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# Современные проблемы МУЗЫКОЗНАНИЯ



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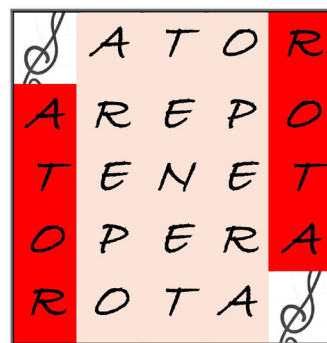
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# Contemporary Musicology

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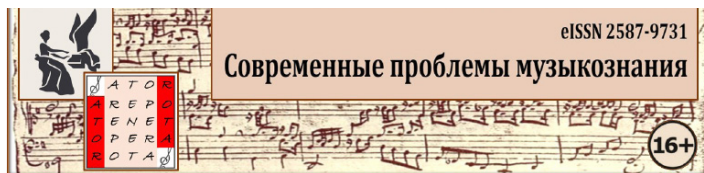
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Дорогие друзья!

Журнал «Современные проблемы музыкознания» издается уже восемь лет. В 2022 году он вошел в перечень изданий, рекомендованных Высшей аттестационной комиссией для публикации материалов будущих докторских и кандидатских диссертаций, а в 2024-м — в Scopus, авторитетную библиографическую и реферативную базу данных рецензируемой научной литературы.

Начиная с 2023 года журнал начал выходить на двух языках с параллельными публикациями всех статей на русском и английском. Эти достижения не могут не радовать. Однако для редколлегии и редакционной команды по-прежнему самым важным остается сотрудничество с десятками ведущих музыковедов России и зарубежья и талантливыми молодыми исследователями. И, конечно, внимание и интерес наших читателей, круг которых растет год от года.

В 2025 году Российская академия музыки имени Гнесиных отмечает 130-летие учебных заведений Гнесиных. Изучение и публикация ранее неизвестных документов, теоретических источников, позволяющих внести новые акценты в понимание историко-музыкального процесса, — одна из сквозных тем этого года, и начало ей положит ряд статей первого номера журнала.

Наше издание продолжает участвовать в организации крупных международных конференций в Российской академии музыки имени Гнесиных в консорциуме с ведущими вузами и научными институтами страны. В 2025 году одним из центральных событий научного года станет конференция «Техника музыкальной композиции. Шостакович in memoriam (к 50-летию со дня смерти)», которая соберет более 100 докладчиков из разных стран и многих российских городов. Жизнь и творчество великого композитора — еще одна из ключевых тем 2025 года.

Желаем вам интересного и познавательного чтения!

*Ирина Петровна Сусидко*

Dear friends!

The journal *Contemporary Musicology* has been published for eight years. In 2022, it was included in the list of publications recommended by the *Higher Attestation Commission* for the publication of materials for future doctoral and candidate dissertations, and in 2024, in *Scopus*, an authoritative bibliographic and abstract database of peer-reviewed scientific literature.

Since 2023, the journal has been published in two languages with parallel publication of each article in Russian and English. These achievements make us happy. However, for the editorial board and the editorial team, the most important thing remains cooperation with dozens of leading musicologists from Russia and abroad and talented young researchers. And, of course, the attention and interest of our readers, whose circle is growing year by year.

In 2025, the Gnesin Russian Academy of Music celebrates the 130th anniversary of the Gnesin educational institutions. The study and publication of previously unknown documents and theoretical sources that allow us to take a fresh look at understanding the historical and musical process are all cross-cutting topics this year, which will be initiated by a series of articles in the first issue of the journal.

Our publication continues to participate in organizing major international conferences at the Gnesin Russian Academy of Music together with leading universities and research institutes of our country. In 2025, one of the central events of the scientific year will be the conference *Technique of Musical Composition. Shostakovich in Memoriam (on the 50th Anniversary of His Death)*, which will bring together more than 100 speakers from different countries and many cities of Russia. The life and work of the great composer is another key topic of 2025.

We wish you an interesting and informative reading!

*Irina Susidko*

### *I. Early Music*

Passacaglia and Chaconne: Interpretation of Tempo  
in Theoretical Sources of the 18th Century.....11  
**Alexei A. Panov, Ivan V. Rosanoff**

Duets in Viennese Singspiels by Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf and Opera Buffa.....29  
**Svetlana B. Bubeeva**

### *II. Musical Meaning*

Pyotr Tchaikovsky's *The Queen of Spades* as a "Faustian" Plot:  
On the Problem of the Intertextual Content of the Opera.....54  
**Natalia V. Korolevskaya**

### *III. Musical Theatre: A Source Study*

*La molinara* in the Theatre of Stepan S. Apraksin (Based on the Note Manuscripts  
of the Apraksin & Golitsyn's Collection in the Russian State Library).....79  
**Alexandra A. Safonova**

Camillo Everardi's Pedagogical Repertoire  
at the Saint Petersburg Conservatory (1870–1888).....105  
**Alexandra B. Turintseva**

Opera and Revolution: The Bolshoi Theatre at the End of 1917.....130  
**Petr N. Gordeev**

### *IV. History of Musical Theatre*

Early Stage Works by Stanisław Moniuszko:  
History of Creation and Productions in Minsk and Vilnius.....154  
**Olga V. Sobakina**

### *V. Contemporary Music*

Contemporary Music as Reflected in Scholarly Texts:  
An Analysis of Russian Art History Journals.....180  
**Yulia N. Panteleeva**

Cover illustration:  
Cover of the first edition of the vocal score of P. I. Tchaikovsky's opera *The Queen of Spades*  
(Moscow, P. Jurgenson, [1890])



### *I. Старинная музыка*

Пассакалия и чакона: трактовка темпа в теоретических источниках XVIII века.....11  
**Алексей Анатольевич Панов, Иван Васильевич Розанов**

Дуэты в венских зингшпилях Карла Диттерса фон Диттерсдорфа и опера *buffa*.....29  
**Светлана Баяровна Бубеева**

### *II. Музыкальное содержание*

«Пиковая дама» П. И. Чайковского как «фаустианский» сюжет:  
к проблеме интертекстуального содержания оперы.....54  
**Наталья Владимировна Королевская**

### *III. Музыкальный театр: источниковедение*

«Прекрасная мельничиха» в театре С. С. Апраксина  
(по материалам нотных рукописей фонда Апраксиных-Голицыных РГБ).....79  
**Александра Анатольевна Сафонова**

Педагогический репертуар Камилло Эверарди  
в Санкт-Петербургской консерватории (1870–1888).....105  
**Александра Бориславовна Туринцева**

Опера и революция: Большой театр в конце 1917 года.....130  
**Пётр Николаевич Гордеев**

### *IV. Музыкальный театр: вопросы истории*

Ранние сценические произведения Станислава Монюшко:  
история создания и постановок в Минске и в Вильне.....154  
**Ольга Валерьевна Собакина**

### *V. Современная музыка*

Современная музыка в научном отражении  
(по материалам российских искусствоведческих журналов).....180  
**Юлия Николаевна Пантелеева**

*Иллюстрация на обложке:*

Обложка первого издания клавира оперы П. И. Чайковского «Пиковая дама»  
(Москва, П. Юргенсон, [1890])

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EDN CJYVON



## Passacaglia and Chaconne: Interpretation of Tempo in Theoretical Sources of the 18th Century



<sup>1</sup>*Alexei A. Panov*



<sup>2</sup>*Ivan V. Rosanoff*

<sup>1</sup>St. Petersburg State University, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation,

✉ [a.panov@spbu.ru](mailto:a.panov@spbu.ru), <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4053-4512>

<sup>2</sup>St. Petersburg State University, Saint Petersburg Rimsky-Korsakov State Conservatory,  
Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation,

✉ [i.rosanov@spbu.ru](mailto:i.rosanov@spbu.ru), <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6768-6831>

Translated by Thomas A. Beavitt

**Abstract.** There is a lot of information about the chaconne and passacaglia in ancient documents: treatises, prefaces to music publications, musical dictionaries and reference and encyclopedic publications of general vocabulary of the last quarter of the 17th and 18th centuries. At the same time, this information is very contradictory and is often subjective. Articles devoted to these genres are found in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, in the *Encyclopédie* of Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, in the *Neu eröffnete musikalische Bibliothek, oder Gründliche Nachricht nebst unpartheyischem Urtheil von musikalischen Schriften und Büchern* by Lorenz Christoph Mitzler, in Nathan Bailey's *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, which has gone through many editions, in Johann Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, and even in the first edition of Jacques Ozanam's *Dictionnaire Mathématique*, etc. Of course, the authors of special musical dictionaries in the 18th century (Sébastien de Brossard, Johann Georg Walter, James Grassino, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, etc.) do not ignore the chaconne and passacaglia. Very valuable, objective materials about the tempo of the performance of chaconnes and passacaglia in the 18th century are contained in the works of ancient European musicians — authors of various kinds of pre-metronomical systems for fixing the tempo of the performance of musical works (Charles Masson, Michel L'Affiliard, Louis-Leon Pajot (Comte D'Onzembray), Raoul-Auger Feuillet, Jacques-Alexandre de la Chapelle, Johann Joachim Quantz, etc.).

**Keywords:** passacaglia, chaconne, interpretation of 18th century music, genres of 18th century instrumental music, pre-metronomical systems for recording the tempo of performance

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Старинная музыка

Научная статья

**Пассакалия и чакона:  
трактовка темпа  
в теоретических источниках XVIII века**

*<sup>1</sup>Алексей Анатольевич Панов, <sup>2</sup>Иван Васильевич Розанов*

<sup>1</sup>Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет,  
г. Санкт-Петербург, Российская Федерация,

✉ [a.panov@spbu.ru](mailto:a.panov@spbu.ru), <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4053-4512>

<sup>2</sup>Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет,  
Санкт-Петербургская государственная консерватория  
имени Н. А. Римского-Корсакова, г. Санкт-Петербург, Российская Федерация,

✉ [i.rozanov@spbu.ru](mailto:i.rozanov@spbu.ru), <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6768-6831>

**Аннотация.** Сведений о чаконе и пассакалии в старинных документах — трактатах, предисловиях к нотным изданиям, музыкальных словарях и справочно-энциклопедических изданиях общей лексики последней четверти XVII–XVIII века немало. В то же время сведения эти весьма противоречивы и зачастую носят субъективный характер. Статьи, посвященные названным жанрам, обнаруживаются в «Британской энциклопедии», в «Словаре Французской академии», в «Энциклопедии» Дени Дидро и Жана Лерона Д’Аламбера, в «Музыкальной библиотеке» и во «Вновь открытой музыкальной библиотеке» Лоренца Кристофа Мицлера,

в выдержавшем множество переизданий «Универсальном этимологическом английском словаре» Натана Бэйли, во «Всеобщей теории изящных искусств» Иоганна Георга Зульцера и даже в первом издании «Математического словаря» Жака Озанама и т. д. Разумеется, не обходят вниманием чакону и пассакалию авторы специальных музыкальных словарей (Себастьян де Броссар, Иоганн Георг Вальтер, Джеймс Грассино, Жан-Жак Руссо, Георг фон Вильке, Хайнрих Кристоф Кох и др.) и теоретических руководств XVIII века как в части выбора темпа (Шарль Массон, Мишель Лаффийяр, Луи-Леон Пайо [граф Д'Онсамбрей], Рауль-Оже Фёйе, Жак-Александр де ля Шапель, Иоганн Иоахим Кванц и др.), так и в сравнении аффекта исполнения (Иоганн Маттезон, Мишель Пиньовет де Монтеклер, Мишель Корретт и др.).

**Ключевые слова:** пассакалия, чакона, интерпретация музыки XVIII века, жанры инструментальной музыки XVIII века, дометрономические системы фиксации темпа исполнения

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### *Introduction*

The passacaglia and chaconne, representing two genres (or more precisely, types of musical composition) having a similar structure, are regularly found in operas, ballets and various collections of Western European chamber, organ and keyboard music of the Baroque and Galant eras. Due to their similarities in composition, tempo and metro-rhythmic terms, many scholars note difficulties in clearly distinguishing between the genres of passacaglia and chaconne. According to Viktor Abramovich Zuckerman, “the genres of chaconne and passacaglia developed in parallel and became so intertwined that attempts to differentiate them precisely ran into contradictions and were doomed to failure; suffice it to say that there were cases of double naming.”<sup>1</sup> “In many ways, their names are synonyms,” writes the authoritative Russian researcher Yuri Semenovitch Bocharov in his book “Genres of Instrumental Music of the Baroque Era.” [1, p. 92–93]

However, was everything as simple in former times as it may seem to us today? Do contemporary practicing musicians have sufficient grounds to attempt some kind of conceptual unification of the two genres in terms of tempo and character (affect) of performance, regardless of the title of the piece prescribed by the composer? In the present work, we will cite numerous disquisitional sources from that time to argue that, despite the ostensible similarity of the passacaglia and chaconne throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, the interpretation of these types of musical composition in Western European countries was different — both in terms of affect and tempo.

### *German Sources of the 1730s–40s*

“Die Ciacona, Chaconne, mit ihrem Bruder, oder ihrer Schwester, dem Passacaglio, oder Passecaille” reads the title of one of the paragraphs of the treatise by Johann Mattheson *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739).<sup>2</sup> However, in the following paragraphs, Mattheson lists significant differences in the character and tempo of performance of chaconnes and passacaglias, which provide grounds for classifying them as independent types of musical composition. The author of the treatise

<sup>1</sup> Zuckerman, V. A. (1974). *Variatsionnaya forma* [Variation Form]. Muzyka, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Mattheson, J. (1739). *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister* [...]. Hamburg: Christian Herold, p. 233.



qualifies the chaconne as, in principle, a slower and more thoughtful composition than the passacaglia. He also notes that the passacaglia “nimmer zum Singen gebraucht wird”<sup>3</sup>; the consequently faster movement is organically inherent in dance genres. Similar information is found in the treatise *Kern Melodischer Wißenschafft* (1737)<sup>4</sup> published by Mattheson two years earlier. Three years after the publication of *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister*, the same paragraph was included without citation of the source in *Curiöses Reit=Jagd=Recht=Tantz=oder Ritter=Exercitien=Lexicon* (1742) by Valentin Trichter.<sup>5</sup> The author of the article “Chaconne” in the second volume of *Musikalische Bibliothek* (1743)<sup>6</sup> Lorenz Christoph Mizler also cited this passage. In the latter case, a direct reference is made to the authoritative opinion of Mattheson. The text from Mattheson’s treatise also appears in the second edition of *Allgemeines Lexicon der Künste und Wissenschaften* (1748)<sup>7</sup> by Johann Theodor Jablonski, although again without indicating the source.

#### French Sources

Other characteristics of the tempo of performance of these forms in French dictionaries and treatises. “La PASSACAILLE est une Piece de Musique à trois tems, composée de Couplets, à peu près comme la Chaconne” is reported in 1691 in *Dictionnaire Mathématique* by Jacques Ozanam.<sup>8</sup>

Jean-Pierre Freillon Poncein indicates in his manual for teaching wind instruments (1700) that the tempo of a chaconne is set “on three fast beats or one and a half slow beats [à trois temps legers, ou à un & demy, lent].” The passacaglia, in turn,

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Mattheson, J. (1737). *Kern melodischer Wißenschafft* [...]. Hamburg: Christian Herold, pp. 123–124.

<sup>5</sup> Trichter, V. (1742). *Curiöses Reit=Jagd=Recht=Tantz=oder Ritter=Exercitien=Lexicon*, [...]. Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditsch. Sp. 1726.

<sup>6</sup> Mizler von Kolof, L. Ch. (1743). [...] *Musikalische Bibliothek Oder Gründliche Nachricht nebst unpartheyischem Urtheil von alten und neuen musikalischen Schrifften und Büchern*, [...]. Zweyter Band, [...]. Leipzig: Mizler, p. 101–102.

<sup>7</sup> Jablonski, J. Th. ([1748]). [...] *Allgemeines Lexicon der Künste und Wissenschaften Zweyter Theil von P bis Z*. S.l., s.n., s.a. [Königsberg und Leipzig: Hartung], p. 782.

<sup>8</sup> Ozanam, [J]. (1691). *Dictionnaire Mathématique, ou Idée Generale des Mathematiques*. [...] Paris: Estienne Michallet, p. 665.

according to the author's explanation, should be beaten "slower than the Chaconne, and three beats per measure [Passacaille à trois temps, un peu plus grave que celle de la Chaconne]." <sup>9</sup> Later, a similar point of view was expressed in the treatise *Methode De Musique Selon Un Nouveau Système* (1728) by Démotz de la Salle. He writes that the passacaglia is beaten on three slow beats ("Passacaille à 3 Tems graves"), while the tempo of the chaconne is set on three fast beats ("Chaconne à 3 Tems legers"). <sup>10</sup>

Sébastien de Brossard in the famous *Dictionnaire des termes grecs, latins et italiens* (1701) states that the chaconne is a composition for obligato bass in four measures, typically composed in the time signature of 3/2. According to Brossard, the chaconne can be written in either major or minor keys. <sup>11</sup> According to the author, the passacaglia differs little from the chaconne other than in terms of its performance tempo and affect: the former tends to be slower, less lively, more tender, and composed in a minor key <sup>12</sup>. Similar information regarding the performance tempo of the chaconne and passacaglia is given several years earlier by *Le Dictionnaire des Arts et des Sciences* of the French Academy (1694). <sup>13</sup>

Here we may note that de Brossard's definition is directly opposed to Mattheson's point of view as expressed above. It is difficult to establish the reason for such a difference in the interpretation of the terms *chaconne* and *passacaglia* in historical documents published within a time span of only a little over thirty years. However, we hypothesise that the reason for this may be connected with the absence of a single codified tradition of interpreting the genres of chaconne and passacaglia in the first half of the 18th century rather than any transformation of aesthetic principles and practices of interpreting these types of musical composition.

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<sup>9</sup> Freillon-Poncein, J.-P. (1700). *La Veritable Maniere D'Apprendre A Jouer En Perfection Du Haut-Bois, De La Flute Et Du Flageolet, Avec Les Principes De La Musique Pour La Voix Et Pour Toutes Sortes D'Instrumens*. Paris: Jacques Collombat, p. 55.

<sup>10</sup> [Démotz de la Salle]. (1728). *Methode De Musique Selon Un Nouveau Système. Très-court, très-facile & très-sûr*. Paris: Pierre Simon, p. 170.

<sup>11</sup> Brossard, S. de (l'Abbé). (1701). *Dictionnaire des termes grecs, latins et italiens, dont on se sert fréquemment dans toutes sortes de Musique, & particulièrement dans l'Italienne*. Paris: Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard, p. 13. In the present work, we used the first edition of the dictionary (1701). The second edition (1703) is less complete (for example, it lacks an article on the term *Allemande*), is in folio format, and has no pagination. The main text of the 1705 edition, which is identical to the first, was apparently printed from the same engraving plates. See [2, p. 424–426].

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>13</sup> *Le Dictionnaire des Arts et des Sciences*. (1694). Par M. D. C. de l'Académie Française. Tome Quatrième. M — Z. Paris: Jean Baptiste Coignard, p. 175.

Brossard had a significant influence on the interpretation of terms in German and English sources. James Grassineau in *Musical Dictionary* (1740), when describing *the passacaglia*, provides an accurate English translation of the text from de Brossard's dictionary<sup>14</sup>. Although mentioning in passing that the chaconne is a type of sarabande, he does not discuss its affect or the tempo of its performance.<sup>15</sup> Half a century earlier, we may find a similarly somewhat disparaging definition of the term in the work of Jacques Ozanam, who states with complete certainty that the chaconne is nothing more than a sarabande composed of variations (verses) on *basso ostinato*.<sup>16</sup>

In *Musicalisches Lexicon* (1732) by Johann Gottfried Walther, a rather lengthy article is devoted to the chaconne.<sup>17</sup> While a large part of the article discusses the etymology of the term, it repeats information from de Brossard's dictionary and from the treatise *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* by Mattheson (1713), where in the article entitled "Chaconne" it is noted that the passacaglia is more difficult to perform; the tempo of both genres is not discussed in this work by Mattheson.<sup>18</sup> We may note that Walther, like de Brossard, emphasises that the chaconne can be composed in either a minor or a major key. However, in the article *Passacaglia*, Walther provides definitions of its tempo and affect in comparison with the chaconne. These are borrowed from de Brossard's dictionary with reference to the latter's authoritative opinion.

The author of the article *Ciacona* (*Ciacona*, Italian, *Chaconne*, French) in the sixth volume of the fundamental 64-volume *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (1733)<sup>19</sup> by Johann Heinrich Zedler does not provide any information about the differences in the performance of the passacaglia and chaconne, instead referring the reader to the French dictionary of general vocabulary by Antoine Furetière (1690): "Chaconne. [...] A musical piece or dance (Air de Musique,

<sup>14</sup> Grassineau, J. A. (1740). *Musical Dictionary; being a Collection of Terms and Characters, As well Ancient as Modern; including the Historical, Theoretical, and Practical Parts of Music [...]*. London: John Wilcox, p. 175.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 664.

<sup>17</sup> Walther, J. G. (1732). *Musicalisches Lexicon Oder Musicalische Bibliothec, [...]*. Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, p. 164.

<sup>18</sup> Mattheson, J. (1713). *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre, oder universelle und gründliche Anleitung [...]*. Hamburg: bey Benjamin Schillers Wittwe im Thum, p. 185.

<sup>19</sup> Zedler, J. H. (1733). *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste, [...]*. Sechster Band, [...]. Halle und Leipzig: Johann Heinrich Zedler. Sp. 1–2.

ou danse).<sup>20</sup> In the article “*Passacaglio, oder Passagaglio, Passacaille*”, Zedler notes with reference to de Brossard’s dictionary that the passacaglia is actually the same as the chaconne, only generally slower.<sup>21</sup>

A brief but important remark is found in the treatise *Principes de musique* (1736) by Michel Pignolet (Pinolet) de Montéclair. In this work it is stated that the passacaglia and sarabande are performed at a slow tempo, while chaconnes and minuets should be played *con moto* (lively). At the same time, the *passepied*, according to de Montéclair, is a very fast piece, i.e., faster than the passacaglia, sarabande, chaconne and minuet.<sup>22</sup> In an earlier treatise by the same author, entitled *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre la Musique* (1709) and dedicated to “M. Couperin” we find two items presented on the same page with the following titles and performance instructions: “Passacaille. Grave (Passacaglia. Slowly)” and “Chaconne. Gay (Chaconne. Fast).”<sup>23</sup> In the anonymously published treatise by Borin Borin *La Musique Theorique et Pratique, dans son ordre naturel: Nouveaux Principes* (1722), a fragment of a passacaglia from *Armide* by Jean-Baptiste Lully is given with the remark *Grave* (*Illustration 1*).

In his short dictionary of the French language [*Manuel Lexique, ou Dictionnaire Portatif des Mots François*] (1755)<sup>24</sup> Antoine-François Prévost notes the slower performance tempo of the passacaglia as compared to the chaconne. The same explanation is found in *Manuel Lexique, ou Dictionnaire Portatif des Mots François dont la Signification n’est pas familiere à tout le monde* (1755)<sup>25</sup> by Jacques Lacombe. We find exactly the same justifications in *Dictionnaire De Musique* (1768)<sup>26</sup> by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and in a number of other French reference and encyclopaedic publications of that time.

<sup>20</sup> Furetiere, A. (n.d. [1690]). *Dictionnaire Universel, Contenant generalement tous les Mots François*. [...] Tome Premier. S.l., s.n., s.a. [The Hague & Rotterdam: Arnoud et Reinier Leers]. Pagination is missing.

<sup>21</sup> Zedler, J. H. (1740). *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, [...] Sechs und Zwanzigster Band, [...] Leipzig und Halle: Johann Heinrich Zedler. Sp. 1151.

<sup>22</sup> Montéclair, M. P. de. [(c. 1736)]. *Principes de musique*. Paris: l’auteur, s.a., p. 117.

<sup>23</sup> Montéclair, M. P. de. (1709). *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre la Musique*. [...] Paris: l’Auteur, Foucault, p. 37.

<sup>24</sup> Prévost, A.-F. (1755). *Manuel Lexique, ou Dictionnaire Portatif des Mots François dont la Signification n’est pas familiere à tout le monde*. [...] Première Partie. Paris: Didot, p. 605.

<sup>25</sup> Lacombe, J. (1755). *Dictionnaire portatif des beaux-arts*, [...]. Nouvelle Édition. Paris: Jean-Th. Herissant, Les Freres Estienne, p. 495.

<sup>26</sup> Rousseau, J. J. (1768). *Dictionnaire De Musique* [...]. Paris: Duchesne, p. 372.





Illustration 1. J.-B. Lully: Armide — Prologue  
[Borin]. *La Musique Theorique et Pratique, dans son ordre naturel:  
Nouveaux Principes* [...]. Paris: Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard, 1722. P. 73.

A different point of view is expressed by the author of the corresponding article in the *Encyclopédie* (1777) of Diderot and D'Alembert, who states that the chaconne can be played either fast or slow — that is, its tempo characteristics are ambivalent. However, the passacaglia is not mentioned at all in this article.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Diderot, D., D'Alembert, J. le Rond. (1777). *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers. Nouvelle Édition*. [...] Tome VI. Geneve: Pellet, p. 766.

At the same time, in the treatise *Éléments de Musique, Théorique et Pratique* (1759), D'Alembert states that the passacaglia hardly differs from the chaconne other than being slower and more delicate.<sup>28</sup>

### *British and Dutch Sources*

In the British Isles, the genres of chaconne and passacaglia were treated in a generally similar manner to French encyclopaedias and dictionaries. For example, the author of the article "Passacaglia" in *Dictionary*, appended to the anonymous *Rules* (c. 1730)<sup>29</sup> and to the anonymous collection of various compositions *Apollo's Cabinet* (1756), reports that it is approximately the same form as a chaconne, the only difference being that its movement is slower and more down-to-earth.<sup>30</sup> The same, for example, in the seventh edition *An Universal English Dictionary* (1737)<sup>31</sup> by Nathan Bailey, in the first<sup>32</sup> and second<sup>33</sup> editions of John Hoyle's musical dictionary (1770, 1791), in *A Complete Dictionary of Music* by Thomas Busby (1786): "Passacaglio (Ital) A kind of Chaconne, but somewhat graver and more delicate than that air. [...] Passacaille. (French) A kind of Chaconne of a tender and slow movement."<sup>34</sup>

<sup>28</sup> D'Alembert, J. le Rond. (1759). *Éléments de Musique, Théorique et Pratique, suivant les principes de M. Rameau*. Paris: Charles-Antoine Jombert; Lyon: Jean-Marie Bruyset, p. 169.

<sup>29</sup> Anonym. ([c1730]). *Rules; Or a Short and Compleat Method for Attaining to Play a Thorough Bass upon the Harpsichord or Organ*. By an Eminent Master. [...] To which is added, a Dictionary, or Explication of such Italian Words, or Terms, as are made use of in Vocal, or Instrumental Musick. London: J. Walsh, s.a., p. 25.

<sup>30</sup> Anonym. (1756). *Apollo's Cabinet: or the Muses Delight*. An Accurate Collection of English and Italian Songs, Cantatas and Duets, Set to Music for the Harpsichord, Violin, German=Flute, &c. with Instructions for the Voice, Violin, Harpsichord or Spinet, German-Flute, Common-Flute, Hautboy, French-Horn, Basson, and Bass-Violin. Also, A Compleat Musical Dictionary, [...]. Volume I. Liverpool: John Sadler, p. 246.

<sup>31</sup> Bailey, N. (1737). *An Universal English Dictionary*, [...]. The Eighth Edition, with considerable Improvements. London: D. Midwinter et al., Pagination is missing.

<sup>32</sup> Hoyle, J. (1770). *Dictionarium Musica: Being a Complete Dictionary*: [...]. London: Printed for the Author, p. 74.

<sup>33</sup> Hoyle, J. (1791). *A Complete Dictionary of Music*. [...]. London: H. D. Symonds, J. Dale, Miller, and J. Sewell, P. 105.

<sup>34</sup> Busby, Th. (n.d. [1786]). *A Complete Dictionary of Music. To which is prefixed, a familiar introduction to the first principles of that science*. London: R. Phillips. Pagination is missing.

Egbert Buys, in the second part *A New and Complete Dictionary of Terms of Art* (1769), characterises the passacaglia as “a kind of Air somewhat like a *Chacoon*, but of a slower or graver Movement.”<sup>35</sup> In the first part of the dictionary, Buys states that the chaconne is a type of dance in triple time signature; however, the dictionary does not provide definitions of the tempo of performance or the affect of the chaconne.<sup>36</sup> An anonymous author of the *Verhandeling, over de Muziek* published in 1772 in The Hague indicates that “PASSACAILLE, PASSACAGLIO. Soort van *Ciacona*; een zacht en langsaem Muziekstukje, in de maet van 3/4 or 6/8, hebbende verscheide verandering, waer van de bas voor ieder vaers de zelve is; het begint altoos met eene volle maet, en de beweeging is wat *Andante* of *Allegro moderato*.”<sup>37</sup> In the terminological musical dictionary written by Joos Reynvaan (1795), the terms *chaconne* and *passacaglia* are essentially treated as synonyms. The tempo of performance (as well as the affect<sup>38</sup>) of the chaconne is defined by Reynvaan using the Italian terms *Moderáto* and *Andante*.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Buys, E. (1769). *A New and Complete Dictionary of Terms of Art*. [...] *The Second Volume [H-Z]*. Dat is: Nieuw en Volkomen Konstwoordenboek. Amsterdam: Kornelis de Veer, p. 205.

<sup>36</sup> Buys, E. (1768). *A New and Complete Dictionary of Terms of Art*. [...] *The First Volume [A-G]*. Dat is: Nieuw en Volkomen Konstwoordenboek. Amsterdam: Kornelis de Veer, p. 309.

<sup>37</sup> Anoniem. (1772). *Verhandeling, over de Muziek*; [...]. Gravenhage: Jan Abraham Bouvink, p. 328.

<sup>38</sup> Musicians of the 18th century were well aware of the limitations of the polysemous Italian terminology. In the second half of the century, theorists of musical art — for example, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg in the second edition of *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen* (Marpurg, F. W. (1765). *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen, der schönern Ausübung der heutigen Zeit gemäß entworfen* [...]. Zweyte verbesserte Auflage. Berlin: Haude und Spener, pp. 16–17), Georg Friedrich Wolf in *Kurzer aber deutlicher Unterricht im Klavierspielen* (Wolf, G. F. (1783). *Kurzer aber deutlicher Unterricht im Klavierspielen*. Göttingen: H. W. Grape, pp. 25–26), Johann Ernst Altenburg in *Versuch einer Anleitung zur heroisch=musikalischen Trompeter= und Pauker=Kunst* (Altenburg, J. E. (1795). *Versuch einer Anleitung zur heroisch=musikalischen Trompeter=und Pauker=Kunst*. Halle: J. Chr. Hendel, pp. 99–100) and many others — have repeatedly attempted to “distinguish” the meanings of tempo and affect within the Italian terminology system. However, each time the result was, at the very least, unconvincing. An analysis of historical materials directly related to the aforementioned insoluble — and, therefore, very interesting — problem is presented in our previous articles: [3; 4; 5].

<sup>39</sup> Reynvaan, J. V. (1795). *Muzijkaal Kunst-Woordenboek, behelzende, de verklaringen als mede het gebruik en de Kracht der Kunstwoorden, die in de Muzijk voorkomen* [...]. Amsteldam: Wouter Brave, p. 131.

*German Dictionaries of the Last Third of the 18th Century*

The tempo differences between the passacaglia and chaconne during the 1770s–1800s were generally indicated in accordance with earlier sources. The author of the article (Johann Abraham Peter Schulz) *Passacaglia* in the encyclopedia entitled *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* (1779) and published under the editorship of Johann Georg Sulzer describes the passacaglia as a kind of chaconne in very slow movement. He refers the reader to the suites of Handel Georg Friedrich Händel, as well as to the famous passacaglia from *Armide* Jean-Baptiste Lully.<sup>40</sup> In *Kurzgefaßtes Musikalisches Lexikon* (1787) Georg Friedrich Wolff defines the tempo of the chaconne as moderate (“mäßig”).<sup>41</sup> The author of the dictionary characterises the Passacaglia as a genre characterised by “very slow movement (die Bewegung ist sehr mäßig).”<sup>42</sup> Like Schulz in Sulzer’s encyclopaedia, Wolff refers the reader to the suites of Georg Friedrich Händel for an introduction to the best examples of this type of musical composition.<sup>43</sup> In the anonymous<sup>44</sup> *Musikalisches Handwörterbuch* published in 1786 in Weimar and Jena, a somewhat unusual definition of the term chaconne is found: “Eine Art französischer Tanz= und Lieder=Melodien<sup>45</sup> in der Geschwindigkeit einer Tanz=Menuett.”<sup>46</sup> The dictionary refers to the passacaglia as “eine Art französischer Tanzmusiken, welche ein klein wenig geschwinder, als eine Tanzmenuett vorgetragen sehn woollen.”<sup>47</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Sulzer, J. G., [Schulz, J. A. P., Kirnberger, J. Ph.]. (1779). *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* [...]. Dritter Theil. Zweyte verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig: M. G. Weidmann, p. 395.

<sup>41</sup> Wolff, G. F. (1787). *Kurzgefaßtes Musikalisches Lexikon*, [...]. Halle: Joh. Christ. Hendel, p. 33.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Bibliographers at the Library of Congress have attributed the authorship of the dictionary to one Johann Georg Leberecht von Wilke.

<sup>45</sup> The translation here of the term *Melodien* as piece may cause some confusion for the contemporary musicologist. However, it seems that there is a direct analogy here with the 16th–18th-century terms *Air* (English, French) and *Gesang* (German), by which early musicians named all types of musical compositions, including instrumental pieces. See the special article by Yuri S. Bocharov [6].

<sup>46</sup> [Wilke J. G. L. von]. (1786). *Musikalisches Handwörterbuch oder kurzgefaßte Anleitung, sämmtliche im Musikwesen vorkommende, vornehmlich ausländische Kunstwörter richtig zu schreiben, auszusprechen und zu verstehn*. [...]. Weimar: Carl Ludolf Hoffmann; Jena: Johann Michael Mauke, p. 24.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 83.



In the fundamental *Musikalisches Lexikon* (1802) by Heinrich Christoph Koch, no information is given about the tempo and other performance characteristics of the chaconne; in the corresponding article of the dictionary, there is only a reference to the works of Mattheson.<sup>48</sup> However, in the article on the Passacaglia it is stated that the latter is “ein kleines Tonstück zum Tanzen von etwas langsamer Bewegung, und von ernsthaft angenehmen Charakter.”<sup>49</sup>

Valuable and objective information about the tempo of performance of chaconnes and passacaglias in the 18th century is contained in the works of old European musicians who invented various kinds of systems for applying tempo information to musical works prior to the invention of the metronome (Charles Masson,<sup>50</sup> Michel Laffillard,<sup>51</sup> Raoul-Auger Feuillet,<sup>52</sup> Louis-Léon Pajot, Comte D’Onzembray,<sup>53</sup> Jacques-Alexandre de la Chapelle,<sup>54</sup> Johann Joachim Quantz<sup>55</sup> and others). We present the tempo instructions of the above-mentioned ancient authors, recalculated in accordance with the Winkel – Mälzel metronome scale.

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<sup>48</sup> Koch, H. Chr. (1802). *Musikalisches Lexikon, welches die theoretische und praktische Tonkunst, encyclopädisch bearbeitet, alle alten und neuen Kunstwörter erklärt, und die alten und neuen Instrumente beschrieben* [...]. Offenbach A. M.: Johann André. Sp. 312.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. Sp. 1139.

<sup>50</sup> Masson, Ch. [(c. 1710)]. *Nouveau Traité Des Regles Pour La Composition De La Musique* [...]. Quatrième Edition, revûë & corrigée. Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, s.a.

<sup>51</sup> L’Affillard, [M.] (1705). *Principes tres-faciles pour bien apprendre la musique*, [...]. Cinquième Edition revûë, corrigée, & augmentée. Paris: Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard

<sup>52</sup> Feuillet, R.-A. (1701). *Choregraphie ou l’art de décrire la dance* [...]. Seconde édition, augmentée. Paris: l’Auteur, Michel Brunet.

<sup>53</sup> Pajot, L.-L., Comte D’Onzembray [D’Onsembray, D’Ons-en-Bray]. (1735). Description et usage d’un Métromètre ou Machine pour battre les Mesures et les Temps de toutes sortes d’Airs // *Histoire de l’Academie Royale des Sciences. Année 1732*. Paris: De l’Imprimerie Royale, pp. 182–195.

<sup>54</sup> La Chapelle, J. A. de. (1737). *Suite Des Vrais Principes de la Musique* [...]. Livre Second. Paris: L’Auteur, Boivin, Le Clerc, Duval, De Baufre, Roussel.

<sup>55</sup> Quantz, J. J. (1752). [...] *Versuch einer Anweisung, die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* [...]. Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voss.

	Passacaille (M.M.)	Chaconne (M.M.)
Masson, 1697		Chaconne légèrement ♩ = 120
L’Affillard, 1705	♩ = 106	♩ = 157
Feuillet, 1701	♩ = 100	♩ = 150
Pajot (D’Onzembray), 1735	Passacaille de Persée [Lully] ♩ = 95	La Chaconne des Arlequins des Fêtes de Bacchus & de l’Amour ♩ = 53
De la Chapelle, 1737	♩ = 63	♩ = 121
Quantz, 1752	♩ = 160	♩ = 160

### Conclusion

Numerous testimonies in 18th-century musical works confirm the long European tradition of interpreting the passacaglia as a slower and more “gentle” composition as compared to the chaconne. However, it goes without saying that there were other points of view. In this connection, it may be fairly observed that Johann Mattheson, in addition being an influential music critic and composer in his own right, was a profligate “provocateur”, who often put originality and publicity at the forefront to the detriment of reliability; thus, not all of Mattheson’s reasoning accurately reflects the real practice of his time (and earlier times, about which he also wrote).<sup>56</sup> Thus, uncritically following the advice of this undoubtedly outstanding musician and scholar can lead a 21st century performer in a direction far removed from a historically accurate interpretation of early music, a tendency that may be currently observed in the creative community of “authenticists.” An analysis of documents and materials from the 18th century convinces us that the model of interpretation of J. S. Bach’s *Passacaglia* BWV 582 that is widely accepted today as a standard has little in common with historical reality, while the longstanding and largely forgotten “romantic” solution proposed by Alexander F. Goedicke,<sup>57</sup> is more likely to correspond to the actual state of affairs.

<sup>56</sup> Another striking example of a similar type is Mattheson’s interpretation of the meaning of the term *con discrezione* used to connote diametrically opposing meanings in two different treatises [7, p. 54].

<sup>57</sup> Bach, J. S. (1929). *Passacaglia for organ, arranged for large orchestra by A. Goedicke*: score | Bach, J. S. *Passacaglia für Orgel. Für grosses Orchester bearbeitet von A. Goedike*. Score. Moscow: Music Sector of the State Publishing House; Vienna, Leipzig: Universal Edition AG.

The above indications from the old masters and individual documents of the era mentioned here demonstrate significant differences in the interpretation of tempo in the genres of chaconne and passacaglia by musicians of the 18th century. At the same time, from our point of view, such information can be of considerable practical use to instrumentalists and conductors working in the field of historically informed musical performance — provided, of course, that the specific musical material is each time understood and presented in the context of an extremely specific historical, geographical and stylistic context.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> As Yuri Bocharov rightly notes (see, for example: [8, p. 5 and further]), not all modern researchers adhere to the historical context in strict chronology. Moreover, some contemporary researchers use terms and concepts arbitrarily and outside of a historical context. From this misuse of terminology arise numerous misunderstandings both of a specific and a conceptual nature.

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Information about the authors:

**Alexei A. Panov** — Dr. Sci. (Art Studies), Professor, Organ, Harpsichord, and Carillon Department.

**Ivan V. Rosanoff** — Dr. Sci. (Art Studies), Professor, Organ, Harpsichord, and Carillon Department; Organ and Harpsichord Department.

Сведения об авторах:

**Панов А. А.** — доктор искусствоведения, профессор, заведующий кафедрой органа, клавесина и карильона.

**Розанов И. В.** — доктор искусствоведения, профессор, кафедра органа, клавесина и карильона; кафедра органа и клавесина.

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EDN GBENKS



**Duets in Viennese Singspiels  
by Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf and Opera Buffa**

*Svetlana B. Bubeeva*

P. I. Tchaikovsky College of Arts,  
Ulan-Ude, Russian Federation,  
Gnesin Russian Academy of Music,  
Moscow, Russian Federation,

✉ [bubeeva96@mail.ru](mailto:bubeeva96@mail.ru),

<https://orcid.org/0009-0007-8059-0053>



**Abstract.** The present article examines the ensemble technique of Carl Dittersdorf in the duets of his Viennese Singspiels. In 1786, the premier of his Singspiel *Doktor und Apotheker* had such a great success that it had even eclipsed Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* in the eyes of his contemporaries. This recognition was due to the genre of German comic opera, renewed by Dittersdorf with opera buffa elements. As a signature component of the latter,

ensemble scenes and, in particular, duets had formed an organic part of his Singspiels. The long-awaited union of lovers, the comical clash of enemies, the extended dialogue of friends comforting each other — all the variety of duets fits into the Italian model. The article aims to use the example of duets from his three German comic operas written for the Viennese stage: *Doktor und Apotheker* (1786), *Die Liebe im Narrenhause* (1787), and *Hieronymus Knicker* (1789) for tracing the consistency in reproducing this tradition. The influence of Italian comic opera on the forms of duets, as well as their compositional structure and connection with the stage situation and characters' features are examined.

**Keywords:** Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf, *Doktor und Apotheker*, *Die Liebe im Narrenhause*, *Hieronymus Knicker*, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, German comic opera, Viennese Singspiel, opera buffa, duet, ensemble, musical forms, composition

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Старинная музыка

Научная статья

**Дуэты в венских зингшпилях  
Карла Диттерса фон Диттерсдорфа и опера *buffa***

*Светлана Баяровна Бубеева*

Колледж искусств им. П. И. Чайковского,  
г. Улан-Удэ, Российская Федерация,  
Российская академия музыки имени Гнесиных,  
г. Москва, Российская Федерация,  
✉ [bubeeva96@mail.ru](mailto:bubeeva96@mail.ru),  
<https://orcid.org/0009-0007-8059-0053>

**Аннотация.** Статья посвящена ансамблевой технике Карла Диттерсдорфа в дуэтах его венских зингшпилей. В 1786 году состоялась премьера его первого зингшпиля «Доктор и аптекарь», имевшего настолько большой успех, что он затмил в глазах современников даже «Свадьбу Фигаро» Моцарта. Такое признание было обусловлено обновлением жанра немецкой комической оперы, которое предпринял Диттерсдорф, внедрив в нее элементы оперы *buffa*. Один из знаковых компонентов последней — ансамблевые сцены и, в частности, дуэты, — составил органичную часть его зингшпилей. Долгожданное соединение влюбленных, комичное столкновение врагов, развернутый диалог утешающих друг друга приятелей — все разнообразие дуэтов вписывается в итальянскую модель. Основная задача статьи — на примере дуэтов из трех немецких комических опер



Диттерсдорфа, написанных для венских сцен («Доктор и аптекарь», 1786, «Любовь в сумасшедшем доме», 1787 и «Скряга Иеронимус», 1789), проследить, насколько последователен композитор в воспроизведении этой традиции. В работе сделан вывод о влиянии итальянской комической оперы на формообразование дуэтов, прослежены особенности их композиции, ее связь со сценической ситуацией и характеристикой персонажей.

**Ключевые слова:** Карл Диттерс фон Диттерсдорф, Вольфганг Амадей Моцарт, немецкая комическая опера, венский зингшпиль, опера *buffa*, дуэт, ансамбль, формообразование, композиция

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### Introduction

The operas of Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf have repeatedly become the object of study in Western musicology, starting with the classic work of Lothar Riedinger (1914) [1] and ending with the musicological sketches of the late 20th and early 21st centuries devoted to Dittersdorf's Viennese operas and Singspiels [2; 3], his Italian works [4; 5], and libretto analysis [6]. However, this part of the composer's legacy remains insufficiently studied. In the works of recent years, much more attention is paid to source study issues (see, e.g., [5]), while theoretical aspects, such as principles of musical composition, musical language, as well as intonation dramaturgy, are largely ignored. (The few publications of this kind deal mainly with *Doktor und Apotheker* [7, p. 190–201; 8].) Meanwhile, this situation runs counter to one of the important trends of recent years: the ever-increasing role of research, in which “opera becomes the material and subject of theoretical understanding” [9, p. 151].

Moreover, recent decades have been marked with significant changes in the genetic understanding of the structural characteristic of arias and ensembles in 18th-century operas. Researchers note, on the one hand, the priority of vocal forms in the formation of sonata composition principles [10, p. 72; 11, p. 33–37], the close connection between compositional and genre innovations [12], and, on the other hand, insufficiency of purely instrumental logic to explain the features of forms in opera [13, p. 120].

This makes the processes in the emerging genre of Singspiel with striking examples created by Dittersdorf particularly interesting. The article considers these processes using the example of duets from his three German comic operas written for the Viennese stage: *Doktor und Apotheker* (1786), *Die Liebe im Narrenhause* (1787), and *Hieronymus Knicker* (1789). A comparison with musical forms characteristic

of the opera buffa ensembles of the time furnishes insights into the specific nature of duets in these works by Dittersdorf.

*Ensembles in the Dittersdorf's Singspiels*

It is known that, by the time Dittersdorf created his first Singspiel, he had already had extensive experience in working with Italian comic opera [14, p. 140]. It was in buffa that the composer, like his Viennese contemporaries, drew models, forms, and principles of theme working for the new genre. The northern German Singspiel that already existed in those years was inappropriate as such a model for Dittersdorf, since it displeased the Viennese public [15, p. 48; 16, c. 3] educated on the best examples of Italian comic opera.

Incompletely reflected in the northern German Singspiel, ensembles represent one of the most important features of Italian comic opera. According to Mary Hunter, these ensembles “embody the spirit of comedy” [17, p. 156], since they are “concerned with the relations between individuals and their [...] groupings” [Ibid., p. 157]. In opera buffa, scenes of this kind become the driving force behind the action by resolving conflicts or, conversely, starting new ones. These particular qualities distinguish the ensembles of Dittersdorf's Singspiels.

Considering such works as “identical to Italian comic opera” (cited in: [18, Vol. 1, p. 237], see also [19, p. 14]), Anny Schlesinger, the author of a dissertation on the Viennese Singspiel, points out that Dittersdorf's Deutsche operas typically contain about 22 numbers, including “approximately two or three ensembles... [and] one or two duets [each]”<sup>1</sup> [Ibid., p. 106]. For example, in his *Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor* and *Die Liebe im Narrenhause* there are 22 numbers, including six ensembles; *Das rote Käppchen* contains 22 numbers with five ensembles and *Hieronymus Knicker* include 21 numbers also with five ensembles. A similar ratio is found in the Dittersdorf's most famous Singspiel, *Doktor und Apotheker*: 24 vocal numbers and nine ensembles. This proportion is indeed characteristic of the Viennese buffa: as Hunter points out, between 1770 and 1790, “ensembles represent

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<sup>1</sup> When citing the number of arias and ensembles in Dittersdorf's operas, she excludes duets in the ensembles and lists their number separately: „etwa 2–3 Ensembles, 5–8 Arien, 1–2 Duette“ [19, p. 106].

between a quarter and a third of closed musical numbers” [17, p. 157]. Thus, in Mozart’s *Le nozze di Figaro* there are 29 musical numbers with eight ensembles; *Don Giovanni* contains 26 numbers, including seven ensembles.<sup>2</sup>

No less important is the ratio of different ensemble types in Dittersdorf’s operas: duets almost always predominate with about two or three *terzetti* and one ensemble with a large number of participants, which is clearly seen in *Doktor und Apotheker*: five duets, two *terzetti*, a quintet, and a sextet. This ratio also corresponds to the traditions of Italian comic opera of the time. According to Hunter, in the Viennese *buffa*, “duets are by far the most common form of ensemble” and “there are more than twice as many duets as trios,<sup>3</sup> about twice as many trios as quartets, and these ratios continue with quintets and sextets” [Ibid., p. 158], which can be observed, e.g., in *Le nozze di Figaro* (six duets, two *terzetti*, one sextet), as well as in Italian operas by Dittersdorf. Thus, *Lo sposo burlato* (1773/1775) contains two duets, a *terzetto*, a quartet, and in *L’Arcifanfano, re dei matti* (1776) there are three duets, and a quartet.

Thus, even in terms of the ratio of solos and ensembles, as well as the number of duets, Dittersdorf’s Viennese *Singspiels* demonstrate strict adherence to the trend characteristic of Italian comic opera of the 1770s and 1780s.

### *Duets in Dittersdorf’s Singspiels*

As Hunter notes, “duets are the only ensembles with any structure more predictable than the general progression of the ensemble principle” [Ibid., p. 162]. Despite the fact that “duets are more often thematically through-composed” [Ibid., p. 163], “they also exhibit a variety of binary and ternary forms” [Ibid., p. 158]. Referring to Ronald Rabin, she names several distinctive features of such numbers. Although

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<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the first act of *Doktor und Apotheker* has almost the same ratio of arias and ensembles as *Il barbiere di Siviglia* by Giovanni Paisiello: in both cases, the acts include 11 numbers. In Dittersdorf’s opera, these are five arias, five ensembles (including the finale), and one number designated as “Aria and Duettino” (No. 5); *Il barbiere di Siviglia* has six solo numbers (including the introduction) and five ensemble numbers. Act I of *Doktor und Apotheker* consists of one quintet, two *terzetti*, one duettino, one duet; in Act II there are three duets and one sextet. Act I of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* includes three duets, two *terzetti*; in Act II there are one duet and one quintet.

<sup>3</sup> In Italian opera, ensembles with three participants are sometimes called *trio*, while in German they are typically *terzetto*, and *trio* is referred by dictionaries to instrumental music [18, Vol. 2, p. 67].

being through-composed, they have distinct boundaries between sections following one another according to the principle of alternating solo episodes with joint singing. The beginning most often consists of a transition “from independent statements for the two participants through dialogue, to a closing tutti in parallel thirds and sixths” (cited in: [Ibid., p. 162], see also [20, p. 285]). Dialogue is characterized by modulation, while joint singing typically sounds in the fundamental key. The contrast between sections can be enhanced by changing tempo and/or time signature. According to Hunter, “the ‘independent statements’ often repeat the same melody, either in an antecedent-consequent (I–I; I–V) pattern, or in a pattern more like a sonata-form exposition (I–V; I–I)” [17, p. 162; 20] (see also [20, pp. 291–292]).

The structure of duets in Dittersdorf’s *Singspiels* reflects all of the above-mentioned patterns, although to varying degrees. This type of ensemble is almost always based on the scheme described by Rabin (solo statements by participants — dialogue — joint singing), and the structures, as in opera buffa, vary from binary and ternary to through-composed. However, they can be significantly transformed depending on the stage situation.

Unless there are any complications in the text of the duet, such ensembles typically have no more than two or three sections. For example, such ensemble is the duettino of Gotthold and Sichel from Act I of *Doktor und Apotheker*, which at first glance is constructed extremely simply: a short exchange of lines (12 bars) followed by joint singing in parallel thirds (18 bars). However, both the structure of the scene and the musical logic have their own special features. This small ensemble is a component part of a more extended number designated as “Arie und Duettino,” which is preceded by Sichel’s aria in the same *A major* key and  $\frac{4}{4}$  time signature, separated by a very conventional caesura. This is obviously why the initial section of the duettino appears more like a developmental one with short lines against the background of constant deviations into secondary keys. The first six bars of joint singing represent a “retransition” that repeats the orchestral “retransition” to the reprise in the first section of Sichel’s aria (*Examples 1, 2*).

Due to this section, the duettino itself acquires a symmetrical structure (12–6–12). At the same time, in the typical duet scheme described by Rabin and Hunter, the first 12 bars correspond not so much to individual solo statements as to a dialogue (however, the characters pronounce lines “to themselves” — *für sich*). The explanation for this lies in the structure of the entire number and, more broadly, the scene:



Sichel's aria and Gotthold's aria<sup>4</sup> preceding it represent precisely these “independent statements” expanded to the size of solo numbers. Both arias are inscribed in the situation unfolding in the duettino: Gotthold and Sichel, each in their own way, are looking forward to a date with their lovers. The ensemble part itself becomes the logical conclusion of the scene: finding themselves near the house where both girls live, the heroes in the dark mistake each other for rivals and are overcome by one feeling of jealousy.



Example 1. Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf. *Doktor und Apotheker*, Act I,  
No. 5, Arie und Duettino. Sichel's aria, orchestral “retransition”, mm. 47–52



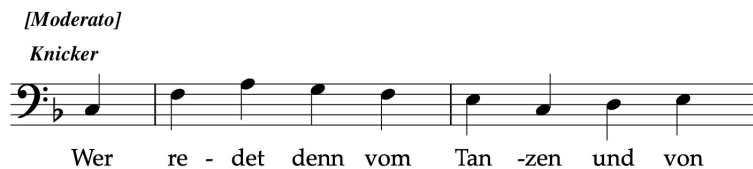
Example 2. Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf. *Doktor und Apotheker*, Act I,  
No. 5, Arie und Duettino. Duettino: Gotthold and Sichel, mm. 12–16

A more developed and independent version of a two-part duet structure with contrasting sections (*Moderato*,  $\frac{4}{4}$  – *Allegretto*,  $\frac{6}{8}$ ) is found in the duet of Knicker and Filz from Act II of the Singspiel *Hieronymus Knicker*. This duet is also based on a comic situation: Knicker tries to matchmake his niece with deaf Filz, who is armed with an ear trumpet (der Trichter) to improve his hearing. The hapless groom cannot understand what they want from him, and only by the end of the first part does he realize that they are talking about marriage. Therefore, the beginning of the duet is an alternation of solo statements by Knicker and Filtz; each statement is a period

<sup>4</sup> Formally, this is the 4th scene and the beginning of the 5th.

of two sentences, including the first in one key (F major) and second one modulating into the key of the dominant (C major), which is “like a sonata-form exposition (I–I; I–V)” described by Hunter [17, p. 162]. These thematically independent periods repeat themselves, forming a semblance of a rondal structure (A–B–A–B<sub>1</sub>–A), where Knicker’s solo with the role of a refrain remains almost unchanged, and transforming Filz’s statement (episode) preserves only the pattern of the melodic line and the modulation to the dominant.

The next dialogue section is constructed as an exchange of short lines between Filz, who has dropped his trumpet, and Knicker, who is irritated by his deafness and is afraid of “shouting himself to death” („sonst schrei ich mich zu Tode“). When Filz finally puts the trumpet to his ear, the opening phrase of the duet appears for the first time in his part as a sign that he has come closer to understanding what is happening (*Examples 3, 4*).



*Example 3.* Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf. *Hieronymus Knicker*, Act II,  
No. 17, Duet: Knicker and Filz, mm. 4–6



*Example 4.* Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf. *Hieronymus Knicker*, Act II,  
No. 17, Duet: Knicker and Filz, mm. 60–62

When the two men finally reach a true mutual understanding, the initial period returns in full, albeit transformed: the first phrase is again given to Filz, as is the main melodic line of the second sentence. The latter is repeated twice, and the heroes sing it together, although with different words<sup>5</sup> (*Example 5*).

<sup>5</sup> Filz: “Now you see, things are going well” („Nun sehn Sie, dass es besser geht“), Knicker: “Thank God, now you understand me” („Gottlob, dass man mich versteht“).



Example 5. Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf. *Hieronymus Knicker*, Act II,  
No. 17, Duet: Knicker and Filz, mm. 83–88

This shortened reprise<sup>6</sup> closes the first part of the duet and simultaneously precedes the second changing in tempo and time signature. Complete agreement, as is typical in such cases, is expressed through singing in parallel thirds (*Example 6*). As for the place in the whole, the second part with its tonic organ points and repeating cadences performs the function of a coda similar to the duettino from Act I of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (*Example 7*), which is constructed in a similar way.<sup>7</sup>

Allegretto

Filz

Knicker

Der Trich-ter ist doch Glo-des werth, er macht, dass man sich lei-ter hört, und

Example 6. Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf. *Hieronymus Knicker*, Act II,  
No. 17, Duet: Knicker and Filz, *Allegretto*, mm. 1–4

<sup>6</sup> This section can also be seen as the return of the refrain. In this case, the form of the first part (*Moderato*) takes on the features of a seven-part rondo.

<sup>7</sup> Two sections with tempo contrast and juxtaposition of time signatures (*Andante*,  $\frac{2}{4}$  and *Allegro*,  $\frac{6}{8}$ ).



Example 7. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Don Giovanni*, Act I,  
Duettino: *Don Giovanni* and Zerlina, *Allegro*, mm. 1–4

Another stable structure that Dittersdorf uses in duets is da capo. Such are, e.g. the Krautmann and Stössel duet from Act II of *Doktor und Apotheker* [1, p. 290] and Orpheus and Clärchen duet from Act II of the Singspiel *Die Liebe im Narrenhause*. In the first case, the members of the ensemble are quarrelling rivals (the opera's “titular” characters are the doctor and the pharmacist); in the second, they are happy lovers. This, despite the external similarity of the structure, provides noticeable differences in the internal logic.

First of all, the duet of Krautmann and Stössel looks more compact, although the total number of bars is comparable. In addition, it lacks the changes of tempo, time, and signs on the form edges present in the duet of Orpheus and Klärchen (*Schemes 1, 2*).

Scheme 1. Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf. *Doktor und Apotheker*, Act II,  
No. 21, Duet: Krautmann and Stössel

I	II	[da capo]
<i>Vivace</i>	—	—
$\frac{4}{4}$	—	—
E minor – B minor → E minor	→	E minor – B minor → E minor
59 mm.	47 mm.	59 mm.

*Scheme 2. Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf. Die Liebe im Narrenhause, Act II,  
No. 17, Duet: Orpheus and Clärchen*

Orchestral introduction	I	II	[da capo]
<i>Allegretto</i>		<i>Andante</i>	<i>Allegretto</i>
$6/8$		$2/4$	$6/8$
G major – D major – G major		C major	G major – D major – G major
8 тт.	67 тт.	54 тт.	67 тт.

The structure of the first sections seems very similar at first glance. The solo statements of two characters in both cases fit into a twice repeated eight-bar period modulating into the V degree. These are followed by an exchange of identical four-bar cues in the dominant to the main key as a typical B section of the simple ternary form, and then a tonal non-thematic reprise. This is where the difference between two ensembles becomes apparent. A duet from the Singspiel *Die Liebe im Narrenhause* preserves the principle of the characters speaking in turns; moreover, Klärchen exactly repeats Orpheus's line as in the first two cases. This is followed by an extended coda, which is more than a third of the entire first part, with parallel-third singing broken only by a technique clearly borrowed from Italian opera — a wide ascending leap of the upper voice followed by a “hanging” on a high note for several bars<sup>8</sup> (*Example 8*).

The tonal reprise in the first part of the Krautmann and Stössel duet is resolved in a completely different way — as a dynamic one: the joint singing begins immediately, not in a third, but in the form of a canonical sequence with deviations into secondary keys and a short addition built on tense harmonies (*Example 9*).

<sup>8</sup> Actually, *dal segno*.



*Clärchen*

*Orpheus* Da - rum kommt es blos drauf an, wie dem Weib ge-horcht der  
Da - rum kommt es blos drauf an, wie das Weib re - giert den

Mann, wie dem Weib ge-horcht der Mann  
Mann, wie das Weib re - giert den Mann, da - rum kommt es blos drauf an,

Example 8. Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf. *Die Liebe im Narrenhause*, Act II,  
No. 17, Duet: Orpheus and Clärchen, mm. 50–58

*Krautman*

Doch Sie be-kom-men schon noch ih - ren Lohn, doch Sie be-kom-men schon noch

*Stössel* Je - doch in Ih-rem Sohn räch' ich mich schon, je - doch in Ih-rem

ih - ren Lohn, doch Sie be-kom-men schon noch ih - ren Lohn,

Sohn räch' ich mich schon, je - doch in Ih - rem Sohn räch' ich mich schon,

Example 9. Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf. *Doktor und Apotheker*, Act II,  
No. 21, Duet: Krautmann and Stössel, mm. 43–48

The same kind of differences is observed in the middle parts: the duet of Krautmann and Stössel is much more unstable with a canonical sequence repeating the final section; it is open and ends on a dominant harmony. All the described differences are obviously related to the content. In an effort to convey the tense squabble between the doctor and the pharmacist, Dittersdorf creates a dynamic composition with a predominance of developing sections in contrast to a more static form in the ensemble of lovers, where unclouded joy reigns.

Dittersdorf's Singspiels include duets with more complex, multi-part structures, which can be defined as through-composed. At the same time, even in numbers of this kind, the general principle of alternating solo statements, dialogue, and joint singing is preserved.

One of the striking examples involves the duet of Trübe and Bast in Act I of the opera *Die Liebe im Narrenhause*. The change of sections is emphasized by the contrast of meter, tempo, and keys (*Scheme 3*):

*Scheme 3.* Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf. *Die Liebe im Narrenhause*, Act I, No. 5, Duet: Trübe and Bast

<i>Allegretto</i>	<i>Andante</i>	<i>Allegro molto</i>	–
$\frac{6}{8}$	$\frac{2}{4}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{2}{4}$
F major – D minor	B-flat major – F major	F major	D minor – F major
49 T.	94 T.	46 T.	31 T.

The opera buffa sequence of solo statements, dialogues, and unanimous sections repeats in the duet several times, depending on the stage situation. The general plot outline is in a certain sense similar to what we see in *Hieronymus Knicker*: Trübe is going to marry his daughter Constanze to Bast. However, the central theme of the duet is money and wealth. Bast is due to receive a fortune after his brother's supposed death, but feels it is his duty to feign sadness. Shamelessly greedy, cheerful Trübe persuade with him that a good inheritance is above all else, even grief for loved ones. He has to prove this in several stages, since the seemingly convinced Bast returns again and again to his "sadness." The result is a very unique composition.

The first section (*Allegretto*,  $\frac{6}{8}$ ) is the introduction to the action, a kind of exposition, where two main figurative spheres associated with the mood of the ensemble members are shown for the first time. It is based on a classical duet scheme, but the final part is in a parallel one (*D minor*) in contrast to the traditional main key (*F major*). In the second section (*Andante*,  $\frac{2}{4}$ ), the same pattern is repeated twice with some changes (in *B-flat major* and *F major* for the first and second time, respectively). The main difference is that long solo statements are now only found in Trübe's part. Bast responds to them with more or less short remarks, first repeating his lamentations, and then, distracted by the prospect of a large inheritance and the promise of getting Constanze as a wife, he finally forgets about the sad fate of his brother and merges with his future father-in-law in the unclouded ecstasy of joint singing in parallel thirds. This same unclouded joy constitutes the textual and musical content of the entire third section (*Allegro molto*,  $\frac{3}{8}$ ), which would have to be considered a coda if not for the adjacent fourth section separated by a change in the meter ( $\frac{2}{4}$ ) and key (*D minor*). The return of *D minor* is also determined by the content: Bast suddenly remembers again that his wealth depends on the death of his brother. Here, the same pattern is repeated in miniature as in the first two sections, with the only difference being that Bast's lines now sound first, and Trübe merely echoes him.

This duet proves Dittersdorf as a true master of musical characterization. The deliberate opposition of Trübe and Bast parts, conditioned by the content of the poetic text, turns out to be less unambiguous. This is already evident in the first section, where the sentence of the former,<sup>9</sup> resolved as a single-note eight-bar period, is followed by a sixteen-bar statement of the second<sup>10</sup> in a parallel minor. The opposition concerns not only tonality and mode, but also other parameters of musical language: melody, rhythm, and texture. The sorrow is expressed in drooping intonations, pauses interrupting the melodic line, reminiscent of the *suspiratio* rhetorical figure, and *passus duriusculus* chromatic bass on the words about the "tightness" in the chest. The contrast is enhanced by the openness of Bast's solo remark ending on the dominant in *D minor*.

<sup>9</sup> "If I can inherit money and property, I let my wife and parents die: money will compensate me for the loss" („Wenn ich Geld und Gut kann erben, laß ich Weib und Eltern sterben: Geld ersetzt mir den Verlust“).

<sup>10</sup> "Shouldn't losing a brother touch my heart? How oppressed is my chest!" („Einen Bruder zu verlieren, sollte, das mein Herz nicht rühren? wie beklemmt ist meine Brust!“).

However, according to the plot, this grief is imaginary, and this is why Bast's solo actually repeats Trübe's line not only syntactically using the same periodic structure within 16 bars, but partly in the melodic contour of the phrases and even in individual intonations (*Examples 10, 11*).

The musical score is for a duet between Trübe and Bast. It is in 6/8 time, marked *Allegretto*. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The score consists of two systems. In the first system, Trübe's line (upper staff) has a melodic contour highlighted with red arrows, and Bast's line (lower staff) repeats this contour. In the second system, Trübe's line has two specific phrases circled in red, and Bast's line repeats these phrases. The lyrics are in German.

*Allegretto*

Trübe

Wenn ich Geld und Gut kann er-ben,

Bast

lass ich Weiß und El-tern ster-ben: Geld er-setzt mir den Ver-lust, Geld er-setzt mir den Ver-lust.

*Example 10.* Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf. *Die Liebe im Narrenhause*, Act I,  
No. 5, Duet: Trübe and Bast, mm. 1–12



Bast

Ei - nen Bru - der zu ver - lie - ren soll - te

das mein Herz nicht rüh - ren? Wie be - klemmt ist mei - ne

Brust! wie be - klemmt ist mei - ne Brust!

Example 11. Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf. *Die Liebe im Narrenhause*, Act I,  
No. 5, Duet: Trübe and Bast, mm. 13–28

Further, Bast increasingly adopts Trübe's intonations, and at the end of the last section, even the next mention of his brother's death („mein Bruder sterben! kann ich da wohl fröhlich sein?“), which had previously sounded only in a minor key, finally acquires a major sound corresponding to the true feelings of the hero.

### *Conclusion*

The discussed above duets cover only a small part of the numbers of this kind in Dittersdorf's Singspiels. However, even their example can help us in drawing several important conclusions.

When creating ensembles, the composer apparently largely follows the buffa traditions. This concerns their very number in contrast to arias in individual operas, as well as the number of duets: the predominance of this particular ensemble type is apparently determined by the reliance on Italian comic opera. The influence of the latter is clearly manifested in the features of used forms. Duets often have a two- or three-part structure; however, they can be constructed more freely and consist of several sections. At the same time, the internal logic of such sections is quite uniform: the alternation of solo statements and/or dialogues with joint singing is strictly observed in all considered examples.

Even though duets show a harmonic form and organizational clarity. Dittersdorf uses thematic repetitions, intonation, and tonal connections as ways of uniting the composition. Sometimes, a character or situation is assigned a certain intonation or motif, which is repeated in new sections of the ensemble number. In other cases, the characters borrow individual phrases from each other. This creates not just a sequence of lines, but a complex interaction of characters: the characters either persistently repeat their own intonations, or adopt others', tease, console, comment on the situation, etc.

Thus, the means used in ensembles cannot be called Dittersdorf's invention, since they can be anyhow found in Italian comic opera of his time. However, such a masterful use of the buffoonery arsenal in Singspiels was novel for that time. Only

*Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, which the composer may also have been guided by, demonstrates equally organic fusion of Italian and German. Nevertheless, if Mozart created “something unique and hardly amenable to duplication” [21, p. 348], then Dittersdorf offered a reproducible “model” that his contemporaries and followers could rely on in their Singspiels.

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Information about the author:

**Svetlana S. Bubeeva** — Head of the Subject-Cycle Commission “Music Theory”, Postgraduate Student, Analytical Musicology Department.

Сведения об авторе:

**Бубеева С. Б.** — заведующая предметно-цикловой комиссии «Теория музыки», аспирант, кафедра аналитического музыкознания.

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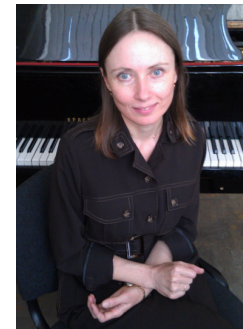
**Pyotr Tchaikovsky's *The Queen of Spades*  
as a “Faustian” Plot: On the Problem  
of the Intertextual Content of the Opera**

*Natalia V. Korolevskaya*

Saratov State Sobinov Conservatoire,  
Saratov, Russian Federation,

✉ [nvkoro@gmail.com](mailto:nvkoro@gmail.com)

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8764-8058>



**Abstract.** The material presented in this article is based on a series of works by Marina Grigorieva Raku (1993, 1999) that consider the intertextual depths of Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky's opera *The Queen of Spades* with the aim of identifying a holistic conceptual structure capable of encompassing the opera from within. The work uses the intertextual analysis methodology proposed by Raku, which includes the triad: “manifest intertext”, “secret intertext”

and “central text”. By analogy with the intertextual discoveries concentrated in the part of the opera plot associated with the transfer of the action to the 18th century, we reveal Tchaikovsky’s reference to Franz Liszt’s *Faust Symphony* (fragmentary citation of Gretchen’s theme in the duet of Lisa and Polina). The discovery of a deep intertextual plane dated back to 19th century music supports a number of important conclusions. Firstly, the projection of the “Faustian” triangle (“Faust–Gretchen–Mephistopheles”) onto Tchaikovsky’s opera actualises the “Herman–Liza–Tomsky” triangle, which, unlike similar structures that have been recognised as organising the action of the opera (“Herman–Liza–Countess”, “Liza–Herman–Eletsky”), has hitherto not attracted attention. Secondly, this triangle not only reflects the images of the “Faustian” intertext, but also relies on Liszt’s method of monothematic transformations, reflected in the key moment of the transformation of Herman’s lyrical confession (“I don’t know her name...”) into an essential opposite (“...Three cards, three cards, three cards!”). Thirdly, the “Faustian” triangle contributes to the re-evaluation of Tomsky’s role as the invisible director of Herman’s fate and the entire operatic plot, which is confirmed by Olga Komarnitskaya’s establishment of the significance of the Ballad as the super-theme of the entire opera (1991); accordingly, Tomsky’s directorial role creates his own “theatre within a theatre”. The actualisation of the “Faustian” plot as a deep structure of *The Queen of Spades* which corresponds to a reading of the opera through the prism of Christian ontology, forms a basis for assessing its significance for Tchaikovsky’s ongoing work, which resulted in the composer’s last opera, *Iolanta*.

**Keywords:** Tchaikovsky, Liszt, *The Queen of Spades*, *Faust Symphony*, intertext, Mephistopheles, Tomsky

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Музыкальное содержание

Научная статья

**«Пиковая дама» П. И. Чайковского  
как «фаустианский» сюжет: к проблеме  
интертекстуального содержания оперы**

*Наталья Владимировна Королевская*

Саратовская государственная  
консерватория имени Л. В. Собинова,  
г. Саратов, Российская Федерация,

✉ [nvkoro@gmail.com](mailto:nvkoro@gmail.com),

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8764-8058>

**Аннотация.** В статье предпринято новое после ряда работ Марины Григорьевны Раку (1993, 1999) исследование интертекстуальных глубин «Пиковой дамы» Петра Ильича Чайковского. Его основная цель — выявить целостную концептуальную структуру, способную охватить оперу изнутри. В работе используется предложенная Раку методология интертекстуального анализа, включающая триаду: «явный интертекст», «тайный интертекст» и «центральный текст». По аналогии с интертекстуальными открытиями, сосредоточенными в той части оперного сюжета, которая связана с переносом действия в XVIII век, в работе выявлено обращение Чайковского к Фауст-симфонии Ференца Листа (фрагментарное цитирование темы Гретхен в дуэте Лизы и Полины). Обнаружение глубинного интертекстуального плана, восходящего к музыке XIX века, позволило сделать ряд открытий. Во-первых, проекция «фаустианского» треугольника



(«Фауст — Гретхен — Мефистофель») на оперу Чайковского актуализирует треугольник «Герман — Лиза — Томский», до сих пор не привлекавший к себе внимания, в отличие от других аналогичных структур, организующих действие оперы («Герман — Лиза — Графиня», «Лиза — Герман — Елецкий»). Во-вторых, этот треугольник не только отражает образы «фаустианского» интертекста, но и опирается на листовский метод монотематических преобразований, получивший отражение в узловом моменте превращения лирического признания Германа («Я имени ее не знаю...») в сущностную противоположность («...Три карты, три карты, три карты!»). В-третьих, «фаустианский» треугольник способствует переоценке роли Томского как незримого режиссера судьбы Германа и всего оперного сюжета, что подтверждается установленным Ольгой Владимировной Комарницкой значением Баллады как сверхтемы всей оперы (1991); режиссирующая роль Томского создает свой «театр в театре». Актуализация «фаустианского» сюжета как глубинной структуры «Пиковой дамы», обеспечивающей прочтение оперы сквозь призму христианской онтологии, позволяет оценить ее значимость для творчества Чайковского, обусловившей появление последней оперы композитора «Иоланта».

**Ключевые слова:** П. И. Чайковский, Ф. Лист, «Пиковая дама», фаустианство, «Фауст-симфония», интертекст, Мефистофель, Томский

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### Introduction

In 1993, Marina Grigoryevna Raku described Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky's opera *The Queen of Spades* as a work that, even a hundred years after its creation, continues to be “mysterious, almost mystical, leaving a feeling of the unknown, and even the impossibility of fully understanding it” [1, p. 203]. These words can be repeated today: *The Queen of Spades*, oversaturated with “pretexts, direct intonational, situational-stage and opera-genre quasi- and direct quotations, double meanings and states of otherness and allegories” [2, p. 71], is in no hurry to part with its secrets. Over the last thirty years, not only has a major breakthrough been achieved in the study of the work, but the direction of this research has clearly diverged from a consideration of external forms, which in *The Queen of Spades* are associated with the phenomenon of polystylistics, to focus on their internal equivalents, thus breaking free from the space of myth and intertext to consider problems of style formation and factors of meaning generation. The desire to find the key to the internal unity of the operatic plot somewhere behind the visible curtain of heterogeneous polystylistic formations united scholars of several generations, including Marina G. Raku [3], Elena V. Ponomareva [4], and Georgy V. Kovalevsky [5].

In the present examination of the intertextual depths of *The Queen of Spades*, we will keep the same goal in mind: the quest for a conceptual structure capable of encompassing the opera from within. “The discovery of previously unrecorded intertextual connections not only does not negate previous discoveries, but also does not contradict intertextuality as a method of creative thinking and analysis. In the present work, The latter relies on the concepts discussed by Raku: “explicit intertext”, e.g., a literary source on the basis of which the libretto of the opera is created; “hidden intertext”, which implies the discovery of semantic structures that do not lie on the surface and arise at the level of intertextual interactions; and “central text”, referring to the work under study [3].

In substantiating the method of intertextual analysis, Raku links it with the eclectic and multiple nature of the “hidden intertext”, whose role “can be played not by one or two works”, but by their entire corpus [Ibid., p. 12]. This idea is confirmed by the complex of “hidden intertexts” uncovered by the researcher, which encompasses various literary and musical sources

(Hoffmann's short stories *Spieler-Glück* [*Gambler's Luck*] and *Don Juan*, Byron's poem *Don Juan*, Pushkin's short tragedy *The Stone Guest*, historical facts related to the life and death of Catherine the Great, and Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni* [Ibid.]). These intertexts are united not only by their closeness to the opera's main themes (playing cards and love; "the substitution of Eros by Thanatos" [Ibid., p. 17]), but also by their concentration in the part of the opera's plot that is connected with the transfer of the action to the 18th century, which prefigures the "deep semantic shift" [Ibid., p. 11] that distanced the opera text from its literary source (Pushkin's story). The undisputed leader in this complex is Mozart's *Don Giovanni*. The reference to this earlier work forms a stylistic context in *The Queen of Spades*, in which space Tchaikovsky's "Mozartianism" — as manifested in the pastoral *The Sincerity of the Shepherdess* — feels entirely appropriate. These connections as revealed by Raku can be designated as an *18th-century intertextual complex*.

At the same time, *The Queen of Spades* does not entirely belong to a "past" century. Already Alexander Benois was able to write that the opera "continues [...] to live, intertwined as it is with current reality" [cit. from: 5, p. 154]. Addressing the problem of the reflection of time in Tchaikovsky's opera, other researchers note that "it is precisely the distancing of the plot action into the past that helps to reveal the spiritual drama of modern man" [6, p. 140], that the relevance of *The Queen of Spades*, as expressed in its "cruel psychologism" [Ibid., p. 142], is connected with the individual style of the composer [7, p. 408], whose "music full of rebellious drama" is "difficult [...] to combine with powdered wigs and crinolines" [8, p. 159].

We agree that "the pastorate [...] and the eerily topical acuity of the plot" [6, p. 141] represent an inseparable artistic unity; at the same time, at each stylistic pole of the opera, its own intertextual cultural codes are revealed. The "spirit of the composer's own era" [8, p. 159] that permeates the opera reveals in its depths one of the most significant archetypes of romantic consciousness — the "Faustian" plot. This fact, in expanding the scope of intertextual connections of *The Queen of Spades*, can serve as a useful argument in defence of the "intertextual direction" of the interpretation of Pushkin's plot revealed by Raku [3, p. 20] as a principle of Tchaikovsky's conscious compositional thinking.

*Geometry of Character Relationships*

The formation of a system of similar conflictual relationships in the central text of *The Queen of Spades* is connected with both intertexts. The action at the level of external dramatic structures is visibly held together by a crystalline “lattice” formed by the triangles of the characters. The *18th-century intertextual complex* includes the relationships noted by Raku that date back to Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*: (1) “Hermann–Liza–Countess” (Don Giovanni–Donna Anna–Commander) and (2) “Lisa–Hermann–Eletsky”, with its reflection in the divertissement trio “Prilepa–Milovzor–Zlatogor” (Zerlina–Masetto–Don Giovanni) [Ibid., p. 17].

At the same time, none of the outlined triangles includes in its orbit the Ballad of Tomsy, representing the obvious beginning of the entire operatic plot, connecting into one knot the main characters of the “*Don Juan*” *intertext*. The first triangle involving the Countess–Commander, is revealed only in the second scene (the “fatal” intersection of the three leading characters in Lisa’s room), with the capture of the fourth (the “delayed” death of the Countess), the sixth (in which “Lisa will already act in the role of Elvira” and will die “like Hoffmann’s Donna Anna” [Ibid.]), and the seventh (the “death of Herman in the gambling house, like Don Juan at the ball, which is interrupted by the arrival of the Commander” [Ibid.]). The second love triangle, whose inception occurs in the first scene (Eletsky’s announcement of the engagement, which forms a musical and dramatic counterpoint to Herman’s lyrical confession), also bypasses the Ballad, while in the seventh, the denouement, it falls out of the “*Mozartian*” *intertext* (the duel between Herman and Eletsky at the card table).

In contrast to the intertextual complex of the 18th century, which is somewhat mosaic-like and disintegrated into separate motifs, the *romantic intertext* possesses conceptual integrity. Moreover, its dramatic significance increases due to the fact that it is formed precisely in the Ballad, in which the triangle “Herman–Liza–Tomsy” crystallises under the influence of hidden centripetal forces.

This triangle, which forms the archetypal basis of the artistic concept of the opera, as well as the “*Don Juan*” *intertext*, is capable of illuminating the key moments of Tchaikovsky’s rethinking of Pushkin’s story, first of all, in terms of his introduction of the love plot line. In the “*Faustian*” *intertext* this plot line acquires a special integrity, whereas in the “Don Juan” version, the image of its main character,

Lisa, disintegrates into several persons that do not reflect the inner essence of the character and have only plot significance. All three of Mozart's heroines in the space of this intertext appear as the personification of Lisa's plot status at different points in the development of the action (the correlation with Donna Anna indicates Lisa's high social position; Zerlina–Prilepa symbolises a happy beloved; Donna Elvira — an abandoned fiancée).

*Key to the “Faustian” Intertext*

The key number that reveals the “Faustian” intertext of *The Queen of Spades*, which previously attracted little attention as dramatically or conceptually significant, is the duet of Liza and Polina entitled “It's Already Evening.” Olga Komarnitskaya attributes it to the centrifugal line of dramatic development — “moments of contemplative serenity that perform a screensaver function” [9, p. 13]. Moreover, the duet has not tended to be considered in the context of the opera's polystylistics. Only Ekaterina Ruchyevskaya, who noted the general gravitation of the style of *The Queen of Spades* towards musical classicism [7, p. 380], includes it in the list of numbers sustained in the general classical manner as “an allusion to the genre”, “reflecting everyday [...] music-making” [Ibid., p. 378, 403]). In this duet, the researcher identifies a number of characteristic features of classical style: “two high voices in thirds for the flutes and bass” (by analogy with the general bass), “a magnificent soft harmonic basis with subtle details”, and “supple solo ‘performances’ of the clarinet” [Ibid., p. 403–404].

However, as with the analysis of intertextual connections, each case of polystylistics requires an individual approach. Thus, for the Interlude, in which Tchaikovsky's “Mozartianism” is fully manifested, specific sources do not play a role in revealing the secret meaning — what is significant is the integral stylistic appearance, which Ruchyevskaya generally designated as “Mozartian reminiscences” [Ibid., p. 377]. On the contrary, the intertextual probing of the duet outside the precise “address” leaves the number unresolved.

The situation changes dramatically if we redirect Ruchyevskaya's characteristics to a specific object. Repeated listening to the melodic curves of the duet leads us to the main theme of the second movement of Liszt's *Faust Symphony*, which has a number of similar features. As well as “singing” in thirds, it features bucolic flutes and clarinets, echoing the pastoral content of the poetic text of the duet. The common features



also include a more specific hint in the duet between Liza and Polina consisting in the movement of sixteenth notes in the solo clarinet that fill the stops in the vocal part within the verse. This detail, appearing as if it were a technical necessity (i.e. filling a pause), refers to a similar element in Liszt's symphony, which creates a continuous *perpetuum mobile*, which has been an integral part of the image of Gretchen since Schubert's song *Gretchen am Spinnrade*. The rising and falling second that opens the duet brings Gretchen's theme even closer to the theme, which is usually considered in the context of the intonational unity of the entire opera, including the coincidence of the opening intonations of the duet and the quintet "I'm scared!" (see [9, p. 15])

While these connections and half-hints mentioned may seem insignificant, they all take on a completely different meaning in the light of the precise coincidence of not the initial, but rather the developing intonations of the duet and Gretchen's theme.

Let us examine in more detail the exposition of Liszt's theme, in which, just as in Tchaikovsky's *The Queen of Spades*, two tendencies intersected: stylisation "in the old style" (i.e., in the spirit of classical simplicity) and romantic stylistics. In its structure, the theme gravitates toward classical disjunction: a period of repeated structure, with an expansion in the second sentence and a modulating ending. Its three executions (4 + 6, 4 + 7, 4 + 4) with continuous timbral renewal (1st — oboe accompanied by viola; 2nd — flute and clarinet accompanied by violin; 3rd — violin accompanied by viola) allow us to discern in this repetition a variable AA1A2 strophicity (is this where the three verses in the duet of Liza and Polina come from?). The tonal-harmonic movement that blurs the squareness in the first two "verses", imperceptibly switches from the sphere of restrained emotions of the "canzona" to the dimension of heightened lyrical expression, first enlarging the intonation of the sigh, highlighted by the shift to *F minor*, then creating a bright emotional outburst, marked by the modulation to *C minor* (respectively at the end of the first and second "verses"). Thus, the continuous minor of the third "verse" is gradually prepared, where the strictly maintained squareness is compensated by intensive tonal development (*B-flat minor* → *F minor*) to keep the "action" entirely on the internal, psychological plane.

Among the unchanging melodic elements of the "song", the same pre-cadence motif ending with a "sigh" achieves prominence; its modulatory

flexibility makes it the main object of auditory attention, blossoming from the first “verse” to the second, where it reaches the maximum of lyrical expression (*Examples 1, 2*):



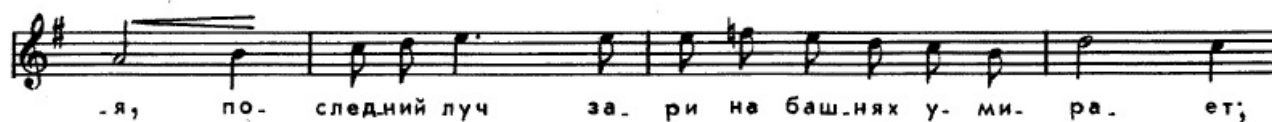
Example 1. F. Liszt. *Faust Symphony*. Second Movement.  
Theme (first “verse” of Gretchen’s song)



Example 2. F. Liszt. *Faust Symphony*. Second Movement  
(third “verse” of Gretchen’s song)

Tchaikovsky “inlaid” this motif into the melody of the duet of Liza and Polina with the words “...the dawn dies on the tower” (see *Example 3*). Perhaps this inclusion (“intarsia”) had an unconscious origin. If so, it not only reflects the situation of the artist’s presence in the multilingual space of art, which underwent practically infinite expansion at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, but also confirms the words of Wilhelm von Humboldt that “language is the formative organ of thought” (cit. from: [10, p. 280]). After all, from the limitless multitude of intonations “floating in the air”

Tchaikovsky chose one that occupied only its allotted place in the overall semantic structure. And, more importantly, its role in the new artistic context can no longer be refuted by the “random choice” of the artist. Raku also concludes that “intertexts are not formed arbitrarily, but under the influence of certain laws that are dictated by the great Text of culture” [3, p. 19].



Example 3. P. Tchaikovsky. *The Queen of Spades*. Scene Two. No. 7.  
Duet of Lisa and Polina

As additional evidence of the intertextual nature of this motif, we can note its absence from the general intonational context of the opera, which grows out of the theme stated in the Introduction to form a “grandiose symphonic canvas” [11, p. 102], while the opening phrase of the duet is formed on the basis of the coupling of three intonational links of the generative “thematic impulse” established by Komarnitskaya [Ibid., p. 109].

The connection with Liszt’s theme casts the shadow of Gretchen on the image of Lisa, enhancing the resonance of the poetic text, the symbolic sound of which (“the image of the fading dawn”) was noted by Galina Poberezhnaya.<sup>1</sup> In contrast to the “Mozartian” *intertext*, here correlations of a different kind arise, which actualise not so much the social status of the heroine (in this regard, Gretchen is closer to Pushkin’s “poor pupil” than to the operatic “granddaughter of the Countess”), but rather the essential features of the image. By giving herself to love, Lisa, like Gretchen, violates the dictates of social morality, placing both heroines outside of society and leading to a tragic conclusion; moreover, in both cases, their love saves the souls of the heroes (Faust and Hermann) in the finale.

However, the common points of contact with the image of Gretchen, which are also what determine Lisa’s operatic fate, are not sufficient to reveal the “Faustian” *intertext*. This cannot emerge without the key figures of Faust and Mephistopheles.

<sup>1</sup> Poberezhnaya, G. I. (1994). *Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky*. Vipol, p. 275.

Its complete reconstruction is linked to Tmsky's Ballad, the starting point of the opera's dramaturgy, which escapes the influence of the "*Mozartian*" *intertext*. And although this reconstruction is carried out outside the intonational connections with the *Faust Symphony*, it follows Liszt's logic of monothematic transformations, which lead up to the key moment in the dramaturgy of *The Queen of Spades* — the transformation of Hermann's lyrical confession ("I don't know her name") into a motif of fate ("Three cards, three cards, three cards").

### *The Appearance of the Protagonists*

In contrast with the duet of Liza and Polina, Tmsky's Ballad has repeatedly become the object of the most diligent research attention [4; 11; 12; 13]. This number, which plays a central role in the reinterpretation of Pushkin's "anecdote" in a mystical vein, is typically interpreted through projection onto the image of the Countess. This is greatly facilitated by the ballad genre itself, as well as the inevitability of fate contained in the poetic text, which is intensified by the incantatory repetitions of the fatal magic words "three cards..."

The lycanthropy of motives ("I don't know her name" — "Three cards, three cards, three cards"), which in the coordinate system of the "*Don Juan*" *intertext* reflects the idea of "replacing Eros with Thanatos", is most often considered as evidence of Herman's original world-duality. Let us consider similar statements by other researchers: "...The process of germination of externally conflicting, internally related themes [...] reveals the polar states of the subject in terms of the duality of his consciousness" [13, pp. 144–145]; "The melody that accompanies Herman's appearance characterises the appearance of the hero "immersed in a dream", whose subject turns out to be two objects — love and gold" [12, p. 199]; "...Why does Tchaikovsky's Herman, who first appears on stage knowing nothing about the girl he is attracted to, associate his feelings for her with the fatal theme of three cards [...]?" [14, p. 43].

Herman's duality distinguishes him from Tmsky, whose role (with the clarification of a number of important changes in comparison with the literary source) remains unchanged, apparently reducing him to the function of a simple narrator. However, it turns out that this character is not so simple after all. It is in his mouth that Herman's lyrical revelation (known only to Tmsky!)



is reborn into its essential opposite — the motive of money. Vladimir Protopopov explains the essence of such a transformation in terms of “a remarkably discovered realistic detail of Tomsy’s psychology,” who “being under the impression of Herman’s story about his love, being present at his meeting with Liza [...] in the ballad involuntarily comprehends what he saw and heard [...]”.<sup>2</sup> By returning Herman’s revelation in the form of a re-intonated motif of three cards by stretching (deliberately articulating) the initial intonation and switching to a free tempo-rhythm (permitted by the remark *a piacere*), thus maximally drawing attention to the word in the absence of orchestral accompaniment, Tomsy conveys an eloquent hint: “here is the means of achieving the desired goal” (*Example 4*).



Example 4. P. Tchaikovsky. *The Queen of Spades*. Scene 1. Tomsy’s Ballad

By creating a mystical atmosphere, whose thickening is most felt in the chorus of the ballad, thereby influencing the “right-brain” perception [4, p. 13] of his counterpart, Tomsy becomes the director of Herman’s fate. The principle of re-intonation and rethinking itself goes back to the method of musical dramaturgy of Liszt’s *Faust Symphony*, based on a similar switching of the figurative and semantic poles of Paradise (First Movement) and Hell (Third Movement).

Thus, a new intertextual direction of Tchaikovsky’s interpretation of Pushkin’s story emerges, suggested by the latter, albeit with one key difference. If Pushkin’s image of Mephistopheles arises thanks to Hermann’s characterisation, which is put into Tomsy’s mouth (“...he has the profile of Napoleon, but the soul

<sup>2</sup> Protopopov, V. V., & Tumanina, N. V. (1957). *Tchaikovsky’s Operatic Works*. Publishing House of the USSR Academy of Sciences, p. 287.

of Mephistopheles”<sup>3</sup>), then Tchaikovsky endows Tomsy himself with the soul of Mephistopheles.

The key role of Tomsy in the plot of the drama “as a kind of conductor of the action of fatal forces” was noted by Elena Semionidi: “...He throws fatal ideas at Herman, which will later develop into tragic consequences” [15, p. 121]. Indeed, once Tomsy is in the spotlight, it is impossible not to notice his leading position in the arrangement of characters. Moreover, he acts as the creator not only of Herman’s fate, but also of the entire operatic plot: the bored socialite starts the intrigue, connecting Herman’s interest in the game,<sup>4</sup> which is introduced at the beginning of the action, with the romantic confession that burst from his soul, into a single plot complex.

Tomsy himself remains on the sidelines of the “play” he has enacted, which acquires tragic dimensions for the protagonists involved in it — Liza and Herman. By throwing the latter a recipe for a win-win game, Tomsy, in accordance with his intertextual double, Mephistopheles, acts under the guise of a friend, skilfully tempting a trusting soul. Thus, in *the romantic intertext of the opera*, as if in competition with *the intertextual complex of the 18th century*, a separate “theatre within a theatre” is formed.

Tomsy’s position is emphasised by two oppositely directed remarks in the third scene in response to the remark of Surin’s “petty demon” about Herman’s fascination with the mystery of the three cards. The first is publicly, openly *false* (for the devil is “a liar and the father of lies”): “I don’t believe it! “You’d have to be an ignoramus to do that!” The second one is *true*, spoken to himself: Tomsy expresses hope that his message has reached its goal: “But, by the way, he is one of those who, having once conceived it, must accomplish everything!” The last word of “sympathy” (“Poor fellow!”) sounds like a sentence to the addressee, whose obsession makes him a convenient toy in the hands of the devil. Like an alchemist of the Reformation era, Herman rushes in pursuit of a ghostly secret knowledge; his soul, initially illuminated by the divine light of love, follows the path set by Tomsy-Mephistopheles of inevitable immersion into the impenetrable darkness of madness, followed by spiritual and physical death.

<sup>3</sup> Pushkin, A. S. (1987). The Queen of Spades. In A. S. Pushkin, *Works in 3 volumes* (Vol. 3, pp. 190–214). Hudozhestvennaya literatura, p. 206.

<sup>4</sup> Chekalinsky: “Was Herman there?” — Surin: “He was, as always, chained to the gaming table from eight until eight in the morning” (Scene 1, No. 2 “Scene and Herman’s arioso”).

By adducing a Mephistophelian essence to Tomsy's image, we may examine his participation in the Pastoral in a new way. The role of Zlatogor, which is projected onto Eletsy in the "Mozartian" triangle, simultaneously appears as one of the incarnations of the devil, tempting his victims with power and wealth. Zlatogor's line "I have golden mountains and precious stones!" echoes in Herman's mouth: "There are piles of gold there, and they belong to me alone!" In this overlapping of intertextual planes, Tomsy-Zlatogor appears as the central figure connecting both mythological dimensions of the opera, i.e., those belonging to the 18th and 19th centuries. This combination of triangles that unite the same characters — Prilepa-Liza, Milovzor-German and Zlatogor-Tomsy (instead of Zlatogor-Eletsy) — confirms the generalising significance of the "Faustian" intertext for the organisation of the opera's action.

After the third scene, in which the face of Mephistopheles appears in the "make-up" of a gallant style, Tomsy the director disappears from view, only to return at the end of the opera as a spectator of the performance he "staged". He only stands out in the crowd of players with his song of a "very manly nature",<sup>5</sup> which in the light of the "*Faustian*" intertext is perceived as an expression of a cynical Mephistophelian smile. The revelation of Mephistopheles's mask in the opera's finale is also justified in the context of the infernal topos of St. Petersburg, which is revealed in the "lowered" symbolism of the city — in "reducing [...] the gambling house to the underworld [...]" where Herman comes with a weapon received by him from the devil."<sup>6</sup> Tomsy's position as a superhero at the level of visible action corresponds to the similar position of the Ballad as a super-theme — "an inexhaustible source of derivative thematics" of the entire "opera-symphony" [11, p. 113].

#### *Within the Existential-Aesthetic Bicentric Operatic Space*

If the phenomenon of secret intertext claims the significance of the "author's word" (author's commentary) in operatic dramaturgy [3, p. 21], then the intertextual complex of the 18th century with its "Mozartian" core turned out to be for Tchaikovsky, first of all, an aesthetic problem, associated with the idea of searching for the "ideal" of form [4, p. 78]. This side of the polystylistic concept of opera

<sup>5</sup> Parin, A. V. (1999). *Journey to the Invisible City: Paradigms of Russian Classical Opera*. Agraf, p. 354.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 353.

is revealed by Ponomareva on the basis of the methodology of psychoanalysis and hermeneutics. Its essence lies in the resolution of the “tension between the matriarchal (unconscious) and patriarchal (conscious) world” in the space of Mozart-Beethoven stylistic biocentrism [Ibid.].<sup>7</sup> According to the researcher, the spectre of death and existential terror that Tchaikovsky faced while creating *The Queen of Spades* could be overcome “only by the bonds of form” — in the act of aesthetic creation. According to Ponomareva, “In the most sacred fusion of ‘natural gift’ (Mozart) and ‘polished skill’ (Beethoven), the ‘transcendental element’ of a new operatic creation, unprecedented for Tchaikovsky himself, was born” [Ibid.]. The connection between the theme of the three cards and *Allegretto* of Beethoven’s Seventh Symphony, revealed by the researcher, actualises the aesthetic side of its existence, while the operatic plot itself, refracted through the prism of the logic of Joseph Campbell’s “monomyth”, appears as an unfolding “journey through centuries and styles” [4, p. 58].

The “*Faustian*” *intertext* resides in a different — ontological — plane of the operatic plot. In this intertextual section of the plot, the leitmotif of mystical fear that permeates the opera, which researchers never tire of discussing, becomes the author’s existential experience, as confirmed by his own words: “God, how I cried yesterday when they buried my poor Hermann!”<sup>8</sup>

Fear as the leading emotion of *The Queen of Spades* is typically associated with Tchaikovsky’s contact with the mystery of death. Let us permit ourselves to slightly correct this version. In the ontological space of the “*Faustian*” *intertext*, Herman appears as a man who has turned away from God; in connection with the special attitude towards him of the author, who took “the most active part in his misadventures”<sup>9</sup> during the creation of the opera, the transposition of the “apostasy” of the hero onto Tchaikovsky is aggravated by the fact that the latter was a believer.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Raku also writes about the formation of the artistic concept of the opera “at the crossroads of conscious and unconscious authorial impulses” [3, p. 21].

<sup>8</sup> Tchaikovsky, M. I. (1997). *Life of P. I. Tchaikovsky (Based on Documents Stored in the Klin Archive)*. (In 3 Vols., Vol. 3). Algorithm, p. 320.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 319.

<sup>10</sup> Tchaikovsky wrote about his faith in God as happiness and the highest good: “Every hour and every minute I thank God for giving me faith in Him.” [Tchaikovsky, M. I. (1997). *Life of P. I. Tchaikovsky (Based on Documents Stored in the Klin Archive)* (In 3 Vols., vol. 2). Algorithm, p. 545]. No less significant in connection with this discussion is the fact that Tchaikovsky created a whole series of works for the church. One thing: either “known” or a quote. — N. K.

In the “*Faustian*” *intertext*, the development of the main line of musical events that reflect the process of Hermann’s descent into madness can also be seen from the point of view of the cause that gave rise to it — the loss by the hero of the divine presence in his soul, that divine love that animates man. This motive, which in interpretations of the legend of Faust is most often replaced by the more fascinating and mystical motif of a pact with the devil, is embodied in the theme of love.

It is the theme of love that participates in the creation of the general (essentially “Faustian”) antithesis, set out on the “frontispiece” of the opera (in the Introduction) in opposition to the theme of the Countess, who possesses the “elixir of the devil.”<sup>11</sup>

This confrontation receives an effective symphonic development in the second scene, where it is the theme of love (as a plot and musical motif) that determines the most important turn in the development of Herman’s image (“Oh, terrible ghost, death, I don’t want you!”). However, its “decrease” in the third scene — truncation to one motive in the volume of a third, rhythmic compression, dismemberment into separate phrases — speaks of the fading of feeling in the soul of the hero. Herman mechanically pronounces the words “I love you!” in an attempt to save himself from the “demons” of his consciousness (“The same voice... who is it? A demon or people? Why are they pursuing me?”), which take possession of his soul as soon as there is no room left in it for love.

It is no less significant that the transformation of the theme of love is accompanied by a thickening of the infernal atmosphere — a curtailment of the grain motif, coloured in the detached and lifeless timbres of the woodwinds (oboe and clarinet) in Tchaikovsky’s late works, into a “frozen” third vertical in the bassoons (see *Example 5*).<sup>12</sup> In the context of the “Faustian” plot, the disappearance of the theme of love is read as the “death of the soul” and madness as the personification of the devil.<sup>13</sup> It is only with the return to the theme of love in the finale of the opera in its original

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<sup>11</sup> S. V. Frolov writes about the connection between Tchaikovsky’s *The Queen of Spades* (“the fixed idea of a card game in the fate of the operatic Hermann”) and Hoffmann’s novel *Die Elixiere des Teufels* (“a description of the mystical properties and special case of the game of faro”) [2, p. 72].

<sup>12</sup> The infernal sound of such formations was noted by Asafiev in the Countess’s song. Cf. Asafiev, B. V. (1972). *The Queen of Spades*. B. V. Asafiev. *On Tchaikovsky’s Music: Selected Works*, (pp. 327–362). Music, p. 345. Ponomareva interprets this lexeme as “a symbol of the mythological ‘threshold of initiation’” [4, p. 61].

<sup>13</sup> In the Encyclopaedia of Christian Concepts, “madness” is interpreted as a state of unbelief: Love (n.d.). In *ABC of Faith*. Retrieved January 25, 2025, from: <https://azbyka.ru/lyubov>



form — in the key of *F minor* and almost complete exposition, marked by the intermittent breathing of the dying Hermann — that the rebirth of the hero's soul and return to the path of salvation receives its symbolisation.

Ob. I  
Cl. I  
Fg.  
Г.  
Как счастлив я, что ты пришла! люблю тебя!..

Ob. I  
Cl. I  
Fg.  
Г.  
Лиза  
люблю тебя! Не место здесь... не для того звана

Cl. I  
Fg.  
Л.  
да тебя я!.. Слушай... вот ключ от потаенной

Example 5. P. Tchaikovsky. *The Queen of Spades*. Scene 3.  
Transformation of the theme of love

It is no coincidence that in Tchaikovsky's next opera *Iolanta* the main point of common aspirations — both of the composer and the main heroine “who is in a syncretic relationship of parallelism with the author” [16, p. 22] — becomes Light and Love; here, the fundamental Christian values, which Tchaikovsky loses with one hero and regains with another, are restored to their rights. Thus, after the descent into the underworld (*The Queen of Spades*) and contact with the experience of losing the soul (inversion of initiation), a return to God occurs (*Iolanta*) — according to Campbell's logic of the monomyth, but in the space of ontological truths.

### Conclusion

Characterising the revealed connections, designated by us as *intertextual complex of the 18th century*, Raku notes that “the “semantic funnel,” drawing in new intertexts, forces us to gradually dive into the depths of the central text” [3, p. 17]. The same centripetal force is observed in the space of *romantic* — “*Faustian*” — *intertext*: movement along its narrowing orbit, from superficial musical structures to the meanings hidden in them, not only does not bypass the theme of “the substitution of Eros by Thanatos”, but, interpreting it in its own — “*Faustian*” — coordinate system, gradually introduces it into the holy of holies of Tchaikovsky's artistic world, where the secrets of the artist's personality are revealed.

In this regard, it is impossible to ignore the reference to the existence of the Faustian line of the opera, carried out by one of its creators, Modest Ilyich Tchaikovsky, in the introduction to the presentation of the libretto scenario. In defending the changes made to Pushkin's story, the librettist first “admits” that “Pushkin's *The Queen of Spades* is equal in significance to Goethe's *Faust*...”<sup>14</sup> Then, expanding the comparative context, he writes about Gounod's *Faust* with its heroes, Gretchen and Siebel, transformed in the French taste, and in the next step creates an exclusive “duet” that unites the two operas, leading up to the key number for the “*Faustian*” intertext of *The Queen of Spades*: “...Princess Lisa and the contralto Siebel, singing such delightful things, give such pure and high pleasure.”<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Tchaikovsky, M. I. (1997). *Life of P. I. Tchaikovsky (Based on Documents Stored in the Klin Archive)*. (In 3 Vols., vol. 3). Algorithm, p. 348.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

If initially this preface was perceived only as a justification for the librettist's right to "cut scenarios from the greatest works of poetry,"<sup>16</sup> then in light of the discovery of the "*Faustian*" *intertext*, a clear subtext can be read in it. Thus, the *intertext*, which has a strong gravitational field, organises the work itself from within, and, going beyond its limits and attracting fragments of scattered information, produces an ordering effect in the surrounding context.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

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Information about the author:

**Natalia V. Korolevskaya** — Dr. Sci. (Art Studies), Professor, Music History Department.

Сведения об авторе:

**Королевская Н. В.** — доктор искусствоведения, доцент, профессор кафедры истории музыки

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EDN PHJUPE



***La molinara* in the Theatre of Stepan S. Apraksin  
(Based on the Note Manuscripts  
of the Apraksin & Golitsyn's Collection  
in the Russian State Library)**

*Alexandra A. Safonova*

Moscow State Tchaikovsky Conservatory,  
Moscow, Russian Federation

✉ [sashasafon@mail.ru](mailto:sashasafon@mail.ru),

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9854-1491>



**Abstract.** The article considers the features of the Russian version of Giovanni Paisiello's opera *La molinara*. The Moscow premiere by the Russian Imperial Troupe took place in 1816 in the house of Stepan S. Apraksin on Bolshaya Znamenka. The Apraksin & Golitsyn's Collection in the Department of Manuscripts of the Russian State Library (F. 11/III) has preserved manuscript materials of the combined part of the performers with the Russian text underlay for two acts of the opera

(Unit of st. 7. 147 l.). Some conclusions can be drawn from a comparative analysis of these materials with the autograph from the collections of the library of the Naples Conservatory of Music, the incipits given in *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* from a manuscript copy belonging to the Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna, and other versions available for research. The opera was presented in Russia not with recitatives but with spoken dialogues; the names were Russified. Of the 12 numbers from the first act recorded in the autograph, only 10 were performed; the Russian version contains musical material not found in the Neapolitan original, though close to other versions. In the episodes that coincide with the autograph, the musical text is similar, albeit the rhythmic pattern is often modified while retaining the pitch of the sounds. In many cases, the vocal parts were revised to facilitate performance tasks, variants of embellishments were recorded, the tessitura of individual numbers was changed, and cuts were applied.

**Keywords:** Giovanni Paisiello, *L'amor contrastato, ossia La molinara*, Stepan Stepanovich Apraksin, Imperial Troupe, Antonina Ivanovna Barancheeva, Russian version, Italian opera in Russia, musical theatre of the 18th–19th centuries

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*Музыкальный театр:  
источниковедение*

Научная статья

**«Прекрасная мельничиха» в театре  
С. С. Апраксина  
(по материалам нотных рукописей  
фонда Апраксиных-Голицыных РГБ)**

*Александра Анатольевна Сафонова*

Московская государственная консерватория имени П.И. Чайковского,  
г. Москва, Российская Федерация

✉ [sashasafon@mail.ru](mailto:sashasafon@mail.ru),

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9854-1491>

**Аннотация.** В статье рассматриваются особенности русской редакции оперы Дж. Паизиелло «Прекрасная мельничиха». Ее московская премьера силами русской Императорской труппы состоялась в 1816 году в доме С. С. Апраксина на Большой Знаменке. В фонде Апраксиных-Голицыных Научно-исследовательского отдела рукописей Российской государственной библиотеки (Ф. 11/III) сохранились рукописные материалы сводной партии певцов с русской подтекстовкой двух актов оперы (Ед. хр. 7. 147 л.). Сравнительный анализ этих материалов с автографом из фондов библиотеки Неаполитанской консерватории, инципитами, приведенными в RISM из рукописной копии, принадлежавшей великой княжне Елене Павловне, и другими доступными для исследования версиями, позволил сделать несколько выводов. Опера в России представлялась не с речитативами, а с разговорными диалогами; имена



русифицированы. Из 12 номеров первого акта, зафиксированных в автографе, исполнялись только 10; в русской редакции есть музыкальный материал, отсутствующий в неаполитанском оригинале, но близкий другим версиям. В совпадающих с автографом эпизодах музыкальный текст схож, однако при сохранении высоты звуков часто модифицирован ритмический рисунок. Во многих случаях в вокальные партии внесены правки для облегчения исполнительских задач, зафиксированы варианты украшений, изменена тесситура отдельных номеров, сделаны купюры.

**Ключевые слова:** Дж. Паизиелло, «Прекрасная мельничиха», С. С. Апраксин, Императорская труппа, А. И. Баранчеева, русская редакция, итальянская опера в России, музыкальный театр XVIII–XIX веков

**Для цитирования:** Сафонова А. А. «Прекрасная мельничиха» в театре С. С. Апраксина (по материалам нотных рукописей фонда Апраксиных-Голицыных РГБ) // Современные проблемы музыкознания. 2025. Т. 9, № 1. С. 79–104. <https://doi.org/10.56620/2587-9731-2025-1-079-104>

### Introduction

The article aims to identify the specific features of the Moscow version of Giovanni Paisiello's opera *L'amor contrastato, ossia La molinara*<sup>1</sup> using materials from the Apraksin & Golitsyn's Collection kept in the Department of Manuscripts of the Russian State Library (F. 11/III). The opera premiered in Naples (1788), and by the end of the 18th century it had been staged no less than 26 times in many Italian cities, as well as in Berlin, Vienna, Lisbon, and Prague. *La molinara* came to Russia in the 19th century. For a more detailed analysis of the Russian version of the opera, the circumstances were studied, which accompanied its performance by the Moscow Imperial Troupe at the home theatre of Stepan S. Apraksin on Bolshaya Znamenka in 1816; in addition, manuscript materials were reviewed.

The studies focused on the versions of Western European musical-theatrical works and their performances on the Russian stage are of undoubted relevance as they provide an opportunity to correlate the processes that took place in the Russian opera theatre at the stage of its formation and the European experience. In particular, a study that was carried out in relation to André Gretry's opera *Les mariages samnites* [1]. Furthermore, Larisa V. Kirillina examined the performance of Beethoven's *Fidelio* in Russia in the 19th century [2], while Irina P. Susidko and Pavel V. Lutsker explored the revision of Johann Adolf Hasse's opera *Tito Vespasiano* for a performance in honor of the coronation of Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (1742) [3] and the adaptation of the repertoire of Locatelli's traveling troupe in Russia [4].

Apart from *La molinara* from the Apraksin & Golitsyn's collection,<sup>2</sup> the following scores provided the material for the study: an autograph of the first three-

<sup>1</sup> The original title of the opera *L'amor contrastato* (R 1.76); further productions in different cities of Italy and abroad are known as *La molinara ossia L'amor contrastato*, *La molinara*, *La mulinara ossia L'amor contrastato*, *La mulinara*, *L'amor contrastato ossia La molinarella*, etc. [Sartori, C. (1990). *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800: catalogo analitico con 16 indici*. Bertola & Locatelli, pp. 137–139, 166–170]. In Russia, in the 18th century, the title *The Maid of the Mill* was more commonly used; although presumably from German editions of *Die Schöne Müllerin* the title *The Beautiful Maid of the Mill* was also spread.

<sup>2</sup> *Melnicicha*. Opera. Paisello [Consolidated party of singers]. In *NIOR RSL* [Research Department of Manuscripts in Russian State Library]. F. 011/III. Unit of st. 7. 147 l.

act opera's version from the collections of the library of the Naples Conservatory of Music San Pietro a Majella,<sup>3</sup> a copy of the two-act opera's version,<sup>4</sup> that belonged to Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna (now it is included in the collection of the Princes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in The State Library of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern<sup>5</sup>), a copy of the two-act opera's version from the collections of the Saxon State and University Library Dresden,<sup>6</sup> a Munich copy of the two-act version from the collections of The Bavarian State Library,<sup>7</sup> a copy of the two-act version from the collections of The Baden State Library,<sup>8</sup> and a clavier of the Viennese two-act version from the collections of the Austrian National Library.<sup>9</sup>

### *The Moscow Fire of 1812 and the Imperial Theatre*

In September 1812, three quarters of Moscow's wooden buildings were destroyed by fires. On October 10 (22), the cavalry under the command of General Alexander Kh. Benckendorff entered the city: "We entered the ancient capital that was still smoking. [...] Ruins and ashes cluttered all the streets."<sup>10</sup> A marvelous, spacious, and comfortable wooden theatre with a colonnade on a stone foundation, built in 1808 to a design by Carlo Rossi — the New Imperial (Arbat) Theatre — also burned down. Presumably, the last performance was held at the theatre on August 27. When the Imperial Troupe was evacuated, not enough wagons were available

<sup>3</sup> Paisiello. *L'Amor contrastato*. In *Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella*. Autograf. Rari 3.1.3.–3.1.4.

<sup>4</sup> *L'amor contrastato*. Manuscript copy. RobP 1.76. D-SWl Mus. 4111. RISM. <https://opac.rism.info/id/rismid/rism240003476?sid=33706339>

<sup>5</sup> Kade, O. (1893). *Die Musikalien-Sammlung des Grossherzoglich Mecklenburg-Schweriner Fürstenhauses aus den letzten zwei Jahrhunderten: alphabetisch-thematisch verzeichnet und ausgearbeitet* (Vol. 2). Sandmeyersche Hofbuchdruckerei, p. 106.

<sup>6</sup> *L'Amor contrastato*. Mus.3481-F-503. <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/89318/999>

<sup>7</sup> Paisiello, Giovanni. *La molinara*. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Manuscript copy D-Mbs, Mus. ms. 6319. <https://opac.rism.info/id/rismid/rism1001012098>

<sup>8</sup> *L'Amor contrastato*. Badische Landesbibliothek. Arr-Don Mus. Ms. 1520. <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/3F4JOGBXG4UHX3F2SG36ATEE4SB3VQGN>

<sup>9</sup> Paisiello, Giovanni. *La Molinara*. Klavierauszug, Handschrift (18. Jh.), 263 Bl. [https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL\\_7100105&order=1&view=SINGLE](https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7100105&order=1&view=SINGLE)

<sup>10</sup> *Zapiski Benkendorfa. 1812 god. Otechestvennaja vojna. 1813 god. Osvobozhdenie Niderlandov* [Benckendorff's Notes. 1812 Patriotic War. 1813 Liberation of the Netherlands]. (2001). LRC Publishing House Languages of Slavic Culture, p. 77.

(only 30 of the 150 needed were found); therefore, the major part of the property was not transported, including precious sheet music [5, p. 102]. Fortunately, several private theatres have survived, among them one in the house of the Major General Pyotr A. Pozdnyakov, a passionate theatre enthusiast.<sup>11</sup> The theatre was used by the French for performances during the occupation.<sup>12</sup> According to some sources, retired cavalry general Stepan S. Apraksin (1757–1827) took the theatre props left over from the French into his house.<sup>13</sup> In his city mansion on Bolshaya Znamenka (the house at the intersection of Znamenka Street and Arbat Square, the Intendant's military headquarters was located during the occupation. The building suffered little damage from fires, and albeit it was looted, the mansion was quickly restored after the liberation of Moscow. The Moscow Imperial Theatre reopened there in August 1814.

As Nikolai P. Rozanov pointed out, “The theatre or ‘theatrical directorate’, as it is indicated on the plan of 1817, occupied the entire second floor of the right side of the house up to the depth of the courtyard. The access to the theatre was from a passing alley, located on the right side of the house, which was later destroyed.”<sup>14</sup> On the stage of this small home theatre the Imperial Troupe had played for four years:

Apraksin's theatre was very insufficient in capacity, the stage was cramped and did not allow for complicated productions, the stifling heat in the theatre in the hot season forced to refuse to organize summer performances,

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<sup>11</sup> Pozdnyakov, a hero of two Russian-Turkish campaigns, arranged a theater in an outbuilding of his house in 1810. Sila N. Sandunov served as its director. Before the war it was one of the best equipped theaters in Moscow.

<sup>12</sup> The French stole props and everything that could be used for their productions from all over Moscow, including the decoration of Moscow churches. As indicated by Olga V. Rozina and Maria N. Pavlova, in the court theater of Napoleon appeared “and expensive comfortable furniture, and bronze, and gilded girandoles, and colored carpets” [6, p. 184], and costumes were made from plundered expensive fabrics and lace [5, p. 103].

<sup>13</sup>As indicated by Rozina and Pavlova, according to the memories of contemporaries, when the Russians returned to the city, dead horses were lying on this stage [6, p. 185].

<sup>14</sup> Rozanov, N. P. (1930). “Pushkinskie” doma, sokhranivshiesya v Moskve do nashego vremeni [“Pushkin” Houses That Have Survived in Moscow to This Day]. In Vinogradov L. A., Chulkov N. P., & Rozanov N. P. *Pushkin v Moskve: sbornik statej* [Pushkin in Moscow. Collection of Articles]. Tipografiya izdatel'stva Kommunisticheskoy akademii, p. 92–96.

the location of the restrooms was very inconvenient — they were placed far from the stage, when moving to which the actors often caught cold.<sup>15</sup>

The patriotic upsurge and the joy of victory over Napoleon's army were reflected in the repertoire of the reopened Moscow theatre. The catalog of Vasily Vasilyevich Fedorov mentions productions of the ballets-divertissements such as *Militia, or Love for the Fatherland; Russians in Germany, or The Consequence of Love for the Fatherland; The Triumph of Russia, or Russians in Paris* by Catterino A. Cavos and other works.<sup>16</sup>

In the 1814/1815 season, foreign operas, both Italian and French in Russian, were also resumed. Whether a performance could be presented again depended largely on the degree of preservation of props and sheet music. Thus, it was already 1816 that turned out to be especially eventful for premieres. Of particular note is the production of *La molinara* by Giovanni Paisiello (1740–1816) to a libretto by Antonio Palomba (1705–1769). One of the most popular operas in Europe was described by Tatiana S. Kruntyaeva as “perfect in its subtle humor” [7, p. 93].<sup>17</sup> The opera was first performed on October 26 in a benefit for actress Antonina (Antonida) I. Barancheeva (1788–1838).<sup>18</sup> In *Notes of a Contemporary* by Stepan P. Zhikharev dated October 18, 1805, she was mentioned in the list of Russian actors and actresses as a performer of roles of “noble mothers and grand ladies in dramas and comedies” among serfs of Aleksey E. Stolypin.<sup>19</sup> In 1806, Stolypin's troupe became part of the Imperial Troupe. It was generally accepted that “the income from the performance partially or completely went to the beneficiary” [8, p. 54].

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<sup>15</sup> Pogozhev, V. P. (1906). *Stoletie organizatsii imperatorskikh moskovskikh teatrov* [Centenary of the Organization of the Imperial Moscow Theatres]. (Vol. 1) Izdanie direktsii moskovskikh Imperatorskikh teatrov, pp. 220–221..

<sup>16</sup> Fedorov, V. V. (2001). *Repertoire of the Bolshoi Theatre of the USSR, 1776–1955* (Vol. 1: 1776–1856). Ross, pp. 93, 95–97, 101–102, 106, 108–109. (In Russ.).

<sup>17</sup> The original genre designation of the libretto was *commedia per musica*. In later versions, there is also *dramma giocoso per musica*.

<sup>18</sup> Fedorov, V. V. (2001). *Repertoire of the Bolshoi Theatre of the USSR*, p. 105

<sup>19</sup> Zhikharev S. P. (1955). *Zapiski sovremennika* [Memoirs of a Contemporary] (Part 1). Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, p. 141.



*Paisiello in Russia*

The Russian audience became acquainted with Paisiello's operas in the last quarter of the 18th century, when Catherine II invited him to occupy the position of court Kapellmeister. The composer was also responsible for teaching Grand Duchess Maria Feodorovna, born Princess Sophia Dorothea von Württemberg. Precisely to the latter Paisiello dedicated *Regole per bene accompagnare il partimento...* (1782) [9, p. 21]. After the premiere of *I filosofi immaginari*, Paisiello became the Empress's favorite composer [10, p. 507]. In many ways, this love can be explained by the unique style of the composer: his intrinsic ability to grasp the typical properties of characters and to reveal them vividly [11, p. 88], his skillful way of embodying a variety of female characters, his flexible and agile musical language, his effective ensembles [7, pp. 118–119].

The Russian period was quite productive for Paisiello. According to the contract, the composer was obliged to present at least two operas a year. Not only were *I filosofi immaginari* successful, but also *Il matrimonio inaspettato*, otherwise known as *Il marchese Tulipano*, or *The Peasant Marquis or the Sausage Maker (The Village Marquis)* in the Russian version, *La finta amante*, *Alcide al Bivio*, *La serva padrona*, *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, *ovvero La precauzione inutile*, and *Il Mondo della Luna*.

In December 1783, Paisiello was allowed to take leave until January 1, 1785 with retention of salary. Although he had to deliver to the court all the music he would compose at that time [12, p. 330]. According to the first biographer and student of the composer, Giovanni de Dominicis,<sup>20</sup> "Her Majesty agreed to his request [...] and ordered to give four thousand rubles for his travel"<sup>21</sup> [13, p. 27]. Paisiello eventually did not return from his leave, thus causing his dismissal. The Imperial Theatre retained the copyright to his works, and probably

<sup>20</sup> The biographer's brother, the singer Francesco de Dominicis, often performed in the operas of Paisiello [14, p. 14].

<sup>21</sup> According to the *Grove Music Online Dictionary*, 4,000 rubles was the annual salary of Paisiello at the Russian court from September 1779 [15], i.e. the Empress ordered that he be given an annual salary. At that time, one ruble was enough to travel 100 versts (a little over 100 km) in a mail coach.

whenever the composer sought to improve his finances, he sent scores and voices of new works to St. Petersburg. Between 1784 and 1801 he wrote about 25 more operas.

*Versions of La molinara (The Maid of the Mill)*

*La molinara* by Paisiello in three acts premiered in the summer of 1788 at the *Teatro Fiorentini* in Naples. This production was resumed the following year, as indicated on the title page of the autograph of the first edition (*Illustration 1*). From 1789 and on, in other Italian cities, the opera was more often staged in two acts, such as in Rome at the Teatro Capranica (1789, *Illustration 2*) or in Venice in 1790 (*Illustration 3*).



*Illustration 1.* Title page. Autograph, opera score *L'amor contrastato* by Giovanni Paisiello (act I). Source: Paisiello. *L'Amor contrastato*.

Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella. Autograf. Rari 3.1.3. F. 1

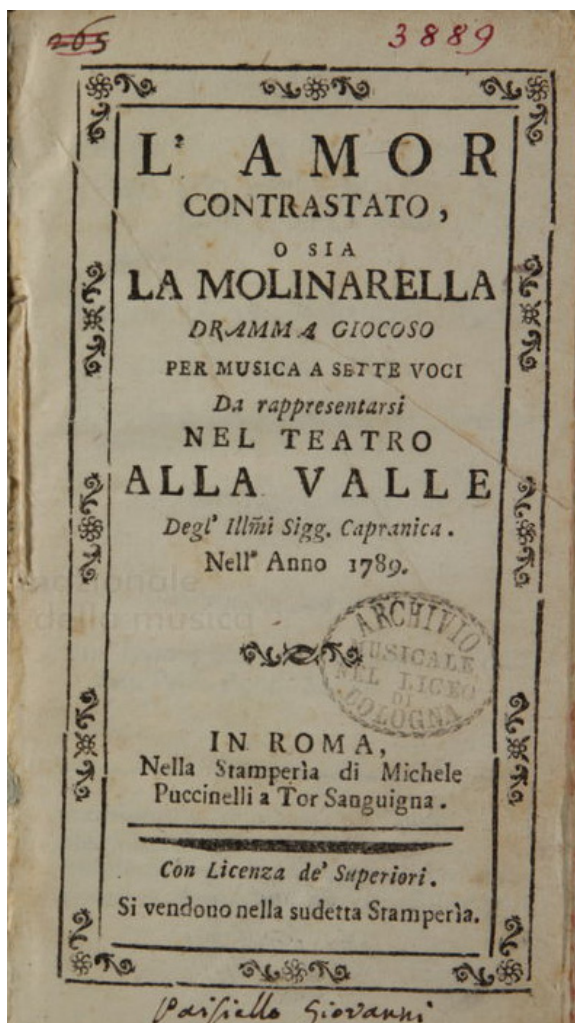


Illustration 2. Giovanni Paisiello.  
*L'Amor contrastato*. Libretto. Title page.  
Rome (1789). Source: Archivio musicale  
nel liceo di Bologna

In her article, Gordana Lazarevich mentions a French version presented in Paris in 1789 as *La molinarella* with nine numbers by Luigi Cherubini [16, p. 425]. This version was even more radical than the transformation of the three-act opera into a two-act opera in the Northern Italian versions, as the duet was moved from the third act to the second act. The third act of the Paris *La molinarella* has an added finale, the second act lacks the arias of Luigino and Amaranta and the sextet, nine of the thirteen arias are new: the three retain the text of Palomba, six are written to Antonio Andrea's text; the music for eight arias was composed by Luigi Cherubini, for one by Antonio Bianchi [17, pp. 148–149]; thus, this version can be considered a pasticcio.

In Russia, *La molinara* was performed in Saint Petersburg in November 1798 by an Italian troupe on the stage of the Bolshoi (Kamenny) Theatre and was repeated several times over the next few years [7, p. 117]. The first Russian-language version of the opera in two acts also appeared in St. Petersburg in 1811, a couple of years

after the two-act version of the opera called *Die Schöne Müllerin* was performed at the Deutsches Theatre. The Russian production was resumed in 1822 (translated from the German by Nikolai S. Krasnopolsky [8, pp. 56, 67]).

In Moscow, the Russian version translated by Alexei F. Merzlyakov after the premiere in October 1816 remained in the repertoire in the following



year of 1817.<sup>22</sup> In his *Memories*, Dominicis wrote about his attendance at one of these performances [14, p. 17]. The sheet music collection of the Apraksin & Golitsyn's fund preserved the combined part of the singers with Russian text underlay.<sup>23</sup>

### *Comparison of Sources*

The Russian version presents the materials of the two acts. A comparison of the libretto of the Neapolitan three-act version (1788) and the two-act Venetian version (1790) shows that the compositional transformation left the finale of the second act unchanged. The Saxon State and University Library Dresden's copy of the score of the two-act opera version, where *Fine dell'Opera* is indicated after the finale, confirms this point. A copy of the score from the collection of Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna, described in the *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (RISM), also lists two acts. Presumably, the Moscow version of the opera likewise had two acts. Although the final of the opera is not additionally indicated in the summary part of the singers of the Apraksin version, the last mark of the bar line consists of three long and three short lines with a curl in all parts. The back of the sheet is clean, as is the subsequent preserved sheet in the unit; however, there are the spines of three cut sheets between them.

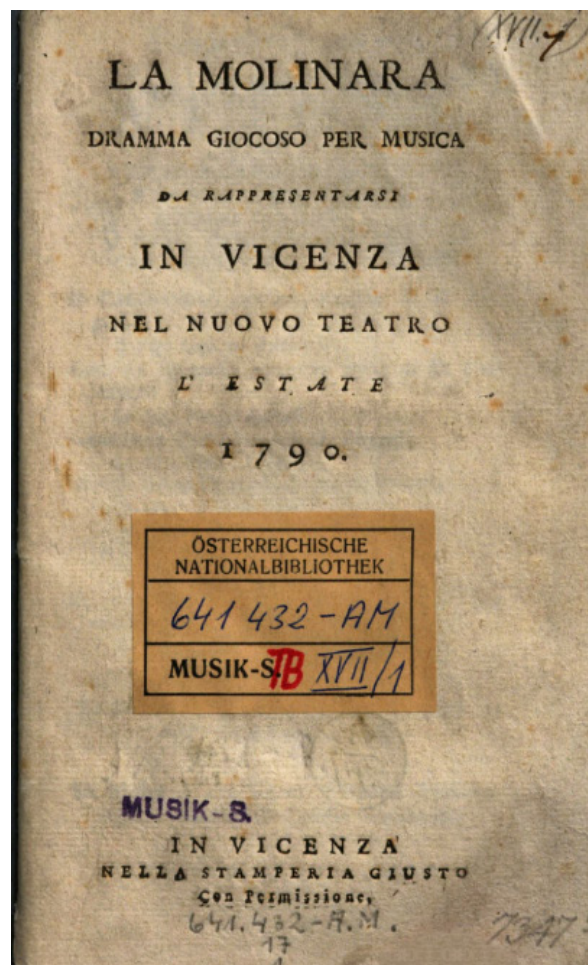


Illustration 3. Giovanni Paisiello.  
*La molinara*. Libretto. Title page. Venice  
(1790). Source:

<http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/105540C8>

<sup>22</sup> Fedorov, V. V. (2001). *Repertoire of the Bolshoi Theatre of the USSR* (Vol. 1: 1776–1856). Ross, p. 105.

<sup>23</sup> Melnicicha. Opera. Paisello. [Consolidated party of singers]. In *NIOR RSL*. F. 011 / III

It is currently not possible to assert that these contained material of the third act or, alternatively, that all the musical material ended in the second act and the sheets were cut out for lack of use.

The Russian materials have some significant differences from the autograph, though a similarity to the copy that belonged to Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna is detected.

At the Apraksin Theatre, *La molinara* was performed not with recitatives, but with spoken dialogues that replaced them (their text is missing from the score), which was a common practice. In the vocal parts the pronunciation norm is fixed with the replacement of “o” with “a,” and some of the names of the actors are Russified. Stefano Garzonio considers this approach to be a representative example of arranging foreign operas, with the most important element being “the use of Russian realities as a technique for the full cultural assimilation of the translated texts” [18, p. 637]. Further, he specifies:

In their arrangement, the translators tried to bring the text as close as possible to the tastes and perception of the Russian audience. The translations had, on the one hand, to meet the rhythmic requirements of the music [...], on the other hand, they tried to transfer the entire cultural complex of realities of action and characters into the new, Russian cultural space [Ibid., p. 638].

According to the researcher, the Russification was reflected in the fact that “Italian composers sometimes tried to introduce elements of Russian musical culture (melodies, songs, dances, etc.) into their musical compositions” [Ibid., p. 636].

The libretto by Palomba deliberately uses Greek names: Calloandro means “handsome man,” the baroness is called Eugenia, i.e., “nobly born,” the notary Pistofolo is “faithful lover,” the maid Amaranta is “unchanging, immortal” [17, p. 140]. In the Russian version, the protagonist’s name turned into Anyuta, and there appeared Count, Countess, and Notary. All names before the note system and in the indications are given in Latin, while Cyrillic is found only in the text underlay (*Table 1*).



Table 1. Character Names in the Autograph and the Russian Version

Autograph	The Moscow version
Rachelina	Aniuta
Eugenia	Graffinya / Countess
Amaranta	Amaranta
notaro Pistofolo	Natarius / Notary
don Rospolone	Rospalon / Raspolon
don Luigino	Luigino
don Calloandro	Graff / Count

Compared to the Neapolitan autograph, some changes also occurred in the musical numbers. The Moscow version lacks Luigino's aria (No. 2) and the duet from Act I (No. 9), though it contains arias not included in the autograph, which, however, have analogies with other versions, including the RISM incipit from the copy belonging to Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna.

Below are a few examples. The beginning of the Notary's aria "Per'ya, chernila..." ("Feathers, ink...") No. 4 from Act II (*Example 1*) is similar to the incipit 1.34.2 of the aria *Scritti addio vi lascio* in RISM (*Example 2*). The manuscript seems to indicate that the translation of the text underlay was corrected during rehearsals, and that a 34-bar-long cut was made in the second half of the number (the bars are crossed out in ink). In the three-act and a number of two-act versions, the aria with the text *Scritti addio vi lascio* is present, and yet it has different musical material in the vocal part: both in the autograph (*Example 3*), in the Baden copy, in the Vienna clavier (*Example 4*), and in the Munich version of Act II (*Example 5*).

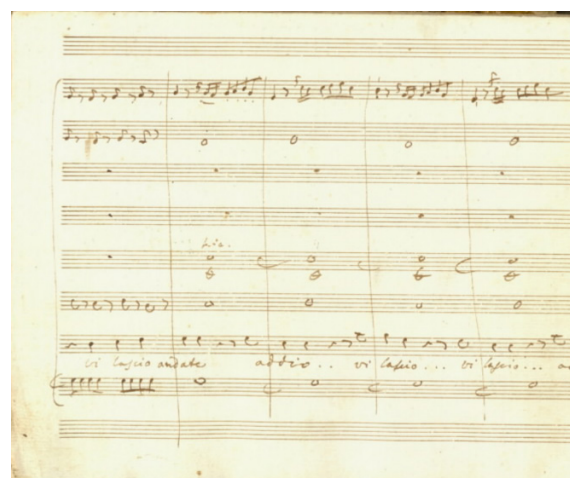
Luigino's aria "Mne sud'bina..." ("To me fate...") No. 6 (*Example 6*) from Act II of the Russian version is absent both in the autograph and in the two-act versions, but its beginning coincides with incipit 1.38.1 *La fortuna un cor* in RISM (*Example 7*). Since no such text exists in the Italian versions of the libretto from the late 1780s and early 1790s, this number can be assumed to have appeared later and may have been created exclusively for staging in Russia. The author of the music is unknown. Arguably, this number, as with the Act II finale of the Viennese and Baden versions, could have been written not by Paisiello but by another composer.



Example 1. Vocal incipit, Notary's aria (No. 4), Act II,  
Russian version (F. 11/ III. L. 103rev.)



Example 2. Vocal incipit, Notary's aria, Act II (1.34.2; B; Notaro; D), RISM



Example 3. Notary's aria *Scritti addio vi lascio*, Act II.  
Source: Paisiello. *L'Amor contrastato*. Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica  
S. Pietro a Majella. Autograf. Rari 3.1.4. F. 51



Example 4. Notary's aria *Scritti addio vi lascio*, Act II. Vienna. Source:  
Paisiello, Giovanni. *La Molinara*. Klavierauszug, Handschrift (18. Jh.), p. 213.  
[https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL\\_7100105&order=1&view=SINGLE](https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7100105&order=1&view=SINGLE)



Example 5. Vocal incipit, Notary's aria, Act II (1.12.2; B; Notaro; G), Munich  
(Manuscript copy D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 6319), RISM.

Source: <https://opac.rism.info/id/rismid/rism1001012098>



*Example 6.* Vocal incipit, Luigino's aria (No. 6), Act II,  
Russian version (F. 11/ III. L. 107rev.)



*Example 7.* Vocal incipit, Luigino's aria, Act II  
(1.38.1; Aria. Allegro; T; Luigino; A), RISM

The duet of Anyuta and the Notary “Kogda moj pastushok...” (“When my shepherd boy...”) (*Example 8*) has similarities with the duet *Il mio garzon il piffero suonara* (“When my boy will play the piper”) from Act II of the two-act Baden version (*Example 9*), the lyrics being identical in meaning. The incipit from the copy belonging to the Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna (*Oh il mio caro pupazzetto*, *Example 10*) is analogous to the duet from Act III in the autograph (*Example 11*). Such overlaps between different versions of the opera prove that staging practice was still dominated by the 18th-century principle of adapting the work to the specific conditions of a particular theatre.



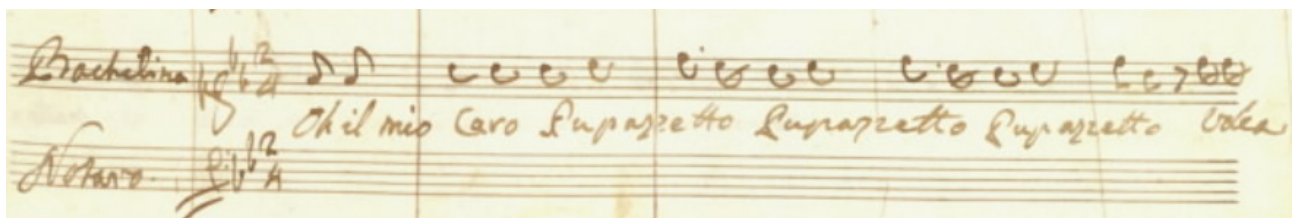
*Example 8.* Vocal incipit, duet of Anyuta and Notary (No. 10), Act II,  
Russian version (F. 11/III. L. 112rev.)



Example 9. Duet of Rachelina and Notary *Il mio garzon il piffero suonara*.  
Badische Landesbibliothek: *L'Amor contrastato*. Arr-Don. Mus. Ms. 1520. Source:  
<https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/3F4J0GBXG4UHX3F2SG36ATEE4SB3VQGN>



Example 10. Vocal incipit, duet of Rachelina and Notary,  
(1.47.1; Duetto. Allegro; S; Rachelina; B|b), RISM



Example 11. Duet of Rachelina and Notary *Oh il mio caro pupazzetto*, Act III.  
Source: Paisiello. *L'Amor contrastato*. Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica  
S. Pietro a Majella. Autograf. Rari 3.1.4. P. [470]

The verbal text of the vocal parts in the numbers coinciding with the autograph reveals a number of differences. The translation is non-equirhythmic, so the rhythmic pattern in the melody is often changed. The text underlay was also changed. For example, in the Act II finale in the Russian copy it was corrected during rehearsals, the original text underlay is crossed out in ink in some places and a new version is signed above the vocal line, but in Latin letters.



The adopted performance practice is fixed: repetitions of sounds at the end of phrases (in the autograph) are replaced by descending passages, for example, in the introduction (No. 1 “Vsyо gotovo...” [“Everything is ready...”], bars 6, 10) or in Anyuta’s aria (No. 2 “Bednaya Anyuta...” [“Poor Anyuta...”]), the musical text of which is similar to No. 3 of the autograph (Rachelina’s cavatina). Some editing (mainly in the male vocal parts) is found, intended to facilitate performance. Multiple repetitions of a single note, as a characteristic buffoonish technique, are replaced by leaps, thus preserving the comic character and, at the same time, facilitating intonation. In the introduction, for instance, in bar 37 in the Notary’s part, a leap in the third lobe on *d*<sup>1</sup> replaces the fourfold repetition of *b*. From bar 38 to bar 62, the Notary’s part is rhythmically recorded differently from the autograph, the changes being made later than in the copy, i.e., the translation of the words was also corrected during rehearsals.

Additionally, some variants of the performed embellishments are recorded in the Russian version. For example, a variant of the fioritures is given in the final section of Anyuta’s aria No. 2 “Bednaya Anyuta...” [“Poor Anyuta”] from Act I, in a lighter shade of ink in smaller notes. The Quintet “Rabotat’ mne okhota...” [“I want to work...”] from Act II (coincides with No. 5 from Act II in the autograph) is a rare instance of embellishments being written out not only in a solo but also in an ensemble number in all parts.

The vocal numbers were often cut. When comparing the Countess’s aria No. 3 “Vsyо uzh yasno i zlodeyu” [“Everything is clear to the villain”] with the autograph (No. 4 Eugenia’s aria *Di con alma incostante* from Act I), for example, the first five bars of the vocal part coincide (*Example 12*), then the Russian copy records the text with the six bar cut. Further, there is again a similarity, but later there are noticeable discrepancies, indicating a different edition. Moreover, the tonality in this number is changed, along with the tessitura: *E-flat major* instead of *G major* in the autograph (a *tertia* lower). Note that in the Baden version Eugenia’s aria *Di con alma incostante* coincides with the autograph.



*Example 12.* Vocal incipit, Countess’s aria (No. 3), Act I,  
Russian version (F. 11/III. L. 12rev.)

The cuts are also found in the Count's aria No. 6 "Gromko zvuchnoyu truboyu..." ["Loudly sound the trumpet..."], Anyuta's aria No. 8 "Zamolchite..." ["Be silent..."], and the Notary's aria No. 9 "Dajte srok..." ["Give the term..."], which generally coincide, respectively, with numbers 7, 10, and 11 of Act I in the autograph. The reasons for this may be various. On the one hand, the small stuffy theatre probably required a reduction of the performance time. On the other hand, the cuts greatly facilitated the vocal parts, as they omitted, as a rule, either repetitions of phrases or elaboration sections.

The finale of Act I has many discrepancies with the autograph and other versions of the score. There are cuts of repeated phrases in the Count's and Notary's parts (No. 10 "Tam Notarius" ["There Notary"]), which are not found in all other sources. The instrumental introduction is the same length as in the autograph (32 bars), whereas in all the "German" copies (Dresden, Baden, Vienna) it is only 12 bars long. Up to bar 131 in the autograph, the Russian version generally coincides with it, as well as with the Baden and Viennese copies with the exception of the cuts in the Count's and Notary's parts and some rhythmic and tessitural corrections resulting from the change of prosody, primarily in the Notary's part. From bar 131 onwards, the musical text is closer to the Viennese version, although even in comparison with it the Russian score shows differences in rhythmic pattern and tonalities, the repeated phrases have been cut, and new embellishments have been written out.

A duet from Act II, *Nel cor piu non mi sento*, is of particular interest as perhaps the most famous number of the opera. Ludwig van Beethoven was inspired to compose the Variations on a Theme by Paisiello (WoO 70). In his article, Alexander E. Maykapar enumerates variations on this theme by other composers such as Johann Baptist Wanhal, Ferdinand Kauer, Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Giovanni Bottesini, Theobald Böhm, and Louis Drouet [19, p. 31]. Maykapar supposes that in this duet Paisiello borrowed the theme of the St. Petersburg city romance "Na to l', chtoby pechali" ["For the sake of sorrows"] [Ibid., p. 24]. Gardzonio, on the contrary, believes that this romance, found in songbooks up to the end of the 19th century, serves as a vivid example of the Russification of Italian arias, when, thanks to the inclusion in song collections, favorite opera numbers "began to pass into everyday life and urban folklore [...]" and their change in this process to the point of unrecognizability testifies to their complete russification" [18, pp. 640–641].

In the Moscow version of *La molinara*, the duet “Prostis’, serdtse nezhnoe, so svobodoj yunykh let” [“Farewell, tender heart, to the freedom of young years”] was performed at the beginning of Act II (Anyuta and the Count), in the autograph it was No. 3 of the same act (Rachelina and the Notary), and it is also present in the Baden and Viennese versions (*Example 13*).



*Example 13.* Vocal incipit, duet of Anyuta and the Count (No. 10), Act II,  
Russian version (F. 11/III. L. 91 rev.)

The authors of the Russian version could seem to have recognized the familiar romance “For the sake of sorrows” and used its words, which are close in meaning and stanza structure. However, this did not happen. The duet is a translation of the lyrics of the Italian libretto, which gives the question of the origin of its melody an added poignancy. Nevertheless, the arguments are still insufficient to provide an answer.

### Conclusion

The materials of the production of Paisiello’s *La molinara* (1816) preserved in the Apraksin & Golitsyn’s Collection provide an insight into the practice of adapting European opera in Russia. The copy of the score was probably supplied by the Directorate of the Imperial Theatres and subsequently revised with due regard for the abilities of the Moscow soloists. Given that no references are made to the performance of *La molinara* by this troupe after 1817, the manuscript may have remained in the house on Znamenka when the performances were moved to the Pashkov House in the summer of 1818. After the death of Stepan S. Apraksin, his family moved all the collections, including the library, to the L’gov estate near Moscow, from where the collection entered the Russian State Library in the 20th century [20, pp. 80–81]. Thus, the importance of the sheet music archive in the Apraksin & Golitsyn’s Collection increases, among other things, for the study of the activities of the Moscow Imperial Troupe and the Imperial Theatre as a whole. These assumptions require a further painstaking study of the entire Manuscript Collection of the Apraksin & Golitsyn.

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Information about the author:

**Alexandra A. Safonova** — Cand. Sci. (Art Studies), Senior Researcher,  
Research Center for Methodology of Historical Music Studies at the  
Department of General Music History.

Сведения об авторе:

**Сафонова А. А.** — кандидат искусствоведения, старший  
научный сотрудник, Научно-исследовательский центр методологии  
исторического музыкознания

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**Camillo Everardi's Pedagogical Repertoire  
at the Saint Petersburg Conservatory (1870–1888)**

*Alexandra B. Turintseva*

Ekaterinburg State Theatre Institute,

Ekaterinburg, Russia,

✉ [music-al@mail.ru](mailto:music-al@mail.ru),

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9876-9883>



**Abstract.** This article, drawing on archival sources, attempts to reconstruct the pedagogical career of Camillo Everardi (1825–1899) at the Saint Petersburg Conservatory, where he taught for 18 years — from 1870 to 1888. For a long time, the primary reasons for his dismissal were believed to be his adherence to the traditions of the Italian and French vocal schools and their respective repertoires, his alleged “discrimination” against Russian music, his emphasis

on opera at the expense of concert and chamber works, and, consequently, the purportedly inadequate preparation of his students for professional performance. The study is based on sources that document Everardi's teaching activities, specifically the inspector's records preserved in the Central State Historical Archive of Saint Petersburg. The findings reveal that during his tenure, students from his class participated in over 100 public concerts, including performances with a symphony orchestra, and interpreted more than 200 vocal works spanning various genres composed by Italian, French, Russian, and German composers. Under his direction, scenes and entire acts from more than 25 operas were staged, including *A Life for the Tsar* and *Ruslan and Lyudmila* by Mikhail Glinka, *Rusalka* by Alexander Dargomyzhsky, *Rogneda* by Alexander Serov, among others. A particularly noteworthy event occurred on April 22, 1883, when Everardi's students performed the principal roles in *Eugene Onegin* by Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky at a concert organized by the Musical and Dramatic Amateur Circle in Kononov Hall. Remarkably, this was one of the earliest performances of the opera in the capital, as it was staged on the imperial Russian stage in Saint Petersburg only in the following season, on October 19, 1884. The article further examines the criticisms directed at Everardi and proposes new hypotheses regarding the actual reasons behind his dismissal.

**Keywords:** Camillo Everardi, Saint Petersburg Conservatory, vocal repertoire, operatic exercises, Italian opera, French opera, Russian opera

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*Музыкальный театр:  
источниковедение*

Научная статья

**Педагогический репертуар Камилло Эверарди  
в Санкт-Петербургской консерватории  
(1870-1888)**

*Александра Бориславовна Туринцева*  
Екатеринбургский государственный театральный институт,  
г. Екатеринбург, Российская Федерация,  
✉ [music-al@mail.ru](mailto:music-al@mail.ru),  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9876-9883>

**Аннотация.** В статье на основе архивных источников предпринята попытка реконструировать педагогическую деятельность Камилло Эверарди (1825–1899) в Санкт-Петербургской консерватории, продолжавшуюся 18 лет — с 1870 по 1888 год. Главными причинами его увольнения долгое время считались приверженность традициям итальянской и французской вокальных школ и репертуару, «дискриминация русской музыки», акцент на изучении оперного жанра в ущерб концертно-камерным сочинениям и, как следствие, неудовлетворительная подготовка учащихся к исполнительской деятельности. Материалом исследования стали источники, в которых зафиксирована деятельность Эверарди — инспекторские книги, хранящиеся в Центральном государственном историческом архиве Санкт-Петербурга.

Выяснилось, что за годы преподавания Эверарди учащиеся его класса приняли участие более чем в 100 публичных концертах, в том числе с участием симфонического оркестра, и исполнили более 200 вокальных произведений различных жанров, созданных итальянскими, французскими, русскими, немецкими композиторами. Под его руководством были поставлены сцены и целые действия из более чем 25 опер, среди которых «Жизнь за царя» и «Руслан и Людмила» М. И. Глинки, «Русалка» А. С. Даргомыжского, «Рогнеда» А. Н. Серова и многие другие. 22 апреля 1883 года студенты Эверарди исполнили главные партии в «Евгении Онегине» П. И. Чайковского на сцене музыкально-драматического кружка любителей в зале Кононова. Примечательно, что это было одно из первых исполнений оперы в столице, на императорской русской сцене Петербурге она появилась лишь в следующем сезоне, 19 октября 1884 года. В статье рассмотрены претензии критиков в отношении Эверарди и выдвинуты предположения о настоящей причине его увольнения.

**Ключевые слова:** Камилло Эверарди, Санкт-Петербургская консерватория, вокальный репертуар, оперные упражнения, итальянская опера, французская опера, русская опера

**Для цитирования:** Туринцева А. Б. Педагогический репертуар Камилло Эверарди в Санкт-Петербургской консерватории (1870–1888) // Современные проблемы музыкознания. 2025. № 1. С. 105–129.

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Introduction

The distinguished Belgian-born singer Camillo Everardi (born Camille François Everard, 1825–1899), a soloist at the Italian Opera in Saint Petersburg from 1857 to 1874 (*Illustration 1*), left a significant mark on the history of Russian opera performance and vocal pedagogy. From 1870 to 1888, Everardi served as a professor of vocal studies at the Saint Petersburg Conservatory, where he trained a generation of prominent Russian opera singers, including Fyodor Stravinsky, Dmitry Usatov, Vasily Samus, Stanislav Gabel, Ioakim Tartakov, Vladimir Maiboroda, Nadezhda Salina, Varvara Zarudnaya, and many others. However, despite his substantial contribution to Russian vocal culture, Everardi's name remains relatively obscure in broader musical circles today.

Beyond a brief biographical entry in the *Musical Encyclopedia*<sup>1</sup> and a few references in Russian music history textbooks,<sup>2</sup> knowledge of Everardi is primarily derived from the memoirs of his students—Vladimir Apollonovich Lossky<sup>3</sup> and Nadezhda Vasilyevna Salina.<sup>4</sup> His pedagogical methods are described in greater detail by another of his students, Lev Isaakovich Vainshtein, in his book *Camillo Everardi and His Views on the Vocal Art*,<sup>5</sup> as well as by contemporary scholars such as Lyudmila Grigorievna Barsova in *From the History of the Saint Petersburg Vocal School* [1] and Natalia Borisovna Seliverstova in her article *Camillo Everardi (1825–1899): The First Director of Educational “Operatic Exercises” at the Saint Petersburg Conservatory* [2, pp. 41–48].

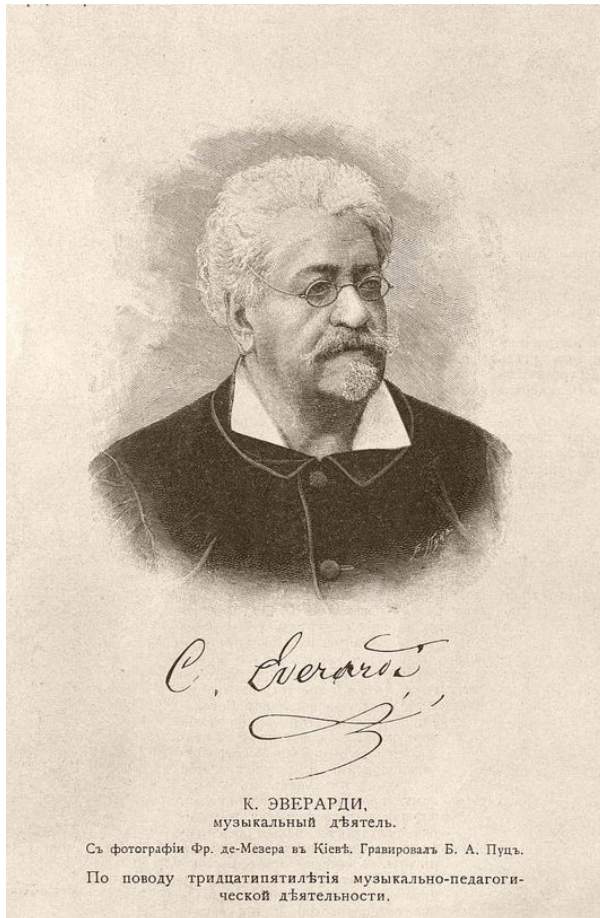
<sup>1</sup> Grigoryeva, A. P. (1982). Everardi, Camillo. In Yu. V. Keldysh (Ed.), *Muzykal'naya Entsiklopediya* [*Musical Encyclopedia*] (Vol. 6, cols. 479–480). Sovetskaya entsiklopediya, Sovetskij kompozitor.

<sup>2</sup> Keldysh, Yu. V. (Ed.). (1989). *History of Russian Music* (10 Vols., vol. 6: The 1850s–1860s). Muzyka, pp. 246, 267; Keldysh, Yu. V. (Ed.). *History of Russian Music* (10 Vols., vol. 8: The 1870s–1880s. Part 2). Muzyka, pp. 247, 336, 409, 427, 428, 443.

<sup>3</sup> Voinova-Losskaya, M. K. (Ed.). (1959). *Vladimir Apollonovich Lossky: Memoirs. Articles and Speeches. Recollections of Lossky*. Muzgiz.

<sup>4</sup> Salina, N. V. (1941). *Life and the Stage: Memoirs of a Bolshoi Theatre Artist*. All-Russian Theatrical Society.

<sup>5</sup> Vainshtein, L. I. (1924). *Camillo Everardi and His Views on the Vocal Art: A Student's Memoirs*. [Trust “Kyiv-Print,” 8th State Printing House].



*Illustration 1.* Portrait of Camillo Everardi from a photograph by Fr. de Mezer in Kyiv, engraved by B. A. Putz. Source: *Vsemirnaya Illustratsiya*, November 18, 1895, LIV(21/1399), p. 406

social status, religious affiliation, form of education, specialty, class, and grades. Additionally, they provide information about the faculty, including their positions, teaching loads, and instructional days. Also included are valuable concert and exam posters, which provide details on the repertoire performed by the students.

These works offer insight into Everardi's personality, vocal aesthetics, and teaching philosophy but only briefly touch upon the specifics of his pedagogical repertoire.

This article focuses on an indepth examination of Everardi's repertoire policy during his tenure at the Saint Petersburg Conservatory. Addressing this subject not only sheds light on key aspects of his biography and provides a deeper understanding of his artistic approach but also enriches our knowledge of the development of operatic training in Russia in the final third of the 19th century.

#### *From the Appointment to Dismissal*

Reconstructing the chronology of Everardi's pedagogical activities over nearly two decades was made possible by documents preserved in the State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg. Among these, the inspection books of the conservatory for the years 1870–1888 play a particularly significant role (*Illustrations 2–4*). These books contain detailed information about students, including their names, birth years,





*Illustrations 2–4. Inspection Books of the Conservatory.*

Source: Central State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg (CGIA SPb); Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1884–1885. CGIA SPb. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 16; Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1887–1888. CGIA SPb. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 19

Everardi began his work at the conservatory in 1870 at the invitation of the then-director, Nikolai Ivanovich Zarembo. Information about his teaching load can be gleaned from a contract dated 1873,<sup>6</sup> which was renewed almost unchanged every three years. According to this contract, Everardi was required to teach singing and studies for both men and women four times a week. He was assigned 18 students and seven auditors, with whom he prepared lyrical scenes or two operas chosen in agreement with the conservatory director. In addition, Everardi supervised the singing and solfeggio class of his adjunct. In 1876, contingent upon a salary increase, he agreed to take on five additional students.<sup>7</sup> His career advancement is reflected

<sup>6</sup> Contract between the St. Petersburg Branch of the Imperial Russian Music Society (IRMO), represented by the conservatory director M. P. Azanchevsky, and Camillo Everardi, dated April 16, 1873. O zaklyuchenii kontrakta s bel'gijskim professorom peniya Everardi [On the Conclusion of the Contract with the Belgian Professor of Singing, Everardi]. CGIA SPb [Central State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg]. F. 361. Inventory 9. Case 194. Folios 8, 9.

<sup>7</sup> Letter from C. Everardi to the Conservatory Director, dated September 16, 1876. O zaklyuchenii kontrakta s bel'gijskim professorom peniya Everardi [On the Conclusion of the Contract with the Belgian Professor of Singing, Everardi]. CGIA SPb. F. 361. Inventory 9. Case 194. Folio 14.



in his promotion to the rank of Professor of the Second Degree in 1879 and to the rank of Professor of the First Degree in 1881.<sup>8</sup>

In the year Everardi began his service (1870), the conservatory was home to Henrietta Nissen-Saloman, an outstanding singer and teacher, and Louise Erritt-Viardo, the daughter of Pauline Viardot and a representative of the renowned Garcia artistic family. Everardi's and Nissen-Saloman's classes were quite large, with more than 20 students, while Erritt-Viardo had only 11 students.<sup>9</sup> It is worth noting that Everardi taught students of both genders, whereas many of his future colleagues, such as Natalia Alexandrovna Iretskaya, Elizaveta Fyodorovna Tsvantsiger, and Anna Alexandrovna Polyakova-Khostova, preferred to work exclusively with female students.<sup>10</sup> Nissen-Saloman was an exception: in her class, Fyodor Ignatievich Stravinsky began his studies, later becoming Everardi's pupil. Over the years, Everardi's colleagues included Giovanni Corsi, Polina Sergeevna Girs, Ivan Alexandrovich Melnikov, Alexander Ivanovich Rubets, Vilhelmina Ivanovna Raab, Vasily Maximovich Samus, and Stanislav Ivanovich Gabel.

According to the guide for applicants to the conservatory, attached to the 1870–1871 inspector's book, students had the right to choose the subject of study and their instructor. Depending on their level of musical development, students were assigned to a class taught by either a professor or an adjunct.<sup>11</sup> From 1871 to 1873, Everardi's adjunct was his wife, Georgette Everardi,<sup>12</sup> and in 1877–1878, this role was filled by his graduate, Vasily Samus.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Formular List. O zaklyuchenii kontrakta s bel'gijskim professorom peniya Everardi [On the Conclusion of the Contract with the Belgian Professor of Singing, Everardi]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 9. Case 194. Folio 36.

<sup>9</sup> *Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1870–1871 god* [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1870–1871]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1874–1875 god* [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1874–1875]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1870–1871 god* [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1871]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case No. 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1871–1872 god* [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1871–1872]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 3; *Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1872–1873 god* [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1872–1873]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 4.

<sup>13</sup> *Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1877–1878 god* [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1877–1878]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 9.

The years spent at the conservatory were not without their challenges for the singer. While he was always met with the sincere affection of his students, the attitudes of his colleagues and the administration noticeably shifted. Initially, the administration was eager to retain his services, but his departure — whether overtly or covertly — was influenced by the return of Anton Grigoryevich Rubinstein to the position of director. One of the most well-known episodes in Everardi's little-studied biography is his quarrel with Rubinstein, who allegedly refused to award a medal to one of Everardi's graduates at an exam. The singer, dissatisfied with this decision, remarked: "You, Anton, are a great pianist, but when it comes to singing, you understand less than I do."<sup>14</sup> According to Vainshtein's memoirs, the medal was eventually awarded to the student, but the professor was compelled to leave the conservatory.

However, judging by the information presented in the 1887–1888 inspector's book, this story appears to be little more than a myth. In 1888, two students graduated from Everardi's class: N. M. Muretova and A. P. Mansvetova. Both performed their graduation exams with a score of 4.5 and were selected to perform at the public event (i.e., the graduation concert) at the Mikhailovsky Palace. The first received a diploma, the second a certificate, but neither was awarded a medal.<sup>15</sup> It is possible that the words directed at Rubinstein were not spoken during the exam but among the students. This, however, does not negate the existence of some opposition between the musicians: there are testimonies from other students of Everardi about Rubinstein's criticism. For instance, the soloist of the Bolshoi Theatre, Nadezhda Vasilievna Salina, in her book *Life and the Stage*, recalls her years of study at the conservatory, writing, "While in Everardi's class, which Anton Grigoryevich could not tolerate, I attended Rubinstein's for auditions several times. [...] After finishing the accompaniment, he said, 'Don't stay too long with Everardi, or he will ruin your voice; you're already shouting.'"<sup>16</sup>

What lay behind this opposition, and what were the true reasons for Everardi's dismissal?

<sup>14</sup> Vainshtein L. I. (1924). *Camillo Everardi and His Views on the Vocal Art: A Student's Memoirs*. [Trust "Kyiv-Print," 8th State Printing House], p. 42.

<sup>15</sup> *Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1887–1888 god* [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1887–1888]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 19.

<sup>16</sup> Salina, N. V. (1941). *Life and the Stage: Memoirs of a Bolshoi Theatre Artist*. Leningrad; Moscow: All-Russian Theatrical Society, p. 48.

*Repertoire of Everardi's Students and Its Criticism*

Lyudmila Grigoryevna Barsova believes that the main reason for dissatisfaction with Everardi's teaching was his repertoire policy, which was oriented toward Italian and French opera, and his insufficient attention to works by Russian composers [1, pp. 18–21]. This idea is partially corroborated by a review of an exam in Everardi's class, which appeared in *Vsemirnaya Illustratsiya* in May 1879. The review noted: "Familiar with Verdi, Mercadante, and Meyerbeer, the students were [...] entirely unfamiliar with the school where serious singers can truly be trained."<sup>17</sup> The reviewer considered Bach, Gluck, Handel, and Palestrina to be "true teachers of singing," stating, "They cannot be excluded from the general educational curriculum, just as one cannot give all the pedagogical advantages to the 'beloved' French and Italians for the students."<sup>18</sup> The author concluded, "The strong point of Mr. Everardi's work lies in the operas of Weber, Gounod, and all the French composers." What Mr. Everardi fails to teach – is Glinka and all Russian composers."<sup>19</sup>

Insights into the repertoire of Everardi's students can be gained from the preserved concert programs. According to the inspector's records, starting in November, conservatory students participated in public and "closed" concerts four times a month.

The first public performance by one of Everardi's students took place on January 26, 1871, when Emilia Pavlovskaya (née Bergman) performed Alice's aria from Giacomo Meyerbeer's opera *Robert le Diable*.<sup>20</sup> From that moment on, Everardi's class remained at the heart of the conservatory's concert life, regularly taking part in six to eight musical evenings each year.

On January 26, 1872, Everardi's students were honored to perform before the distinguished violinist, director, and professor of the Berlin Hochschule für Musik, Joseph Joachim.<sup>21</sup> On May 13, 1873, his students presented

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<sup>17</sup> Chronicle of Art, Theatre, and Music. (1879). *Vsemirnaya Illustratsiya* [*The World Illustration*], XXI (22/542), p. 434.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1870–1871 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1870–1871]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 2. Folio 126.

<sup>21</sup> Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1871–1872 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1871–1872]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 3. Folio 135.

nine out of sixteen pieces at the *Public Act* in the Mikhailovsky Palace.<sup>22</sup> The term *Public Act* in concert programs of that time referred to the conservatory's graduation concert. One of the most significant events of the 1874–1875 academic year was the *Musical Gathering in Memory of Russian Composers*, held on February 2, 1875, in the conservatory hall. At this event, Everardi's students performed romances by Alexander Sergeyevich Dargomyzhsky, including *The Golden Cloud Slept the Night, Heavenly Clouds, How Sweet It Is to Be with You and Tell Me, Why Are You So Thoughtful?* Additionally, they presented *The Varangian Ballad* from Alexander Nikolaevich Serov's opera *Rogneda* and a duet from Otto Ivanovich Deutsch's opera *The Croatian Girl* (Illustration 5).<sup>23</sup>

In the autumn of 1876, symphonic gatherings began to take place at the conservatory, which was renamed "symphonic exercises" in 1877. Everardi's class actively participated in these events. At the first gathering on December 23, 1876, his students performed the solo parts in Felix Mendelssohn's cantata *Die erste Walpurgisnacht* (Illustration 6).<sup>24</sup> On November 24, 1877, they also performed the solo roles in the oratorio *Das Paradies und die Peri* by Robert Schumann.<sup>25</sup>

Another significant aspect of Everardi's pedagogical activity at the conservatory was his leadership of the opera class. Drawing upon his extensive stage experience, the professor actively shared his knowledge with students, taking on the role of director for opera exercises. N. B. Seliverstova notes that Everardi "succeeded in establishing 'opera exercises' as a mandatory component of training for young vocalists" [2, p. 45]. The first performance took place on February 27, 1873, featuring the one-act comic opera *Le Chalet* by Adolphe Adam and scenes from Act II of Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*. The participants in this inaugural opera exercise were students of Everardi and Nissen-Saloman.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1872–1873 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1872–1873]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 4. Folio 137 verso.

<sup>23</sup> Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1874–1875 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1874–1875]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 6. Folios 151a, 151a verso.

<sup>24</sup> Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1876–1877 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1876–1877]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 8. Folios 172, 172 verso.

<sup>25</sup> Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1877–1878 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1877–1878]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 9. Folio 189.

<sup>26</sup> Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1872–1873 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1872–1873]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 4. Folio 134.



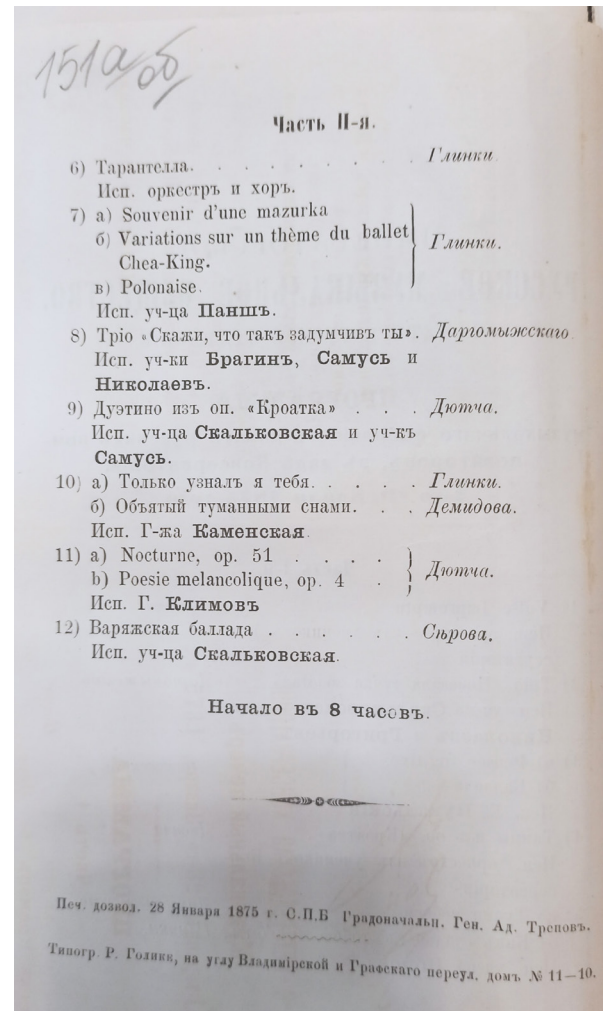
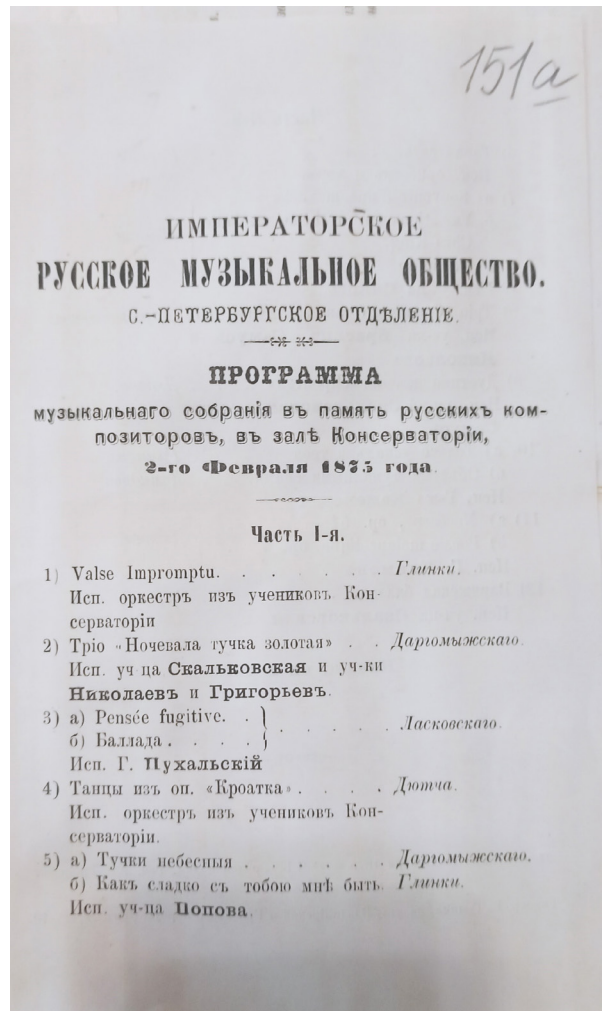


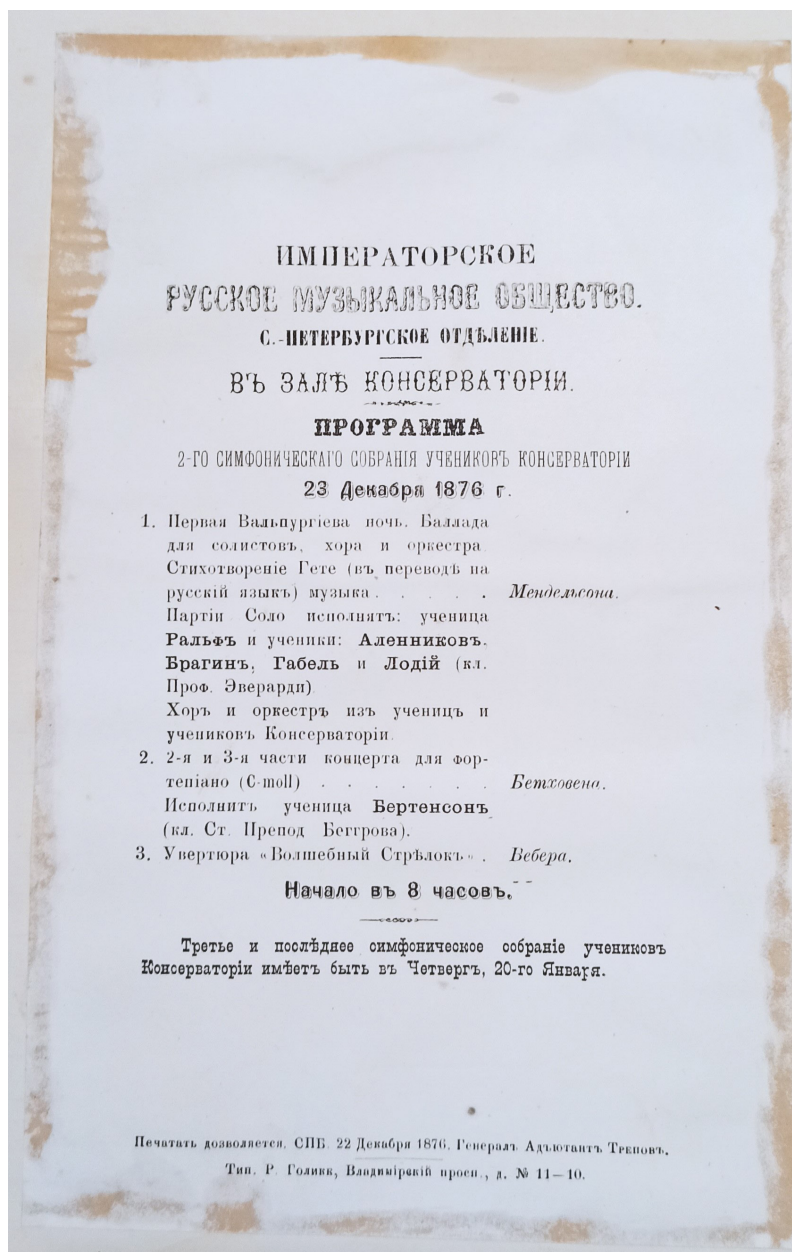
Illustration 5. Poster of the Musical Gathering in Memory of Russian Composers, February 2, 1875. Source: Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1884–1885. CGIA SPb. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 6. Folios 151a, 151a verso

Merely a month later, on March 2, 1873, the second opera exercise was held, presenting scenes from Gioachino Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* and Mikhail Glinka's *Ruslan and Lyudmila*.<sup>27</sup> The third performance, on March 3, 1873, once again featured *Il barbiere di Siviglia* alongside *Les Huguenots*.<sup>28</sup> In 1874, the opera class staged

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. Folio 135.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.





*Illustration 6. Poster of the Symphonic Assembly on December 23, 1876. Source: Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1876–1877. CGIA SPb. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 8. Folio 172 verso*

excerpts from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*<sup>29</sup> and Glinka's *A Life for the Tsar*,<sup>30</sup> with students of Everardi and Corsi excelling in scenes from the latter (*Illustration 7*).

In 1875 and 1876, opera excerpts were performed by students at the Alexandrinsky Theatre. Scenes from Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable*, Charles Gounod's *Faust*, Giuseppe Verdi's *Il Trovatore*,<sup>31</sup> Alexander Dargomyzhsky's *Rusalka*, Mozart's *Don Giovanni*,<sup>32</sup> and Gaetano Donizetti's *La Favorita* were staged. Donizetti's *Don Pasquale* was performed in its entirety.<sup>33</sup> The majority of the roles were assigned to students of Everardi, though there were exceptions; for instance, Azucena in *Il Trovatore* was sung by the student Tsvantsiger — Ukhtomskaya.

The student performances involved the orchestra and the choir. Preparation began months in advance. However, this undoubtedly important practice for young singers also had a negative aspect: due to the rehearsals, “class work was systematically disrupted, and students not involved in the performances were completely excluded from lessons” [1, p. 17]. The writer and publicist Konstantin Apollonovich Skalkovsky, in his book *In the World of Theater: Observations, Memories, and Reflections* notes that Everardi's class was always overcrowded: “The professor was inevitably forced to work with some particularly talented student, while the others had to listen and take notes,”<sup>34</sup> content with “a 15-minute lesson once a month.”<sup>35</sup> In his opinion, this approach could not benefit those studying serious vocal art. He was even more skeptical about the opera class:

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<sup>29</sup> Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1873–1874 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1873–1874]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 5. Folio 150.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. Folio 149 verso.

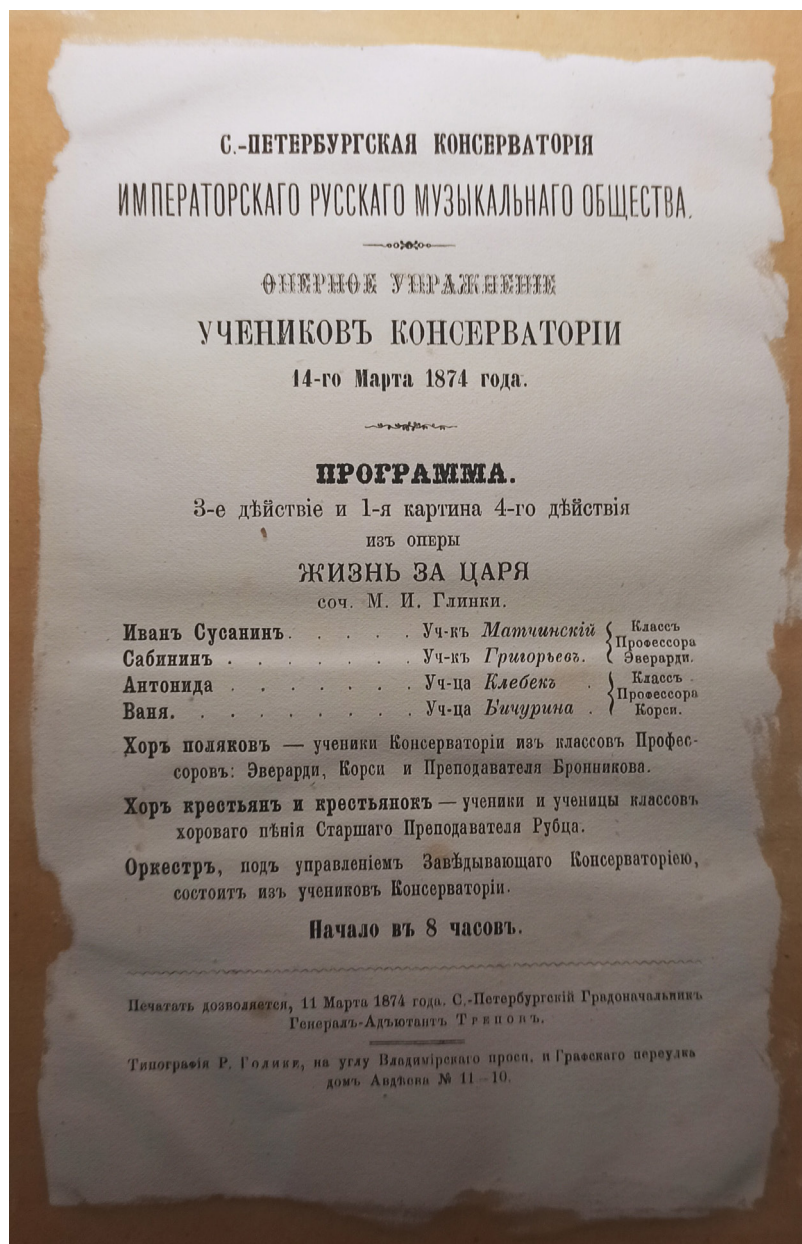
<sup>31</sup> Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1874–1875 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1874–1875]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 6. Folios 153, 153 verso.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. Folio 154.

<sup>33</sup> Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1875–1876 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1875–1876]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 7. Folios 158, 158 verso.

<sup>34</sup> Skalkovsky, K. A. (1899). *In the World of Theater: Observations, Memories, and Reflections*. A. S. Suvorin Printing House, pp. XX–XXI.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 29.



*Illustration 7. Poster for the Opera Exercise on March 14, 1874:  
Act 3 and Scene 1 of Act 4 from A Life for the Tsar by M.I. Glinka. Source:  
Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1873–1874. CGIA SPb. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 5.  
Folios 149, 149 verso*

In order to cultivate talent, there are opera exercises in place, where eight or ten of the most attractive students are trained like canaries, learning several excerpts from operas [...] Those who complete this course are capable of singing well only the opera they have rehearsed with their professor; with the next opera, disappointment begins to set in for both the audience and the professor.<sup>36</sup>

Nevertheless, the press of that time was full of praise for the “excellent method” of Mr. Everardi’s school. For instance, a review from the journal *Vsemirnaya Illiustratsiya* in 1874 stated: “The best students are still those who study under Everardi, undoubtedly an excellent professor for final refinement and stage preparation.”<sup>37</sup> In the same journal, in 1875, a new graduate class of opera singers from the conservatory was described: “The graduates of this year can be considered among the brightest. From the voice department, the following completed the course [...]: two sopranos — Ms. Skalkovskaya and Straube, bass — Mr. Matchinsky, and tenor — Mr. Grigoriev, students of Professor Ewerardi’s class.”<sup>38</sup>

On March 12, 1877, students from Everardi’s class performed opera exercises for the first time on the stage of the Bolshoi (Kamenny) Theatre. They presented excerpts from the operas *Guillaume Tell* by Rossini and *Rigoletto* by Verdi (*Illustration 8*).<sup>39</sup>

The staging of fragments from *Guillaume Tell* is noteworthy in terms of the language of performance. First and foremost, it is striking that in the conservatory posters, Rossini’s composition is listed under its original title, with no mention of the language of performance. Meanwhile, on the imperial stage, from the premiere (April 21, 1838, at the Bolshoi Theatre in Saint Petersburg) and well into the late 19th century, due to censorship restrictions, the opera was performed under the title *Carlo il Temerario* and was sung not in French, but in Russian [3, p. 78], and from 1846, in Italian [Ibid., p. 108]. Marina Grigorievna Raku emphasizes, “The name originally given to Rossini’s score was restored in Russia only in 1893” [Ibid., p. 126],

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., pp. 29–30.

<sup>37</sup> D. M. (1874). Musical Review. Examination and Act of the St. Petersburg Conservatory. *Vsemirnaya Illiustratsiya* [*The World Illustration*], 11(24/284), p. 390.

<sup>38</sup> Chronicle of the Art of Theater and Music. (1875). *Vsemirnaya Illiustratsiya* [*The World Illustration*], XIII(21/333), p. 398.

<sup>39</sup> Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1876–1877 god [Conservatory Inspector’s Book for 1876–1877]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 8. Folios 179, 179 verso.



sixteen years after the performance staged by Everardi with his students. Nevertheless, despite the original title, it is likely that Everardi, in his exercises, also relied on the version of the opera with the Italian libretto, which he would have been familiar with through his work on the Imperial stage.

On March 18, 1877, students of Everardi performed excerpts from Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* and a scene from Dargomyzhsky's *Rusalka* at the Alexandrinsky Theatre.<sup>40</sup> On April 1, 1878, at the Bolshoi Theatre, his class presented Rossini's *Le comte Ory* while students Iretzkaya, Tsvantsiger, Rubets, and Melnikov performed excerpts from Serov's *Rogneda*<sup>41</sup>. On April 7, 1878, scenes from *L'Africaine* and *Les Huguenots* by Meyerbeer were presented at the Bolshoi Theatre.<sup>42</sup> This performance marked a turning point: following it, Everardi faced sharp criticism. With unmistakable irony, a correspondent from the *Vsemirnaya Illiustratsiya* magazine wrote:

One might marvel at Mr. Everardi's choice and the audacity to stage such monumental operas with students who were far from ready... The performance left a sad impression of unnecessary manipulation, an ill-advised display of goods for the sake of superficial spectacle, to the detriment of common sense and the methodological development of the students.<sup>43</sup>

Nevertheless, in 1879, the presentation of operatic exercises on the Bolshoi Theatre stage continued. On March 9, scenes from *A Life for the Tsar* by Glinka and *Don Giovanni* by Mozart were performed<sup>44</sup>, while on March 23, excerpts from *Ruslan and Lyudmila* by Glinka, *Aida* by Verdi, *Robert le Diable* by Meyerbeer, and *Mignon* by Ambroise Thomas were staged.<sup>45</sup> On April 7, students of Girs presented fragments

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<sup>40</sup> Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1876–1877 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1876–1877]. *CGIA SPb.* F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 8. Folio 180.

<sup>41</sup> Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1877–1878 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1877–1878]. *CGIA SPb.* F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 9. Folio 197.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. Folio 197 verso.

<sup>43</sup> Chronicle of Art, Theatre, and Music. (1878). *Vsemirnaya Illiustratsiya* [*The World Illustration*], XIX (16/484), pp. 270–271.

<sup>44</sup> Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1878–1879 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1878–1879]. *CGIA SPb.* F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 10. Folio 184.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. Folio 184 verso.



from *Der Freischütz* by Weber and *Le Prophète* by Meyerbeer,<sup>46</sup> while Everardi's pupils performed selections from *La Juive* by Fromental Halévy.<sup>47</sup> Following this, the activities of the conservatory's opera class were suspended until 1885.<sup>48</sup>

The forced hiatus in his work, coupled with the criticism he faced, evidently had a profound impact on Everardi. In November 1882, he submitted a letter of resignation to Julius Johansen.<sup>49</sup> This decision was seemingly not impulsive, as early as September 1881, personal correspondence between Everardi's student, Varvara Mikhailovna Zarudnaya, and her future husband, composer Mikhail Mikhailovich Ippolitov-Ivanov, had touched upon the possibility of the professor's departure from the conservatory.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, in May 1883, *Vsemirnaya Illustratsiya* published a note suggesting that Everardi might leave the conservatory and be replaced by Ippolit Petrovich Pryanishnikov, a student of Corsi and the future founder of the opera company.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>46</sup> The situation with *Le Prophète* is similar to the aforementioned staging of excerpts from *Guillaume Tell*. The conservatory playbill states: "Scene from Act V of the opera *Le Prophète*," whereas on the imperial stage, the opera had been performed under the title *Ioann Leiden-sky* by the Russian troupe and *Giovanni di Lieda* by the Italian troupe since 1869 [4, p. 170]. The language in which Girs' students sang remains unknown.

<sup>47</sup> *Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1878–1879 god* [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1878–1879]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 10. Folio 204.

<sup>48</sup> Seliverstova recounts the first instance of an interruption in the operation of the opera class prior to Everardi's tenure at the conservatory. This was attributed to a lack of funding: "In a short time, the opera class was closed, as the conservatory's trustees saw no justification for increasing subsidies for this costly endeavor" [2, p. 45]. It is possible that the second hiatus was driven by the same reason.

<sup>49</sup> Letter from C. Everardi to Julius Johansen, November 29, 1882. *O zaklyuchenii kontrakta s bel'gijskim professorom peniya Everardi* [On the Conclusion of the Contract with the Belgian Professor of Singing, Everardi]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 9. Case 194. Folio 21. In this letter, Everardi addresses Johansen as the director; however, at that time, Johansen held the position of inspector of the conservatory and only assumed the role of director in 1891. The reason for such an address remains unknown.

<sup>50</sup> Letter from V. M. Zarudnaya to M. M. Ippolitov-Ivanov dated September 9, 1881, Dvorikha. (1999). M. A. Kalamzina, A. L. Karsakovich, & N. E. Gryaznova (Eds.), *Perepiska M. M. Ippolitova-Ivanova i V. M. Zarudnoj, 1881 god* [Correspondence of M. M. Ippolitov-Ivanov and V. M. Zarudnaya, 1881]. M. M. Ippolitov-Ivanov State Music Pedagogical Institute, p. 74.

<sup>51</sup> Chronicle of the Arts, Theatre, and Music. (1883). *Vsemirnaya Illustratsiya* [The World Illustration], XXIX(19/747), p. 371.



Illustration 8. Poster for the opera exercise at the Bolshoi Theatre on March 12, 1877. Scenes from Acts 1, 2, and 3 of Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* and Acts 2 and 3 of Verdi's *Rigoletto*. Source: Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1876–1877. CGIA SPb. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 8. Folios 179, 179 verso

Nevertheless, the crisis was ultimately overcome, and Everardi continued teaching at the conservatory until 1888. Furthermore, the 1882–1883 academic year proved significant for him not only professionally but also artistically. He prepared his students for participation in one of the earliest staged performances of *Eugene Onegin* by P. I. Tchaikovsky in St. Petersburg.<sup>52</sup> The production, apparently initiated by conductor Karl Karlovich Zike [6, p. 204], took place

<sup>52</sup> Before the performance in which Everardi's students took part, there were other St. Petersburg performances of *Eugene Onegin*. Grigory Anatolyevich Moiseev uncovered details of a concert evening that took place on October 20, 1878, at the home of ballerina Anna Vasilievna Kuznetsova on the English Embankment. The evening was organized by Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich to celebrate the arrival of Nikolai Grigorievich Rubinstein in St. Petersburg, who performed at the piano most of Tchaikovsky's opera before its first public performances in Moscow [5, pp. 159–161]. See also [6, pp. 16–21]. In the book by Anna Sergeyevna Vinogradova, dedicated to the five-year anniversary of the *Eugene Onegin* premiere, she highlights the few facts surrounding the opera's staging on March 4, 1789, by "amateur singers from the highest nobility and soloists from the imperial theaters, who were admitted to the high-society salon of Baroness Y. F. Abaza" [Ibid., pp. 56–57].

on April 22, 1883,<sup>53</sup> in the hall of Kononov's Musical and Dramatic Amateur Circle. Everardi's students performed all the principal roles: Vladimir Nikolaevich Alennikov (Onegin), Evgenia Yulievna Cezar (Tatyana), Yakov Moshkovich (Lensky), Maria Dyakonova (Olga), and Paulina Kaplan (Nanny). The role of Larina was assigned to Tswanziger's student, Nadezhda Samoilova, while two amateurs—Iller (Valerian Ivanovich Miller [Ibid., p. 205]) and Alexander Alexandrovich Kalinovsky—sang the parts of Gremin and Triquet, respectively. The production's director was the writer Nikolai Antipovich Potechin. The chorus and orchestra consisted of amateur members of the circle. Following its premiere, the opera was performed again on April 25, 27, and 29. Notably, the first staging of *Eugene Onegin* on the St. Petersburg imperial stage took place only six months later, on October 19, 1884.<sup>54</sup>

On March 15, 1885, the staging of opera excerpts resumed on the Bolshoi Theater stage. Everardi's students presented excerpts from *Rusalka* and *Aida*.<sup>55</sup> On April 2 and 3, 1886, scenes from *Ruslan and Liudmila*, *Der Freischütz*, *Aida*, and *Faust* were shown at the Mikhailovsky Palace. On April 12, a critical article was published in *Vsemirnaya Illyustratsiya*, once again condemning the “decision to choose compositions completely beyond the students' abilities” for their exercises.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Vinogradova discovered that initially, the opera was supposed to be performed in German. The production was planned for March, coinciding with the days of Lent, during which Russian operas were prohibited, whereas foreign-language productions were not [6, p. 208]. However, as reported by the *Petersburg Newspaper* on March 13, 1883, “At the very first rehearsal, it became clear that performing a Russian opera translated into German in a Russian city was impossible... The attempt proved inconveniently unfeasible, and the performance of *Eugene Onegin* in Russian was postponed until Holy Week.” Quoted in: [Ibid., p. 217]. However, it seems to us that this “inconveniently unfeasible” endeavor is indicative of the performers' — largely Everardi's students — readiness to sing in German, a language evidently used in his teaching practice alongside Italian, Russian, and possibly French.

<sup>54</sup> Opera. (1894). *Ezhгодnik Imperatorskikh Teatrov* [Yearbook of the Imperial Theatres], Season 1892–1893, pp. 186–188; Karneev, M. V. (1909). On the 25th Anniversary of the Opera *Eugene Onegin* (Historical Note). *Obozrenie Teatrov* [Theatre Review], (877), 7.

<sup>55</sup> *Kniga inspektora konservatorii 1884–1885 god* [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1884–1885]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 16. Folio 189.

<sup>56</sup> Chronicle of the Arts, Music, and Theater. (1886). *Vsemirnaya Illyustratsiya* [The World Illustration], XXXV(16/900), 327.

In 1887, the format of the opera exercises changed: what had previously been grand productions on the leading stages of St. Petersburg became modest performances in the conservatory hall, with all vocal classes participating. The management of the orchestra was entrusted to a student conductor. On March 24, 1887, excerpts from *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Life for the Tsar* were presented in this new format, with the latter performed by Everardi's students.<sup>57</sup> On February 16, 1888, his class participated in a performance of Act II from *Der fliegende Holländer* by Richard Wagner,<sup>58</sup> and on April 2, excerpts from *Rogneda* and *Ruslan and Liudmila* were performed.<sup>59</sup> That same year, Everardi submitted a resignation request and ended his career at the St. Petersburg Conservatory.<sup>60</sup>

An archival document contains a letter that the singer sent on May 23, 1888, to Anton Rubinstein, who was then serving as the director of the conservatory: "Dear Mr. Rubinstein, I am very sorry that I cannot remain at the conservatory under the new terms. I believe my absence will not cause much regret, and I hope it will not disrupt our relationship. (illegible) expression of my best feelings. K. Everardi. Talosnitsa. May 23, 1888."<sup>61</sup>

### Conclusion

The dissatisfaction within the musical community, as well as, evidently, within the leadership of the conservatory, with Everardi's repertoire policy undoubtedly became the key reason for his departure. But accusations against the professor of being exclusively committed to the Italian and French opera repertoire

<sup>57</sup> Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1886-1887 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1886-1887]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 18. Folio 170.

<sup>58</sup> Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1887-1888 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1887-1888]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 19. Folio 145.

<sup>59</sup> Kniga inspektora konservatorii: 1887-1888 god [Conservatory Inspector's Book for 1887-1888]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 12. Case 19. Folio 149 verso.

<sup>60</sup> Formular List. O zaklyuchenii kontrakta s bel'gijskim professorom peniya Everardi [On the Conclusion of the Contract with the Belgian Professor of Singing, Everardi]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 9. Case 194. Folio 36.

<sup>61</sup> Letter from C. Everardi to A. G. Rubinstein, May 23, 1888. O zaklyuchenii kontrakta s bel'gijskim professorom peniya Everardi [On the Conclusion of the Contract with the Belgian Professor of Singing, Everardi]. *CGIA SPb*. F. 361. Inventory 9. Case 194. Folio 34. (Translation of the document from French by E. A. Derbeneva. — A. T.)

cannot be considered entirely justified. Over the course of his 18-year tenure at the conservatory, Everardi's students participated in more than 100 concerts, performing over 200 works from diverse styles and genres. Of these, 18% were by Russian composers, 35% by Italian composers, 31% by French composers, and 14% by German composers. Under Everardi's guidance, excerpts from 24 operas were prepared, five of which were fully staged: *Le Chalet* by Adan (1873), *Don Pasquale* by Donizetti (1876), *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* by Rossini (1877), *Le comte Ory* by Rossini (1878), and *Eugene Onegin* by Tchaikovsky (1883). Students from Everardi's class participated in more than 20 operatic exercises, often showcasing excerpts from works by Russian composers such as *Life for the Tsar*, *Ruslan and Liudmila*, *Rusalka*, and *Rogneda*.

Regarding Everardi's apparent disregard for the cantata-oratorio genre, we believe that the maestro could have authoritatively countered that his primary role was to train singers for the opera. Indeed, operatic arias made up 80% of his students' repertoire, 14% was dedicated to concert and chamber works, and 6% to cantata-oratorio compositions. These latter were represented by works by Johann Sebastian Bach, Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, Ludwig van Beethoven, Robert Schumann, Giuseppe Verdi, and Felix Mendelssohn.

The relatively small number of works by Russian composers in Everardi's repertoire can be attributed to several factors. One of these may have been the singer's musical preferences. Having accumulated a wealth of stage experience, he primarily performed in foreign operas, excelling in both leading and secondary roles. Among these were Mozart's Don Giovanni, Leporello, Masetto, Papageno, Rossini's Figaro, Don Basilio, Fernando, Podesta, Mustafa, Bellini's Count Rodolfo and Richard, Verdi's Giorgio Germont, Sparafucile, Fernando, Walter, Samuel, and Weber's Beppo, among many others. His signature roles included Figaro in *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* and Mephistopheles in *Faust*. Everardi even claimed



that his rendition of Figaro had earned a favorable review from Verdi himself and that the role of Mephistopheles was specifically written for him by Gounod.<sup>62</sup>

As a refined musician and connoisseur of opera, Everardi held Russian music in high regard. Seliverstova notes that he especially favored the works of Glinka, Dargomyzhsky, and Serov [2, p. 47], yet “he did not accept much in the works of P. Tchaikovsky, A. Borodin, and N. Rimsky-Korsakov,” particularly disapproving of the music of César Cui and Anton Rubinstein. Consequently, these composers’ works were absent from the programs of his students, which undoubtedly affected their relationships with him [Ibid.]

It should also be noted that Everardi tended to engage with operatic works that already had a long history on the stage, possibly fearing the challenge of introducing his students to newer compositions from the 1870s and 1880s. The only new composition by a Russian composer that he dared to teach his students was *Eugene Onegin*. This exception can likely be explained by the active press coverage of both the opera and its rehearsals and first performances by the students of the Moscow Conservatory in 1878.<sup>63</sup> It is highly probable that Everardi followed these events and, like the Moscow producers, deemed the material of Tchaikovsky’s opera suitable for his students.

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<sup>62</sup> See Vainshtein L. I. (1924). *Camillo Everardi and His Views on the Vocal Art: A Student’s Memoirs*. B. i. (Trust “Kyiv-Print,” 8th State Printing House), p. 40; *Italian Opera in St. Petersburg*. (2013). St. Petersburg State Museum of Theatrical and Musical Art, p. 58. Documentary evidence to support Everardi’s statements could not be found. However, even the most discerning critics truly valued these roles in his performance. For instance, when Everardi did not perform in St. Petersburg during the 1868–1869 season, A. N. Serov lamented: “In the role of Figaro [...] it was a great loss not to have Everardi in this role (and in many others).” Serov, A. N. (1890). *The Italian Troupe. Issues Regarding This. The Parallels Between Italian and Russian Opera. The Beauty of the Current Season: Barbieri, Don Giovanni, Les Huguenots. Kriticheskiye stat’i [Critical Articles]*, Vol. 4 (1864–1870), p. 1849. In 1900, C. A. Cui wrote: “Everardi was the best Figaro and Mephistopheles I have ever seen.” Cui, C. A. (1952). *From My Operatic Memoirs. Izbrannyye stat’i [Selected Articles]*, State Musical Publishing House, p. 516.

<sup>63</sup> In the study by Vinogradova, which we previously cited, the rather complicated and factually incomplete history of the opera’s preparation for performance by students of the Moscow Conservatory is examined in detail. According to the author’s version, a “closed rehearsal” of the first four scenes took place in December 1878, most likely specifically for G. A. Laroche, who was required to write an article about the event for the metropolitan newspaper *Golos* [6, p. 59]. The premiere performances of the entire opera occurred on March 16 (the dress rehearsal, attended by Tchaikovsky) and March 17, 1879 (the public performance) [Ibid., p. 62].

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Information about the author:

**Alexandra B. Turintseva** — teacher of the Musical Theatre Department.

Сведения об авторе:

**Туринцева А. Б.** — преподаватель кафедры музыкального театра.

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**Opera and Revolution: The Bolshoi Theatre  
at the End of 1917**

*Petr N. Gordeev*

Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia,  
Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation,

✉ [petergordeev@mail.ru](mailto:petergordeev@mail.ru),

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2842-4297>



**Abstract.** Primarily based on archival materials from the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, the Russian State Archive of Economics, the Russian State Historical Archive, the Central State Archive of St. Petersburg and the A. A. Bakhrushin State Central Theatre Museum, the article provides the first detailed examination of a period representing a turning point in the history of the Bolshoi Theatre. During the two months between the end of October and the last days of December 1917, the Bolshoi Theatre experienced severe upheavals. The defeat of the Provisional Government during the October battles in Moscow was

a shock for the troupe. The Bolsheviks' cancellation of state financing in response to the failure on the part of the intelligentsia to recognise the legitimacy of their power created an atmosphere of complete uncertainty and lack of confidence in the future. However, even under these conditions, directors Leonid Sobinov and Feofan Pavlovsky strove to maintain the theatre's artistic output. As well as maintaining contact with the chief commissioner for state theatres, Fyodor Batyushkov, they sought support from the troupe itself, and began to use the proceeds from performances as a means of ensuring the continued functioning of the theatre. However, a split was brewing in the troupe: the ambitious conductor Emil Cooper, who effectively ran the orchestra, informally led the "opposition" to Sobinov within the theatre. The contradictions that had accumulated by the turn of 1917–1918 prevented the Bolshoi Theatre from continuing its activities without significant changes, including a recognition of Bolshevik power and consequent restructuring of the management system within the theatre itself.

**Keywords:** Bolshoi Theatre, Revolution of 1917, October Revolution, People's Commissariat of Education, Leonid Sobinov, Emil Cooper, Elena Malinovskaya

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*Музыкальный театр:  
источниковедение*

Научная статья

**Опера и революция:  
Большой театр в конце 1917 года**

*Пётр Николаевич Гордеев*

Российский государственный  
педагогический университет имени А. И. Герцена,  
г. Санкт-Петербург, Российская Федерация,  
✉ [petergordeev@mail.ru](mailto:petergordeev@mail.ru),  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2842-4297>

**Аннотация.** В статье, основанной преимущественно на архивных материалах из Российского государственного архива литературы и искусства, Российского государственного архива экономики, Российского государственного исторического архива, Центрального государственного архива Санкт-Петербурга и Государственного центрального театрального музея имени А. А. Бахрушина, впервые подробно исследуется переломный период в истории Большого театра. За два месяца, прошедшие между концом октября и последними днями декабря 1917 года, Большой театр пережил сильные потрясения. Разгром в ходе «октябрьских» боев в Москве стал

шоком для труппы. Последовавшее за ним прекращение государственного финансирования — ответ захвативших банки большевиков на непризнание со стороны интеллигенции легитимности их власти — создавало атмосферу полной неопределенности, неуверенности в будущем. Руководившие театром артисты Леонид Собинов и Феофан Павловский пытались и в этих условиях продолжать художественную работу. Они одновременно поддерживали контакт с главным уполномоченным по государственным театрам Федором Батюшковым, искали поддержки в самой труппе и начали использовать сборы со спектаклей в качестве денежного источника, необходимого для функционирования театра. В труппе назревал раскол: честолубивый дирижер Эмиль Купер, фактически руководивший оркестром, неформально возглавил «оппозицию» Собинову внутри театра. Накопившиеся к новомуднему рубежу 1917–1918 годов противоречия не позволяли продолжать деятельность Большого театра без серьезных перемен, включавших признание большевистской власти и перестройку системы управления в самом театре.

**Ключевые слова:** Большой театр, Революция 1917 года, Октябрьская революция, рубеж 1917–1918 годов, труппа Большого театра, Наркомпрос, Леонид Витальевич Собинов, Эмиль Альбертович Купер, Елена Константиновна Малиновская, Феофан Венедиктович Павловский

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*Introduction*

The history of the Bolshoi Theatre is in the first place the history of Russian opera and ballet art, which manifested itself brilliantly on the famous stage. As such, it remains constantly in the focus of researchers:



*Illustration 1.* L. V. Sobinov.  
Photo postcard. 1917  
From the author's collection

new published works consider the main musical and theatrical genres [1; 2], as well as the life and work of leading artists and directors of the early 20th century [3; 4, pp. 68–94]. However, the history of the Bolshoi Theatre is not limited to a chronicle of its creative achievements.

In the present work, we will examine the “political” history of the Bolshoi Theatre from the beginning of November to the end of 1917. Despite its short duration (two months), this period represents a completely separate chapter in the history of the Bolshoi. The period commences at a time when Moscow theatres and audiences began to come back to life after a week of fierce “October” battles. The second marks the transition of the Bolsheviks to a decisive offensive against the “saboteurs” and the beginning of the collapse of the authority that had been established in the theatre under the Provisional Government, which was primarily personified in the persons of two leaders — the authorised representative Leonid Vitalyevich Sobinov (*Illustration 1*) and the manager Feofan Venediktovich Pavlovsky (*Illustration 2*)<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> However, this joint leadership position was below the commissioner in the hierarchy.

*Liquidation of the Consequences  
of the Rout*

During the days of armed struggle in Moscow that followed the Bolshevik seizure of power in Petrograd, the building of the Bolshoi Theatre found itself in the thick of the fighting between the Red Guards and the forces of the Committee of Public Safety. Although it was not destroyed to the same extent as the Maly Theatre, it still suffered damage: windows were broken, dressing rooms and office premises were robbed, and “public money” was pilfered [5, pp. 56–57]. One of the guards, named Losev, was killed while returning home after duty (*Illustration 3*)<sup>2</sup>.

Details about the aftermath of the destruction of the Bolshoi Theatre building were leaked to the press. At the very first meeting held following the revolution (apparently on 8th November), the issue of the need to replace the glass was raised. It was reported that “relatively little was broken, and the restoration of the glass should cost a thousand rubles”.<sup>3</sup> The editor and publisher of *Novosti Sezony*, Semyon Lazarevich Kugulsky, noted that this “is really not much for the Bolshoi Theatre if we take into account that, in many of the private apartments that suffered, the installation of glass cost three hundred to four hundred rubles”.<sup>4</sup>



*Illustration 2. F. V. Pavlovsky.  
Photo postcard.  
From the author's collection*

<sup>2</sup> Sobranie artistov Bol'shogo teatra [Meeting of the Bolshoi Theatre actors] (1917, November 9–11). *Teatr*, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> My [We] [Kugulsky S. L.] (1917 November 18–19). U rampy [At the Footlights]. *Novosti sezona* [News of the Season], p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.



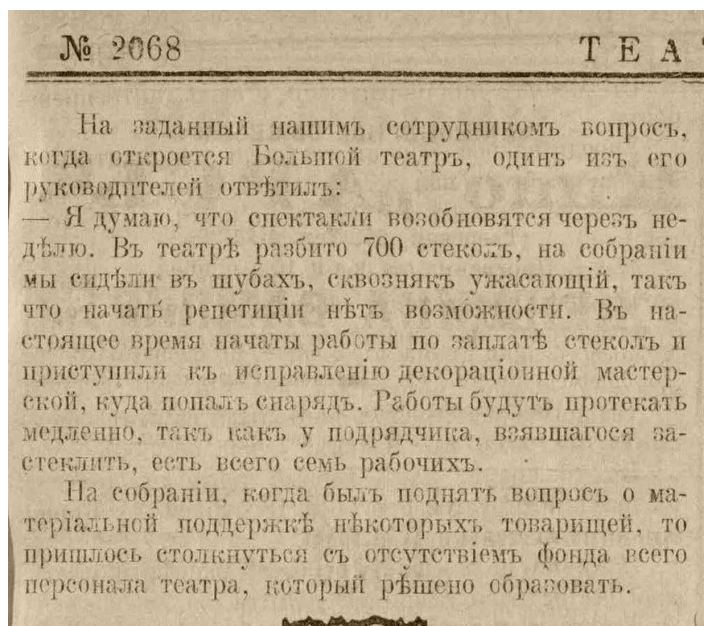
However, it turned out that, “as they say, there were not a thousand rubles in the theatre box office, and the banks, as is known, were closed in those days”.<sup>5</sup> The ballerina Alexandra Mikhailovna Balashova, who “brought the necessary sum to the meeting”, saved the troupe from a difficult situation.<sup>6</sup> Speaking on 15th November at a general meeting of the orchestra’s artists held in the presence of Sobinov, conductor Emil Albertovich Cooper (who was in opposition to the theatre’s management) expressed surprise “at how they found it possible to receive money from a private individual (Balashova) for the repair of a state institution”.<sup>7</sup> As it turned out, the conditions at the beginning of the Civil War turned out to be no time for such accounting niceties. The administration even had to resort to borrowing. On 8th January 1918, Pavlovsky told a general meeting of artists and employees: “There was no money for repairs to the theatre, and Sobinov said that he would not allow the theatre to open if the necessary repairs to the roof were not carried out. And for this reason I borrowed money for repairs”.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Protokoly zasedanij soveta starost orkestrovoj korporatsii i obshchikh sobranij artistov baleta za sezon 1917/1918 gg. [Minutes of meetings of the council of elders of the orchestral corporation and general meetings of ballet dancers for the season 1917/1918]. In *RGALI* [Russian State Archive for Literature and Art]. F. 648, Inv. 7, File 1, p. 22v.

<sup>8</sup> Protokoly: obshchego sobraniya rabotnikov Bol'shogo teatra; zasedanij chrezvychajnoj komissii po peresmotru kontraktovykh uslovij artistov-solistov opery teatra [Minutes: general meeting of employees of the Bolshoi Theatre; meetings of the emergency commission for reviewing the contractual terms of the opera soloists of the theatre]. In *RGALI*. F. 648, Inv. 2, File 23, pp. 5–6v.



*Illustration 3.*

Clipping from the newspaper *Theater*.  
Meeting of the Bolshoi Theater actors (1917.  
November 9–11). *Theater*, p. 5.



The complete renovation of the theatre, which ended up costing several tens of thousands of roubles, was far from complete at the end of 1917.<sup>9</sup>

Much less expense was required to compensate those who suffered while on duty at the theatre during the fighting. On December 22, the Provisional Council of the Bolshoi Theatre resolved to “provide five rubles for each day of duty and ask the workers’ representatives to urgently find out who was on duty during the riots”.<sup>10</sup> However, this decision turned out not to be final. On 8th January 1918, Pavlovsky recalled the need to “fix in a final form the amounts of compensation that we promised to give to all those on duty at the theatre during the civil war”.<sup>11</sup> At the meeting of delegates on 17th January, the received application for the issuance of 1,500 rubles to the “son of the murdered Losev” was approved, “partly in advance, and the rest by deduction from the artists’ salaries”.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, it was decided to compensate the technical staff who were working during the October Revolution with twenty-five rubles for each day on duty.<sup>13</sup> On the 19th of January, at a meeting of the Provisional Council of the Bolshoi Theatre, the first item on the agenda was a request from the heirs of the murdered Losev to issue his family with the promised 1,500 rubles (despite numerous requests, they had not yet been paid).<sup>14</sup> Thus, the noble and humanly understandable gesture of the general meeting turned out to be difficult to reconcile with the provisions of the current budget, which, of course, did not provide for such expenses.

<sup>9</sup> Perepiska po administrativnym, finansovym, khozyajstvennym voprosam i po lichnomu sostavu moskovskikh teatrov [Correspondence on administrative, financial, economic issues and on the personnel of Moscow theatres]. In *GARF* [State Archive of the Russian Federation]. F. 497. Inv. 18. File 441, pp. 22–23v.

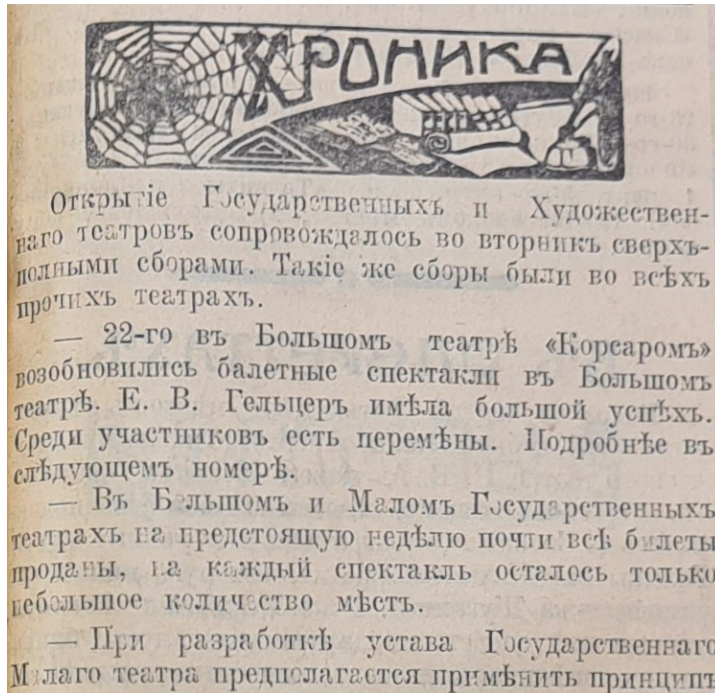
<sup>10</sup> Protokol zasedaniya soveta Bol’shogo teatra [Minutes of the meeting of the Bolshoi Theatre Council]. In *State Central Theatre Museum*. F. 154, No. 264, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Protokoly: obshchego sobraniya rabotnikov Bol’shogo teatra; zasedaniy chrezvychajnoj komissii po peresmotru kontraktovykh uslovij artistov-solistov opery teatra [Minutes: general meeting of employees of the Bolshoi Theatre; meetings of the emergency commission for reviewing the contractual terms of the opera soloists of the theatre]. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Inv. 2. File 23, p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> Protokoly № 1–16 zasedaniy Soveta teatra za 1918 g. i materialy k nim [Minutes No. 1–16 of the meetings of the Theatre Council for 1918 and materials for them]. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Inv. 7. File 8, p. 17.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, L. 17v.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.



*Illustration 4.*

Clipping from the newspaper «News of the Season». Chronicle // *News of the Season*. 1917. November 23–25. P. 3

As a result, the Council decided to issue money “from financial penalties so that the said amount would be withheld from the maintenance of all artistic personnel for the month of February in proportion to the maintenance received”.<sup>15</sup> It was decided to “suggest that the Accounting Department write out the allocation of 1,000 rubles immediately,” and to “postpone the payment of the remaining 500 until the accumulation of fines”.<sup>16</sup>

Despite numerous problems, the Bolshoi Theatre reopened to the public on 21st November, the same day as the Maly and Art Theatres, with all three opening with “over-full capacity” (*Illustration 4*).<sup>17</sup> Although the public demonstrated their support

in terms of their anticipation of the performances, thus inspiring the artists and employees with some confidence in the future, this was, of course, overshadowed by the complete uncertainty of the situation in the country.

### *Emil Cooper and the Opposition in the Orchestra*

Already on the eve of the October Revolution, the musicians of the Bolshoi Theatre were presenting some opposition to the leadership. In another letter to Sobinov written the day before the coup, Pavlovsky complained about the unrest

<sup>15</sup> From here on in quotations from archival documents, punctuation is given in accordance with modern rules.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Chronicle (1917, November 23–25). *Novosti sezona* [*News of the Season*], p. 3.

in the orchestra and the intrigues of the conductor E. A. Cooper.<sup>18</sup> Here it will be relevant to consider the figure of Emil Cooper in more detail. A native of Kherson from a Jewish family, who would later be described as a “Minsk bourgeois” of the Evangelical Reformed faith, Emil Albert Cooper created the impression of a major musician.<sup>19</sup> A collection published in 1988 about this important artist included articles and notes of an apologetic character written by his contemporaries. The conductor was described as “one of those artists who, following the revolution, immediately joined the front ranks of the architects of a new, socialist culture”.<sup>20</sup> However, the “smooth” reviews selected by the author do not provide a complete picture of this extraordinarily complex and ambitious person.

An interesting, although certainly subjective, characterisation of Cooper was set out in the memoirs of the wife of the pianist, conductor and composer Alexander Ivanovich Labinsky. “Conductor Emil Albertovich Cooper [...] loved A[lexandr] I[vanovich]ch like a son and taught him not only music, but also something else! — how to live. “The theatre is a place (a temple of art!) where people “eat” each other... Don’t wait for others to eat you but start yourself... learn”.<sup>21</sup> “They say he was an intelligent man and understood the ‘wisdom of this world’”, the memoirist reasoned. — [...] He was a man of great industriousness, knew how to “eat” and make a name for himself. “He never thought about the wisdom of the other world, the one that is spoken of in the Gospel”.<sup>22</sup> The struggle that Cooper waged against the administration of the Bolshoi Theatre at the end of 1917 to a certain extent confirms Labinskaya’s words. His main target was Sobinov, to whom Cooper gave his photograph in 1901 with the inscription “To the most handsome Leonid Vitalyevich from an admirer of his talent” (*Illustration 5*)<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Pis'ma Pavlovskogo Feofana Venediktovicha L. V. Sobinovu [Letters from Pavlovsky Feofan Venediktovich to L. V. Sobinov]. In *RGALI*. F. 864. Inv. 1. File 649, pp. 16–17.

<sup>19</sup> Lichnoe delo Kupera Emilya Al'bertovicha, kapel'mejstera [Personal file of Emil Albertovich Cooper, conductor]. In *RGALI*. F. 648, Inv. 1. File 1737, p. 89v.

<sup>20</sup> Kuznetsov, A. M. (1988). Ot sostavitelya [From the compiler]. In E. A. Cooper, *Stat'i. Vospominaniya. Materialy* [Articles. Recollections. Materials]. Soviet Composer, p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> I. A. Labinskaya. “Moi vospominaniya poslednikh mesyatsev zhizni V. I. Polya” i zametka ob E. A. Kupere [“My memories of the last months of V. I. Paul’s life” and a note about E. A. Cooper]. In *RGALI*. F. 2678, Inv. 1. File 61, p. 5.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Photograph by Emil Albertovich Cooper with a dedication to L. V. Sobinov. In *RGALI*. F. 864, Inv. 1. File 1573, p. 1.

However, during the intervening period, the relationship between the two musical figures had changed quite significantly.

At the general meeting of artists on 8th November, which took place immediately following the destruction of the theatre, anti-Bolshevik sentiments mainly prevailed. The troupe adopted a resolution in which, “recognising ourselves as part of a great democracy and deeply grieving over the spilled fraternal blood,” it expressed “a protest against the wild vandalism that did not spare the centuries-old shrines of the Russian people, churches and monuments of art and culture.”<sup>24</sup> The Bolshoi Theatre, this resolution stated, “as an autonomous artistic institution, does not recognise the right of interference in its internal and artistic life by any authorities not elected by the theatre and not part of it” (in the latter case, without naming it directly, they meant the power of the Bolsheviks).<sup>25</sup> But already at this meeting, a telling incident occurred. One of those present “raised the issue that the State Theatres had hitherto only been accessible to the bourgeoisie”.<sup>26</sup> Of course, this remark did not go unanswered (“part of the ticket allocation always went to the disposal of democratic organisations,” they responded to the comrade, who was complaining about bourgeois

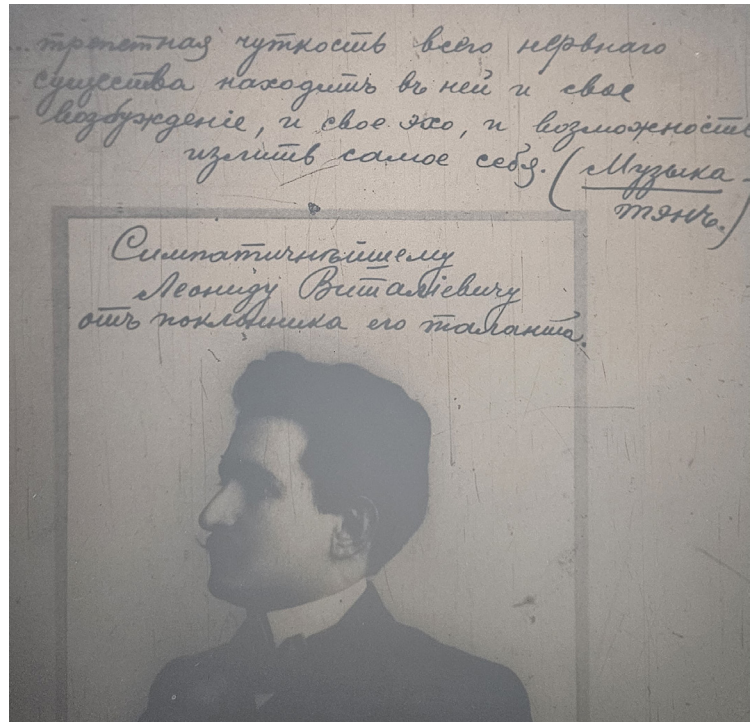


Illustration 5. E. A. Cooper.  
Portrait with a dedication to L. V. Sobinov.  
RGALI. F. 864. Op. 1. D. 1573. L. 1

<sup>24</sup> Rezolyutsii [Resolutions] (1917). *Rampa i zhizn'* [Ramp and Life], (44–46), pp. 5–6.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. p. 6.

<sup>26</sup> Sobranie artistov Bol'shogo teatra [Meeting of the Bolshoi Theatre actors] (1917, November 9–11). *Teatr* [Theatre], p. 4.



dominance).<sup>27</sup> However, it soon became clear that there was no real unity within the theatre, which at the time was preparing to confront the “Huns” and “thugs”. One of the major problems for the theatre’s management would soon be revealed in the form of the increasingly critical mood that had taken hold in the orchestra.

Six days later, on 14th November 1917, a full meeting of the orchestra’s artists (76 people were present<sup>28</sup>), held under Cooper’s chairmanship revealed the group’s dissatisfaction with the actions of the theatre’s administration. One of the orchestra leaders, Dmitry Aleksandrovich Shmuklovsky, conveyed to the meeting “L. V. Sobinov’s request to select one representative from each troupe of the Bolshoi Theatre to help him form a “committee” that will be the final authority on all matters of the entire theatre”.<sup>29</sup> The tone for the discussion of this request was immediately set by Cooper, who, warning those gathered “against hasty decisions”, proposed that the issue be “thoroughly discussed”.<sup>30</sup> He was supported by an influential member of the orchestral corporation, Yakov Konstantinovich Korolev, who spoke out “against the need for this kind of ‘executive committee.’”<sup>31</sup>

Of course, there were also those at the meeting who shared the position of Sobinov, who was popular in the theatre. The musician Sergei Andreevich Loginov proposed choosing a representative to the committee, expressing surprise that “many” see the central government as “some kind of bogeyman.”<sup>32</sup> Cooper immediately entered into a spat with him, arguing: “Since the theatre already has an artistic-repertoire committee and a director’s board, why do we need another committee?”<sup>33</sup>

Much later Cooper wrote of his time during the revolution that, having no “social experience,” he felt “confused” and “always went to all

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Protokoly zasedanij soveta starost orkestrovoj korporatsii i obshchikh sobranij artistov baleta za sezon 1917/1918 gg. [Minutes of meetings of the council of elders of the orchestral corporation and general meetings of ballet dancers for the season 1917/1918]. In *RGALI*. F. 648, Inv. 7. File 1, p. 17.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 17v.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.



the meetings” to which he was invited.<sup>34</sup> *Post factum*, the conductor was clearly downplaying his role: as the minutes show, he firmly led the discussion towards the single goal of undermining the authority of the theatre management. He suggested asking Sobinov a number of questions: “(1) Why is the “Committee” being created now? (2) For what purpose will it exist? (3) Will the members of the “Committee” have an advisory or decisive vote? (4) What is the state of our relations with Petrograd?”<sup>35</sup>. These suggestions were accepted by the assembly, which then adjourned to await Sobinov.<sup>36</sup> However, Shmuklovsky reported that he would not be able to attend since he had “a very important meeting at the Maly Theatre”; for this reason, he requested that the orchestra members gather the next day.<sup>37</sup>

On 15th November, Cooper suggested asking Sobinov the questions from the previous day’s meeting with “some clarifications”<sup>38</sup> (probably thought up overnight), for example: “Has the administrative apparatus that has existed to this day proved to be insolvent? If the Commissioner needs help, then how is the activity of Mr. Pavlovsky, elected as deputy and assistant to the Commissioner, expressed?”.<sup>39</sup> After Sobinov was summoned to the meeting, according to the protocol, Cooper asked him all the prepared questions.<sup>40</sup>

The famous artist, who had chosen the thorny path of administrator in 1917, responded with a “lengthy speech”. He explained that “the Committee is being created to assist him, and it will also serve as a supervisory apparatus over his activities. Since there is no possibility of talking to each employee of the Bolshoi Theatre individually, the delegate of each group must serve as an intermediary

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<sup>34</sup> Cooper, E. A. (1988). *Nezakonchennaya avtobiografiya muzykanta* [Unfinished autobiography of a musician]. In Cooper, E. A., *Stat'i. Vospominaniya. Materialy* [Articles. Recollections. Materials]. Soviet Composer, p. 165.

<sup>35</sup> *Protokoly zasedanij soveta starost orkestrovoj korporatsii i obshchikh sobranij artistov baleta za sezon 1917/1918 gg.* [Minutes of meetings of the council of elders of the orchestral corporation and general meetings of ballet dancers for the season 1917/1918]. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Inv. 7. File 1, p. 20.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21v.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

between his group and him”.<sup>41</sup> Sobinov tried to convince the orchestra members that the common cause was suffering as a result of “each troupe and group of employees pulling only its own side, without taking into account the interests of the common cause”,<sup>42</sup> and that the theatre’s management was in disrepair. He stood up for Pavlovsky, whom, due to his own frequent departures to Petrograd, he planned to continue to keep as his deputy. In response to other questions, Sobinov stated that the activities of the proposed Committee would be limited “only to matters of a general nature”, and the work of its members (who were supposed to be given an advisory vote) would not be paid (“there is nowhere to get money, and it is impossible to get it now”).<sup>43</sup>

Sobinov also paid attention to the issue of relations with “Petrograd”, which occupied a significant part of his time starting in March 1917: “A group was founded in Petrograd, which stands for preserving the unity of all State theatres”: it included “Merezhkovsky, Benois, Filosofov, Chaliapin, Batyushkov and others”.<sup>44</sup> Sobinov did not share this ideal, instead defending the autonomy of the Bolshoi. More than six months earlier, on 29th–30th March, a conference of theatre figures had taken place in the Winter Palace [6, pp. 233–252]; however, by November most of the named persons had withdrawn from the management of the state stage; only the chief commissioner for state theatres, Fyodor Dmitrievich Batyushkov remained in post. It was with him that Sobinov argued in absentia, wanting “on the basis of the autonomy won by the spring strike to separate in every possible way with the sole condition of receiving money from the centre (Petrograd).”<sup>45</sup> The artist probably believed that such a (albeit rather selfish) position would increase his popularity among the orchestra members.

This goal might have been achieved if not for the intervention of Cooper, who immediately following the end of Sobinov’s speech and his departure from the meeting stated that “all the answers received to the questions asked were not entirely clear to him.”<sup>46</sup> “If the Committee is created for the real democratisation of the existing administrative apparatus (and not a fictitious one<sup>47</sup>), then why

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> As in the text.

not give the members present in it a decisive vote”, Cooper reasoned.<sup>48</sup> In his critical speech, one passage is especially interesting: “It is also incomprehensible<sup>49</sup> that the members of the Committee are not given any decisive vote. Mr. Sobinov believes that if any friction arises between him and the Military Revolutionary Committee, he, having representatives of all groups behind him, will be able to give a proper rebuff, even if for this the members of the Committee have to bear responsibility (up to and including arrest)”.<sup>50</sup> Although the protocol recording of Sobinov’s speech does not imply an expectation that the Committee would provide support in a possible clash with the Bolsheviks, it is not credible that Cooper, speaking in front of the musicians who had just listened to Sobinov, would have invented this notion. This means that the latter almost certainly did have such a possibility in mind. As a result, both Sobinov’s speech and Cooper’s sabotage of his efforts acquire certain political overtones.

It cannot be ruled out that Cooper was already at that point consciously acting in favour of the Bolsheviks. In his confused (at least in the “revolutionary” part) memoirs, he wrote that soon after the October Revolution, he privately met Elena Konstantinovna Malinovskaya, “a very cultured and interesting woman,” who had been appointed by the Moscow Military Revolutionary Committee as the commissar of Moscow theatres, and who soon invited him to join the committee for the management of the Bolshoi Theatre.<sup>51</sup>

In any case, on November 15, following Cooper’s speech, a discussion broke out. Some of its participants shared Sobinov’s position, believing that with general moral support “it would be easier for him to fight the Bolshevik tendencies of the workers’ groups”<sup>52</sup> (this opinion was expressed by Leonid Yakovlevich Yanovsky). Others proposed “not to elect anyone, seeing no point in the Committee”<sup>53</sup> (Daniil Georgievich Ard), and emphasising that “it is impossible to play only the role of servants”<sup>54</sup> (Shmuklovsky); others were in favour of holding

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., pp. 22–22v.

<sup>49</sup> As in the text.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 22v.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Protokoly zasedaniy soveta starost orkestrovoj korporatsii i obshchikh sobraniy artistov baleta za sezon 1917/1918 gg. [Minutes of meetings of the council of elders of the orchestral corporation and general meetings of ballet dancers for the season 1917/1918]. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Inv. 7. File 1, p. 23.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

elections to the Committee, but on the condition that its members be given a decisive vote (Loginov, Abram Aleksandrovich Khalip).<sup>55</sup> It was this point of view that was eventually accepted.<sup>56</sup>

The next meeting of the orchestra members, which took place on November 18, was mainly devoted to the issue of delegating representatives of the theatre to Petrograd. It was considered necessary to ensure that the budget of the Bolshoi Theatre orchestra not be inferior to that of the Mariinsky Theatre.<sup>57</sup> At the very beginning, Cooper called for “every effort to coordinate our economic demands, as well as our legal position, with those of the Mariinsky Orchestra”.<sup>58</sup> This exhortation did not require further justification — those present at the meeting indicated their willingness to receive no less than their Petrograd colleagues. The meeting participants also found time to discuss the “Sobinov Committee”. Although the time allocated to this discussion was short, opponents of Sobinov’s proposal once again made their presence known. As a result, it was decided that two representatives of the Orchestra Management would join the committee.

The minutes of the orchestra meetings of 14th–18th November reveal that Sobinov as the director of the Bolshoi Theatre still enjoyed a certain amount of authority among the musicians, but their support was by no means unconditional, and it could hardly be counted on in the event of a serious clash with the Bolshevik authorities. The opposition to Sobinov and Pavlovsky on the part of the leaders of the orchestra was led by Cooper, whose motives in this case seem to have been mainly personal. Over the next few months, the ambitious conductor would become one of Sobinov’s most active opponents in the Bolshoi Theatre troupe.

#### *End of the Year: the Crisis Mounts*

Soon after the Bolsheviks came to power, the press wrote that Malinovskaya approached the leaders of the Bolshoi “with a proposal to introduce greater democracy into the general character of the matter.”<sup>59</sup> At a time when the theatre was still staggering from the revolutionary coup, the Bolshevik tactics towards the “sabotaging” artists had already been worked out: the new government tried

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., L. 23v.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., pp. 26–26v.

<sup>59</sup> Khronika [Chronicle] (1917, November 9–11). *Teatr* [Theatre], p. 5.

to discredit the previous leadership, insisting on the transfer of administrative functions directly to the “collectives” (that is, effectively decapitating the latter). In the case of the Bolshoi Theatre, however, a serious obstacle to achieving such a goal was Sobinov’s continuing authority.

Years later, in one of her unfinished attempts to write a history of the Bolshoi Theatre, Malinovskaya honestly noted that “the enthusiasm shown by artistes following the February Revolution was replaced by caution, even fear.”<sup>60</sup> However, in comparison with the events in Petrograd, where “artists joined in the general sabotage” and “it was even necessary to resort to arrests”, the situation in Moscow was more conciliatory: while “the mood was clearly hostile to the Bolsheviks, there was no organised sabotage”.<sup>61</sup> Malinovskaya, not without some justification, attributed this merit to herself: “The enormous work carried out by art workers in the Art Department of the Moscow City Council together with Malinovskaya had a very great influence”.<sup>62</sup> It was to her (Malinovskaya wrote about herself in the third person) that “it was necessary to immediately turn for all explanations and help in connection with life’s difficulties. Since assistance was provided in each individual case, the relationship quickly improved again”.<sup>63</sup>

Malinovskaya’s desire to be useful to theatres and artistes certainly played a role, albeit far from decisive, in preventing “sabotage” on the part of the latter. A more significant factor was the brutal pressure combined with the monetary leverage that the new rulers obtained following their seizure of the banks. Already in November, financial problems began to pile up in the theatres that were boycotting the Bolsheviks. The press noted that “at the Bolshoi Theatre, artists were not given percentage increases to keep up with inflation; many major artists did not receive a salary at all and were only now accommodated when 35,000 rubles were taken from the advance sales box.”<sup>64</sup> This source turned out to be the only one, and they

<sup>60</sup> [“Bol’shoj teatr po imeyushchimsya materialam”]. Vospominaniya. Chernovik ([“Bolshoi Theatre based on available materials”]. Recollections. Draft). In *RGALI*. F. 1933, Inv. 2. File 12, p. 8.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8v.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8v.

<sup>64</sup> Sh. [Kugulsky S. L.?]. (1917, November 28–29). Finansovyj krizis Gosudarstvennykh teatrov [Financial Crisis of State Theatres]. *Novosti sezona* [News of the Season], p. 4.



intended to resort to it more than once, in violation of the previous rule (by the end of 1917, one could speak of legality only in a nostalgic context): “In the future, all revenue from the State Theatres will not be sent to the former Ministry of the Imperial Court, but will be spent right there on the spot.”<sup>65</sup> “We live from hand to mouth,” Pavlovsky admitted on the 7th of December in a letter to Sobinov, who had left for Petrograd.<sup>66</sup>

While the cash that flowed into the box office had become a lifeline for the theatre, the obligations, for which money had already been taken in advance, started to become especially burdensome. Season ticket holders were among the first to feel this. “Whereas before the ‘second revolution’ there were 3–4 opera subscription performances per week, now only one is given”, another reviewer noted in December, informing readers that “necessity forced us to resort to this”.<sup>67</sup> Since the money received for subscriptions has long been spent by the theatre, “there is no possibility of giving more than one subscription performance per week; one-off performances must be put on so as not to completely run aground on the financial sandbank...”<sup>68</sup> However, the journalist did not foresee the possibility of depriving season ticket holders of performances they had already paid for, but only pointed out that their “satisfaction” at this rate “would last almost until the end of the season”.<sup>69</sup>

Under these conditions, the theatre’s artists and employees developed their own personal survival strategies. Some sought recompense in private practice. Director Vasily Petrovich Shkafer, for example, placed an advertisement in print for his opera lessons.<sup>70</sup> The idea of going abroad had become increasingly popular among artistes.<sup>71</sup> The desire to leave, if not the Bolshoi Theatre, then at least his administrative position, even took hold of the theatre manager Pavlovsky “Tomorrow I am officially resigning”, he informed Sobinov on 7th December,

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Pis'ma Pavlovskogo Feofana Venediktovicha L. V. Sobinovu [Letters from Pavlovsky Feofan Venediktovich to L. V. Sobinov]. In *RGALI*. F. 864. Inv. 1. File 649, p. 26.

<sup>67</sup> Rodya (1917, December 10–11). Arabeski [Arabesques]. *Teatr* [Theatre], p. 6.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> [Ob'yavleniya] [Announcements]. (1918, January 6–8). *Novosti sezona* [News of the Season], p. 3.

<sup>71</sup> Tyaga za grantsu [The allure of exile]. (1918, January 6–8). *Novosti sezona* [News of the Season], p. 4.

explaining that he had “no physical strength left.”<sup>72</sup> However, the group did not want to let him go. “The troupe hopes”, the press noted, “that it will be able to persuade Mr. Pavlovsky to at least temporarily remain in his responsible and difficult post and not leave the business”.<sup>73</sup> As a result, the theatre manager agreed to remain in his position for another month.

### *Provisional Council and New Year's Upheavals*

In the second half of November, at a general meeting of all artists and employees, Sobinov, having overcome Cooper's resistance, established a “Bolshoi Theatre Council under the Commissioner for information, consultation on current affairs, distribution of benefits, loans, etc.”, as indicated in the resolution published in the official *Bulletin*.<sup>74</sup> According to Malinovskaya's memoirs, the council included representatives of all the theatre groups, consisting of eight people”.<sup>75</sup> Vasily Vasilyevich Osipov (from the opera soloists; he was elected chairman), Filipp Semenovich Lyapokhin (from the choir), Alexander Mitrofanovich Gavrilov (from the ballet), Korolev (from the orchestra), G. K.<sup>76</sup> Slashchev (from the watchmen, janitors, firemen, couriers, ushers), F. I. Morozov (from the stage orchestra, employees, office of the authorised representative”), Leonid Lvovich Isaev (from the costume workshops, wardrobe, lighting technicians, machine and scenery and props departments).<sup>77</sup> From the last group, in addition to Isaev, there was another delegate, whose name Malinovskaya was unable to establish. According to a later report, the eighth member of the council was Count Vladimir Viktorovich

<sup>72</sup> Pis'ma Pavlovskogo Feofana Venediktovicha L. V. Sobinovu [Letters from Pavlovsky Feofan Venediktovich to L. V. Sobinov]. In *RGALI*. F. 864. Inv. 1. File 649, p. 25.

<sup>73</sup> Moskva [Moscow]. (1917, December 12). *Teatralnaya Gazeta*, p. 4.

<sup>74</sup> Bulletin of the Office of the Commissioner for the State Moscow Bolshoi Theatre and Theatre School. From November 15 to 27, 1917. In *State Central Theatre Museum*. F. 486. No. 1583, p. 1.

<sup>75</sup> [“Bol'shoj teatr po imeyushchimsya materialam”]. Vospominaniya. Chernovik ([“Bolshoi Theatre based on available materials”]. Recollections. Draft). In *RGALI*. F. 1933, Inv. 2. File 12, p. 7v.

<sup>76</sup> Initsialy ustanovleny po: Vestnik kantselyarii i proekty prikazov L. V. Sobinova po Bol'shому театру i Teatral'nomu uchilishchu [Initials established according to: Bulletin of the Chancery and draft orders of L. V. Sobinov for the Bolshoi Theatre and Theatre School]. In *RGALI*. F. 864. Inv. 1. File 1029, p. 25.

<sup>77</sup> [“Bol'shoj teatr po imeyushchimsya materialam”]. Vospominaniya. Chernovik ([“Bolshoi Theatre based on available materials”]. Recollections. Draft). In *RGALI*. F. 1933. Inv. 2. File 12, pp. 7v.–8.

Rostopchin, elected, however, not by the workers, but by the employees of the Office of the Commissioner.<sup>78</sup> After 9th January, Loginov, who replaced Korolev (in accordance with the orchestra members' resolution of 18th November on sending representatives to the council from among the leading trio consisting of Loginov, Korolev and Shmuklovsky), also took part in the council's work.<sup>79</sup>

Although the Provisional Council clearly played a significant role in the transitional period in the history of the Bolshoi Theatre, its activities remain almost completely unstudied. It is not even clear what its official name was — in the January publication of the *Bulletin* and in some of its protocols, it is referred to as “Provisional”, while in others it is simply called “the Council”. It was finally formed no later than the beginning of December: Pavlovsky informed Sobinov, who had left for Petrograd, on December 7: “...temporarily, until your arrival, the Chairman of the Council of the Bolshoi Theatre will probably sign the papers for the Commissioner.”<sup>80</sup> The minutes of the meeting of the Provisional Council on December 22, which was devoted to financial issues, have been preserved. In particular, the council members instructed their colleagues, “representatives of the employees Mr. Morozov and Mr. Slashchev, to explain to their groups that the petition for the dispensation of Ryudman's increases<sup>81</sup> depends on the Ministry of Finance, which has intimated permission and satisfaction of this petition in the near future”.<sup>82</sup> Of course, the discussion was not about the “Ministry”, but about the Bolshevik People's Commissariat, with which specific negotiations had apparently already been conducted. Delegates from the technical staff in the Provisional Council were used for direct communication with the theatre workers, who were constantly worried about their financial situation.

<sup>78</sup> *Izmeneniya v sostave vremennogo soveta Bol'shogo teatra (zametka)* [Changes in the composition of the temporary council of the Bolshoi Theatre (note)]. In *State Central Theatre Museum*. F. 154. No. 307, p. 1.

<sup>79</sup> *Protokoly № 1–16 zasedaniy Soveta teatra za 1918 g. i materialy k nim* [Minutes No. 1–16 of the meetings of the Theatre Council for 1918 and materials for them]. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Inv. 7. File 8, p. 4.

<sup>80</sup> *Pis'ma Pavlovskogo Feofana Venediktovicha L. V. Sobinovu* [Letters from Pavlovsky Feofan Venediktovich to L. V. Sobinov]. In *RGALI*. F. 864. Inv. 1. File 649, p. 25v.

<sup>81</sup> Developed by a commission led by the manager of the former Cabinet of His Majesty, Nikolai Eduardovich Ryudman.

<sup>82</sup> *Protokol zasedaniya soveta Bol'shogo teatra* [Minutes of the meeting of the Bolshoi Theatre Council]. In *State Central Theatre Museum*. F. 154, No. 264, p. 1.

Meanwhile, at the turn of 1917–1918, important events for the theatrical world were taking place in Petrograd. Their consequences soon affected Moscow. On 2nd January 1918, a detachment of soldiers led by the commissar appointed by the Soviet government, the Left Socialist Revolutionary V. V. Bakrylov, occupied the historic building of the former Directorate of Imperial Theatres, driving Batyushkov and the officials who supported him out of their offices.<sup>83</sup> The suppression of “sabotage” in theatres had entered a decisive phase. Despite Sobinov’s numerous disagreements with Batyushkov, the latter’s fall was also a blow to Sobinov, who had so far avoided an explicit recognition of Bolshevik authority. Sobinov’s opponents at the Bolshoi Theatre immediately came to life.

On 2nd January, the orchestra’s musicians gathered once again for a general meeting under Cooper’s chairmanship. On the day when the new authorities in Petrograd were literally subjugating the theatre department at bayonet point, the orchestra members were discussing Loginov’s report on his trip to the capital. In this report it was stated that the idea of raising the salaries of the Bolshoi musicians and equalising them with the salaries of the Mariinsky Theatre orchestra members had been rejected by Batyushkov due to a lack of funds<sup>84</sup>. This news predictably caused indignation among those gathered. Shmuklovsky, who took the floor “on behalf of the orchestra’s management and the Council of Elders”, proposed to independently “approve a new budget, based on the fact that the old figures are no longer able to satisfy us”.<sup>85</sup> Despite its obvious illegality, the proposal was unanimously approved by the assembly.<sup>86</sup> Shmuklovsky’s next speech, which, while recommending the development of such a budget and its submission to Pavlovsky, also threatened the musicians with “freedom of action”, raised objections, although it ended up being supported by the majority.<sup>87</sup> An ultimatum-based negotiation with one’s own elected leadership probably felt like a radical measure; moreover, the meaning of “freedom of action” was not entirely clear.

<sup>83</sup> Bertenson, S. L. (1957). *Vokrug iskusstva [Around Art]*. Hollywood: (n.p.), pp. 242–243.

<sup>84</sup> Protokoly zasedaniy soveta starost orkestrovoj korporatsii i obshchikh sobraniy artistov baleta za sezon 1917/1918 gg. [Minutes of meetings of the council of elders of the orchestral corporation and general meetings of ballet dancers for the season 1917/1918]. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Inv. 7. File 1, p. 33.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., L. 33v.

As a result, Cooper, in his role of chairman, proposed to postpone the decision on this issue to an extraordinary general meeting on 4th January.<sup>88</sup> It began, like the previous one, with Loginov's report on his trip to Petrograd and more generally on the situation in the capital's theatres in connection with the political situation in the country.<sup>89</sup> The meeting then passed a resolution "on the recall" of representatives from the "Council under the Commissioner".<sup>90</sup> Korolev's address outlined the "vague character of the Council, in which the representatives of the groups, not having a decisive voice, thereby nullify" its significance and make its work "utterly fruitless".<sup>91</sup> The orchestra members demanded that Pavlovsky officially publish in the bulletin an order indicating the status of the Council as an organ of the "Management of the Bolshoi Theatre under the Commissioner with the right to vote".<sup>92</sup> Under Cooper's incitation, the orchestra's increasingly strident demands intimated to Sobinov and Pavlovsky that the leaders of the Bolshoi Theatre should not only not count on the musicians' support in any confrontation with the Bolsheviks but should also be prepared to open a "second front" with them.

### *Conclusion*

During the last two months of 1917, the Bolshoi Theatre experienced unprecedented upheavals. The defeat of the Provisional Government during the October battles in Moscow and cessation of state financing in connection with the seizure of banks by the Bolsheviks shook the foundations of the former imperial stage. The result was a deepening rift in the troupe and general sense of despondency on the part of artists and employees regarding their future prospects. Under such conditions, the actual practice of musical and theatrical art had receded into the background. Although the theatre's directors, Sobinov and Pavlovsky, tried to conduct business as before and avoid direct subordination to the Bolsheviks, with each week, the possibilities for successfully maintaining such a policy diminished. By the turn of 1917–1918, the contradictions in and around the theatre had reached a critical level.

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., L. 35v.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.



This crisis was followed by the collapse of the previous management system and the formation of a new one, which was integrated into the political hierarchy of the emerging Soviet state. These events would take place at the Bolshoi Theatre during January 1918.

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Information about the author:

**Petr N. Gordeev** — Doctor of Historical Sciences, Senior Researcher, Department of Russian History (19th–21st Centuries).

Сведения об авторе:

**Гордеев П. Н.** — доктор исторических наук, старший научный сотрудник кафедры русской истории (XIX–XXI вв.).

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**Early Stage Works by Stanisław Moniuszko:  
History of Creation and Productions  
in Minsk and Vilnius**

*Olga V. Sobakina*

State Institute for Art Studies,  
Moscow, Russian Federation,

✉ [olas2005@mail.ru](mailto:olas2005@mail.ru),

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0161-949X>



**Abstract.** The article is devoted to Stanisław Moniuszko's early compositions for musical theatre, written in Minsk and Vilnius (1830–1840s). They had different genre designations: comedy-operas, operettas, musical scenes, pastorals, idylls. Today it is difficult not only to differentiate their genres, but also to establish the exact dates of writing, since only sketches remain of some of them.

Even Moniuszko's first biographer, Aleksander Walicki, considered that many of the works were lost and could not clarify the circumstances of their creation. The composer himself most often called his small stage compositions "operettas"; musicologists use a number of terms emphasizing the size of such works, features of the plot and figurative content (small operas, musical melodramas, idylls). Having become a successful start to his works, they helped the composer not only to form his own approach to the creative process, but also significantly expanded the boundaries of his interests in the field of musical theatre. In Polish and Belarusian musical culture, Moniuszko's operettas have not lost their significance to this day. The article includes the latest scientific data, allowing us to clarify the circumstances and chronology of their creation, as well as genre characteristics.

**Keywords:** Stanisław Moniuszko, Polish opera, vaudeville, comedy-opera, operetta, Oskar Korwin-Milewski, Wincenty Dunin-Marcinkiewicz, the Warsaw Musical Society

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*Музыкальный театр:  
вопросы истории*

Научная статья

**Ранние сценические произведения  
Станислава Монюшко:  
история создания и постановок  
в Минске и в Вильне**

*Ольга Валерьевна Собакина*

Государственный институт искусствознания,  
г. Москва, Российская Федерация,

✉ [olas2005@mail.ru](mailto:olas2005@mail.ru),

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0161-949X>

**Аннотация.** Статья посвящена ранним сочинениям Станислава Монюшко для музыкального театра, написанным в Минске и Вильне (1830–1840-е годы). Они имели разные жанровые обозначения: комедии-оперы, оперетты, музыкальные сценки, селянки, идиллии. Сегодня трудно не только провести их жанровую дифференциацию, но и установить точные даты создания, поскольку от некоторых остались лишь наброски. Уже первый биограф Монюшко Александр Валицкий считал многие произведения утраченными и не мог прояснить обстоятельства их создания. Сам композитор чаще всего называл свои небольшие сценические сочинения опереттами, в музыковедении употребляется целый ряд терминов, акцентирующих размер таких произведений, особенности сюжета и образного строя (малые оперы, музыкальные мелодрамы, идиллии).



Став удачным началом пути, они помогли композитору не только сформировать собственный подход к творческому процессу, но и значительно расширили границы интересов в области музыкального театра. В польской и белорусской музыкальной культуре оперетты Монюшко не утратили своего значения до настоящего времени. В статье учтены последние научные данные, позволяющие уточнить обстоятельства и хронологию их создания, жанровые характеристики.

**Ключевые слова:** Станислав Монюшко, польская опера, водевиль, комедии-оперы, оперетта, Оскар Милевский, Винцент Дунин-Марцинкевич, Варшавское музыкальное общество

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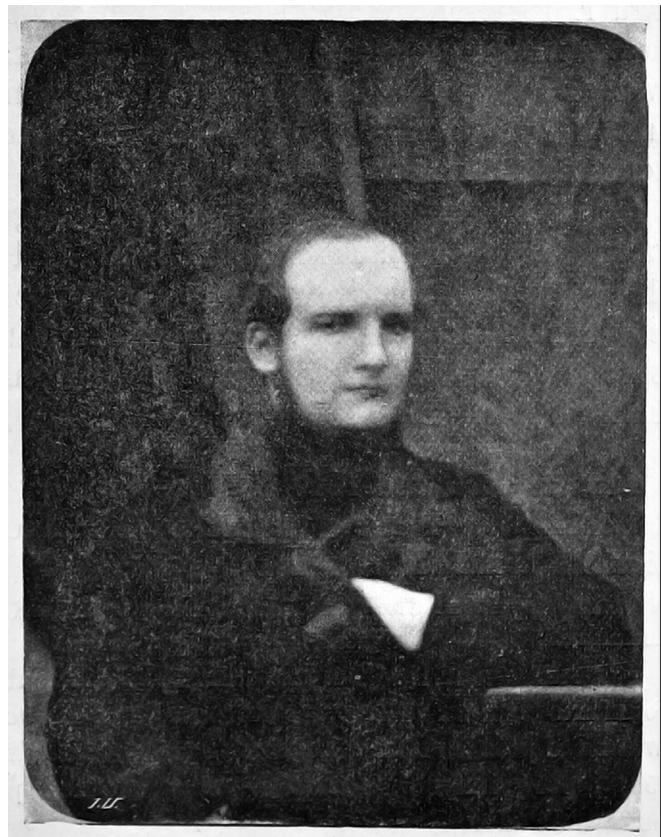
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*Introduction*

As known, the creative path of Stanisław Moniuszko (1819–1872, *Illustration 1*) began in Minsk and Vilnius, where his early works for the theatre were written.

Over time, they faded in the shadow of his outstanding national opera, *Halka* (1847)<sup>1</sup> which was absolutely innovative for the Polish scene [2], but at that time they were enthusiastically received by the local audience. Some of them, such as the opera now called *Idyll* (*Sielanka* / *The Peasant Woman*) and the operettas *Karmaniol* and *Loterea* (*The Lottery*), have not lost their significance in Polish and Belarusian musical culture to this day. The first biographer of the composer, Aleksander Walicki, compiled a catalog of Moniuszko's early stage works. He considered that many of the works were lost and could not specify when they were written. Later, Witold Rudziński undertook searches in this direction and then, Marian Fuks supplemented results thanks to the chance finds [3, pp. 20–21; 4, pp. 168–169].

A new stage in the study of materials in the archives was connected with the long preparations



*Illustration 1.* Stanisław Moniuszko. Daguerreotype (1840s) published in *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* (*The Illustrated Weekly*, Warsaw). Source of illustration [1]

<sup>1</sup> The composer spent a long time searching for a libretto for a “real” opera, writing his operettas. It was the production of one of them, *The Lottery*, that brought the composer to Warsaw, where he met Włodzimierz Wolski.

for the celebration of the composer's 200th anniversary, when, in particular, Svetlana Nikolaevna Niemagaj studied and brought to Minsk copies of some previously unknown manuscripts of the stage works. However, this event did not reduce the number of questions about the circumstances of their creation.

### *On Genre Designations and the Preservation of Scores*

Due to the uncertainty and discrepancies in the documents, it is sometimes very difficult to establish the exact dates of the creation of Moniuszko's early stage works. Currently, some Polish musicologists, directors and conductors also express doubts about the authorship of some of them, especially after studying the archives of the Warsaw Musical Society (hereinafter WMS),<sup>2</sup> which has the largest number of sources. In this situation, it is obvious that due to the loss of the originals, we can talk about falsification primarily in relation to the lost and later restored operettas.

Now 15 early stage works by Moniuszko are known. In the 19th century, they had various genre designations: *comic operas* ("comedy-operas"), *operettas*, *musical scenes* (*fraszkas*, from Polish "*fraszka*"), *pastorals*, and even *idylls*.<sup>3</sup> Researchers of the composer's work in their works refer to them as small operas, musical comedies, melodramas or idylls, guided rather by their plot, size and generally accepted ideas about the poetics of such genres. Niemagaj provides valuable information:

Comedy-opera in the first third of the 19th century is a composition with extended conversational dialogues and solid musical numbers, where the literary text forms the basis of the action, and the musical numbers complement it and reveal the emotional content as a kind of program illustrations [...] the music in such compositions could be selected by both the composer and the playwright, and it did not necessarily have to be an original work. Comedy-opera was a copy of the French vaudeville comedy (comédie en vaudeville) of the turn of the 17th–18th centuries [5, p. 124].

<sup>2</sup> WMS (WTM in Polish), Moniuszko Section.

<sup>3</sup> For example, *Idyll*, *Woda cudowna* (*Magic Water*), *Bettly* are often called operas, although they can hardly be considered as such. The last two have not survived, and the first, judging by the references and libretto (with the title *Sielanka*), was a typical comedy-opera and was called an opera in our time (it is performed in Belarus under the title *Sielanka*, which, according to the concepts of that time, is a synonym for the idyll genre).

According to the established tradition of the genre, the poetic texts of the play were sung to popular melodies, and at the end all the characters had to perform as an ensemble the couplets, which reminded the audience the main themes of such an “operetta.” As the researcher emphasizes, Polish culture owes the definition of the genre as “comedy-opera” to the playwright Ludwik Dmuszewski [Ibid.], who did not like the word “vaudeville” and introduced a new term in 1804 for a musical comedy with Polish text.<sup>4</sup>

Moniuszko most often called his early works operettas (Polish pl. “operetki”). For example, in a letter to his wife from October 19, 1843 from Minsk, he asks to send him the manuscripts of *The Lottery* and *The Ideal*: “...Taking advantage of the opportunity, I would like to draw attention to myself, and these two operettas can be excellently presented” [6, p. 92]. The works mentioned by him in the score are designated as “fraszka” and “comedy-opera,” but in the letter they appear as “operettas.” It was this term that the composer apparently considered sufficiently capacious, since it expressed the general specificity of the genre with all the diversity of plot features. Although formally Moniuszko’s early works do not always correspond to the poetics of operetta in the current understanding, we use this term as the main one in the article.

Moniuszko’s earliest stage work was a one-act comedy-opera, or rather music for the vaudeville *Biuraliści* (*The Clerks*) to the text of Fryderyk Skarbek, probably written in 1835. It should be noted that *Biuraliści* is practically not mentioned in the early literature on Moniuszko (even in Rudziński’s monograph [7]). It was believed that, like most youth operettas, it was preserved in fragments. However, recent publications, including the article by Niemagaj, emphasize that its full text was found in the WMS archives [8, p. 57]. The researcher examines this composer’s experience in the context of Lithuanian musical culture, and also compares two available sources, the Krakow copy (from the library of the Jagiellonian University) and the anonymous score preserved in the WMS, on which the date 1832 was incorrectly indicated (the exact time is not established, the date she suggests is not earlier than 1834, when a play of the same name was published in Warsaw).

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<sup>4</sup> Dmuszewski L. A. *Siedem razy jeden*. Komedioopera w 1 akcie oryginalnie napisana. First production: Warsaw, December 14, 1804.

Let us present a list (*Table 1*) of early stage works that survived or were found after the composer's death (a full source study description is given in the appendix):

*Table 1.* Moniuszko's Early Stage Works

Year	Title	Genre	Libretto	City
1832 (also 1835) <sup>5</sup>	<i>The Clerks</i> ( <i>Biuraliści</i> )	comedy-opera in one act	Fryderik Skarbek	Minsk
1938	<i>The Swiss Hut</i> ( <i>Die Schweizerhütte</i> )	comic opera in two acts	Stanisław Moniuszko on comic opera by Karl Blum	Berlin
1839 (?)	<i>The Overnight Stay in the Apennines</i> ( <i>Nocleg w Apeninach</i> )	comedy-opera in one act	Aleksander Fredro	Vilnius – Ubiel?
1840	<i>The Ideal, or New Treasure</i> ( <i>Ideał czyli Nowa Precjoza</i> )	comedy-opera in two acts	Oskar Korwin-Milewski on melodrama <i>Precjoza</i> , text by Józef Minasowicz	Vilnius?

<sup>5</sup> The first date is based on information accepted in Polish musicology and published in official sources by 2019. The second date was clarified by musicologists (M. Komorowska, G. Zieziula, M. Prochaska, S. N. Niemagaj) based on a study of archives in the same years. The exact date cannot always be established, since this information is not available in Moniuszko's letters. In scientific works up to the 1970s, quite a few incorrect dates are given that are not documented.



1840 (1852?)	<i>Gypsies (Cyganie, in the second version Jawnuta)</i>	pastoral in two acts	Franciszek Dionizy Kniaźnin, adaptation by Władysław Syrokomla	Vilnius – Warsaw
1840	<i>The Last Warsaw Lottery / The Lottery (Ostatnia loteria warszawska / Loteria)</i>	musical scene (fraszka)	Oskar Korwin- Milewski on vaudeville by Ludwik Adam Dmuszewski	Vilnius
1841, or early in Berlin (also 1842, Vilnius)	<i>New Don Quixote, or One Hundred Mad-nesses (Nowy Don Kiszot czyli Sto szaleństw)</i>	comedy (farce) in three acts	Aleksander Fredro on Miguel Cervantes	Vilnius
1841 (1842?)	<i>Karmaniol, or The French Like to Joke (Karmaniol czyli Francuzi lubią żartować)<sup>6</sup></i>	comedy-opera in two acts	Oskar Korwin- Milewski in version Stanisław Moniuszko	Vilnius
1843	<i>The Idyll, also Sielanka</i>	pastoral, opera in two acts [9]	Wincenty Dunin- Marcinkiewicz and Stanisław Moniuszko	Vilnius

It should be emphasized that there are many discrepancies in the information about the dates of composition and production, as well as the preservation of musical sources. In the 2010s, in connection with the celebration of the composer's anniversary, the WMS archives began to be studied more thoroughly, and many materials were re-examined and evaluated. It was after this that it became possible to perform

<sup>6</sup> G. Zieziula defines the genre of the libretto of *The Ideal* and *New Don Quixote* as a paraphrase [10].

*The Overnight Stay in the Apennines, The Ideal, The Swiss Hut* (Illustration 2), and the complete text of *The Clerks* was found. Other compositions (*The Lottery, New Don Quixote, Karmaniol, Jawnuta*) were performed for a long time, and their texts were only clarified and supplemented.

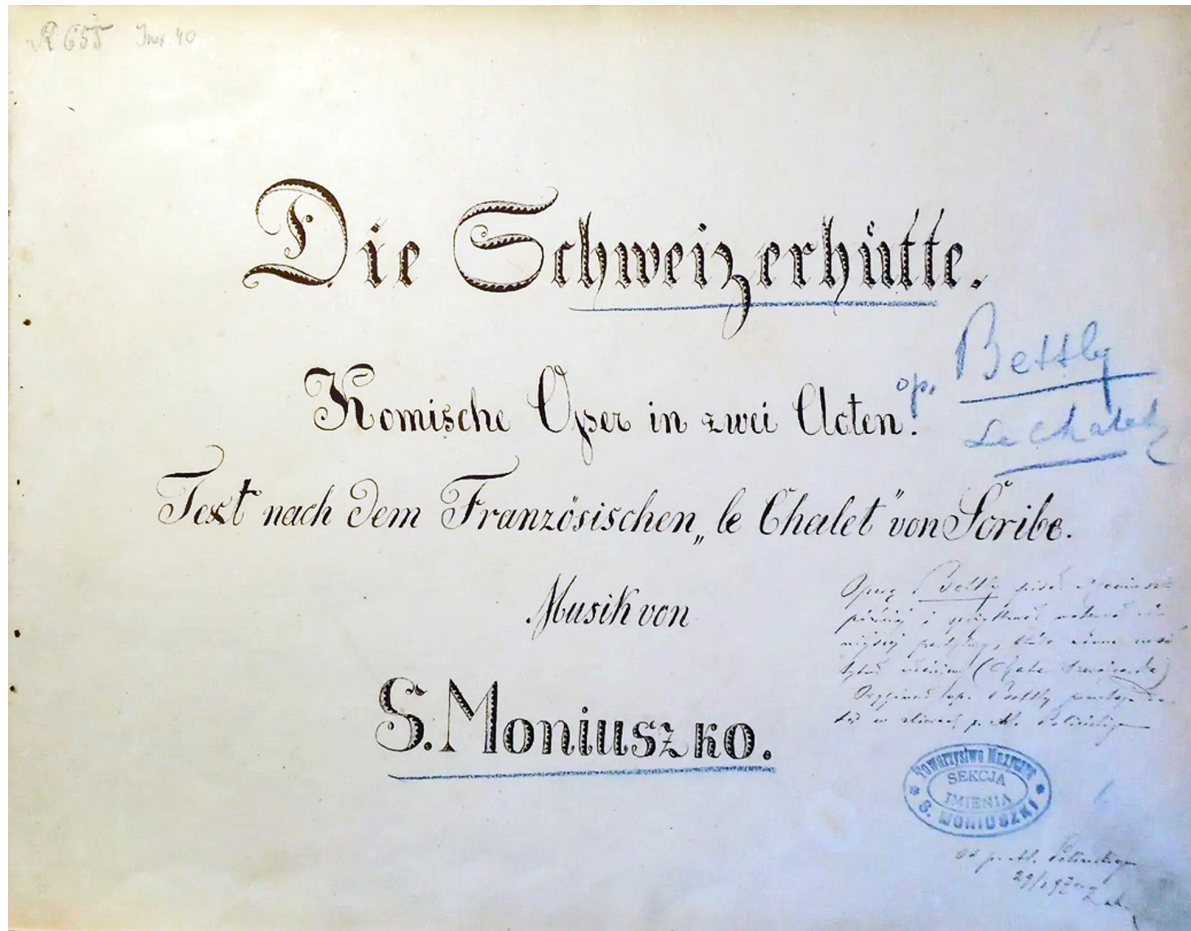


Illustration 2. *Die Schweizerhütte*. Title page of the piano score.  
Source of illustration [1]

The least fortunate was the once popular *The Idyll*. It had to be restored, based on the principle of analogy with the composition of vaudeville as a genre, since interest in it was due to the preservation of the traditions of the Belarusian national musical theatre.

The original manuscript of *Karmaniol* was discovered by Zdzisław Jachimecki in 1900 in Lviv, where it had been revived by the artists of the Society of Stage Lovers and the Academic Choir shortly before. For the composer's 200th anniversary, conductor Maciej Prochaska reconstructed the score of *Karmaniol*. As noted in the press, "after recording it turned out that the vaudeville really was a sparkling comedy that makes people cry to tears even today" [1].

Thanks to a great deal of work and a lucky coincidence, information about works that were considered lost has become known today: *The Magic Water*, *The Battle of the Musicians* and *The Recruitment*. The only thing that is known for certain about the latter is that it was staged in 1841 in Minsk during the celebrations of Fyodor Mirkovich's accession to the post of governor. Only the song "*Fleeting Time Destroyed My Happiness*" (*Czas w chyżym przelocie zniszczył szczęście moje*) remains from this operetta [9, p. 48].

In connection with the restoration of unknown facts and materials, what is surprising is rather something else — the fact that the study of archives in which Moniuszko's works could have been found has only just begun. A typical story of the discovery of an unknown work and its preparation for staging is described in an article by Grzegorz Zieziula:

I thought that there was a comic opera by Moniuszko with a French text called *Bettly*. Meanwhile, only its unoriginal version has survived, the text of which was translated into Polish, and the vocal parts were added by Gabriel Różniecki only in 1877. But it turned out that there is also a German opera by Moniuszko, which musicologists have never written about, because they considered it a later reworking of *Bettly*. When I took the manuscript in my hands, I saw that [...] it contains the original German text. [...] I determined that this is the libretto of an operetta by Karl Blum, which premiered in Berlin in 1835. When Moniuszko came to Berlin a year later, he could have bought the libretto or even seen the performance. He must have liked Blum's libretto, because he began to write his own music for it [10].

### *History of the Composition of Early Stage Works*

Preparing plays with music occupied an important place among the Moniuszko family's hobbies. Wide circle of relatives and friends worked on them, and this is no coincidence: in the 1820s and 1830s, amateur troupes from the Minsk

province had the opportunity to perform even on the stages of city theatres.<sup>7</sup> In such an environment, the young composer quite naturally had a desire to try himself in popular stage genres. The history of his appeal to this area of musical theater leads from Minsk to Berlin, and then again to Minsk and Vilnius.

After moving to Vilnius in 1840, the composer often visited Minsk. In 1842, a spring in the city park became the reason for creating the operetta *The Magic Water*<sup>8</sup> – already on January 21, 1843, the composer wrote to his mother-in-law that the first act was completely ready, but the second was not yet instrumented [6, p. 88]. The authors of the libretto were two of the most prominent playwrights of that time in Minsk and Vilnius – Oskar Korwin-Milewski and Wincenty Dunin-Marcinkiewicz. Of the music, only the author's score of the overture has been preserved in the Warsaw archive, and information about the production is very contradictory. Witold Rudziński confidently asserts that the premiere took place in Minsk, Szymon Paczkowski, on the contrary, believes that most likely the operetta was never staged, according to indirect sources we can assume a performance in Vilnius in the early 1840s [9, p. 44]. It is known that the overture was performed in the 1897–1898 season at concerts of the WMS orchestra, moreover, after that it became a repertoire piece.

In Minsk, Moniuszko also composed music for several dramatic performances. His first experience was the music to Józef Korzeniowski's drama *Karpaccy górale* (*Carpathian Highlanders*), which was staged in Vilnius in 1844. The music for the four-act melodrama *Kasper Hauser* by French playwrights Auguste Anicet-Bourgeois and Adolphe d'Ennery was first performed in Minsk on November 18, 1843. The performance was a huge success and was performed 21 times to a full house, that was an unprecedented success for that time. The Vilnius Theatre staged two more productions with music by Moniuszko: the three-act melodrama *Don Juan de Barbastro* (premiered on January 19, 1845) and the five-act melodrama by d'Ennery and Lemoine *Sabaudka, or Mother's Blessing* (premiered on May 6, 1845).

Having begun composing stage works in Minsk, the composer continued this activity in Vilnius, where he had the opportunity to offer them to various theatre companies. Moniuszko's unflagging interest in "operettas"

<sup>7</sup> The Moniuszko family staged home performances at the estate of relatives, and this experience was later used in the production of *The Idyll* on the Minsk stage.

<sup>8</sup> This assumption was made by Niemagaj [9, p. 44].



was undoubtedly connected with the desire to achieve popularity and find opportunities for productions in musical theatres in various cities (in addition to Vilnius and Minsk, Grodno, Lviv, Warsaw can be mentioned). There was a simpler reason for turning to operetta, in addition to its availability for performance on the local stage, the need to earn money, which the young composer so often mentioned in letters to his wife.

Already the youthful operettas *The Overnight Stay in the Apennines* and *New Don Quixote* based on the texts of Alexander Fredro enjoyed great success.<sup>9</sup> The vaudeville with music *The Overnight Stay in the Apennines* was created with the participation of friends and relatives of Moniuszko, the plot of the comedy of the Lviv Count Fredro (1825) was based on the story of his adventures in Italy. It is unknown who and when gave the text to Moniuszko, and how Moniuszko's vaudeville came to Lviv, and the exact time of its creation is also unknown. Most likely, the composer received the text of Fredro's vaudeville from friends or familiar actors, since the Moniuszko family did not miss the performances of touring actors. One way or another, when in 1839, after two years of study in Berlin, Moniuszko went on vacation to Vilnius, he had two new compositions in his luggage, which were waiting for performance there: *Mass for soprano, choir and orchestra*, and this vaudeville.

After the premiere in Vilnius in 1839 (the author's name, at his request, was not indicated on the first poster), a production took place in Lviv, which is mentioned by Regina Kasher [11, p. 171]. Somewhat later, the play was staged in Grodno and then again in Vilnius. Vaudeville became an important step in the composer's creative work, effectively opening for him the way to the theatre (*Illustration 3*). The musical numbers of the operetta are an overture, beginning with the sounds of a post horn, which quickly turns into a picture of a storm, humorous songs, duets and arias, as well as choral ensembles.

The success inspired Moniuszko, and he asked Fredro to write a libretto for a full-fledged opera, but he did not receive an answer and continued to work in the "light" genre, using another text by the playwright in the three-act operetta *New Don Quixote, or One Hundred Madnesses*. Unlike *The Overnight Stay*, *Don Quixote* was not only staged, but was re-published in 1928 (in excerpts).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Their composition was usually attributed to the Berlin years, although the first was written earlier, before leaving for Berlin, and *New Don Quixote* was written later.

<sup>10</sup> These early operettas are also called "two comedies of Fredro with music by Moniuszko". They were staged in an updated version in Wroclaw in 2017 and 2018.



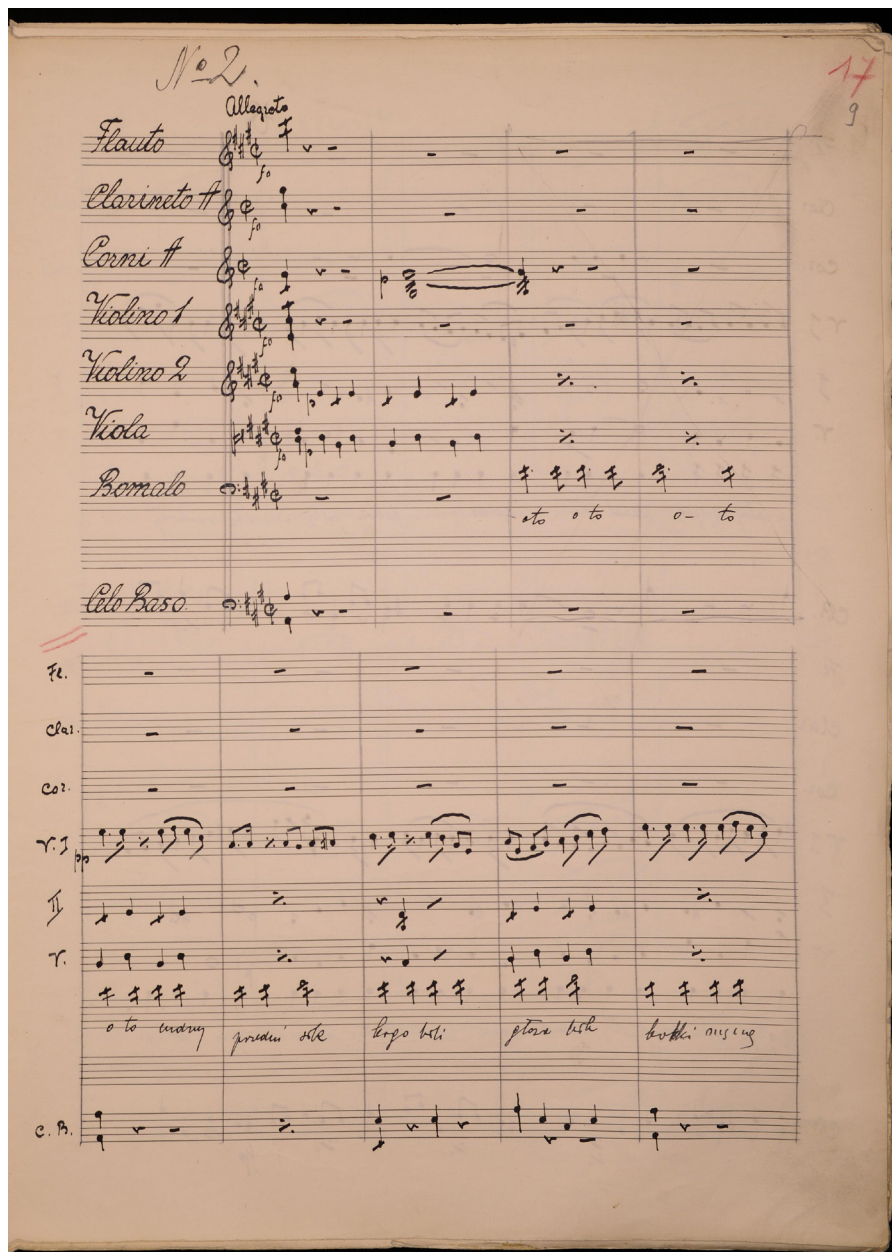


Illustration 3. The Overnight Stay in the Apennines. Fragment of the score. Source: Moniuszko S. *Nocleg w Apeninach*. Komedjo-opera w 1 akcie. Polona. Domena Publiczna. URL: <https://polona.pl/preview/4c98b7f7-da8a-457a-8ed6-e7b82f8656bf>

Between these two vaudevilles, *The Ideal* and *The Lottery* appeared in Vilnius at the end of 1840, which became the beginning of intensive collaboration with the famous Vilnius playwright Oskar Korwin-Milewski. *The Ideal*, *Karmaniol, or the French Like to Joke* and the operetta-fraszka *The Last Warsaw Lottery* were written over a short period, which ended on *The Magic Water*, composed with the participation of Dunin-Marcinkiewicz (who was already prominent at that time) and losted with the exception of the overture. Among the early works, these operettas, one might say, were lucky: they survived. The only set of the score and the voices of the overture *The Ideal* were found and published by the Moniuszko Section of the WMS. Among the operettas of the turn of the 1840s, this two-act operetta stands out for its voluminous score with extended vocal numbers and complicated orchestral scenes, the overture and the finale.<sup>11</sup>

The plot of *The Lottery* is based on a simple episode “from real life,” then people gathered in a roadside inn are waiting for the arrival of a mail coach and a parcel with a list of numbers chosen in the latest lottery draw. Moniuszko was well acquainted with such inns; he traveled and often encountered financial problems, and also played the lottery himself. In the operetta, the situation quickly “grows” with fascinating details. The main characters of the theatrical action are the poor clerk Jan Piorkiewicz and his beloved Hanna Ślacicka, whose father wants to marry her off to rich Bibulkiewicz. Unexpectedly, the lovers’ dreams are fulfilled by a mysterious Stranger, who, under the guise of winning the lottery, gives them money for the wedding.

*The Lottery* was staged by Wilhelm von Schmidkoff’s troupe in Minsk<sup>12</sup> under the title *The Warsaw Lottery* (1843), but in 1841 the same cast performed it in Grodno. The audience liked Moniuszko’s music, and at the suggestion of the management, on September 12, 1846, *The Lottery* was presented

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<sup>11</sup> It is no coincidence that the composer used some themes in other works, for example, the melody of one of the arias is used in the middle part of the Mazurka, which ends the first act of *Halka*.

<sup>12</sup> The Vilnius “Company of Dramatic Artists” under the direction of Wilhelm von Schmidkoff, a native of Silesia, was considered a professional opera and drama troupe. It is known that his daughter, Ewa, was a talented actress and successfully performed in leading roles (soprano).

at the Warsaw Teatr Wielki, where the leading female role of Hanna was played by Paulina Rivoli, the future performer of the role of Halka.<sup>13</sup>

Nowadays, the most famous operetta of the late 1830s and early 1840s is *Karmaniol*, written and performed in Vilnius (1841).<sup>14</sup> The author of the libretto, Oskar Korwin-Milewski, adapted a popular French one-act vaudeville of the same name (with the note “an episode from the Italian war”). As Niemagaj notes, such a practice was common in the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian State and Russia in the first third of the 19th century, when translations of plays by French playwrights or their free adaptation to the local language while preserving the French plot were used [12, p. 41].

The plot is one of the most dynamic among Moniuszko’s early stage works: the French army approaches the Italian village San Giuliano, moving towards Marengo.<sup>15</sup> The inhabitants flee, leaving only the simple-minded boy *Karmaniol*, ready to join the Republican troops. However, the French who invade the village mistake him for an Austrian spy, so the further action develops around the rescue of *Karmaniol* by the efforts of *Rosella*,<sup>16</sup> who is in love with him, and the camp follower *Katarzyna*, who “protects” *Rosella* from the soldiers and the villagers. The love passions and the depiction of military events are presented as a parody, sometimes turning into farce.<sup>17</sup>

The score of *Karmaniol* is impressive, 12 detailed numbers (including seven choral numbers) and an orchestral intermission between acts. As the operetta has a large-scale number structure, the absence of an overture is somewhat surprising. Although it is typical for vaudeville, the general nature of the musical material

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<sup>13</sup> In the 1960s, *The Lottery* with the text in a modern text version was staged by Polish Television, the leading role was played by the famous singer Irena Santor.

<sup>14</sup> Zieziula suggests 1842 [10].

<sup>15</sup> The location where the famous Battle of Marengo (1800) took place. An interesting detail of the modern Wrocław production is the computer-generated scenery with references to the preserved rural landmarks of this village.

<sup>16</sup> Her father, as is customary in such plots, prevents the heroes from falling in love.

<sup>17</sup> In the modern Wrocław production, the play, expanded with original dialogues from French vaudeville, has turned into a full-fledged two-hour performance.

rather indicates that the overture has been lost. The text part is no less lengthy and includes 70 pages of handwritten libretto text (the modern production lasts more than 100 minutes). Such volume makes questions about the genre definition of the work. Of course, the text dominates in it, the music creates, rather, special illustrations, but the role of choral numbers is completely atypical for vaudeville, especially since there are only three actively “singing heroes” (Karmaniol, Katarzyna, and Rosella).

One of the most interesting early experiments was *Sielanka* (the title accepted in Belarus according to published libretto) or *The Idyll* (the author’s title) to the text by Dunin-Marcinkiewicz, which was created in collaboration with Moniuszko. One fragment of this opus has been preserved (*The Commissar’s Song*), and only recently the second was found. There is indirect information that the work had a large scene with Belarusian folk dances, and one of the characters, Naum Prygavorka, whose role was played by Dunin-Marcinkiewicz himself at the premiere, expressed himself exclusively in Belarusian proverbs — in fact, thanks to this, *Sielanka* became one of the first examples of Belarusian musical and theatrical creativity.

It is believed that the premiere of the operetta took place on February 9, 1852 in Minsk (no mention of earlier dates has yet been found) [9, p. 50], but it is known that it was preceded by private performances (especially since the author of the libretto and his daughter Kamilla performed with friends as an amateur troupe), and after the sensational premiere, due to the use of local folklore, with texts in the Belarusian language, *Sielanka* was banned by the city authorities and quickly forgotten, although it was performed by Marcinkiewicz’s troupe in other cities of the Minsk province. Dunin-Marcinkiewicz mentioned the success of the production in a letter to the Vilnius book publisher Aleksander Zawadzki, asking him to prepare a new print run of the libretto [Ibid.]. It is known from his letters that the composer’s friends (K. Krzyżanowski, W. Dunin-Marcinkiewicz and Kamilla) took part in the composition and production of this pastoral, using their own and other popular inserted numbers [Ibid., p. 51]. *The Idyll* under the title *Sielanka* was reconstructed and staged in 1993 at the Bolshoi Theatre of Belarus by director Nikolai Pinigin.

The two-act *Jawnuta* with its extended dialogues represents a potpourri of Moniuszko’s previous works (its text is the most voluminous among all his works of this genre). At first, the composer wanted to add music to *The Gypsies* by Franciszek Dionizy Kniaźnin and perform them with amateurs in Vilnius.

However, then he asked his friend, the poet Władysław Syrokomla, to simplify this popular, but too complicated plot. Later, *The Gypsies* was renamed *Jawnuta* in honor of the main character and first performed with great success on 19 (20?) May 1852 during a concert in Vilnius together with the comic opera *Bettly*, which had been completed by that date. It is probably difficult to find another work by Moniuszko that received so many additions during the course of its productions, however, such editing did not contradict its genre.

### Conclusion

To sum it up, I would like to note that the comic sphere turned out to be an organic part of Moniuszko's works. The composer's interest in it never faded. Having become a successful start to the path, operettas helped Moniuszko not only to find his own approach to the creative process, but also significantly expanded the boundaries of his interests, after all, he composed his chamber-vocal masterpieces, symphonic and liturgical works, successfully created in the genre of opera-drama during he wrote such comic opuses. From composition to composition, progress is noticeable in the field of instrumentation, melodic and rhythmic ideas become more and more large-scale and interesting (the melodies stylized as Spanish folklore in *New Don Quixote* and quotations from French music in *Karmaniol* are very indicative). Obviously, starting with common theatrical plots, the composer strove for original librettos and found the opportunity to write simply, but increasingly perfect. And although the conditions for performing his works at the beginning of his career were more than modest, however, thanks to the success of his operettas on stage, he enjoyed the support and love of a wide circle of music lovers.



## Appendix

Table 2. List of early stage compositions with description of available sources

Year and city	Title, genre	Libretto	Available information about the score or first edition
1832 (also 1835) Minsk	<i>The Clerks</i> ( <i>Biuraliści</i> ), comedy-opera in one act	Fryderik Skarbek	The autograph of the score is stored in the WMS archives ( <i>Biuraliści. Komedio-Opera w I akcie roku 1832 w Mińsku   Muzyka Stanisława Moniuszki</i> )
1838 Berlin	<i>The Swiss Hut</i> ( <i>Die Schweizerhütte</i> ), comic opera in two acts	Stanisław Moniuszko on comic opera by Karl Blum <i>Mary, Max und Michel</i> (1836), text of the libretto in German	The autograph of the piano score was found in the WMS archives <sup>18</sup>
1839 (?) Vilnius – Ubiel?	<i>The Overnight Stay in the Apennines</i> ( <i>Nocleg w Apeninach</i> ), comedy-opera in one act	Aleksander Fredro	The manuscript and music were considered lost except for fragments. A full copy of the score was found in the Biblioteka Narodowa

<sup>18</sup> The manuscript of *Die Schweizerhütte* piano score with notes by Moniuszko himself was discovered in 2012 in the WMS archives by Grzegorz Zeziula while searching for the original of *The Ideal* [10].

1840 Vilnius?	<i>The Ideal, or New Treasure (Ideal czyli Nowa Precjoza)</i> , comedy-opera in two acts	Oskar Korwin-Milewski on popular in Poland melodrama <i>Precjoza</i> with music by K. M. von Weber on the text by Józef Minasowicz (1827, on Hugo and Cervantes)	The autograph was found in the WMS archives <sup>19</sup>
1840 (1852?) Vilnius – Warsaw	<i>Gypsies (Cyganie, in the second version Jawnuta)</i> , pastoral in two acts	Paraphrase by Franciszek Dionyzy Książnin, adaptation by Władysław Syrokomla	The premiere of the first version took place in Vilnius on May 20, 1852; the second version ( <i>Jawnuta</i> , 1858) was staged in Warsaw on June 5, 1860. Selected numbers were published: Warsaw, Gustaw Sennewald, 1860
1840 Vilnius	<i>The Last Warsaw Lottery / The Lottery (Ostatnia loteria warszawska / Loterea)</i> , musical scene (“fraszka”)	Oskar Korwin-Milewski on vaudeville by Ludwik Adam Dmuszewski Terno (Warsaw, 1805, adaptation of popular French vaudeville)	The autograph of the score for the Warsaw production of 1846 has been preserved <sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The manuscript of *The Ideal*, which was considered partially lost (including the completely lost libretto), was found in the WMS archives by conductor Maciej Prochaska.

<sup>20</sup> The orchestral score, piano arrangement and libretto of *The Lottery* were reissued by the Moniuszko Section of the WMS in Warsaw by “Gebethner i Wolff.”

1841, or early in Berlin (also 1842, Vilnius)	<i>New Don Quixote, or One Hundred Madnesses (Nowy Don Kiszot czyli Sto szaleństw)</i> , comedy (farce) in three acts	Comedy (farce) by Aleksander Fredro on Miguel Cervantes (1822, edited in 1826)	First edition of <i>Song of Don Quixote, Romance and Dumka (Thoughts) (Trzy Śpiewy z krotochwili)</i> : Lviv, 1851, Aleksander Fredro (wydana z partytury przez autora Aleksandrowi Hr. Fredrze Przystanój) <sup>21</sup>
1841 (1842?) Vilnius	<i>Karmaniol, or the French Like to Joke (Karmaniol czyli Francuzi lubią żartować)</i> , comedy-opera in two acts	Oskar Korwin-Milewski in version Stanisław Moniuszko. Adaptation of the French one-act vaudeville of the same name (with the note “an episode from the Italian war” (E. Théaulon, Ph. de Torges and E. Jaime)	In the late 1890s, a Zhitomir copy of the 1852 score was found. <sup>22</sup> Karmaniol. Operetka we dwóch aktach z Francuzkiego P. Théolon   Tłumaczenie Oskara Milewskiego   Muzyka Stanisława Moniuszki. The score in the WMS archives: WTM № 664. Libretto: WTM № 1282

<sup>21</sup> Storage of the first edition of fragments: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Toruniu. Three fragments were published “from Moniuszko’s score” by the author of the farce, Count Alexander Fredro. Subsequently, individual numbers and the piano score were republished.

<sup>22</sup> In 1900, Z. Jachimiecki became acquainted with this copy in Lviv thanks to the revival of the operetta. Before the discovery was mentioned in Russia, it was believed that only the duet “Don’t cry, my love...” had survived [11, p. 171].

No later than 1841 Minsk – Vilnius	<i>The Recruitment (Pobór rekrutów)</i> , also <i>Taking a recruit from the Jews (Pobór rekruta u Żydów)</i> , comedy-opera in one act	Wincenty Dunin-Marcinkiewicz	Lost (except for one song published by the composer). Authorship is still in question <sup>23</sup>
No later than 1842 Vilnius	<i>New Heir (Nowy dziedzic)</i> , comedy-opera in one act	?	The first version is lost. New words by M. Radziszewski were combined with previously written music in 1869, the piano score of this version has been preserved
1843 Vilnius	<i>The Idyll (Idyll)</i> , also <i>Sielanka / The Peasant Woman</i> , pastoral, opera in two acts	Wincenty Dunin-Marcinkiewicz and Stanisław Moniuszko	With the exception of the libretto and two numbers, it is lost and is performed in Belarus in reconstruction
1840-e	<i>The Battle of the Musicians (Walka muzyków)</i>	Wincenty Dunin-Marcinkiewicz	Lost
1840-e	<i>The Yellow Nightcap, or Kolenda on New Year's Eve (Żółta szlafmyca albo Kolęda pod Nowy Rok)</i>	?	Lost

<sup>23</sup> The poster for the first performance reads: “A comic opera in one act, originally written by Marcinkiewicz and Krzyżanowski, with music arranged by them” [9, p. 49].

No later than 1843 Vilnius	<i>The Magic Water</i> ( <i>Woda cudowna</i> )	Wincenty Dunin- Marcinkiewicz, Oskar Korwin- Milewski	Lost. The original manuscript of the overture is kept in the WMS archives
1846 (?), first performance took place in Vilnius on May 20, 1852	<i>Bettly (Bettly)</i> , comic opera in two acts	Franz von Schober (based on A. E. Scribe and Mélesville), libretto in French	The 1877 edition has survived with a translation into Polish and vocal parts written by Gabriel Różniecki

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Information about the author:

**Olga V. Sobakina** — Dr. Sci. (Art Studies), Leading Researcher, Music Theory Department.

Сведения об авторе:

**Собакина О. В.** — доктор искусствоведения, ведущий научный сотрудник, сектор теории музыки.

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**Contemporary Music as Reflected  
in Scholarly Texts:  
An Analysis of Russian Art History Journals**

*Yulia N. Panteleeva*

Gnesin Russian Academy of Music,  
Moscow, Russian Federation,

✉ [yulia\\_panteleeva@gnedin-academy.ru](mailto:yulia_panteleeva@gnedin-academy.ru),  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1122-7668>



**Abstract.** The article reviews scholarly texts on contemporary music published in Russian art history journals in 2022–2024. The list of journals includes nearly twenty periodicals. The present article provides insights into which composers and national traditions are currently studied by musicologists, what theoretical issues are addressed by researchers, what new terminology has been introduced into the vocabulary of musicology, and what methodological issues are raised in the scholarly

community. The analysis of periodicals revealed the interest of researchers in the works of Russian and foreign composers, as well as the emergence of distinct groups involved in the study of composer schools of the European North and the study of contemporary phenomena in the Far Eastern countries. Among other topics, Russian art history periodicals address the issues of sacred music, which encompass both the issues of sacred genres in which contemporary Russian composers work and sociocultural issues related to the historical context.

**Keywords:** contemporary music, Russian music studies, Russian scientific periodicals, analysis of musicological research, musical genres

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Современная музыка

Научная статья

**Современная музыка в научном отражении  
(по материалам российских  
искусствоведческих журналов)**

*Юлия Николаевна Пантелеева*

Российская академия музыки имени Гнесиных,  
г. Москва, Российская Федерация,

✉ [yulia\\_panteleeva@gnesin-academy.ru](mailto:yulia_panteleeva@gnesin-academy.ru),  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1122-7668>

**Аннотация.** В статье дан обзор новейших научных публикаций о современной музыке, представленных в российских искусствоведческих журналах за последние три года (2022–2024). Перечень включает почти два десятка изданий. Статья дает представление о том, творчество каких композиторов и каких национальных традиций находится в поле зрения музыковедов, какую теоретическую проблематику разрабатывают исследователи, какими новациями отмечен терминологический словарь музыковедения, какие методологические вопросы поднимаются в научном сообществе. Анализ периодики показал интерес исследователей к творчеству российских и зарубежных композиторов, а также формирование отдельных «ареалов», связанных, с одной стороны, с изучением композиторских школ Европейского Севера, а с другой — с изучением современных явлений в странах дальневосточного региона. Один из вопросов, поднимаемых в российской искусствоведческой периодике, связан с проблемами духовной музыки.

Эта тема вбирает себя и проблемы сакральных жанров, в которых работают современные российские композиторы, и проблемы социокультурного характера, связанные с историческим контекстом.

**Ключевые слова:** современная музыка, российское музыкознание, российская научная периодика, анализ музыковедческих исследований, музыкальные жанры

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### *Introduction*

The first quarter of the 21st century is a chronological milestone, a right moment to take a look back. In this work, a retrospective look will be taken at the corpus of scholarly texts on contemporary music published in Russian art history journals in 2022–2024.

The review of Russian musicological periodicals will focus on the issues analyzed in articles and some directions of scholarly research reflected in the publications. The comparative aspect, i.e., comparison with foreign scholarly knowledge, will not be considered, which does not mean the need for comparative analysis is rejected. The reason is that this consideration requires a separate study: scholars have already produced a rich body of specialized literature on the music of recent decades. The present article continues the series of analytical reviews on the current state of Russian scholarly periodicals started by fellow musicologists who addressed the issues of opera coverage [1]. Information is obtained from Russian musicological publications, including journals of a broader art-historical scope:

1. *Actual Problems of High Musical Education* (Glinka Nizhny Novgorod State Conservatory, *Illustration 1*);
2. *Bulletin of Vaganova Ballet Academy* (St. Petersburg);
3. *Journal of Musical Science* (M. I. Glinka Novosibirsk State Conservatory);
4. *Vestnik of Saint Petersburg University. Arts* (*Illustration 2*);
5. *Bulletin of the Saratov Conservatory. Questions of Art Studies*;
6. *Vremennik Zubovskogo Instituta / Annals of the Zubov Institute* (Russian Institute of Art History, St. Petersburg, *Illustration 3*);
7. *The Journal of the Society for Theory of Music*;
8. *Art of Music. Theory and History* (State Institute for Art Studies, Moscow, *Illustration 4*);
9. *Music. Art, Research, Practice* (N. G. Zhiganov Kazan State Conservatory);

10. *Music Academy* (Kompozitor Publishing House, *Illustration 5*);
11. *Music Journal of Northern Europe* (Petrozavodsk State Glazunov Conservatoire);
12. *Journal of Moscow Conservatory* (*Illustration 6*);
13. *Opera Musicologica* (St. Petersburg Rimsky-Korsakov State Conservatory);
14. *Problemy muzykal'noi nauki / Music Scholarship / Russian Musicology* (Gnesin Russian Academy of Music, *Illustration 7*);
15. *Contemporary Musicology* (Gnesin Russian Academy of Music);
16. *Scholarly Papers of Gnesin Russian Academy of Music* (*Illustration 8*);
17. *South-Russian Musical Anthology* (S. Rachmaninov Rostov State Conservatory);
18. *Philarmonica. International Music Journal* (Nota Bene Publ.).

*Russia, West, and East*

What topics were addressed in the Russian musicological publications of the last three years? The corpus of texts reflects a wide range of contemporary musical phenomena; it can be said that scholars are equally interested in the works of both Russian and foreign composers.

Scholars closely examine the works of major composers of the 20th and 21st centuries, uncovering original research dimensions in this rich layer of artistic culture: hermeneutics of Luciano Berio's *Sinfonia* [2], aesthetics of paradox in the compositional technique of György Ligeti [3], comparison of Luigi Nono's opera *Al gran sole carico d'amore* and Ludwig van Beethoven's *Fidelio* [4], spatiotemporal distribution of Arvo Pärt's sound material [5], complex genre fusion in Sofia Gubaidulina's composition *Alleluia* [6], variations on the theme of Bach's chorale *Es ist genug* by Edison Denisov in the context of the three-century history of its interpretations [7], Alfred Schnittke's allusions to the music of Johannes Brahms [8], and instrumental theatre of Rodion Shchedrin [9]. Their music and associated thoughts promote scholarly inquiry. The works of younger composers also attract the



Illustration 1.  
*The Journal of Glinka Nizhny Novgorod  
State Conservatory*

attention of musicologists: studying the material is the *sine qua non*, i.e., the necessary condition in the reception of contemporary music, with the horizons of our understanding constantly expanding.

This positive trend is promoted by the activities of scholars methodically analyzing the works of composers who were either little or not at all studied in Russian musicology. As evidenced by journal content, recent years have seen a rather significant expansion of scholarly information on the works of Danish and Norwegian composers. The names of Bent Sørensen, Per Nørgård, Martin Rømer, Simon Steen-Andersen, and Poul Ruders appear more often on the pages of domestic periodicals. Their works are considered in the context of contemporary issues of musicology: individual methods of compositional technique [10; 11],

genre experiments [12; 13], or esthetic issues [14; 15]. All of this contributes to a more comprehensive and substantive perception of the diverse landscape of contemporary music.

As for the works of American and European composers, this area of research has been explored by Russian scholars for a long time. Below are just a few examples showing various aspects that are of interest to musicologists in the study of the phenomena of American musical culture: the titles of works and “language games” in



the music of John Coolidge Adams [16]; the creative collaboration between the composer Michael Gordon and the director Bill Morrison [17]; the third quarter of the 20th century as an important period in the history of American music [18]. The European artistic practice is represented in publications by the names of major composers: John Adams [19], Luciano Berio [20], Harrison Birtwistle [21], Marc-André Dalbavie [22], György Ligeti [23], Tristan Murail [21; 24], Michael Nyman [25], Fausto Romitelli [26], Kaija Saariaho [21; 27; 28], John Tavener [29], Ivan Fedele [30], Brian Ferneyhough [31], Salvatore Sciarrino [32], Georges Aperghis [33], etc. The articles consider a wide range of issues, from the details of compositional techniques, features of musical material [22; 24; 26], and artistic and esthetic interpretation [19; 23; 25; 29] to the nature of national identity [33] and the world picture formed by the titles of works [21].

Scholars also analyze various aspects of the works of Russian composers: the literary basis of Yuri Butsko's oratorio *The Legend of the Pugachev Rebellion* [34], the concept of "active music" by Alexander Vustin [35], the dialog with Mozart's music in the work of Boris Getselev [36], new solutions to the problem of "folklore and composer" in the works of Kirill Volkov [37], Catholic chants by Nikolai Karetnikov [38], structural poetics of instrumental music by Nikolai Korndorf [39; 40], ballets of Alfred Schnittke [41], Rodion Shchedrin as a librettist [42], etc.

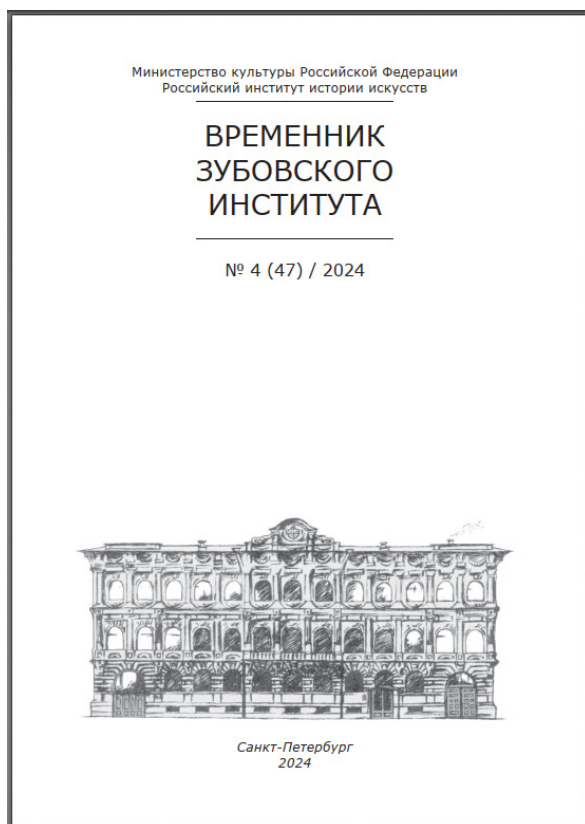


Illustration 2  
*Vestnik of Saint Petersburg University. Arts*

Noteworthy is that a diverse oriental subject matter is perfectly incorporated into the scope of Russian art history journals. What is meant here is the numerous studies on the music of contemporary Chinese composers (Tan Dun [43], Wang Xilin [44], Wang Jianmin [45], Luo Zhongrong [46], etc.). The publication of scholarly works on contemporary Chinese music can usually be attributed to the activities of young researchers from this country studying at Russian music universities.

### *Sacred Music: A Revived Tradition*

Sacred themes embodied in the works of contemporary Russian and foreign composers constitute one of the issues that are currently comprehensively explored.



*Illustration 3.*  
*Vremennik Zubovskogo Instituta*  
*(Annals of the Zubov Institute)*

When discussing contemporary sacred music, Natalia Gulyanitskaya examines the works of composers from the Gnesin House: Kirill Volkov, Valery Kikta, Alexey Larin, Andrey Mikita, Andrey Golovin, Vladimir Dovgan, and Valery Pyankov. Reflecting on the genre and textual aspects of their works, the scholar raises questions about how canonical/non-canonical and traditional/modern elements are combined in this music [47]. The issue of combining the avant-garde language and Orthodox spiritual tradition in the 1960s–1990s Soviet music is considered by Svetlana Savenko in a broad sociocultural context [48]. *Musica sacra versus musica nova* is a logical construct underlying the reflections on the artistic language of three avant-garde composers: Nikolai Karetnikov, Alfred Schnittke, and Sofia Gubaidulina. Analyzing the links with the liturgical

tradition, which became increasingly apparent in the music of these composers over time, the researcher reveals how the church theme was introduced into academic music. “Book learning” and the work of Soviet composers in the field of applied music (historical theatre productions and films) contributed to the fact that the musical language became imbued with the intonations of Old Russian chants, sacred texts, and liturgical genres.

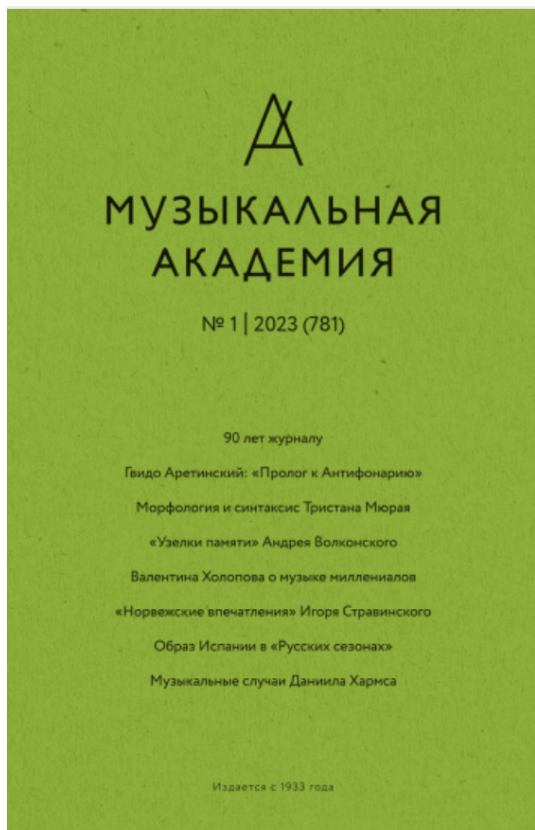
### *Methodology*

Methodological issues form an integral part of any musicological research. It is clear that modern musicology cannot do without constantly improving its toolkit; therefore, the need arises to reflect on the current problems related to the choice of methodological techniques and the substantiation of their relevance.

In Tatiana Tsaregradskaya’s article “Contemporary Music and the Methods of its Analysis” [49], this issue is considered in the context of methodological approaches presented in the reports that were given at three European Music Analysis Congresses (2014–2021). Having analyzed the topics of speeches given at the grand-scale 2021 Moscow Forum, the author concludes that in over two decades of the 21st century “nothing fundamentally new has been discovered in musical theory and analysis, and music theory has yet to see fundamental studies or any breakthrough theories to emerge” [Ibid., p. 80–81]. As noted by the researcher, the words “has yet to see” sound encouragingly optimistic, leaving room for the accumulation of observations about specific phenomena, which can serve as an



*Illustration 4.*  
*Art of Music. Theory and History*



*Illustration 5.*  
*Music Academy*

impetus for the creation of new musical theory approaches.

Methodological issues are relevant not only in research activities but also in the educational process. “Scholarly studies and pedagogy constitute an integrated field of professional education, including music education. This is especially true for higher education...” This statement of the famous scholar and methodologist captures the wealth of experience of pedagogical work [50], which is inseparable from the idea of introducing a course of contemporary music into the university curriculum, which was innovative for its time (late Soviet years). Reflecting in her article on improving the teaching of harmony, Natalia Gulyanitskaya proceeds from the perspective of broad humanistic knowledge and emphasizes the need for a deep understanding of the concepts of method, procedure, and methodology

and the distinction between them [51].

### *Terminology*

As for the musicological vocabulary and the introduction of various terminological innovations, it is possible to find examples of such scholarly pursuits both in works considering a whole range of problems and in special articles aimed at exploring the language of modern musicology.

In particular, the article of Alexander Sokolov focuses on the concept of *post scriptum*. Summing up the considerations regarding the considerable methodological potential of the term, which may seemingly sound somewhat metaphorical, the



scholar notes that “despite its obvious non-specificity, the metaphor *post scriptum* (as afterword) can still serve as a tool for cognition of various phenomena in artistic culture” [52, p. 365]. Of note is that irrespective of the linguistic form of new terminological units, their importance is determined by their scholarly use.

Noteworthy are other Latin words that are used in the texts of Russian musicologists as terms, i.e., words of scholarly language. *Musica pura* and *musica impura* are the terms used by Levon Hakobian to describe the music of Bernd Alois Zimmermann and his compositional technique, which would subsequently be classified as a method of polystylism (Alfred Schnittke’s terminology) [53]. However, the scholar does not limit himself to the designation that is firmly established in the lexicon of modern musicology, proposing to use a new terminological expression — *musica impura concettuale*. Hakobian notes: “The author of *Die Soldaten* was the true founder of the most influential movement, for which I will allow myself to introduce the term *musica impura concettuale*. In my opinion, it is more adequate, more precise, and broader in meaning than ‘polystylism’” [Ibid., p. 67].

The term *musica impura*, introduced by Hans Werner Henze, plays an important role in Alexander Ryzhinsky’s discussion of this composer’s writing technique. In his oratorio *Das Floß der Medusa*, Henze used a polylingual textual basis, characterized, as the musicologist notes, by “the diversity of literary sources and the simultaneous use of series of words in Italian and German” [54, p. 26]. For Henze, it is not only



Illustration 6.

*Journal of Moscow Conservatory*



the effect of the contrast between the phonetics of different languages that is significant but also the deep semantics of the texts representing the world of the living and the world of the dead. The composer's work with words, along with other writing techniques, allowed the scholar to assert: "Thus Henze's *musica impura* can be understood as opposition to the *pure art* principle that prevailed in post-war musical art" [Ibid., p. 25].

In terms of scholarly (terminological) topics, of interest is the article by Svetlana Lavrova on the concept of "sound object" [55]. The works that explore the concepts relevant to musicology, such as "postmodern" [56] and "metamodern" [57; 58], include a Russian text "Modern / Postmodern" [59] published by the French composer and musicologist Pierre Boulez. Other lexical units whose content

is discussed in Russian musicological periodicals could be mentioned as well: interparadigmatic state [60], "author function" [61], and others.

### *Choral Music*

Scholarly texts on contemporary choral compositions essentially constitute a special branch of *Russian musicology*, which has emerged in recent years. A considerable number of articles on choral music written by major European composers and that of entire movements are available [62]. The musical figures whose works are analyzed include Iannis Xenakis [63], Mauricio Kagel, György Ligeti, Luigi Nono, Krzysztof Penderecki [64], Hans Werner Henze, Heinz Holliger [65], Karlheinz Stockhausen, and others. The scholarly apparatus established in these studies (study of choral texture,



Illustration 7.  
*Russian Musicology*

textual basis, timbral structure, and vocal technique) finds further application with respect to other composers. This refers to the choral music of Russian composers: Alexander Tchaikovsky, Kuzma Bodrov, and Efrem Podgaits. Their works, in which the choral part — often interpreted as a true “vocal orchestra” — is combined with the sound of solo instruments (domra, accordion, and piano), are considered to be a peculiar phenomenon [66].

The appearance of such works in Russian music, which are inspired by outstanding instrumental soloists, is attributed by researchers to a new direction “in the development of contemporary choral and domra music” [Ibid., p. 31]. Drawing on the experience in staging such works, which implies a theatricalization of the performance, the authors of the work on this topic conclude that “the diversity of functions performed by the chorus, which is as great as its dramatic roles in an opera performance, indicate the viability and prospects of the union of choir and domra not only on the stage but also in the field of musical theatre” [Ibid.].

#### *Musical Theatre*

Musical theatre works created in the 20th and 21st centuries (this notion encompasses both opera and ballet genres) are a constant subject of musicological research. A study of the topics covered by the 2022–2024 articles reveals a whole range of different historical and theoretical issues. Without attempting to provide



*Illustration 8.  
Scholarly Papers  
of Gnesin Russian Academy of Music*

a comprehensive overview of all the publications, let us note only some of the topics addressed in them. Researchers are interested in certain opera genre varieties, such as mono-opera [67], documentary opera [68], conceptual “opera of ideas,” mystery opera, dystopian opera, digital-opera [69], or the very shifting of opera genre toward performativity [70], etc.

### Conclusion

The issues of contemporary musical art as reflected in journal publications indicate that scholarly thought progresses in many directions; authors aim to interpret not only certain artistic phenomena but also associated processes. Noteworthy is that articles give much attention to 21st century music, including the latest music. In this respect, musicological reception is similar to critical reception. Articles published in current scholarly periodicals constitute an important part of the overall amount of research on contemporary music, along with monographs, collected works, conference proceedings, specialized Internet portals, and sometimes very informative premiere announcements. They provide a means to assess the range of issues that are of most interest to musicologists. The cognitive strategies used by scholars in their research cannot remain unchanged, which prompts a continuous reflection on the musicological approaches and the language of scholarly description. In common with musical modernity, modern musicology is in constant movement and development, from music to knowledge.

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Information about the author:

**Yulia N. Panteleeva** — Cand. Sci. (Art Studies), Associate Professor, Music Theory Department, Head of the Scientific and Creative Center for Contemporary Music.

Сведения об авторе:

**Пантелеева Ю. Н.** — кандидат искусствоведения, доцент кафедры теории музыки, руководитель Научно-творческого центра современной музыки.

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