in particular, Anton Grigoryevich Rubinstein, who had experience in corresponding with publishing houses outside of Russia, see: [4]), contented themselves with "frame" contracts with publishing houses made up in a not very precise way, from the position of the legal rules, without looking back at the practical nuances of performance and publication, especially outside the country. But gradually the situation changed, the culture in the domain

of copyright rapidly grew, exchanges were organized between the Russian and the European publishers [5], most people, including the composers, gradually realized the difference between the practice of law application in Russia and in other countries and, as a consequence to this, the necessity to coordinate the right to make use of texts by authors from other countries. At times, this occurred as the result of serious peripetiae, as in the case of Rebikov's opera *The Woman with the Dagger*.

The History of the Opera's Creation

Arthur Schnitzler (1862–1931, *Illustration 3*) was an outstanding Austrian writer and dramaturgist, a member of the literary alliance *Jung-Wien* [*Young Vienna*] (1891–1897), a brilliant representative of the Viennese modern style. His worldview was in many ways influenced by the philosophical aesthetic positions of one of the leaders of this circle, Hermann Bahr, who in his turn was attracted to the ideas of the book *Analyse der Empfindungen* [*Analysis of Sensations*] by physicist and philosopher Ernest Mach [6]. Bahr's



Illustration 3. Arthur Schnitzler.
Photo studio E. Bieber, Berlin. [1905].
Available at: <https://www.dhm.de/lemo/biografie/arthur-schnitzler>
(accessed 20.08.2024)

⁵ Rebikov, V. I. *Iz moyey zhizni* [*From My Life*]. RNMM. F. 68 (Rebikov V. I.). No. 78.

theory was dubbed by critics as “inner,” “psychic” or “psychological” impressionism. For the writer the main goal turns out to be “the study of complex subconscious processes of the human psyche” [7, p. 181].

The one-act play *Die Frau mit dem Dolche* (*The Woman with the Dagger*) is part of Schnitzler’s trilogy *Die Momente im Leben* [*The Moments of Life*] (1901). At the center of the drama is a painting by an unknown artist depicting a woman with a raised hand with a dagger. The plotline unfolds around this artefact: first, in a contemporary gallery, then in an artistic studio in the Renaissance period. In both cases, the same protagonists are presented, which seem to be transferred in time: Pauline (Paola), her beloved Leonhard (Leonardo), as well as the heroine’s husband (in the contemporary space – a certain dramaturgist; in the past – the artist Remiggio, the creator of the painting). During the course of the action it becomes known that the impulse for creating the painting was the murder by Paola of her lover.

Rebikov, a devoted admirer of the Viennese and Berlin modern style, nurtured the ideas of writing an opera to Schnitzler’s text even earlier, at the beginning of his tour abroad (1906–1907) [1, p. 50]. However at that time, Rebikov focused his attention on another literary source – Leonid Andreyev’s short-story *The Chasm* (1901), written in an expressionistic vein (op. 40, 1907). The same style is to a certain extent intrinsic to *The Woman with the Dagger* (1910), which may be considered to be the “deferred” realization of the opera based on Schnitzler. Hereinafter, Rebikov turned rather to generalized philosophical themes – in his operas *Alpha and Omega* (1911), *Narcissus* (1911–1912), and *Arachne* (1915). The lyrical, more balanced, albeit, emotionally saturated tone of utterance would return in his final opera *The Nest of Nobles* (1916).

In Rebikov’s compositional career, the year 1910 marks the beginning of the late period of his musical creativity. After his European tours (1906–1909), which granted him numerous impressions and had brought him public recognition, the composer hoped for a similarly successful realization of his conceptions in his native country. With this aim, he had a series of his articles published in the *Rossiyskaya muzykal’naya gazeta* [*Russian Musical Newspaper*], where he elaborated his compositional principles and achieved his goals, having aroused intensive arguments between eminent Russian critics. Boris Popov, Evgeny Petrovsky, Vyacheslav Karatygin, and Grigoriy Prokofiev discussed his musical compositions, but more often than not, they criticized them, rather than providing a welcome. The public perceived Rebikov’s compositions and the manner of their performance as being “decadent” (it is well-known that he frequently played from inside the curtain and in total darkness).⁶ Similarly unsuccessful was his experience of making a presentation in an elite circle in a closed evening session of the *Society for Free Aesthetics* on February 10, 1910 at the request of Valeriy Yakovlevich Bryusov.⁷

⁶ The composer himself writes about this: “The appellation of ‘decadent’ was impaled and closed the door for concert venues. ‘A decadent opera!’ After all, this frightened everybody. Indeed, this epithet closed all the doors.” Rebikov V.I. *Iz moyey zhizni* [From my Life]. RNMM. F. 68 (Rebikov). No. 78. P. 58.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 262 back side – 263.

In the autumn of the same year, Rebikov, after passing through an illness and having been disillusioned with his life in the capital cities, moves to Crimea — first to Feodosia, then to Yalta, where he would pass the greater part of the final decade of his life. The circle of his communication is comprised of the Chekhov family and its guests, the artistic and scientific intelligentsia of Yalta. The first large-scale composition created by the composer in Yalta was the opera *The Woman with the Dagger*. In the composer's memoirs, this is stated extremely laconically: "On November 18 [1910], I took a room at Andreyeva's country house on the embankment [in Yalta], and there during the course of one month I composed *The Woman with the Dagger*. The text was taken from Schnitzler."⁸ Also at our disposal is the precise indication of the dates of the beginning and the completion of the work on the opera as written on the autograph scores of the piano-vocal and the full score: 18.XI 1910 – 18.XII 1910; the completion of the orchestration — 31.XII 1910.⁹ In his letters to Jurgenson, Rebikov indicated that he wrote the piano-vocal score in 25 days, and the orchestral score — in 14 days; however, parallel to this, he also reported that he worked for only six weeks.¹⁰ Apparently, upon the interpretation of the discrepancies in the dates, we must still be guided by the dates written down in the autographs of the scores. But, be that as it may, the work was really carried on at a fantastic speed!

An analysis of the correspondence between Rebikov and Jurgenson makes it possible to assert that *The Woman with the Dagger* became the first step in overcoming a moral and physical crisis suffered by the composer, and that the impulse for the creation of the opera was connected with some sort of love story.¹¹ The composer was very pleased with his new composition and proposed having it staged in Germany, where he planned to move during the subsequent year 1911. For this end, Rebikov asked Lina Esbeer, a translator, who during the 1900s and 1910s cooperated with a set of musical publishing houses, including Jurgenson's firm, to translate the text into German.¹²

⁸ Ibid., p. 265.

⁹ Rebikov V. I. Zhenshchina s kinzhalom [The Woman with the Dagger] op. 41. Piano-vocal score. Autograph score. RNMM. F. 68. No. 86-back side. P. 1; Rebikov V.I. Zhenshchina s kinzhalom [The Woman with the Dagger] op. 41. Orchestral score. Autograph score and copy. RNMM. F. 68. No. 859. P. 1, 206.

¹⁰ Rebikov V. I. Pis'mo k B.P. Yurgensonu ot 16 dekabrya 1910 goda [Letter to Boris Jurgenson from December 16, 1910]. RNMM. F. 94 (Jurgenson P. I., Jurgenson B. P.). No. 1580; Re-bikov V.I. Pis'mo k B. P. Yurgensonu ot 3 yanvarya 1911 goda [Letter to Boris Jurgenson from January 3, 1911]. RNMM. F. 94 (Jurgenson P. I., Jurgenson B. P.). No. 1588. Every-where, where it is not indicated otherwise, the dating of Rebikov's letters to Jurgenson is provided according to the date of receipt on the basis of the stamp of the Jurgenson firm on the letter itself. This explains why several of the letters are marked with identical date indications: it is possible that they had been sent on different days, but they were received on the same day. The date indication of Jurgenson's letters to Rebikov is given according to the date the letter was written, as indicated by Boris Petrovich himself.

¹¹ Rebikov V. I. Pis'mo k B.P. Yurgensonu ot 26 oktyabrya 1910 goda [Letter to Boris Jurgenson from October 16, 1910]. RNMM. F. 94 (Jurgenson P. I., Jurgenson B. P.). No. 1583; V.I. Rebikov. Pis'mo k B.P. Yurgensonu ot 20 dekabrya 1910 goda [Letter to Boris Jurgenson from December 20, 1910] [date of posting, according to the postal stamp по почтовому штемпелю]. RNMM. F. 94 (Jurgenson P. I., Jurgenson B. P.). No. 1691.

¹² Rebikov V.I. Pis'mo k B.P. Yurgensonu ot 5 yanvarya 1911 goda [Letter to Boris Jurgenson from January 5, 1911]. RNMM. F. 94 (Jurgenson P. I., Jurgenson B. P.). No. 1589.

The Correspondence with Schnitzler

However, it was particularly in connection with his plans for a production of the opera abroad that Rebikov became unrestful in connection with the copyright laws, and, apparently, wrote a request to Schnitzler to make use of his play, to which on March 11 he received the following reply:

Sehr geehrter Herr!

Ehe ich auf Ihren freundlichen Antrag des näheren eingehe, ersuche ich um Auskunft, ob Sie schon Opernlibretti oder literarische Arbeiten anderer Art verfasst, ferner ob Sie schon mit einem Komponisten über die Sache geredet haben.

Hochachtungsvoll

Arthur Schnitzler

Most Honorable Sir!

Before I dwell on your gracious request in greater detail, I wish to know whether you have written librettos for operas or other literary works prior to this, and have you already spoken about this matter to the composer.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur Schnitzler.¹³

It was obvious that the Austrian dramaturgist not only did not know Rebikov's name, but did not even know that the latter is the composer of the opera. Rebikov also came up with the question in regards to the publication of the piano-vocal score in Russia. He asked a lawyer of his acquaintance for advice and became convinced that he did not have any rights for publication or production of the opera abroad. He was also wary of publishing the piano-vocal score in Russia, apprehending that Schnitzler may assert his claims¹⁴ and sent Jurgenson the provisions for publication, which he left unsigned.¹⁵

What was it that caused such a sudden and persistent concern about the problem of copyright?

It is well known that in the 1900s there were intensive discussions and legal regulations of these questions, including those on an international scale. As Yana Alexeyevna Ferran confers to us, the imposition of the Bern Convention of 1886 about the protection of literary and art works initiated the process of "internationalization of copyright, which resulted in the beginning of the legislative settlement of the given sphere between the Russian and the German sides."¹⁶ In Russia the law concerning copyright was passed only in 1911, while in Germany this happened ten years earlier. Active correspondence between German

¹³ Arthur Schnitzler's letter to Vladimir Rebikov in Yalta. 1911, March 11. In German. Authorial typescript. RNMM. F. 68. No. 583. Here and below translated from the German by the author of the article.

¹⁴ Rebikov V. I. Pis'mo k B.P. Yurgensonu ot 2 marta 1911 goda [Letter to Boris Jurgenson from March 2, 1911] RNMM. F. 94 (Jurgenson) P. I., Jurgenson (B.P.). No. 1600.

¹⁵ Rebikov V. I. Pis'mo k B.P. Yurgensonu ot 23 aprelya 1911 goda [Letter to Boris Jurgenson from April 23, 1911] RNMM. F. 94 (Jurgenson P. I., Jurgenson B. P.). No. 1329.

¹⁶ Ferran, Ya. A. (2020). *Fomirovanie sotsial'nogo statusa professii "kompozitor" v dorevolyutsionnoy Rossii* [The Formation of the Social Status of the Profession of a "Composer" in Pre-Revolutionary Russia]. [Unpublished Cand. Sci. dissertation]. State Institute for Art Studies, p. 74.

and Russian publishers took on since 1908, notably in many cases Jurgenson's firm was engaged for this task. It was no wonder, then, that the associates of the publishing house and, possibly, Boris Petrovich, its director at that time, who paid considerable attention to the questions of copyright in his activities, saw to the problem of the use of Schnitzler's play. Jurgenson himself sent a letter to the dramaturgist and notified Rebikov about this. He also dispelled the composer's fears about publishing the opera in Russia:

How can there be any doubts about your right to confer to us the right to publish *The Woman*? In Russia, whatever the case may be, Schnitzler does not have any rights. If our law would come to life and grant copyright privileges to foreign authors, it would only be to those works which have not been published up till now. And *The Woman* has already been published in several translations...¹⁷



Illustration 4. V. I. Rebikov.
Woman with the Dagger. Moscow;
Leipzig: P. Jurgenson, 1912. Cover
of the piano score with a drawing
by R. Adamek

The letter refers to the Russian law of 1911, which in many ways already adhered to the laws of many different other countries passed on the basis of the Bern Convention. It stated the following on that subject:

Article 45. A composer may make use of a text derived in part or wholly from an already published literary work. The publication of this text is permitted only along with the musical composition or separately from it in a concert program. However, the permission to use of a literary work created particularly for the purpose of serving as the text for a musical composition is granted to the composer none otherwise than with the consent of the author of the literary work.¹⁸

On the one hand, the play *The Woman with the Dagger* was written not with the aim of serving as a basis for an opera, but as an independent work. But, on the other hand, Schnitzler's text was used not in its original form, but in an altered format, so Rebikov and Jurgenson deemed that it was indispensable to obtain Schnitzler's consent. Even before receiving an answer from the Austrian dramaturgist, the Jurgenson publishing house began actively to prepare the publication of the piano-vocal score, even the cover was created for it with a design by Czech artist Rudolf Adamek (see: *Illustration 4*).¹⁹ The composer also sent Jurgenson

¹⁷ Jurgenson B. P. Pis'mo k V.I. Rebikovu ot 19 aprelya 1911 goda [Letter to Vladimir Rebikov from April 19, 1911]. RNMM. F. 68 (Rebikov V.I.). No. 437.

¹⁸ Ferran, Ya. A. (2020). *omirovanie sotsial'nogo statusa professii "kompozitor" v dorevolyutsionnoy Rossii* [The Formation of the Social Status of the Profession of a "Composer" in Pre-Revolutionary Russia]. [Unpublished Cand. Sci. dissertation]. State Institute for Art Studies, p. 98.

¹⁹ Rebikov V.I. Pis'mo k B.P. Yurgensonu ot 23 marta 1911 goda [Letter to Boris Jurgenson from March 23, 1911] RNMM. F. 94 (Jurgenson P. I., Jurgenson B. P.). No. 1602.

the full score: possibly for demonstrating to the Zimin Opera, where there had been discussions of a possible production going on.²⁰

On April 26 the response from Schnitzler was finally received, and Jurgenson sent a typescript copy of it to Rebikov:

Sehr geehrter Herr,

Ich danke für Ihre freundliche Verständigung und erteile also nachträglich meine Genehmigung zu der Benutzung meines einaktigen Schauspiels "Die Frau mit dem Dolche" für die von Herrn Wladimir Rebikow verfasste gleichnamige Oper, gegen die von Ihnen vorgeschlagene Teilung der Tantiemen zwischen Herrn Rebikow und mir zu gleichen Hälften* [Jurgenson's post-script in pencil: This is what I wrote to him on the basis of your letter].

Wenn die Oper ihren Weg nach Deutschland findet, so wird schon ein Modus ersehen den Originaltext der Musik anzupassen. Wollten Sie mir einen ordnungsmässigen Vertrag schicken, so wäre ich Ihnen verbunden. Ich nehme an, dass die Auszahlung der Tantiemen auch an mich durch Ihr Bureau geschehen kann. Wo soll die erste Aufführung stattfinden?

Dass "Die Frau mit dem Dolche" schon vor Jahren von einem russischen Komponisten zu einer Oper verarbeitet wurde, habe ich seinerzeit aus irgend einer Zeitungsnotiz entnommen. Ihre Mitteilung von Jener Aufführung in Tiflis ist die erste Nachricht, die über Jene Oper wieder an mich gelangt.

Ihren weiteren Nachrichten gerne entgegensehend
Hochachtungsvoll
Arthur Schnitzler

Most Honorable Sir,

I thank you for the gracious notification and grant my permission hereinafter to use my one-act play *The Woman with the Dagger* for Mr. Vladimir Rebikov's opera with the same title on the condition that I receive one half of all the percentage earned, which would be divided between Mr. Vladimir Rebikov and myself. When the opera arrives to Germany, the possibility would arise to adapt the original text to the music. I would be very much obliged if you would send me the proper contract. I presume that the royalties may also be paid to me through your office. Where is the premiere performance planned to be given?

I have learned from the newspaper article that *The Woman with the Dagger* was reworked several years ago into an opera by a Russian composer.²¹ Your message about that performance in Tiflis was the first piece of news that has reached me, once again, about the opera. I am waiting for further news from you.

Sincerely yours,
Arthur Schnitzler.²²

²⁰ Jurgenson B. P. Pis'mo k V. I. Rebikovu ot 14 aprelya 1911 goda [Letter to Vladimir Rebikov from April 14, 1911]. RNMM. F. 68 (Rebikov V. I.). No. 436.

²¹ It is referred to the opera composed by Mikhail Ostroglazov. Unfortunately, the information about its production in Tiflis could not be confirmed.

²² Jurgenson B. P. Pis'mo k V.I. Rebikovu ot 26 aprelya 1911 goda [Letter to Vladimir Rebikov from April 26, 1911]. RNMM. F. 68 (Rebikov V.I.). No. 438. The letter is supplemented by a typescript copy of Arthur Schnitzler's letter attached to it.

It follows from the quoted letter that Schnitzler agreed to receiving half of the royalties in the form of *tantiemes*²³ — and this was the good news. However, there was also some bad news: he granted permission to adapt the original text to the music. This demand upset the composer to a great degree: the opera was initially set to a Russian text, i.e. to a Russian libretto compiled by himself on the basis of Schnitzler's play. Jurgenson then suggested to Rebikov to revise the vocal part to fit the original German text, and then to translate it back into Russian. He calmed Rebikov down in regards to the new law, once again, and suggested him to sign the contract.²⁴ But Rebikov was extremely disturbed by this problem. He did not want to write music to the unalterable and unabridged text, but was himself not in the condition to make the changes in the German text in a befitting way.²⁵ As a fallback option, Grigoriy Petrovich Jurgenson's suggestion was considered — to take Schnitzler's name off the title page (Rebikov rejected this out of hand) or to add the following words: “moreover, due to a lack of permission from the author of the plot, Arthur Schnitzler, I decline all responsibility for any prohibitions of either producing the play or publishing the piano-vocal score with the text that may follow from him.”²⁶ Rebikov, being quite perplexed, did not approve of this either: he did not wish to put at risk himself or the publishing house. Having devastated himself with his doubts for two weeks, he sent the unsigned conditions to Boris Petrovich. “I don't know, what possessed me to write this play,” he exclaimed heatedly.²⁷

However, after a few days, the composer changed his mind, after all.²⁸ It may be surmised that Jurgenson had suggested the selfsame Esbeer to make a German translation of the already existent text, which, naturally, did not fully coincide with Schnitzler's proposal, but concurred in full measure Rebikov's wishes. Nonetheless, the composer proposed postponing the signing of the contract until autumn, since by that time the translation would already be prepared. Indeed, Esbeer was able to complete the translation by the autumn. On September 4, 1911, Rebikov advised Jurgenson to send it to Schnitzler — and if the latter would like it and would agree to the conditions of sharing half the profit earned from the foreign theaters, then to publish the opera.²⁹

²³ Tantieme (French: *tantième*, a certain part) — royalties paid as a percentage from the profit made.

²⁴ Jurgenson B. P. Pis'mo k V.I. Rebikovu ot 26 aprelya 1911 goda [Letter to Vladimir Rebikov from April 26, 1911]. RNMM. F. 68 (Rebikov V.I.). No. 438. The letter is supplemented by a typescript copy of Arthur Schnitzler's letter attached to it.

²⁵ Rebikov V. I. Pis'mo k B.P. Yurgensonu ot 1 maya 1911 goda [Letter to Boris Jurgenson from May 1, 1911] RNMM. F. 94 (Jurgenson P. I., Jurgenson B. P.). No. 1616.

²⁶ Rebikov V. I. Pis'mo k B.P. Yurgensonu ot 3 maya 1911 goda [Letter to Boris Jurgenson from May 3, 1911] RNMM. F. 94 (Jurgenson P. I., Jurgenson B. P.). No. 1330.

²⁷ Rebikov V. I. Pis'mo k B.P. Yurgensonu ot 3 maya 1911 goda [Letter to Boris Jurgenson from May 3, 1911] RNMM. F. 94 (Jurgenson P. I., Jurgenson B. P.). No. 1332.

²⁸ Rebikov V. I. Pis'mo k B.P. Yurgensonu ot 6 maya 1911 goda [Letter to Boris Jurgenson from May 6, 1911] RNMM. F. 94 (Jurgenson P. I., Jurgenson B. P.). No. 1610.

²⁹ Rebikov V. I. Pis'mo k B.P. Yurgensonu ot 4 sentyabrya 1911 goda [Letter to Boris Jurgenson from September 4, 1911] RNMM. F. 94 (Jurgenson P. I., Jurgenson B. P.). No. 1626.

Schnitzler answered Jurgenson, and the latter forwarded his answer to Rebikov.

Dr. Arthur Schnitzler
Wien XVIII. Sternwaresstrasse 71
Herrn P. Jurgenson, Mockau
Sehr geehrter Herr!

Ich sende Ihnen heute den deutschen Text der “Die Frau mit dem Dolch” mit Dank zurück. Man merkt allerdings sehr stark, dass die Sache aus dem Russischen übersetzt ist, einige Stellen, die ich besonders schwach finde, habe ich mir erlaubt rot anzustreichen und würde wünschen, dass sie nach Möglichkeit korrigiert werden. Und jedenfalls müsste dem deutschen Text sowohl in den Textbüchern, als auch im Klavierauszug, eine Vorbemerkung vorausgeschickt werden, die folgendermassen zu lauten hätte: “Die Oper ist nach einer russischen Textbearbeitung des Arthur Schnitzlerischen Schauspiele ‘Die Frau mit dem Dolch’ komponiert worden, und der hier vorliegende deutsche Text einige wenige Stellen des Schnitzlerischen Originals wörtlich benutzt werden konnten.” Ich bitte Sie diese meine Forderung auch in unsern Vertrag aufzunehmen, dessen Entwurf Sie mir freundlichst bald einsenden wollen. Auch würde es mich sehr interessieren die Musik im Klavierauszug kennen zu lernen. Ich bin sehr einverstanden damit, dass Sie bei der Auszahlung der Tantièmen, so weit Russland in Frage kommt, die Vermittlung übernehmen. In den übrigen Ländern werden Sie ja wohl Ihre Vertreter haben.

Ihren weiteren Nachrichten gerne entgegensehend
Hochachtungsvoll
Arthur Schnitzler

Most Honorable Sir!

Today I am sending the German text of *The Woman with the Dagger* back to you with gratitude. However, it remains very apparent that this is a translation from Russian: I took on myself the temerity of marking in red certain spots which I considered to be especially weak; I would like to have them corrected, if this be possible. And, in any case, the German text in both the libretto and in the piano-vocal score should be preceded by a comment of the following content: “The opera is set to a Russian text adaptation of Arthur Schnitzler’s play *The Woman with the Dagger*, and in the German text presented here only a few fragments from Schnitzler’s original text have been translated precisely.” I request you to include this requirement of mine into the contract the rough draft of which you graciously wished to send me in the days ahead. I would also be interested to become acquainted with the music in the piano-vocal score. I fully agree that you should take upon yourself the mediation in the payment of the royalties in connection with Russia. You will probably have your own representatives in other countries. In expectation of further news from you,

Sincerely yours,
Arthur Schnitzler.³⁰

³⁰ Jurgenson B. P. Pis’mo k V.I. Rebikovu ot 19 sentyabrya 1911 goda [Letter to Vladimir Rebikov from September 19, 1911]. RNMM. F. 68 (Rebikov V.I.). No. 440. The letter is supplemented by a typescript copy of Arthur Schnitzler’s letter from September 26, 1911 attached to it: such is the date indication in the archive. However, most likely Jurgenson sent a copy of Schnitzler’s letter on September 27, as he himself reports about it to Rebikov in the corresponding letter. See: Jurgenson B. P. Pis’mo k V.I. Rebikovu ot 27 sentyabrya 1911 goda [Letter to Vladimir Rebikov from September 27, 1911]. RNMM. F. 68 (Rebikov V.I.). No. 442.

As we see, much to everyone's joy, Schnitzler agreed to Esbeer's translation, bringing in a few slight corrections to it.³¹ The phrase which he suggested was really placed onto the title page of the piano-vocal score published in 1912. Thereby, the sought-for compromise was found, and Rebikov was not required to recompose the vocal part.

The Publication

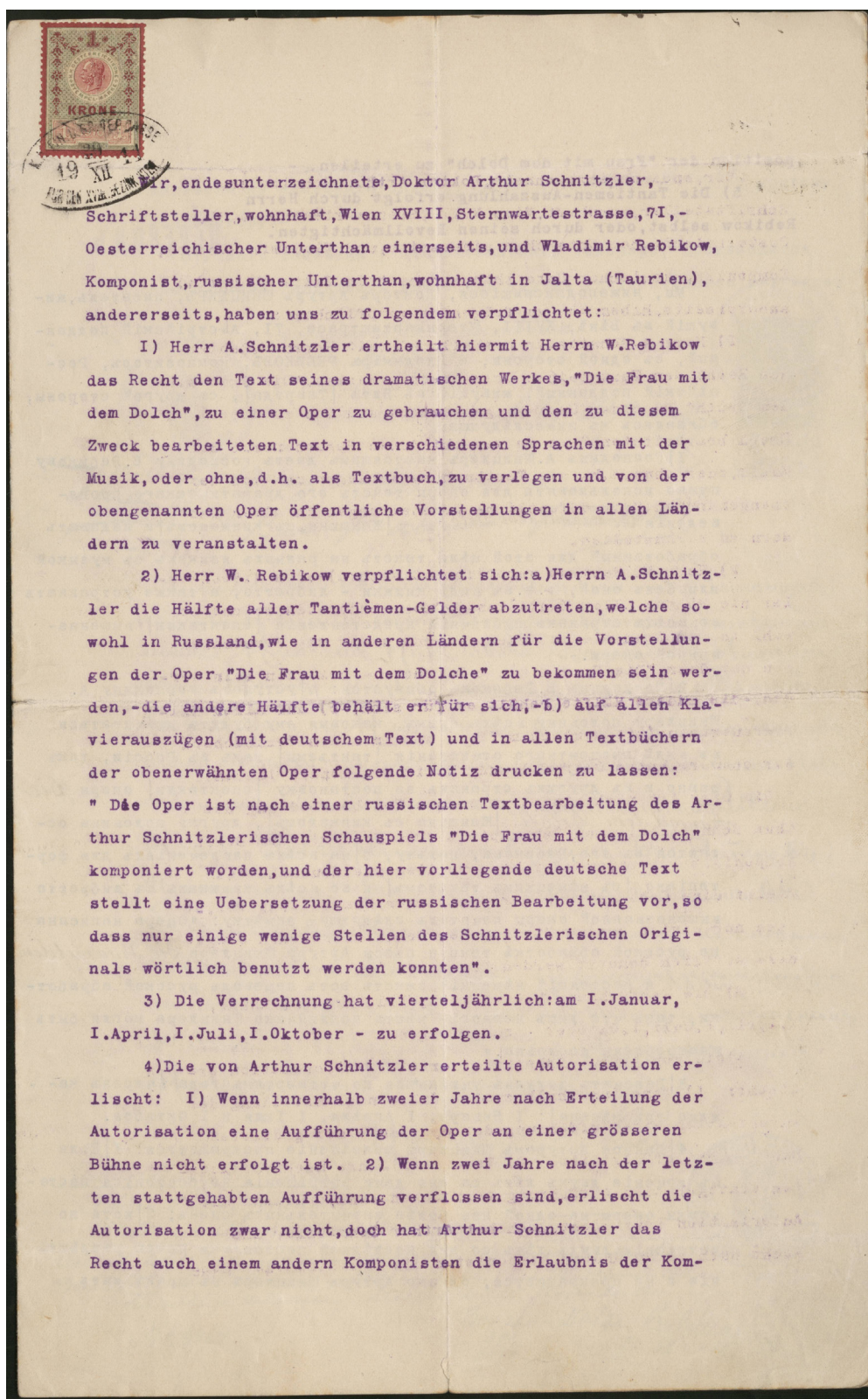
The process of the legal implementation of the contract did not pass very smoothly. The complications bore a technical character and were connected with the impossibility (or the unwillingness) of the Russian notaries to witness a German text and Schnitzler's signature — it became necessary to turn to the Russian Consulate in Vienna. But all the obstacles were disposed of, and in November 1911,³² 11 months after the work on the composition was completed, the deed of Schnitzler's passing the right of the first performance of the dramatic work *The Woman with the Dagger* to Rebikov was signed (*Illustration 5*). The deed authorizing Rebikov to pass to Jurgenson the rights for publishing the opera followed an additional two months later, on January 24, 1912. The royalty comprised 1000 rubles, which for such kind of a transaction was a very notable sum of money [8]. Soon after that, the piano-vocal score was published.

In light of this entire story, the museum date indication is in need of correction — to the year 1911, indicating the time when the brochure of the libretto of *The Woman with the Dagger* was published in German.³³ According to the deed established between Rebikov and Schnitzler, a separate publication of the libretto was provided for the sake of promotion, apparently for spreading the information about the new opera in Germany, Austria and Bulgaria. In 1912 Rebikov and Jurgenson exchanged their opinions about this. With this same goal in mind, a mail-out of the copy of the cover of the piano-vocal score was done. Thereby, the publication of the libretto must have been dated not 1911, but 1912. Incidentally, such an expansion of the sphere of activities on the part of the Jurgenson firm related to promotion and dissemination of the books and musical scores it published eloquently testifies of the changes in the understanding of the role, the goals, and the status of musical publishing houses and the music stores affiliated with them taking place at the turn of the 19th and the 20th centuries (for more detail about this see [9]).

³¹ Unfortunately, we do not have the copy of the piano-vocal score with Schnitzler's marks on them, so it is not possible for us to judge of the corrections put in by him.

³² The German text of the deed bears the date 11.11.1911, while Rebikov's signature was attested on November 22, 1911. See: Akt o peredache A. Shnitslerom V. I. Rebikovu prava pervogo ispolneniya dramaticheskogo proizvedeniya *Zhenshchina s kinzhalom*. 11 noyabrya 1911 goda [The Deed for Passing by Arthur Schnitzler to Vladimir Rebikov the Right of the First Performance of the Dramatic Composition *The Woman with the Dagger*. November 11, 1911]. RNMM. F. 94. No. 857.

³³ Die Frau mit dem Dolche (nach A. Schnitzler.). Text und Musik von Wl. Rebikow. Verlag von P. Jurgenson Leipzig–Moscau. [1911] RNMM. F. 68. No.132.



*Illustration 5. The Deed for Passing by Arthur Schnitzler to Vladimir Rebikov the Right of the First Performance of the Dramatic Composition *The Woman with the Dagger*. November 11, 1911.*

Vienna – Yalta.

RNMM. F. 94. No. 857. L. 1.

Summation

Unfortunately, notwithstanding the efforts on the part of both the composer and the P. Jurgenson publishing house, Rebikov's *The Woman with the Dagger* has never been produced on stage — neither in Russia, nor abroad, neither during the composer's life time, nor after his death³⁴. At the same time, in our opinion, this work, which is noteworthy and untypical for the Russian opera tradition, undoubtedly, deserves attention not only on the part of researchers, but also of performers. As for the chronology of the creation and the publication of the composition recreated on the basis of the archival documents, it will undoubtedly enrich the chronicles of both compositional activities and music publishing in our country, having written in an extraordinary page into the history of Russian music during the first decades of the 20th century.

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³⁴ There are numerous items of information about negotiations and plans, including the Zimin Theater in Moscow, the private opera theatrical enterprise in Tiflis, but we have not yet found documentary information about any of them.

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=====*Music in the Drama Theatre*=====

Original article

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**Between a Fairy Play and an Opera:
Razryv-trava (Rip-grass) by Evgeny Goslavsky and
Alexander Schaefer at the Maly Theater (1901)**

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Abstract. The production of Evgeny Goslavsky's *magic fairy tale* carried out by Aleksandr Lensky with his students and colleagues in his repertory company of the Maly Theater presented a producer's experiment, a combination of varieties of several theatrical genres within the limits of one performance. The narrative of the play was based on the fantastic motives of folkloristic epos, which required the use of the typical means of a 19th century stage *fairy play*. On the other hand, the storyline and the language appealed to a poetic style of symbolist and pre-expressionist dramaturgy in the context of which the customary visual effects and machinery appeared as naïve archaic effects. Great expectations in the sphere of synthesis were exerted on Alexander Nikolayevich Schaefer, a composer who was specially invited to St. Petersburg, a graduate of the Conservatory, a chapel

Translated by Dr. Anton A. Rovner

master of the Panayev Theater, who had already composed two of his own operas. The complexity of the musical task was in the subservience of the work to the producer's artistic vision, simultaneously with the application of a maximal amount of professional equipment. What was especially helpful, in the first place, was a knowledge of the fairytale musical scores of Rimsky-Korsakov and Lyadov and, moreover, the ability to adapt to the modest means of the theater's orchestra. The musical score preserved at the Russian National Museum of Music is variegated in terms of the instrumentation in each of the numbers and is not devoid of imitative qualities. While marking the musical potentials of the play and the production, the reviewers expressed their disappointment regarding the insufficient amount of freedom granted to the composer. Nonetheless, it could hardly have been otherwise. The failure of *Razryv-trava* [*Rip-grass*] symbolically marked the instance of a farewell to the old theatrical style and its harsh constraints of genre; the measure of the admissible freedom for the composer, the boundary beyond which the "performance with music" becomes closely interlocked with opera and ballet have yet to be ascertained.

Keywords: incidental music, the Maly Theater, Alexander Schaefer, Aleksandr Lensky, Evgeny Goslavsky, *Razryv-trava* [*Rip-grass*]

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Музыка в драматическом театре

Научная статья

**Между феерией и оперой:
«Разрыв-трава» Е. П. Гославского — А. Н. Шефера
в Малом театре (1901)**

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Аннотация. Постановка «волшебной сказки» Е. П. Гославского, осуществленная А. П. Ленским с учениками и коллегами по труппе Малого театра, представляла собой режиссерский эксперимент, сочетание в пределах одного спектакля разновидностей нескольких театральных жанров. Фабула пьесы опиралась на фантастические мотивы фольклорного эпоса, что требовало использования типичных средств сценической феерии XIX века. Сюжет же и язык апеллировали к поэтике символистской и пред-экспрессионистской драматургии, в контексте которых привычные визуальные эффекты и машинерия выглядели наивной архаикой. Большие надежды в деле синтеза возлагались на А. Н. Шефера — композитора, специально приглашенного из Петербурга, выпускника консерватории, капельмейстера Панаевского театра, автора уже двух собственных опер. Сложность музыкантской задачи состояла в подчинении работы режиссерскому видению с одновременным использованием максимума профессиональной оснащённости. Пригодились, прежде всего, знание сказочно-фантастических партитур Римского-Корсакова и Лядова, а кроме того — умение приспособиться к скромным возможностям театрального оркестра. Партитура, сохранившаяся в Российском национальном музее музыки, неоднородна по составу номеров, не свободна от подражательности. Отмечая музыкальный потенциал пьесы и постановки, рецензенты сожалели о недостатке свободы, предоставленной композитору. Вряд ли, однако, могло

быть иначе. Неудача «Разрыв-травы» символично маркировала момент прощания со старым театром и его жесткими жанровыми рамками; мера же допустимой композиторской воли, грань, за которой «спектакль на музыке» вплотную смыкается с оперой и балетом, так и остались не выяснены.

Ключевые слова: театральная музыка, Малый театр, Александр Николаевич Шефер, Александр Павлович Ленский, Евгений Петрович Гославский, Разрыв-трава

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The Presumed Circumstances

The work discussed in this article saw the limelight for the first time on September 10, 1901 on the premises of the so-called Novy Teatr [New Theater], also called the Shelaputin Theater, named after the owner of the building. The building, essentially a commercial apartment building, was situated on the Teatral'naya ploshchad' [Theater Square], across from the Maly Theater. During the period between 1898 and 1908, the building was rented by the Imperial Bureau as a single filial location alternately used by the opera and the drama theater. The Theater has changed very little, although it has frequently changed renters.¹

The author of the play, Evgeny Petrovich Goslavsky (1861–1917) was a very well-known writer of his time, a playwright and a prose writer. He was a participant of the circle *Sredy* [Wednesdays] grouped together around Nikolai Teleshov, a friend of Anton Chekhov, and a prototype of the “young, talented and the successful litterateur” in a number of Chekhov’s novelettes. Indeed, he had a rather unclouded career, placing special attention to the à la russe motives,² fashionable at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

The play *Razryv-trava* [Rip-grass] with the subtitle “a fantastic fairy tale in five acts” (subsequently in the text of the play they are called “tableaux”) presents in itself a conglomerate of traditional folklore motives: “a fairy tale of fairy tales,” as it would be defined in later years. The reviewers of the premiere deemed the play to be a motley

¹ Sergei Zimin’s opera, Konstantin Nezlobin’s drama, the cinematograph *Orion*, the Actors’ Comradeship of Moscow, and MKhAT–2. Starting from 1936 it was the venue of the Central Children’s Theater, presently called the Russian Academic Youth Theater (Rossiyskiy Akademicheskii Molodyozhny Teatr or RAMT). The chronicles of the fate of the construction of the building in 1841 is expounded on the website of the RAMT: <https://ramt.ru/museum/building-history>. Accessed: 15.08.2024.

² Goslavsky’s Daughter Sofya (1890–1979) was a theater and cinema actress, the author of vivid memoirs *Zapiski kinoaktrisy* [The Notes of a Movie Actress] (1974), where, albeit, there is almost no mention of the stage history of her father’s compositions — the memoirist was too young during the years of their dramaturgic popularity.

potpourri of storylines, featuring an eclectic assortment of tsarevnas [princesses], bogatyr [knights], Koshchey and Baba-Yaga, Death itself and the goddess Lada, wood sprites, the Water Elf, mermaids, etc.³ The play is written in verse, diversely stylized in the vein of the Russian epos and lyrical folk songs. For Goslavsky, this is a singular manifestation, since he is predominantly a prose writer. It was possible that his turning to the poetic form served as a justification of a stylistic experiment: the imagery of the text demonstrated a transubstantiation of the influences of symbolism, which at that time had manifested itself in European literature, and the harbingers of expressionism. Both of these stylistic trends were displayed with elements of parody exaggeration and were not entirely comprehended by the theater. The critics pointed out that the creators of the performance in 1901 had an insufficient amount of a sense of humor.⁴

The choice of the work, the guidance of the production, the allotment of the roles, and even the very initiative of the production belonged to Alexander Pavlovich Lensky (1847–1908), an outstanding actor, producer and pedagogue. Among Lensky's students were Olga Gzovskaya, Vladimir Maximov, Alexander Ostuzhev, Vera Pashennaya, Varvara Ryzhova and — Evdokia Dmitrievna Turchaninova (1870–1963), who took part in the performance of *Razryv-trava*. She joined the repertory of the Maly Theater straight from the college bench at the age of 19 years old, playing the role of the “old lady,” and solely with the assistance of Lensky, she was able to deceive the Fortuna of actors and play other roles, as well [1, p. 56–57]. The brightest occurrence for her was when she was able to perform the role of Lel' in 1900 (*Illustration 1*): the performance was one of the three *Snow Maidens* of that season, when three theaters — The Bolshoi, the Maly



Illustration 1. E. D. Turchaninova as Lel' (A. N. Ostrovsky's *The Snow Maiden*). Directed by A. P. Lensky, New Theatre (Moscow, 1900). Photograph by K. Fischer, no. d. [1900]. RGALI. F. 892 (E. D. Turchaninova). Op. 2. Unit of storage 14. Sheet 5

³ The particular features of the storyline were reflected by the cycle of graphic sketches from the nature of S.M. Mukharsky published by the journal *Teatr i iskusstvo* following the premiere. URL: <https://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/collections?id=26016536>. Accessed: 12.06.2024.

⁴ NN (pseudonym ne raskryt) [the Pseudonym is not Revealed]. (1901). Iz Moskvy [From Moscow]. *Novoe vremya*, 9137, September 11.

and the Hudojestvenny [Art Theatre] — competed in their renditions of the play, and with them, correspondingly — Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (who wrote the opera), Piotr Tchaikovsky and Alexander Grechaninov (each of whom wrote incidental music to the performance of Alexander Ostrovsky's play) [2]. The actress sang very well, so all of Lel's songs (in Tchaikovsky's musical score) were sung at the performance, while other numbers, such as, for instance, the Song of Frost, written for a tenor voice, had to be omitted. Turchaninova's vocal giftedness also found its application in *Razryv-trava* [3], wherein it was also possible to hear the voice of her younger sister.⁵

Lensky demonstrated himself not only as a producer, but also as the scenographer of the play's fantastic tableaux, as well as a costume designer, having repeated the experience of *The Snow Maiden* in his other productions at the Novy Theater. Over a hundred remarkable sketches carried out with his hand are preserved in the graphics collection of the State Central Bakhrushin Theater Museum.⁶ Therein, it is also possible to find the sketches for the decorations of the palace scenes carried out by Karl Feodorovich Valts (1846–1929), independently and based on Ivan Feodorovich Savitsky's drawings. They differ by the “operatic quality” of the old schools, but are also very picturesque.⁷

Razryv-trava was staged for several seasons and (unlike *The Snow Maiden*) was popular with the audiences. The fairytale play, which was a big rarity in the repertoire of that time, was presented at children's matinees and invariably attracted a children's auditorium. An immense role in the plays' success was played by the music composed by Alexander Nikolayevich Schaefer (1866–1914). A native of St. Petersburg, a graduate of the Conservatory, where he was a student of Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1886), prior to the described events, he was merely searching for his purpose, composing instrumental scores, without any prospects of their performance, and earning a living by giving piano lessons, as well as making transcriptions for 2 or 4 hand piano of other composers' works. At the time of the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, he assumed the post of a full-time conductor of the Panayev Theater and composed two operas and a ballet within a single short period of time. One of the most successful performances was the premiere of his *Tsygane* [*The Gypsies*] (1901) that took place under the composer's baton already

⁵ Maria D. Turchaninova (1882–1951) was a graduate of the Moscow Theater College, during the years 1900–1901 she worked as a dancer of the corps-de-ballet of the Bolshoi Theater. Because of her lessons with Emilia Pavlovskaya and the protection stemming from conductor Ippolit Altani, in 1902 she became a soloist of the Imperial Opera. After 1906, after having left the Bolshoi Theater, she sang with success on various stages in Russia, during the years 1908–1915 constantly performing at the Sergei Zimin Opera, then at the Petrograd Muzdrama (see [4, p. 182]).

⁶ It is possible to become acquainted with a few examples at the portal of the State Museum Fund of the Russian Federation. Available at: <https://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/collections?id=33781139>; <https://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/collections?id=33137018>; <https://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/collections?id=34452169>; <https://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/collections?id=34452193>; <https://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/collections?id=33138643>. 15.08.2024.

⁷ Available at: <https://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/collections?id=19744280>; <https://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/collections?id=34125238>. 15.08.2024.

on another stage — the Folk Building in St. Petersburg.⁸ The libretto in three movements constructed by the composer himself with the insertion of various poems by Pushkin and a small quantity of folk texts preserved the spirit of the “southern poem,” at the same time providing for the theatrical effectiveness of the form, the organic quality of the changes and crossovers, and the airiness of the action, which was so lacking in *Aleko* staged by Vladimir Ivanovich Nemirovich-Danchenko (1890/1891).

Razryv-trava was Schaefer’s very first theatrical work, which preceded and stipulated his turning to the opera genre.

The Play and the Musical Score

The brief summary of *Razryv-trava* is derived from the authorial annotation,⁹ slightly expanded and divided into tableaux for the sake of ease of perception.

The Mussulman king Hamok, entirely subjugated by his wayward daughter Militrisa, is preoccupied with one sole thought, how to entertain and amuse her. But the Tsar Maiden becomes wearied of everything, her heart becomes ripe for love. This is taken advantage by Koshchey, who discovers her sleeping and transforms her into his instrument against the human race. She commands the bogatyr Siloslav, the son of Tsar Zenzevey to embark upon a journey to collect tribute in the region where her arrow shall fly.

[Second Tableau] Ill luck betides the invincible Siloslav in this instance, since he is captured along with his army, his native land perishes, and his father Zenzevey, his mother Zenzeveikha and Hamok are taken as slaves.

Everybody has betrayed Siloslav, and only his servant-girl Malka [Little] remembers him and wishes to save him. She takes a toad along with her on her journey, and the latter turns out to be the enchanted Forget-me-not Flower, the daughter of the goddess Lada.

[Third Tableau — the battlefield strewn with dead bodies. The meeting of Death and Koshchey. Malka, who arrives and does not become frightened of evil, is renamed as Miloserdka [Kind-Hearted] and sent to Baba Yaga for help].

[Fourth Tableau] Having received from Baba Yaga a soporific crown and the magic “Rip-grass,” Malka arrives at a swamp. There she is met by a roundelay of mermaids and the Water Elf. The evil spirits living in the water, captivated by the purity of Miloserdka’s soul, help her put Death to sleep and resurrect Siloslav.

[In the Finale (The Fifth Tableau in the decorations of the Second), the same former servant-girl saves the conquerors Hamok and Militrisa from the bogatyr’s wrath]. “The Rip-grass has manifested itself... The soul has awakened” — Siloslav utters, comprehending that “Love is stronger than the sword, stronger than death itself.” With a revived soul, he forgives his people, and peace and rejoicing is spread throughout all of his country.

⁸ The performance took place on December 17, 1901. See: (Bez podpisi) [Without a Signature]. (1901). *Russkaya muzykal'naya gazeta* [Russian Musical Newspaper], (51–52), 1332–1333.

⁹ Goslavsky, E. P. *Kratkoe izlozhenie pyesy-feyerii E. P. Goslavskogo Razryv-trava* [Brief Expounding of the Fairytale Play *Rip-grass*]. RGALI. F. 150. Portfolio. 2. Unit. 2. Typescript w/o. d. [after 1901]. L. 27.

The play reminds of a film scenario; the selfsame method is intrinsic to other librettos written at the turn of the 19th and the 20th centuries.¹⁰ The characteristic features of the positive and the negative characters are sharply con-tracted with each other in their literary expressivity: the goddess Lada and the mer-maids expound by means of vague allegories, the spoken lines of Death, Yaga and Koshchey are permeated with naturalistic horror, while the Water Elf and the wood spirits present themselves in comic roles. With the transferal from one world to another, the poetic proportions change in size — the more complex the imagery, the longer the line. The eclecticism of verbal expression predetermines Schaefer's musical rendition. The musical score of *Razryv-trava* is preserved in the Russian National Museum of Music,¹¹ where it was passed from the musical library of the Maly Theater in the 1950s. It includes 19 numbers for chorus, orchestra, solo singing and declamation with accompanying:

1. Introduction (Prelude for Strings with Harp and Fanfares for Wind Band [Banda]¹²)
2. Chorus and Dance (SATB with Orchestra)¹³
3. Monologue of the Astrologer (melodrama with orchestra *You Couldn't Reach Farther with your Hand*)
4. Interlude to the Second Tableau (*The Court of Hamok and Militrisa*)
5. Militrisa's Choral Song *How the String Went on a Racket* (SATB, soprano solo)
6. Interlude to the Third Tableau (*The Steppe Covered with Dead Bodies*)
7. Darkness and Monologue of Death *The Scythe is Working, the Scythe is Swishing* (Melodrama with Orchestra)
8. Intermezzo *Dense Forest*
9. Appearance of the Hut on Chicken Legs and Baba Yaga (Orchestra, then Melodrama)
10. Yaga's Scene with the Children (Melodrama with Chorus)
11. Yaga's Incantation over the Brazier and Lada's Monologue-Prophecy (Melodrama with Orchestra)
12. The Mermaids' Chorus *Yoo-hoo, yoo-hoo, girls, wake up!* (Soprano and Alto with Orchestra)

¹⁰ After a decade following the premiere, Alexander Ivanovovich Yurasovsky (1890–1922) wrote to the playwright about the intention to revise his composition into a text for an opera, asserting that the changes required would be so minimal that he would not have any claims for the authorship as a composer. Yurasovsky A. I. Pis'ma Goslavskomu E. P. [Letters to Evgeny Goslavsky] RGALI. F. 150. Portfolio. 1. Unit. 35. Autograph, 1911–1912. 4 S. Published: [5, pp. 165–167]. The opera was not composed. Only the plan expounded in the letter, i.e., the typesetting of the necessary deletions with the aid of which it is easy to reestablish the conception.

¹¹ Schaefer, A. N. *Razryv-trava*. Feyeriya [Fairytale Play] [on the cover]; Muzyka k volshebnoy skazke [Music to a Magic Fairy Tale] [on the title page]. Musical score. RNMM. F. 165. No. 261. Manuscript copy, 1901, August 1. 89 s.

¹² The orchestra of the 3rd Dragoon Sumy Regiment headed by A.K. Markwardt took part in the performances. The overall sum of payments from the beginning of September to the end of the year comprised 1906 rubles. *Glavnaya kniga smetnyh raskhodov (Moskovskoy kontory Imperatorskih teatrov) na 1901 god [The Chief Book for Budgeting Expenditures (of the Moscow Office of the Imperial Theaters) for 1901]*. RGALI. F. 659. Portfolio. 8. Unit. 44. Manuscript on the letterhead. Notes from December 4, November 16, and December 4, p. 232, 235.

¹³ Leonid Vasilyev's chorus was involved in the productions. *Glavnaya kniga smetnyh raskhodov [The Chief Book for Budgeting Expenditures]*. ... Notes from October 3, November 4, December 4, p. 235.

13. The Mermaids' Roundelay *Who, like a Swan, Softly, Suavely* (with a Chorus of Sopranos and Altos)
14. Song of the Mermaid *At Dawn, at the White Morning Dawn* (soprano solo + Clarinet)
15. Interlude to the Fifth Tableau (Strings with Harp, then Banda)
16. Melodrama and War Song of Siloslav's army (TB)
17. Melodrama to Siloslav's Monologue *Wonderful Spring Daybreak*
18. Militrisa's Monologue (soprano solo or rhythmicized melodrama)
19. March (Finale).

The numbers are full-fledged in length, each one of them comprising no less than 60 measures. If the various fanfares and signals are demarcated into separate fragments, as it is sometimes done in incidental music, the number of the movements would double. Schaefer was not interested in the fragmentation from the material aspect, the musical score was evaluated by each number, regardless of their respective sizes and without any prospective payments, such were the overall rules of those years. He was paid 400 rubles in silver for it with the condition of revising it for a smaller ensemble than he originally had thought.¹⁴ The amount of money was large, but the question of the honorarium initially assumed an insignificant position. More important was the question of status, the establishing of contacts with the Imperial Scene, relevant to an equal degree to both the playwright and the composer, which is testified by their correspondence (the letters one of only one of the parties has been preserved).¹⁵ The storming of the bulwark lasted for exactly three years:

September 11, 1898, St. Petersburg

Dear Evgeny Petrovich, I like everything you have sent me, and I have eagerly set to work. Try to have an effect as much as you can on Khlyustin,¹⁶ so that he would consent to a great Russian dance on the stage, instead of the mazurka – I am writing to him about this (apparently he refers to No.2 from the musical score, also see further on. – A.N.). Before I complete the entire work, I would not even think about a trip to Moscow. I will write about this in due time. My present address is: Finland railway station Udel'naya, Yaroslavsky prospekt, 59. Alexander Nikolayevich Schaefer [S. 1].

September 23, 1898, Udel'naya

Dear Evgeny Petrovich, I have received all of your letters, the number of my building is correct (No. 59). Thank God, the inspiration for your *Razryv-trava* does not depart from me, and it seems that I have been successful with the new numbers for the music, as well. Everything that I finish during the course of this week, on the 27th of this month, I shall end to you to Moscow through [1 illegible] the Office of Imperial Theaters. I quite agree with you regarding Khlyustin's artistic intuitiveness (?), I had felt this even before you have.

¹⁴ *Glavnaya kniga smetnyh raskhodov [The Chief Book for Budgeting Expenditures]*. ... Notes from August 24. P. 150.

¹⁵ Schaefer, A. N. *Pis'ma Goslavskomu E. P. [Letters to Evgeny Zalavsky]*. RGALI. Fund 150. Portfolio 1. Unit 32. Auyograph, 1898–1900. 6 S. Published for the first time. Authorial punctuation. The references to the document's sheets are listed at the end of each letter.

¹⁶ Ivan Nikolayevich Khlyustin (1862–1941) was ballet artist and choreographer. During the years 1898–1903 he was the chief ballet master of the Bolshoi Theater.

Vladimir Petrovich¹⁷ is being summoned to Moscow during the next few days, you should speak to him about everything, when you see him.

I have a liking for Avranek¹⁸ in absentia, and would be very happy, myself, if he would take part in the production of the music and *Razryv-trava*.

I hope that you and everybody would remain pleased with my music; I only know that I have done everything with absolute eagerness that could only be possible in such a short duration (I began this extensive work on June 3 and finished it on July 18); I send my heartfelt wishes to Moscow towards the beginning of our endeavors. Remember me in absentia to my acquaintance, your brother.¹⁹ As soon as I finish my latest work and get through many of my other affairs, I shall possibly try to come to Moscow, as soon as I can, about which I shall let you know [S. 2–3].

January 31, 1899, St. Petersburg

Dear Evgeny Petrovich, when shall I receive from you the revision of the scene with the skomorokhs [Russian folk minstrels] (for the beginning, the dances of the skomorokhs), [I word illegible], the response and the second monologue of the Astrologer.²⁰ I am awaiting for news [S. 4].

November 9, 1899, St. Petersburg

Dear Evgeny Petrovich, I have recently begun to take action with great energy in regards to the new director of the Imperial Theaters, Prince Sergei Mikhaylovich Volkonsky,²¹ about our *Razryv-trava*, which has been kept off-stage, and my other works, which have been neglected since that time.²² The new director is allegedly very open to contact and has a very compassionate attitude towards young authors. He himself is an educated man, and is adeptly interested in literature and music.

If you yourself cannot come to St. Petersburg now in order to see him in person, convey to him your dissatisfaction in regards to the blocking of *Razryv-trava*, deliver the play for him to read (I have already passed on the music to him), then send him by mail (to the address: Alexandrinsky Theater Plaza, Building of the Directorate of the Imperial Theaters) both the play and your explanations in regard to the past fate of *Razryv-trava*. The Prince has appointments with people in need of seeing him daily on Wednesdays between 11 and 12 o'clock.

In a word, remain in force, one way or the other, right away, while the situation remains ripe. I am waiting for your immediate reply. Remaining devoted to you, AS [L. 5].

January 15, 1900, St. Petersburg

Dear Evgeny Petrovich, could you be so kind as to inform me, whether or not you have seen the director of the theaters, Prince Volkonsky in Moscow? Have you handed him your play *Razryv-trava*? will you come to St. Petersburg, and when? Your AS [S. 6].

¹⁷ Most likely, Vladimir Pogozhev (1851–1935) was the administrator of the St. Petersburg Bureau for the Imperial Theaters in 1881–1907, the compiler of the *Project of the Regulations about the Imperial Theaters* (1900), subsequently a museum and archive activist and memoirist.

¹⁸ Ulrich Iosifovich Avranek (1853–1937) was cellist and conductor. From 1882 he was a choirmaster, then until the end of his life the Chief Choirmaster of the Bolshoi Theater.

¹⁹ The most well-known among the Goslavsky brothers, after Evgeny, was Piotr Petrovich (1871–1919) — a portrait artist and a graphic designer for books.

²⁰ In the published version of the play and in Schaefer's resulting musical score, the Astrologer's monologue is the only one present.

²¹ Prince Sergei Volkonsky was appointed as director in July 1899.

²² By that time, according to the review of *The Gypsies* in *Russkaya muzykal'naya gazeta* [*The Russian Musical Newspaper*] (see above), Schaefer had composed the opera *Tizba* [*Thisbe*] and the ballet *Ostrov fantazii* [*The Island of Fantasy*], which have remained unproduced; *Ostrov fantzii* was revised into an opera for the Folk Building.

The following acts of the usual repertoire “tragicomedy” have been affixed in the diaries of Vladimir Arkadyevich Telyakovsky, the last director of the Imperial Theaters, who replaced Volkonsky in 1901. He got the matters off the ground in a very energetic fashion [6, p. 544; 7, p. 32, 40–42]. The play was accepted for production in the spring of 1901, the score, as we know from the attribution of the archival example, was copied by August 1,²³ the rehearsals started on the 2nd



Illustration 2. E. D. Turchaninova as Militrisa (*Razryv-trava* by E. P. Goslavsky). Directed by A. P. Lensky, New Theatre (Moscow, 1901). Photograph by K. Fischer, no. d. [1901]. RGALI. F. 892. Op. 2. Unit of storage 14. L. 1

and went every day, sometimes twice a day, except for August 24, 27, 29, and 31 and September 3–4. The musicians were brought in on September 1, the dress rehearsal was given on the 8th, and the world premiere — on the 10th.²⁴ It was subsequently performed 12 times in a row, with benevolent reviews from the press, and then 10 more times, prior to the New Year, after which already the performances were given more seldom. The fruitful communication with the composer was terminated, without having been able to be secured, but the reasons for this had nothing to do with mercantile considerations (see [8]). Schaefer did not collaborate any more either with the Maly Theater, or the Imperial Bureau, and did not ever write again for the drama stage.

In 1906, when he was serving as a conductor already at the Folk Building of Tsar Nicholas II in St. Petersburg, *Razryv-trava* was produced there, and was revived there several times, as well, with the same music, during the course of the decade. The fire of 1917 destroyed the library of the Folk Building, and only the posters and several photograph-postcards have survived (*Illustrations 2–4*).²⁵ The latter make it possible to assert that the performance was an approximate

²³ The copyist of the orchestral and choral parts Nikolai Sokolov was paid 35 rubles and 74 kopecks in November-December. *Glavnaya kniga smetnyh raskhodov* [*The Chief Book for Budgeting Expenditures*]. ..., p. 158.

²⁴ *Zhurnal rasporyazheniy po Imperatorskim moskovskim teatram za 1901 god* [*Journal of Decrees concerning the Imperial Moscow Theaters for the Year 1901*]. RGALI. F. 659. Panorama 2. Unit 651. Printer's, pp. 215–253.

²⁵ Available at: <https://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/collections?id=38891530>. Accessed: 12.06.2024.

replica of the ones in Moscow (the simulation of the productions of the “model” Imperial Stage comprised a substantial part of the activities of the Folk Buildings). The play was not forgotten after 1901, was published by Rassokhin’s lithographical theatrical agency, was regularly produced somewhere in the provincial cities up to the early 1920s,²⁶ judging by the number of performances, did not present a failure.

*A Fairytale Opera with Music.
Concerning the Issue of Genre.*

Works akin to *Razryv-trava* placed theaters into difficult situations. The stage “miracles” were perceived by the public and the critics as attributes of fairytale plays, essentially, an entertaining genre, one that was “low” in the established aesthetic evaluation.²⁷ The music of fairytale plays, in correspondence to the disposition of the plotline, necessarily contained: national-exotic pro-

cessions, choral singing, dancing, as well as portrayals of storms, tempests, volcano eruptions, etc., as well as fantastic “extramundane” scenes. Schaefer modeled such compositions (we hesitate to call them dramas) for the Folk Building. For example, in 1906 together with producer Alexei Yakovlevich Alexeyev-Yakovlev (1850–1939) staged *The Mysterious Island*, based on Jules Verne, which, according to the newspaper announcements, included all the enumerated episodes:



Illustration 3. E. M. Sadovskaya as Malka-Merciful (*Razryv-Trava* by E. P. Goslavsky). Posted by A. P. Lensky, New Theatre (Moscow, 1901). Photograph by K. Fischer, no. d. [1900]. RGALI. F. 892. Op. 2. Unit of storage 361. L. 2

²⁶ We are basing ourselves on the posters from the collection of the State Central Bakhrushin Theatre Museum and the announcements in the press.

²⁷ About the French fairytale plays and the English extravaganzas in 19th century theaters abroad see [9].



Illustration 4. S. I. Yakovlev as the Water Spirit (Razryv-grass by E. P. Goslavsky). Directed by A. P. Lensky, New Theatre (Moscow, 1901). Photograph by K. Fischer, no. d. [1901]. RGALI. F. 2402 (N. L. Tiraspolskaya). Op. 1. Unit of storage 230. Sheet 11

— Interludes:

After the 4th Tableau (*At the stake. The Process of Burning the Rajah's Wife*).
The Indian Cemetery. Large Procession of Indians with Singing.

After the 9th Tableau (*The Leader of the Redskins*). Gigantic Natural Ladder.

After the 12th Tableau. *The Open Sea* (a Moving Panorama with Singing).

— Characteristic Dances:

In the 3rd Tableau (*The Rajah's Widow*), in the 6th Tableau (*Snake Worshippers on the Island of Borneo*), in the 7th Tableau (*In the Chinese Tavern and the Opium Smoking Room*).

— Conclusory Scene (*Three Weddings at Once*):

The ballet *Among the Flowers*),²⁸ produced by I. V. Aslin, the dancers: Sonina (the Butterfly), Stepanova (the Rose), Nikiforova (the Maybug), Astradamtseva (the Lilly-of-the-Valley), the flowers, the butterflies, the beetles, the zephyrs, the little stars, etc.

Solo numbers: *The Revitalization of the Flowers, Waltz, The Appearance of the Flowers, Jealousy Scene*

Group Numbers: *Dances of the Butterflies, General Waltz, Finale and Apotheosis*.

— Musical numbers between the tableaux [during the pauses between the actions]:

²⁸ Apparently, the music is partially derived from the earlier work, *Ostrov fantazii* [*The Isle of Fantasy*].

Allegro Maestoso by Adolf Jensen;
Two Dances from the opera *Feramors* by Anton Rubinstein;
Indian Dance from the opera *Les pêcheurs du perle* by Georges Bizet;
Bachanale from *Samson et Dalila* by Camille Saint-Saëns;
Cortège fantastique by Moritz Moszkowski;
The Storm [*Peer Gynt's Homecoming* from the second Suite from *Peer Gynt*]
by Edvard Grieg;
Gallop from the ballet *Harlequinade* by Riccardo Drigo.²⁹

As it may be observed, the musical material, both the authorial and “from the selections,” was distinguished by its eclecticism, which to a certain degree was the requirement of the genre. *Razryv-trava* did not have such a diversity of colors. The sound accompaniment was provided only to the crucial scenes; it assumed the position not of background decoration, but one that was firmly close-knit with the words and the actions. This is easily confirmed upon an acquaintance with the musical score: unlike many similar cases, there is no necessity of picking up the play in one's hands to understand the content from the beginning to the end. And still, in the first stratum of perception we find the fairytale play, which a priori could not lay any claims to any seriousness or significance of utterance, while in 1901 this was expected of a drama theater. Goslavsky's play and Schaefer's music contained such a potential, but could not overcome the stereotype.

The perception of *Razryv-trava* became more refined due to its interim position in the repertoire of the Maly Theater and the biography of Lensky the producer: between Tchaikovsky's *The Snow Maiden* (1900) and Arensky's *The Tempest* (1905, see [10]). In *The Tempest*, all the aforementioned techniques of musical composition were preserved, but acquired a more well-ordered, logically vindicated appearance. Nobody would label either *The Snow Maiden* or *The Tempest* as a fairytale play in the “farcical” sense, so their noble indication fell on *Razryv-trava*.

Repetition or Study?

Having been a student of Rimsky-Korsakov at the “middle” stage of his pedagogical activities, Schaefer based himself on the experience of the master's mature orchestral scores of the late 1880s and 1890s. It was already not as much *The Snow Maiden* as *Mlada*, *Christmas Eve* and *Sadko* that became the antecedents of the fantastic musical world of Schaefer's scores. The oriental, infernal, and aquatic that have at times a citatory similarity with Rimsky-Korsakov's works, especially in terms of the orchestration. This is by no means a critical remark. The belonging to a tradition does not exclude self-sufficiency, movement forward or individual discoveries, especially in a genre not mastered by one's predecessors. The same type of experience explains the interpretation of the choral numbers allowed by the playwright, but interpreted in a very creative manner.

²⁹ *Programmy spektakley teatra SPb. gorodskogo popechitel'stva o narodnoy trezvosti* [Programs of Performances of the St. Petersburg Theater of City Trusteeship Concerning People's Sobriety]. RGALI. Fund 837. Portfolio 2. Unit 1423. Seal of censorship November 25, 1906. S. 7.

Another conspicuous factor of the genre's "elevation" is Schaefer's incorporation of the attributes of programmatic symphonic writing. With a small amount of abridgments, *Razryv-trava* may be performed as an orchestral suite (similar to *Antar* or *Scheherazade*), and it was undoubtedly composed with such an implication. It has several symbolic themes, and those are connected with the protagonists, but function freely, not being affixed with the action, as leitmotifs are. It could be said that such themes accentuate the fairy tale's ethical aspect, while the interlude-like episodes answer for the readability of the musical storyline. The themes of Militrisa ("the evil beauty," a premonition of the image of Salome), Malka-Mikoserdka ("sacred love"), Siloslav ("the tempestuous bogatyr"), the tritone motive of Death, Baba Yaga's staccato and Koshchey's glissando pass through the entire musical score. Good is presented, following the tradition of Glinka, by structurally framed song elements, while evil is identified by textural-timbral "recognition signs." The entire through thematic material is composite in the orchestral introduction and the interludes to the tableaux. The components of symphonic development have brought the music for the drama closer to pantomime and ballet, they provided the composer with the possibility of writing seemingly over the storyline, to strengthen the motives and to bringing his own strata of content, and at the same time they led him away from the particularities of theater. When the conductor received the musical score from St. Petersburg, he virtually was not able to change anything in them.³⁰ The composition is integral in its structure and hermetic in its dramaturgy. From the perspective of 20th century theater, this quality cannot be considered an absolute merit: upon the arrangement of the fragments at a distance from each other, the connections between them are severed, when they are incorporated into the performance. They cease to be recognized, all the more so, because the through themes give way in their vividness to the episodic themes.

The main musical accents of the performance fell on the melodrama-narrations of the Astrologer, Death, and Baba-Yaga, and therein the tradition of 19th century romantic drama was manifested, the verse-written *Razryv-trava* not being alien to it. Most beautiful are the song interludes, wherein Militrisa-Turchaninova sings with a female chorus, and the coloratura solos of the mermaid, supported by the clarinet cadenza (the part was performed by Turchaninova Jr., there has even been a recording made on a gramophone record, unfortunately, with the accompaniment of a piano, instead of an orchestra³¹). It is noteworthy that in one of the fragments (No. 18), the actress was suggested not to sing, but to declaim, observing the measurements in the music. Freely rhythmic speech against the background of the music remained the leading expressive means, and stakes were placed against it in the further experiments of the Maly Theater, as well.

³⁰ The additional numeration in the score gives the grounds of supposing that the Banda numbers were brought in additionally (No. 1a, 15a): they particularly are inserted with separate numbers and copied with a different handwriting. In contrast to this, the thematic material of the wind ensemble, — wherever it is not limited merely to fanfare symbols, — is derived from the primary musical material.

³¹ Gramophone Concert Record. G. C. 23155, 1901 (?). The phonogram (A.N. Schaefer. *Pesn' Rusalki* [Song of the Mermaid] may be found on the Internet. URL: <https://www.russian-records.com/search.php>. Accessed: 15.08.2024.

Summation: the Opera and the Play

The similarity to a fairy opera, which in the production and the solution of global moral issues, had historical priority towards the beginning of the 20th century and was technically more advanced, provided hindrance to a serious evaluation of *Razryv-trava* as a literary and musical work, as a new utterance in incidental music. There had already been a precedent of that kind, in the competition of the three *Snow Maidens*, when Rimsky-Korsakov won in 1900. This was asserted in the aforementioned article by Engel [2] and was confirmed by posters, where the opera was preserved for over ten years, while the dramatic performances based on Ostrovsky's fairy tale left the stage almost immediately. Subsequently, time after time, *Koshchey the Immortal*, *The Legend of the Invisible City of Kitezh*, and *The Golden Cockerel* became more than mere musical scores — they expressed the attitudes of mind of the epoch. It is illustrative that during the time of the performances of *Razryv-trava* on the Moscow stages, (1901–1904) the Arts Theater rejected the idea of incorporating the “big music” in the performances, while the Bolshoi Theater — the third participant of the competition of *The Snow Maidens* — noticeably withdrew from the Russian fabulous, fantastic subject matter towards Italian operas on melodramatic plotlines.

Schaefer's attempt to create music for the performance on the basis of a synthesis of various genre models and principles did not harm the integrity of the performance. At the same time, it marked a moment of crisis, the necessity of determining the role and the position of music in the producer's theater of the 1900s and the 1910s. Lensky's collaboration with the composers became an important step along this path, forestalling the appearance of the famous masterpieces of Ilya Alexandrovich Sats on the stage of the Moscow Arts Theater.

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*From the History
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**Ahmed Adnan Saygun's Opera "Ózsoy" – a Cultural-
Political Project and an Artistic Event in 20th Century
Turkish Music**



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Abstract. In 1934 in Ankara the world premiere of Ahmed Adnan Saygun's opera *Ózsoy* took place. The initiator of its creation was the first president of the Turkish Republic Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. He came forward as a peculiar curator who accompanied the project at various stages of its preparation:

Translated by Dr. Anton A. Rovner

from the choice of the poetical source (the Persian epos *Shahnameh* by Ferdowsi) and the definitions of the chief ideas in his interpretation to assigning the librettist (Münir Hayri Egeli) and the composer, whom 27-year-old Ahmed Adnan Saygun was chosen to be. The idea of the creation of national opera fit organically into the context of Atatürk's reformist endeavors, however the project of *Özsoy* was tinged not only with cultural, but also with political tones: the premiere of the opera, timed to the official visit of Iranian leader Reza Shah Pahlavi, was called to be conducive to the strengthening of Turkish-Iranian contacts. In the opera's plotline, the theme of the mutual relations of the Turkish and the Iranian peoples is played out.

Saygun, an adherent of Atatürk's reformative ideas, at that time a scholarship recipient of the Turkish Republic and a recent graduate of the Schola cantorum in Paris, turns in *Özsoy* to the experience of European opera, but interprets it individually. This is testified by the formal structure and the dramaturgy (a free, at times montage connection of the musical and the talking episodes, a through type of intonational development and a conditional "number" structure), and the style; at the same time, Turkish national features show themselves through the Western European foundation, which is especially perceptible in the rhythmic and the timbral aspects. Such an intercrossing of the traditions of the East and the West has become one of the characteristic tendencies in 20th century Turkish music.

Keywords: Ahmed Adnan Saygun, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Shahnameh*, *Özsoy*, Turkish national opera

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Из истории национальных композиторских школ

Научная статья

Опера Ахмеда Аднана Сайгуна «Озсой» — культурно-политический проект и художественное событие в турецкой музыке XX века

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Аннотация. В 1934 году в Анкаре состоялась премьера оперы Ахмеда Аднана Сайгуна «Озсой». Инициатором ее создания был первый президент Турецкой республики Мустафа Кемаль Ататюрк. Он выступил в качестве своеобразного куратора, сопровождавшего проект на разных стадиях подготовки: от выбора поэтического источника (персидский эпос «Шахнаме» Фирдоуси) и определения основных идей в его интерпретации до назначения либреттиста (Мюнир Хайри Эгели) и композитора, которым стал 27-летний Ахмед Аднан Сайгун. Идея создания национальной оперы органично вписывалась в контекст реформаторских начинаний Ататюрка, однако проект «Озсой» окрашен не только в культурные, но и в политические тона: премьера оперы, приуроченная к официальному визиту иранского лидера Резы-шаха Пехлеви, была призвана способствовать укреплению турецко-иранских связей. В сюжете оперы обыграны темы взаимоотношений турецкого и иранского народов.

Сайгун, приверженец реформаторских идей Ататюрка, стипендиат Республики и недавний выпускник парижской *Schola cantorum*, обращается в «Озсой» к опыту европейской оперы, но трактует его индивидуально. Об этом свидетельствуют композиция и драматургия (свободное, подчас монтажное

соединение музыкальных и разговорных эпизодов, сквозное интонационное развитие в условно «номерной» структуре), стилистика; при этом сквозь западноевропейскую основу проступают турецкие национальные черты, что особенно ощутимо в ритмическом и тембровом аспектах. Подобное пересечение традиций Востока и Запада становится одной из характерных тенденций в турецкой музыке XX века.

Ключевые слова: Ахмед Аднан Сайгун, Мустафа Кемаль Ататюрк, «Шахнаме», «Озсой», турецкая национальная опера.

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Introduction

On June 19, 1934 in Ankara the premiere of *Özsoy* took place — the first national opera produced in the young Turkish Republic, and the first opera by 27-year-old Ahmed Adnan Saygun, the future classic of 20th century Turkish music. The world premiere, timed to coincide with the state visit of the Iranian leader Reza Shah Pahlavi, took place in an official-ceremonial atmosphere, in the presence of Reza Shah and the head of the Turkish Republic Atatürk.



Illustration 1. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk greets the Shah of Persia Reza 1934

(Picture: Flickr/Levan Ramishvili)

Available at: <https://socialistworker.co.uk/socialist-review-archive/iran-shah-ayatollah/>
(accessed: 15.08.2024)

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938) went down in history as the leader of the Turkish national liberation movement, the founder and the first president of the Republic (1923–1938). The reforms of Atatürk, who took the course of transforming Turkey into a contemporary secular state, affected all the sides of social life — politics, economics and the inner patterns of life and thought. The priorities also included cultural organization, including that of music, the aspiration to bring the national musical culture onto the level of the contemporary achievements of Western European art. Invitations of important European musicians were encouraged (in the 1930s Bela Bartok and Paul Hindemith visited Turkey), new orchestras and new musical educational institutions were created, and steps were taken for renewing their programs. Governmental stipends were established for gifted young composers who were granted opportunities to receive their education in the leading conservatories of Europe.

The relations between Turkey and Iran, which were far from always being unclouded, having undergone bloody wars and constant tensions during the course of many centuries, in the 1920s entered a phase of contacts and cooperation. Reza Shah came on a visit to Turkey in order to become better acquainted with Atatürk's reforms. However, Atatürk pursued a special goal in connection with the Shah's visit. Ahmed Adnan Saygun discloses his intention, when remembering the time of his own work on *Özsoy*:

Apparently, Atatürk wished to extract the greatest amount of gain from the visit of the Shah of Iran and prepare the means for development of the political connections between Turkey and Iran in a positive vein. Of course, the Turkish army, the recently rebuilt factories, schools and the ongoing construction would enable the Shah to form a positive opinion of Turkey. However, all of this was also being carried out in Iran, albeit, having its own specific character. In this respect, it was doubtful that anything at all could have surprised the Shah (cit. from: [1, S. 51]).

So Atatürk decided to “win the heart” [ibid.] of the Shah of Iran by means of an opera, the plot of which would be based on an Iranian legend.

Ahmed Adnan Saygun's Özsoy: Art and Politics

Such a decision corresponded quite well to Atatürk's reformist aspirations — the genre of opera was supposed to have become the foundation of the national art of music. At the same time, in the case of *Özsoy*, he presented himself as a peculiar kind of curator, accompanying the project on all the stages of its preparation: chose the literary source — *The Story of Feridoun* from the famous Persian epos, Ferdowsi's poem *Shahnameh*, shaped the conception of the future opera, and chose the librettist and the composer. He entrusted Münir Hayri Egeli (1899–1970) to write the libretto and Ahmed Adnan Saygun (1907–1991) to compose the music.

The adaptation of the literary text turned out to be quite substantial in the opera: the plot devices, the number of characters and the interrelations between them changed immensely. What remained unaltered was the image of the valiant warrior, the wise and just ruler Feridoun, who invited associations with the personality of Atatürk himself.



Illustration 2. Ahmed Adnan Saigun
Available at: <http://bsc.bilkent.edu.tr/tr-index.html>
(accessed: 15.08.2024)

The libretto of Özsoy is based on the legend about two sons of Feridoun, the twins Tur (the ruler of the Turkic lands) and İraç¹ (the ruler of Iran), separated from each other by the scheming of the evil spirit Ahriman. The twins become reunited only in the opera's finale, moreover, this episode in the premiere production was symbolically demonstrated as the act of fraternization between the peoples of Turkey and Iran, who were akin to each other by their ethnic sources and culture. "Here is Tur and here is İraç," — one of the protagonists, the story narrator Oz Ozan declared, pointing at Atatürk and Reza Shah, who were sitting side by side in the presidential lodge. — "Each Turk is Tur, each

Iranian is İraç" [1, s. 51]. According to Saygun's memoirs, following these words, the Shah, embracing Atatürk, cried out with agitation: "My brother!" [ibid.]. While commenting the political implication of this scene, Turkish musicologist Emre Araci observes: in the libretto "Tur is the representative of the Turkish nation, while İraç is of the Iranians, and the plot is woven around the fact that these two nations have fought each other for centuries not knowing that they were actually brothers" [2, p. 41].

In *Özsoy* Saygun confronted with a complex musical and dramatic goal. The legend of Feridoun serves as the plotline source only for the first of the opera's three acts. Subsequently, the action passes to Turkey of the time of the breakup of the Ottoman Empire and the formation of the republic, and as a result features of political chronicles penetrate into the epic narration. An immense chronological rupture occurs between the first and second acts: the events of Act I occur in legendary times (40 000 years ago), Act II is devoted to the dark pages of Turkish

¹ The name of İreç, one of the brothers in *Shahnameh*, was transcribed particularly in that fashion — as İraç.

history in the early 20th century, while the events of Act III begin at the time of the signing of the Lausanne Peace Treaty of 1923.² But the connections with the legend are preserved during the entire course of the opera – in the events and the protagonists of the modern era, the collisions and the images of the epic of Feridoun are allegorically recreated.

After the world premiere of 1934, the opera was neglected for a long period of time. Only 48 years later, on February 3, 1982, *Özsoy* was produced at the Ankara State Theater of Opera and Ballet.³ At the performance, commemorating the centennial anniversary of Atatürk's birth (just as in all its subsequent revivals), the opera was performed in a one-act version. Such a version had been sanctioned

by the composer himself: Saygun excluded the last two acts from *Özsoy*, assuming that their content was too closely connected with the political conditions of the 1930s and had little in common with the legend from *Shahnameh*. The musical material of the second and third act is lost, so we can judge of the musical solutions of *Özsoy* only on the basis of the first act.⁴

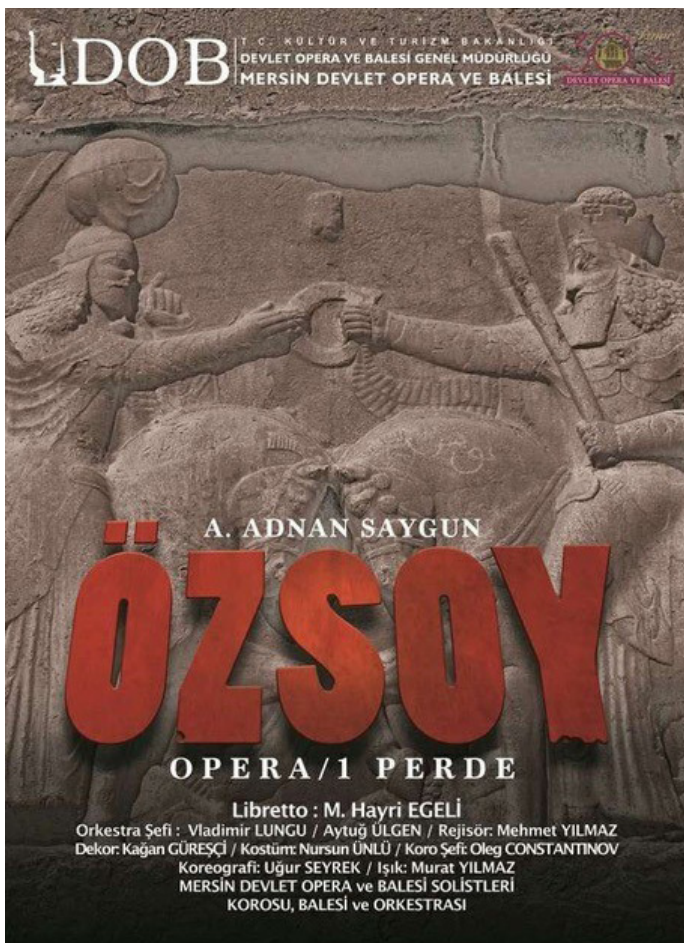


Illustration 3. Poster for the play *Özsoy* at the Mersin State Opera and Ballet Theater, 2012

Available at: <https://vladimirlungu.com/saygun-a-ozsoy-premiere-debut/> (accessed: 29.04.2024)

² The Lausanne Peace Treaty was enacted between Turkey and the Allies in 1923, it brought an end to the Greco-Turkish War. The treaty determined the borders between Turkey and Greece, establishing new territorial boundaries, and forming the present-day countries. It was of crucial significance for establishing a new order in the region and consolidating the independence of Turkey.

³ The recording of this performance has been released as a CD supplement to G. Refig's book *Atatürk and Adnan Saygun (a Legend in One Act)* [3].

⁴ It is important to consider that we are dealing with a renewed version of the music reconstructed “mostly from memory” (“the present version was mostly constructed from memory in 1981”) [2, p. 43] in the latest redaction (1981). According to Emre Aracı, (“In fact for this occasion Saygun re-wrote the entire opera, compressing it to a single act from the original three-act version”) [Ibid., p. 43].

The Opera's Formal Structure, Dramaturgy and Stylistic Particularities

Ahmed Adnan Saygun was the greatest modern Turkish composer, one of the members of the *The Turkish Five*,⁵ who made an invaluable contribution to the development of the Turkish national art of music, a conductor and pianist who wrote operas, ballets, orchestral and chamber compositions. At the same time, by 1934 his musical portfolio did not contain so many compositions — the latter were primarily choral and vocal pieces, the Divertimento for Saxophone, Percussion and Orchestra, the Suite for Piano and the *Book of Inci* for piano. He did not have any experiences in the genres related to musical theater, but, being an ardent devotee of Atatürk's reformatory ideas, valiantly set to work, having written the music in a record short time span — 27 days. Having received his initial musical education in his homeland, Saygun won a competition for the stipend of the Turkish Republic and during the course perfected his skills at the Schola Cantorum in Paris as a student of Vincent d'Indy. Being equipped with a knowledge of counterpoint, Wagner's music dramas and the masterpieces of baroque, late romantic and contemporary art, the composer turns in *Özsoy* to the experience of European opera, but interprets it originally.

In the one-act version of this composition — with its solo monologues, dialogic, scenes, as well as its unfolded choral and orchestral episodes — the vocal parts and the spoken parts are combined together, altogether featuring four singing and several declaiming characters (some of them, in particular, Feridoun, do both). Conversational dialogues exist on equal terms with musical episodes, sometimes joining them by the principle of editing or superimposing speech on music. And musical episodes, especially solo and ensemble ones, can only be called “numbers” conditionally. They are constructed in a complex way, saturated with declamatory melodicism and mounted into freely flowing or talking scenes. On this basis, an original formal structure emerges, through in its type, in which structural components pertaining to different genres alternate, are combined together, and transform into one another. In one of the opera's sections, the speaking-conversational and the musical elements are joined with the element of dance (*The Magic Dance*). Such a combination of “the read, the played and the danced” (*lue, jouée et dansée*) can evoke associations with the European endeavors in the sphere of musical theater in the 1910s and the 1920s (Saygun may have encountered them during his sojourn in Paris). But the originality of *Özsoy* consists in the fact that this combination is carried out in a special vein. Essentially, Saygun creates in *Özsoy* the first national

⁵ Such a name, analogous to the Russian *Mighty Handful* was bestowed by critics to a group of five Turkish composers who received their education in European conservatories — Ahmet Adnan Saygun, Cemal Reşit Rey, Hasan Ferit Alnar, Ulvi Cemal Erkin and Necil Kazim Akses. For greater details about their contribution to the formation of the contemporary Turkish national school of composition, see [4, s. 159–500].

opera epos in the history of Turkish music. This is testified by the dramaturgy and the style, the technique and the structural layout unfolding in the unhurrying motion of the scenes succeeding each other.

The events and the peripetiae of the plotline are not shown in the action, but are presented in the narration, in the stories told by the protagonists. The only dramatic clash occurs in the final scene — in the dialogue between Ahriman and Hatun, Feridoun' wife, but it does not lead to a conflict, resolving in a choral apotheosis. The musical portraits of Feridoun and Hatun (only they have solo episodes in the opera) delineate integral, inwardly stable, uncontroversial images; in the melodic language associated with Feridoun there is a predominance of heroic intonations, and Hatun's part demonstrates a solemn lyricism. The points of reference in the dramaturgy of *Özsoy* turn out to be the choral scenes, as well as the ritual *Magic Dance*, during which the culmination of the entire opera takes place.

The opera is opened by an instrumental introduction, diversified in its musical material. After the statement of the initial gloomy theme, a fanfare complex is formed within it, which would sound in various different scenes of *Özsoy* as a leitmotif. Following the introduction, the monologue of Oz Ozan (a speaking role) presents an epical premonition of the events, a prologue to the action proper. In it Ozan proclaims by means of solemn poetry the main theme of the opera — the theme of the history of the Turkish people, the greatness of Turkic culture: “This tribe has come from Asia and has spread everywhere. This was the beginning of the ascent. <...> Let us see, whether time shall stop before this great tribe.” This is followed by eight scenes in which the rituals of the ancient Turks are recreated — *The Prayer / Yakarış* (the people pray to the ancient god Tengri that an heir would be sent to them), *The Magic Dance / Sibir Raksı*; the characteristics of the heroes are given in *The Great Khakan Feridoun / Ulu Hakan Feridun*, *The Appearance of Hatun / Hatun gelişi*; alternately festive and dramatic pictures are unfolded in *The Glad Tidings of the Birth of the Children / Doğum Müjdesi* and *The Disappearance of the Children / Bebeklerin kayboluşu*. In the last scene, which becomes the finale of the act, Ahriman appears, making an attempt to steal the children and in an intense dialogue with Hatun prophesying separation and obscurity among their descendants to the twins. Ahriman's prophecy is refuted at the conclusion of the scene — a brilliant, jubilant chorus and “voice from heaven”: “Hatun, do not worry; Ahriman's wish is granted only three times. If your children join hands with each other, the earth shall be filled with light” [5, s. 77].

Most remarkable is the scene of Feridoun with seven Feleks — the messengers of the Seven Heavens (almost entirely spoken). It reveals the deep meaning of the opera's title. *Özsoy / Öz Soy* may be translated as the existing people, in almost a biblical meaning of the word “existing” —

genuine, real, existing in a full and perfect way. Each one of the Feleks, when expressing his wishes to the newly-born, interprets the word *Özsoy* in his own way. For example, the wish *Özsoyu çoğaltsın* means “let their people multiply,” while the wish *Yurdu bulsum* means “let their people live on their own land.” The scene is concluded with Feridoun giving his children names – Tur and İraç, the names that are ingrained in the lands they shall rule and where their descendants shall live – Turkey and Iran.

The features of originality are perceptible not only in the genre profile, formal structure and dramaturgy, but also in the musical material of “*Özsoy*.” American musicologist Kathryn Woodard presumes that the opera is written in the style of Western European musical orientalism:

He [Saygun] relied on... the harmonic language of late nineteenth-century French Romanticism, Wagnerian chromaticism, and even the straightforward tonal harmony of eighteenth century Classicism. The only number which could be interpreted by the listener as a representation of non-Western music is *Sihir Raksı* [*The Magic Dance*] that is staged in the penultimate scene [6, p. 32].

In a later work, while elaborating on these ideas, Woodard observes that in the music of “*Özsoy*,” which succumbs to most effective analysis from the positions of the aesthetics and technique of pastiche, we may discern problematic traits in the inner connections of language, but “the multiple references inherent in Saygun’s pastiche style serve to create complex meanings that reflect his unique musical background and the shifting cultural and political landscape of the republic” [7, p. 554]. It is quite possible to agree with this opinion, albeit, supplementing it with a few particular concretizing positions.

Example 1. A. A. Saygun. *Özsoy*.
Introduction, mm. 1–8



The musical material of *Özsoy* arouses associations with European music of various time periods. Thus, the theme opening the orchestral introduction, in A. Tuzlu’s opinion [8, s. 20], bears resemblance with the first chorus of Bach’s *St. Matthew Passion* and the beginning of Brahms’ First Symphony (see: *Example 1*)⁶.

⁶ The facsimile of the manuscript of the piano-vocal score of the first act of “*Özsoy*” is placed in the supplement section of E. Işıldak’s dissertation. [5, s. 80–143]. Music examples Nos. 1–3 are brought from the indicated source.

This comparison is prompted by the melodic delineation of the upper voice, as well as the correlation between the outer voices — the intensive melody in the string instruments ascending with difficulty and the rhythmic ostinato of the pedal point of the basses (and in the case of Brahms, also the shared tonality of C minor).

The thematicism of the chorale *The Prayer* (see: *Example 2*) in its initial turn contains references to the melodicism of Gregorian chant, while the means of its elaboration and the transparency of the textural solution alludes to the style of Palestrina. Saygun had diligently studied both Gregorian chant and early polyphony during his Paris years under the guidance of Vincent D’Indy.⁷

Example 2. A. A. Saygun. *Özsoy*.
Prayer, mm. 1–10

The choral parts in a number of the opera’s episodes, which are essentially salutatory hymns, framing Feridoun’s and Hatun’s arias, are of a chorale texture, while their rhythmic structure and harmonic language (the harmonic consonances, the chordal four-voice texture, the modulations into adjacent keys) remind of the style of the “communal” chorale.⁸

Overall, the harmony of *Özsoy* combines the purest kind of diatonicism and the resources of major-minor with the contemporary harmonic fabric — enharmonic modulation, chromaticization of the harmonic fabric, and dissonating vertical sonorities. The composer’s preferred techniques turn out to be lengthy pedal points and an almost impressionist parallelism of triads, frequently pertaining to tonalities remote from each other (see: *Example 3*).

⁷ Işıldak also indicates at the similarity to the style from the Renaissance era [8, s. 55]. However, as shall be noted below (see footnote 10), in the melodic writing of the “Palestrina style” *The Prayer*, we may also discern reminiscences of Turkish melodicism (Saygun made use in it of the material from his early composition — *Lamento / Ağıtlar* for solo tenor and a cappella male voices, 1932).

⁸ It is possible that the appeal to a tonally clear and harmonically simple language in the choral sections of *Ozsoy* was connected with the practical circumstances that arose during the preparation of the premiere: the choir, recruited from amateurs, could not cope with the difficulties. According to Saygun, it “consisted of people who could not even read music properly”. Quot. from: [2, p. 41].



Example 3 a, b, c. A. A. Saygun. *Özsoy*.

The Scene of Oz Ozan, the Introduction to the Scene of Feridun and the Feleks.⁹

The Scene of Oz Ozan (a – m.3, b – mm.5–6), The Scene of Feridun and the Feleks (mm. 1–3)

On the basis of the aforementioned, it may be stated that in the synthesis of the European late romantic means characterizing the style of *Özsoy* we can perceive the impact of the more recent tendencies of that time – impressionism and neoclassicism. Saygun was familiar with some of Stravinsky's neoclassical works, and his own early *Suite for Piano* opus 2 (1931), which included such pieces as the *Prelude*, *Canzona*, *Ostinato*, and *Canon*, testifies to the young Turkish composer's familiarization with the creative practice of baroque music.

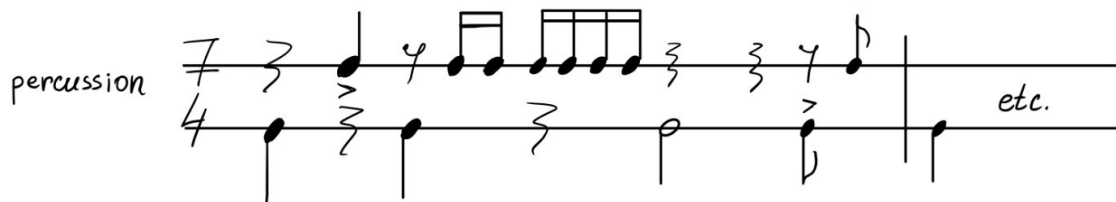
Through the Western-European foundation in *Özsoy* we perceive the penetration of Turkish national features, especially clearly expressed in the rhythmical, timbral and modal spheres.¹⁰ The use of changing meters, complex rhythmic groupings within the measures, European instruments in the line of character of the traditional Turkish ones (the harp, likened to the saz,

⁹ These long, almost entirely conversational scenes are interspersed with short musical fragments: 1, 2, 3 bars in Oz Ozan's monologue, 9 and 14 bars in the scene between Feridun and Feleks.

¹⁰ According to the assertion of Turkish musicologist Mahmud Ragip Gazimihal, a close friend of Saygun, who were well acquainted with the first version of the opera, the numerous "references" to the Turkish national tradition were also present in its melodic material: "The prayer chorus in Act I [...] is based on Anatolian motives. The same could also be said for the majority of places in Act II. The orchestral preludes, on the other hand, are in a more individualistic style. For the rest of the work, the musical language is constructed in a tonal idiom (because of lack of time and in order to make it easy for the singers to learn)" (cit. from: [2, p. 43]).

the instrument of the folk narrators the ozans and ashugs, the tocsin-like rhythms reminding of the sound atmosphere of the rituals of the ancient Turkic peoples) may be found in many episodes in the opera. An entire set of sections is written using the pentatonic scale, which at that time was perceived by Saygun as the modal basis of Turkish music (subsequently he reconsidered this opinion).

The peculiar national traits are represented most brightly in *Özsoy* by the *Magic Dance*, in which these features are demonstrated in a compound way. The basic principle of organization of the musical motion turns out to be the principle of ostinato – the rhythmic ostinato in the first and the third sections of the contrasting-compound form and the rhythmic-melodic in the second section. The ostinato principle is maintained unswervingly, at times concentrating itself in the lower strata of the texture (as it does in the first section), or spanning the entire orchestral texture (in the third section), and is accompanied by contrapuntal lines, syncopated isolated sounds and dissonant “clusters” in other textural layers. In the music there is a predominance of the colors of percussion instruments. An specially strong impression is created by the beginning of the *Magic Dance*: the exposition of the rhythmic ostinato performed on several drums and preceded as a ritual “feature opening” by three strikes on a gong (*Example 4*):



Example 4. A. A. Saygun. *Özsoy*. Ostinato rhythm from *Sihir Rakstı*¹¹

Noting the peculiarities of the metro-rhythmic organization of the seven-beat measure (the structure of the measure with the 7/4 meter is: 2+2+3), Woodard assesses it as the *aksak* rhythm [6, p. 32]. The *aksak* (the word meaning “lame” in Turkish) is one of the most important rhythms in the Turkish musical tradition. Its essence consists of an asymmetrical alternation of short and long beats formed by the combination of *usuls* – “patterns formed of equal and unequal, as well as strong and weak beats in a certain order. They also could be described as rhythmical patterns consisting of combinations of various rhythms” [9, p. 9]. The Turkish *aksak* combines the *usuls* of binary and ternary division, which upon the mandatory preservation of a single tempo of metrical units incorporated in both binary and ternary groups, creates the effect of an irregular, “lame” meter.

¹¹ Musical examples Nos. 4 and 5 are cited from Kathryn Woodard’s dissertation [6, pp. 32–33, 98], the *Magic Dance* being absent from the facsimile of the piano-vocal score.

In another noteworthy fragment from the beginning of the second section of the *Magic Dance* demonstrated in the dissertation, the theme of the tenor saxophone (in the modal structure of which, according to Woodard's observation, it is possible to discern a partial coincidence with the scale of the makam *Karcıġar* [6, p. 33]), is accompanied by a two-voice counterpoint of the violins — an anhemitonic melody expounded in parallel fourths (*Example 5*):

The image shows three staves of musical notation. The top staff is labeled 'tenor saxophone' and contains a melodic line in bass clef with a tempo marking of quarter note = 66. The middle staff is labeled 'violins' and shows two voices in treble clef playing parallel fourths. The bottom staff is labeled 'tenor sax.' and contains a melodic line in bass clef. Below the staves is a scale for the makam *Karcıġar* in treble clef, consisting of the notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4.

Example 5 a, b. A. A. Saygun. *Özsoy*. a — Excerpt of *Sihir Raksı*
b — *Makam Karcıġar* (in Western Notation)

The *aksak*-rhythms, the *makam*, and the parallel intervals of fourths are all basic elements of the Turkish folk tradition widespread in the country's folk music. But these selfsame elements, adapted to the conditions of Western notation (and, as a result of this, modified), were also made use of by contemporary Turkish composers. Saygun, a native of Izmir, had been familiar from his childhood with this branch of national culture characteristic for the large Turkish cities and, most likely, drew some of his artistic ideas from them. At the same time, the systematic, planned professional work on the study of Turkish folk music — including ethnographic expeditions carried out jointly with Bela Bartok's participation and those without him, publications of musical materials and articles, as well as presentations in conferences — would begin already after the writing of *Özsoy*, starting from the second half of the 1930s. Not only it would bring brilliant scholarly results, but would also reflect itself in the composer's musical output.

This, a peculiar “artistic-research project” on the theme of the aksak-rhythms could be perceived in a whole series of his compositions for piano: *Ten Etudes in Aksak Rhythms* (opus 38, 1964), *Twelve Preludes in Aksak Rhythms* (opus 45, 1967), *Fifteen Pieces in Aksak Rhythms* (opus 47, 1967) and *Ten Sketches in Aksak Rhythms* (opus 58, 1976).

Conclusion

The premiere of *Özsoy* stimulated an awakening of interest towards opera on the part of the Turkish composers. During that same year, 1934, Necil Kazim Akses created *Bay Önder*, while Saygun created his second composition in this genre — *Taş Bebek (The Stone Doll)*. Nonetheless, *Özsoy* for obvious reasons could not exert a direct impact on the destiny of the Turkish national opera school. It was not merely because its productions had not been revived during the course of almost 50 years, but also because there were no fitting conditions for this in Turkey during the 1930s — there was a lack of stationary opera theaters with the corresponding infrastructure, as well as the performance ensembles. Egeli and Saygun had to exert a considerable amount of effort in order to produce *Özsoy*, and this being so with Atatürk’s support. Besides the President’s Orchestra, the String Orchestra of the Istanbul Municipal Conservatory, as well as well-known Turkish singers who sang the primary roles (Nurullah Taşkiran and Nimet Vahid Hanim, who taught at the conservatory in Istanbul), the performance included the participation of amateur musicians who passed the audition, the chorus was compiled of school children and students of institutes in Ankara, while the ballet group was comprised of people who acquired dance skills in circles affiliated with the People’s House¹² in Ankara.

This state of affairs changed by the middle of the 20th century. Opera and ballet departments were opened at the Ankara State Conservatory, the State Opera Theater began to function in Ankara, and work was carried out in preparing employees for musical-theatrical institutions. Operas were written by Akses (*Timur*, 1956), Cemal Reşit Rey (*Çelebi*, 1945, 1st version), Nevit Kodallı (*Van Gogh*, 1956), Sabahattin Kallender (*Nasrettin Hoca*, 1960) et al.¹³ Saygun also continued to work in this genre. The solemn inauguration of the building of the Ankara Opera Theater was marked by a production of the first act of his *Kerem* (1948, the production of the three-act version took place in 1953). During the 1970s, the operas *Köroğlu* (1971) and *Gilgameş* (1979) would be composed, the latter based on the historical Sumerian *Epos of Gilgamesh*. Saygun’s final compositions

¹² *People’s Houses* were the cultural enlightenment centers created during the 1930s and the 1940s in various regions of Turkey. These institutions, which pursued the goals of nurturing national self-consciousness in the Turkish people, were an important part of Atatürk’s reforms.

¹³ For more detail about this, see Şahin, K. “Opera Sanatının Türkiye’de Gelişimi ve Türkçe Operaların Tarihsel Süreci” [“The Development of the Art of Opera in Turkey and the Historical Process of Turkish Opera”] [10].

moved along the path inscribed by *Özsoy*: in *Kerem* the stage action is brought to a minimum, the opera demonstrate features of an oratorio (see: [2, p. 70]), while the genre *Gilgameş* was indicated by the composer as an *epic drama*.¹⁴

The political effect of the premiere of Saygun's opera firstling,¹⁵ inscribed into the ideological context of the 1930s, at that time outweighed the perception of the composition's artistic means and its significance in the development of Turkish musical culture, but the latter should not be underestimated.¹⁶ The interaction of Turkish national and European traditions delineated in *Özsoy* would become a significant trend in 20th century Turkish music.

Within the framework of the cultural reforms carried out by Atatürk, the aspiration to create a new, contemporary Turkish nation also required a reassessment of the art of music. *Özsoy* became one of the symbols of the stage of modernization of Turkish culture, the formation of a new cultural identity.

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¹⁵ *Özsoy* is examined particularly in this aspect in Kathryn Woodard's article "Music Mediating Politics in Turkey: The Case of Ahmed Adnan Saygun" [7].

¹⁶ The resiliency of *Özsoy* is also testified by the theatrical-musical practice: after its revival in 1982, the opera has been produced numerous times in Turkey on various theatrical and opera stages.

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Vocal Ornamentation in Caccini: From Theory to Practice

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Abstract. The main purpose of the published article is to study the role and determine the possibility of using jewelry in Giulio Caccini vocal music. The composer, the creator of the “new” style, the first among his contemporaries in the preface to the collections of arias and madrigals *Le nuove musiche* (1602) and *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scriverle* (1614) outlined the main positions of the school of artistic singing, where he reports on the recording of his compositions how to perform. This often leads performers into confusion about the possibility of using any jewelry. As a result, today, in some cases, Caccini music sounds monotonous, uninteresting.

In the Baroque era, there was a clear discrepancy between practice and musical notation. An in-depth study and comparison of musical sources, their historical understanding, evaluation based on documentary and theoretical evidence allows us to identify the real practice and features of reproducing

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jewelry offered by Caccini for performance. As a result, the author of the article emphasizes the need to rethink the approach to performance, in particular, concerning the application of various ornamental effects. In this regard, it becomes important to observe their main purpose: to enhance the affect and mood of the composition through expressive transmission of the word.

Keywords: Giulio Caccini, early Baroque, ornamentation, esclamation, sprezzatura, trillo, gruppo, historical performance practice, traditions of performance, vocal technique, expressiveness in singing

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История и теория
исполнительства

Научная статья

Вокальная орнаментация Джулио Каччини:
от теории к практике

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Аннотация. Основная цель настоящей статьи — исследование роли и определение возможности применения украшений в вокальной музыке Джулио Каччини. В предисловиях к сборникам арий и мадригалов *Le nuove musiche* (1602) и *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scriverle* (1614), ставших отражением созданного композитором «нового стиля», Каччини первым среди своих современников изложил основные позиции школы художественного пения и дал методические рекомендации по исполнению собственных произведений. Однако его указания нередко приводят исполнителей в недоумение, заставляя сомневаться в возможности и корректности применения каких-либо украшений. В результате сегодня музыка Каччини в ряде случаев звучит однообразно, неинтересно.

В эпоху барокко существовало явное расхождение между нотной записью и исполнительством. Углубленное изучение и сравнение музыкальных источников, их историческое осмысление, оценка на основе документальных и теоретических свидетельств позволяет понять реальную практику и особенности воспроизведения предлагаемых Каччини украшений. Автор статьи подчеркивает необходимость переосмыслить подходы к исполнению, в том числе специфику применения различных орнаментальных эффектов. Важным в этом отношении становится соблюдение главного их предназначения: усиление аффекта, эмоционального модуса сочинения посредством выразительной передачи слова.

Ключевые слова: Джулио Каччини, раннее барокко, орнаментация, эскламация, спрецатура, трилло, группо, историческая исполнительская практика, традиции исполнения, вокальная техника, выразительность в пении

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Introduction

When studying the works of Giulio Caccini (1561–1618), singers often find themselves reflecting on the correct stylistic interpretation. Contemporary performers generally either adhere strictly to the musical text or permit themselves to use minor embellishments. In the latter case, the question naturally arises concerning which embellishment decisions are the most stylistically appropriate.

The question of introducing ornamentation into Caccini's works is mainly discussed in foreign publications [1; 2; 3; 4]. In the works of Russian musicologists [5; 6], the embellishments provided by the composer and their use in singing practice are generally treated in an overview manner that emphasises a theoretical examination of the problem. In this context, the significance of Caccini's novel approach to ornamentation has been interpreted as a kind of "protest against the Renaissance tradition" [5, p. 23]. In the present work, in which the most important features of Caccini's vocal ornamentation are discussed, we will also consider possible approaches to its introduction into the performance practice of contemporary vocalists.

Historical role

Giulio Caccini is widely regarded as a "17th-century musical revolutionary"¹. His novel approach to singing is noted by Michael Praetorius in Chapter 9 of the third part of the treatise *Syntagma Musicum* (1619)². In a letter to his friend Torquato Tasso, Abbot Angelo Grillo refers to the Italian composer as "the father of recitative singing"³. Severo Bonini praised Caccini as the true inventor of the new style, observing that almost every musician of that time became famous only by imitating him⁴. According to K. M. Mazurin, who referred in turn to the opinion of F. J. Fétis, "in terms of expressing passion, Caccini stood above Monteverdi, and was surpassed only by Carissimi"⁵.

¹ Mazurin, K. M. (1902). *Methodology of singing. Singing pedagogy course*, vol. 1. A. A. Levenson, p. 1.

² Praetorius, M. (1619) *Syntagma Musicum*, p. 230.

³ Mazurin, K. M. (1902). *Methodology of singing. Singing pedagogy course*, vol. 1. A. A. Levenson, p. 3.

⁴ Bonini, S. (1903). Estratto dalla Prima parte del Discorsi e Regole sopra la musica. In A. Solerti (Ed.) *L'origine del melodramma*, pp. 134–135.

⁵ Mazurin, K. M. (1902). *Methodology of singing. Singing pedagogy course*, vol. 1. A. A. Levenson, p. 3.

Caccini's reputation as an innovative composer has survived to this day. Citing leading experts on early music, Victor Coelho, professor of music at the University of Calgary, notes Caccini's role as the progenitor of a new era (Oliver Strunk⁶), the father of monody (Manfred Bukofzer⁷) and the creator of a new style of singing (Donald Grout⁸) [7]. In his article, Coelho also acknowledges the opinions of researchers from the 1980s and 1990s, who consider that Caccini drew on earlier experience of performing improvisation; that is, he was not in the full sense the inventor of monody⁹. Even if true, however, this still would not negate the role of the Italian musician as the central figure of the early Italian Baroque.

Known as Giulio Romano (i.e., a native of Rome), Caccini had already in his youth joined the Florentine Camerata, where he became acquainted with the ideas of Count Giovanni de' Bardi and Vincenzo Galilei, whose influence underlay his criticism of counterpoint, which he lambasted as "the destroyer of Poetry"¹⁰. At the very beginning of the 17th century, Caccini announced that he had invented a new style of music. This announcement appeared first in the Preface to the opera *Eurydice* (1600), where he referred to a noble style of singing "which could be practiced by others"¹¹. Another reference appeared in the "The New Music" collection of arias and madrigals published in Florence (*Le Nuove Musiche*) for voice and basso continuo (1601¹², see *Illustration 1*).

There is little doubt about Caccini's enormous influence on the composers of his time. In 1605 Enrico Radesca di Foggia published in Turin the first book of his 'Canzonettes, Madrigals and Arias in the Roman Manner' (*Canzonette, madrigali et arie alla romana*). The following year, Domenico Brunetti presented a collection of madrigals, canzonets and arias in Bologna under the title *L'Euterpe*, while in 1607, a collection of chamber vocal music entitled 'Madrigals and Spiritual Canzonets' (*Madrigali e canzonette spirituali*) by Severo Bonini was printed in Florence. In the preface of the latter work, the author noted that his works were only an imitation of the elegant style of the outstanding composer Caccini. Ottavio Durante compared his work *Arie devote* (Rome, 1608) with "a small trickle taken from the fountain of his

⁶ Strunk, O. (Ed.). (1950). *Source Readings in Music History*. W. W. Norton, p. 370.

⁷ Bukofzer, M. (1947). *Music in the Baroque Era*. W. W. Norton, p. 29.

⁸ Grout, D. J. (1960). *A History of Western Music* (2nd ed). W. W. Norton, p. 278.

⁹ Coelho refers to the works by C. Palisca (Palisca, C. (1989). *The Florentine Camerata: Documentary Studies and Translations*. Yale University Press), G. M. Brown (Brown, H. M. (1981). The Geography of Florentine Monody: Caccini at Home and Abroad. *Early Music*, 9, pp. 147–168), J. W. Hill (Hill, J. W. (1983). Realized Continuo Accompaniments from Florence ca. 1600. *Early Music*, 11, pp. 194–208), and others.

¹⁰ Caccini, G. (1601/1602) *Le nuove musiche*. Giorgio Marescotti, p. 4.

¹¹ Caccini, G. (1600) *L'Euridice*. Giorgio Marescotti, p. 1.

¹² Here and elsewhere the traditional translation of the title of this collection is used. However, a grammatically more accurate option might be "The New Musics" (i.e., referring to a number of new musical works). While the collection was actually printed at the beginning of 1602 (in accordance with the peculiarities of the calendar adopted in Florence at that time), the year 1601 is indicated on its title page.

(Caccini's) school"¹³. Soon, similar collections of works in the new monodic style were published by many Italian composers (including Jacopo Peri, M. da Galliano, Domenico Belli, D. Visconti, Raffaello Rontani, Filippo Vitali, Francesca Caccini, Andrea Falconieri and others)¹⁴.

Caccini gained wide renown as a virtuoso singer and vocal teacher. He became particularly well-known as a performer of complex madrigals decorated with coloratura passages; his singing was distinguished by its special expressiveness and clarity of diction [8, p. 11] Referring to the singer's performance in the Florence Cathedral of the Holy Spirit on the occasion of the arrival of Christina of Lorraine, the wife of the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinando I, Bonini wrote: "Welcoming the entering Christina of Lorraine, the first to sing was Giulio Caccini, known as Romano, with the words *O benedetto giorno*¹⁵. As a result of the great pleasure he bestowed upon the countless multitude gathered there, he was called for a long time called *Benedetto giorno*¹⁶. His performances in Paris also brought him fame, which we also find confirmed in the words of Bonini: "Human language cannot express how the maestro was received and showered with praise and honours not only by His Majesty, but also by all the notable dukes and barons of France who were here"¹⁷. Among the maestro's students were such renowned performers as Vittoria Archilei, Adriana Basile, Francesco Razi, Severo Bonini, Antonio Brunelli, Giovanni Gualberto Magli and others. The Florentine vocal school that was thus created soon declared its influence on the musical art of other European countries. In particular, Caccini's method was used in Germany by Heinrich Schütz, Michael Praetorius and Johann Andreas Herbst.

Le Nuove Musiche and Performing Practice

The collection *Le Nuove Musiche* was not only a publication of specific works, but also a kind of methodological guide, which set out to describe the features of vocal performance. Previously, other masters had tended to pass on their knowledge only empirically. On this matter, Caccini himself wrote: "While this [vocal art — *E.K.*] can be assimilated up to a certain point through long-term practice <...>,"

¹³ Ehrichs, A. (1908). *Giulio Caccini: Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Hohen Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Leipzig*. Hesse & Becker, p. 75.

¹⁴ We should also note that the style of solo singing and the type of ornamentation that gained relevance during the first decade of the 17th century soon became a model for expressiveness not only in solo singing, but also in solo instrumental playing.

¹⁵ 'Oh, blessed day'.

¹⁶ Bonini, S. (1903). Estratto dalla Prima parte del Discorsi e Regole sopra la musica. In A. Solerti (Ed.) *L'origine del melodramma*, p. 130.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 135.

the theory presented in this manual is necessary for achieving mastery.”¹⁸ Thus, as the 17th-century scholar of Italian music Nigel Fortune pointed out, the Preface to *The New Music* became “the manifesto of the new style” of Italian solo song.¹⁹ Caccini sharply criticised singers for excessive coloration of the melody involving extended melismatic *passaggi*, which lead to a loss of lyrical comprehension. In his view, due to the excessive use of *passaggi*, few people understood the words even of famous singers²⁰.



Illustration 1. G. Caccini. *Le Nuove Musiche*. Title page of the 1602 (1601) edition.

richly ornamented motets and arias in the edition *Mottetti passeggiati* (1612) and *Arie passeggiate* (*Libro 1* – 1612; *Libro 2* – 1623). In 1615 Francesco Severi, a castrato singer of the Sistine Chapel, indicated in the Preface to his collection *Salmi passaggiati* that *passaggi* were part of the singing style then practiced in Rome.²¹

In this connection, it is important to remember that the training of a singer in Caccini's time essentially boiled down to the development of a beautiful sound, as well as the virtuoso singing of passages and embellishments, but without necessarily understanding the principles of their application. However, Caccini and his followers felt that the leading position occupied by coloratura singing, which reflected the widespread application of the Renaissance practice of ornamentation, was to the detriment of artistic expressiveness. In contrast to the aspirations for artistic expression developed in the Florentine vocal school, the *passaggi* style of singing was cultivated in Rome, as repeatedly pointed out by composers and singers of the papal chapel in their treatises and didactic manuals up until around 1620. For example, the virtuoso Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger published

¹⁸ Caccini, G. (1601/1602) *Le nuove musiche*. Giorgio Marescotti, p. 6.

¹⁹ Cit. from: [3, p. 389]

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Severi, F. (1615). *Salmi passaggiati per tutte le voci nella maniera che si cantano in Roma*. Nicolò Borboni, p. 2

For Caccini, not only should music have beautiful melodies, but it should also express emotion and be capable of touching the human soul. In advocating the concept of expressive singing, he referred to Plato's idea that music is speech, rhythm, and only then sound²². According to this new vocal style, the role of decorations had to be reassessed. Of particular importance is his rejection of long, diminutive roulades, which, in his opinion, detracted from the desired manner. Caccini was perhaps the first composer to begin the practice of carefully notating all *passaggi* and other embellishments in the musical text. The composer's words deserve special attention: "If these *passaggi* are to be used, it should be done in accordance with the rules described in my works, and not by chance ..., so that they should have been prepared in advance for inclusion in the work."²³ Thus, Caccini quite explicitly called on singers to take great care when ornamenting melodies. In the collection 'New Pieces of Music and a New Way of Writing Them' (1614, see *Illustration 2*), he emphasised the importance of accurately recording his own manner of solo singing in the musical text²⁴. In this regard, A. D. Verin-Galitskaya's characterisation of Caccini's innovative ideas is absolutely accurate:

Caccini's decision to publish his own works along with a notation of all the improvisations is an idea that would have been unthinkable for previous generations of musicians. The notation of *passaggi* in the musical text is a restriction that Caccini felt obliged to impose on the oral tradition in an attempt to "curb" it and impose his own composer's will on the performers. However, this in no way contradicts his negative attitude towards the use of *passaggi*. Rather, it follows from the following idea: if singers are inevitably going to embellish the music, then let them perform the *passaggi* intended by the composer. [...] Following Caccini, other composers began to notate embellishments; as a consequence, throughout the Baroque era, this practice began to lead more and more confidently from the realm of oral music-making to the sphere of writing [5, p. 23].

To correctly understand Caccini's



Illustration 2. G. Caccini.
Le Nuove Musiche.
Title page of the 1614 edition.

²² Caccini, G. (1601/1602) *Le nuove musiche*. Giorgio Marescotti, p. 4.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁴ Caccini, G. (1614). *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scriverle*. Zanobi Pignoni, e Compagni, p. 3.

notations, it is important to turn to the performance practices of his time. The musical text of a solo composition at that time served only as a kind of framework for a monodic composition, leaving the performer free to ornament the melody with various decorative elements. Singers did not have to strictly adhere to the author's text; indeed, changing individual musical phrases and melodic constructions was considered to be an indicator of virtuosity. Theorists and practitioners thus increasingly concluded that it was pointless to write out diminutions and *passaggi* in notation. Therefore, their character and the speed of their execution were perceived and learned empirically. American musicologist Howard Mayer Brown writes that "Caccini ... made an earnest effort to compose all the ornamentation that had hitherto been improvised in an attempt to control the amount and kind of it and to reconcile the two extremes of expression and ornamentation" [9, p. 76].

The composer's detailed notation of *passaggi* represented an attempt to limit the singers' unrestrained improvisational *coloratura*. Since he well understood the power of virtuoso art and its magical effect on listeners, he approached the issue of music coloration quite flexibly. For example, admiring the virtuoso skill of Vittoria Archilei, he called her an excellent singer²⁵.

As a rule, Caccini used *passaggi* on long syllables and in final cadences, noting that they were invented not so much for a good style of singing, but to provide greater elegance and "tickling the ear", and were appropriate only in unexpressive places.²⁶ Many of these *passaggi* consist of chains of *melismas*. According to Caccini, the use of certain types of decoration, which he referred to as "effects" [*effetti*], must always correspond to the content of the text. Thus, a completely even — or "identical" — performance is to be explained in terms of a misunderstanding of the meaning. At the same time, Caccini resolutely opposed any tendency towards exaggerated use of long *passaggi* and excessive ornamentation.

In an effort to enliven the melody in short syllables, Caccini resorted to embellishments "lasting no longer than a quarter or half of the entire measure".²⁷ It is significant that these ornaments, which are aimed at imparting elegance, are not *passaggi* in the full sense of the word. Moreover, the general rules may often allow for certain exceptions.²⁸ Thus we may interpret the composer's instructions not as strictly dogmatic, but as merely advisory in nature.

²⁵ For more details on this, see one of the articles by the author of these lines [10].

²⁶ Caccini, G. (1601/1602) *Le nuove musiche*. Giorgio Marescotti, p. 5.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Ornamentation

Among the melodic ornaments, Caccini singles out two similar ornaments: *trillo* and *gruppo* (see *Example 1*).



*Example 1. Caccini G. Le nuove musiche. P. 7. Trillo and gruppo*²⁹

Performing a trill (trillo) involves repeating one note with a gradual reduction in the duration of its sound. Caccini writes that the trill described by him on one note must begin with the first quarter and “beat with the larynx each note on the vowel a until the last whole (note)”³⁰.

Caccini’s gruppo [a small group of notes sung on a single syllable] is not a gruppetto in the modern sense. In fact, it was on the basis of this decoration that the later form of trill, still in use today, was developed. The gruppo referred to by Caccini has the basic characteristics of a second trill with its ending in the form of a gruppetto, where the fundamental note descends to a lower tone before rising again to the fundamental. Unlike his predecessors, Caccini recommended performing this decoration with a gradual acceleration and increase in the intensity of the sound; this ornament could be either simple or more complex depending on the content of the text. According to Caccini, the trillo and the gruppo are a kind of bridge to many ornaments in singing³¹.

By associating them with dynamics, ornaments acquired a new quality of expressiveness. This realisation was not arrived at by chance. As a singer and vocal teacher, Caccini was concerned with the issues of sound reproduction, which he recommended to begin with a full voice of beautiful timbre with impeccable intonation (*l’intonazione della voce*), which he described in some detail³².

Let us agree with the interpretation of Wiley Hitchcock, who writes that Caccini uses the term *intonazione* in two senses, namely, to denote the precision of sound reproduction and its attack [3, p. 392]. “The first and most important foundation, according to Caccini, is vocal intonation on all notes, not only to avoid harshness, but also to have a good manner”³³. Here we are talking, firstly, about the precision and quality of tone and, secondly, about the attack of sound, which is understood as “good manner”.

²⁹ The modern notation is given according to the publication: Mazurin, K. M. (transl.), Sergeeva E. A. (sc. ed.). (2023). *Caccini, G. Novaya muzyka [New Music]* Lan ’; Planet of Music, p. 10.

³⁰ Caccini, G. (1601/1602) *Le nuove musiche*. Giorgio Marescotti, p. 7.

³¹ Ibid., p. 8.

³² Ibid., p. 6.

³³ Ibid.

Caccini indicates three approaches to tone production³⁴. The first of them refers to taking the sound from the lower third. This method is not accepted by Caccini³⁵. The second method — *il crescere, e scemare* (“strengthening and weakening”) implies a precise attack of the main tone with a gradual intensification of the voice and its subsequent attenuation. Caccini suggests introducing this type of attack on long notes and considers it the most noble (later this technique was embodied in *mesa di voce* – a two-sided placing of the voice). The third method, which Caccini finds the most emotional and the best for creating a special expressiveness in the transmission of affect, is the *esclamazione* (“exclamation”). The peculiarity of the performance is the use of the “decrescendo–crescendo” technique (*forte – piano – mezzo forte*), namely: after a bright sound, the singer should switch to *diminuendo* (decrescendo), and when it weakens, to *esclamazione*, which implies a certain amplification of the sound³⁶ and will create the effect of an exclamation (see *Example 2*).



Example 2. G. Caccini. *Le nuove musiche*. Faithful execution of the *esclamazione*³⁷

Caccini distinguishes between two variants of this technique, which depend on the content of the text: *esclamazione languida* (sentimental, languid) and *esclamazione piu viva* (inspired, lively) (see *Examples 3, 4*).

Example 3. G. Caccini. *Le nuove musiche*. P. 7. Faithful execution of the *esclamazione*

This is a rather complex technical technique in vocal practice. In order to avoid a gross error consisting of dynamic variegation – referred to in Russian vocal theory in terms of a “dynamic bubble” – it is important to achieve the finest regulation of breathing, which is associated with control of the “inhaler and exhaler” muscle groups (agonists and antagonists). Based on the meaning of the words and the nature of the text, in order to create a special expressiveness, exclamatory notes as the primary means of conveying affect should be used on half durations or quarter notes with a dot,

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ We may note that even today, the attack of a sound “approaching” a note is widely considered to be a flaw.

³⁶ Caccini, G. (1601/1602) *Le nuove musiche*. Giorgio Marescotti, p. 6.

³⁷ A similar example is given in: [13, p. 37].

followed by a slight accent on a descending short note. If a note of a whole duration sounds, then, according to Caccini, it is more appropriate to use two-sided placing of the sound.



Example 4. G. Caccini. *Le nuove musiche*. P. 10. Fragment of the Madrigal *Deh, deh, dove son fuggiti*. Composer's instructions on the use of *esclamazione* and *trillo*

The composer also offers original views in matters of organising rhythm, which can also be used to decorate a melody. Caccini provides a number of interesting examples of more elegant execution, which, according to F. Neumann show, “how the affective power of certain melodic figures can be increased by rhythmic manipulation” [4, p. 26]. Thus, it is recommended to replace the melodic movement of even eighth or sixteenth note durations in singing with a dotted or Lombard (reverse dotted) rhythm with the addition of final trills, but on condition that it corresponds to the character of the music of the poetic text (see *Example 5*).

The ornament that Caccini introduces under the term *cascata*, which also refers to rhythmic variation, implies a rapid descending stepwise movement of the melody in the interval up to and including the seventh. Again, the principle of applying a *cascata* should be regulated by the meaning of the text. Among the possible performance options, the composer notes: a simple *cascata* – *cascata scempia*; a double *cascata* – *cascata doppia*, with a pause to “catch” the breath; *cascata per ricorre il fiato* – a *cascata* using inhalation; *altra cascata simile* – another simple *cascata*. He gives notation examples showing how even eighth notes can be rhythmically regrouped in performance (see *Example 6*).

Example 5. G. Caccini. *Le nuove musiche*. P. 8. Rhythmic variations: top line (1) – original text; bottom line (2) – recommended version³⁸

Example 6. G. Caccini. *Le nuove musiche*. P. 8. Rhythmic variations: top line (1) – original text; two bottom lines (2, 3) – recommended versions³⁹

To enhance expressive singing, which should reflect the natural rhythm of speech, Caccini mentions *sprezzatura* – “noble carelessness”. This is a rather complex definition that requires clarification. It is believed that the word was first used by Baldassare Castiglione in *The Book of the Courtier* (1528), understanding *sprezzatura*

³⁸ The modern transcript is given according to the publication: Mazurin, K. M. (transl.), Sergeeva E. A. (sc. ed.). (2023). *Caccini, G. Novaya muzyka [New Music]* Lan ’; Planet of Music, p. 11

³⁹ The modern transcript is given according to the publication: Mazurin, K. M. (transl.), Sergeeva E. A. (sc. ed.). (2023). *Caccini, G. Novaya muzyka [New Music]* Lan ’; Planet of Music, p. 11

as naturalness and elegance: “so that nothing appears to have been done with deliberate skill, so that the observer could accept this skill as a natural gift”.⁴⁰ Paolo D’Angelo, professor at the University of Rome, notes that *sprezzatura* is the opposite of affectation, a kind of aesthetic paradox: by hiding skill, art at the same time asserts itself [11, p. 154]. Today, many musicians equate *sprezzatura* with rhythmic freedom or the term *rubato*, known since the 18th century. In fact, Caccini himself did not say anything about this (and could not say anything) but wrote only about “a noble manner of carefree, insouciant singing”⁴¹. Contemporary researchers of vocal performance of the early Baroque period rarely omit mention of this phenomenon, noting, in particular, the similarity of *sprezzatura* with oratory [12], its influence on the freer use of dissonances in the relationship of the voice with the basso continuo [13, p. 34–35]. Perhaps the most accurate definition of the purpose of this technique was given by Caccini himself in the Preface to “Eurydice” (1600), noting that by means of *sprezzatura* “I come much closer to the essence of the speech”⁴². In other words, *sprezzatura* is understood not so much as freedom of tempo, but as an expression of natural declamation.

Thus, modern singers, trained to sing with absolute rhythmic precision, need to master the practice of *sprezzatura* by acquiring the necessary skills to perform it. The easiest way is to expressively recite the text in a manner similar to an orator’s speech. However, this does not by any means imply arbitrariness or approval of taking any liberties on the part of the performers. Warning singers against exaggerated or excessive use of expressive effects and ornamentation, Caccini reports that when placing *esclamazione*, appropriate effects must be used to express the affect, without accelerating the movement⁴³. Therefore, *sprezzatura* should be used in singing together with possible rhythmic variation, but with mandatory observance of the exact meter.

Conclusion

A review of the performing techniques described by Caccini in his work “The New Musics” allows us to conclude that the performer plays a significant role in creating the sound image of the composition: “A monody would remain a bare skeleton,” writes Manfred Bukofzer, “were it not for the effective delivery of the singer and his embellishments, which served here not merely an ornamental but a structural function”⁴⁴.

⁴⁰ Cit. from: [3, p. 389].

⁴¹ Caccini, G. (1601/1602) *Le nuove musiche*. Giorgio Marescotti, p. 4.

⁴² Caccini, G. (1600) *L’Euridice*. Giorgio Marescotti, p. 1.

⁴³ Caccini, G. (1601/1602) *Le nuove musiche*. Giorgio Marescotti, p. 7.

⁴⁴ Bukofzer, M. (1947). *Music in the Baroque Era*. W. W. Norton, p. 27.

Charles Burney, drawing attention to some similarities in the styles of Caccini and Lully, whose advantages were simplicity of melodies, poetry and expressiveness, wrote:

“Though we are now inclined to wonder how pleasing effects could be produced by such simple, unadorned, and almost unaccompanied melodies; yet, when we consider what raptures were long after excited in France by a familiar Music in the operas of Lulli, our wonder will cease; particularly, if we recollect that the passages of taste and embellishment, which while now antiquated and vulgar, were then new and elegant; and that the expression of the Music of this period in Italy is so entirely loft, that, like a dead language, no one is certain how it was pronounced”⁴⁵.

These words, spoken at the end of the 18th century, are still quite relevant today.

While contemporary singers may consider that the current notation system provides an accurate recording of music, for a stylistically correct interpretation it requires correct evaluation, informed understanding and an appropriate reading. Not the least argument is the words of Caccini himself: “Indeed, there are many things used in a good style of singing that are written in one way, but in order to be more graceful, are performed in a completely different way, therefore they say that some [performers – E. K.] sing with more grace, and others with less”⁴⁶. In any case, for a stylistically correct interpretation of Giulio Caccini’s music, the vocal embellishments discussed in this article must certainly be taken into consideration. However, such an interpretation is also obliged to enhance expressiveness in order to convey the content of the poetic text more accurately.

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⁴⁵ Burney, Ch. (1789). *A General History of Music*, vol. IV. ,p. 136.

⁴⁶ Caccini, G. (1601/1602) *Le nuove musiche*. Giorgio Marescotti, p. 7.

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