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Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: the Composer's First Steps*

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Abstract. The article is based on the materials of the authors' monograph's *Motsart i ego vremya* [*Mozart and His Time*] (Moscow: Klassika-XXI, 2015). At the focus of the authors' attention are the questions of the creative evolution of the genius at the earliest period of his compositional activities. The attempt is made to recreate the earliest stage of Mozart's mastery of composition, and the conditions of the formation of his compositional skills are disclosed. Characterization is made in the article of the notebook of harpsichord pieces presented by Leopold Mozart in 1759 to Nannerl on her name day, which, after the course of a year, became Mozart's favorite tutorial music book. Analysis is made of the father's notes concerning the son's first steps — in performance and composition. It is marked that during the first year of his compositional practice, Mozart achieved outstanding results, having traversed the path from completely immature pieces of an improvisatory type to professionally accomplished works that appeared at the confluence of his personal experience and his father's instructions. Special attention is placed on the Paris Sonatas (1763–1764) and the *London Sketchbook* (1764), as well as the chamber sonatas written in London (1764–1765) and The Hague (1766). By their example, the evolution of Mozart's early sonata technique is traced. The conclusion is arrived at that the great European tour completed the period of Wolfgang's study period in regard to the instrumental genres, and the young genius obtained compositional skills comparable with the experience of composition of the mature masters.

Keywords: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Leopold Mozart, Nannerl Notenbuch, Paris Sonatas, *London Sketchbook*, Mozart's creative process

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* The article is based on the materials of Irina Susidko's and Pavel Lutsker's monograph *Motsart i ego vremya* [*Mozart and His Time*] (Moscow: Klassika-XXI, 2015. 624 p.).

Translated by Elizabeth Wilson.

Introduction

One of the best-known stories regarding the unusually early appearance of Mozart's compositional genius belongs to the pen of Johann Andreas Schachtner, who wrote it down in 1792 at Nannerl's request. It pertains to a clavier concerto "composed" by Wolfgang at the age of four or five. To start with the grown ups present just laughed as he played the wads of notes and chords that made up the composition; but then, as Mozart's father started observing the opus of his son more attentively, he exclaimed with tears of joy: "Everything here is so perfect, all is laid out in accordance with the rules; it's only a pity that we cannot make use of it, the solo part is of such difficulty that not one person would be capable of playing it." [1, p. 8] This story was first published by Schlichtegroll and then is related over and over again by various biographers. Konstantin Sakva quite justly questioned the veracity of this story, and came to the conclusion that it was untrue. [2]

From Improvisation to Composition: Mozart's Early Pieces

Seemingly, this pretty tale is a mere invention of Schachtner, who was given to sentimental reminiscence in his dotage. The actual documents unmistakably refute it. Wolfgang did not write down his first pieces until he was at least eight years old, and before that his father did this for him. The earliest authentic autograph belonging to Mozart's hand is of a harpsichord piece in *C major*, written in all probability in the first half of 1764. [3, p. 1; 4][1]

So what were his true beginnings? The much famed, surviving notebook of harpsichord pieces given to Nannerl in 1759 on her name-day[2] by Leopold Mozart became Wolfgang's primer when he started music lessons. It is hard to tell how many pieces it contained originally, and which of them were written into the notebook subsequently, as Nannerl grew up and made progress. The autograph as it has come down to us today is made up of 43 pieces of different kinds. The greater part of its "didactic repertoire" evidently was composed by Leopold, but there are also pieces by Georg Christoph Wagenseil, C.P.E. Bach and two lesser known composers — Johann Nikolaus Tischer and Johann Joachim Agrell. Certainly the quality of many of these pieces leaves much to be desired. It is probably right to assume that this formed part of Leopold's cunning didactic policy, something he more or less admitted to in his *Violin School*: "Here are the pieces for practice. The more distasteful they are the more am I pleased, for that is what

[1] The dating of Mozart's early pieces is an object of research by Wolfgang Plath. He was able to establish the precise date of the writing of the Minuet which has traditionally opened the chronology of Köchel's work catalogue. Though Nannerl's faulty later reminiscences this became known as Mozart's earliest work, attributed to him as a five-year old. Köchel suggested that Leopold helped his son put the piece together and write it down. [3, p. 1] Plath was able to demonstrate that Mozart's handwriting in the autograph actually related to a much later date of creation than that indicated by the 65 year-old Nannerl in 1815, ad namely 1764 and not 1761. See: [4].

[2] The Notebook had a truly dramatic destiny. Already after Mozart's death Nannerl unbound it and gave away various single pages as momentos. What was left of the autograph changed owners several times, until the Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna (the sister of Tsar Alexander I) did not give it to the *Mozarteum* in 1864. Several pages have still not been found. The last discovery of two missing pages with Mozart's first compositional experiments was made in 1954. [2]

I intended to make them." [5, p. 88] One must assume that he wanted a child to learn to play by reading the music in front of him, so as not to form the habit of playing by ear.

Yet one could hardly call any of the pieces in Nannerl's notebook "distasteful." Rather they are everyday routine practice pieces, that is to say music that does not belong to the high category of church music, opera, symphonies and quartets. Nevertheless the notebook contains the full arsenal of styles from the mid 18th century: dance, sung arias, the touching and sentimental, the military, the virtuoso, not to mention *Sturm und Drang* — perhaps the only style missing was the learned polyphonic.[3] Leopold's anthology exemplifies a small compendium of piano music from that period, where each piece, without being in the least bit primitive is distinguished by clarity of structure, which lends great importance in establishing the correct basis for a musical education.

The progression from simple to complex is extremely gradual in the Notebook, but at the same time, each piece examines a new problem — either through encountering some rhythmic pattern or a play of textures, or in presenting a new form or specific *genre*. The key signatures also become more complex; the simple Minuets (there are 19 of them in a row) give way to more virtuoso pieces, a March, a Polonaise, a Scherzo, Variations, and lastly Sonata *Allegri*. On certain pages Leopold added technical exercises (based on arpeggios, chords, and trills), a table of intervals and three short examples of modulations using ground-bass techniques (incidentally the last of these is quite complex, a modulation from *C major* to *A major*). From a methodological point of view, one can say that Leopold compiled an impeccable exercise book.

But once Wolfgang started his music studies Leopold's attention was exclusively focused on his son's progress. *Frühester Mozart* [6][4] — is how German musicologists define this unique early period of Mozart's biography, which has no parallel with that of any other great composer. Beethoven wrote his first compositions at the age of 11–12, Schubert — at 14. Maybe only Prokofiev had similarly early beginnings, having composed his first piece at just over the age of 5 (it was written down by his Mother). In both Mozart's and Prokofiev's cases, it was thanks to their parents that their early written experiments were preserved.

Leopold also noted down his son's first steps in music in Nannerl's Notebook — to start with all that concerned his playing, then his compositions. It is not clear for what reason, but for a considerable amount of time the small pieces composed by Wolfgang were recorded, at least until 1764 — in the blank pages which divided the various groups of compositions in the notebook. The chronology is not always obvious, as his pieces are scattered throughout the book, but we can gain an overall picture from the table on next page.

What can be said about this list? Firstly that Wolfgang learnt pieces with extraordinary speed, sometimes literally within half an hour. Leopold must have felt sufficient pride in this achievement to record it directly into the Notebook — just as many loving parents mark their child's rate of growth on a door jamb. Many years later Nannerl recalled that her brother could memorise pieces with great facility, and "played them faultlessly, in a pleasant manner and keeping the time

[3] In speaking of "styles" we use it in the sense which it was used in the 18th century.

[4] "The earliest Mozart". This expression was used for the first time by Dent and Valentin.

No.	Date	Titles	Wolfgang's compositions	Leopold's Comments
8	Before 27.01.1761	Minuet in F		Wolfgangerl (Little Wolfgang) learnt this Minuet when he was four years old
19	Before 27.01.1761	Minuet in F		And Wolfgangerl also learnt this Minuet when he was four
41	Before 27.01.1761	Allegro in G		Wolfgangerl learnt this Allegro at the age of 4
31	24.01.1761	Wagenseil Scherzo in C		Wolfgangerl learnt this piece on January 24, 1761, three days before his 5th birthday, between 9.00 and 9.30 in the evening
11	26.01.1761	Minuet in F		Wolfgangerl mastered this Minuet and trio in just half an hour, at 9.30 pm on 26 January 1761, one day before his birthday
22	04.02.1761	March in F		Wolfgangerl learnt this March on February 4th 1761
53–54	02–04.1761		KV 1a, b (here and below Leopold's hand)	A pieces by Wolfgangerl composed in the first 3 months after his fifth birthday
32	06.02.1761	Scherzo in F		Wolfgangerl learnt this piece on 6 February 1761
55	Around 11.12.1761		KV 1c	
56	16.12.1761	Minuet	KV 1d	
58	01.1762	Minuet in F	KV 2, Salzburg	
59	04.03.1762	Allegro in B	KV 3, Salzburg	
49	11.05.1762	Minuet in F	KV 4a, Salzburg	
61	05.07.1762	Minuet in F	KV 5, Salzburg	
48	16.07.1762	Minuet in F	KV 6, Salzburg	
46	14.10.1763	Allegro in C	KV 6, Brussels	
25	10.1763	Andante in F	KV 6, Brussels	
26	10.1763	Minuet in C	KV 6, Brussels	
24	21.11.1763	Allegro in B	KV 8, Paris	
47	30.11.1763	Minuet in D	KV 7, Paris	
62	1764	Minuet in G	KV 1/1e (this Minuet was the first Mozart's piece written in his own hand)	
20	1764		KV 9a/5a	
63	1764	Minuet in C	KV 1f	
64	1764		KV 9b/5b	

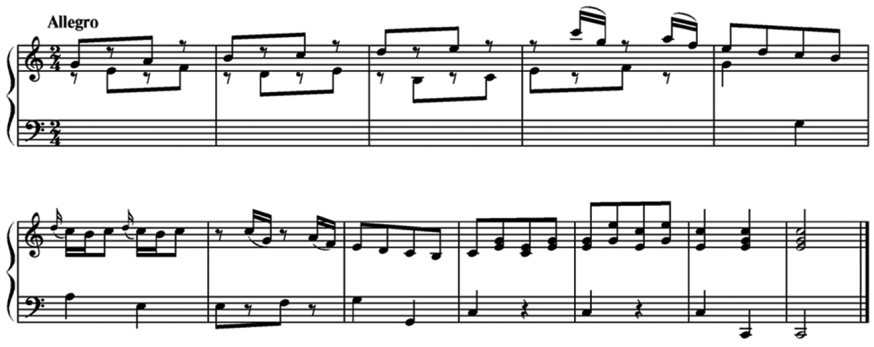
with great precision." [7, p. 186][5] In addition he would practice at a time when most children are being put to bed, after 9 o'clock in the evening. It is clear that the Mozart household, although noted for its orderliness, was far from being ruled by arbitrary precepts, or at least in anything that concerned Wolfgang. Given his passionate love of music, practice time could equally be regarded for him as a kind of game, a reward, a holiday, something which afforded him unique pleasure.

Evidently Leopold, while proud of his son's progress as a performer, was no less struck by the early awakening of his compositional gifts. He no longer notes down the keyboard pieces that his son has been learning, but turns his attention on dating the compositions. And furthermore, if Leopold writes the affectionate and diminutive form, *Wolfgangerl* beside his first compositional experiments, then he records in far more official style the *Allegro KV 1c*, dated 11th December 1761, as the work of "Sgr. Wolfgango Mozart," although he was but a five year old boy. Yet obviously his son's status has already changed in Leopold's perceptions. Just a month later, he took his children to Munich for three weeks, where they were received at the court of Maximilian III Joseph. In all probability he was trying out the measure of a grown-up name in Italian style, so as to heighten the impression that Wolfgang's young age and extraordinary abilities would make, and which — if only symbolically — were commensurate with those of Italian court musicians.

The attempt to recreate the initial stage of Wolfgang's composition studies raises two pertinent questions. First, what was the relationship of "his own" work to that from the "outside" world? What were the connections between Mozart's first compositional experiments and the music which he almost certainly played by other composers. It is clear that his repertoire was not restricted just to those pieces that Leopold had noted, although we can only be certain that he played the pieces listed earlier. And secondly — how were Mozart's compositional skills formed?

Konrad Küster devoted about a third of his voluminous monograph to Wolfgang's early works: in response to the first question he denies any obvious similarity; if one speaks about thematic relationships then he is right of course. [8] It was only later that Mozart started actively absorbing the melodic intonations of other composers. Nevertheless certain inter-connections are already evident. His second composition, a piece in *C major* of 12 bars duration (KV 1b) hangs together by using several small cell-motives, which relate to different textures (Example No. 1).

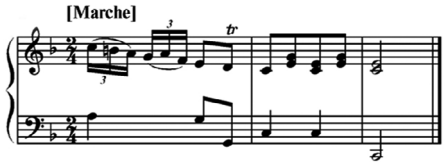
Example No. 1 W. A. Mozart. *KV 1b*



[5] Letter from Nannerl to Schlichtegroll. April 1792.

It cannot be excluded that the bravura cadential passage is influenced by the concluding bars of the *March No. 22* (Example No. 2),

Example No. 2 Nannerl's Notebook. *March No. 22*



and the effective *martellatto* in the first three bars uses a similar technique to that found in the *Allegro* in *G major* No. 41 (Example No. 3).

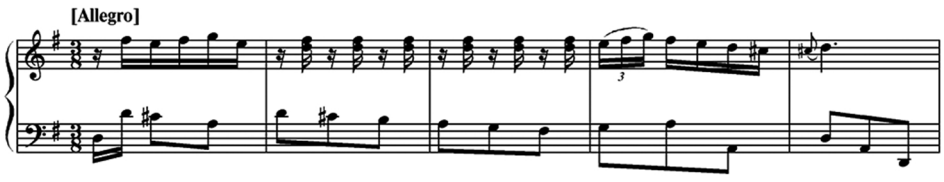
The beginning of the piece is almost identical to the beginning of the *Marcia* No. 23. (Even if Leopold did not record that his son learnt it, the boy could easily have known it.) Thus the pieces Wolfgang learnt had more than an indirect influence on his own composition. And indeed it would have been surprising if, when improvising he did not start experimenting with the diverse techniques, genres and styles that he had absorbed in his piano studies. In general, all of Wolfgang's early pieces are a confirmation of his experience as a performer.

His development in the context of his early compositional experience is a more complex issue, since we have to take into account the quality of the material. All the more because in the very earliest Mozart, we are dealing with a child gifted with a unique and extraordinary musical talent. During the 1761–1764 period, not only the fact that he started composing so early, but the incredible speed and intensity of his progress testify to Mozart's extraordinary gifts. His early "opuses" can be divided in three groups: 9 small pieces and minuets, composed in Salzburg (1761–1762); sonata movements, written in Brussels and Paris during his first extended concert tour (1763), and 4 pieces, conjecturally dated 1764.

The initial stage can be viewed as a transition from improvisation to composition. Not one analyst has a sympathetic word for the first piece, with its varying structure and its descending melodic line over a range of two octaves. In it, and also in the KV 1b, the only visible features of formed structure can be found in the thematic cell and cadential resolution (Küstner). In addition we should note an intuitive search for motivic variation (Example No. 1).

One the other hand, the two pieces written down in December 1761 are a completely different matter! In them Wolfgang (most probably, not without some help from Leopold) uses with great assurance the components of small binary form in one case with, and the other without recapitulation. Here everything is in its right place: the first period, the development section, and the repeat signs which divide one part from the other, and there is even a modulation. It is true that the development is very simple, consisting mainly of a literal repetition of the motives and a greater definition of harmony through the use of an interrupted cadence to join the two identical phrases in the concluding section of the *Minuet KV 1d*. This detail hardly merits mention, but for the fact that the interrupted cadence then became a favourite device of Mozart's, which he used persistently in this initial period (i.e. in KV 3),

Example No. 3 Nannerl's Notebook. *Allegro No. 41*

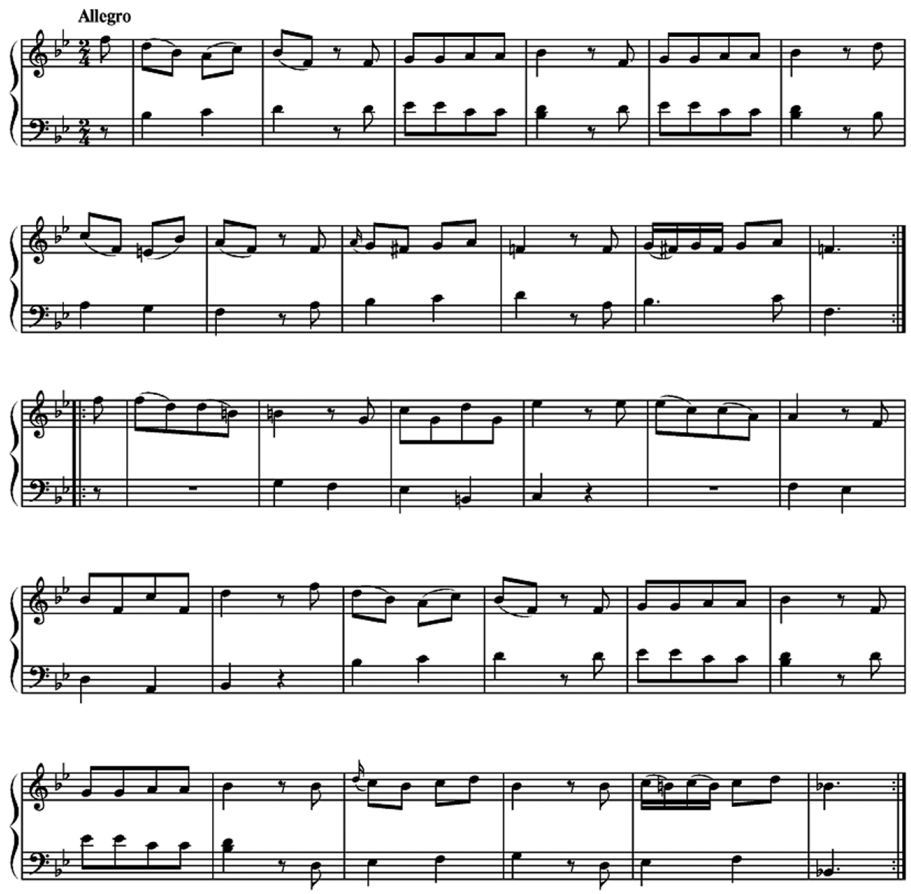


and also in the recapitulation (i.e. in KV 2, 5, *Minuet KV 6*). It is of special interest since this particular harmonic cadence is not to be encountered even once in any of the pieces by the other composers in Nannerl's Notebook, neither in the Minuets nor in the sonata Allegros. One might surmise that Leopold gave a theoretic explanation of an interrupted cadence to the boy — just as he will have in the ground-bass exercises when he explained modulation. Undoubtedly it was due to his father's pedagogical efforts that Wolfgang mastered these techniques.

Between January and July 1762 Wolfgang composed five more pieces in Salzburg. He continued enriching his fund of compositional skills. The chief innovation lay in his predilection for sequences, something which evidently appealed to the young composer's taste; indeed he used nothing else but sequences in his development sections. Three of these pieces can be perceived as scholastic exercises, set by Leopold: KV 2, KV 5, and the Minuet from the *Sonata Cycle KV 6* are all written using the same bass. The boy's performing skills were evidently well developed, judging by the inventiveness and diversity of the instrumental texture, with its marked virtuosity and brilliance. And apart from these pedagogical indications, perhaps the most important innovation of all lay in the concept that the smallest details can serve as material that gives rise to a subsequent play of motifs, a typical feature of Mozart's piano music.

In the charming *Allegro* in *B flat major*, KV 3 (Example No. 4), the first period already boasts a small constructive element (6+6), resulting in the following configuration with the various motives: *abb acc*.

Example No. 4 W. A. Mozart. *Allegro KV 3*



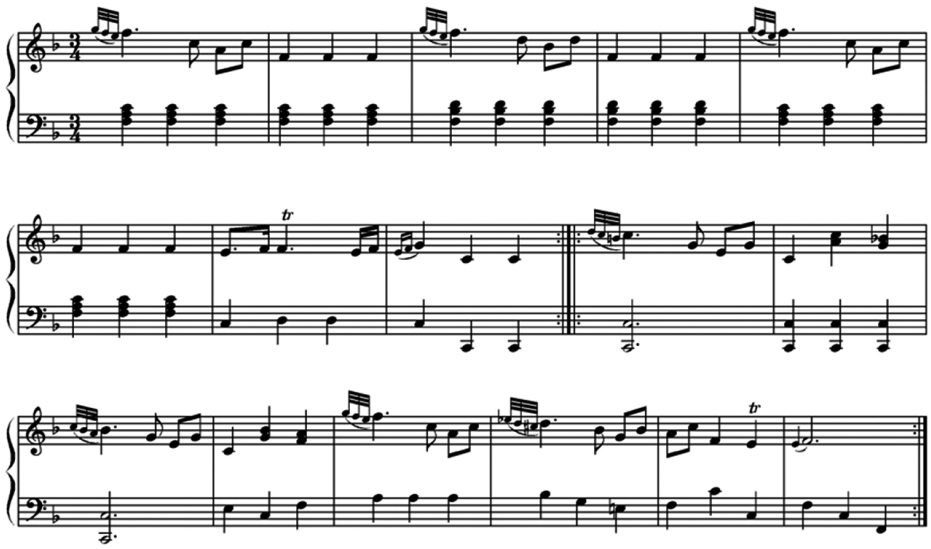
The recapitulation is resolved most ingenuously through reducing the repetition of the thematic motives, producing a chain of *abb cc* (without the middle repeat of the a). Altogether this piece has a freshness that is lacking in the analogous *Minuet* written by Mozart's father (No. 17 in the same Notebook, see Example No. 5)!

What Leopold achieved through observation of the rules is transformed by the five-year old Wolfgang into the object of a game. Later, in the first *Minuet* written in the boys' own hand (KV 1/1e, probably dating from 1764) Mozart showed even greater originality. He leaves untouched the quadrilateral structures of the dance, but imposes jaunty *hemiola* on the metric periodic structure which are at variance with the unhurried pace of the bass-line, thereby achieving an effect of daring (Example No. 6).

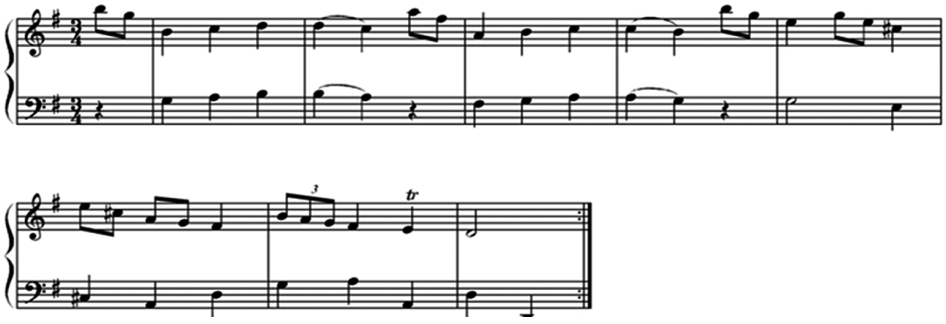
Such playful metric and rhythmic effects are not to be found in a single one of the two dozen minuets written by other composers, which Wolfgang could have known from his sister's Notebook.

In his first year as a composer, Mozart attained quite outstanding results, from his initial immature improvisatory pieces, (a kind of "groping in the dark"), to fully professional and independent pieces, built on his own experience and his father's instructions. Leopold's approval can be deducted from

Example No. 5 Nannerl's Notebook. *Minuet No. 17*



Example No. 6 W. A. Mozart. *Minuet KV 1/1e*



the use of the "didactic" *Minuet KV 6* (from the group of pieces composed on the same bass line) as a *Trio* in his own large-scale *Serenade* in *D major*. Such practical recognition was undoubtedly a source of pride for both father and son.[6]

The First Attempts at Mastering the Sonata Genre

The next stage (1763/64) in Mozart's development saw mastery of sonata form as it existed in the mid 18th century, used initially in the keyboard works (written for Wolfgang's own instrument), and then in arrangements for harpsichord accompanied by violin. And it was under such a designated title, no longer familiar to today's musicians, that the edition of these four sonatas appeared, published in Paris by Leopold at his own expense. The first collection (*Sonatas KV 6* and *7*) had a dedication to Princess Victorie, daughter of the French king, by "the seven-year old composer" (his father had hastened to add his age on the title page). Mozart himself transmitted the works to the Princess at Versailles. Upon Melchior Grimm's advice, the second collection (KV 8, 9) was dedicated to the Countess de Tessé, a Lady in Waiting to Princess Maria Josepha of Saxony, to whom the Mozart family had been presented. The four sonatas represent a kind of cross-roads, where the pupil is in many cases still evident — particularly in those movements that had been written earlier, back in early 1763 in the version for keyboard that Leopold had recorded in Nannerl's notebook. The greatest quantity of errors occur in the *Sonata Allegro KV 6*, where a somewhat monotone Alberti bass never stops for an instant, and where for some inexplicable reason the theme in the development is given in the tonic key.

Musicologists vie with each other in the attempt to find traces of outside influence in these works. In general the concept of piano sonatas "accompanied by violin" arose from Johann Schobert. He was the first to group such sonatas in Pairs and not in half-dozens, as was usually the case. [8, p. VIII] This was a convenient system for the young composer, who had yet to build up a reservoir of such works. Leopold had no time for "that scoundrel Schobert," [7, p. 126][7] but this did not prevent his son from falling under the influence of this outstanding master. Others, including Abert have remarked on the influence of Schobert in the active use of both hands in KV 7 and KV 9 ("Schobert's outbursts of passion"), and of Einstein and Edward Reeser (who noted that the theme of the finale in KV6 paraphrases the first movement's main theme from Schobert's *Sonata op. 1 No. 2*). [9, p. IX; 10, pp. 118–119; 11, pp. 123–124] Several musicologists also took note of other influences such as that of Wagensiel and Eckhardt. On the one hand, dependence on outside influence can be seen as an attribute of the pupil's learning capacity. Yet what undoubtedly has greater significance, — the very fact that musicologists talked for the first time of influences in relation to the early Paris Sonatas testifies to a new stage in Mozart's formation as a composer. If his first pieces were useful as a first step

[6] Plath was the first to draw attention to these filial/parental borrowings, and did not refrain from lyrical commentary: "One need not have great imagination to guess how much vice-kapellmeister Leopold might have exclaimed after public performance of his new Serenade: "What you just head and found so attractive was not written by me but my small son! Now he will play you the piece on the harpsichord in the form that it was originally conceived." [4, p. XIX] ("Indeed this was a completely plausible situation", authors' comment.)

[7] Letter of February 1, 1764.

in acquiring compositional skills and were set as didactic tasks, it is here that one may detect a first glimmer of the boy's latent individuality. And in talking of detectable *influences*, the implication is that most technical problems have been resolved, allowing Mozart to react to and absorb new artistic impressions.

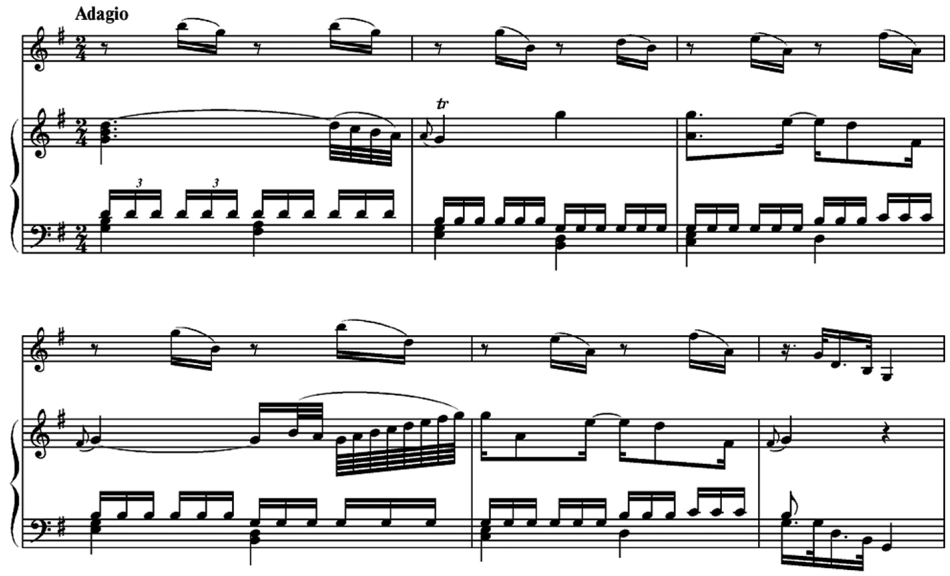
Indeed the issue is not limited to the matter of influence. In an unavoidable confrontation with the mannerisms of his elder contemporaries, Mozart's voice is neither weak nor timid, but distinctive and independent. As Abert has noted so astutely, he bears himself confidently in the company of the famous. [10, p. 119] This boy, who could ask Wagenseil without any embarrassment to come and turn pages for him at his *Klavierabend* in Vienna, now felt on equal terms as a composer with him and his elder colleagues.

Many of the features that characterize the mature Mozart already started to become visible in the Paris sonatas. The Allegro of the *Sonata KV 7* is the first example of a sonata with many themes, and of particular note are the two second subject themes, if only in their embryonic outline, while furthermore a new contrasting theme appears in the development. This almost excessive thematic variety, a feature noted by nearly all researchers of Mozart's instrumental music — is already distinctly evident in this work by the 8 year-old boy. It is precisely this generosity of thematic ideas that allowed Küster to conclude that it was in these sonatas that Mozart chose to follow a different path from his Father, who remained an adherent of monothematic sonata forms. [8, pp. 133–134] This in itself testifies to many things; on the one hand to the independent position of the young composer, who pursues his natural inclinations, and in the other to the wisdom of his Father as teacher: while instructing and correcting he did not stifle his son's aspirations, even in those cases where their ideas did not coincide. If in the sphere of everyday life Leopold insistently attempted to subordinate Wolfgang to his will, (even as an adult he was to feel much restricted by this vigilance), then in everything concerting creative matters he firmly believed in his genius. This is probably why there is not the slightest hint of a levelling out into an "average" student-like approach, even in the earliest of Wolfgang's works.

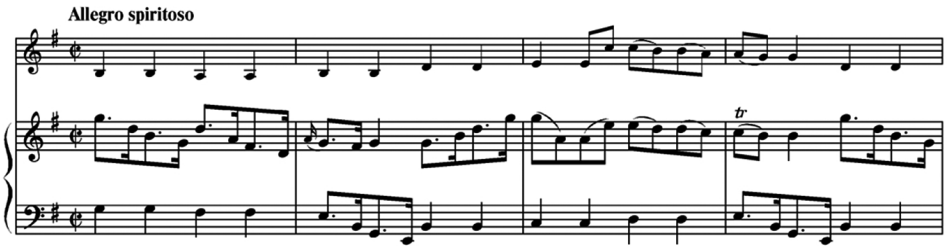
Another feature distinctly evident in the Paris sonatas is the lyrical tone so much to be associated with Mozart, where the music displays a spiritually elevated while remaining both touching and fragile. The *Adagio KV 7*, an Aria, is seemingly the first such example of such lyricism; the slow movements of the sonatas by Mozart's elder colleagues show nothing approaching it. Here we have a foretaste of Italy with its refined *cantilena* and supple melody, whimsical rhythm with syncopated sighing and twisting chromaticism — and all this *before* his trip to Italy (Example No. 7). The *Adagio* gives rise to the most wonderful retrograde effect: that which so fascinating and touching in Mozart's mature piano sonatas and concertos suddenly appears in the music of the eight-year old boy with stunning clarity. The thematic idea fascinated the young author to such an extent that he attempted to reproduce it in the first movement of the *Sonata KV 9* (Example No. 8).

This similarity, which has hitherto slipped the attention of musicologists, is exemplary to a degree, for such an intonational relationship between themes within the sonata cycle is a feature of mature instrumental thinking. In the Paris sonatas this principle asserts itself with spontaneity and some ingenuity — both movements in question are written in *G major*, although coming from different sonatas and even different collections. Nevertheless, the extraordinary speed of Mozart's growth in mastery remains a matter of wonder, all the more so when we consider his capacity to achieve such diverse imagery while employing the same type of musical language.

Example No. 7 W. A. Mozart. *Adagio KV 7*



Example No. 8 W. A. Mozart. *Sonata KV 9*



What served as an impetus for such a leap forward? Undoubtedly the most important stimulus was travel, providing the boy with an immense number of new musical impressions, as well as allowing him to associate with the most distinguished musicians. In this respect Mozart's visit to London represented the climax.

Among the many new acquaintances in the British capital we should highlight two in particular: the castrato singer Giovanni Manzuolli, who gave the boy lessons in singing, and of course Johann Christian Bach, who undoubtedly became for Wolfgang a great musical authority for many years. This is illustrated by the famous story of how they made music together, when the Master sat the boy on his knees and then the two of them played together a sonata and a fugue. Such an encounter with Bach must have left a deep impression, as did other of his new musical experiences in London. While there the Mozart family will surely have attended opera productions in the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, performances of Handel's oratorios, as well of concerts of instrumental music, and not least will have enjoyed friendly meetings with Johann Christian Bach and Carl Friedrich Abel.

Mozart's level of compositional technique can be judged by the so-called *London Sketchbook* (1764). Plath, who made a study of all the peculiarities of Mozart's hand writing considered that it signifies an important new stage: the boy started writing down his music independently, at his own initiative. [4, pp. XXII] In the musicological world,

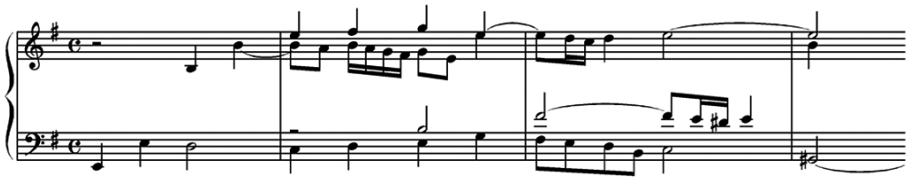
opinions on the *Sketchbook* remain for the most part impartial; Abert, for instance considers that it should dispel all the myths that Mozart was already a formed master when he came to London. His verdict is severe: "We should really transfer from the son to the father a large portion of the praise, rendered until now to the finished compositions of that period." [10, p. 97] Abert's main objections are directed to the carelessness of the voice-leading, especially in those pieces, which aspire to polyphony. Time and time again the dissatisfaction of the German musicologist is aroused by Mozart's inability to develop the musical material within the great mass of thematic elements in the sketches. Abert's evaluation of Wolfgang's poor handling of polyphony is perfectly justified. The mass of mistakes is at schoolboy or beginner's level — i.e. in the 7th piece KV 15g (Example No. 9).

This goes to show that Leopold did not edit these works, neither did he interfere in the process of their creation. In regard to those notorious "bits that follow on from each other," [Ibid.] such a negative valuation is a reflection of Abert's own ideas, for he could not reconcile himself to such a peculiarity in Mozart's way of thinking. For a musician such as Abert, brought up according to the traditional German 19th century ideas about form, these "un-German" qualities would have obscured the reputation of an exemplary master.

In reality the *London Sketchbook* should not be perceived as a collection of ready pieces. It is a kind of musical diary, where Wolfgang's imagination was in no way repressed, and he tries out with equal enthusiasm new techniques in harmony and in textures, acquiring thematic examples in various genres. There exists the opinion that the *London Sketchbook* contain creative impulses that Mozart would later realize in his mature works. [12] Researchers express the opinion that some of the pieces were intended for the harpsichord while in others one can detect features of orchestral writing (Nos. 28, 29, 35). Strictly speaking, the *London Sketchbook* cannot be considered as a collection of sketches, as for instance in the case of Beethoven. Mozart never returned to them, and they can be called sketches in so far that the majority of pieces are not in any way developed or brought to a conclusion. In such pieces, which reflect a firm mastery of his lessons of musical theory there are fewer errors or none at all, whereas in those where the young master had not acquired a confident mastery, errors were natural and unavoidable.

Nevertheless Wolfgang's independent work showed perceptible results, which were evident for instance in the piano sonata for four hands (KV 19d, dating from the spring of 1765) and in the two collections of chamber sonatas written in London (in 1764 — early 1765) and Hague (in the beginning of 1766). The four-hand sonata which Leopold in his enthusiasm had hastened to announce as the first of its kind [7, p. 130][8] (incorrectly

Example No. 9 *London Sketchbook, KV 15g*



[8] "In London Wolfgangerl wrote the first movement of a sonata for four hands. Such four hand sonatas never existed until now." However the original of the letter has not been preserved. In the copy there is no mention of the sonata, and this statement only exists in the variant offered by Nissen. See: [7].

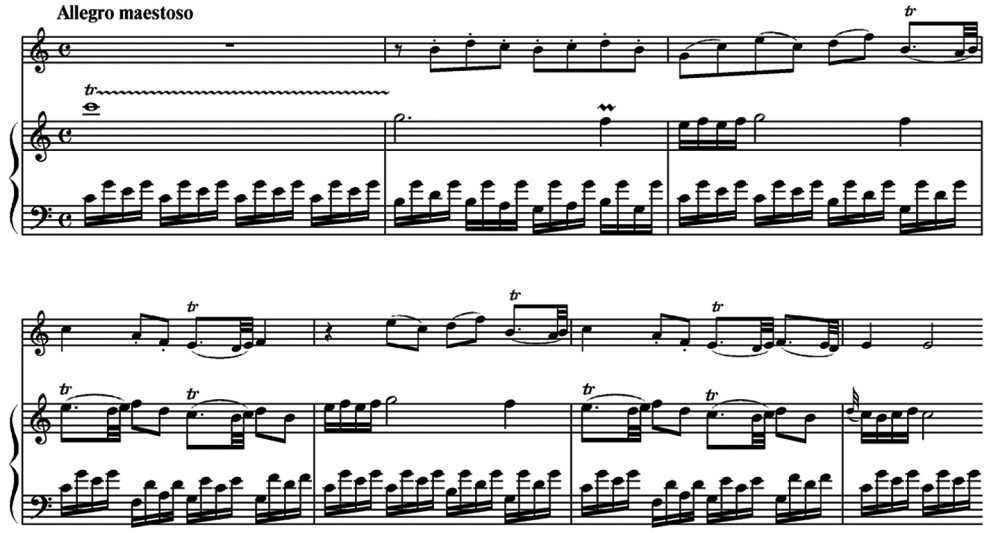
as it surmised) was written for Wolfgang and Nannerl's London performances. Furthermore it was so closely tied to this event that in the fabric of the writing one can detect traces of the particular instrument — the two manual harpsichord made by the noted harpsichord-maker Burkhard Tschudi, on which, most likely, the sonata was first performed on May 13th. [12, p. VII] In certain places the two pianists' parts overlap, and if played on a single keyboard their hands would literally collide, which is in itself an explanation for the necessity of the double keyboard instrument, and certainly was not a sign of the ineptitude of the young composer. Two cycles of chamber sonatas, the first for piano, violin (or flute) and cello (KV 10–15), and the second for piano and violin (KV 26–31), were published by Leopold, once again at his own expense. And indeed this time the sonatas were bound into collections of six.

In the year that passed since writing the Paris "series", Wolfgang attained a much greater freedom in composition in all the new works, and it is obvious that the sonata cycle has ceased causing him difficulty. The first thing that strikes one in the chamber works is that what was previously his chief defect has been overcome through giving increased independence to the violin (flute) part in relation to the piano part. Dialogue and interchange, as well as counterpoint in the two melodic lines are typical features of the new style. Concerto-like elements can be found in the four-hand sonata, even if they are used somewhat naively and childishly. Now the young virtuoso is allowing himself a display of his pianistic skills, although often the textures, especially in the first movement show the mark of a mechanical division of the piano part into two "half-parts". In fact neither in the four-hand sonata nor in the chamber works is there any hint of monotony in the rhythm or in the textures, something, which is still present in his first sonata experiments. But above all diversity is achieved through embedding the polyphonic elements within the homophonic writing. All this proves that the exercises in the London notebook were not carried out in vain.

Abert correctly identifies a change of orientation in Mozart's sonata technique. His example here is Johann Christian Bach, in particular his Six Piano sonatas op. 5. German models have been replaced by Italian, on which much of the London Bach's work was based. [10, pp. 120–122] It is usually accepted that the tuneful themes in Wolfgang's sonata and the appearance of Rondo finales are connected with Bach's influence. Nevertheless, as always with early Mozart, exceptions are evident in assigning to these influences any constant rule. It is in the Paris sonatas that he makes his first steps in mastering sonata form, and here his individual voice shines through, eradicating any obvious sign of imitation; now, with newly — acquired confidence and ease in the genre, it is evident that the young composer has achieved a considerably higher degree of independence. One would be hard put to find a theme in Christian Bach's music similar to the one which initiates the first sonata movement of KV 28 (Example No. 10) — we cannot pin-point any precise derivation for this vocal, italianate model, but the structure of its motives (*abb*) is clearly rooted in opera, as is the long opening harpsichord trill.

In regard to the overall composition and structure, these works by the young composer are hardly inferior to those of his elder colleague, neither in their scale and brilliance within the contrasts nor in thematic variety and invention. Rather these features are, if anything super-abundant, but this is probably the fault of too much imagination rather than any lack of schooling.

Example No. 10 W. A. Mozart. *Sonata KV 28*



Resume

The Grand European tour in reality put an end to Wolfgang's compositional apprenticeship in all that concerned the instrumental genres that were most in demand at the time. If we remember that in London and the Hague the young Mozart wrote his first symphonies, professional works in their own rights (KV 16, KV 19, KV 19a and KV 22), then it is clear that he had acquired a weighty compositional experience and had already drawn near the level of mature composers, and indeed on occasion could stand equal to them. [13] Already in childhood, Mozart's talent for self-education became evident, which, according to Adeline Mueller, allows us to consider him the embodiment of auto-didacticism. [14, p. 15] However, the impetus for the development of this talent was undoubtedly given by his father, [15] who managed not only to direct, but, most importantly, not to interfere with the manifestation of his originality.

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Nicola Sala's *Regole del contrappunto pratico* (1794): History, Theory, and Practice

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Abstract. The author of the article turns to the forgotten and little known treatise, *Regole del contrappunto pratico* (1794) by Neapolitan composer and teacher Nicola Sala (1713–1801) and examines it in the historical-cultural, theoretical and practical aspects. Emphasis is made of the important role played by the tutorial discipline of counterpoint, which presented the final stage of the course of composition instruction in Neapolitan conservatories. It is noted that Sala's treatise has become the sole published work of its kind reflecting the theory and practice of counterpoint in Naples during the second half of the 18th century. On the basis of the preserved memoirs of the archivist of the conservatory library, Giuseppe Sigismondo and British music historian Charles Burney, a critical evaluation of the prehistory and the stages of creation of the treatise is made, and the various vicissitudes that hampered its publication and dissemination are revealed. The tragic events in the history of Naples that took place in 1799 lead to virtually a complete destruction of the etchings and print copies of the *Regole*, which, in its turn, served as an impulse for its rejuvenation outside of Italy, in particular, in France. In lieu of this, the question is raised about the role of Sala and, to take it further, of the Neapolitan masters in the formation of the French professional musical education.

Keywords: counterpoint, Neapolitan conservatories, Nicola Sala, *Regole del contrappunto pratico*, Alexandre-Étienne Choron, instruction in composition in the 18th century

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Translated by Dr. Anton Rovner.

Introduction

In the 18th century Naples enjoyed by right the reputation of being not only the world capital of opera, but also of the leading center for cultivating musicians with the best professional performance. At a first glance, the explanation for this lies at the surface: as a result of a total inner reorganization in the 18th century, the four "conservatory" accommodations became the primary and, during the course of the entire century, the sole musical educational institutions endowed with a legal status in the world. [1; 2; 3] The other, much more profound reason was rooted in the process of education itself — a special system that was based on a unique program developed by the Neapolitan *maestri* and upheld by a lengthy pedagogical tradition. [4] Particularly the adherence to the precepts of the instructors and the methods, canons, techniques and principles present in their practices for a long time in combination with the observance of strict discipline and a strict competitive selection served as a true basis for the formation of the phenomenon of the Neapolitan school.

Receiving an education in Naples was something that musicians not only from various corners of Italy, but also those from all of Europe aspired to. The alumni of Neapolitan conservatories were distinguished for the highest level of their performance mastery, style and virtuosity, and in the field of improvisation, they had no equals. But the young men who mastered the art of composition under the tutelage of the Neapolitan masters were especially honored. Charles Burney (1726–1814) in his travel notes about the state of music in France and Italy of his time recorded that the Neapolitans fairly "enjoyed the reputation of being the first <…> composers in Europe."[1] This assertion is by no means groundless. The musical compositions by Johann Adolph Hasse, Niccolò Jommelli, Giovanni Paisiello, Tommaso Traetta, Niccolò Piccinni, Antonio Sacchini, Domenico Cimarosa and many others were performed throughout Europe and beyond it. So wherein lay the secret of the tutelage that made it possible to achieve such success?

The preparation of the future composers included, in addition to undergoing the course of *solfeggi*, mandatory for all the major fields of study, also the study of harmony, accompaniment and improvisational performance on the clavier, based on an assigned voice (most frequently, albeit, not always, the bass), — *partimento*, after which the student passed onto the classes of counterpoint and free composition and underwent the graduating examination. Undoubtedly, each of these disciplines merits attention on the part of contemporary research, on account of their incomparable effectivity and the uniqueness of the musical material preserved in large quantities in archives outside of Russia, as well as the specificity of the tutelage. In the first decades of the 21st century, an entire group of scholars from the whole world, including Russia, immersed themselves in mastering the practice of *partimento*[2],

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[1] Cit. ex: Burney Ch. *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*. 1st Ed. London: T. Becket and Co., 1771. P. 293.

[2] The practice of *partimento* has been the object of three monographs (Gjerdingen R. *Music in the Galant Style*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. 528 p.; Sanguinetti G. *The Art of Partimento: History, Theory, and Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. XIV, 385 p.; Tour P. van. *Counterpoint and Partimento. Methods of Teaching Composition in Late Eighteenth-Century Naples*. Ph.D. diss. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2015. 318 p.), a number of dissertations, including one in Russian (Mityukova Z. Z. *Partimento v ital'yanskoi muzyke XVIII veka: dis. … kand. iskusstvovedeniya* [*Partimento in 18th Century Music. Dissertation for the Degree of Cand.Sci. (Arts)*]. Kazan, 2018. 241 p.), dozens of articles, several specialized internet portals, etc.

while in the early 2020s, works devoted to the art of *solfeggi* saw the light of day, as well. [5] At the same time, the achievements of the Neapolitan masters in the field of counterpoint have remained up till now unstudied and represented by a sparse amount of scholarly articles, never having received complex research. Nonetheless, the polyphonic genres and forms have been present in one form, or another on all the stages of composition instruction, while the great Giuseppe Verdi, who took lessons from Vincenzo Lavigna (1776–1836) — the orchestra leader at the *La Scala* and an instructor at the Milan Conservatory, who graduated from the *Santa Maria di Loreto* in Naples, remembered that in his classes he "did nothing other than canons and fugues, fugues and canons of all types."[3]

Among all the conservatories in Naples, particularly *Santa Maria della Pietà dei Turchini* was especially proud of its traditions of teaching counterpoint. The lives of such outstanding composers and pedagogues as Giovanni Salvatore (1611–1688), Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704), Gennaro Ursino (1650–1715), Nicola Fago (1677–1745) and Lorenzo Fago (1704–1793), Leonardo Leo (1694–1744) and Giacomo Tritto (1733–1824) were connected with the instruction of this discipline. However, during the entire period of existence of the conservatory, the most respected and revered masters turned out to be one of Leo's last students — Nicola Sala (1713–1801), who went down in history as "one of the most learned contrapuntists of the Neapolitan school"[4] (Il. 1). He began his pedagogical activities, which still being a student of the advanced courses, as an assistant of the teacher — a *mastricello*, and retired at the venerable age of 86, at the position of *primo maestro* — the head of the conservatory.

Il. 1. Portrait of Nicola Sala (1713–1801).
Ciro Punzo (1850–1925). Napoli (Naples).
Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella

The culmination of Sala's longstanding work in the field of musical didactics became the publication of the treatise, *Regole del contrappunto pratico* (1794).[5] This monumental

[3] Cit. ex: Marvin R. M. Verdi Learns to Compose: The Writings of Bonifazio Asioli. *Studi musicali*. 2007. No. 36. P. 439.

[4] Burney Ch. Sala, Nicola. *The Cyclopædia, or Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*. Ed. by Abraham Rees, 39 Vols. plus 6 vols. plates. Vol. 31. London: Strahan, 1819. Without pagination.

[5] Sala N. *Regole del Contrappunto pratico di Nicola Sala napoletano, Primo Maestro nel Reale Conservatorio della Pietà de' Torchini Dedicate alla Maestà di Ferdinando IV Re delle Due Sicilie, 3 Vols*. Naples: Stamperia Reale, 1794. Vol. 1. 92 p.; Vol. 2. 143 p.; Vol. 3. 200 p.

three-volume work was enthusiastically accepted by the author's contemporaries and was broadly familiar in France, Germany and England. Its significance can hardly be overestimated in our time, as well: it is the only published work of its kind reflecting the theory and practice of counterpoint in Naples during the second half of the 18th century. Moreover, having been created in an inseparable connection with teaching, it is also a most important source on the path towards reconstruction and analysis of all the steps of the discipline concluding the course of instruction of composition in "the first musical seminary at Naples, the most celebrated school of counterpoint in Europe."[6] All of this impels us to turn once again to the long forgotten, largely unknown treatise and examine it in the historical-cultural, theoretical and practical aspects.

From the Intention to the Realization

The idea of creating a comprehensive, accurately organized and thoroughly constructed system of teaching counterpoint was conceived by Sala at the very beginning of his pedagogical activities in the 1740s. This is directly or indirectly indicated by articles in various biographical dictionaries from the 18th and 19th centuries, as well as memoirs of the archivist of the conservatory library Giuseppe Sigismondo (1739–1826), and, according to them, Sala encountered a great amount of approval and support for his initiative on the part of his first teacher, Nicola Fago, who died in 1745. With Fago's death, the work was put on hold, however, by July 1759, then the position of *secondo maestro* was taken up by Pasquale Cafaro (1715–1787), it had already been completed. Cafaro, who had also studied with Fago and Leo, had trust-based relations, so upon the end of his work, Sala turned to him, with the hope that he would provide aid with its publication. However, Cafaro, although he evaluated his colleague's work as "something useful for art," nonetheless, deemed publishing it to be unprofitable, due to the high costs and low demand: "O, my dear Don Nicola, who would wish to be bound to a work that is not on demand by anybody, except for composers, and for this reason would not bring any great profit in our days? <…> and, moreover, since this work is not for musical entertainment, but is merely theoretical, oh, how few people there are who would be inclined to buy it, since there are very few people who, indeed, aspire to delve into the luminous theories of this veritably divine art; so, dear Sala, think carefully, what you are planning to take a hand in, if instead of earning money from so many of your commendable works, you may lose, as they say, *operam et oleum*[7]." [6, p. 257]

The following stage of work on the treatise was eloquently compared by Sigismondo to the creative process of an artist: at times, Sala stopped his work, and at other times, resumed it, continuing to add the necessary corrections to it, finish writing the exercises and compose new musical examples. As a result, "as a true artist, who sets to work following his own intention and brings it to a state of perfection, <…> he, without wishing it, discovered a completed

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[6] Burney Ch. Op. cit.

[7] *"Oleum et operam perdidi"* — Latin: "I lost the oil and the work," in other words, "I worked in vain"; here — to waste time in vain. A quotation from a comedy by Roman comediographer Titus Maccius Plautus *Poenulus* (332), where these words are pronounced by a hetaera, who was compelled to adorn herself in vain. It is found as a metaphor in other works by Plautus and Cicero.

work in his hands." [Ibid., pp. 257–258] Sala's friends and students gave him all sorts of support in his search for the opportunities of publishing the treatise, but all the attempts undertaken by them turned out to be in vain.

After Cafaro's death in 1787, Sala acquired the position of *secondo maestro* and brought into his teaching first the materials of Leo's lessons, and then those of his predecessor, having left his own practices only for use in class. Then, a certain Bianchi[8] found out about them, a friend of Sigismondo, one of the conservatory's students, who brought him to Sala, so that he could see his works. Sigismondo, being in possession of an immense collection, constantly enriched by him during the course of many years, came "into real ecstasy" from Sala's work and promised to engage all of his connections for its publication. He introduced Sala to Marchese di Cesa — "a person distinguished by a great love and very multifaceted knowledge in the sphere of music, a composer equal to any scholar and a deeply versed master." [Ibid., p. 258] The latter carefully studied the maestro's treatise, adding from himself certain specifications required for greater clarity, and also deemed it very important to make this work accessible for other musicians. Marchese di Cesa secured the support of his longtime friend Giovanni Paisiello (1741–1816), who was the court chapel-master and enjoyed the benevolent treatment on the part of the king. Having convinced the latter that the profession of composers and musical masters would obtain a great advantage, if Sala's treatise would be published, he elucidated to him the need for His Majesty's assistance. Paisiello, in his turn, told the king about this in detail, and the latter, having considered the arguments to be reasonable and advisable, agreed, at once, to finance the publication of Sala's treatise and gave the corresponding instruction to the royal printing office.

There exists another version of the development of the events conducive to the publication of Sala's treatise. It belongs to the aforementioned Burney and is explicated in Volume 31 of *The Cyclopædia, or Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature* published by the Reverend Abraham Rees (1743–1825), for whom he had written and edited all the articles in one way or other connected with music. In Burney's version, the role of the intermediary who presented Sala's work to the king is relayed to Sir William Hamilton (1730–1803) — the British ambassador in Naples and patron of the fine arts, known for his passion for antiques. His outstanding diplomatic qualities, farsightedness and broad outlook served as a guarantee for his success in parley on the most diverse themes.[9] Thus, in the case of Sala, Hamilton not merely uttered his opinion about "how useful a work it would be in forming young composers," but also did not fail to remind of "that reputation which Naples has long so justly enjoyed for producing the greatest number of eminent composers which Italy could boast."[10] All of this exerted an influence on the king's decision in the most beneficent way.

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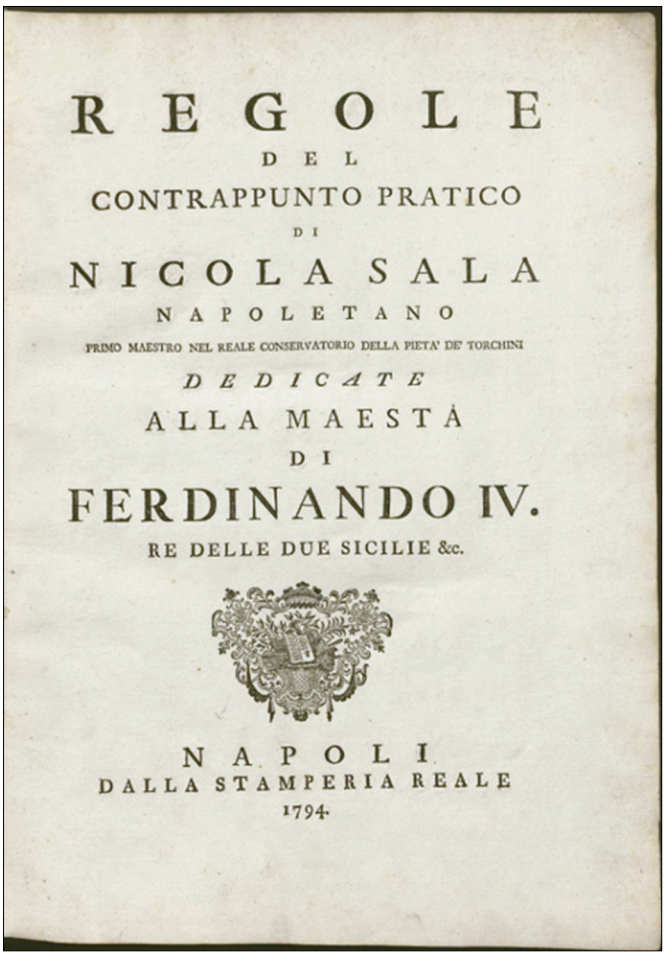
[8] Most likely, what is meant here is Italian composer Francesco Bianchi (1752–1810), who studied in Naples with Niccolò Jommelli from 1770 to 1772, after which he visited the city numerous times in connection with the production of his operas.

[9] One of William Hamilton's most significant political merits is considered to be the establishment of close connections between the United Kingdom and the Neapolitan state by means of a treaty signed with his assistance on July 12, 1793.

[10] Burney Ch. Op. cit.

In 1794, when Sala already turned 80, the long-cherished goal of his entire life was achieved — the treatise that summarized over a half-century experience of teaching counterpoint finally came out. It is noteworthy that the publication took place soon after Sala's appointment to the position of *primo maestro*, which found reflection in the title: "The Rules of Practical Counterpoint by Nicola Sala, the Neapolitan / Primo Maestro of the Royal Conservatory Della Pietà de' Torchini / Dedicated to His Majesty, Ferdinand IV / King of the Two Sicilies"[11] (*Regole del Contrappunto pratico* / di / Nicola Sala / napoletano / Primo Maestro nel Reale Conservatorio della Pietà de' Torchini / Dedicate / alla Maestà / di / Ferdinando IV / Re delle Due Sicilie &c. / Napoli / Dalla Stamperia Reale / 1794) (Il. 2). The publication was luxuriant: three volumes *in folio* were published "on the largest sheets of old Genovese paper in several hundreds of pages with large-scale and well-printed music, nobody has seen anything more magnificent than them." [6, p. 260] Burney, whose musical collection was also enriched by Sala's treatise due to the generosity of Lord and Lady Bruce, characterized it as the "most magnificent in size, and engraved on copper plates, in the largest, clearest, and most elegant character, of any musical publication which we have ever seen."[12]

The exposition of the theoretical and practical material in the treatise is preceded by a Dedication to the King and an Address to the readers, from which it is possible to highlight the following motives that impelled Sala to create this work, and also to mark a number of particular features reflecting the historical-cultural and didactic context. Thus, Sala mentions the uneasy moods


REGOLE
DEL
CONTRAPPUNTO PRATICO
DI
NICOLA SALA
NAPOLETANO
PRIMO MAESTRO NEL REALE CONSERVATORIO DELLA PIETA' DE' TORCHINI
DEDICATE
ALLA MAESTÀ
DI
FERDINANDO IV.
RE DELLE DUE SICILIE &c.
NAPOLI
DALLA STAMPERIA REALE
1794.

Il. 2. Title Page of the First Volume of Nicola Sala's *Treatise Regole del contrappunto pratico* (Naples, 1794)

[11] An article by Rosa Cafiero, docent of the Department of History, Archeology and History of the Arts of the Milan University *Cattolica del Sacro Cuore* is dedicated to Sala's treatise, see: [7]. The text of the article is also available in an earlier version: Cafiero R. Un viaggio musicale nella scuola napoletana: note sulla fortuna delle 'Regole del contrappunto pratico' di Nicola Sala (Napoli, 1794). *Il presente si fa storia. Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Luciano Caramel*. A cura di Cecilia De Carli e Francesco Tedeschi. Milano: Vita & Pensiero, 2009, pp. 733–756.

[12] Burney Ch. Op. cit.

connected with the decline of the art of music,[13] and sees as the most viable means along the path of rectifying this to be to turn to its foundational rule, the disdain of which "leaves minds with an unrestrained freedom that degrades into aberration."[14] Particularly these rules, studied by Sala during the course of many years, gathered and described by him in his treatise, form, according to the author's conception, the teaching of counterpoint recommended to all "young men" who study at Neapolitan conservatories. Sala addresses his work to a broad circle of musicians, from beginning composers to experienced masters, under whose tutelage even the "novices" could acquire the principles expounded in it. But because the general rules of counterpoint essentially had never changed, and by the time of the emergence of Sala's treatise, other "great people" had already dedicated numerous volumes to them, he aspires to disclose them anew, in such a way as to avoid the flaws possible in this connection — the repetition of the approach and the assumption that the path chosen by him is the best. "Such is my intention, such is my aim,"[15] the Maestro concludes.

Alas, the tragic events in the history of Naples in 1799 inflicted damage on Sala's creation. Having been captured by the French, the city plunged into chaos and was subjected to pillage. As the result, the etchings of the treatise, preserved in the Royal Printing Office, just as most of the printed copies, were lost, stolen, or destroyed, and the product of immense work, as was deemed, was gone forever.

Reception

The irretrievable lost suffered by the art of music was spoken of at that time by literally all the musicians experienced in this field. The notes about the "unfortunate incident," which "took away this priceless work from the broad public" are found virtually in every dictionary and encyclopedia containing even a brief reference about Sala, who "died disconsolate from the great loss."[16] The latter also claim that "this new code of musical composition was hailed by all of Europe." A confirmation of these rather loud words may be served by the entry in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (German for "Comprehensive German Newspaper"),

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[13] Overall, such judgments were characteristic for the introductions to treatises of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, which is marked, in particular, by Cafiero: "The regret about (the far and near) past and the sensation of approaching (regressive) changes lead to the setting-up of codices of rules, which form the expression of the golden past" (cit. ex: Cafiero R. La trattatistica musicale. *Storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli. Il Settecento*. A cura di Francesco Cotticelli e Paologiovanni Maione. Napoli: Turchini Edizioni, 2009. P. 597. (The text is also available in German translation: Cafiero R. Traktate über Musik. *Musik und Theater in Neapel im 18. Jahrhundert*. Hrsg. F. Cotticelli und Paologiovanni Maione. Kassel und Basel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 2010. P. 646).

[14] Sala N. Sacra Real Maestà. *Regole del Contrappunto pratico*. Vol. 1 (pp. n.n.).

[15] Sala N. A'Lettori l'Autore. *Regole del Contrappunto pratico*. Vol. 1 (pp. n.n.).

[16] Cit. ex: Choron A.-É. et Fayolle F. *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens, artistes et amateurs, morts ou vivans* <…>. 2 Vols. Vol. 2. Paris: Valade, 1811, pp. 259–260. See also: Bertini G. *Dizionario storico-critico degli scrittori di musica e de' più celebri artisti di tutte le nazioni sì antiche che moderne*. 4 Vols. Vol. 4. Palermo: Dalla Tipografia Reale di Guerra, 1815, pp. 14–15; [Grossi G. B. G.]. *Biografia degli uomini illustri del Regno di Napoli, ornata dei loro rispettivi ritratti. Volume che contiene gli elogj dei maestri di Cappella, cantori, e cantanti più celebri.* Compilato da diversi letterati nazionali. Napoli: Presso Nicola Gervasi, Calcografo, 1819 (pp. n.n.); Orloff G. *Essai sur l'histoire de la musique en Italie, depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours*. In 2 Vols. Vol. 1. Paris: P. Dufart et Chasseriau, 1822, pp. 291–292, etc.

published in Leipzig on May 29, 1805[17]: "Among the theoretical works, besides the aforementioned work by Fenaroli,[18] only the famous large-scale work by Nicola Sala was published, which, undoubtedly, is something important and very noteworthy in its way…"[19]

The word of the destruction of Sala's treatise, which had just come off the press reached as far as England. Burney, who had been happy enough to become the possessor of this work, having bypassed the tragic events of 1799, made his contribution, having made a detailed description of the structure, content and dispensation of the theoretical and practical material in *Regole*. Moreover, among the numerous manuscript volumes of *Dr. Burney's Musical Extracts*, preserved in the British Library in London, an entire three of them contain a complete transcription of Sala's treatise.[20]

The other attempt to return the forfeited doctrine of counterpoint was undertaken in France. Here, the famous publicist, musical pedagogue and scholar, Alexandre-Étienne Choron (1771–1834), who was also in possession of Sala's work and was of a very high opinion of it, considered in light of the evolved circumstances that he "could not do anything more useful and honorable than turn all of his efforts on the resurrection of this great monument."[21] He recounted about his intentions in the introduction to the monumental three-volume publication *Principes de composition des écoles d'Italie*, published in Paris in 1809: "In light of certain particular circumstances, we were compelled to regret about the loss and wish for a new publication of one of them, the most significant, the most venerated of all of them, and, consequently, the most appropriate for the basis of work of this kind: I have in mind Sala's masterpiece, titled *Regole del Contrapunto pratico etc*. None of his comments escaped my attention, and, carefully assessing them, I decided to embark on this new edition, adding to it, everything that, according to my plan, would be conducive to the formation of a complete composition course"[22] (Il. 3).

Taking as a basis for his project the examples from Sala's *Regole*, Choron added to them the exercises and compositions by Leo, Francesco Durante, Fedele Fenaroli, Cristofaro Caresana, Costanzo Porta, Giovanni Pierluigi Palestrina and other outstanding Italian masters and organized them according to

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[17] Gegenwärtiger Zustand der Musik in Neapel. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. Vol. 7. Jahrgang vom 3/10/1804 bis 25/09/1805. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1805, pp. 557–570. The article is dated March 1 of the selfsame year.

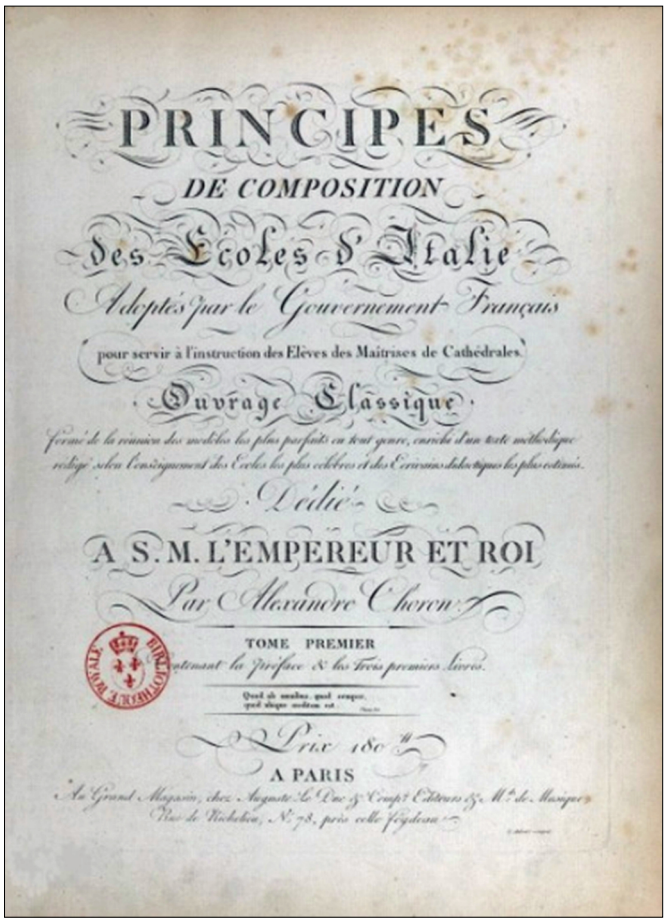
[18] Ibid. P. 565: the correspondent refers to "Anweisung zum Generalbass," in other words, to "Regole musicali per i principianti di cembalo" (Naples, 1775 [prima edizione] / 1795 [terza edizione]).

[19] Ibid. P. 569.

[20] GB-Lbl Add. MSs 11589, 11590 and 11591. See: Oliphant T. *Catalogue of the Manuscript Music in the British Museum*. London: order of the Trustees, 1842, pp. 91–92; Hughes-Hughes A. *Catalogue of manuscript music in the British Museum*. 3 Vols. Vol. 3. London: order of the Trustees, 1909 (reprint in 1965). P. 327. Prior to 1839, Burney's volumes belonged to the British musical activist William Chappell (1809–1888), the son of pianist Samuel Chappell — the founder of one of the most successful British musical publishing houses of the early 19th century, Chappell & Co.

[21] Cit. ex: Choron A.-É. et Fayolle F. *Dictionnaire historique des musiciens*. Vol. 2. P. 259.

[22] Choron A.-É. Préface. *Principes de composition des Écoles d'Italie pour servir à l'instruction des Elèves des Maîtrises de Cathédrales*. 3 Vols. Vol. 1. Paris: Auguste Le Duc, 1809, pp. 17–18.


PRINCIPES
DE COMPOSITION
Des Ecoles D'Italie
Adoptés par le Gouvernement Français
pour servir à l'instruction des Elèves des Maîtrises de Cathédrales.
Ouvrage Classique
Dédié
A S. M. L'EMPEREUR ET ROI
Par Alexandre Choron
TOME PREMIER
A PARIS

Il. 3. Title Page of the First Volume of Alexandre-Etienne Choron's *Principes de composition des ecoles d'Italie* (Paris, 1808)

a concisely elaborated plan.[23] Besides bringing in the examples from Sala's treatise on counterpoint, he also included in his anthology a large number of his previously unpublished *partimenti*, preferring them, for the same reason, to the classical examples by Durante.[24]

Moreover, shortly before the publication of *Principes de composition* in the Parisian publishing house *Auguste Le Duc*, Choron brought about a pilot edition of Sala's *Regole* (which Rosa Cafiero compared with "carrying out a dress rehearsal" [7, p. 60]), having published it in French translation as *Règles du contrepoint pratique*[25] at his personal address (see: [8; 9]). This volume was also supplied by him with his authorial commentaries, dated December 15, 1808 (six years following the introduction to *Principes*), and sold as the price of seventy-two francs.

Choron's noble action was perceived ambivalently by his contemporaries. For example, Grégoire Orloff expressed his sincerely regret that Sala did not live up to the moment when "his work, due to the Frenchman skillful in his craft, to whom, as it seemed, he bequeathed all of his patience, valor and talent,"[26] returned to life, once again. On the other hand, Sigismondo perceived in it merely a selfish intention for the sake of profit: "How good it is that you [Sala] saw at least before your death the grandiose culmination

[23] The material of the three volumes of Sala's *Regole* was rearranged in Choron's *Principes de composition* in the following manner: "Sala's models for the second book. Simple contrapuntal examples. Final cadences. Contrapuntal lines for an assigned theme"; "Sala's models for the third book. Double contrapuntal examples"; "Sala's models for the fourth book. Imitations and fugues"; "Sala's models for the fifth book. Canons."

[24] Choron A.-É. Préface. *Principes de composition des Écoles d'Italie*… Vol. 1. P. 23.

[25] Sala N. *Règles du contrepoint pratique, contenant une série de modèles sur toutes les parties de l'art du contrepoint; Par Nicolas Sala, Maître de Chapelle, Napolitain. Nouvelle édition, Mise en ordre et augmwentée de la Collection Complète des Partimenti ou Leçons de Basse chiffrée du même Auteur, Par M. A. Choron*. Paris: Chez l'Editeur, rue du Regard, Faubourg St.-Germain, No. 6, [1808]. In this regard, see also the curious comment of Cafiero: Cafiero R. Il mito delle "écoles d'Italie" fra Napoli e Parigi nel decennio francese: il collegio di musica e il conservatoire. *Musica e spettacolo a Napoli durante il decennio francese (1806–1815).* Atti del colloquio internazionale, Napoli, 4–6 ottobre 2012, a cura di Paologiovanni Maione. Napoli: Turchini Edizioni, 2016, pp. 326–328.

[26] Orloff G. *Essai sur l'histoire de la musique en Italie*… Vol. 1. P. 292.

of your endeavors; and did not suffer the bitterness of discouragement, having found out that at one instance your work had been taken advantage by a carpetbagger in order to obtain profit and fame. <…> Poor Sala: you were the only one among the masters of Naples, the remote part of Italy, who worked in order to leave behind him his immortal name, and you have been allotted, after your death, to remain in your grave dressed in a French manner!" [6, p. 261]

It must be acknowledged that upon the publication of his *Principes de composition*, Choron, indeed, pursued a double aim.[27] On the one hand, he created a complete course of instruction of composition for students of the recently opened Paris Conservatory, following a plan especially elaborated by him for this end, and, indeed, intended to illustrate it by compositions of Italian masters. And in this situation, Sala's treatise, which was considered virtually lost, and which contained an immense quantity of musical examples, turned out to be extremely useful. As a result, these two seeming self-sufficient intentions were fortunately combined together. Thereby, under the guise of the republication of Sala's work, Choron, in reality, fulfilled his own project, having appropriated from the Neapolitan master the musical examples appropriate for this, as a result of which the structure of the treatise, which at the present time causes disagreements among music scholars, changed in Choron's publication and cannot be revived in its original form.

The Structure of the Treatise

The particular feature of the original print edition of Sala's treatise consists in the fact that the three volumes of the *Regole* had not been published together, when they appeared at the printers. Since the etchings preserved at the royal printing office and could have elucidated the order of their succession disappeared without a trace during the events of 1799 and were considered for a long time to be lost, having been located only in the second half of the 19th century (and, even so, only in part: 169 out of 343[28]), in European libraries that were in possession of this oeuvre the volumes were apportioned differently. The confusion that arose as a result of this led to the occurrence that among the researchers studying Sala's treatise, there arose two "traditions" of numeration of the volumes comprising.

Regarding the first volume of *Regole*, the music scholars are unanimous, since on its last page the publisher left the inscription "Fine del Primo Libro". As for Volumes II and III, both of them contain the identical phrases of "Laus Deo" (Latin for "Praise be to God", or "Glory be to God") at their ends and, for this reason, are frequently changed in their order. A group of Italian researchers (among them Rosa Cafiero, Gaetano Stella [10] and Paolo Sullo [11]) consider the second volume to be that which begins with the series of *disposizioni a due tutte in canoni* and consists of 143 pages. Pieter van den Toorn and Felix Diergarten[29]

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[27] This was written about by Silvanus Urban in one of his London journals. See: Urban S. *The gentleman's magazine*. Vol. 3. London: William Pickering, John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1835. P. 216.

[28] See: Florimo F. *La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii*. 4 Vols. Vol. 2. Naples: tip. di Vinc. Morano, 1882. P. 67; Ibid. Vol. 3. P. 42.

[29] Diergarten F. Die italienischen und französischen Kontrapunktlehren des 18 und 19. Jahrhunderts. *Musiktheorie in Frankreich und Italien im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert (= Geschichte der Musiktheorie, hrsg. im Auftrag des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung*). Eds. Inga Mai Groote and Stefan Keym. Vol. 12. Forthcoming.

consider the other volume as such, which also begins with the teaching of the two-voice *il modo di fare l'imitazioni*, but consisting of 200 pages, thereby, adhering to the order established in Choron's French edition. Burney goes as far as to refer only to two volumes in his description, as precisely does Francesco Florimo, who asserts as the complete edition of Sala's oeuvre the Neapolitan edition in two large folios.[30]

Aspiring to reach a state of clarity in the present question, we shall examine the copies of Sala's treatise preserved in the library of the *Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella* in Naples. At the present time, the library is in possession of four sets of Sala's printed oeuvre. One of them was donated by King Ferdinand IV and contains on its title page the inscription: "ex dono S. R. M. Ferdinande IV Borbonij." It is noteworthy that this edition presents two volumes in one binding (92 and 143 pages, respectively, I-Nc S.C. 15.2.7) and one volume in a separate binding (200 pages, I-Nc S.C. 15.2.8). The last one, in its turn, arrived a little later — after the directors of the Conservatory of *Santa Maria della Pietà dei Turchini* in the letter from June 25, 1803 turned to the Royal Printing Office with the request to pass on to them the missing volume of *Regole* for the keeping in the music library (see: [7, p. 57; 12, p. 24]). Thereby, in all likelihood, it is this copy that Florimo refers particularly to. An analogous set in two folios without any gift inscription, bearing the erroneous lettering of "SALA / PARTIMENTO" at the spine corresponds to I-Nc S.C. 15.6.1 and 15.6.2. The other two sets are distinguished by the fact that the three volumes in them exist separately — each one of them bound separately.[31] Particularly this variant of the edition became the reason for the aforementioned confusion.

The author of the article, when characterizing the theoretical and practical material in Sala's treatise, adheres to the numeration customary in the Neapolitan conservatory and accepted among the Italian scholars. The justifiability of this choice is also validated by the correlation of the printed edition with the autograph manuscript of *Regole* preserved in the library of the Giuseppe Verdi Conservatory in Milan[32] (Il. 4). This 104-page manuscript presents a music notebook in album format, which, although does not reflect the division into books, nonetheless, contains the full content of what in the printed version comprised Volumes I and II of the treatise. The use of the rather rare double or laminating system of pagination also ought to be relayed to the peculiarities of the printed edition. In the edition, the pages with the textual fragments of the work are assigned with a number doubling the continuous numeration of each volume.

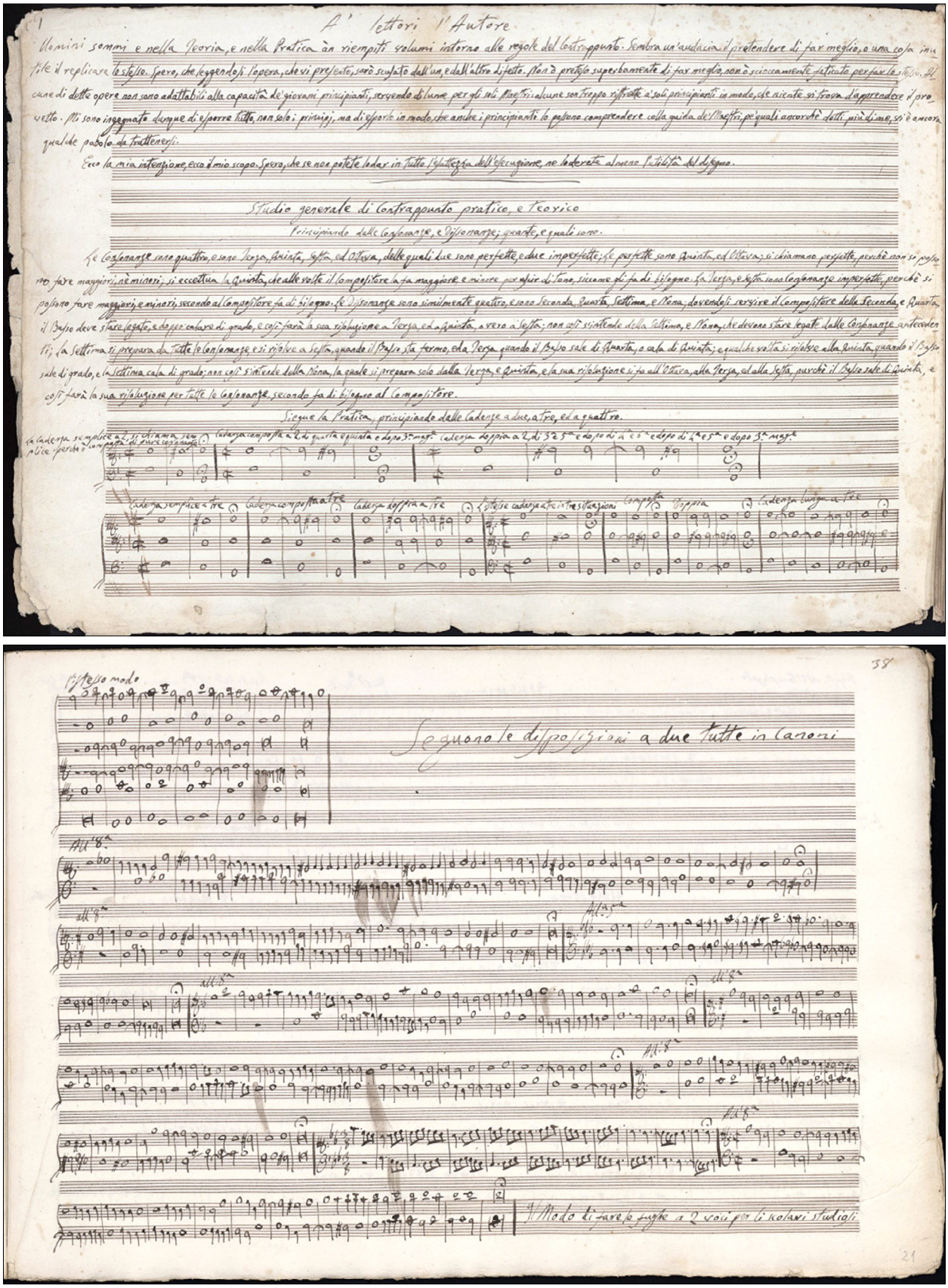
Theory and/or Practice?

In all likelihood, the chief particularity of Sala's *Regole* consists in the means of presentation of the material and, consequently,

[30] Florimo F. *La scuola musicale di Napoli*. Vol. 2. P. 43.

[31] One of them in the binding with the spine from a light-brown saffian leather corresponds to I-Nc S.C. 15.2.4 and 15.2.6 (the second volume, numbered as S.C. 15.2.5, is in manuscript form); the other one, with a leather spine ofthe color of ivory is preserved under the numbers of I-Nc S.C. 15.2.1, 15.2.2 and 15.2.3. See: Gasperini G., Gallo F. *Catalogo delle opere musicali del Conservatorio di musica San Pietro a Majella di Napoli*. Parma: Fresching, 1934. P. 29.

[32] Sala N. *Regole del contrappunto pratico* [*Trattato di contrappunto e fuga*]. Autograph, [1787–1793]. I-Mc Ms. TM. 40. 104 p. URL: https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12459/1943 (accessed: 20.11.2024).



Il. 4. Introduction to the First Volume of *Regole* and the Beginning of the Teaching of the Two-Voiced *Disposizioni* and Fugues in the Autograph Score of Sala's Treatise (I-MC, Ms.TM.40)

the transmission of the accumulated knowledge, which contemporary scholars define as *iter per exempla*, which in translation from Italian literally means "following the example," or "travelling along the specimens."[33] It features bringing the theoretical examples to a minimum, limiting oneself only to the most indispensable ones, and an abundance of vivid examples, from which a competent student with the help of an instructor (or without one) must extract all the other knowledge by way of trial.[34] It must be observed that for 18th century Italy such a didactic approach presented not merely an effective means of "bringing up" young composers, but, broadly speaking, a means through which all the young artists could comprehend the secrets of their art (see: [13]). Thus, out of the more than four hundred pages of Sala's treatise, the verbal exposition of the theoretical material in it takes up five pages, in its purest form. This peculiarity of Sala's work was noted, in particular, by Burney ("This excellent author teaches more by example than precept"[35]), Choron ("...the rules are expounded too briefly, in the form of preambles"[36]) and the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* ("It is presumed that it presents in itself a complete theory, and in the three volumes of the large folio <…> contains only very short rules and principles, but many excellent examples"[37]). It must be added that all the musical examples cited in Sala's treatise are his own compositions.

In Volume I of the treatise, the theory of intervals is expounded, which is followed by examples of the types of cadences in two-, three-, and four-voice counterpoint; then, following a short introduction, exercises are offered in the rhythms of the respective species with a *C major* scale playing the role of a *cantus firmus*, which is presented in all the voices in textures ranging from two to five parts, with the application of vertical rearrangement (*rivolto*); next, in a very expanded form, the theory of double counterpoint of the octave, tenth and twelfth is enunciated, which is followed by exercises in double counterpoint on an assigned *cantus firmus* in the six church modes (*modi*), which, likewise, pass through Johann Joseph Fux's five species in two-, three-, four-, five- and six-voice counterpoint.[38] The main part of Volume II is allotted to collections of imitations (*disposizioni*) and fugues from two to eight voices in seven tones,[39]

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[33] This term is used, in particular by Gaetano Stella and Felix Diergarten.

[34] Most likely, particularly for this reason, Florimo considered *Regole* to be inappropriate for the "novices": "the work… that is useful for observance and for study by the teachers and by those who are well acquainted with the art, but never serving as a guidebook or an example for the young people who are only beginning the study of counterpoint" (cit. ex: Florimo F. *La scuola musicale di Napoli*. Vol. 2. P. 34), which, incidentally, contradicts Sala's intention.

[35] Burney Ch. Op. cit.

[36] Sala N. *Règles du contrepoint pratique. Avis de l'éditeur*. Cit. ex: [7, p. 61].

[37] *Gegenwärtiger Zustand der Musik in Neapel*. P. 569.

[38] The dissemination of Johann Joseph Fux's oeuvre *Gradus ad Parnassum* (Vienna, 1725) in Naples is written about, in particular, by Cafiero. See: [14, pp. 200–202]. See also: Tour P. van. *Counterpoint and Partimento*, pp. 193–200. The interpretation of Fux' teaching in the Russian polyphonic school is the object of an article by associate professor of the Russian Music Department at the St. Petersburg Conservatory, Kirill Vladimirovich Diskin. [15]

[39] The question of the change from the system of church modes to the classical major-minor tonal system is examined in a special research work by adjunct professor of music history of the University of Souuth Carolina, Michael Dodds. See: [16].

and in its conclusion contains several antiphons and a section devoted to the study of various types of canons. Volume III also includes yet another collection of various imitations and fugues from two to eight voices in six modes, antiphons, concert compositions on a *cantus firmus* (among them, the motet *Protexisti me*, *Deus*, which Sala composed for participation in a competition for the position of the director of the Royal Cappella of Naples on April 21, 1745) and more complex types of canon.

Conclusion

Summarizing all the aforementioned, it is possible to come up with the conclusion that Sala's treatise *Regole del contrappunto pratico* (1794) is not merely an oeuvre with a rich history, reflecting the theory and practice of counterpoint in Naples during the second half of the 18th century; it presents a unique specimen of the didactic tradition formed in the south of Italy and demonstrating an astounding effectiveness. Under Sala's tutelage, Gaspare Spontini, Valentino Fioravanti, Giacomo Tritto, Adalbert Gyrowetz, Ercole Paganini, Giuseppe Farinelli, Stefano Pavesi, Ferdinando Orlandi, Luigi Caruso, Louis Julien Castels de Labarre and many other musicians who subsequently became famous composers and pedagogues[40] received their training in this system. Moreover, Sala's treatise, which was included in Choron's ambitious project, has virtually laid down the foundations for compositional education in France. At the same time, Choron's oeuvre, in its turn, is still in need of thorough study, which shall also assist in determining the true role of the Neapolitan masters in the formation of French musical education.

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Revisiting Musical Semiotics: Returning to Greek Stoic Definitions*

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Abstract. Musical semiotics has been on the frontlines of interdisciplinary movement in musicology and music theory. Enough is to mention the names of Eero Tarasti, Robert Hatten, Gino Stephani, Michael Spitzer and Boris Asafiev. It is difficult to add much to this rich tradition. However, revisiting the ancient roots of this discipline in the teaching of Zeno of Chitteum and his students, Cleanthes and Chrysippos (found in Veterum stoicorum fragmenta), may shed light on some aspects of semiotics that were once abandoned and now can be restored. From this corpus of texts, we learn about the seme (the sign and grain), semainon (the signifier), semainomenon (the signified) and semeiotike (the study of signs). It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this discovery for philosophy, religion, arts and sciences. Zeno discussed being in terms of semiotics. In his view, it is not the object that is being signified; rather the sign, as an active cause, generates and constitutes the object. Thus, the dilemma of classical ontology looms in the background of the problem of the musical sign.

Keywords: musical semiotics, Greek Stoics, genre, chaconne, sign

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Introduction

Musical semiotics has been on the frontlines of interdisciplinary movement in musicology and music theory. Enough is to mention the names of Eero Tarasti, [1; 2] Robert Hatten, [3] Gino Stephani, [4; 5] Michae Spitzer [6] and Boris Asafiev. [7] It is difficult to add much to this rich tradition. However, revisiting the ancient roots of this discipline in the teaching of Zeno of Chitteum and his students, Cleanthes and Chrysippos (found in *Veterum stoicorum fragmenta*, [8])[1] may shed light on some aspects of semiotics that were once abandoned and now can be restored. From this corpus of texts, we learn about the *seme* (the sign and grain), *semainon* (the signifier), *semainomenon* (the signified) and *semeiotike* (the study of signs). It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this discovery for philosophy, religion, the arts and sciences. Zeno discussed being in terms of semiotics. In his view, it is not the object that is being signified; rather the sign, as an active cause, generates and constitutes the object. Thus, the dilemma of classical ontology looms in the background of the problem of the musical sign. The global turn in semiotics — that which cased the discrepancy between its original idea and our modern interpretations — was made, inadvertently, in the teaching of Charles Sanders Peirce. [9] His views were rooted in classical ninteenth-century positivism and as such did not connect with the original postulate formed in the 3rd century B.C.E. In particular, Peirce has built his model of semiotics on several examples, the signification of a *molehill* being one of them. As sources suggest:

> "Consequently, primary to the molehill's ability to signify the mole is the brute physical connection between it and a mole. This is the sign-vehicle of the sign. For Peirce, then, it is only some element of a sign that enables it to signify its object, and when speaking of the signifying element of the sign, or rather, the sign-vehicle, it is this qualified sign that he means.

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[1] The fragments from the Stoics mentioned in this article and quoted from Hans von Arnim are the following:

…sive, ut Zenon Citieus, animalium semen ignis is, qui amima, ac mens […whether the seed of animals is fire, which is soul and mind]. [8, Vol. 1, p. 35]

…τὸ δὲ σπέρμα φησὶν ὁ Ζήνων εἶναι, ὃ μεθίησιν ἄνθρωπος, πνεῦμα μεθ᾽ ὑγροῦ, ψυχῆς μέρος καὶ ἀπόσπασμα καὶ τοῦ σπέρματος τοῦ τῶν προγόνων κέρασμα καὶ μῖγμα τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν συνεληλυθός᾽ ἔχον γὰρ τοὺς λόγους τῷ ὅλῳ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῦτο, ὅταν ἀφεθῇ εἷς τὴν μήτραν, συλληφθὲν ὑπ᾽ ἄλλου πνεύματος, μέρους ψυχῆς τῆς τοῦ θήλεος, καὶ συμφυὲς γενόμενον χρυφθέν τε φύει, κινούμενον καὶ ἀναρριπιζόμενον ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου, προσλαμβάνον ἀεὶ [εἰς] τὸ ὑγρὸν καὶ αὐξόμενον ἐξ αὐτοῦ [But the sperm, Zeno said, is what a man intoxicates, a spirit with liquid, a part and fragment of the soul, and of the sperm of the ancestors, a treat and a mixture of the parts of the soul. The womb, conceived by another spirit, a part of the soul of the female, and being born simultaneously, hidden and born, moving and crawling under it, taking in the fluid and growing from it]. [Ibid., p. 36]

…ἔστι δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος κατὰ Ζήνωνα ἡ ἄλογος καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ψυχῆς κίνησις, ἢ ὁρμὴ πλεονάξουσα [But this passion according to Zeno; is the illogical, by the nature of the soul movements, or a superior impulse]. [Ibid., p. 50]

…εἰ μὴ τὸ παρὰ Κλεάνθει λέγειν τάχα θελήσουσιν, ὅς φησιν ἀμείνονά τε εἶναι τὰ ποιητικὰ καὶ μουσικὰ παραδείγματα καί, τοῦ λόγου τοῦ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἱκανῶς μὲν ἐξαγγέλ᾽ λειν δυναμένου τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα, μὴ ἔχοντος δὲ ψειλοῦ τῶν θείων μεγεθῶν λέξεις οἰκείας, τὰ μέτρα καὶ τὰ μέλη καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς ὡς μάλιστα προσικνεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς τῶν θείων θεωρίας […If they do not wish to say what Cleanthes says, let them say that it is one of the poetic and musical examples, and that, in the discourse of philosophy, I can ably declare the divine and human things, and not having the words of the divine magnitudes, the familiar words, the measures and the members and the rhythms, as indeed one approaches the truth of the divine theory…]. [Ibid., p. 109]

…μηδὲν εἶναι δυνατὸν ὃ οὔτ᾽ ἔστιν ἀληθὲς οὔτ᾽ ἔσται […what is possible, which is neither true nor is propositional logic]. [Ibid.]

> For Peirce, the relationship between the object of a sign and the sign that represents it is one of determination: the object determines the sign.
>
> Peirce believes the sign/interpretant relation to be one of determination: the sign determines an interpretant." [10]

So, the Peircean idea of semiotics has become basic for many others in the 20th century, including the Parisian school, Greimas, and his follower Eero Tarasti. The latter has tried to escape from such a trivial materialist and logocentric model in his *Existential Semiotics*. [11]

Indeed, despite the claim that Peirce developed "the philosophy of semiotics" — and that fits rather well into the Anglo-American idea of what philosophy is, for sure — Peirce provided a very crude concept. It relied heavily on the existence of the objective world — the worlds of physical objects, tangible and available for the natural sciences. Such a trivialization of the idea of science and, even more so, of the world in which we live, has been completely revised in continental philosophy of the 20th century. In particular, the Copernican Turn in philosophy, introduced by Edmund Husserl and his successors, rendered the Peircean view obsolete.

In particular, one has to consider the fact that the sign is the idea that is born within the human psyche, functions within it, and connects it to other psyches and other things. The psyche — the subject — cannot be eliminated from the equation.

Secondly, semiotics is inscribed into a certain model of ontology. It has to be discussed— and not shoved aside, as it is commonly happening in Anglo-American humanities; it is said that these issues are sacrificed for objective truth and true logic.

Thirdly, semiotics connects the outer worlds — let us call it for the convenience of the argument, nature, or φύσις — with the human condition, and none of these two components can claim superiority.

All this becomes even more topical when semiotics is applied to the arts, to music in particular. Peirce demonstrated his theory on examples of road signs and other objects from trivial everyday reality. The ambitions of contemporary musical semiotics stretch as far as the understanding of musical meaning.

In this respect, ancient semiotics may be defined as that which had been developing in ancient Greece and has reached the peak of evolution during the Stoic period, the third century B.C.E.

Semiotics in Ancient Teachings

Semeiotike — the Greek knowledge of the medium of thought — is an achievement that is difficult to overestimate. More precisely, in the centuries after the Classical period — that of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and Pericles — a new trend was introduced into philosophy. This time, it did not focus on conquering nature; in contrast with that, it concentrated on the thought itself. Thanks to Plato, thought has become an object of study. Zeno of Chitteum, Cleanthes and Chrysippos went in that direction and discovered the new area — that of the sign as such. They diverged from the path proposed by Aristotle (that which has come to comprise the natural sciences in the next two millennia). The Stoics opened the discussion of signs as such and of logic as such. Notable is the difference between Aristotelian formal logic and the propositional logic of the Stoics. The latter does not depend on the objective content. The Stoics — as Émil Bréhier maintained in his book *La Théorie des incorporels dans l'ancien stoïcisme* [12] — could prove that night is day, if the language can provide such an opportunity. In general, the shift from "what is" to "how it is expressed" has played the formative role for the Western civilization to follow, including the newly established Christianity. In the Old Testament, the story begins with the description of nature

(in the beginning God created…) and the line of inheritance of humans (he begat him…). In the New Testament, all this entourage becomes of secondary importance to the idea that in the beginning there was the Word, the word as such, the word, not submitted to any content, the word that preceeds everything that was created. This is the Stoic idea. The act of creation is likened to the act of conceiving a human being — the *seme*, semen, sperm is involved in the activation of the otherwise neutral and faceless matter. "*Aitian ton holon he duo; poioun kai to paskhon*" ["The causes of the whole are two: active and passive"]. [8] The active cause of everything (of the whole) is the Word of God that acts as semen. It impregnates the *hule* (*silva*, the wilderness, matter). Hence the idea of Logos spermatikos. For the Stoics, there was no categorical distinction between that which is studied by physics and that which is studied by psychology. The teaching of Zeno was syncretic. The Greek people considered him to be the greatest philosopher; he had a school in the center of Athens, and the grateful Greeks erected a monument in his honor during his lifetime.

The semiotics of the Stoics established three categories: *seme* (the sign), *semainon* (the signifier) and *semainomenon* (the signified). There are rubrics in the book by Cleanthes with these titles. [8] Music is mentioned in this context as well.

Another important component of Stoic semiotics — and it makes it different from the current logocentric model — is the idea of *phantasia kataleptike*. There are many attemps to interpret this term; we can begin with the Greek etymology and can tie it to the Stoic concept. *Kataleptike* — catalepsy — is the condition in which no senses are open. It is a complete block of any form of perception of reality; neither vision, nor hearing, nor the other three channels. Why was this considered by Stoics as the most important condition? In their debates with the Epicureans, they proposed that any perception (*aisthesis*) of the objects or actions of the outer world can distract a real philosopher from contemplating the essential ideas. Stoicism is about that — cancelling any connections with the outer world, especially those that engage in sensual interaction (another contribution of Stoics to the Christian doctrine!). What is left, then, for a Stoic is only his or her fantasy. This term — musically charged as it is — requires a clarification. *Phantasia* is the inner movement in the soul — in the *pathe* — which, during the times of Pirandello was dubbed as emotion (*ek-motion*, inner motion). Aristotle in his *Peri psyches*, [13] at the end of Chapter II, attempts to describe *phantasia* as such — although he, in his scientific rigour, does not seem to accept its existence. He suggests that some — and he indicates at the followers of Plato — believe that some emotions (*pathe*) are not caused by outer stimulae. Instead, there is motion in the soul that moves itself by itself (*seauto auto kineisthai*). And this is what moves our fantasies (fanthoms, ghosts, the content of our dreaming at night and, sometimes, during the day).

There is rather annoying trend — Anglo-American thinkers are especially fond of it — to delimit the scope of reflections on music by only what is pertinent to music as such. The centuries-old slogan of formalism seems to keep the higher hand — it is often perceived as the most advanced and sophisticated approach to music. Yet, by the exclusion of the human dimension from the discussion of music, the formalists maintain the same trivial materialistic scientific mythology of the "objective knowledge at all costs." By limiting music to "moving sound shapes," they turn music into habitual scientific object. They place it on the tripod (the Heideggerian *Gestell*), dissect it by using a trivial form of math (definitely, pre-algebra and pre-functional) and enjoy the results that, being rather convincing for themselves, have nothing to do with musical expression or meaning.

The formalists filter out all names of musically evoked emotions (while there are semiotic schools, say, like the Olster or Viennese groups, that study the names of the emotions). They substitute the argument: indeed, there are habitual names of emotional reactions that come from everyday life. These are not pertinent to the higher domain of musical expression (although, there is music for children, for the youth, music that is enjoyed by people from the low-income strata, that is directly related to habitual emotions). Yet, if the question is set by the formalists about music in its highest forms, the answer of ancient semiotics would be that its content is in the cathaleptic fantasy (of the composers, performers, listeners or any other figure on the musical scene).

Very intricate is the relationship of words and the elements of musical expression. Here, again, one may wish not to follow abrupt directives of formalism and logocentrism. It depends, as always, on the definition of the categories at play. How is the word defined? Can it be the Word of God (or rather, the Spirit of God — *pneuma tou theou*, since God does not speak — he breathes on us)? It is the musical Word of God — the *pneuma*, flux, infusion into dead matter that makes it live. The impregnating power of the *seme* — the sign, the tone. Not the note but the tone — *ho tonos*. In the physics of Stoics, *ho tonos* meant both physical tension and the tension of the musical string. Writing music, in this sense, is pouring out the signs — seme — into dead structures, forms and objects and by doing so turning them into live and meaning-bearing entities.

Then, what is the place of the proverbial and ubiquitous techniques of composition? Since every student and every teacher is preoccupied with techniques — especially since Schoenberg — how could ancient semiotics approach it? *Techne* is not technique; the *technites* may sound like "technicians" but the word has the opposite meaning. *Techne* is art — and art with its all transcendental, platonic, ideal and tragic content. By manipulating the 12 pitches — 12 points on the Carthesian plane — we cannot get anywhere in music.

Still, there are materials involved. Music, just as any other art, deals with physicality [14] — there is the vibration of a string and added vibrato, crescendo, diminuendo, the ebb and flow of meter, the formal units and their functions. How can we explain the overwhelming presence of the material objective elements in music, while, it seems, we are destined to talk about it only in lofty and unearthly terms? Is the answer contained in Zeno of Chitteum or in what is left from the rich Greek Stoic tradition? Surprisingly, one thinker came up with the answer: Bréhier focused himself on this aspect of the Stoics; hence he has written a book, titled the *Theory of Incorporeals in Stoicism*. [12] In a nutshell, we are surrounded by real objects and the processes these objects undergo. This is the domain of the classical natural sciences. Yet, there are events that happen not within the bodies but on their surface. There are many things that we subject the bodies to without ever changing them. Writing about something, interpreting something, may not affect it at all. In the terminology of the Stoics, these phenomena are labeled "the incorporeal." We count or name such objects without ever touching them. In the long run, however, these manipulations may affect the bodies — just as the *Logos spermatikos* enlivens the *hule*. This does not mean, however, that in composition we manipulate and change any real objects.

As a follow-up of the physics of Stoics, we can establish three major levels of our relationship with reality: the immanent, the real and the transcendental. Semiotics should be placed on this three-sided map. The level of the real — the domain of object (*res*, *re*) — is realitively sparse in music, in comparison with the other two. In order to learn how to deal with them, one has to abandon the idea of capturing examples

of the signified as a set or group of things determined by the dictatorship of the signifier. None of the contepts suggested by Peirce will work here. Rather, one must learn how to deal with, or rather ride on the curve of breathing and gesture. And, again, not with geometric lines, but with lines of escape.

Conclusion

So, to summarise we can place our well-known categories of semiotics back into their original context. It will take a great deal of phenomenological reduction, cleaning and purifying, as well as enriching with important philosophical concepts — those intentionally ignored by the Anglo-American tradition. Its reliance on "pragmatism" must have reasonable limits: in their confrontation with what they call "continental philosophy," very often, philosophy as a discipline of abstract and contemplative reasoning is completely neglected. Philosophy cannot be too pragmatic; it means that it attempts to avoid its fundamental categories and concepts.

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Michael Nyman's Opera *Noises, Sounds and Sweet Airs* and Questions of Interpretation of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*

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Abstract. The article focuses on the interpretation of the themes and images of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* in Michael Nyman's opera *Noises, Sounds and Sweet Airs*. The authors touch upon the issues of the history of the creation of the work, the features of the libretto, which acquired the character of an intermittent narrative as a result of the radical reduction of the original source, and examine the compositional and dramatic patterns of the opera and its musical and stylistic specificities. In his interpretation, Nyman combines the traditional view of Shakespeare's play as a metaphor for artistic creativity with its postcolonial reading. Compositional strategies are based on deconstruction techniques, manifested in depersonalization (the separation of voices from the roles, leading to a subtraction of the theatrical-stage component), the semantic gap between the text and the music, self-reference, and harmonic similarity, which makes it possible to establish a commonality between characters that are essentially opposite (Caliban and Prospero), which contributes to a re-evaluation of the perception of their images.

Keywords: William Shakespeare, Michael Nyman, the play *The Tempest*, the opera *Noises, Sounds and Sweet Airs*, interpretation, postcolonialism, deconstruction, depersonalization

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Translated by Dr. Anton Rovner.

Introduction

William Shakespeare's play *The Tempest* has attracted the attention of artists,[1] composers and cinematographers for a long time.[2] The semantic versatility of the drama was conducive to the plurality of the interpretation of the issues touched upon in it. Among the most well-known musical interpretations of the play are the operas by Henry Purcell (1695) and Thomas Ades (2004), the final section of Hector Berlioz' monodrama *Lelio ou le retour a la vie* (1831), Pyotr Tchaikovsky's symphonic fantasy (1873), the music for theatrical performances composed by Arthur Sullivan (1861) and Jean Sibelius (1926), and Kaija Saariaho's compilation of songs (1993–2014). The diversity of the musical manifestations of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* in Russian musicology is researched in Yaroslava Kabalevskaya's dissertation, [1] and interpretations of separate composers are examined in the articles of Darya Volodyagina, [2] Ekaterina Shapinskaya, [3] Alina Perevalova [4] and many other researchers.

The set of musical-theatrical manifestations of Shakespeare's play has been complemented by Michael Nyman's opera *Noises, Sounds and Sweet Airs*. However, this composition, famous though it may be, has not yet become a subject of special musicological research, which determines the novelty of the present article.

The works of Michael Nyman encompass various genres. Although the composer acquired the greatest amount of fame in the sphere of the film industry as the creator of the music for Peter Greenaway's pieces, at the present time, a no less significant part of his music is comprised by works for musical theater. Eight operas have been composed by him, and it may be asserted with confidence that the present sphere of genre is considered by Nyman as a field for experimentation. The plotlines for his compositions are unusual; the British master is frequently interested in various types of pathologies. Such is his opera *The Man Who Mistook His Wife for a Hat* (1986), based on the story of the illness of Professor P. described by American neurologist Oliver Sacks, or the "opera of ideas" *Facing Goya* (2000), in which the issues of genetics and cloning are connected with research of the personality of genius (for more detail about this see: [5]), or the television opera *Letters, Riddles and Writs* (1991), the plotline of which, on the one hand, is based on Mozart's complex relationship with his father and, on the other hand, touches upon the questions of artistic plagiarism (for more detail about this see: [6]). In this context, Nyman's turning to the classic of English literature seems to be unusual. But this is so only at first glance. The composer's artistic method is defined by the technique of bricolage: when turning to an "alien" text, he deconstructs it, and then reassembles it into a new integrality, seeming to reshape the old meanings and significations (for more detail on this see: [7]). This strategy reveals itself in different ways in the works of the British master. In the opera *Noises*, *Sounds and Sweet Airs*, it characterizes, first of all, the level of work with the libretto, helping reveal the hidden meanings of Shakespeare's text and reevaluate tradition.

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[1] This play by Shakespeare has inspired such well-known artists as William Hogarth, John Everett Millais, and John William Waterhouse.

[2] The first film adaptation of the play appeared in 1905 (created by film producers Herbert Beerbohm Tree and Charles Urban). By the present time, over fifty movies based on this subject have been filmed in Europe and America.

The History of the Creation of the Opera, Interpretation of the Play in Shakespeare Studies

Initially, Nyman's attention to *The Tempest* was instigated by producer Peter Greenaway, with whom in 1990 the composer collaborated in his work on the film *Prospero's Books* (1991)[3]. The film is innovative from the point of view of both the cinematographic techniques and the narrative. It features a combination of many different arts — opera, dance, pantomime, painting, animation, calligraphy, and the use of the newest computer technologies of that time (digital processing of visual depictions).

During the process of work on the soundtrack, Nyman became acquainted with choreographer Karine Saporta,[4] who participated in the production of dances for Greenaway's film. In collaboration, they thought of creating an opera-ballet on the same plotline, having agreed upon absolutely new music. At first, the composition received the title *La Princesse de Milan* (*The Princess of Milan*). Its premiere took place in June 1991 in Hérouville-Saint-Clair (France) in the performance of the chamber orchestra *L'Ensemble de Basse-Normandie*. Later Nyman recalled: "Musically I treated *La Princesse de Milan* as an opera, which is what, in its dance-free existence, it is."[5] In 1993 he renamed his composition into *Noises, Sounds and Sweet Airs*, and at that time, it was performed without any choreography, as an independently existing opera.

The Tempest presents the crown of Shakespeare's achievement, being his final completed play, written in 1611–1612 and published in the "First Folio," which came out in 1623. In Renaissance literature, this composition was relayed to the genre of comedy, however, starting from the 18th century, it has been customary to consider *The Tempest* as a tragicomedy.

The plotline of the work presents a story of betrayal, retribution and forgiveness, but, in reality, the circle of issues raised in it is more broad: the thirst for power, the power of nature and man, the vices of society, female chastity, the power of love, and the role of art. Following this, it is no wonder that the polyvalent world of the drama has generated a multitude of diverse literary interpretations, in which the play was examined either in light of postcolonial theory, [8] or from the perspective of feminist criticism, or else was interpreted as an allegory of art.

The greatest amount of controversy in Shakespeare studies was aroused by the chief protagonist of *The Tempest* — the sage Prospero, who attempted to immerse himself into the mystery of the universe and to master the laws of nature. He, as a puppeteer, directed all the events of the play, holding in submission both the evil savage Caliban and the noble spirit Ariel. The connections formed in *The Tempest* between Prospero's demiurgic power and theatrical illusion compelled a number of researchers to associate the chief protagonist with Shakespeare himself and to consider his final monologue as the playwright's

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[3] The idea of creating a film based on Shakespeare's play was suggested to Greenaway by British actor and theatrical producer Arthur John Gielgud, who subsequently performed the chief role in the film.

[4] Karine Saporta is a French choreographer, photographer and producer of short films, a representative of the artistic movement "New French Dance." From the second half of the 1990s, she actively collaborated with the Ekaterinburg Ballet Theater, wherein a number of ballets, including *Belle, au bois dormant* and *La Fiancée aux yeux de bois* were produced.

[5] Nyman M. *Noises, Sounds & Sweet Airs*. Argo CD/MC 440 842/2-4. 1994.
URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20080907182001/http://www.michaelnyman.com/disco/34 (accessed: 08.11.2024).

farewell to the theatrical stage. Greenaway relies on this interpretation to a certain point in *Prospero's Books*. In his film, the commentaries of all the actors are uttered by John Gielgud — the performer of Prospero's role. Likewise, the film director makes it clear to the viewer that everything taking place on the screen is carried out in the magician's imagination. In the final scene, Caliban saves from destruction two books, among all those Prospero destroys, — one with Shakespeare's plays and the other with *The Tempest* written by Prospero, which is conducive to the identification of the protagonist with the British playwright.

The interpretation of Prospero's behavior at the end of the play is, likewise, ambivalent in Shakespeare studies. According to the most widespread opinion, his rejection of magic is interpreted as the result of the hero's spiritual enlightenment, as a conscious Christian general pardon. [9, p. 199] According to another angle, virtually all of Prospero's plans (with the exception of the marriage of Miranda and Ferdinand) collapse, and he is compelled to forgive his enemies, because he realizes his incapability of struggling against evil. [Ibid., p. 201]

In general, Shakespeare's play *The Tempest*, as has been noted before, is frequently regarded by literary scholars as a philosophical allegory, in which the playwright's contemplations about the role of art and science in people's lives and about the means of transformation of the world and society have found their manifestation. It is not by chance that Greenaway, too, accentuates the spiritual component of Shakespeare's play in the title of his film. The crucial place in the movie is taken up by Prospero's library. It is comprised of 24 books, the titles of which remind us of the lost works of the Ancient Greek philosopher Epicurus: the Books of Water, Memory, Architecture, Myths, Death, etc.[6] Undoubtedly, the books are interpreted by the film director as a cultural monument and a symbol of knowledge accumulated by humanity throughout the centuries of its existence. At the end of the film, Prospero destroys his manuscripts, which gave ground for art researchers to interpret his actions as the manifestation of the uselessness and the meaninglessness of art.

However, for Nyman, such a perspective is unacceptable. Starting from his first opera, *The Man who Mistook His Wife for a Hat*[7] the contemplations about the meaning of art in society, as well as the artistic auto-reflection become the meta-themes of the composer's musical-theatrical works (for more detail about this, see: [6]). In this respect, *Noises, Sounds and Sweet Airs* does not present an exception. Nyman suggests his own rendition of Shakespeare's play.

The Opera's Structure and Dramaturgy

The Tempest consists of five acts, each divided into two or three scenes (an exception to this is the fourth act, which consists of only one scene). Nyman himself assembled the libretto, having taken Shakespeare's text as a basis. At the same time, he shortened the play significantly, having selected the very essence from the lengthy monologues and dialogues. Despite the abridgements, the order of the events was preserved (see the correlation between the structure of Shakespeare's play and the architectonics of the opera in Table 1), however, the fragmented quality

[6] They precede and indicate the themes of the main episodes of the film.

[7] The artistic conception of the composition proceeds from the harmonizing role of music in the life of an ill person.

Table 1. The Correlation of the Compositional Structure of Nyman's Opera *Noises, Sounds and Sweet Airs* and Shakespeare's Play *The Tempest*

Shakespeare	Act 1		Act 2		Act 3			Act 4	Act 5			
	Scene 1	Scene 2	Scene 1	Scene 2	Scene 1	Scene 2	Scene 3	Scene 1	Scene 1			Epilogue
Nyman	–	No. 1–6	No. 7–8	No. 9	No. 10	No. 11		No. 12	No. 13	No. 14	No. 15–18	–
	Act 1							Act 2				

of the utterances stipulated the effect of *interrupted narrative*. On the one hand, the abridgments have increased the semantic capacity of the text, which, even prior to that, was distinguished for its high state of metaphoric qualities, on the other hand, they were conducive to the intensification of theatrical conventionality. The deconstruction of the classical source was reflected in the "lacerated" character of the libretto, which largely presented fragments of dialogues and monologues.

The five-act structure of *The Tempest* was transformed by Nyman into a two-act composition. Each of the two acts contained different quantities of numbers: there were 11 in the first act and 7 in the second act.[8] The outer scenes of Shakespeare's play (the first scene of Act 1 and the Epilogue) were omitted by the composer, and the rest he distributed unevenly: some of the scenes contained a rather large amount of numbers (for example, the second scene of Act 1 and the first scene of Act 5), whereas, on the other hand, other scenes were united together into single numbers (for example, the second and third scenes of Act 3). This distribution is stipulated by the particularities of the dramaturgy.

Act 1 demonstrates an exposition of the chief dramatis personae, predominantly, in their interrelations with Prospero: Nos. 1 and 2 show the images of Prospero and Miranda, No. 3 shows Prospero and the spirit Ariel, No. 4 — Prospero and Caliban. Nos. 5 and 6 demonstrate the lyrical sphere, the love scene of Miranda and Ferdinand. Nos. 7 and 8 bring in the figures of the antagonists — Alonso, Gonzalo and Sebastian.

Simultaneously with the exposition of the main dramatis personae, the protasis of the conflict occurs, the development of which begins with No. 9, when Caliban gets in with Prospero's enemies and incites them to kill the magician (No. 11, with which the first act ends). The development of the love story in the play is carried out in No. 10.

No. 12, which opens up Act 2, as can be seen from *Table 1*, is based on the unification of the scenes of Acts 3 and 4 of Shakespeare's play. This is stipulated by the fact that in this number Nyman combines together the various types of trials that the characters go through: thus, Ariel, who appears in the form of a harpy, sends madness to the antagonists, while Ferdinand is instructed to preserve Miranda's innocence before marriage. No. 13 is an inserted number.

[8] The numbers or scenes were titled by the composer following the first lines of their texts.

It is a "masque," the purpose of which was to express by means of an allegory the essence of the author's intentions, in this particular case — to emphasize the value of chastity. Just as in Shakespeare, the scene presents a "text within a text." Three goddesses appear in it — Ceres, Juno and Iris, who extol purity and virtue, both of which are guarantees of a happy marriage.

No. 14 is based on a dialogue between Ariel and Prospero, where the sage acknowledges his lack of ability to humanize Caliban. The crucial and semantic scene for understanding the conception of the entire opera is concentrated in No. 15, which presents Prospero's monologue, in which the latter rejects magic. The fragments selected by Nyman for this text represent his aesthetic position most vividly. The composer noted that music is an inseparable component of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Indeed, the play is saturated by a large quantity of musical episodes (Ariel's songs, the singing of the Greek goddesses, etc.), it speaks about music quite often. When Prospero repudiates his own power as a magician, first of all, he defers to music and its healing impact:

> But this rough magic
> I here abjure; and, when I have required
> Some heavenly music — which even now I do —
> To work mine end upon their senses that
> This airy charm is for, I'll break my staff,
> Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
> And deeper than did ever plummet sound
> I'll drown my book.[9]

All of this has allowed researchers to label *The Tempest* as "an encyclopedia of musical images and genres." [10, p. 43]

Nyman's Interpretation of Shakespeare's Plotline

The originality of Nyman's interpretation of Shakespeare's text is stipulated by the latter's broad interests in the sphere of art studies and primarily connected with the images of Prospero and Caliban. In the program notes to the CD of the opera released by the *Argo Records* label, the composer indicated that his conception was greatly influenced by Stephen Greenblatt's essay "Learning to Curse: Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the Sixteenth Century" [11] and Terence Hawkes' book *Shakespeare's Talking Animals*, [12] in which the play was interpreted not only as the metaphor of artistic creativity, but also in the angle of post-colonialist renditions.

Greenblatt established the close tie of Renaissance literature with perceptions of the surrounding world predominating in the society of that time and, first of all, about the ways of life of the wild tribes discovered during the times of the great geographic discoveries. When presenting numerous testimonies of how the "savages" were described by the conquerors, he became more firmly convinced that their image was perceived primarily through the prism of language. The researcher invoked the conception of Terence Hawkes' book, in which the positions of the playwright and the colonizer were compared. The comparison of their activities was based on the fact that both of them impose both on the enslaved and upon the readers the forms of their own culture, which is manifested in the act of speaking.

According to the authors, the dramatist and the colonizer become merged together in the person of Shakespeare's Prospero, because, on the one hand, behind the guise of the protagonist

[9] Here and onwards, the fragments from Shakespeare's play are cited from the edition: Shakespeare W. *The Tempest*. London: Penguin, 2015. 240 p.

Shakespeare himself is concealed, who guides the fates of his characters, and, on the other hand, the magician takes on the role of an unvarnished colonizer, since by means of his magic he takes over the island and subjugates Caliban. It is indicative that the attempts of domesticating the savage are connected with the attempt of teaching him the language for communication. "I pitied thee, / Took pains to make thee speak," — Prospero says to Caliban, to what the latter replies: "You taught me language; and my profit on't / Is, I know how to curse."

Terence Hawkes presumes that the playwright is a colonist in the metaphorical sense: his art permeates into our cultural experience and begins to form the territories of an "alien" culture domesticated in its own image and likeness. However, there are more positive sides in this process than in real colonization, since the playwright's language is conducive to the extension of the boundaries of our culture. Nyman poses the question: "And (again) what is the role of the composer?"[10] the question is, of course, rhetorical, since the behavior of the composer is analogous to the role of the playwright-colonizer.

The specificity of interpretation of Shakespeare's play has led to an ambiguity of genre in the case of Nyman's oeuvre, which essentially acquired the image of a concert composition with voices (as if Shakespeare's play were not staged according to roles, but merely read from the stage). The elimination of the theatrical-stage component, its visual constituent, although was, indeed, stipulated by the transformation of ballet into opera, but, nonetheless, began to be perceived as a principle of a significant absence. As a result of it, the composer concentrated the listener's attention exclusively on the music, not merely by immersing him into "noises, sounds and sweet airs," but also causing him, similar to the playwright-colonizer, to recreate the stage events in his imagination.

Depersonalization

The "minus technique" found a peculiar manifestation in the sphere of performance in terms of vocal depersonalization. The opera is written for three singers (soprano, contralto and tenor) and an ensemble of wind and string instruments. The composer, most likely, was attracted to Greenaway's idea about the timbral-vocal unification of the protagonists, conditioned by the demiurgic interpretation of Prospero's role and his identification with Shakespeare's image. However, Nyman's approach is different. In his opera, the singers' parts are not personalized, all of them, alternatively or simultaneously, may present one and the same protagonist. For example, Prospero's role is sounded out, at alternate times, by the soprano, the alto, the tenor, or by several voices together. The same situation is also intrinsic to the other characters. Thereby, the intentions of the film director and the composer are identical at their basis — both of them rid their heroes of the individual characteristic features of the voices. However, while in Greenaway's film, all the spoken lines in the roles of all the protagonists are pronounced by one actor, in Nyman's music, on the contrary, each one of them is presented by different voices.

According to the composer's conception, the performers primarily bear the function of "carriers of the text," which is especially emphasized in the score: "The three singers are voices rather than roles, carriers of the text rather

[10] Nyman M. *Noises, Sounds & Sweet Airs*. Argo CD/MC 440 842/2-4. 1994.
URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20080907182001/http://www.michaelnyman.com/disco/34 (accessed: 08.11.2024).

than characters."[11] This solution, on the one hand, is conducive to the creation of a special sound landscape, possessing peculiar magic traits, which is inspired by Shakespeare's text itself. It must be reminded that one of Caliban's utterances contain any characterization of the sound magic of the island:

> Be not afeard. The isle is full of noises,
> Sounds, and sweet airs,
> that give delight, and hurt not.
> Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
> Will hum about mine ears;
> and sometimes voices,
> That, if I then had wak'd after long sleep,
> Will make me sleep again…

The phrase "noises, sounds, and sweet airs" provided the title for the entire opera.

On the other hand, the vocal depersonalization allows the composer, as paradoxical as it may be, to reveal the plurality of the semantic function of the human voice on stage, as a counterbalance to the connection with theatrical role specialization existent in traditional opera.

Although each character in Nyman's opera possesses different timbral representations, frequently negating his or her gender identity, the composer, nonetheless, did not fully repudiate the traditional assignment of voices. Thus, the analysis of the timbres shows that Miranda's utterances[12] are entrusted predominantly to the female voices — the soprano and the contralto. Only one (in the second scene of the first act), the magician's daughter is sounded out by the tenor voice.[13]

However, in the overwhelmingly large proportions, the timbral discrepancy provides the composer with broad possibilities for demonstrating the semantic polyvalence of the voices formed on the basis of their close connection with the text. For example, Ferdinand's voice during the course of the unfolding of the opera modulates from a low timbre to a high one. For the first time, the king of Naples appears in Scenes 5 and 6, in a duet with Miranda. The voices of both protagonists harmonize with the traditional roles of young lovers: Miranda's role is sung by a soprano (occasionally, by a contralto), while Ferdinand's role is sung by a tenor. Beginning with the tenth scene, and in all of the subsequent scenes (Nos. 12, 17), the prince's utterances are assigned only to female voices (even in the duet with Miranda). Apparently, the change of the protagonist's timbral characteristic feature, acquires a simbolic meaning. Ferdinand's words are permeated with love for the girl and a fascination with her youth and innocence. The female voices, being higher in the pitch continuum, appear as a literal personification of the sublimity of his feelings and the purity of his intentions.

The part of Caliban, whose image is associated with barbarism and boorishness, is always entrusted to a male voice. In Scenes 4, 9, 11 and 18, it is performed by a tenor. An exception is provided by only two phrases. In Scene 4, Prospero accuses Sycorax's son of bearing the intentions of dishonoring Miranda, to which Caliban replies: "Would 't had been done! / Thou didst prevent me; I had peopled else / This isle with Calibans." In Scene 11, he instigates Stefano to kill Prospero. When describing the island's magical qualities, Caliban remembers his dreams in which the heavens grant him riches: "I cried to dream

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[11] Nyman M. *Noises, Sounds and Sweet Airs*: Vocal Score. London: Chester Music Ltd, 2009. P. II.

[12] The heroine appears only in the first act of the opera (in Scenes 1, 2, 4, 5, 6 and 10).

[13] At Miranda's words "still'tis beating in my mind," the soprano and the tenor sing in octave doubling. Her utterance presents an answer to Prospero, who reminds her that he was her mentor.

again," — Caliban sighs. In both cases, the indicated utterances are entrusted to the soprano. The use of the high-registered voice here acquires a special meaning. Caliban aspires to gain control of the island, he dreams of *elevating himself* and becoming, similar to Prospero, a demiurge-ruler. It is indicative that the utterance from Scene 11 in the soprano part is doubled by the tenor, which signifies the groundlessness and baseness of these desires.

The ethereal spirit of Ariel is expressed by female voices virtually in all of the scenes (Nos. 3, 12, 14 and 16). The choice of the high or middle registers in this case is appropriate, since it associates itself with incorporeity and immateriality. An exception is formed by only a short fragment from Scene 12, wherein Ariel appears in the guise of a harpy and sends curses to Alonso, Sebastian and Gonzalo, prophesying retribution that would descend on their heads. It must be noted that Ariel here is virtually identified with Prospero, which explains the composer's preference for the sound of the tenor voice.

Prospero's voice is the most mobile from the perspective of timbre. The sage participates in almost all the scenes and interacts with all the characters of the play.[14] The timbre of his voice, as shown by analysis, frequently depends on his vis-à-vis. For example, in the dialogues with Miranda, the part of Prospero is almost always sung by the low-registered voices (the contralto or the tenor). At the same time, in some cases, for example, at the beginning of Scene 2), there is a gender-based allotment of the roles, while in other cases (for example, in Scene 1), the combination of the female voices creates the atmosphere of the spiritual unity present between the magician and his daughter. When Prospero exchanges utterances with Caliban, his text is always sounded by a higher-registered voice. It would seem that in providing such an allotment Nyman is guided by the principle of the opposition between the "base" and the "sublime," reflecting it in the corresponding confrontation of the voices.

Thereby, notwithstanding the partial preservations of the traditional timbral role and the gender-based assignment of the roles, this depersonalization in Nyman's role leads to a spreading of the semantic space of the voices, which acquire different semantic interpretations, depending on the context and the situation. For example, the soprano simultaneously personifies incorporeity, supernaturalism, immateriality (Ariel), innocence and beauty (Miranda), sincerity and the poetical quality of feelings (Ferdinand), but also the aspiration towards power, acquiring a parodic tinge, stemming from the base desire to elevate oneself (Caliban). The same way, the tenor also in some cases personifies earthliness and rudeness (in the case of Caliban), and in other cases, serves as the reflection of the role of the hero-lover (Ferdinand) or the magician made wise by experience (Prospero).

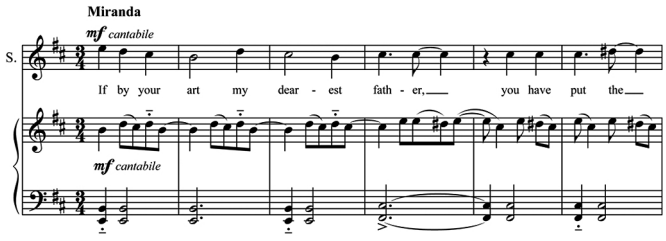
At the same time, in the conditions of the theatrical-stage space, the vocal transformation of the characters, undoubtedly, disorients the listener, generating the effect of an altered state of consciousness. On the one hand, in a like manner, Nyman is able to convey the combination of the real and the fantastic, intrinsic to Shakespeare's play, which generates a surrealist atmosphere. On the other hand, the resultant depersonalization becomes yet another technique that makes it possible to deconstruct not only Shakespeare's source, but also the opera itself as a specific genre, from the times of the birth of which the singing voice has been inseparable from the stage image.

[14] Prospero is absent in Scenes 7, 8, 9, 11 and 13.

The Specificity of the Musical Material

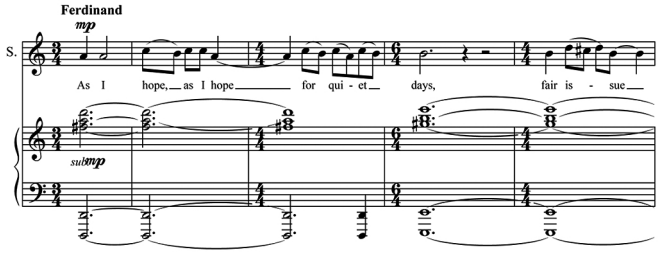
In Nyman's composition there is an absence of an unfolded system of leitmotifs, with the exception of the leit-harmonic progressions, which shall be discussed later. The musical material obtains a through development. However, the composer resorts to repetitions of separate themes creating semantic arches. The opera opens with Miranda's words: "If by your art, my dearest father, you have / Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them," at the same time, in the melodic contours of the accompaniment it is possible to divine the intonations of the intonations of the famous motive "Dies irae" (Example No. 1). Because of the reliance on the perfect fifth in the bass, the motive sounds archaic in its character. The absence of the tertial tone leaves the modal slant as indefinite (the mode may be determined as the pitch E in the Dorian mode or E in the Mixolydian mode). Of course, the "Dies irae" motive, subsequently dissolved in figurations, is interpreted by Nyman not as an image of death, but rather as a symbol of fate. Not only the entire first number, in which Prospero discloses to Miranda the truth of his parentage, is aligned on this material, but also the end of the end of the second number, where the sage thanks generous Fortune for the opportunity to punish his enemies.

Example No. 1 Michael Nyman. *Noises, Sounds and Sweet Airs.* No. 1, mm. 1–6



Subsequently, the "Dies irae" motive would appear in Scenes 10 and 12, in Ferdinand's part. At the same time, it would already be the modal tint of the Mixolydian major mode that would predominate (Example No. 2). The Prince falls in love with Miranda and swears to guard her innocence.

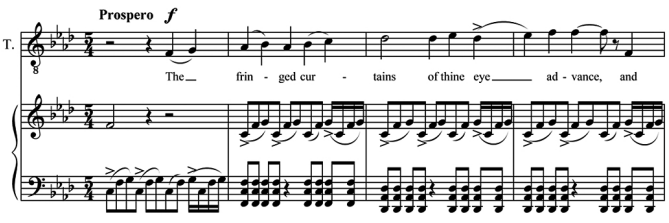
Example No. 2 Michael Nyman. *Noises, Sounds and Sweet Airs.* No. 12, mm. 110–114



This also provides the material with which the opera concludes. The musical arch formed with the beginning not only endows the composition a compositional eurhythmy, but also indicates at the realization of Prospero's chief intention, connected with his daughter's happiness.

The correlation of the text and the music in the opera is ambivalent. In some cases, it becomes possible to speak of their direct interaction. For example, No. 5 opens with a stepwise ascending melodic line, which then is passed into the part of the tenor, illustrating Prospero's words "The fringed curtains of thine eye advance" (Example No. 3).

Example No. 3 Michael Nyman. *Noises, Sounds and Sweet Airs.* No. 5, mm. 19–22



In other cases, the music does not correlate emotionally with the text; moreover, there may be a semantic rupture appearing between them. In this regard, No. 7 is very indicative. The aforementioned scene brings in, for the first

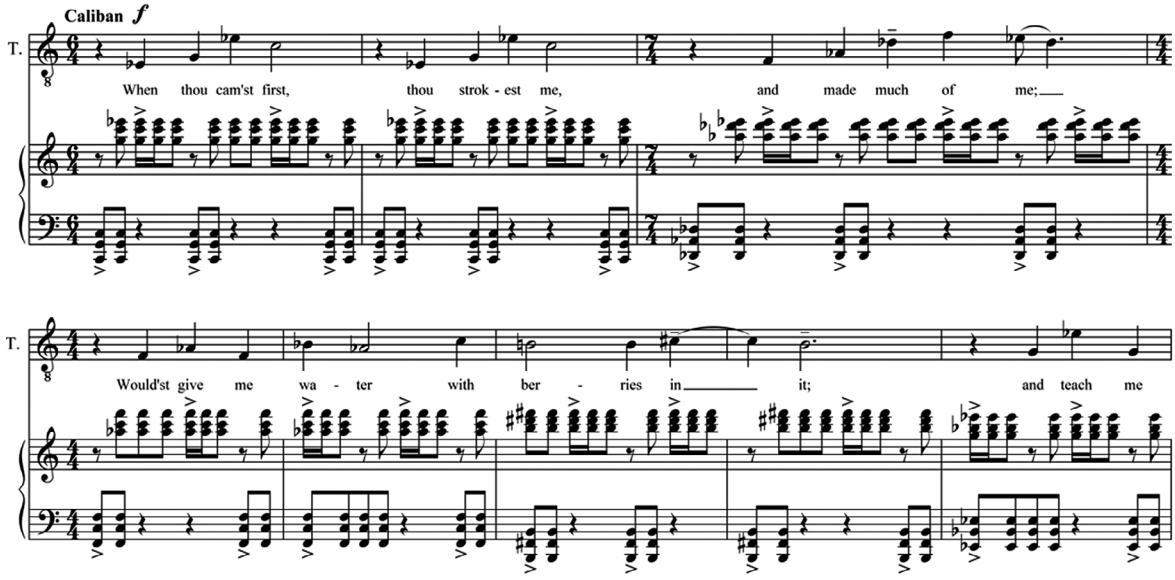
time, the images of the antagonists — Alonso, Gonzalo and Sebastian. While the Neapolitan king is grieving about the presumed death of his son, his companions are amazed at the wonders of the island and start dreaming about how it would be possible to gain possession of it. The music, generally, does not accord with the text. Its basis is comprised by a diatonic golden sequence, associated with Handel's Passacaglia in *G Minor*. The number proper begins as a chain of variations on a ground bass. However, Nyman's music, unlike Handel's, is bereft of any heroic or pathetic qualities, being characterized by a melancholy character. The predominance of female voices only enhances this attribute. It would seem that the semantic rupture between the text and the music here is stipulated by the peculiarities of the dramaturgical conception: the entire course of events is directed by Prospero, "The Tempest" is built up by the powers of his imagination, as the result of which the music rather reflects the secret sorrow of the protagonist who invisibly observes the occurring events.

The musical language of the opera is based on the contrast between diatonic and chromatic harmonies, the simplest functional turns and major-minor. This juxtaposition may be considered to be the reflection of the antagonistic forces personifying order and chaos, hate and love, revenge and forgiveness, and, simultaneously, a peculiar substitution of the opposition between sound and noise present in the title of the composition.

Thus, diatonic harmonies predominate in Prospero's dialogues with Miranda and Ferdinand (for example, the basis on the Dorian and Mixolydian modes in No. 1, on the Phrygian mode in Nos. 2 and 4, etc.). the accompaniment of their parts is based rather frequently on simple functional progressions of correlations of perfect fourths and fifths, or otherwise it emphasizes the melodic connection between the tones, which is intrinsic to modality. All of this induces us to interpret diatonic harmony as a symbol of purity of the protagonists' feelings and intentions, their simplicity and sincerity, the strictness of their upbringing.

The chromatic harmony characterizes, first of all, the musical language of Caliban. His utterances are rather frequently accompanied by progressions of chords of major thirds and tritones of the major and minor keys: C, D-flat, F, B, E-flat, A (Example No. 4).

Example No. 4 Michael Nyman. *Noises, Sounds and Sweet Airs*. No. 4, mm. 48–55



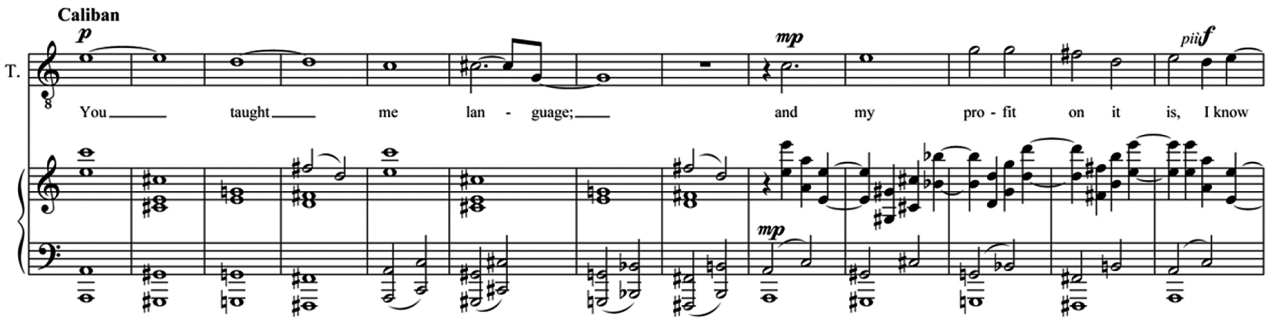
It must be noted that here Nyman used musical material from his previous composition: the present chain of chords (in the same duration and in the same sequence, only with minor nuances having to do with the change of mode in certain chords) comprise the foundation of the opera *The Man Who Mistook His Wife for a Hat*. On its basis, the idea of "harmonic identity" was incorporated: the appearance of the progression signalized the recognition of customary things on the part of Professor P., while its deconstruction and destruction signified the incapability of their identification. In a similar manner, Nyman manifested the peculiarities of the visual perception of the protagonist, who due to his illness viewed the world not the same way as it was perceived in the eyes of other people.

In the opera *Noises, Sounds and Sweet Airs*, Nyman works with the aforementioned harmonic progression in a different manner. Very frequently he transposes it, changes the modes of the chords, makes use of different inversions of triads, enhancing the chromatic entity of the harmony. Especially exhibitory in this regard is the moment when Caliban accuses Prospero of what Stephen Greenblatt called "linguistic colonialism" (Example No. 5).

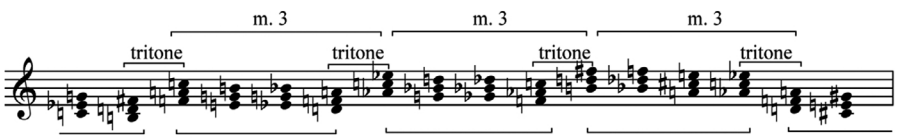
Upon first glance, the connection of such dissimilar characters a Professor P. and Caliban with the aid of a common harmonic progression seems unusual. At the same time, this sheds light on the composer's interpretation of the image of Caliban. For Nyman, the savage man does not present a univocally negative character. Just as Professor P., he is endowed with *his own* perspective of life on the island, albeit, a distorted one — a life, in which, it must be noticed, he drags a slavish existence, because of Prospero.

At the end of Shakespeare's play, the sage admits: "this thing of darkness I acknowledge mine," which returns us, once again, to the conception that likens the playwright to a colonizer. It must be noted that the image of Prospero in the musical relation turns out to be ambivalent. Unlike the dialogues with Miranda and Ferdinand, where diatonic harmonies predominate, the magician's crucial monologue in No. 15, in which he renounces magic, is saturated with chromaticism. The scene presents variations on a harmonic progression of chords presenting correlations of minor seconds aligned together as links of sequences with minor-third steps (Example No. 6).

Example No. 5 Michael Nyman. *Noises, Sounds and Sweet Airs*. No. 4, mm. 125–137



Example No. 6 Michael Nyman. *Noises, Sounds and Sweet Airs*. No. 15. Scheme of the Harmonic Progressions



The relationship of this progression with the chain of chords associated with Caliban is all too apparent. It is provided by the tritone-based connections between the tones, the tertial step of the links of the sequence, and the chromatic motion. It is true, however, that in Caliban's harmonic progression there were major-third relationships incorporated, whereas the chromatic progression was created not by all the voices, but only by the bass (see: Example No. 5). Nonetheless, this does not prevent us from seeing the connection between the characters emerged on a harmonic level.

Conclusion

To sum up, it must be noted that the opera based on Shakespeare's *The Tempest* turned out to be, in all likelihood, the most radical musical-theatrical composition in Nyman's entire output. The libretto's "ruptured" quality, the lack of scenography, the "separateness" of the voices from the roles, which reflected the composer's deconstructivist approach, have instated its genre-related peculiarity and inimitability. The elimination of the components that are most important for opera as a synthetic whole has made it possible to reveal the implications and hidden meanings in Shakespeare's play, its surrealistic atmosphere and theatrical conditionality and, at the same time, to destroy the formed stereotypes of perception of classical works. The exclusion of the kinetic and visual modalities, the periodically occurring semantic rupture between the text and the music were conducive to the concentration of attention on the musical component of the opera text, while the appearance of the self-referencing material broadened the composition's semantic space.

Reflections on the nature of creativity and the social role of art, as has been noted before, present a meta-theme for all of Nyman's works for the musical theater. *The Tempest*, which has accumulated in itself Shakespeare's entire artistic experience, provided the composer with a new impulse for such reflections. When comparing the playwright (composer) with the colonizer, the British author, as it would seem, comprehends the problem of the artist's responsibility towards society that is hardly a new one. The originality of his deconstructivist approach is connected with the denunciation not only of theatrical conventionalities, but also of the illusory quality of the faith in the self-supportability of our cultural experience. By proclaiming the priority of hearing over the other senses, by destroying the stereotypes of perception, Nyman provides the listener with the key to a new and, perhaps, more genuine understanding of the conception of Shakespeare's play.

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Cendrillon, *Cenerentola*, and *Agatina*: The Plot Structure and Composition in the Operas by Nicolò Izouard, Gioachino Rossini and Stefano Pavesi*

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Abstract. The object of the present article is to compare the librettos of three operas: *Cendrillon* by Nicolò Izouard, *La Cenerentola ossia La bontà in trionfo* by Gioachino Rossini and *Agatina o la Virtù premiata* by Stefano Pavesi. In research works written outside of Russia (there have not been any studies of this subject undertaken in Russian, as of yet), it is customary to pay more attention to the relationship between Rossini's oeuvre and the second opera of those enumerated, while the first is usually mentioned only as the predecessor of both works and one of the sources of the libretto. Indeed, the author of the text of Rossini's opera, Jacopo Ferretti, most likely derived his ideas from *Agatina*. However, this does not detract our attention in any way from the role that Izouard's *Cendrillon* played in the emergence of its Italian namesake. The article is the first to compare the librettos of all three of these operas, making it possible for us to understand better the connections between them and to identify their dissimilitudes arising as the result of the differences between the French and the Italian traditions, as well as the individual features of the creators of the libretto and the music.

Keywords: Cinderella in opera, *Cendrillon* by Nicolò Isouard, *La Cenerentola ossia La bontà in trionfo* by Gioachino Rossini, *Agatina o la Virtù premiata* by Stefano Pavesi, early 19th century, French opera, Italian opera, plotline, Charles-Guillaume Etienne, Francesco Fiorini, Jacopo Ferretti, similarities and differences in the opera librettos

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Translated by Dr. Anton Rovner.

Introduction

Research of opera plotlines is one of the directions in the study of musical theater that is endowed with a lengthy tradition. The approaches in such research works may be most varied — from the history of their creation to the demonstration of the dramatic motives; in recent times they have been supplemented by more specific angles of analysis of the opera's literary-dramatic basis. Among the examples of the latter is the examination of the operatic plotline from the point of view of the "new narrative strategies that are consistent with the evolution of musical material," [1, p. 157] the description of "non-linear methods of dramatic development" and "the principles of unfolding a poetic text aimed at destroying the narrative" [2, p. 171] in the conditions of post-opera; the disclosure in the text, along with musical leitmotifs, of literary leitmotifs, their roles in the dramaturgy and "a very sophisticated interaction" [3, p. 207]; analysis of the intersections between the various literary sources bearing a connection to the plotline, as well as "tracing the transformation of the main characters in the context of the central plotlines" [4, p. 107]; the description of the situation when the composer, "already having completed the music for two of the three parts," rejected a ready text of the libretto and wrote his own. [5, p. 618]

One of the widespread angles of analysis is the comparison of various different compositions written to the same libretto. This has been practiced most frequently in regard to 18th century operas, when several dozens of works have been composed to one and the same text. Frequently, the librettos may have been subjected to revision, as was the case, among other examples, with Metastasio's *La clemenza di Tito* in Mozart's opera with the same title [6, p. 55–60] or in *La Double épreuve ou Colinette à la Cour* by André Grétry set to the libretto of Jean-Baptiste Lourdet de Santerre, "based on the opera *Le caprice amoureux, ou, Ninette a la cour* by Charles-Simon Favart and Egidio Romualdo Duni." [7, p. 11–12] One such similar case shall be recounted here: three variants of interpretation of the famous fairytale plotline about Cinderella and the complex intersections between the libretto of three operas produced on European stages in the early 19th century.

Cinderella in Early 19th Century Opera

There exists a large number of musical stage interpretations of "Cinderella." However, according to Werner Wunderlich, "this fairy-tale heroine celebrated her greatest triumphs on the stage in opera production." [8, p. 558] And although he enumerates no less than a dozen such compositions, [Ibid., pp. 558–560] most of which have been soundly forgotten by now, it is clear that, he has in mind, chiefly Gioachino Rossini's *Cenerentola* (1817).

This *Cenerentola*, as it is known, has a prehistory. There had been another opera written on the same plotline, which had also enjoyed its greatest triumph, first on the stages of Paris, and then on those of other countries — it is *Cendrillon* by Nicolò (Nicolas) Isouard (1773–1818), composed in 1810 (Il. 1). Particularly its libretto became the basis for Rossini's opera written on the same subject, *Cenerentola*, and all the differences of the latter from Charles Perrault's fairy tale are on the conscience of Isouard's librettist Charles-Guillaume Etienne (1777–1845)[1], an experienced

[1] Another opera was created to the selfsame libretto, albeit, a little later (in the same year, 1810, but already for the St. Petersburg stage) — *Cendrillon* by Daniel Gottlieb Steibelt (1765–1823). See: Dawes F., Hagberg K., Lindeman S., Steibelt D. *Grove Music Online*. https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.26624

For a short synopsis of the content of Etienne's libretto, see: Fend M. *Cendrillon* (i). *Grove Music Online*. https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O007981

Il. 1. Mademoiselle Alexandrine Saint-Aubin,
the First Performer of the Role of Cendrillon
in Isouard's Opera with the Same Title[2]

playwright, who perceived very well the tastes of the public contemporary to him.

At the same time, it is known that a direct source for Rossini and his librettist Jacopo Ferretti (1784–1852) was, most likely, another Italian opera, which also owed its appearance to Isouard's *Cendrillon — Agatina, o la virtù premiata* by Stefano Pavesi (1779–1850) written to the libretto of Francesco Fiorini,[3] staged at La Scala in 1814 (Il. 2).

[2] See: Isouard N. *Cendrillon*: opéra féerie en trois actes et en prose; paroles de M. Etienne. Paris: Chez Vente, 1810.

[3] The years of his life are unknown. For a long time, it was considered that the author of the libretto was Felice Romani.

Etienne / Isouard[4]	Fiorini / Pavesi[5]	Ferretti / Rossini[6]
CENDRILLON, OPÉRA-FÉERIE EN TROIS ACTES ET EN PROSE; PAROLES DE M. ETIENNE, MUSIQUE DE M. NICOLO ISOUARD, DE MALTHE. REPRÉSENTÉ, POUR LA PREMIÈRE FOIS, SUR LE THÉATRE IMPÉRIAL DE L'OPÉRA-COMIQUE, PAR LES COMÉDIENS ORDINAIRES DE SA MAJESTÉ L'EMPEREUR ET ROI, LE 22 FÉVRIER 1810. PRIX : 1 fr. 80 c. A PARIS, CHEZ VENTE, Libraire, boulevard des Italiens, n°. 7, près de la rue Favart. MDCCCX.	AGATINA O LA VIRTÙ PREMIATA DRAMMA SEMISERIO PER MUSICA IN DUE ATTI DI F. F. DA RAPPRESENTARSI NEL R. TEATRO ALLA SCALA Nella Primavera del 1814. MILANO DALLE STAMPE DI GIACOMO PIROLA dicontro al suddetto R. Teatro.	LA CENERENTOLA OSSIA LA BONTÀ IN TRIONFO DRAMMA GIOCOSO POESIA DI GIACOMO FERRETTI ROMANO RAPPRESENTATA NEL TEATRO VALLE NEL CARNEVALE DELL' ANNO 1817 Con Mus.ca del Maestro GIOACCHINO ROSSINI PESARESE ROMA Tipografia Mordacchini (Con permesso)

Il. 2. Title Pages of the Librettos to Isouard's *Cendrillon*, Pavesi's *Agatina* and Rossini's *Cenerentola*[7]

The similarity between Rossini's *Cenerentola* and Pavesi's *Agatina* are not limited to the general source of the plotline. Researchers have noted that Ferretti made use of separate details from Fiorini's libretto, while Rossini based his composition to a certain degree on Pavesi's music. Emanuele Senici notes that the former was clearly fascinated with the latter's operas, "no less than five of them functioned as sources for his own." [9, p. 71] Moreover, being on friendly terms with each other, composers frequently came to each other's assistance. The case is known when Rossini "loaned" his elder colleague a few numbers from his *Ciro in Babilonia* for the premiere of the opera *Aspasia e Cleomene*.

[4] The source of the illustration — URL: https://www.loc.gov/resource/music.musschatz-14183/?sp=4&r=0.507,0.031,0.415,0.176,0 (accessed: 07.11.2024).

[5] The source of the illustration — URL: https://archive.org/details/agatinaolavirtpr00pave_0/page/n1/mode/2up (accessed: 07.11.2024).

[6] The source of the illustration — URL: https://www.loc.gov/resource/music.musschatz-13705/?sp=2 (accessed: 07.11.2024).

[7] Isouard N. *Cendrillon*… P. 1; Pavesi S. *Agatina o la Virtù premiata*. Dramma semiserio per musica in due atti di F. F. da rappresentarsi nel R. Teatro alla Scala nella primavera del 1814. Milano: dalle stampe di Giacomo Pirola, s. d. [1814]. P. 1; Rossini G. *La Cenerentola ossia La bontà in trionfo*. Dramma giocoso. Poesia di Giacomo Ferretti romano; rappresentata nel Teatro Valle nel carnevale dell'anno 1817; con musica del maestro Gioacchino Rossini pesarese. Roma: Tipografia Mordacchini, s. d. [1817]. P. 1.

[Ibid., p. 72] On the other hand, he derived from Pavesi an aria from the latter's *Odoardo e Cristina* for his own opera based on the same plot — *Eduardo e Cristina* [Ibid.] (for more detail, see: [10]). Aldo Salvagno also indicates that in the sole post-premiere production of *Agatina* in Naples (1817), it was not the original duo of Dandini and Don Magnifico which was performed, but "Un segreto d'importanza" from Rossini's *Cenerentola*. [11, p. 222][8]

It is no wonder then that the similarity between the two operas reveals itself in certain details of the structure of separate numbers, as well as the texts. [12, pp. 107–108] For example, the famous exit aria of the prince's disguised servant, Dandini, in both cases, not only sounds immediately after the chorus of his attendants, but also begins in a similar manner — with a comparison, which is meant to create a comical effect: "Come Alcide io torno in armi" ("As Alcides, I return armed…") in Pavesi's opera and "Come un'ape ne' giorni d'aprile" ("As a bee in April…") in Rossini's opera [Ibid., p. 110] (see Table 1).

In addition, the heroines in Fiorini's and Ferretti's librettos finally receive their own names, moreover, "telling" ones: in the first case, it is Agatina (from the Greek "Agatos" — good, kind), and in the second case — Angelina ("angelic creature") [8, p. 561]. And even the very title of Rossini's opera — *La Cenerentola, ossia La bontà in trionfo* — bears a correspondence to Pavesi's *Agatina, o La virtù premiata* [13, p. 246]: the words *virtù* (virtue) and *bontà* (goodness) are presented here as synonyms. And this is, most likely, not accidental, since it is known that at first Ferretti wished to give the opera the title of *Angiolina o la virtù premiata*, however, that was rejected by the censors. [14, p. 178]

All the more intriguing it is to turn to the primary source — Isouard's *Cendrillon*, — in order to understand, what transformations and metamorphoses the well-known storyline had undergone, before having been molded into the perfect form of Rossini's opera.

Table 1. The Text of Dandini's Aria in the First Acts of Pavesi's and Rossini's Operas[9]

Agatina by Stefano Pavesi	
Come Alcide io torno in armi Col trofeo d'orrenda spoglia. La foresta non ha foglia, Che non tremi al mio valor.	**As Alcides, I return armed**, With a terrible trophy skin. There are no leaves in the forest, Which would not tremble at my valor.
Cenerentola by Gioachino Rossini	
Come un'ape ne' giorni d'aprile va volando leggera e scherzosa; corre al giglio, poi salta alla rosa, dolce un fiore a cercare per sé: fra le belle m'aggiro e rimiro...	**As a bee in April days** Flies lightly and playfully; Hurries to the lily, then transfers to the rose, In order to find a sweet flower: I wander among the beauties and admire them…

[8] See also the score of Act II of Pavesi's opera, preserved in Naples (Pavesi, Stefano. *Agatina o La Virtu' Premiata*. […] atto II. Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella, Napoli. IT-NA0059, identifier: IT\ICCU\MSM\0161436, pp. 121–138 back side).

[9] See: Pavesi S. *Agatina*… P. 27; Rossini G. *La Cenerentola*…, pp. 13–14.

The New Element in the Opera Librettos Compared with Perrault's Fairy Tale

The changes Etienne brought into Perrault's fairy tale are the most perceptible in the combination of the dramatis personae and new plotline motives. We are familiar with the greater part of these changes from Rossini's opera (Table 2): instead of a stepmother, there is a stepfather; instead of a fairy-godmother, there is the prince's tutor. Some of the protagonists were completely discarded by Etienne from his libretto: absent are the king with the queen[10] and (in a logical way) Cinderella's father. At the same time, a new character also appears — the prince's father.

Another novelty is presented in the names. In Perrault's fairy tale, almost none of the characters is given a name,[11] even the main heroine, who makes do with a nickname. In Etienne's libretto, everybody receives names, except for Cendrillon — this injustice, as has already been mentioned above, was corrected only by the Italians. In everything else, we see an almost complete concurrence with Rossini's opera: the prince is Ramir, his servant is Dandini, the tutor is Alidor, the stepfather is le baron de Montefiascone, the sisters are Clorinde and Tisbé (Table 3). The only thing that Ferretti added here was the baron's "telling" name — Don Magnifico. However, he merely continued the tendency already paved by Etienne: Cinderella's sisters virtually also have "telling" names. Some researchers have drawn our attention to the fact that both Clorinde and Tisbé [Thisbe] are literary heroines, whose love stories have ended tragically. [8, p. 558–559] The first is a character from Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, a Saracen warrior-girl with whom Tancred was in love and who died from his hands. The second is a protagonist from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: Thisbe, the beloved of Pyramus, who committed suicide after his death. Wunderlich indicates that the use of these names in the libretto is connected with "ironic allusions to the unrealized love." [Ibid., p. 559] Incidentally, the family name of Barone di Monte Fiascone — "literally Baron Mount Flagon" [13, p. 249] — also contains the insinuation at the baron's fondness of wine. It is preserved both in *Agatina*, and in *Cenerentola*. However, it is noteworthy that in the aforementioned Neapolitan production of Pavesi's opera in 1817, this name "disappears, giving place to Don Magnifico," [11, p. 458] which shows once more the influence Rossini's *Cenerentola* exerted on its predecessor. [Ibid.]

Table 2. The Protagonists of Perrault's Fairy Tale and Isouard's Opera

Perrault's Fairy Tale	*Isouard's Opera*
The Prince →	The Prince (*Ramir*)
Cinderella (Cendrillon)	Cendrillon
The Stepmother	**The Stepfather** (*Le baron de Montefiascone*)
The Sisters →	The Sisters (*Clorinde, Tisbe*)
The Fairy	**The Tutor** (*Alidor*)
—	**The Prince's Servant** (*Dandini*)
Cinderella's Father	—
The King	—
The Queen	—

[10] According to the fairy tale, the king, prior to his death, ordered the prince to marry during the course of a month (this explains why in the dialogues Ramir is called the king). See: Isouard N. *Cendrillon*… P. 11.

[11] Only the name of one of the sisters is mentioned — Javotte.

Table 3. The Acting Characters of the Operas by Isouard, Rossini and Pavesi

Nicolo Isouard *Cendrillon* **(1810)**	**Gioachino Rossini** *La Cenerentola ossia* *La bontà in trionfo* **(1817)**	**Stefano Pavesi** *Agatina o la Virtù premiata* **(1814)**
Ramir, *prince* de Salerne	Don Ramiro *Principe* di Salerno	Ramiro, Sovrano di Salerno
Alidor, son précepteur; *grand astrologue*	Alidoro, Filosofo Maestro di Don Ramiro	Alidoro, suo Maestro, *grand Astrologo*, e Mago
Dandini, the prince's *armor-bearer* Dandini, écuyer du Prince	Dandini, the prince's *personal attendant* Dandini suo *Cameriere* [del Principe]	Dandini, the prince's *personal attendant* Dandini, *Cameriere* del Principe
Baron de Montefiascone Le baron de Montefiascone	***Don Magnifico*** Baron di Monte Fiascone ***Don Magnifico*** Barone di Monte Fiascone	Baron de Montefiascone Il barone di Montefiascone
Clorinde, his elder daughter Clorinde, sa fille aînée Thisbe, his younger daughter Tisbé, sa fille cadette	Clorinde and Thisbe, his daughters Clorinde, Tisbe	Clorinde and Thisbe, his daughters Clorinde, Tisbe, sue figlie
Cinderella, his stepdaughter Cendrillon, sa belle fille	***Angelina***, his stepdaughter ***Angelina*** sotto nome di Cenerentola figliastra di Don Magnifico	***Agatina***, his stepdaughter ***Agatina***, sua figliastra

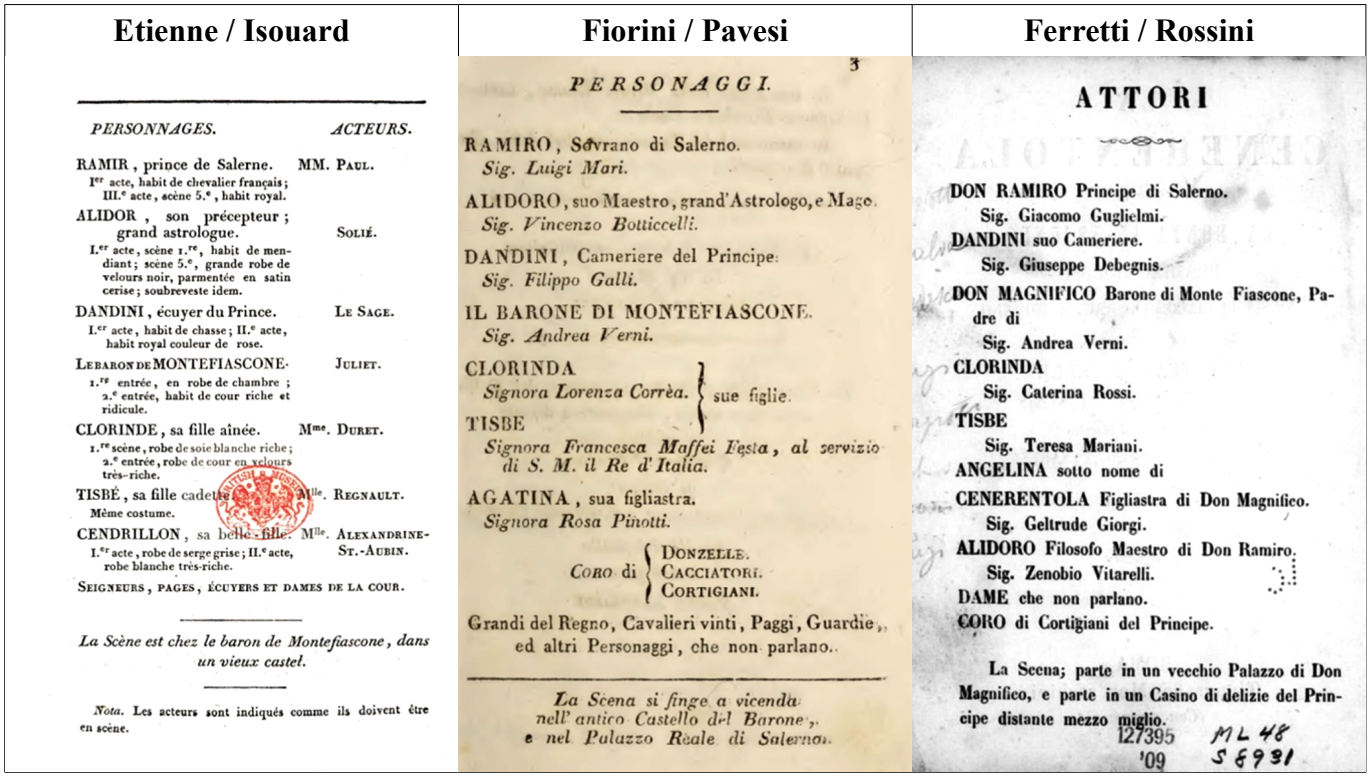
The question remains, to what extent was Etienne himself original in this. It is known that in the history of French musical theater, there existed an even earlier version of *Cendrillon* — an opéra comique by Jean-Louis Laruette (1731–1792), set to the libretto written by Louis Anseaume (1721(?)–1784), which was produced on the stage of the Théâtre de la Foire Saint-Germain in 1759. [8, p. 558; 11, p. 49] Until recently, it could only have been surmised, whether it was particularly this opera that became the source of those changes that Etienne put into the plotline. However, presently, as the result of universal "digitalization," its libretto has become available for study. Moreover, in 2005, the musical score was found, with which the French had organized the production (its recording is available on the website of the Bibliothèque nationale de France[12]). On the one hand, the libretto of this opera does not forestall Isouard's *Cendrillon* in any way. On the other hand, certain peculiarities indicate at the fact that Etienne, even if he did not know Anseaume's text, moved in the same direction: in Laruette's opera, the stepmother, Cinderella's father and the king (as a separate character brought out on stage) disappear, while the prince acquires a name (Azor) and a servant (also with a name — Pierrot).[13]

[12] URL: https://bnf.fr/fr/mediatheque/cendrillon-opera-comique-de-jean-louis-laruette-et-louis-anseaume-1759 (accessed: 07.11.2024).

[13] However, Laruette's opera has its own "peculiarities" — for example, the action in it begins already after Cinderella has been to the ball and has lost her shoe.

Another accomplishment of Etienne is the concretization of the place of events: from the list of the acting protagonists, we learn that Ramir is the prince of Salerno [prince de Salerne]. This specification migrated without any alterations, first to Pavesi's opera, and then to that of Rossini (only in the former's work, Ramiro is called the sovereign of Salerno [Sovrano di Salerno] (see Il. 3), however, in the text of the libretto itself he is mentioned as a prince).

The Italians also derived the indication that the action takes place in the old palace of the baron (Table 4).



Etienne / Isouard

PERSONNAGES. ACTEURS.

RAMIR, prince de Salerne. MM. PAUL.
Ier acte, habit de chevalier français; IIIe acte, scène 5e, habit royal.

ALIDOR, son précepteur; grand astrologue. SOLIÉ.
Ier acte, scène 1re, habit de mendiant; scène 5e, grande robe de velours noir, parmentée en satin cerise; soubreveste idem.

DANDINI, écuyer du Prince. LE SAGE.
Ier acte, habit de chasse; IIe acte, habit royal couleur de rose.

LE BARON DE MONTEFIASCONE. JULIET.
1re entrée, en robe de chambre; 2e entrée, habit de cour riche et ridicule.

CLORINDE, sa fille aînée. Mme. DURET.
1re scène, robe de soie blanche riche; 2e entrée, robe de cour en velours très-riche.

TISBÉ, sa fille cadette. Mlle. REGNAULT.
Même costume.

CENDRILLON, sa belle-fille. Mlle. ALEXANDRINE-ST.-AUBIN.
Ier acte, robe de serge grise; IIe acte, robe blanche très-riche.

SEIGNEURS, PAGES, ÉCUYERS ET DAMES DE LA COUR.

La Scène est chez le baron de Montefiascone, dans un vieux castel.

Nota. Les acteurs sont indiqués comme ils doivent être en scène.

Fiorini / Pavesi

3

PERSONAGGI.

RAMIRO, Sovrano di Salerno.
Sig. Luigi Mari.

ALIDORO, suo Maestro, grand'Astrologo, e Mago.
Sig. Vincenzo Botticelli.

DANDINI, Cameriere del Principe.
Sig. Filippo Galli.

IL BARONE DI MONTEFIASCONE.
Sig. Andrea Verni.

CLORINDA } sue figlie.
Signora Lorenza Corrèa.

TISBE
Signora Francesca Maffei Festa, al servizio di S. M. il Re d'Italia.

AGATINA, sua figliastra.
Signora Rosa Pinotti.

CORO di { DONZELLE. CACCIATORI. CORTIGIANI.

Grandi del Regno, Cavalieri vinti, Paggi, Guardie, ed altri Personaggi, che non parlano.

La Scena si finge a vicenda nell' antico Castello del Barone, e nel Palazzo Reale di Salerno.

Ferretti / Rossini

ATTORI

DON RAMIRO Principe di Salerno.
Sig. Giacomo Guglielmi.
DANDINI suo Cameriere.
Sig. Giuseppe Debegnis.
DON MAGNIFICO Barone di Monte Fiascone, Padre di
Sig. Andrea Verni.
CLORINDA
Sig. Caterina Rossi.
TISBE
Sig. Teresa Mariani.
ANGELINA sotto nome di
CENERENTOLA Figliastra di Don Magnifico.
Sig. Geltrude Giorgi.
ALIDORO Filosofo Maestro di Don Ramiro.
Sig. Zenobio Vitarelli.
DAME che non parlano.
CORO di Cortigiani del Principe.

La Scena; parte in un vecchio Palazzo di Don Magnifico, e parte in un Casino di delizie del Principe distante mezzo miglio.

Il. 3. The Protagonists and the Place of Action of the Operas by Isouard, Pavesi and Rossini[14]

Table 4. The Place of Action in the Operas of Isouard, Pavesi and Rossini

Etienne / Isouard	Fiorini / Pavesi	Ferretti / Rossini
The action takes place ***at the baron*** *de Montefiascone's home,* ***in his old castle***	*The action takes place* ***at the baron's old castle*** *and at the Royal palace of Salerno*	*The action takes place partially* ***at the old palace of baron Magnifico*** *and partially at the prince's Pavillion of Delights, located at the distance of half a mile from the former*
La Scène est ***chez le baron*** *de Montefiascone,* ***dans un vieux castel***	*La Scena si finge a vicenda* ***nell' antico Castello del Barone****, e nel Palazzo Reale di Salerno*	*La Scena; parte* ***in un vecchio Palazzo*** *di Don Magnifico, e parte in un Casino di delizie del Principe distante mezzo miglio*

[14] Isouard N. *Cendrillon*… P. 2; Pavesi S. *Agatina*… P. 2; Rossini G. *La Cenerentola*… P. 2.

However, the most important change, in comparison with Perrault's fairy tale, is provided by the new plotline motives appearing in Isouard's opera. The tutor finds the prince a worthy fiancée and organizes their meeting, while the prince changes roles with his servant for a while. Cinderella and her sisters undergo a number of trials. At first, Alidor appears in their home in the guise of a beggar, whom Clorinde and Tisbé drive away, whereas the main heroine greets him, then the sisters reject the real prince, disguised as a servant, while Cendrillon falls in love with Ramir, thinking that he is a simple armor-bearer, and remains true to him: in Etienne's libretto, she runs away at the moment when it seems to her that she is forced to marry Dandini, whom she thinks to be the prince.

All these motives migrated in an almost unchanged form into the libretto of *Agatina* and Rossini's *Cenerentola*. A rightful question occurs: is there anything original at all in the latter two?

The Original in Ferretti's Libretto

As has been noted above, Ferretti derived a rather great number of details from Fiorini's libretto. However, in regard to a number of motives, plotline turns and even the structure, *Agatina* stands much closer to the French original than Rossini's *Cenerentola*.

The first that catches the eye is a complete lack of the magic constituent in Ferretti's libretto. Some of the researchers trace this rejection to Pavesi's opera, [15, p. 80] which is utterly wrong: while in Etienne's plotline, Alidor, who replaces the fairy in his function, is a great astrologist, in Fiorini's plotline, he is also a magician. This seems remarkable, but in *Agatina* the magic elements are even somewhat enhanced in comparison with Isouard's opera, which is indicated, among others, by Wunderlich. [8, p. 560] According to the French original source, Alidor sends Cendrillon to the ball in a dream,[15] while according to Pavesi, the magician transforms a boulder on which she falls asleep into a chariot harnessed with winged dragons taking both into the prince's palace:

> Frattanto Agatina s'abbandona addolorata sopra un masso coperto di verdure. Alidoro da lei non veduto l'osserva attentamente, ed avvicinandosele con precauzione la tocca con la sua magica bacchetta. Agatina rimane assopita, e nel punto medesimo, il di lei vestiario semplice, e negletto cambiandasi in un vago, e richissimo abbigliamento, a un cenno d'Alidoro, il masso si traforma in un carro, tirato da due alati Draghi, che rapidamente trasportano Agatina, e il Mago.[16]

In addition, in both Etienne's and Fiorini's librettos there is a magic rose that Alidor presents to Cinderella, after she wakes up in the palace. The rose is meant help her not only remain unrecognized, but also feel more free, as well as endow her with special talents (the dialogues in Etienne's and Fiorini's librettos are very close to each other[17]). At the end of the ball, Cinderella throws down the flower and runs away. In the final scene, Alidor returns the rose to her, and the heroine's dress transforms itself into the same rich apparel in which she was dressed at the ball.[18]

As we all know, none of this takes place in Rossini's opera. Even the traditional shoe is absent: Ferretti replaced the shoe with a bracelet, which Cinderella herself gives to

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[15] Isouard N. *Cendrillon*…, pp. 30–31.

[16] Pavesi S. *Agatina*… P. 35.

[17] Isouard N. *Cendrillon*… P. 33; Pavesi S. *Agatina*… P. 37.

[18] Isouard N. *Cendrillon*… P. 75; Pavesi S. *Agatina*…, pp. 58–59.

the prince, so that he would find her. Incidentally, in Etienne's libretto, the shoe is present, after all — one of Cendrillon's sisters informs in the dialogue that an unknown princess, who disappeared together with her attendants,[19] has lost a small green slipper.[20] However, Fiorini sufficed with one rose — he also does not have the slipper in his plotline.

There are other details present common for Isouard's and Pavesi's operas, but absent in Rossini's work. For example, the motive that came from Perrault's fairy tale, when Cinderella gives her sisters presents — only not oranges, but also pearls and diamonds from her dress.[21] Or the episode of the meeting between Cinderella and the prince after the ball in the baron's castle: the prince does not recognize her, while Cinderella tells him that she had a dream about the ball. The prince there was not a prince, and nobody paid any attention to him, with the exception of the beautiful lady, who unexpectedly appeared accompanied by a large group of attendants, and then vanished just as suddenly.[22]

The same thing could also be observed upon the comparison of the structure of the three operas. The most significant number of parallels appears between Isouard's and Pavesi's works, although, of course, an entire set of scenes was passed onto the libretto of Rossini's *Cenerentola* without any principal changes. On the other hand, certain numbers of the latter opera conspicuously intersect with Agatina and have no analogies with Isouard's *Cendrillon*.

This is very clearly visible by the examples of the initial scenes. A detailed comparison of the Introductions to Pavesi's and Rossini's operas (including that from the musical perspective) is made in Fabbri's article, [12, p. 107–109] however, for us their correlation with Isouard's opera is also important. The structures of the first episodes in all three of the compositions are almost identical: at first, there is the duo of Clorinde and Tisbé, followed by the song of Cinderella, who is scolded by her sisters. The words of this song are different in all of the operas, but, as may be seen from Table 5, Ferretti derived the beginning of his libretto from Fiorini.

The next plotline landmark — Alidor's appearance in the guise of a beggar — may be observed in all three of the operas, which is not surprising, since it presents one of the key moments of the general collision. However, from there on, the versions differ. According to Isouard and Pavesi, the scene finishes with a general ensemble of four participants, at the center of which is the sisters' attitude towards the beggar and his dialogue with Cinderella. In Rossini's opera, as we know, this scene is interrupted by the chorus of courtiers, who have arrived to announce to the "dear daughters of Don Magnefico" [figlie amabili di don Magnifico] that the prince himself shall come to them and personally invite them to the ball, where he will be choosing his fiancée. As a result, the introduction finishes with an ensemble that includes a chorus, while the new plotline layout arises in the musical scene, and not in the spoken dialogue or the recitative, as in Isouard's and Pavesi's operas.

Table 6 also presents the correlation with the other plotline turns and numbers: we see, for example, that the idea of the aria

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[19] The motive of the disappeared attendants is also present in Pavesi's opera [Ibid., p. 50].

[20] Clorinda: "We have found only one of her beautiful green shoes that she dropped when she ran away" ("On n'a plus trouvé qu'un de ses jolis petits souliers verds qu'elle a laissé tomber au moment où elle s'échappait"). See: Isouard N. *Cendrillon*… P. 57.

[21] Isouard N. *Cendrillon*… P. 51; Pavesi S. *Agatina*… P. 45.

[22] Isouard N. *Cendrillon*… P. 70; Pavesi S. *Agatina*… P. 56.

Table 5. The Structure of the Introductions in Isouard's, Pavesi, and Rossini's Operas

Etienne / Isouard	Fiorini / Pavesi	Ferretti / Rossini
Act I	**Act I**	**Act I**
Quatuor (Clorinde, Thisbé, Cendrillon, Alidor) ***The Duo of the Sisters*** (*Arrangeons ces fleurs, ces dentelles*) ***The Song of Cendrillon*** (*Il était un p'tit homme — He was a Small Man*) ***The Appearance of Alidor in the Guise of a Beggar***: (*Ayez pitié de ma misère transi de froid, mourant de faim, je demande un morceau de pain. Soyez sensible à ma prière;* ***La charité****, s'il vous plait*[23])	**Introduzione** (Clorinda, Tisbe, Agatina, Alidoro) ***The Duo of the Sisters*** (*Su da brave lavoriamo)* ***The Song of Agatina*** (***C'era una volta un Re bello — There Once Lived a Beautiful King***) ***The Appearance of Alidoro in the Guise of a Beggar****:* *(La carità, signore, a un vecchio poverello, che or or di fame muore… Un tozzo, un quattrinello vi chiedo per pietà*[24])	**Introduzione** (Clorinda, Tisbe, Cenerentola, Alidoro, coro) ***The Duo of the Sisters*** (No no no: non v'é, non v'é) ***The Song of Cenerentola*** (***Una volta c'era un Re — There Once Lived a King***) ***The Appearance of Alidoro in the Guise of a Beggar***: (Un tantin ***di carità***[25]) ***Coro*** (*O figlie amabili di don Magnifico*)

Table 6. Scenes of the First Act

Etienne / Isouard	Fiorini / Pavesi	Ferretti / Rossini
Act I, Scenes 3–6	**Act I, Scenes 4–5**	**Act I, Scene 4**
The Appearance of the Baron — Conversation Scene No. 2. Romance [Cendrillon] (*Je suis modeste et soumise / Le monde me voit fort peu – I am modest and obedient / The World Sees Me Very Little*) No. 3. Duo [Alidor, Le Prince]	No. 2. ***Cavatina*** *del Barone* (*Mentre dorme il genitore*) No. 3. Duetto fra il Principe ed Alidoro (*Quella, che brama il core Tenera, e fida sposa*) No. 4. Aria di Agatina (*Mal vestita, a tutti ascosa – Dressed badly, Concealed from Everybody*)	No. 2. ***Cavatina*** [*Don Magnifico*] (*Miei rampolli femminini*) No. 3. **Duetto** **(Cenerentola e Don Ramiro)**

[23] Isouard N. *Cendrillon*… P. 4.
[24] Pavesi S. *Agatina*… P. 10.
[25] Rossini G. *La Cenerentola*… P. 4.

in which the baron tells of his dream is derived from *Agatina*[26]; in Isouard's opera, it is the conversation scene.[27] On the other hand, in the following scenes, Fiorini follows Etienne, — albeit, rotating the main heroine's solo and the duo of the Prince with his tutor.[28] On the other hand, Ferretti substitutes these episodes with the duo of Ramir and Angelina.[29]

An interesting case is presented by the appearance of Dandini (Table 7). In Isouard's opera, it is accompanied by a chorus of hunters, who extoll the prince's valor, which is followed by a comical scene with conversation, where the disguised armor-bearer asked the court attendants again whether he really killed a beast. The courtiers assure him that it was really he who killed it, while Dandini answers that it seemed that he did not shoot at all.[30] In Pavesi's opera, the hunters' chorus is preserved (moreover, the text bears a distinct resemblance to the original source text[31] — see Table 7), but this character's entrance is transformed into an aria — and this is particularly what Ferretti incorporated into his libretto. The chorus prior to the scene is also present in Rossini's *Cenerentola*, but in this case it is in no way connected to hunting.[32] At the same time, the "hunting" chorus is, indeed, included in the opera, albeit, in another scene (Scena decima, Coro ed Aria "Conciossiacosacché trenta botti già gustò") and connected with the hunt indirectly, through the self-borrowing of the musical material (the hunter's chorus) from an earlier work by Rossini, the opera *Sigismondo* (1814), which, in its turn, stems to one of the choruses from *La pietra del paragone* (1812) [16, p. 76] (about the self-borrowings in Rossini's music, see also [17; 18]).

The pronounced structural contrast between Isouard's *Cendrillon*, on the one hand,

Table 7. The Scene of the Appearance of Dandini in the Guise of the Prince

Etienne / Isouard	**Fiorini / Pavesi**	**Ferretti / Rossini**
Act I, Scene 10	**Act I, Scene 10**	**Act I, Scene 6**
No. 5. Choeur [chasseurs] Oh! la belle journée! Toujours nouveau plaisir. La chasse est terminée, Et le bal va s'ouvrir. ***Que chacun applaudisse*** ***Au meilleur de nos rois;*** ***Que l'écho retentisse*** ***Du bruit de ses exploits***!	No. 7. Coro di ***Cacciatori*** ***Del nostro Re magnanimo*** ***Cantiam le gesta altere*** E'la sua destra un fulmine, Ch' atterra mostri, e fiere; ***In ogni lido — il grido*** ***Suoni del suo valor***	No. 4. Coro Scegli la sposa, affrettati: s'invola via l'eta: la principesca linea, se no si estinguera.
Dandini's dialogue with the hunters (a conversation scene)	**Cavatina** (**Dandini**) (***Come Alcide io torno in armi***)	**Cavatina** (**Dandini**) (***Come un'ape nei giorni d'aprile***)

[26] Pavesi S. *Agatina*…, pp. 13–14.
[27] Isouard N. *Cendrillon*… P. 7.
[28] Pavesi S. *Agatina*…, pp. 17–19; Isouard N. *Cendrillon*…, pp. 14–20.
[29] Rossini G. *La Cenerentola*…, pp. 11–12.
[30] Isouard N. *Cendrillon*… P. 27.
[31] Pavesi S. *Agatina*… P. 26.
[32] Rossini G. *La Cenerentola*…, pp. 13–14.

and the operas of the Italian composers, on the other, lies in the number of acts: in the former case, there are three of them, in the cases of the latter — two each. And it can be expected that here Rossini would follow Pavesi's model. However, it is not entirely so: in *Agatina*, just as in Isouard's opera, the first act ends with a scene in which Cinderella begs her stepfather to take her to the ball — in general terms, it corresponds to the quintet from the first act of Rossini's opera. Consequently, the second act begins with the scene of the magic dream and continues with the ball, which includes a competition, which, however, takes place behind the curtains, the numbers of Cinderella and her sister and, finally, the main heroine's flight.

It should be reminded that in Rossini's opera, nothing resembles the aforementioned. The scene in the prince's palace is transferred to the final scene of Act I and is constructed in an absolutely different manner: there is no tournament, no songs or dances, however, there are comic scenes — with Don Magnifico, whom Dandini appoints as the keeper of the wine cellars, and with Cinderella's sisters, who struggle for the attention of the feigned prince and reject the real one. And Cinderella's very appearance at the ball is presented in an absolutely different manner. In addition, she leaves the prince's palace already in the second act; moreover, she does not flee, but simply departs. In the subsequent development of the action of *Cenerentola*, Rossini distances himself further from Isouard's and Pavesi's operas. In the latter, there are no arias of Don Magnifico, no thunderstorm, nor any broken carriage, and nothing resembling the famous sextet. The final scenes are also determined in an absolutely different fashion. The only thing Ferretti incorporated for the second act was the duet of Dandini and the Baron, wherein the former reveals to the latter, that he is no prince, but a servant. [11, p. 222]

Summary

Thereby, despite the similitude of the plotlines and partially in the structures, the libretto of Rossini's *Cenerentola* is by no means identical to its prototypes. Ferretti, being a much more experienced librettist than Fiorini, departs significantly further from the original source, shedding the divertimento-like episodes and scenes from his libretto that impede the action. He also revises the structures more decisively — those of the separate numbers and scenes and of entire acts. Rossini's librettist rejects entirely the magical component of the story, at the same time, strengthening the libretto's comical constituent part. While deriving dramaturgical turns, images and techniques from the other composers, he transforms them almost to a point of unrecognizability.

And the fact that today we remember particularly Rossini's *Cenerentola* is no accident. It is, indeed, a remarkable composition. Upon first glance, it would seem that it consists solely of derivations — Rossini derived the plotline from Isouard and Pavesi, and from himself — a significant part of the musical material from his own earlier operas. However, in his *Cenerentola* the same thing occurred that prior to that happened in *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*: this musical material, finally, acquired the plotline and libretto foreordained for it by fate and, as a result, what appeared was a masterpiece that overshadowed all the previous operas.

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Simon Steen-Andersen — a Composer of the Postmodernist Era*

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Abstract. The composer's position in the contemporary academic musical culture includes an entire spectrum of directives: from the modern to the postmodern. The postmodernist aesthetical directive towards irony and the element of play are the most akin to Danish composer Simon Steen-Anderson, who has received broad recognition in the professional community. In this article, the conceptions of three compositions by Steen-Andersen are analyzed — *Black Box Music* for solo percussionist and fifteen performers (2012), *In Spite Of*, *And Maybe Even Therefore* for winds, piano, percussion and double-bass (2007) and *Amongst* for amplified guitar and large orchestra (2005). These compositions demonstrate a prevalence of the compositional strategies of deconstruction, which make it possible for the composer to choose an unexpected and nontrivial angle in regard to such archetypical dialogic ideas as "the orchestra vs. the soloist," "the conductor vs. the soloist," "the old vs. the new."

Keywords: Simon Steen-Andersen, *Black Box Music*, *In Spite Of*, *And Maybe Even Therefore*, *Amongst*, postmodernism, deconstruction, the concept of a musical composition

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Translated by Dr. Anton Rovner.

Introduction

Chronologically, art entered the stage that was subsequently labeled as postmodernist during the period of the 1960s and the 1970s. This was also asserted by musicologists: Richard Taruskin, [1] Jonathan Kramer, [2] and Judith Lochhead. [3] This fact has also been discussed by Russian scholars. Mention must be made of Evgeniya Lianskaya's dissertation, [4] the massive, the substantive articles of Svetlana Savenko, [5] and Vladimir Chinayev, [6] and the book by Marianna Vysotskaya and Galina Grigorieva. [7] The issues and techniques of postmodernism in musical culture continue to be studied and cognized by musicologists up to the present day. [8; 9]

The methodological status of postmodernism has been formulated by Umberto Eco in his essay "Postscript to 'The Name of the Rose'": "I, myself, am convinced that postmodernism is not a fixed chronological phenomenon, but a certain spiritual state, if you will, *Kunstwollen* — an approach towards work. In this sense, the phrase is appropriate that any epoch contains its own postmodernism, just like any epoch has its own mannerism <…> The past presses down, overwhelms, intimidates us. The historical avant-garde (incidentally, in this case, I also take the avant-garde as a meta-historical category) wishes to disavow the past. <…> Postmodernism presents an answer to modernism: since it is not possible to destroy the past, or else its destruction leads to speechlessness, it must be reevaluated, ironically, without naïveté." [10, p. 435]

Irony and play are chiefly perceptible in the music of Danish composer Simon Steen-Andersen (b. 1976). At first, let us clarify, why we have turned particularly to this composer, who is very modestly represented in contemporary scholarly literature (see, for example, [11; 12]). In the present day, in the conditions of the global world, the function of the contemporary "table of ranks" is carried out by various ratings, wherein each composer is given a certain position, according to expert assessment. Despite the fact that each rating is rather conditional, let us, nonetheless, turn our attention to the initiative of the Italian journal *Classical Voice*, which in 2017 published a large-scale query of experts in the sphere of contemporary music and received the following result: the greatest number of voices was gathered by Austrian composer Georg Friedrich Haas, and after him, the second place was taken by Simon Steen-Andersen, who was in advance of such acknowledged masters of contemporary composition as Helmut Lachenmann and Salvatore Sciarrino. At the moment of the publication of the rating, the composer turned 40 years old, and the list of his compositions was quite broad: it numbered around 50 compositions, frequently bestowed with large European prizes and awards.

Steen-Andersen's path into composition did not differ from the conventional type in Northern Europe: he studied in his native city of Aarhus in northern Denmark, where his composition teacher was Karl Aage Rasmussen. During the course of his studies, Steen-Andersen made use of the possibilities of the program of academic mobility, which allowed him to study a while in Freiburg with Mathias Spahlinger, in Buenos Aires with Gabriel Valverde and in Copenhagen with Bent Sørensen. Presently, Steen-Andersen lives in Berlin and teaches composition in Bern, at the University for the Arts.

He immediately drew attention towards himself from the public and the expert community by the originality of his compositional ideas, which are situated in a zone between pure and theatrical

performance. His witty and nonstandard solutions have attracted the attention of critics and have resulted in numerous commissions from various ensembles, which included such outstanding collectives as *Ensemble Modern* and *Ensemble Recherche*. He has been a frequent guest of the Donaueschingen Festival and the Darmstadt Summer Courses. His musical works reflect an authorial vision, which frequently treads along a nontraditional, non-banal, paradoxical path. Let us examine some of his compositions.

Black Box Music (2012)

Steen-Andersen's compositions are for the most part programmatic and draw attention towards themselves by their peculiar conceptions. Particularly the conceptual component presents the first level of authorial originality. Let us turn to one of his most famous works, highlighted in the aforementioned rating — *Black Box Music* (2012)[1]. For start, let us try to interpret the title. Notwithstanding the fact that this is also the title of an Italian musical group, which was popular in the 1980s and early 1990s, as well as of a company active in the field of the technology of spectacular events, which organized concerts since 1992 (for example, of the German industrial rock group *Rammstein*), the initial meaning of *Black Box*, in this case, must be considered the concept of the "black box" introduced by William Ashby, a British psychiatrist and specialist in cybernetics. A black box, as the dictionaries interpret this concept, is an "apparatus and/or program system with an unknown inner structure, but with a familiar (foreseeable, registered) reaction for signal inputs, commands or data. The principle of the 'black box' has been widely used in testing. If the inner workings of a black box are defined, then its reactions on input actions are fixed and may be fixated, studied and prognosticated, and if they are not determined, then these reactions are more often than not unpredictable. In engineering, a black box is an installation, system or object, described from the positions of input and output, but without any comprehension of how its inner construction works. In this sense, the human brain is, indeed, a 'black box,' the construction of which remains little known to us."[2] Thereby, a black box is a certain contrivance endowed with certain reactions, which are hardly always predictable. In this regard, it may be regarded as a large metaphor, providing the opportunity for endless experimentation and study.

How does Steen-Andersen interpret this title?

The piece *Black Box Music* was composed for a solo percussionist, 15 instruments, an amplified box and video. The soloist stands on the stage, immersing his hands in a black box with a built-in camera and various sources of sound. In this box he plays different objects — tuning forks, stretched pieces of rubber, fans, — and at the same time directs the music with the help of gigantic "hands" projected on the screen behind his back. The composition contains a very precisely written-out musical score, in which both the instrumental sounds and the noises are fully fixated. The idea of the work could be called original, to the highest degree. The initial point of the piece is, of course, the classical soloist-conductor. The motions of the conductor, who is manipulating an invisible orchestra, are

[1] The composition has aroused immense public response. Steen-Andersen received a prize of the Nordic Council Music Prize (2014), the Mauricio Kagel Music Prize (2017) and an Siemens Music Prize (2017) for this work.

[2] Black box. *Multitran. Electronic dictionary*.
URL: https://multitran.com/m.exe?s=black%20box%20abstraction&l1=1&l22 (accessed: 07.11.2024).

projected on a screen. However, it does not immediately become clear that the performer is standing in front of a black box covered with a black curtain, having put his hands inside the box, and not being able to see his own actions — they appear only as a projection, and are visible only to the audience. These motions are viewed and perceived as signs of directing the orchestra — and the musicians, situated in the dark premises of the concert hall along the walls (i.e., placed in a position similar to that of the audience), react to these gestures. But the main point of attraction of the audience's attention is in the conductor's gestures, which resemble the manipulations of an actor-puppeteer. It becomes apparent that the conductor and the soloist are one and the same personality, only an inwardly disconnected one: the conductor conducts, essentially, into emptiness, while the soloist submits to the playing of the orchestra. The music of the black box may be interpreted as the deconstruction simultaneously of conducting and of the puppet theater, and, at the same time, as research and exploitation of the audiovisual relations comprising conducting and theatrical production. This entire 30-minute show is divided into three parts. It begins with an Overture and the "Elimination of Ambiguousness" and ends with a ceremonial, pompous "Finale."

The ironic musical drama played-in within the "black box" presents an absurdist action, where the very source of the action is incomprehensible: either the conductor is generating music to life with his manipulations, as this frequently happens, or it is that the music with its actions arouses the reactions of the conductor, who turns out to be simply a figurehead, a puppet "led" by the ensemble, which at times puts its conditional leader "to the test." The role of the conductor is fancifully interpreted in the absurd actions of the cartoonish character. To a certain degree, this work comes to resemble Mauricio Kagel's composition, *Zwei-Mann-Orchester*, wherein the initial parodied figure is presented by the so-called "one-man-orchestra" — a street musician who plays on several instruments at once. Thereby, the "black box" turns out to be simultaneously a real object and a metaphor, a merry, but also a frightening symbol of the mysterious process of musical collaboration, at times transforming into rivalry and always bearing the uncertainty of the result, since neither the "conductor" is allowed to surmise, how his exercises would finish, nor the performers have any knowledge, what would be the next gesture of the head of the ensemble, and who is controlling whom — it remains unforseen.

The "Mysteriousness" of the "black box" — it is the ambivalence of the relations between two sides, two actants in the process of performance. But the possibility itself of ambivalence, of the shift in emphasis has always aroused a profound interest on the part of a composer. Frequently, this is endowed with a conceptual character, reflected in the titles of the compositions.

In Spite Of, And Maybe Even Therefore (2007)

In 2007 the work, *In Spite Of*, *And Maybe Even Therefore* was composed, the title of which intrigues us by its unusual character. Wherein lies the meaning of such a fanciful title?

The piece predominantly consists of two "musics" (which in itself is a rather frequently encountered idea — it suffices to remember, for example, Sofia Gubaidulina's *Vivente — non vivente*), both of which are being constructed and deconstructed at the same time. The first "music" is a quasi-unison, performed fortissimo by instruments without amplification situated in the background: the piano with a

closed lid, the contrabassoon, the double-bass and percussion instruments. The very beginning of this progression is repeated over and over again, within a small loop[3], gradually expanding in length, continuously discovering a greater amount of material. At the same time, this music becomes interrupted with pauses or insertions with the other music, performed by an amplified flute, clarinet and horn, all of whom are seated at the forefront. At first, it is interrupted very seldom, and only for a short, evanescent period of time. Gradually, these disruptions occur more and more frequently and for lengthier durations. Soon, they begin to prevail, and the progression acquires a more and more fragmented character and is finished by only short echoes of the initial construction.

The second process has as its basis one of Beethoven's *Bagatelles* for piano opus 126, performed at an ultra-pianissimo dynamic by the amplified flute, clarinet and horn. The musicians sit at tables, facing each other. At the beginning, they play, from time to time, one chord, but gradually the temporal interval between the chords begins to shorten. During the process of performance, it becomes possible to understand that this music is tonal and that the chords sound closer and closer to each other. At a certain moment, the sonorities drift together so closely to each other in time, that they form a tonal progression. However, each time a chord sounds, a part of one of the instruments is physically disassembled by the respective performer, which makes an uncounterfeited, "civilized" performance more and more problematic. At that exact moment when, finally, the chords are supposed to join together in a progression, the instruments have already been disassembled into separate parts and are lying as fragments on the tables in front of the performers. The musicians try with all their strength to perform Beethoven on these fragmented parts of the instruments, but the initial music almost entirely vanishes within the sounds of the manipulations with the instrument and the noisy, sham manner of performance. After a certain amount of time, the sounds disappear, paving way to that "choreography of motions" that is indispensable for their performance. Out of these "musical ruins," the music attempts to build new relationships and new paths of construction of continuity, but the sought for coalescence is slowly destroyed by the interruptions, which continuously become lengthier in time.

What happens here clearly demonstrates the process of the so-called "deconstruction," one of the crucial phenomena for postmodernism; and while for the creator of the term, Jacques Derrida, deconstruction was simply a process of analytical "dismantlement-vs.-assemblage" of a text, for Steen-Andersen, the "assemblage" of music transforms itself into "dismantlement" and the "vanishing" of the musical instrument, as if the emergence of a musical connected duration possessed a certain destructive force — thereby a bird is born, having hatched itself out of an egg: it could not have appeared alive to see the light of day, had the shell not been destroyed. The "thinned out matter" of the instrument — what is this, other than a metaphor of the spirit towering over matter? (It must be noticed that particularly it is the *wind* instruments in Steen-Andersen's music that are subject to deconstruction: only the "spirit," the breath draped in sounds, is all that remains of them, in the literal sense). The composer himself

[3] A *Loop* is a "circuitous" fragment of musical duration or magnetic tape forming a precise multifold repetition.

remarked about this quite definitely: "When I compose within a classical frame I wish to show the tradition in a radically new light. <…> I thematise the beauty of the destroyed and the unpolished. I bring the listener inside the ruined instrument to experience sounds which we normally don't come close to."[4]

Amongst (2005)

Among the instruments that are the most valuable for Steen-Andersen, special emphasis must be made of the electric guitar. This is understandable, since the composer in his earlier days began his musical activities as a performer on the electric guitar. *Amongst* — a concerto for an extremely amplified guitar and large orchestra (2005) — bears in itself an almost portrait-like resemblance with its composer, who has remarked about this: "An instrument very much like us humans! And an instrument that because of all these qualities not only has given me musical experiences of unique intensity and intimacy when I least expected it, but has also influenced the very foundation of my musical search."[5]

Amongst is essentially written for two guitars, in which two different characters are surmised. The first guitar is discreet, it seems to "conceal itself" behind its performer; on the other hand, the second guitar obstinately struggles with the impediments, in order to be heard. As the composer clarifies for us: "The orchestra has two dynamic states that correspond to the two faces of the guitar: The one is the extreme pianissimo — where the tone is not yet well defined and secure — only made audible because played or 'whispered' <…> The other dynamic state is the failed solistic fortissimo; the maximum energy put into an instrument, that is hampered or 'disabled' through special playing techniques)."[6] The composition may be divided into three or four sections, but some of these sections do not possess an obvious beginning or conclusion, and their other tendencies are also not so apparent. The form simultaneously seems to be open and self-contained. The music is conceived, for the most part, horizontally, frequently, as consisting of several lines, each of which attempts to outbalance the attention to itself, frequently with conflicting tendencies. The title *Amongst* pertains to the coexistence or the multi-strata in music (such as, for instance, "to find oneself *between* two lights" — in other words, to end up in a position, where one has to choose a certain local focus at the cost of global vision), and, at the same time, — also to coexistence in the social aspect, wherein the soloist frequently finds himself divulged by the orchestra and becomes but a part of the process of combined music-making — *amongst equals*. The focus of the composer's, and, after that, the listener's attention becomes polyvalent and nontrivial in

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[4] See: URL: https://edition-s.dk/music/simon-steen-andersen/piano-concerto (accessed: 07.11.2024). Simon Steen-Andersen's *Piano Concerto* received widespread recognition winning the special orchestra prize when it was premiered at the music festival Donaueschinger Musiktage in the fall of 2014. The work takes as its starting point the sound- and video recording of a grand piano falling onto a concrete floor from a height of 8 meters. From this Steen-Andersen composes an intricate dialogue between prerecorded audiovisual material and real-time musicians. The result is a spectacular genre-bending multimedia experience. A multimedia reportage of the *Piano Concerto* can be found on the SWR website. URL: https://simonsteenandersen.com/projects/piano-concerto (accessed: 07.11.2024).

[5] See: URL: https://brahms.ircam.fr/fr/works/work/36144/ (accessed: 07.11.2024).

[6] Ibid.

a postmodernist manner, whereas the world not as much changes, as much as it acquires a different dimension.

Conclusion

So what is it that Steen-Andersen conveys to us by his music?

His most apparent wish is to see the "seamy side" of a musical composition, its back side. The musical work seems to insinuate to us regarding its genesis: the composer places us in a situation, where the music does not simply "appear" to us in its integrated form, but also slightly opens to us the inner, unmanifest, secretive situation of its birth. The word itself — *composition* — suddenly acquires additional overtones, concealed in the utmost depth of the word: it is simultaneously a *noun* (the result), and the *process* (a composition, as a procurement or as production: the achievement of something that becomes the result afterwards). The accentuation on the procedural component emphasizes the presence of the *formation* in what results as the outcome; it reveals that concealed factor of the inner life of a musical text that causes to vibrate the meaning and the content of the musical whole, the simultaneity of its existence. The drama unfolding inside a black box, the complex world of a musical instrument reflecting our attitude towards it and its reaction towards us — what is this, but a metaphor of the postmodernist "vibrating," ceaselessly forming and changing reality?

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Total Music in the Creative Experiments of Composer Alexander Manotskov

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Abstract. The article discusses the oeuvres of Russian composer and conductor Alexander Manotskov with a particular focus on the musical component of dramatic performance, which appears to play a more significant role in the formation of his works than other stage production elements. This observation refers to a musical totality, which not only sounds from within the performance, but also shapes it from the outside. Such "vertical-horizontal" saturation of a dramatic performance with music allows us to consider it as comprising an ensemble, a harmonious set of parts forming a single whole in which words, gestures, and acting serve to reveal the depth of the musical discourse. Relevant to this consideration is the composer's own remark that theater is nothing more than a "special case of music." The article describes a number of stage productions on which the composer worked in collaboration with such contemporary directors as Andrei Moguchy, Kirill Serebrennikov and Andrei Yakovlev. This study sets out to evaluate the composer's creative experiments carried out within the framework of a synthesis of arts and in which the stage serves as the artist's laboratory. The research is carried out according to an interpretative methodology based on the principles of intertextuality and art history analysis.

Keywords: Alexander Manotskov, Andrei Moguchy, Kirill Serebrennikov, Andrei Yakovlev, total music, music for dramatic performance

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Introduction

When entering into an open dialogue with other dramatic elements, music can serve a special role in the formation of a stage work. For example, many performance-related decisions can depend on the composition and character of the music. Inspired by the musical image revealed through the composer's work with sound, the total music present in such creative projects forms the basis for their claim upon audience attention. Among such works are the theatrical experiments of the composer Alexander Manotskov, who brings to life the musicality implicit in each of the series included in the synthetic whole — primarily comprising verbal and visual elements (the so-called music of prose, music of the body, or otherwise, *body percussion*). "Total music" here refers to the central role played by music at all levels and stages of the performance's development, penetrating all its structures and melting the boundaries between theatrical genres, thus constituting a complex and deep process of integration that clothes all aspects of the theatrical solution with a sonic aura.

As Yulia Semenkova writes, "it is impossible to speak of his music as simply music for a performance, since its role carries not only semantic, but also formative significance." [1] Indeed, the music written for stage productions, as a rule, becomes the basis for the development of dramatic action, establishing the rhythm according to its tempo and thus the atmosphere of the production. At the same time, the composer inspires the director, artist, and actors with his open and versatile creativity. A similar experience was formed at the very beginning of the composer's creative path. In particular, speaking about one of his early works of music for the play *The Long Christmas Dinner* (1995), the composer mentions an imposing score for cello and two violins. The sounding of the string trio throughout the entire performance underlined its main concepts: "cyclicality and eternal return." [2]

During the process of creating a performance, the composer's multifaceted musical interests saturate the semantic space of the synthetic artistic whole. His unique musical and dramatic talents are expressed in vivid experiments in the field of modern music and the revival of ancient baroque genres. An example of such combinations is his chamber opera *52* based on Lev Rubinstein's conceptualist poem *Further and Further On*. Its premiere took place in 2018 on the Small Stage of the Bolshoi Drama Theater. The composer notes that it is "written on the cantus firmus *Ut queant laxis* of Guido of Arezzo. That is, each part of the opera corresponds to a certain line of this cantus firmus and a corresponding central note." [3][1] Added to this motif, as the author testifies, are various stylisations of modern music. In particular, when using the text in the Estonian language, associations with the music of Arvo Pärt arise. Also noteworthy is the homage to John Cage's sound experiments.

Thus, the key to the successful implementation of Manotskov's ideas in the space of the dramatic theater consists in his broad musical horizons. In general, his work combines both academic sources and folklore material, thus developing in the mainstream of neofolklorism.

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[1] Monakhova M. V. "V kakoi-to moment ya ponyal, chto v teatre mogu delat' tol'ko vse". Interv'yu s Aleksandrom Manotskovym ["At some point, I realised that I can only do everything in the theater." Interview with Alexander Manotskov]. *Classical Music News*. 16.11.2018.
URL: https://classicalmusicnews.ru/interview/alexander-manotskov-2018/ (accessed: 11.10.2024).

The importance of ethnic elements in the work of Alexander Manotskov is confirmed by his use of folklore principles in organising material within the musical structure of his compositions. Thus, in 2019, the chamber opera *Er-Tostik* based on the plot of a Kazakh folk tale was staged on the small stage of the independent theater *ARTiSHOK* (Alma-Ata) in the creative union of Kazakh theater workers headed by director Galina Pyanova. The musical part was performed by the Kazakh contemporary music ensemble *Igeru*. Discussing the opera score, it is noted: "The pitch organisation of the opera is strung on the same 'axes' and according to the same laws. Each vocal part is assigned to a specific tone; the performers recite their text at the same pitch throughout the entire performance." [4] A distinctive feature of the manifestation of the national character is the recitative-declamatory structure based on the rhythmic formula of the Kazakh verse form known as "zhyr." The musical accompaniment refers to the national Kazakh instrument, the kyl-kobyz. It was used in ancient times by steppe bakshees (shaman-healers) for various rituals. The body of this traditional instrument is held between the knees while playing it with a short bow. The large number of overtones produced by the instrument gives it a rich timbral variety.

The composer also employs the captivating polyphonic verticality of ancient Georgian chants; the mysterious sound of the Indonesian gamelan is evoked along with ancient Russian music. Such diverse instrumental and cultural influences make the task of musical generalisation impossible without also acknowledging the significant amount of spiritual culture that the composer has absorbed. Hence the multi-component hierarchy of musical layers in his scores that gather into a unity all the material of the performance, in which "music permeates both time and distance."[2]

In Manotskov's work, folklore traditions are combined with an experimental approach characteristic of modern music. Similar interactions are noted in a description of Manotskov's early opera *The Journey*, staged in 2008 and performed by the *Elion* ensemble: "The score here is exclusively vocal; the composer combines folk singing techniques with classical ones." [5]

As evidenced by his chamber opera, however, the work reveals a tendency towards brevity and aphoristic statement in line with current tendencies. When describing the contemporary features of Manotskov's music, we should also mention his significant interest in percussion instruments, which he uses with variety, imagination and skill. An example is the aforementioned opera *Er-Tostik*, which uses not only all sorts of traditional percussion instruments, but also household items and newly designed devices for noise production.

The composer also involves himself in working decisions involving space and sound design options for theatrical productions. Such considerations become relevant given the active, moving character of immersive performances and site-specific musical events. The musicians are also active figures, adding a certain emphasis to the development of the production. One of his works has been described journalistically as "an audio-visual performance in the movement format." [Ibid.]

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[2] Dmitrevskaya M. "Vse, chto imeet vremennuyu protyazhennost', yavlyaetsya muzykoi". Beseda s Aleksandrom Manotskovym ["Everything that has a Temporal Extension is Music." Conversation with Alexander Manotskov]. *Peterburgskii teatral'nyi zhurnal* [*Petersburg Theatre Magazine*]. 30 July, 2014. URL: https://ptj.spb.ru/blog/vse-chto-imeet-vremennuyu-protyazhennost-yavlyaetsya-muzykoj/ (accessed: 11.10.2024).

Creative Tandem of Alexander Manotskov and Andrei Moguchy

Although not every director is ready to engage with such creative daring, the collaboration of Alexander Manotskov and Andrei Moguchy is just such a happy circumstance. In his productions, Moguchy strives to use musicality of various kinds to sharpen contradictions and emphasise paradoxes, as well as exploding texts, mise-en-scènes and actions.

Music sounds as a foundation and formative impulse from the very first scenes. By setting the mood and character of the mise-en-scène, it involves the audience in a particular state. Following such provocative logic, the director uses the forms of installation, happening, and performance, in which the tone of speech of their participants changes accordingly. The latter refers more to a non-verbal (rhythmic, emotional, timbral) than a verbal construction. On the contrary, words in such cases often create only the background, remaining independent, initiating the effect of surprise or retaining the status of fellow travellers in the musical discourse (for more details, see: [6, p. 28]).

In general, the creative tandem of Manotskov and Moguchy is based on common approaches to the creation of a work: an appeal to primordial sources, ancient forms of ritual, sacred rites; the recreation of syncretic forms. At the same time, the spectacular aspect is important for both, despite being determined by the musical component. In this case, there is a tendency towards the revival of mystery, not so much as a religious theme, but more in terms of serving as a syncretic genre that can accommodate the diversity of life. The composer realises this aspiration in the mystery *The Return of the Dokh*, which is created on the basis of the legends of the peoples who lived on the banks of the Yenisei River. The premiere took place in Krasnoyarsk on a sailing ship.

According to Manotskov and Moguchy's collaborative ethos, movement, form and scenography are born from music. The uniqueness of the projects lies in the common interest of the composer and director in the interplay of mysterious forms, which are designed to ensure the unreality of what is happening on stage due to the sonic atmosphere arising from the relationships of sound points in space.

Various sounds are fused into a single unique compositional style, in which the features of academic music with its multi-style projections, early music, and diverse folklore material are syncretically intertwined. All this is superimposed on a multi-layered action that also represents a fused unity of dance, pantomime, acrobatics and other forms of theatrical movement, in which music and drama go hand in hand. Here the principle of total penetration of one element into another, i.e., the interconnectedness and interdependence of all the constituent parts of the performance, is of central importance. The action cannot exist without music, which represents itself as the soul of the performance. Sound cannot be separated from movement, which in its nakedness will become dead and soulless, losing its nerve and dying from the loss of sound energy; thus, music permeates every *pas*. A kind of audio-visual polyphony emerges, leading to "total multi-layeredness of levels and types of artistic information."[3]

Due to Moguchy also building his directorial concept on the level of musical images, his performances appear compositionally as independent, complete musical works, whose integrity is achieved by the sonic decisions, which are an organic part of the performance.

[3] Manotskov A. P. Aleksandr Manotskov o sovremennoi opere [Alexander Manotskov on Modern Opera]. *Sine Fantom*. 2015. No. 10. June 15–30. URL: https://electrotheatre.ru/theatre/article/188 (accessed: 11.10.2024).

As the director admits, "any artistic whole seems to me to be a variety of a musical whole. It seems to me that music is the most general subject of all: of all, in general, of all — of all the humanities, non-humanities, or any other disciplines whatsoever. This is simply objectively so because the limit of our understanding is time."[4]

Among the artists' joint works is *Petersburg*, which became the centre of musical and happening principles in which "street theater, open-air, and the intimacy of a dramatic performance" came together in a single space.[5] This creative experiment, which is based on the novel of the same name by Andrei Bely, was carried out in the Mikhailovsky Castle. It is clear that for the authors, who were both born in Leningrad, the setting of the performance was important due to its provision of a special vision and hearing of the material. Features of the performative action include the actions of the actors pouring sand into the water in order to drain the swamp, their affected modes of speech, as well as the background ringing of bells, ancient Russian chants and melodies of the street orchestra, which permeated the rhythmic concept of the spectacle with a single intonation.

In this case, we are talking about "speech, facial expression, plastic, behavioural, musical intonation, the specific content of which is the excess of the heart,"[6] or alternatively spiritual experience of comprehending meaning. The latter presupposes overcoming the natural limitations of human existence, whose marker is the acquisition of "the indivisible integrity of the natural (matter) and the supernatural (spirit), the rational and the irrational, the verbal and the non-verbal." [7, p. 191] An audio-visual space organised in this way eliminates the possibility of considering the audience member as an outside observer of what is happening; instead, the space is initiated as "being in activity." [Ibid.] The focus on the spiritual dimension of man is also actualised through a certain "timbral risk," which determined the unique sound solution of the performance. This refers to "an ensemble of three tubas, vibraphone, timpani, bells and a female vocal septet." [8]

From the idea that music permeates and subordinates everything to its rhythm and form, we can draw the following inference. Quantitatively, music forces us to reckon with its possibilities; from its individual fragments, which are typically heard in a dramatic theater, it moves to the totality of horizontal deployment — that is, to constant sound, thereby approaching the principles of construction and development characteristic of musical theater. Since such quasi-operas are still unusual for the academic tradition, they mostly exist in the space of dramatic theater, which is generally more accepting of radical experiments.

However, since penetrating all levels of the performance, Manotskov's music is not only horizontally total, but also vertically total. According to Manotskov, this is a unique "way of *thinking with music*."[7] In this

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[4] Monakhova M. V. Op. cit.

[5] Karamaikina O. Rezhisserskii portret Andreya Moguchego [Director's Portrait of Andrei Moguchy]. *Teatr"* [*Theater*]. 21 October 2012. URL: https://oteatre.info/rezhissyorsky-portret-andreya-moguchego/ (accessed: 11.10.2024).

[6] Pesochinsky N. Andrei Moguchii pochti bez avangardnogo konteksta [Andrei Moguchy Almost Without an Avant-garde Context]. *Peterburgskii teatral'nyi zhurnal* [*Petersburg Theatre Magazine*]. 1999. No. 17. URL: https://ptj.spb.ru/archive/17/the-petersburg-prospect-17/andrej-moguchij-pochti-bez-avangardnogo-konteksta/ (accessed: 11.10.2024).

[7] Kandaurova L. Aleksandr Manotskov: U menya net nikakogo "samo", kotoroe trebuet "vyrazheniya". Interv'yu [Alexander Manotskov: I don't have any "self" that requires "expression". Interview]. Snob. 03.07.2024. URL: https://classicalmusicnews.ru/interview/aleksandr-manotskov-lyalya-kandaurova-snob/ (accessed: 11.10.2024).

concept, the composer puts his ideas about the possibilities of music in dramatic theater. An example of such vertical-horizontal musicality is the play *Ivans*, brought to stage at the Alexandrinsky theater. In this creative experiment by Manotskov and Moguchy, the music determines the mise-en-scène, space, character of movement, rhythm of development, and scenography. Musical principles are applied to the entire space of the performance. The production begins with an actor performing the Ukrainian folk song *Solntse nizen'ko, vecher blizen'ko* [*The Sun is Low, Evening is Coming*] without accompaniment. In an analogy with the ancient tradition, the chorus takes part in many scenes and reacts to what is happening. The actors' monologues, which take the form of recitatives, are set to the backdrop of simple folk violin melodies. The production employs long musical interludes performed by a string ensemble. In scenes having a more ritual nature, the string ensemble is reinforced by a flute and percussion instruments.

Director Andrei Moguchy admits that it was the composer's ideas in the area of the musical concept of the play that became the basis for the dramatic solution, when even the verbal discourse turned out to be secondary to the musical and rhythmic pulsation. In essence, the director's guide to action was the musical scheme initially proposed by the composer, consisting in a so-called compositional score of the performance, to which the entire dramatic action is to be subordinated. "Almost all performances with Manotskov's music — are operas, they are musical performances. When Manotskov works everything becomes music." [9]

The music creates the atmosphere that accompanies the entire performance. At the heart of the play *The Tale of How Ivan Ivanovich Quarrelled with Ivan Nikiforovich* by Nikolai Gogol, the music concentrates both the initial impulse and the basis of the theme of discord, when a minor disagreement turns a negative image into an uncontrollable hurricane of passions. Just like in Gogol's story, the masterfully developed musical theme and sound image grow to fantastical proportions, destroying the boundaries of reality and going beyond their limits to transform the world into an infernal mystical fantasy. Everything is spinning in a chaotic maelstrom of voices, sounds, movements and objects. But it is here, oddly enough, that the unity of music, space and action arises. The performance appears as a complex score of diverse sounds. With the development of the action, it is not so much musical themes that begin to prevail, but uncontrollable dissonances and sound clusters, at times descending into outright cacophony, to create an atmosphere of paranoia and obsession. The hum and noise absorb everything humane to reveal the raw mechanism of uncontrollable chaos.

The premiere of the play *The Trial*, based on the novel of the same name by Franz Kafka, may also be considered a significant event in the Manotskov — Moguchy creative tandem. The composer and director revealed their joint "brainchild" in 2012 in the German city of Dusseldorf. The complex philosophical ideas of the German writer are reflected in the musical plan of the performance, which is woven from the instrumental music of Oleg Karavaichuk and the choral music of Manotskov, not forgetting the participation of professional performers.

In this regard, the vocal suite, consisting of five parts, is especially interesting:

- *Aria;*
- *Dialogue;*
- *Fräulein Bürstner;*
- *Many Shadows;*
- *Actor.*

It is noteworthy that all parts are written in the native language of their respective

author, each thus containing the quintessence of a separate fragment of the narrative. The introduction of choirs helps to create a special atmosphere of stillness, while the action simultaneously takes on an epic character. Resembling leitmotifs in terms of their dramatic function, the repeated musical formulas on the words "This is the law of life" organise the musical development. The detachment of the deep bass melodic line and the human voices in the choir speak of the conflicting opposition of humanity and impersonal fate, which enhances the epic character of the narrative.

The choral numbers also contrast with one another. Some are emphatically emotional and dramatic, while others are reserved, strictly confined to a unison texture and static melody. This is connected with the composer's desire to provide an opportunity to appreciate the depth and seriousness of the images, which are rich with philosophical content. All parts of the vocal suite are written using the atonal idiom. The composer consciously rejects tonal gravitations, colouring the invariably repeating motifs with vivid strokes and rhythmic experimentations that juxtapose its various patterns within the dissonant two-part music. This partly serves to justify the dramatic climax of the performance, when the deformation of the melody recorded by the ear is also fixed at a visual level at the moment of the destruction of the musical instrument, representing a conventional source of such "sick" music. Thus, the wanton smashing of the black piano can be perceived not so much as a gratuitous act of vandalism, but rather as a metaphor for the destruction of the protagonist's consciousness.

These extreme states are initially conveyed by the musical side of the performance, which then develops through harsh dissonances into anti-musical cacophony and unpitched sounds. The movement develops with increasing dynamics; the avalanche-like sonority is interrupted only by the endpoint, which is marked by dead silence. Darkness and emptiness thus become the main "personalities" of what is happening. Thus the loud crescendo gives way to quiet.

Another paradoxical work by Manotskov is the music for the play *Happiness*, which is also staged under Moguchy's direction. The search for the ideal here is carried out ex contrario since it appears as the result of something that cannot be connected with happiness. The composer turns to such signature moves as working according to a genre model, using leitmotifs, and repeating phrases. In this case, the good and bright are obscured by the everyday, a deliberately crude, popular form taken to the extreme to embody self-sufficient cruelty.

Here we encounter an interesting dramatic technique, which consists of a gradual crescendo of sonority, personifying cruelty and evil. The musical lines grow and disintegrate in a cascade, capturing ever greater volume, transforming from the genre of the everyday sphere into an abstract sound painting of a catastrophe. The multi-layered nature of the text carried out in both horizontal and vertical dimensions is directly reflected in the score of the performance. Such sound states that layer ever new images and meanings reflect the dramaturgical development dynamics. While the finale of this performance is devoid of musical accompaniment, as Yulia Semenkova admits, the resulting silence acquires the status of being different from the music that sounded before. "Such silence is a rarity, possible, perhaps, only in a fairy tale. It is where birth takes place. And therefore it turns out to be alien to the real world, which has long lost its harmony, which continues to creak, hum with ultrasound, drown in the chaos of voices and crumble before our eyes." [1]

Collaboration of Alexander Manotskov with Kirill Serebrennikov and Andrei Yakovlev

Manotskov's creative experiments with other directors are no less interesting. The play *The Golovlyov Family* (2005), staged in collaboration with Kirill Serebrennikov, is also marked by its immersion in universal musicality. Its sound environment is also intended to convey the state of the world today — disharmonious, in a state of discord. Despite the fact that the performance does not include professional musicians, it is permeated with live music. In addition to rustling and other sounds that create sound effects, the main characters also reproduce actual music. Among the actors who heroically mastered musical instruments for the purposes of their performance are Evgenia Dobrovolskaya (violin), Evgeny Mironov (harmonium), Sergei Sosnovsky (Indianharmonium). [8] In turn, the kalimba, an African instrument, acts as a symbol of death in the performance. "The dead play kalimbas here," Manotskov explained in an interview. "Since everyone dies in the play, but does not disappear, continuing to communicate with the living, Charon gives them kalimbas, and this is the means by which they communicate with the living." [Ibid.]

The play *The Kreutzer Sonata* by Andrei Yakovlev, the music for which was also created by Manotskov, was staged in 2008 on the stage of the Moscow Art Theater named after Anton Chekhov. As a sign of special musicality and involvement in high art, musicians are present on stage before the start of the performance, moving around and tuning their instruments.

"There are stands for music notes everywhere, and Pozdnyshev (Mikhail Porechenkov) holds the notes in his hands all the time. Throughout the performance, musicians are hidden behind a black translucent tulle, their moving silhouettes creating an unsettling feeling. Music becomes a fully-fledged actor, to which the entire space is completely subordinated." [1] At the same time, the vocal line of the play is brought to life: a female voice behind the scenes begins to sing a drawn-out song in the genre of spiritual verses about Eve, who plucked the forbidden fruit from the tree. The actress picks up the melody and sings it polyphonically in a duet with the violin.

The entire performance is accompanied by sharp, heightened intonations of the violin, accentuating all the turning points in the development of the action, sometimes as a foreshadowing of the tragedy, sometimes as a reference to it, sometimes as a musical conclusion or afterword. Similar violin phrases sound when Pozdnyshev tells about his meeting with a girl, but here the sounds are filled with warm feelings, tenderness, and fragility.

The theme of art and contact with it sounds not only in the melodies of instruments and the singing of actresses, but also in conversations, where it develops parallel to the plot in the lines of the characters. Thus, the main character's sister Polina says about her: "Liza is crazy about music," and this makes her soul feel warm and joyful, despite all the hardships of life. The violin, with its phrases, marks all the turns in the fate of the heroes.

Even more complex relationships are again reproduced by the violin with its trembling intonations: for example, the moment of realising a mistake in choosing a life partner, the search for an opportunity to build a life without love, and the realisation of defeat; here, in the music — as in a taut emotional string — there is mental pain, despair, suffering, resentment. Each time arising as a question, the violin melody becomes a kind of leitmotif of the entire performance.

At the culmination of the development of the musical performance, the musician himself appears in the form of violinist Troukhatchevsky. Being an excellent pianist,

Lisa could not refuse the pleasure of rehearsing and playing the famous sonata by Beethoven. The music captures them with its piercing sounds that express their deep feelings, it hypnotises and paralyses the protagonists, transforming them and making them understand the essence of what transpired in their lives. The *Kreutzer Sonata* is a work of the highest mastery, the highest expression of the most intense feelings and experiences. The original author of the story — Leo Tolstoy — considered music to be the most powerful art in its impact on a person, calling it a terrible art due to the irresistibility of its power.

In musical terms, the performance is based on opposing timbres. On the one hand, the warm, human sounds of the violin, although tense, and on the other the harsher more metallic tones of the tuba. In the finale, she ends up in the hands of the devastated Pozdnyshev, who slowly plays on her sounds that are not connected by a single melody (here we may remember Pushkin: "but love is also a melody"). If at first, they are "taken up by the strings", then later they "turn into frantic groans, the voice of human loneliness..." [Ibid.] Violin and tuba — what could be more incompatible? String instruments are associated with everything bright and sublime, dreams and desires; while the tuba produces heavy, clumsy, gloomy sounds, as if pointing to the all-consuming and joyless round of quotidian existence. With this juxtaposition, the directors make us think about the essential theme of the play, what was Tolstoy actually writing about? By musically emphasising the insurmountable boundary in the relationship of close partners in married life, the director and composer thereby help to realise the need to strive for understanding as the destiny of all humanity. Why is misunderstanding dangerous? This is the source, after all, of conflicts, lack of freedom, enslavement, and ultimately crime. Therefore, it seems entirely justified to entrust music with the task of conveying the subtle nuances of the various states of the human psyche, as well as the distribution of actions according to timbres.

Conclusion

In concluding the study, we cannot help but acknowledge the universal features of Alexander Manotskov's music, which encompass numerous aspects and possibilities of dramatic narrative. The music enters organically into the performance, inspiring it, breathing life into the action and making it more effective. Music is the strong point of performance, whose totality is the latter's source and foundation, and without which it becomes unthinkable. In other words, Manotskov's performances are unique works in which the musical component acquires a dominance that is carried into the entire development of the performance, which becomes subordinated to the life of sound forms.

As a leading light in the theatrical world, Manotskov opens up new forms of coexistence between music and dramatic theater, which are based on a synthesis of its leading components. In essence, the composer is a representative of an avant-garde process that is fundamentally transforming the genres of both dramatic and musical theater, opening up new paths and approaches of implementing such a synthesis on a novel basis. From this point of view, the idea of comparing Manotskov's experience of working in a dramatic performance with the work of representatives of the older generation seems very promising. In this connection, one of the possible figures that presents itself is that of Alexander Bakshi. Like Manotskov, this composer demonstrates in his installation works a musicalization of the stage space, which relies on the principle of intertextuality [10] and the processes of synthesizing all components of the spectacle under the sign of the sonic art. [11]

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A Successful Blend of Diverse Styles, Genres and Techniques in Andrew Thomas' Orchestral Works from the End of the 20th Century

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Abstract. Andrew Thomas is a distinguished American composer of considerable renown. He has written numerous compositions for solo piano, various chamber ensembles, solo voices, chorus, and orchestra. He is also a pianist, a conductor and a composition teacher, who taught for over fifty years at the Pre-College Division of the Juilliard School in New York City. He has instructed composition already to several generations of composers, many of whom have since become prominent members of the American contemporary music scene. Among the most significant compositions Andrew Thomas has written are his works for orchestra. This article shall discuss the composer's orchestral works — the Concerto for Marimba and Orchestra *Loving Mad Tom* (1990) and *The Heroic Triad* (2000). Analysis of these two works is provided, and the cultural context for their creation is given.

Keywords: Andrew Thomas, composer, American music, orchestral compositions, pianist, conductor, composition teacher, Concerto for Marimba, *The Heroic Triad*

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Introduction

Andrew Thomas is a distinguished American composer of considerable renown. He has written numerous compositions for solo piano, various chamber ensembles, solo voices, chorus, and orchestra. He is also a pianist, a conductor and a composition teacher, who taught for over fifty years at the Pre-College Division of the Juilliard School in New York City. He has already instructed composition to several generations of composers, many of whom have since become prominent members of the American contemporary music scene.

Andrew William Thomas was born on October 8, 1939 in Ithaca, New York. He studied with Karel Husa at Cornell University and Nadia Boulanger in Paris. Then he studied composition with Elliott Carter, Luciano Berio and Otto Luening at the Juilliard School, from where he received his Master's and Doctoral degrees. From 1970 until 2023 he taught composition at the Pre-College Division of the Juilliard School, having been the head of the Pre-College Division from 1994 to 2006. He has received numerous prizes, including a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts and the Distinguished Teacher Citation from The White House Commission on Presidential Scholars. He has also taught composition in a number of other countries outside of the USA, most notably, in the People's Republic of China, where he has regularly visited since 2000 and where his music has been performed numerous times, including the Concerto for Marimba and Orchestra *Loving Mad Tom* and the ballet *Focus of the Heart* set to a libretto written by Howard Kessler. The score of the ballet makes use of a traditional Chinese orchestra and a Western orchestra. The ballet was performed in Beijing in 2009. The first time the composer went to China in 2000 was as a judge at a piano competition in Hong Kong. Since 2003 Thomas has taught, read lectures and performed as a pianist in Korea at The Seoul Music Festival and Academy, one of the directors of which he was, which included the participation of Korean and Western piano and string instruments instructors. He has conducted several orchestras, including the Prime Symphony Orchestra, the Suwon Philharmonic Orchestra and the Korean Symphony Orchestra. In October 2019 Dr. Thomas made a trip to Moscow Russia, where he gave lectures at the Moscow Conservatory and the Gnesin Russian Music Academy. He participated at the Music Festival Commemorating George Crumb's 90th Anniversary and John Corigliano's 80th Anniversary, where, along with music by George Crumb, a number of his musical compositions were performed at a concert at the Conservatory's Myaskovsky Hall, including his piano pieces *Music at Twilight* and *A Quiet House* he performed himself at the piano. [1]

Andrew Thomas has written a significant number of compositions for orchestra. In this article, I shall examine two of his most important compositions — the Concerto for Marimba and Orchestra, subtitled *Loving Mad Tom*, and *The Heroic Triad* for guitar, marimba and string orchestra.

The Concerto for Marimba and Orchestra *Loving Mad Tom*[1]

A very significant work by Andrew Thomas involving orchestra is his Concerto for Marimba and Orchestra, subtitled *Loving*

[1] Thomas A. Concerto for Marimba and Orchestra *Loving Mad Tom*. The score of this composition is unpublished and is preserved in the composer's personal archive at the American Composers' Alliance.

Mad Tom, which was composed during the years 1989 and 1990. The famous marimba soloist William Moersch, for whom the work was written, played in its premiere performance in Louisiana. Since then, the work has been presented by different orchestras in many countries, including the Deutscher Orchester Berlin under the direction of Vladimir Ashkenazy and the Korea Symphony Orchestra with the composer at the baton. The Marimba Concerto was inspired by the poem *Loving Mad Tom*, a long poem by an anonymous 17th century poet. [2] The work presents a frighteningly intense illustration of a homeless insane person wandering throughout England and raving in his madness. The composer attempted to convey these feelings by means of his music.

By the time Andrew Thomas composed the Concerto for Marimba and Orchestra, he had already written a number of compositions for marimba, for which he had earned a considerable amount of respect and fame. His most celebrated piece for the instrument is titled *Merlin*, and it was composed 1983 for William Moersch, who at that time was a free-lance musician in New York City. *Merlin* has been performed all over the world, including Moscow Conservatory's Rachmaninoff Hall in 2018 by percussionist Sergei Glavatskikh. For many years since *Merlin* was created, the composer has been approached by various people who told him that this was the composition that made the marimba a respected concert instrument. Since then, Andrew Thomas has written numerous other works involving the instrument, including *The Great Spangled Fritillary* for violin and marimba, *Moon's End* for cello and marimba, and *Three Transformations* for two marimbas, the latter work involving greatly altered metamorphoses of works by J. S. Bach arranged for the two instruments. It was stemming from this that the composer decided to compose an entire concerto for marimba. He had the wish to make a contribution to the concerto repertoire by composing a very serious work for marimba and orchestra. Up to that point he thought that the marimba had been treated by the few composers who had written concertos for it, including Paul Creston, as a rather superficial instrument. In contrast to that, he wished to compose a large-scale work that would be expressive in a morbid way and philosophical in its approach. The dark quality of the marimba's sound is especially what appealed to the composer in the instrument, similarly to the dark registers of the harp.

This work is indicated both as a concerto for marimba and orchestra and as *Loving Mad Tom*, the latter designation virtually forms its second title. The work, in fact, combines the characteristic features of a marimba concerto, a symphony and a programmatic work, and also features traits of ballet music. [3] It is a marimba concerto because its most important instrumental features are a solo marimba part and the orchestra part, the former possessing all of the necessary attributes of a solo instrumental part of a concerto in its immensely virtuosic technique and the numerous lengthy passages in the work presenting solo passages for the marimba, as well as its interplay with the orchestral part, characteristic of all works in the concerto form. Its lengthy duration, four-movement form, overall dramaturgical qualities, contrasts between diametrically different textures and emotional moods, as well as the overall grandiose philosophical semantic message — all of these, undoubtedly, endow the work with a resemblance to a symphony. At the same time, the adherence to the program of the content of the 17th century English poem, which the work, describes, brings in a resemblance to a large-scale programmatic work, similar to Liszt's symphonies and symphonic poems and the tone poems of Richard Strauss. The overall theatrical,

colorful quality of the work, emphasized by the neoclassical orchestral textures and the motoric, lively rhythms, bring in the resemblance to ballet music. Technically, the latter qualities of the work make the possibility conceivable that a ballet producer could create choreography for the work and have it performed with dance as a ballet.

The Concerto for Marimba and Orchestra *Loving Mad Tom* consists of four contrasting movements, altogether, very much resembling a symphony. The first movement starts with a slow introduction, and then switches to a fast tempo, which takes up most of the movement. The second movement, which proceeds from the first without introduction, possesses many attributes of a scherzo of a symphony in its lively tempo and dance-like textures and mood, the third movement is the slow movement, possessing a very eerie and mysterious mood. The fourth movement returns to a fast tempo and, thereby, resembles a traditional symphonic finale.

The work is endowed with a mixture of neoclassical and neoromantic stylistic features with a limited amount of additions of moderately avant-garde, sonoristic textures. [4] At the same time, the darkly expressive quality of the work endows it with certain aspects of expressionism. The overall harmonic language is that of extended tonality or tonal centricity, the harmonies ranging from almost entirely diatonic to extendedly chromatic. The orchestration ranges from demonstrating neoclassical textures to presenting elements of modernist orchestration and even avant-garde sonoristic effects, albeit, most of them are harmoniously blended in the predominating neo-classical sounds.

The composer picked four verses from the poem and based each of the four movements of the Marimba Concerto on one of the each. The combination of the four verses of the long poem was chosen as the epigraph for the work:

From the hag and hungry goblin
That into rags would rend ye
All the spirits that stand by the naked man
In the Book of Moons defend ye!
That of your five sound senses
You never be forsaken
Nor wander from yourselves with Tom
Abroad to beg your bacon.

While I do sing ‘Any food, any feeding,
Feeding, drink or clothing’
Come dame or maid, be not afraid,
Poor Tom will injure nothing.

O thirty bare years have I
Twice twenty been engagèd,
And of forty been three times fifteen
In durance soundly cagèd
On the lordly lofts of Bedlam,
With stubble soft and dainty,
Brave bracelets strong, sweet whip’s ding dong,
With wholesome hunger plenty.

With an host of furious fancies,
Whereof I am commander,
With a burning spear, and a horse of air,
To the wilderness I wander.
By a knight of ghosts and shadows
I summoned am to tournay,
Ten leagues beyond the wide world’s end.
Me thinks it is no journey. [2]

All four movements are endowed with titles formed from lines extracted from the long poem. The first movement is titled “…from the hag and hungry goblin…,” the second — “Come dame or maid, be not afraid,” the third — “…on the lordly lofts of Bedlam…,” and the fourth — “With an host of furious fancies.”

In the first movement of the work, the marimba plays its solo part accompanied solely by the string section of the orchestra, with only a minimal amount of percussion behind it, while the winds and the brass appear only at the end of the movement and are prominent

throughout most of the second movement. The full orchestra is not demonstrated in its entirety until the end of the second movement. From that moment on throughout the last two movements the full orchestra is used in the most diverse ways. The composer himself felt intimidated by the violent emotions present in the poem that he projected in his music, since it reminded him of certain tragic episodes in his own life, some of which involved members of his family. In the last verse of the long poem, when the mad chief protagonist goes wandering off into the countryside again in the wilderness, it provides only a semi-positive note at the end. The last movement is endowed with a joyful mood, but there are still elements of fright, loneliness and madness present in the writing.

In addition to the subject matter, the composer was also greatly appealed by the archaic quality of the language of the poetry, which at that time was somewhat different from contemporary English. He was greatly impressed by the incantatory style of many of the poetic lines in the literary work, such as: "From the hag and hungry goblin that into rags would rend ye all the spirits that stand by the naked man in the Book of Moons defend ye!" The line "In durance sadly caged on the lordly lofts of Bedlam" indicates the place in the poem where the main character is put into a mental institution. "With stubble soft and dainty, brave bracelets strong" is where he has been handcuffed. "Sweet whip's ding dong with wholesome hunger plenty" also demonstrates a very vivid picture. Another reason why the composer chose to use these texts as the basis to his score was in order to explain why there are certain exotic and highly expressive fragments in the music highlighting certain instruments in their respective solo passages. This was done in order to demonstrate that the purpose for these instrumental solos was to express the content of the poem and not to present the instrumental virtuosity for its own sake.

The composer chose the particular orchestration — first using the strings, then winds and brass and then the entire orchestra — particularly because at the time he had previously written a number of orchestra pieces, and in order to present a contrast to his previous works, he wished to separate the orchestra into its components, presenting merely certain sections of the orchestra in the first and second movements and then the full orchestra in the latter two movements. Ultimately, he realized that by presenting only the strings in the first movement and the winds and brass in the second movement he was plunging deeper into the musical material, so that he would have more ideas for all of the four movements in dealing with the entire ensemble.

The overall harmonic language of the work is that of extended diatonicism, which, notwithstanding a free use of tonality, by no means limited to traditional tertial harmonies and, at times, delving significantly into a chromatic or almost atonal harmonic world, undoubtedly, possesses tonal centricity, in the manner of the music of Hindemith and Bartok. The orchestration in the orchestra part and the solo marimba line are predominantly neoclassical, resembling the music of Stravinsky and, to a lesser degree, Aaron Copland, however, do possess a moderate share of characteristic features of sonoristic effects present in the works of some European avant-garde composers of the second half of the 20th century, most notably, Ligeti, Berio and Lutosławski. [5] The organic combination of predominantly traditional, neoclassical stylistic features with elements of avant-garde instrumental thinking bear resemblance with the late works of Lutosławski and Penderecki, who after having renounced their avant-garde styles in favor of neoromantic trends, preserved elements of their previous avant-garde approaches, blending them organically into more traditional instrumental writing. Most

importantly, despite the decisively neoclassical features in the work's instrumental writing and rhythms, suggesting its affinity to ballet music, it definitely possesses expressive emotional content and a philosophical message, which endows it with the traits of neo-romanticism, rather than being a purely neoclassical work.

The slow introduction in the *first movement*, titled "…from the hag and hungry goblin…" (marked with a metronome mark of quarter equals 104), is scored for the string group, endowed with plenty of divisi, the sole percussion instrument being the tubular bells. The composer meant it to express an evocation of the countryside. It begins with sparse chords, spelled out by the divisi string lines alternating with each other and the tubular bells. The top divisi line of the first violins plays out an expressive melody, first consisting of stepwise motion, and then of dramatic large leaps (mm. 15–20, then mm. 31–34).

The textural intensity and dramatic momentum gradually accumulates, and before long, the first movement proper begins on m. 44 (marked with a metronome mark of quarter equals 120), featuring dynamic, virtuosic motion on the marimba, playing fast sixteenth-notes, set against a passive accompaniment of the string instruments playing chords in harmonics. The form of the fast section of the first movement presents a set of variations. The harmonies in this section are less diatonic and more expressively grotesque. The string accompaniment also gradually intensifies, first bringing in simultaneous glissando motion (mm. 47–49), and then also presenting swift sixteenth-note passages, spelling out repeated chords and contrapuntal lines set against the marimba part. While the marimba part continues throughout most of the first movement with its speedy, virtuosic sixteenth-note motion, the density of the string orchestra part changes continuously, ranging from transparent chords played in harmonics to thicker sounding chords played arco, and then swift sixteenth-note melodic motion or motoric repetition of chords. At certain points in the middle of the movement, the string orchestra falls silent, and the marimba continues its virtuosic passages all by itself, or accompanied by the tubular bells. At short periods of time, the marimba changes its regular sixteenth-note motion to chords of three or four notes played in eighth-note durations. This change of textures of the marimba and especially the string orchestra is what builds the dramaturgy of the movement.

Towards the middle of the movement, the music becomes generally quieter in its dynamics, without abating in its motoric rhythmical dynamicity. At a discernible spot in the second half of the first movement, the string orchestra stops entirely, and the marimba plays a virtuosic cadenza, which also varies in its dynamicity, acquiring more static qualities towards its middle, before picking up in dynamicism again. In this cadenza, the marimba is accompanied only by the vibraphone. Here the composer was especially interested in presenting the cadenza form, in which he would extend the color of the solo instrument in a related manner, involving the accompaniment of another instrument that is texturally close to the soloist. That particular resulting sound presents itself as very strikingly effective.

After the cadenza, the string orchestra comes in, one instrument at a time, hazily marking an end of the cadenza, and gradually accumulates its texture and dynamics back to loud and fast music, making way for the second movement, to which it passes *attacca*, without any pause. Towards the end of the first movement, as the orchestral texture becomes fuller, the wind instruments gradually come in, adding an additional coloristic element to the orchestral sound.

The *second movement*, marked with the quotation from the poem "come dame or maid,

be not afraid," begins immediately after the first, with no break. The element of dance is predominant in this movement and is demonstrated in its traditional aspect. In this movement, the composer makes use of dance form, especially expressed in cadences and peculiar tonal structures. The homeless man is begging for money, so he can be seen performing dances and reassuring people that he does not wish to kill them, but that he merely wants food. In terms of its tempo, this movement presents an almost entirely even continuation of the first movement, in dynamics and texture, expect for being only slightly slower (bearing the metronome mark of quarter equals 104).

The movement begins with a prominence of woodwind instruments and trumpets spelling out colorful chords predominantly in eighth-note durations, the sixteenth-note passages being more limited in number. Later in the movement, the entire brass section is heard together with the woodwinds, the trombones standing out especially. The highly theatrical orchestral texture and overall mood in this movement bring in strong associations with Stravinsky's neoclassical works from the 1920s. Whereas some percussion instruments are distinctly heard, bringing in additional color, the string instruments play a very modest role in the movement, their involvement being reduced to a minimum.

After a while, the marimba comes in, playing its virtuosic passages, albeit, containing more eight-note durations than sixteenth notes. Unlike the first movement, the marimba does not predominate in the texture, but sounds on equal footing with the orchestra, at times being virtually drowned out by the latter. Only towards the middle of the movement the marimba demonstrates itself in a more conspicuous manner, protruding its virtuosic lines from the orchestra. Throughout the movement the density of the orchestra varies considerably, ranging from loud tuttis to sparser, more subdued sections in which the woodwind instruments predominate. Only towards the end of the movement does the marimba erupt in a very short, but dynamic cadenza, after a few measures of which the orchestra gradually comes in and accumulates its texture to a loud and bouncy close. Notwithstanding the seeming theatrical gaiety of the movement, its overall sound continues to evoke the morbid, eerie qualities, present in the first movement, aimed at depicting a wild, grotesque literary character.

The *third movement* is the slow movement of the cycle, bearing the metronome mark of quarter note equals 72 and the time signature of 3/4, and titled with the line of the poem "…on the lordly lofts of Bedlam…". It marks a distinct change in tempo, texture and emotional character of the work. Here, finally, the full orchestra is used, albeit, having an abundance of muted sounds and such peculiar effects as the players breathing through the instruments. This is about the only extended technique which is present in the work, and dramatically this is the most appropriate place for it. It creates a very dismal sound, portraying the main protagonist's loneliness. The composer created a variety of exotically sounding color painting in the orchestra to suggest the whipping, the loneliness, and the echoing quality of the prison and the cold the main protagonist has to endure during his homeless wanderings. There are more dissonant sonorities and atonal harmonies present in this movement than in the other three movements, however, the composer's intention was still to merge these effects with elements of more traditional music and a neo-classical sound world.

The beginning is marked by isolated eighth notes played in the low register of the marimba, soft, eerie chords played by three horns and extremely soft rolls on the timpani. Gradually the texture somewhat increases, with *sul ponticello* eighth-note triplet passages in the string instruments, short, fast runs on

woodwind instruments, soft, yet dramatic chords on the string instruments played on harmonics, and the mysteriously sounding chords in the brass instruments. The marimba plays eerily sounding repeated passages of two or three notes in the middle-low register, which recur regularly at certain times after ceasing to sound. Almost nowhere in the movement does it demonstrate its virtuosic soloistic passages that characterize its part in the other three movements, but virtually presents itself merely as one of the many textural units of the total sound palette of the movement.

Textural and timbral alterations of the varying instrumental colors play an important part in this movement, loosely reminding of Schoenberg's Klangfarbenmelodie technique or the sonoristic effects of European avant-garde composers of the second half of the 20th century. There is more of a presence of modernist textural instrumental effects in this movement than there are in the other three movements of the composition, yet they are organically combined with the neoclassical harmonies and orchestral textures predominating in the other movements, yet still being present in this movement, too.

Towards the middle of the movement, the dynamics and the textural orchestral intensity increase, with the different instrumental groups playing more extensively coherent lines in counterpoint with each other. There is a dramatic, albeit moderately soft passage solely for the entire brass section. Then the marimba part becomes more dynamic, playing eighth-note triplets. Then, there is a change of the metronome mark to quarter equals 80, and the overall dynamics and textures become louder and faster with quicker rhythmic durations becoming more prominent. There are some fast, shrill sounding passages in the upper woodwinds, spelling out swift and intensely chromatic harmonic and melodic progressions. These are joined by string, brass and percussion instruments, presenting rhythmically dynamic passages in short alternating fragmented motives, accumulating to loud repetitions of a single chord in sixteenth-note durations, alternating with tremolo passages on the marimba. This presents the climax of the movement, which then gradually dissipates. After that, the mysterious sound world of the beginning of the movement returns. Then woodwind instruments present fast and dynamic sounding passages, which are interrupted by the bass drum rumbles and tremolo sounds on the marimba. Close to the end of the movement there is a short cadenza for the marimba, which plays a juxtaposition of several contrasting textures, the only time in the movement that it really presents itself as a soloist. Then the movement closes with a softly sounding chord played by the marimba and the brass instruments.

The *fourth movement* returns to the swift motion of the first two movements and the virtuosic character of the marimba part. It has the metronome mark of quarter note equals 144 and bears the title "With a host of furious fancies." Here the composer expresses a celebration of freedom the main protagonist of the poem enjoys. The overall form is rather spontaneous and was essentially created during the process of composition of the work, the composer having avoided all formal pre-planning. The harmony ranges from tonal and tonal centered to dissonant and chromatic. Following the tradition of finales of 18th century symphonies and concertos, it has a meter indication of 12/8. Unlike the other movements, this movement starts with a solo for the marimba, delineating hybrid chromatic melodic motion, followed by arpeggio and chordal motion, which leads to the entrance of the full orchestra, playing intensely dynamic, rhythmically motoric passages, into which the marimba part subsequently intersperses itself. Throughout the movement there are different contrasting instrumental textures present, juxtaposing themselves with

each other. Although the marimba part has an abundant amount of swift virtuosic passages, wherein the soloist can demonstrate his or her technique, these passages, for the most part, are evenly balanced with the vibrant orchestral part, which in its autonomy presents attributes of a symphony. For most of the movement, the virtuosic marimba part asserts itself together with the almost self-contained orchestral part, presenting itself more conspicuously only in a short passage close to the end of the movement. The very end of the movement ends with a very clear, beautiful and decorated *C major* chord, which, however, is presented in first inversion. This demonstrates a small degree of emotional tension, an unresolved quality left at the very end of the work. According to the composer's description of the emotional content of the concerto's ending, "it is resolved, but it might tip over and fall down."

The fourth movement fulfills its function as a finale of a symphonic or concerto work, continuing the momentum of the first two movements, yet adding a greater amount of dance qualities to it by its faster tempo and differing time signature, contrasting the 4/4 of the first two movements and the 3/4 of the third movement. It also continues the tendency of the first two movements of combining a neoclassical instrumental textural sound world with more chromatic harmonies and melodic lines than those typically associated with a neoclassical style and a mysterious, grotesque imagery, frequently associated with expressionism.

The Heroic Triad

The Heroic Triad is a large work for guitar, marimba, percussion and string orchestra[2]. It was composed in Santa Fe in 1999–2000 on a commission from the Santa Fe Orchestra and the concert organization supporting it. It is a one-movement work with programmatic content, being based on a scenario by Howard Kessler,[3] inspired by Paul Hogan's book *The Heroic Triad* dealing with the history of Santa Fe. [6] The composition contains several contrasting sections, aiming to depict and present an homage to the three peoples that inhabited the area of Santa Fe, where the composer has a summer residence. The three peoples are, respectively, the Indians, the Spanish and the British. Several centuries ago, these three peoples were constantly warring with each other, but, nonetheless, each of them has contributed to the area with its own respective culture. The work is written in one large movement which contains several sections — the storm scene, the Navajo scene, the Spanish scene and in the introduction to the descendants of the British, the battle between the three peoples in the second part, and then the resolution.

The Heroic Triad work has elements of being a concerto for guitar and orchestra, although the guitar comes in only during the second and third movements, presenting itself as the featured solo instrument. This way, it essentially changes its genre in the middle of the piece. The composition has not found its place in the concert hall program as a guitar concerto, because during the first third of the work, during the Native American section, the guitarist is absent. This provides an extremely effective dramatic device, but does not allow it to be classed as a conventional concerto. Similar to the Marimba Concerto *Loving*

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[2] Thomas A. *The Heroic Triad* for guitar, marimba, percussion and string orchestra. The score of this composition is unpublished and preserved in the composer's personal archive at the American Composers' Alliance.

[3] Kessler H. *The Heroic Triad*. Scenario for Andrew Thomas' composition *The Heroic Triad* for guitar, marimba, percussion and string orchestra. 1999–2000. Unpublished, pp. 3–4.

Mad Tom, *The Heroic Triad*, likewise, merges in itself features of a symphony, a concerto and a symphonic poem with programmatic content. It also combines together traits of a one-movement work with a composition consisting of several contrasting movements (albeit, performed continuously, without breaks in between).

The scenario of the work contains four parts, which are correspondingly depicted in the musical composition, which, nonetheless, also possesses its own titles, different from those of the scenario. Part 1 is titled "From this Earth," and the text of the scenario recounts Native American mythology about the birth of humanity by the Spirits. According to the text of the scenario, "the knife sharp peaks of the Rockies tore holes in the clouds, spilling out the fluid that incubated life in the upper world," as the result of which "the Spirits created one great related Family." Part 2 is called "To this Realm," and this part of the scenario recounts the arrival of the Spanish, "The Soldiers of the Spanish King," who also served a "King of Kings," who built cities and created new laws, but could not find common ground with the Native Americans and, as a result, "trapped the beating hearts of their Spirits and drowned them in the rattle of armor and the clash of swords." The text describes how the Spaniards tried to construct a new home on this territory and replicate the conditions of their native Spain. Part 3 is called "On this Territory," and it describes the descendants of the British coming to the West from the area of the Appalachian Mountains in order to find food and wealth, and how they clashed with the Indians and the Spaniards and, nevertheless, asserted themselves on this land and built their own culture there. The Epilogue speaks of "a triad of peoples," each of which has made its own contribution to the land and its culture.

The first section of the musical work is called "From this Earth" and its first subsection is called "The High Rockies." After the first measure with the piercing chords in the string orchestra, the loud strike of the slap stick, and the soft rumble on the cymbal, it features fast sixteenth-note passages in all of the instrumental lines of the string orchestra *divisi* with chromatic, dissonant harmonies, frequently, but not always, denoting the octatonic scale. At times these passages are interspersed with virtuosic passages of the marimba part, at other times, they are complemented by it playing simultaneously. This section of the composition describes the Rocky Mountains in a storm and the genesis of the Spirits. Gradually, the sixteenth-note lines become replaced by more diversely rhythmed dynamic passages, featuring distinct harmonic and melodic lines, as spelled out by the string instruments, punctuated with isolated strikes by percussion instruments, with a few greatly dramatic glissando sweeps adding to the momentum. The dynamism gradually dissipates, and the parts of the string instruments are gradually reduced to holding a lengthy static chord. This section ends abruptly on m. 89 with all the string instruments playing a G-D chord *col legno*.

According to the composer, he wrote the opening of this work, the storm scene, as a demonstration for his students, when he was giving master-classes in composition. He set the metronome to go at the desired tempo, turned on the recording machine and sang the opening. After having made several recordings of his singing, he found the one that felt right. After having achieved this with the help of the metronome clicking, he came up with the precise idea, how many beats and measures long it was. He made a graph diagram of a line rising and falling over that period of measures, and then he wrote on the ascending and the descending line, describing what he was doing. As the result of this, when he started composing, he already had a shape and a form. As the result, the rather confusing opening of the composition was essentially controlled

by graph paper. This was the first time the composer had engaged in compositional pre-planning in his music. This pre-compositional planning was crucial for bringing organization to the structure of the work, especially to its extremely chaotically sounding and impulsive introductory section.

At this spot, a new section of the work, describing the American Indians begins, titled "The Creation of a People." There is an immense contrast in the orchestral writing in this section from the previous one, marked by the single chord on the strings played with *col legno* bows. The Native Americans are represented chiefly by the Navajos. This section is markedly more tonal and melodic than the previous introductory part and contains melodies that are stylizations of Native American music. In order to create the appropriate melodies, the composer listened to a lot of Hopi and Navajo chants and wrote them down as dictations. After this, he composed his own singing line based on what he had studied while listening to these chants on CDs. The melodic writing in this composition does not have any quotations of American Indian music, but merely evocations of it.

On m. 89 the marimba begins an incanting solo melody in *G minor* with a limited amount of pitches. The melody continues on with the string instruments being silent and only repeating the selfsame chord *col legno* at intervals of two or three measures from each other. It is developed as a set of variations throughout this entire section. On the upbeat of m. 37 one of the *divisi* cello lines comes in, playing the same tonal melody, after which the other instruments gradually join in, their lines being sparse at first, and then gradually accumulating in their textural density. Throughout this section, the solo marimba part and the cello part play the chief melodic lines in counterpoint with each other. Towards the end of this section, the entire cello section plays a distinctive, colorful melody in minor, suggesting Native American music. The drum section becomes especially intensive at the end of this section.

On m. 132, the next section of the composition begins, titled "The Hand of the Rock," still describing the Navajo Indians, but with a slight change of texture. This section is more of an evocation of the religious aspects of the Native Americans, who worshipped the Great Spirit. Five tom-toms reinstate the initial melody of the marimba from the previous section, albeit, in a non-pitch way, which is followed by a soft, highly expressive, harmonically chromatic chord entering in the string orchestra and sustained by it, during which first the cello, then the viola, then the second violin play short virtuosic lines in stepwise motion in fast sixteenth and thirty-second note durations. The music clearly demonstrates the composer's heartfelt emotional involvement in and appreciation of the American Indian culture and music. The string orchestra part gradually accumulates its texture, becoming more dissonant harmonically and containing mysterious eerie sounds, including glissandi and tremolos on eighth notes played softly *sul ponticello*.

The following section is titled "The Arrival of the Spanish People" or "The Spirit Quest." One prominent feature of the work is the section with the prominence of the solo guitar, which is heard here, later in this section, for the first time. This section indicates the metronome mark of a quarter note equaling 84, and begins with a moderately dynamic melody in *C minor* played by the entire cello section, which is accompanied by a mysterious sounding accompaniment of the string instruments playing sixteenth notes and beats of a snare drum. Gradually, more melodic lines appear in the violin and viola parts, providing counterpoint for the melody in the cello. After the string orchestra accumulates to a climax, the guitar enters, describing the arrival of the Spanish. It presents introductory material and features kind of an accompanied cadenza. It has some allusions to Renaissance

music. The guitar part begins with repeated pitches on regular sixteenth notes, from which gradually scalar motion appears. The solo guitar passage is supplemented with isolated chords and groups of four or eight sixteenth notes repeating chords, later playing descending scalar passages in unison and creating an assortment of other textures, against which the guitar part maintains its superior position. The guitar part gradually slows down in its rhythm, changing to eighth-note triplets, then shedding its regular rhythms for a more freely and supply rhythmed section. this marks the end of Part 1 of the composition.

On m. 220 the following section begins, denoting the beginning of Part 2, and depicting the Spanish, titled "Soldiers of the Spanish King." Here there is a very expressive melody on the guitar, resembling Spanish Renaissance guitar music, accompanied with separate notes played pizzicato by the cellos and the double basses, occasionally joined by short virtuosic passages on the marimba and the string instruments. After a short passage with quartal harmonies in the guitar, the instrument continues playing tonal minor music, resembling Spanish Renaissance music — this is in fact a quotation from a Mass by Spanish 16th century composer Tomas Luis de Vitoria. The quotation is presented with embellishments and an elaborate marimba accompaniment, which develops on the quoted theme. The first half of this Spanish section presents the quotation from the Mass by Vitoria. And then the music gradually becomes more "secular," as a guitar cadenza appears, which becomes more resembling of Spanish popular music. The Renaissance-style music becomes passed down to the string orchestra, with the guitar accompanying it with scalar motion.

The following section starts on m. 282 with the title of "The Drowning of the Spirits," and it describes the frequently conflicting relations between the Spanish and the Indians. The metronome mark indicates a quarter note equaling 88. There is a return to the themes of the Native Americans from the previous sections, then the guitar plays arpeggios, with the soft dissonant sounding chord coming in the strings. This is followed by the string orchestra, once again, playing tonal minor polyphonic themes resembling Spanish Renaissance music, after which the guitar plays virtuosic solo scalar and arpeggiated passages in eighth and sixteenth notes, later interspersed with sporadic soft, chromatically dissonant passages in various parts of the string orchestra. Then there is more Spanish renaissance music in the string orchestra and the marimba, then joined by the guitar.

Then, in the next section, bearing the title "The Dominion of the House," the guitar plays the Spanish music solo in a rather plaintive and expressive manner. Twice the marimba comes in, softly playing a chord based on perfect fourths tremolo, over which the guitar continues its expressive Spanish Renaissance music, at times faltering with retardando effects, at times holding the rhythm. This section finishes with the guitar slowing down into a cadence, accompanied by a marimba chord played tremolo.

The following section, titled: "Part 3, the Engine of the Machine," describes the arrival of the descendants of the British from the Eastern part of the present-day United States. It begins with fast, virtuosic passages played by the solo guitar. Starting from m. 383 the first violin section comes in with swiftly played melodic sounds resembling American country music. Then the music in the guitar part slows down a bit and repeats some of the more lyrical-sounding melodic passages from the previous section, this time accompanied by slaps on the percussion instruments and soft, isolated chords played *arco* by the entire string section. These are interrupted by a robust entry by the string section on m. 401, first playing detached chords in quarter notes, interspersed with sixteenth-note runs on the open strings

played by the first violin section, and then, after two measures of sixteenth-note chords played by the lower strings (mm. 408–409), by a livelier, fast section played by the entire string section in a motoric rhythm with eights and sixteenth notes, repeating the country music melodies sounding in the first violin section at the beginning of Part 3, with steady sixteenth-note percussion beats in the accompaniment. Then on m. 429 the full string orchestra is replaced by soloists from each of the main instrumental sections of the string group playing the same melodic material as the full string section did before.

On m. 442 the guitar plays a repeated accompaniment motive based on perfect fifths and octaves, while the string section plays slightly less rhythmically active music, diversified in the separate lines of the instruments. The violins play a more expansive melody in *A minor* consisting predominantly of quarter notes, remotely resembling the Spanish Renaissance music, with the second violins at times bringing in the country music motive in a fragmented form (mm. 450–452). A short while afterwards, starting from m. 464, the marimba joins this assemblage with its own figuration. On m. 493 the key signature of four sharps, representing the key of *E major*, comes in, and the texture becomes sparser, featuring only the guitar and the solo violin playing the country music theme, albeit, in *E minor*, instead of *E major*, then presenting it in sequences and in variations in the different related keys along the circle of fifths. Starting from the upbeat to m. 509, similar thematic material is presented by the entire first violin section tutti, to which the marimba part is added. Subsequently, throughout the rest of this section there are alternations between basically two themes recurring sequentially and as variations, as well as alternations between the "tutti" sections, featuring the entire string orchestra, and the "solo" sections, wherein the solo violin plays the main theme of this section, which ends with a final statement of the main theme in a homophonic setting of the entire string orchestra, with the guitar and the marimba playing accompanimental parts.

On m. 641 the introductory chromatic music with the intricate contrapuntal textures and novel sound effects, featuring the depiction of the initial storm, returns for a short while. This is followed by the final section of the work, titled "Epilogue: A Triad of Peoples," featuring tonal harmonies in *G minor* and a return to several of the most conspicuous themes of the previous sections. In this section, all of the three peoples — the Indians, the Spanish and the descendants of the British — are depicted as merging into one nation. The Indians are depicted by the recurring melody in the marimba part, greatly varied, the descendants of the British are depicted by the drawn-out melody in the first violin part, whereas the Spanish are depicted by the contrapuntal texture in the string orchestra, as well as in the expressive melody appearing subsequently in the short solo section in m. 573. After that, the different melodic themes depicting the three peoples appear juxtaposed to each other in the epilogue, which ends with expressive chords in the string orchestra featuring non-tertial dissonances within diatonicism, and after one last statement of the theme describing the British played by the solo violin on m. 621, the composition closes with a final *G major* chord in the string orchestra, heightened by expressive arpeggios in the guitar and chords on the marimba, starting on m. 624 and lasting for ten measures.

Conclusion

This analysis provides an insight to the immense substance and depth present in the two compositions for orchestra by Andrew Thomas introduced and described in this article, demonstrating him as a composer of exceptional merit, whose musical

compositions, especially those for orchestra, deserve great attention. Some of the most distinguished features of these two works are the harmonious blend of different styles, genres and techniques contained in them, altogether forming a highly original personal style. Both compositions combine a self-sufficient symphonic musical approach with emotional expression and figurative depiction of the programmatic content, essentially describing literary works (a poem depicting a lonely, crazy tramp and a scenario describing historical events that have taken place in Santa Fe). The predominantly traditional style, featuring mostly harmonies based on tonal centricity, neo-classical musical textures, accessible motoric rhythms and distinct melodicism, is complemented by additions of dissonant, chromatic, at times atonal harmonies, extremely colorful, intricate avant-garde instrumental textures and complex rhythms. The genre of both compositions is a complex combination of symphonies, concertos (for one or several solo instruments), and symphonic poems depicting programmatic narrations. Nonetheless, despite the diversity of styles, genres and techniques present in both works, there is a strong sense of artistic unity and integrality present in both works, and this is what provides a great artistic achievement. Both works are worthy of being performed by symphony orchestras, studied and analyzed by composers, musicologists and conductors and broadly disseminated to the general public to listen to and appreciate.

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Musical Terminology in 19th Century Russian Tutorial Translated Editions*

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Abstract. The object of research in the article is the formation of musical terminology in the Russian teaching of harmony of the second half of the 19th century. As the musical educational system was transitioning to the level of professionalism, during this period the role of music theory as an independent teaching discipline rose, moreover, harmony became the sphere most in demand. The tutorial theoretical literature of that time is presented both by original works and those translated from other languages. In the article, the musical terminology of popular European textbooks, such as those written by Ernst Friedrich Richter, Johann Lobe and Adolf Bernhard Marx in translation by Russian translators is examined, the problem range of their works is discussed, and the role of translators and editors in the formation of the Russian scholarly language is accentuated. Examination is made of the appearance and gradual rootedness of certain basic terms of the Russian teaching on harmony: *stroi* [*structure*], *lad* [*mode*] and *garmoniya* [*harmony*]. They acquire an academic status and, reflecting the specificity of the national nature of harmony, do not possess any Western analogues. In conclusion, the supposition is formulated of the possibility of including the analysis of Russian musical terminology into the context of the specificity of Russian music.

Keywords: 19th century Russian musical scholarship, harmony, musical-terminological apparatus, scholarly translation, Alexander S. Famintsyn, Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky as a translator, the specificity of Russian musical terminology

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Translated by Dr. Anton Rovner.

Introduction

Within the scope of the present article is one of the most significant periods in the history of Russian music scholarship, connected, in particular, with an intensive development of such an important sphere within it as the teaching of harmony. It spans the temporal framework from the second half of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century. These years occurred in Russian history as the time of the "great reforms," whereas it is customary to label the 1860s and the 1870s as the "golden age" of an entire set of musical disciplines. The new conditions that evolved during that period in the sphere of musical education were connected with the inauguration of the St. Petersburg Conservatory in 1862 and the Moscow Conservatory in 1866. The task that stood before these institutions, — that of bringing up musicians from their earliest years — had never been set in Russia prior to that time. The roles of the leaders of musical youth were taken up by outstanding performers and well-known music scholars. Along with Russian musicians, many of those from abroad — representatives of various national and performance schools — were actively encouraged to study playing instruments and singing, however the instruction of music theory was relayed solely to Russians, to those who had completed studies at the Russian conservatory. If any musicians from other countries found themselves in this category, they were only those for whom Russia had become their second homeland. Therein the special attitude towards music theory subjects was revealed as a means for communication, the language of which was supposed to be comprehensible for everybody. It was not accidentally that the teaching of elementary music theory began with coining Russian terms equivalent to those in other languages, in which Nikolai Grigoryevich Rubinstein and Vladimir Fyodorovich Odoyevsky took part.

With the evolution of musical education to a professional level, music theory acquired the status of an autonomous tutorial discipline. Familiarization with theory by means of printed texts became the sole form of instruction for Russian society, while the publication of Russian textbooks and tutorial manuals on an entire set of theoretical disciplines satisfied the essential needs of the educational process. Both original works written in Russian and those translated from other languages were presented during this period, for the most part, by tutorial-theoretical literature that met the social demands of the public, which was in need not only of the development of scholarship proper, but, first of all, in its promotion and popularization.

The most self-sufficient branch of musical knowledge was harmony, which also turned out to be the theoretical sphere that, incidentally, was the most in demand by the public. The teaching of harmony of that time presents itself as one of the brightest achievements of Russian musical culture. Through the joint efforts of many musical pedagogues, an inimitable image of this significant sphere of Russian music theory arose. No wonder, particularly harmony was conducive to the development of the scholarly problem range and the processes of creativity in the context of musical terms. From the middle of the 19th century, Russian musicians have consciously activated the work on the creation of an apparatus of Russian musical terminology, which was enabled, in particular, by activities in the sphere of translation, as well.

In recent years, the historical formation of the musical terminological lexicon has become an object of intensive scholarly interest. Among the research works coming the closest to the theme of our article, mention must be made of publications of Inga

Alexandrovna Presnyakova, which span an extensive problem range of Russian music theory literature of the "period before the opening of the conservatoires" (from the late 18th to the early 19th century). [1; 2; 3] When analyzing the peculiarities of scholarly translation, the author notes that, in particular, the translators of the first German musical treatises complained about the poverty and scarcity of the lingual means of expression, about the absence of a tradition of scholarly narration in Russian (for more detail about this, see: [3]). However, during the course of a rather brief period of time, this problem lost its acuteness: particularly, from the middle of the 19th century, not only an impressive bulk of scholarly literature in Russian, but also translations of the most significant theoretical works by Ernst Friedrich Richter, Adolf Bernhard Marx, Ludwig Bussler, Hugo Riemann and other music theorists were published.

Presenting in itself a mobile phenomenon, stipulated by many circumstances of "time and place," the terminology translated into Russian from other languages, naturally, has become an object for scholarly reflections. The necessity of its discussion in professional circles has been stimulated by such inherent features of the term as polyvalence, synonymy, metaphoricity, in some cases — untranslatability, etc. Particularly terminology frequently demonstrates an intersection point, and at times, a clash of diverse viewpoints, scholarly perceptions and meanings. For this reason, discussion of musical scholarship in all of the diversity of its directions presents a sphere of constant attention of the academic community (the latest representative gathering of musicologists devoted to the issues of terminology, — namely, the Fourth International Congress of the Society of Music Theory — took place in October 2019 in Kazan [4]).

Ernst Richter's "Harmony Textbook" in Translation of Alexander Famintsyn

Let us analyze the appearance and the fixation in the scholarly language of certain basic terms, which appeared during the process of translation of foreign source. The terminology pertaining to the sphere of harmony appears, first of all, in connection with the translations of tutorial theory literature. The leading pedagogues of the St. Petersburg Conservatory — Nikolai Ivanovich Zaremba, who had studied with Marx in Berlin, and Yuly Ivanovich Johannsen, who had received his musical education at the Leipzig Conservatory, where he studied with Mendelssohn and Richter, — used German textbooks in their harmony courses.

Ernst Friedrich Eduard Richter (1808–1879), a German composer and musicologist, a professor at the Leipzig Conservatory, is primarily known as the author of textbooks and tutorial manuals virtually of all the music theory disciplines: analysis of musical forms, harmony, fugue and counterpoint. In his works, each tutorial course is highlighted from the overall teaching of musical composition and is endowed with its own independent significance. This approach determined in many ways the development of European musical education in the 19th century. It is not accidental that in Russia, too, one of the most basic textbooks in musical instruction turned out to be Richter's *Lehrbuch der Harmonie* [*Harmony Textbook*], the methodological notions of which corresponded in full measure to the plan of the practical courses on harmony accepted at that time. Initially published in Germany in 1853, this book appeared in Russian translation in 1868. The methodological attraction and popularity of this textbook cannot overshadow its other implicit value: the considerate attitude on the part of the translator to the language of the original text, connected with a search for new terms for explanation of conceptions,

where, according to his words, "the old terms turned out to be imprecise, unsatisfactory."[1]

The translator of the book, Alexander Sergeyevich Famintsyn (1841–1896), who possessed a brilliant knowledge of the German language, himself studied music theory subjects with Ernst Richter and Moritz Hauptmann, having been a visiting student in Leipzig during the years 1862–1864. Having returned to Russia and having set about teaching at the St. Petersburg Conservatory as a professor of music history and musical aesthetics, he translated into Russian an entire set of German textbooks written by different music theorists, including all the main works of his teacher.

For the first time in the genre of translated tutorial literature, there appears an extensive introduction "From the Translator," indicating at the goals of the translation: "1) to aid the replenishment of the great vacuity in our musical literature, 2) to establish in printed form, as much as it is possible, the hitherto still very tenuous musical theoretical terminology in Russian."[2] And even though the formulization of terminology is not placed in the position of the main goal of the translation, a steadfast attention to scholarly language proper expressed with such definiteness is in itself a remarkable fact. The translator's terminological preferences are clearly formulated in the introduction and are connected with the search of Russian equivalents for the German definitions of certain important concepts of harmony. Thereby, the translator suggests as synonyms to the already well-known translations to the German terms *Trugschluss* (interrupted cadence) and *Wechselnoten* (changeable notes) the following word combinations: *false* (*or deceptive*) *cadence* and *embellishing notes* — words that were able to entrench themselves for a lengthy period of time in Russian original tutorial literature. However, a new verbal "ascertainment" was enforced on the basic conception of Tonart. Instead of the ambiguous, commonly used appellation of *ton* [*tone*], the translator chose the indication *stroi* [*structure*], and simultaneously "separates" it from the term *lad* [*mode*]. The latter is conceived as the equivalent to the German word *Kirchentonart*, which, according to Famintsyn's thought, fitted the indication of the medieval (church) modes.

The dissociation of these terms and the concepts standing behind them is subsequently confirmed for the first time by the terminology of many Russian music theory guidebooks. And not only them. On the pages of Nikolai Andreyevich Rimsky-Korsakov's *Letopis' moei muzykal'noi zhizni* [*My Musical Life*] we read: "The early modes, just as when I was composing "May Night," <…> continued to intrigue me in "The Snow Maiden"… (the so-called Dorian, Phrygian and Mixolydian modes). Certain sections, such as, for instance, the song about the beaver with the dance of the Landless Peasant are written with transpositions into various tunings and various modes." [5, p. 260] As it is known, particularly the term *stroi* [*structure*] actively functions as a basic term in the "Textbook on Harmony" written by the composer in 1884. Thereby, the author of the translation, trying to "feel" the definition of the polyvalent foreign term, virtually "creates" his own term, having successfully chosen a word from the Russian language.

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[1] Richter E. F. *Uchebnik garmonii* [*Manual of Harmony*]. Trans. from the 6th edition of 1866 by A. Famintsyn. St. Petersburg: Karl Rikker, 1868. P. VI.

[2] Ibid.

The term *stroi* [*structure*] is subsequently widely used in Russian tutorial literature as an absolutely self-sufficient term (in the works of Nikolai Mikhailovich Ladukhin, Mikhail Mikhailovich Ippolitov-Ivanov, Nikolai Feopemptovich Solovyov), as well as with synonymic words *ton* [*tone*] and *tonal'nost'* [*tonality*]. A long life was prepared for the term *stroi* [structure] up until the 1920s, and only then was it transferred to the passive supply of terminology. Nonetheless, in the "Theoretical Course of Harmony" of Georgy Lvovich Catoire (1925), it continues to be used alongside the term *tonal'nost'* [*tonality*]. However, a different meaning of their parallel usage becomes more substantial, which may be defined as "seeming synonymy," since, after all, it is referred to conceptions that are essentially different from each other, which by that time had received their concise definitions in theory and taken a different position in the hierarchy of the tonal system. As far as the term *lad* [*mode*] is concerned, this most important category was comprehended in the second half of the 19th century only at its "preliminary" level analysis, in a practical sense, and, having received its Russian name, the term had remained for a long time without any serious substantiation. The tendency of that time was to assert its meaning, relying on the already known synonymic words: *gamma* [*scale*], *zvukoryad* [*set of pitches*], *ton* [*tone*], *nakloneniye* [*resolution*], *stroi* [*structure*]. Another tendency is connected with the "authorial" rendition of the word, which frequently plays a greater role than its direct translation.

Let us turn, once again, to the definition given by the translator, for which we shall transfer ourselves several decades ahead, addressing ourselves to the Russian translation of Riemann's *Musical Dictionary* (1901). This may seem strange, but the article devoted to the term *lad* [*mode*] appears here as a supplementary article, while its author, Yuly Dmitrievich Engel does not even cite the German equivalent of the word at all. Defining *lad* [*mode*] as "concordance" and "order" accretes with additional information, seeming to "justify" the appearance of this to a certain extent metaphorical definition in a strict academic reference publication: "This purely Russian word, unfortunately, has not acquired in Russian musical terminology any precisely definite meaning belonging solely to it and irreplaceable with any other word, … it presumes a general scheme of construction of a (diatonic) set of pitches, rather than any particular case of applying this scheme."[3] It must be noted that the present-day stage of development of musicology — in Russia, as well as in other countries — provides a multitude of diverse and, at times, contradictory approaches to elucidating the issue of the *lad* [*mode*].

To return to Richter's *Harmony Textbook*, it must be noted that its appearance in Russian signified something more grand than a common attempt of translating a popular European edition. With the help of this translation, a successful "transplantation" onto Russian soil took place of terminological words and combinations that have enriched the professional lexis in which there was such a great need on the part of Russian scholarship.

François-Auguste Gevaert's *Treatise on Instrumentation* and Johann Lobe's *Catechism of Music* in Translation by Pyotr Tchaikovsky

The 1860s were signified by Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky's attention to translating two musical pedagogical works that were popular

[3] Riman G. *Muzykal'nyi slovar'* [*Riemann H. Music Dictionary*]. Trans. from the 5th German edition by Yu. Engel. Moscow: P. Jurgenson, 1901. P. 723.

in Europe. Tchaikovsky turned to the first of them — François-Auguste Gevaert's *Treatise on Instrumentation* (*Traité general d'instrumentation*, 1863) — while he was still a student at the St. Petersburg Conservatory, in 1865. The translation from French was carried out by him at the instruction of Anton Grigoryevich Rubinstein, about which the young composer writes to his sister Alexandra Ilyinichna Davydova: "Rubinstein is very pleased that I was able to complete the work; he is only asking me to consult with some philologist about the terms." [6, p. 83] Apparently, after having consulted with somebody about the terminology, Tchaikovsky did not limit himself simply to translating Gevaert's book, having also provided it with annotations (frequently, critical ones), and terminological corrections. Gevaert's *Treatise* in Tchaikovsky's translation, published by Pyotr Jurgenson in 1866, was introduced as a tutorial manual at the St. Petersburg and the Moscow Conservatoires and for many years was the generally accepted book for instructing orchestration.

The translation of the other work fulfilled the musical needs of the broadest circles of musicians, both professionals and amateurs. It is known that Tchaikovsky taught an "elementary course" of music theory for a short period of time, having been a beginning faculty member at the Moscow Conservatory (for more detail about this, see: [7]). The absence of tutorial literature in Russian on this subject, most likely, impelled the composer to begin work on the translation of the famous German textbook. Johann Lobe's *Catechism of Music* (*Katechismus der Musik*, 1851) was translated by Tchaikovsky in 1869 from the 8th German edition and published the following year. The exclusive popularity of this reference book is testified by the fact that every three or four years it was republished, and after Tchaikovsky's death it was supplemented, according to the latest German editions, although the name of the translator of the supplemental parts of the book was not indicated. As the result of Tchaikovsky's translation, in the Russian harmonic lexis a new accentuation appeared in the interpretation of the concept of the term *garmoniya* [*harmony*], defined as "the simultaneous appearance of several tones creating various types of *sozvuchiya* [*concordances*]," [6, p. 380] and of the term *akkord* [*chord*] as "the combination of several tones struck simultaneously, following the known laws." [Ibid., p. 443] It may be presumed that it was particularly during the process of translation that the essential attributes of this concept have been strengthened in the composer's consciousness, subsequently described in his own textbook. The definition of harmony given there as the "combination of simultaneously heard musical sounds" also includes in itself the definition of an isolated case of the latter — an individual "harmonic combination" on the basis of the concordance of sounds, which becomes the essential feature of the conception of the *akkord* [*chord*]. Among the terms connected with the definition of modulation, in Tchaikovsky's textbook there appear the Russian analogies of *perekhod* [*transition*] and *uklonenie* [*deviation*], as well as the term *tonal'nost'* [*tonality*] in a synonymic set with *lad* [*mode*] and *naklonenie* [*resolution*].

Adolf Bernhard Marx's *General Music Textbook* in Translation by Alexander Famintsyn

The 1870s passed under the sign of the further steadfast attention on the part of Russian musicians towards serious works by authors from other countries. In the musical-pedagogical literature indispensable on the first steps of professional instruction, as before, of special value were the textbooks that generalized the basic spheres of music scholarship,

or guidebooks of "encyclopedic" character. Among the textbooks from other countries geared for an intermediary level of musical education, of undoubtedly high standing were the works of German musicologist Adolf Bernhard Marx (1795–1866), in particular, his popular book *General Music Textbook* (*Allgemeine Musiklehre*, 1839). Information about the first not very successful attempt of translating the German original text undertaken in 1848 by Moscow-based music teacher Vikenty Lemokh may be found in the publication of Alexei Alexeyevich Stepanov. Emphasizing the positive side of what was achieved, he notes that a comparison of the texts of the original and its translation testifies to the fact that the latter is merely "…a synoptic retelling of the German original text, an editorial remaking and abridgement of a large-scale, 'fundamental' tutorial book." [8, p. 184] Famintsyn's translation made from one of the posthumous German editions was published for the first time in St. Petersburg in 1872, and subsequently was republished twice more with corrections and rectifications. The third publication in Moscow in 1893 is distinguished by that level of accuracy and academic scrupulosity characterizing all of the translations by this author, and in this case, also the editor of the publication.

The numerous editorial digressions, the extensive footnotes, the abundant referential apparatus — all of these become in this translation indications of a genuinely scholarly approach to the original text. In addition to the supplemental information testifying of the translator's ample erudition, the "accompanying" editorial text reflects the vagaries concerning the terminological clarity of the basic concepts of harmony, in comparison with the translation of Richter's *Harmony Textbook* undertaken four years prior. Famintsyn becomes permanently convinced of the rightness of the term *stroi* [*structure*] found by him and suggests "in connection with the systematic quality of the terminology" to complement it with the terms *rod* [*category*] and *vid* [*genus*], "…which are distinguished by their simplicity and precisely expressing the generic relationship of our 24 scales to major and minor."[4]

The translations into Russian of Lobe's *Catechism of Music* and Marx's *General Music Textbook* were not merely endowed with an immense educational significance. By the example of these "encyclopedic" editions, later there would also appear the analogous Russian editions: in 1896, the *Kratkoe rukovodstvo k teorii muzyki*. *Elementarnaya teoriya muzyki, garmoniya, kontrapunkt, formy instrumental'noi i vokal'noi muzyki* [*A Concise Manual of Music Theory. Elementary Music Theory, Harmony, Counterpoint, Forms of Instrumental and Vocal Music*] by Livery Sakketi, and one year after that — *Kratkaya entsiklopediya teorii muzyki* [*A Concise Encyclopedia of Music Theory*] by Nikolai Ladukhin.

Conclusion

To summarize, it is proper to contemplate yet another vector in the study of the history of the music theory lexicon in Russian. An analysis of the translated literature indicates at the possibility of incorporating Russian terminology into the context of a more general issue — the ascertainment of the specificity of Russian music and, in particular, of Russian harmony.

To what degree is terminology generally capable of expressing a national mentality? In all appearances, in regard to the period

[4] Marx A. B. *Vseobshchii uchebnik muzyki* [*General Music Textbook*]. Trans. from the 9th German edition by A. S. Famintsyn. 3rd revised edition. Moscow: P. Jurgenson, 1893. P. 68.

of the formation of Russian terminology, it is possible to state this with certainty. In the history of harmony, the second half of the 19th century became the time when scholarship with a remarkable synchronicity "kept apace" with compositional practice, managing to fixate in its general features the stylistic "portrait of the time" — the style of writing of the Classical-Romantic tradition. Let us express the presumption that in the questions of the search and elaboration of the terminology by Russian music theorists (who frequently were also composers), it was not possible not to consider the specificity of the national nature of harmony. A sort of "reflected light" of this specificity, which determined the particularities of the Russian school, the national thinking and language, was indeed present in such terms as *lad* [*mode*], *stroi* [*structure*], and *sozvuchie* [*concordance*], which acquired an academic status and had no analogies in the West.

Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin labeled translators as "the post-horses of enlightenment." It is difficult to argue with the classic and to search for a more precise definition for people whose mission is not only the elevation of the overall literacy during the course of adapting texts from other languages, but, in the outcome, — also the development of their native language, including for the purposes of scholarship.

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Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov's *Third Textbook* in Alexander Ossovsky's Notes: Concerning the History of the Formation of the St. Petersburg School of Music Theory

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Abstract. The article presents a document from the personal archive of Doctor of the Arts History, Professor, Honored Art Worker of the Russian Federation Valery Vassilyevich Smirnov (1937–2023) — the notebook of outstanding Russian musicologist Alexander Vyacheslavovich Ossovsky. It summarizes notes of Nikolai Andreyevich Rimsky-Korsakov's lectures on the theory of counterpoint, which Ossovsky attended at the St. Petersburg Conservatory from January to November 1897.

The materials of the notebook, bearing the inscription *Zapiski po chteniyam N. A. Rimskogo-Korsakova o kontrapunkte* [*Notes on Nikolai Andreyevich Rimsky-Korsakov's Lectures on Counterpoint*], contain a sequential summary of the subjects of the course and detailed recommendations for fulfilling written assignments on the studied themes. However, they comprise merely a fragment of the counterpoint course, which was a special theoretical discipline.

Ossovsky's previously unknown autograph can be examined not merely as a notes of Rimsky-Korsakov's lectures, but also as a "sketch" for his unrealized textbook on counterpoint; information on Rimsky-Korsakov's planned textbook is present in Vassily Vassilyevich Yastrebtsev's and Nikolai Alexandrovich Sokolov's memoirs. The realization of such an intention in connection with the published works on harmony and the bases of orchestration would make it possible for us to compile an exhaustive theoretical compendium for the course on free composition the founder of the St. Petersburg school for composition taught at the Conservatory during the course of several decades.

Keywords: Nikolai Andreyevich Rimsky-Korsakov, Alexander Vyacheslavovich Ossovsky, the St. Petersburg Conservatory, theoretical school, textbook on counterpoint

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Introduction

The history of the studies of Nikolai Andreyevich Rimsky-Korsakov's pedagogicals dates back almost a century; it begins with Mikhail Fabianovich Gnesin's program article *Muzykal'no-pedagogicheskie vozzreniya N. A. Rimskogo-Korsakova* [*Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov's Musical Pedagogical Outlooks*] published in the year of the 90th anniversary of the composer's birth in the journal *Sovetskaya muzyka* [*Soviet Music*]. [1][1] An important landmark in the further research of the topic was the publication in 1959 of the collection of articles and materials *N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov i muzykal'noe obrazovanie* [*Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov and Musical Education*] under the editorship of Semyon Lvovich Ginzburg. [2] The tradition continued also into the 21st century: the publications commemorating the composer's jubilees and the first Russian conservatory bearing his name contain a number of articles devoted to the different aspects of Rimsky-Korsakov's pedagogical activities. [3; 4; 5] However, up to the present day, numerous materials have still not been published, the documents are dispersed throughout various archives and funds; occasionally it becomes possible to make unusual discoveries the study of which makes it possible to enrich the perceptions of the great composer's ideas and methods in the sphere of musical pedagogy.

The present article brings into scholarly use a manuscript document from the personal archive of Doctor of the Arts History, Professor, Honored Art Worker of the Russian Federation Valery Vassilyevich Smirnov (1937–2023) — a notebook that belonged to outstanding Russian researcher, musical critic and pedagogue Alexander Vyacheslavovich Ossovsky (1871–1957) containing a notes of Nikolai Andreyevich Rimsky-Korsakov's lectures on the theory of counterpoint.[2] The authors wish to express their gratitude to Elena Alexandrovna Smirnova, Valery Smirnov's widow, for her permission to present Ossovsky's hitherto unknown autograph to the scholarly community.

Rimsky-Korsakov and the Conservatory-Based System of Preparing Composers

Upon graduating from the Moscow University, "from the law department," Ossovsky "made it his goal to study the theory of composition with Rimsky-Korsakov, and with this aim <…> moved to St. Petersburg in 1894." [7, p. 138] The young musician's personal acquaintanceship with his idol took place on January 15, 1896, and in September of that same year, Ossovsky passed the entrance exams into the St. Petersburg Conservatory. [8, p. 421]

The full scope of the conservatory program for teaching composers took place in 1866 with the "Instructions and Positions for the St. Petersburg Conservatory for instructing the tutorial and administrative life" and consisted of six years, in correspondence with the necessity of spending a year in each of the classes: "1) elementary music theory and solfeggio, 2) harmony, 3) counterpoint, 4) fugue and musical forms, 5) and 6) practical composition and orchestration"; it was especially preconditioned that "an assistant or teacher instructs in the elementary courses, an adjunct

[1] It must be noted that it was particularly Mikhail Gnesin who presented himself as the author of the introductory article of the compilation *N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov: Muzykal'nye stat'i i zametki* [*Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov: Musical Articles and Notes*], published under the editorship of Nadezhda Nikolayevna Rimskaya-Korsakova in 1911.

[2] About Valery Smirnov's acquaintance with Alexander Ossovsky and the fate of the legacy of "the legend of the science of music history" see: [6].

— in the intermediate courses, and a professor — in the advanced courses." [9, p. 26; 10, p. 20] Subsequently, the content of the compositional program was revised numerous times, each time — with the most active participation of Rimsky-Korsakov, who "with the aim of creating a maximal contact of the teacher with the student" considered it necessary to "relay the instruction of the whole compositional course in its entirety, from the beginning to the end, to one pedagogue." [11, p. 24][3] In 1892 Rimsky-Korsakov wrote: "While directing the professorial position of instructing the theory of composition, I have changed numerous times my system of instruction and passed from a pedantic pursuit of all that was offered by the program to an adaption, to a greater or lesser degree, to the personal peculiarities of each student." [12, p. 188]

However, the individualization of the time frames of the instruction (one, two and more years) applied only to the duration of the advanced segment of the program — the course of practical composition. The preceding levels had to be studied in full measure at the established durations of time. Special significance was bestowed by Rimsky-Korsakov to the course of counterpoint and fugue, "examining it as an 'especially technical course,' the completion of which 'is of considerable importance for acquiring technique, i.e., interesting musical texture'." [Ibid., p. 195]

Thereby, Rimsky-Korsakov himself delivered the course of lectures on counterpoint, and this course was attended by Ossovsky. Most likely, the notes were taken not during the classes themselves, but immediately afterwards, without delay: such a presumption is adduced judging by the neat, absolutely legible handwriting, with only a small number of corrections. This type of work — not merely the recreation from memory of the saturating, terminologically complex text, but also a specific "reproduction" of it — most likely, paved the way for a longstanding comprehension on the part of Ossovsky of the personality and musical legacy of his teacher Rimsky-Korsakov (about Ossovsky's activities in this direction, see: [13]). Subsequently, when Ossovsky would begin fixating the materials of his personal conversations with his instructor, he would make notes after the end of each meeting, relying on his phenomenal memory.

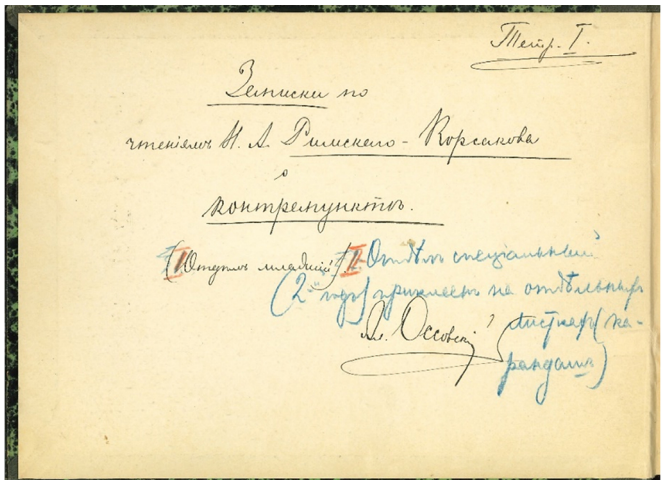
Ossovsky's Notes: The Process of Its Formation and Its Content

So what does Ossovsky's manuscript present in itself? It is a notebook of an album format in a hard cover with alternating unlined pages and lined ones, presenting music paper, i.e., altogether meant for breviaries for music theory disciplines. The notes reflect the regularity of the classes: the first lecture took place on January 25, 1897, while the final dated material pertains to November 2 of the selfsame year. Only 10 out of the notebook's 32 pages are filled up, moreover, two of them being the notebook's final pages, which causes us to cast doubt upon their chronology. The content, as well as the table of contents indicate that we have in front of us a fragment of Rimsky-Korsakov's course on strict-style counterpoint, which Ossovsky attended from the winter of 1897 to the autumn of that year.

The table of contents on the back side of the cover (Il. 1) demonstrates for us several strata of content. The first, early stratum

[3] There, in footnote No. 2, the researcher indicates that "such a system was essentially introduced into the St. Petersburg Conservatory in 1886, by means of setting up three parallel composition classes: those of Johannsen, Rimsky-Korsakov and Solovyov."

is inscribed in pen: "Notes on N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov's lectures on counterpoint."[4] Below that, it is written in smaller handwriting: "(Junior section)," followed by a signature in a specific handwriting "Al. Ossovsky." Above the title, corrections are brought in marked with blue and red pencil: Roman numeral I is added in front of "Junior section," and after, as a continuation, — "II. Special section (2nd year) is glued in separate pages (pencil).



Il. 1. A. V. Ossovsky's Notes on N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov's Lectures on Counterpoint (back side of cover)

The notes contain a small number of examples-illustrations. The materials of the notes include the mention of the teacher's name. Thus, on the second staved page (after the inscription of the theme "4th species, syncopated"), next to the second example, we read: "Anexampleofsyncopatedcounterpoint[written] by N. A. R[imsky]-K[orsakov]."[5]

The rules of the technique of strict-style counterpoint are stated in the traditions of their time — with the orientation towards the practice of completed exercises, they are modeled in the form of diverse recommendations and include elements of assignments. For example: "The contrapuntal lines written during the previous lesson must be taken as the cantus firmus lines, and new contrapuntal lines must be composed to them, following all the previous rules, setting our attention towards supporting the motion.[6] Where c. f. [cantus firmus] contains inverted pedal tones, the c. p. [contrapuntal lines] should have quarter notes and eighth notes, and vice versa. — Whenever there is a suspension, upon its resolution a new tone may be taken in another voice (which seems to create a new harmony). — Be attentive that each voice taken separately would be beautiful (melodically), — in other words, concern yourself about the artistic side." (Lecture VII, March 1)[7]

It is noteworthy that the music examples present in the manuscript are illustrations of theoretic postulates, and not practical assignments. At the same time, it is obvious that during the process of mastering the course, it was presumed that the students would complete a large portion of contrapuntal exercises. When discussing the content of Sergei Vassilyevich Yevseyev's notebooks in which he carried out his exercises during his studies with Sergei Ivanovich Taneyev in 1913–1915, Larisa Lvovna Gerver writes: "At the beginning of the 20th century, such an abundance of assignments [over 300 exercises

[4] Here and onwards, the text is presented in contemporary spelling. The notebook's pages are numerated with double Arabic numerals — the alternating unlined and music-paper pages contain the numeration from 1 to 16. Thereby, subsequently, indications are used, such as: "P. 1, unlined" or "P. 1, staved."

[5] Ossovsky A. V. *Zapiski po chteniyam N. A. Rimskogo-Korsakova o kontrapunkte* [*Notes on Rimsky-Korsakov's Lectures on Counterpoint*]. [Manuscript]. P. 2 staved.

[6] By that time, all the five species of counterpoint in two voices had been studied.

[7] Ossovsky A. V. *Zapiski*… [*Notes*…]. P. 4 unlined.

of different kinds] was still the norm for studying counterpoint." [14, p. 770] It must be added that Rimsky-Korsakov's own teaching materials on counterpoint and fugue comprise several hundreds of exercises and dozens of extended compositions.[8] The detailed recommendations and instructions contained in the texts of the lectures were supposed to have found reflection in the written exercises, but it has not been possible to discover any documents or memoirs about these up till now.

In the exposition of the theory of strict-style counterpoint, two methodological positions draw attention:

1. The section of the notes about the five species of counterpoint does not contain even a single mention of the church modes: on the contrary, during the process of discussing the theoretical questions, as well as in the examples illustrating the text the subscriptions of "major" and "minor" are used, moreover, the conditions for making use of "melodic minor" are stipulated (!)[9]. At the end of the notebook, there are a little over two pages of musical examples with the indication (written in red pencil): "The cantus firmus lines and themes for imitations and fugues assigned by N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov."[10] The melodies for the contrapuntal work are notated in whole notes without being divided into measures; being grouped in pairs, they are given in the respective major key and its relative minor key with a gradual augmentation of the numbers of sharps and flats in the keys indicated at the right hand of each of the staves. Thereby, it may be presumed that, examining the counterpoint course in inseparable connection with practical composition, Rimsky-Korsakov *did not deem it necessary* to turn to the conditions of the strict-style modes, when he worked out with his students means of connecting the voices together and the conditions for pure voice-leading.[11] The means conducive for the stylistic norms for him are diatonic major and minor, the rules of rhythmic organization and the means of use of intervals.

It must be remembered that the body of tutorial works by Rimsky-Korsakov himself (1873–1875), as well as the teaching

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[8] Rimsky-Korsakov N. A. *Kontrapunkticheskie uprazhneniya* [*Contrapuntal Exercises*]. [Manuscript]. Manuscript Section of the Russian National Library. Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov Fund. Fund 640. Portfolio 343.

[9] Most noteworthy in this regard is one remembrance about the work with the counterpoint students cited by Mikhail Mikhailov: "While rejoicing in the smallest manifestation of the artistic element in his students' works, at the same time, he could not stand any deliberateness or pretentiousness. One student in his counterpoint class, who (after a lengthy period of not doing the assignments) presented a work 'in Mixolydian mode,' aroused a displeased remark from Rimsky-Korsakov: 'Why could you not write an ordinary contrapuntal exercise? Here you are, not bringing any assignments for a long time, and then, suddenly, you bring one in Mixolydian mode!'" Cit. from: [11, p. 39].

[10] Ossovsky A. V. *Zapiski*… [*Notes*…] [Manuscript]. P. 12 staved. — P. 13 staved.

[11] Judging by the *Textbook of Counterpoint*, by Julius Johannsen, whose method of instruction formed the basis of the conservatory course, study of strict style counterpoint in major and minor was traditional. In general terms, the author elucidates his position: "All the examples of this compilation are built on the basis of the present-day major and tonalities, as the result of which all the rules for contrapuntal works are adapted in accordance with these two tonal genera; and for this reason all the positions of the early contrapuntalists especially pertaining to the church modes are dwelt upon only to the extent that these modes coincide with present-day tonalities. This difference <…> is not great at all; but the teaching of counterpoint in regard to strictness and seriousness does not lose anything by being based and demonstrated on both present-day tonalities, instead of the church modes." [15, p. 25]

materials of Alexander Konstantinovich Glazunov from the years 1880–1881, contain exercises in strict style, which include extensive compositions in the church modes. In Osskovsky's notes, on the other hand, we observe a fundamentally different (albeit, an incomplete) picture, since the theoretical theme devoted to the specificity of the modes is absent in the notes.

2. When explaining the conditions for constructing a three-voice contrapuntal exercise in first species, Rimsky-Korsakov suggests relying on the rules of harmony: "In this counterpoint, the following concordances would result (if we apply the harmonic side here): major and minor thirds, their inverted sixths, the sixths resulting from diminished triads [insertion: two tonics and a fifth scale degree (i.e. a six-three chord with an omitted third scale degree)], and incomplete triads consisting for two roots and a third scale degree [insertion: or vice versa]. Six-four chords could not be encountered in any way, as the result of the aforementioned rule about the use of the perfect fourth. Upon a combination of triads, one must never lose the harmonic basis; it is necessary to apply particularly such combinations that are good from the point of view of the rules of harmony,"[12] in such a presentation of the theory, the teacher follows the existent tradition of discussing three-voiced and many-voiced counterpoint in 19th century textbooks. For example, it must be reminded that the section of Ludwig Bussler's textbook "Three-Voice Counterpoint in Strict Style" (§13) begins with an enumeration: "In three-voice texture, the following combinations of pitches are permitted: 1) The major and minor triads. 2) The first inversions of these two chords. 3) The first inversion of the diminished triad, i.e., a sixth chord with a minor third and a major sixth. 4) All the intervals permitted in two-voice counterpoint transformed into three-voiced chords by means of doubling one of the pitches they consist of." [16, p. 30]

Whereas the breviaries of the consecutive eight lessons include materials about the melodicism and rhythm of strict style writing, the rules of writing two-voice counterpoint, as well as the very beginning of the theory of three-voice counterpoint, consistently, with an increase of difficulties, in the spring, in March 1897, a rupture occurs in the lectures, and instead of a consistent and detailed exposition, on March 22, on a pasted-in sheet of paper, there appears a fragment dealing with the theory of imitation, at the end of which, below an expressive vignette, we find the following inscription: "End of the junior (prep[aratory]) section. / 1896/7 (2nd semester)."[13]

Eight pasted-in sheets of paper, inscribed with the date of Autumn 1897, partially contain a repetition of the material from the notes from the spring semester, and partially its supplement. In truth, only one new topic, bearing the date of October 7, 1897, corresponds to the subsequent level of teaching: "The Double Counterpoint of the Octave"[14] — which is also a fragment

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[12] Ossovsky A. V. *Zapiski*… [*Notes*…] [Manuscript]. P. 4 unlined, back side.

[13] Ossovsky A. V. *Zapiski*… [*Notes*…] [Manuscript]. P. 4.3.

Since, as has been indicated earlier, in addition to the numerated main sheets of paper, following many of the topics in the notes, which was written down on unlined pages, the materials of the lectures from the autumn semester were pasted in on supplementary sheets, we shall stipulate to numerate them in correspondence with the number of the pastings in after a successive numerated page. Thereby, 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 are three glued in sheets of paper following the unlined sheet 4.

[14] Ossovsky A. V. *Zapiski*… [*Notes*…] [Manuscript]. P. 4.3 back side.

of the large-scale topic that in Bussler's textbook is titled "The Teaching of Complex Counterpoint: Double, Triple and Quadruple Counterpoint in the Strict Style."

A Textbook on Counterpoint by Rimsky-Korsakov?

The plan of a counterpoint textbook is reflected in Vassily Vassilyevich Yastrebtsev's Memoirs. Thus, in the notes from October 8, 1893 we read: "…we started talking about the necessity of compiling two textbooks: 1) of counterpoint and 2) of musical form" [17, p. 119]; and in November of the selfsame year, Yastrebtsev writes: "Rimsky-Korsakov seems to be very pleased with his new position [after leaving the Cappella], at least, there would be more free time to compile a counterpoint textbook," [Ibid., p. 129] and subsequently: "You know, — Nikolai Andreyevich added, — it so happened that, following the nature intrinsic to all of us, Russians, — I strewed and even wanted to include into this manual a whole set of theoretical considerations regarding harmonization of church modes, but then I restrained myself and postponed this until my subsequent work on this topic, in supplement to my previous two textbooks on harmony and counterpoint." [Ibid., pp. 129–130]

The beginning of Rimsky-Korsakov's work on counterpoint is described by Nikolai Alexandrovich Sokolov in his *Memoirs*: "In his search for a more or less interesting work, N. A. stopped on the thought of writing a textbook on counterpoint. In the autumn of [18]93 he invited me and Lyadov to his home with the special goal of introducing us with the general plan of the future manual. This plan had nothing in common with the usual stereotype: not being content with presenting a table of peremptory rules and prohibitions, the author of the textbook based them on the general rules of harmony. If I am not mistaken, only the introduction and the first chapter were expounded in a relatively completed form; the rest of the material was limited to sketches and fragmentary examples.

To what section was the textbook that was begun brought? Conversations about it were resumed more and more seldom…" [18, pp. 25–26]

There is no doubt that the text of the lectures summarized by Ossovsky reflect a fragment of the counterpoint course accurately elaborated and developed in detail by Rimsky-Korsakov. The materials presented in this article, as a minimum, contain specific techniques and methods of presentation of the theory of strict style counterpoint. And therein they had to correspond to the content of the planned (and, possibly, already begun) textbook on counterpoint, which along with the published works on harmony and the foundations of orchestration,[15] was supposed to have comprised a very comprehensive theoretical framework to the course of practical composition. It is possible that the publication of the textbook would have been conducive to approaching the fulfillment of Rimsky-Korsakov's dream of an ideal system of professional preparation of composers, for the sake of which for several decades he ceaselessly elaborated and improved the tutorial disciplines taught by him at the conservatory.

Most likely, many students of Rimsky-Korsakov's counterpoint class, similarly to Ossovsky, took down notes of the lectures.

[15] *Osnovy orkestrovki* [*Foundations of Orchestration*] were prepared for publication by Maximilian Steinberg and were published after the composer's death in 1913.

Nonetheless, by the present moment, such materials have not been discovered[16] (for more details about this, see: [19]), while they could have comprised a body of texts having a direct relation to Rimsky-Korsakov's "third textbook." The search continues...

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[16] The very representative body of manuscripts of Alexander Glazunov's tutorial materials also includes works from his counterpoint course, but among them are particularly written assignments and exercises, possibly, examples for the theoretical rules examined together with Rimsky-Korsakov during the classes.

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Pedagogical Practice at the Gnesin Russian Academy of Music: Temporal Parallels

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Abstract. The article discusses the history of Pedagogical Practice, an academic discipline inextricably linked with the Gnesin House that has been under revision since the mid-2010s. To identify its fundamental principles, an analysis of the transcripts of the meetings of the Artistic Council of the Gnesin State Musical-Pedagogical Institute (GSMPI) from 1947–1952 is conducted. The documents note the role of practice in the educational process (as it was understood and defined by the founders of the Institute), its duration and connections with other subjects of the pedagogical and methodological cycle, as well as various forms of conducting classes at different levels of education. Parallels with the current state of the discipline taught at the Gnesin Russian Academy of Music (GRAM) allow us to draw conclusions about possible prospects for its development: the use of an assistant form at the specialist and master's levels, which will allow future teachers of the middle and higher levels to become familiar with the specifics of their work, and to conduct practical training in existing educational institutions. The novelty of the study consists in its introduction into scholarly circulation of archival data published for the first time, along with the restoration of a historical snapshot over a five-year period that reveals the features of the "Gnesin pedagogical concept" that characterises the unique approach of GSMPI/GRAM.

Keywords: Gnesin State Musical-Pedagogical Institute, Gnesin Russian Academy of Music, teaching practice, "Gnesin Pedagogical Concept", assistant practice, disciplines of the pedagogical and methodological cycle

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Translated by Thomas Beavitt.

Introduction

The 150th anniversary of the birth of Elena Fabianovna Gnesina (1874–1967) can rightfully be considered a landmark event for Russian culture. The reasons for the special attention paid to this date are quite obvious: the Gnesin family's comprehensive approach to pedagogical problems provided the foundation for an effective and unique system of music education. This creative process culminated in the opening in 1944 of the Gnesin State Musical-Pedagogical Institute (GSMPI),[1] the first educational institution in history focusing on training top-level musician-teachers for schools and colleges of the Soviet Union and now contemporary Russia. The uniqueness of the university is due to the careful maturation and rather long (about 50 years) development period of the pedagogical views of the Gnesin family. As the head of the Department of Music Theory and Vice-Rector for Research Tatiana Naumenko notes, "one of the phenomenal peculiarities of the Gnesin Institute from the first day of its existence was the absence of any kind of acutely expressed 'formative period' — from the first days of its existence, the educational institute began to work in such a natural manner as if it were continuing a process begun earlier." [1, p. 26] According to Elena Fabianovna Gnesina's student in 1956–1964, Doctor of Pedagogical Sciences, Professor of the Department of Pedagogy and Methodology of the Gnesin Russian Academy of Music, Head of the Department in 2010–2015, Augusta Malinkovskaya, "the Gnesin School is… an understanding of the enormous, decisive importance of pedagogy in academic music education." [2, p. 25]

The holding of numerous events throughout the country in 2024, in the year of the 80th anniversary of the university, including the establishment of the Elena Fabianovna Gnesina scholarships,[2] is, of course, an important component of the commemoration. However, the anniversary year also stimulates us to search for answers to certain pressing questions: in what does the uniqueness of the Gnesin system consist? What innovations have been introduced into music education as a result? And most importantly, for what reason was this done?

The starting point of our discussion was the so-called "Gnesin pedagogical concept"; here is how it is characterised by Augusta Malinkovskaya: "In the course of continuous searches for ways to improve musical education, the original Gnesin concept of musical education and model for its implementation were developed, whose essence lies in the fundamental training of creatively thinking musicians having a wide range of knowledge and skills, possessing professional mastery and seriously equipped in the field of pedagogy." [3, p. 142] Thus, the main idea of this concept is the formation of a special type of teacher,[3] who is prepared to work under any conditions, and is therefore equipped with theoretical

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[1] In 1992, the Gnesin State Musical Pedagogical Institute (GSMPI) was transformed into the Gnesin Russian Academy of Music (GRAM).

[2] Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of June 20, 2022 "On the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the birth of E. F. Gnesina." URL: http://publication.pravo.gov.ru/Document/View/0001202206200013 (accessed: 02.10.2024).

[3] This is stated in the Charter of the Gnesin State Musical Pedagogical Institute: one of the main stated tasks of the Institute is "the education of specialists <...> devoted to the socialist Fatherland and capable of carrying out work to further expand and improve the musical and artistic education of workers of the USSR" [Charter of the Institute. 1944. The Russian State Archive for Literature and Art (RSALA). Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 1. P. 1].

knowledge and practical skills, as well as having a broad overview of the problems of pedagogy. The implementation of this concept demanded not only significant professional experience, but also, of course, a special type of thinking. It was embodied, on the one hand, in the development of a set of disciplines in the pedagogical and methodological cycle, which can be considered innovative in the system of music education: here, first of all, we are referring to courses in methodology and pedagogical practice. According to Malinkovskaya, "back in 1925, Elena Fabianovna began to engage in pedagogical training for technical school students in a circle for studying methods for teaching piano playing. Like all her associates, she was guided by the understanding that the objective of educating teaching musicians is not achieved spontaneously during the process of training performers: the pedagogical component of training requires special organisation, as well as its substantive, structural, methodological development and equipment." [4, p. 12] On the other hand, an important role is played by the key idea underpinning the "foundation" of the Institute: performing and pedagogical activities are inseparable and interdependent.[4] Thus, all components of the GSMPI concept complement each other to form a holistic system that continues to function to this day.

It should be noted that the Gnesin High School began its work during a time of active research into systems of musical education. This allows us to draw parallels with the present day, at a time when the form and content of many disciplines are also undergoing a process of revision. One of these courses turned out to be pedagogical practice, which has undergone significant changes. In search of the foundational principles of this discipline, we turned to archival documents consisting in the transcripts of the meetings of the Artistic Council of the GSMPI from 1947 to 1952.

"In Our Institute, Practice Must be Up to the Mark": On the Role of Teaching Practice at the Gnesin State Musical-Pedagogical Institute

What place did pedagogical practice occupy among other disciplines? Let us quote the words of the dean of the vocal faculty, Nina Aleksandrovna Verbova: "For our university, pedagogical practice is not a 'required curriculum,' but the most important subject, the main subject for our students, regardless of whether they will become teachers immediately after graduating from the institute or after some time of performing practice."[5] The central importance of this discipline, the high level of dedication and quality of work expected from students not only by the university teaching, but also more specifically by the Gnesin sisters, is evidenced, in particular, by the words of Elizaveta Fabianovna[6]: "I was present when the students brought their students, and I find that you are

[4] See Charter of the Gnesin State Musical Pedagogical Institute [Charter of the Institute. 1944. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 1]. Another graduate of Elena Gnesina's class, A. V. Malinkovskaya, mentions the same thing. See: [2, p. 138].

[5] Transcript of the meeting of the Institute Council to discuss the results of the winter examination session and the results of the work of the faculties and departments for the previous period and materials for it. January 29, 1949. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 43. P. 17.

[6] Elizaveta Fabianovna Gnesina (1876–1953) — the fourth of the five Gnesin sisters, violinist. In 1949 — Associate Professor, Acting Professor of the Department of String Instruments at the Gnesin State Musical Pedagogical Institute.

far from up to par in this matter. The students' diaries contained bookish expressions; there were many incorrect formulations and other unnoticed shortcomings. Not all students submitted their diaries, and not all of the diaries that were submitted were good", she criticised her colleagues. Her speech ended with the phrase: "In our Institute, practice must be up to the mark."[7] The fact that teaching practice was conceived not only as a process of consolidating professional skills acquired within the framework of the pedagogical methodology course, but also as a school for educating future specialists, is evidenced by the words of the dean of the Historical-Theoretical-Composition Faculty, head of the department of music theory Pavel Gennadyevich Kozlov: "We must learn that teaching practice is not only the sum of teaching skills, it is a school for educating young teachers."[8]

One of the most important issues repeatedly discussed at meetings of the Institute's Artistic Council was the connection between a number of disciplines and their implementation in teaching practice. In particular, Associate Professor of the Special Piano Department Moisei Emmanuilovich Feigin complained in 1951 that "…there is still not a sufficient connection between theory and practice — the methodology course is not yet properly connected with the students' work on pedagogical practice; there is an ill-considered content of the classes, as well as mistakes and gaps."[9] Evgeniya Andreyevna Bokshchanina, a lecturer at the Department of Music History, pointed out some of the problems faced by students of the Faculty of History, Theory and Composition.[10] It should be noted that the need for a close connection between the methodology course and pedagogical practice was discussed even earlier, in 1947, by Associate Professor of the Department of Pedagogy and Methodology Alexander Dmitrievich Alekseyev,[11] who also proposed extending the methodology course to five semesters.[12] Clearly, while this is a question that remains relevant at all times, today, in the context of significantly reduced curricula, it acquires a special significance.[13]

During discussions of practice, the issue of selecting a pedagogical repertoire was repeatedly raised. Feigin emphasised its importance as follows: "We cannot imagine a music teacher who would not treat with complete awareness and would not approach with deep criticism the material on which we will educate our students. <...> Our students must master the criteria within the walls of the Institute and learn to critically approach

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[7] Transcript of the meeting of the Institute Council… P. 22.

[8] Transcript of the meeting of the Institute Council to discuss V. O. Berkov's lecture, preparation for the winter exam session, and approval of the topics for diploma theses. December 1, 1951. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 90. P. 27.

[9] Transcript of the meeting of the Institute Council to discuss the results of the test and examination session and the conduct of students' teaching practice. January 27, 1951. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 75. P. 16.

[10] She also noted a "lack of connection between teaching practice and the methodology course. "I had not established contact with Konst[antin] Konst[antinovich Rozenschild], we need to maintain closer contact in the future." [Ibid. P. 18]

[11] From 1951 — Professor; from 1972 to 1978 — Head of the Department of Pedagogy and Methodology.

[12] Minutes of the meetings of the Institute Council and corresponding materials. November 2, 1946 — June 30, 1947. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 35. P. 17.

[13] To date, the methodology course has been taught for only two semesters.

literature for students. They must be innovators in this matter."[14] Thus, a methodological basis was laid for the emergence of a new discipline at that time — "Study of the pedagogical repertoire," which has been removed from the current curriculum.

The list of "points of contact" between pedagogical practice and other disciplines can be continued further. Let us turn again to Feigin's words: "At our students' evenings and tests, we sometimes listen to works that have recently been published. During the tests on methodology, we give students an assignment: an independent critical analysis of works. Some of the topics of the diploma theses are devoted to these works."[15] A preference for the methodological aspect of the topics of diploma papers was repeatedly expressed at meetings of the Artistic Council. In particular, the deputy director of the GSMPI, Yuri Vladimirovich Muromtsev, entering into a polemic with the dean, Pavel Gennadyevich Kozlov, said: "You think that we need to preserve the old formulation ['An attempt to analyse the performance of the Second Sonata for Cello by N. Ya. Myaskovsky.' — *D. B.*]; performance analysis is easier than methodological analysis. But, it seems to me, methodological analysis is more suitable for the specialisation of our Institute."[16] He was later supported by Associate Professor, Acting Professor of the Department of String Instruments Alexander Kondratievich Vlasov, who added: "It is important to learn methodical analysis of any piece."[17] Thus, the task was set to teach the student to work with compositions of any level of complexity, any style, any time of writing.[18] It is no exaggeration to say that within the walls of the GSMPI a new type of teacher was formed — one methodologically equipped with a broad overview of professional problems, who was capable of analysing and generalising pedagogical experience.

Thus, the position of pedagogical practice at GSMPI can be characterised as *primus inter pares*; let us note that the role of other disciplines of the pedagogical cycle, including the specialist classes, was not devalued. In this light, the words of the dean of the piano faculty, Adolf Davidovich Gottlieb, are noteworthy: "We graduate teachers who can play and sing well, teachers who are excellent performers; this is how I understand our task; this is our main difference from the conservatory graduate school."[19] His words confirm that the unity of performance and pedagogy declared in the Charter was one of the most important guidelines for the pedagogical staff and management of GSMPI. Teaching practice has thus become a "centre for converting"

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[14] Transcript of the meeting of the Institute Council to discuss the editorial article of Pravda "Unsuccessful Opera" from April 19, 1951. June 1, 1951. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 81. P. 50.

[15] Ibid., pp. 51–52.

[16] Transcript of the meeting of the Institute Council on approval of the certification of postgraduate students and the topics of students' diploma theses, discussion of the report on the implementation of the plan for scientific and methodological work of the Institute for 1950. December 13, 1950. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 73. P. 2.

[17] Ibid. P. 3.

[18] This is worth noting separately since the absence of a developed interpretation (let us call it a "performance tradition") should not be an obstacle to working with a particular composition in class. In fact, this is exactly what requires thorough theoretical, analytical and historical preparation of a university graduate.

[19] Transcript of the meeting of the Institute Council on the work of graduate students, preparation for the summer examination session and new admission of students. May 12, 1951. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 79. P. 16.

knowledge, both that obtained within the framework of theoretical disciplines and in the classroom specialty, into a specific result — the performances of one's own students.

What place does this discipline occupy in the hierarchy of contemporary values? Let us give some figures: internship for students at the Institute in 1948–1952 lasted from the 3rd to the 5th year,[20] while in 2022 active practical training took up only a single 4th year.

No less important is the attitude of students towards this discipline. Nowadays, students at music colleges "not so rarely have to be convinced" of its expediency: "It must be acknowledged that not all students, even while studying at a university, can clearly understand and explain to themselves — and still less to their students — their method of revealing the figurative meaning of a piece and the methods of its pianistic implementation," writes Olga Saigushkina. [5, p. 62] All this points to insufficiently developed pedagogical thinking, without which it is difficult to imagine a specialist succeeding in this field. It can be assumed that the prospect of further work in an educational institution, for example, following the results of targeted training, will replenish the lost motivation of students and revive interest in the discipline that prepares them for professional activity.[21]

Forms of Conducting Pedagogical Practice: Problems and Their Solutions in the History of GSMPI/GRAM

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, teaching practice was still a very "young" discipline, which led to discussions about its goals and objectives, as well as its characteristics at different levels of education. The most significant discussions about forms of teaching practice took place in the period from 1948 to 1952.[22] Let us note that even today the problem of forms of practice is not only not closed, but is, in fact, at the stage of fundamental rethinking.

Discussions on the form of the internship were related to the search for options that could solve the problem of adaptation of young specialists in the professional environment. And in this case, the most pressing question was: how to distribute the responsibilities of the manager and the student intern. During the discussions, two forms were discussed: assistant practice, as well as the independent work of the student under the guidance of a supervisor-consultant.

The debate about the appropriateness of these forms was quite active. Gottlieb spoke in favour of the relative autonomy of students: "Teaching practice will only make sense when each student has an independent area of work."[23] This same

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[20] As confirmation, we will cite Vlasov's words: "Teaching practice this year yielded satisfactory results, students of the 3rd–5th years all had students" [Transcript of the meeting of the Institute Council to discuss the results of the spring credit and examination session and candidates for the vacant position of professor of the composition department, approval of the certification of graduate students. June 30, 1951. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 83. P. 9].

[21] One would like to believe that the format of targeted training will help to "breathe life" into a whole range of disciplines — methodology, study of the pedagogical repertoire, pedagogical practice and others, without which the formation of a teacher and his or her "role" is practically impossible.

[22] The most accurate in this regard are the words of Muromtsev, which in many ways are still relevant today: "It is difficult to provide a specific recipe now. We are doing experiments, we have done a lot, but we need to look for new forms and types of practice, and then we will implement this and overcome our difficulties" [Transcript of the meeting of the Institute Council on the organisation and implementation of pedagogical practice for students and seminars on socio-political disciplines, the work of the faculty on the study of Marxist-Leninist theory. November 19, 1949. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 53. P. 28].

[23] Ibid. P. 27.

form was widely used at the Faculty of History, Theory and Composition.[24] Shortcomings were also revealed: in particular, Gottlieb criticised students for "abstract reasoning": "For example, a child plays in an elementary arrhythmic manner, and when discussing the results of the performance, I heard the following definition: one student says — 'excessive romanticism in the performance'."[25]

A similar situation has developed with assistant practice. Professor of the Department of Special Piano Theodore Davidovich Gutman spoke about it as a successful experiment: "With the provision of pedagogical practice, the situation was as follows: in individual cases, we gave it to the 5th year of first-year students of the Institute."[26] Assistant work by students of the State Musical-Pedagogical Institute was also carried out outside the walls of the university: "We sent two students to practice at the School of the Moscow State Conservatory and to the class of Valeriya Vladimirovna Listova so that the results could be shown to our commission," said Gottlieb.[27] He further added that "we should think about the possibility of a broader organisation of diploma practice directly in Moscow schools so that our commission would accept the credits."[28] Thus, the experience of organising assistant practice was obviously quite successful.

There were also critical statements, for example, Vlasov's words that "classroom lessons with teachers also do not produce results." "Assistant practice has not proven itself yet," he concluded.[29] During the discussion of the specifics of graduate students' practice, Gottlieb also expressed criticism: "We use a passive form of practice for young teachers: a graduate student attends a professor's classes, sits and observes the professor's work. It is more appropriate for a young person who wants to master his or her speciality to teach under the guidance of a highly qualified specialist."[30] At the end of his speech he concluded that "every graduate student should be provided with students."[31]

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[24] Let us cite Kozlov's words as an example. He noted that "Komissarskaya turned out to be a good teacher, helped the school last year and completed the entire course" [Ibid. P. 29].

[25] Transcript of the meeting of the Institute Council to discuss the results of the winter examination session and the results of the work of the faculties and departments for the previous period and materials for it. January 29, 1949. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 43. P. 21.

[26] Transcript of the meeting of the Institute Council on the work of graduate students, preparation for the summer examination session and new admission of students. May 12, 1951. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 79. P. 18.

[27] It should also be noted that students from other faculties also completed their practical training outside the Institute: in particular, Kozlov said that "composers Odinets and Polshina work independently, lead a music literature group at a school in Setun" [Transcript of a meeting of the Institute Council on the organisation and implementation of students' pedagogical practice and seminars on socio-political disciplines, the work of the faculty on the study of Marxist-Leninist theory. November 19, 1949. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 53. P. 29]. This same form of practice has survived to this day.

[28] Ibid. P. 27.

[29] Transcript of the meeting of the Institute Council to discuss the results of the test and examination session and the conduct of students' teaching practice. January 27, 1951. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 75. P. 17.

[30] Transcript of the meeting of the Institute Council on approval of the work plan of the scholarly and creative student society and discussion of the work of graduate students and materials for it. October 13, 1951. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 86. P. 21.

[31] Ibid. P. 22.

Thus, the priority of independent work of a student or postgraduate student was proclaimed along with a criticism of the passive form of practice.

The result of these discussions was the resolution of the Artistic Council of the GSMPI dated February 13, 1952, which drew attention to the organisation of the teaching practice of postgraduate students in two forms:

a) assistant work at a university in the class of one's supervisor according to a plan approved by the department;

b) independent work with school-age students."[32]

The thus-adopted compromise option included elements of both independent and assistant work, as well as familiarity with school and university pedagogy. Consequently, both forms of practice fully prepared the specialist for future activities. This is how the pedagogical practice of Augusta V. Malinkovskaya was organized, as per her individual plan during postgraduate studies (see: [6, p. 57]).

In turn, the pedagogical practice of students of the 3rd–5th years gradually "moved to the rails of school practice," as Alekseev expressed it.[33] On January 27, 1951, Muromtsev said: "We are now facing an important stage in the work along the line of pedagogical practice — the transition to a school base. The project of the Committee [on Arts Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the USSR] states that it is considered appropriate to transfer children's practice to a children's school, increase the number of personnel, and integrate a seven-year school into a children's school."[34] Although this was stated many times, the project was not implemented: on November 17, 1951, the new deputy director of the Institute, Alexei Nikolaevich Aksenov, said that "now it is difficult to predetermine new forms of pedagogical practice, *maybe* [mine italics. — *D. B.*] this will be a branch of our [seven]-year school."[35] Despite this, an optimal form of conducting the practice was found and preserved: university students worked with one school pupil and one college student.[36] Thus, in the course of numerous and very intensive discussions and debates, both forms of practice were finalised and adopted.

Nowadays, the conversation about the forms and tasks of practice can be updated in the context of the "stratification" of higher education. As an example, we will cite the practical work of fourth-year students. According to the guidelines, the practical work of "bachelors" and "specialists" differs to only a superficial extent. This is a paradox, because a bachelor's degree graduate is focused on the school and college level of music pedagogy, while a "specialist" can apply for a place at a university, as enshrined

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[32] Transcript of the meeting of the Institute Council to discuss the scholarly and methodological work of the departments. February 13, 1952. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 95. P. 24.

[33] Transcript of the meeting of the Institute Council to discuss the results of the test and examination session and the conduct of students' teaching practice. January 27, 1951. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 75. P. 15.

[34] Ibid. P. 22.

[35] Transcript of the meeting of the Institute Council to discuss the political studies in student groups, the results of teaching practice and the implementation of plans for scholarly and methodological work. November 17, 1951. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 89. P. 12.

[36] Following its definitive establishment in the second half of the 1950s, this form was widely used thereafter. Malinkovskaya writes about this: "As a rule, each student had two students of different ages, which reflected the focus on his readiness for work in both the primary and secondary levels of musical education." [4, p. 14]

in regulatory documents.[37] A student who has completed a five-year course may be unprepared for teaching activities at the higher education level, since the appropriate form of practice is simply not provided. This, in turn, comes into conflict with the specifics of the Gnesin Pedagogical School. According to Malinkovskaya, "from the very beginning of its historical formation and development, it implemented the principles of *successive conjugation* [italics mine. — *D. B.*] of the stages of a musician's education, the links of the educational system." [7, p. 81] Thus, the problem of continuity requires understanding at a more specific level, i.e., within the framework of the discipline "Pedagogical Practice."

A similar situation arises with master's students, who only in their second year conduct "independent studies and studies under the supervision of a supervisor with students,"[38] note that in this case both independent and assistant forms of work are used. However, the certification procedure, which is carried out on the basis of "a written report from the trainee and a review of the work by the intern's supervisor," raises several questions. [Ibid.] Thus, control over the progress of master's students' internships, contrary to the Gnesin tradition of collective discussion, is individual and rather conditional.

Conclusion

At the present time, the need arises to revise established forms and tasks of practice, some of which have become less relevant. Some proposals can be voiced now: for example, it seems possible to involve senior students of the specialist program, as well as master's students, in working with students of the preparatory department (as independent work),[39] as well as with junior students in the role of assistants. In general, it can be stated with confidence that the renewal of the original Gnesin disciplines — in particular, pedagogical practice — is possible only by relying on those principles and approaches that were developed by the luminaries of the Gnesin House.

We will summarise as follows. At GSMPI, practice was recognised as perhaps the most important discipline of the pedagogical cycle, since it combined knowledge, skills and abilities accumulated within the framework of various courses during the training process; it also prepared future teachers for the professional environment in which they expected to find themselves after graduating from the university. Over the course of three years, their working style was formed and honed to gradually reveal their "pedagogical role." Thus, the concept of the Institute was

[37] In the section "Type of tasks of professional activity: the pedagogical," the following appears: "Teaching professional disciplines in the field of musical and instrumental art in educational organisations of secondary vocational and higher education" [Main professional educational program of higher education "Piano." Specialty 53.05.01 Art of concert performance. Specialization: Piano / Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation; Gnesin Russian Academy of Music. Moscow, 2021. P. 4].

[38] Practical training. Teaching practice: working program of the discipline. Basic professional educational program "Piano." Direction of training 53.04.01 Musical and instrumental art. Profile — piano. Education level: Master's degree / Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation; Gnesin Russian Academy of Music. Moscow, 2019. P. 4.

[39] Let us note that there is already a precedent; in a report dated January 27, 1951, Kozlov spoke about students of the History-Theory-Composition Faculty: "The harmony group, solfeggio is a group for preparing for the university, and the theory group is for preparing for college" [Transcript of the meeting of the Institute Council to discuss the results of the test and examination session and the conduct of students' teaching practice. January 27, 1951. RSALA. Fund 2927. List 1. Portfolio 75. P. 19].

revealed in pedagogical practice, since it was here that the necessary synthesis of theory and practice, pedagogy and performance, specific method and creative content arose. Thus, pedagogical practice in the historical heritage of GSMPI/GRAM appears as a complex multi-component mechanism, which functions to preserve and develop Russian musical and methodological traditions. I would like to believe that in our day and in the future, the words "I am a graduate of the Gnesin Academy" will evoke ideas of indisputable competence, broad erudition, as well as a sense of responsibility for those traditions that made this person a true professional in his field.

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Elena Malinovskaya: Theatrical and Musical Education in the Late 1910s–1930s*

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Abstract. The article discusses the views and influence of the prominent figure of the Soviet theater, Elena Konstantinovna Malinovskaya (1875–1942), on educational institutions in the field of music and theater. The latter included the Theater School of Moscow and one of its successors, the Ballet College, various studios, and the Moscow Conservatory. For many years, Malinovskaya was at the centre of Moscow's theatrical life, holding various responsible positions: following the October Revolution, she headed Moscow's state theaters until 1924; for a significant part of this period, she was also the director of the Bolshoi Theater, as well as heading it again from 1930–1935. Thus, Malinovskaya's legacy included a considerable impact on prominent institutions that taught theatrical and musical arts. The article is the first attempt to study her activities based on archival materials recently introduced into scholarly circulation. It is shown that Malinovskaya's influence on educational institutions in the field of the performing arts was quite various: if the Ballet Academy fell under her direct control, she could only influence the conservatory indirectly using her extensive network of connections.

Keywords: Bolshoi Theater, Moscow Conservatory, Moscow Academy of Choreography, Theater School of Moscow, Elena Malinovskaya

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Introduction

Elena Konstantinovna Malinovskaya (1875–1942) held many responsible positions following the October Revolution. Having been appointed Commissar of Moscow Theaters in November 1917, she directed the state (from 1919, "academic") theaters of Moscow until 1924, for a significant part of this period also being the director of the State Academic Bolshoi Theater. She returned to leadership of the latter in 1930 and remained in this post for an additional five years. In the history of the Bolshoi Theater, the time of her leadership can without hyperbole be referred to as the "Malinovskaya era." Her authority in the artistic world — and perhaps more importantly, influence among the party elite — concentrated a large amount of power in her hands. When combined with her undoubted passion for the performing arts, questions about her influence both on the theaters she managed and on theater and music education in general become independent research tasks. Although the latter strand has not yet extensively featured in the work of theater historians, the uncovering of new archival materials provide an opportunity to shed some light on it.

"In Such a Way That a Conscious, Cultured Troupe Would Be Nurtured..."

In the first years of her administrative activity in the theaters, Malinovskaya, as far as can be judged, did not have independent views on theatrical education, main entrusting this responsibility instead to individual directors and organisers of studios in which the pedagogical and creative processes were combined. One of the most revered figures in the performing arts, Fyodor Komissarzhevsky[1] expressed his disappointment with his work at the Theater of the Moscow Council of Workers' Deputies (MCWD, formerly the Zimin Opera) in a letter dated 16 December 1918: "We cannot make the Studio dependent on Soviet Opera. One has nothing in common with the other. And if we have anything valuable now, it is only the Studio, which is all in the future, while the Soviet Opera is all in the past." [1, p. 383] Komissarzhevsky attached to the letter a note to the Board of the MCWD Theater, in which he asked to be relieved of his responsibility for the artistic part of the theater but agreed to participate in the training of new singers: "I will remain in charge of the Studio courses (school), if the Board so desires." [Ibid.] Malinovskaya, who had been trying for many years to attract Komissarzhevsky to the theatrical institutions she managed, believed in his talent as a director and teacher. She also patronised the Opera Studio of Konstantin Stanislavsky (which opened and existed for the first years at the Bolshoi Theater); while the latter was not an educational institution in the direct sense of the word, a certain pedagogical element associated with the presentation and assimilation of the ideas of the great director was, of course, present in this studio.

During the initial period of Malinovskaya's administrative activity in the theater sphere, the ballet school demanded more attention. During the first years of the Civil War, the building of the former Imperial Moscow Theater School was occupied by various organisations. It was only towards the end of 1919 that a glimmer of hope arose for its possible return to the world of theater. In December 1919, the management of the Bolshoi Theater (de facto headed

[1] About their relationship, see: [1].

by Malinovskaya, who combined the posts of director of the academic theaters and, from September 1919, "director of administrative affairs" of the Bolshoi Theater; from the same month, Yakov Lunacharsky, the brother of the People's Commissar, became director of finance and head of the school[2]) prepared a statement addressed to Anatoly Lunacharsky. Reporting on a rumour that had reached the theater about the departure of the 14th combined evacuation hospital from the school and the intention of the Belostok hospital to take its place, the authors of the appeal noted that it was extremely important "to prevent the occupation of the School for a new hospital" (judging by the note on the document, it was decided to proceed with the application through a family line, i.e. via Yakov Lunacharsky).[3] With the resumption of the ballet school's activities, the pedagogical process in it was reorganised, as Malinovskaya herself would later write, "in such a way that a conscious, cultured troupe would be nurtured in it and the theater would receive artistic material capable of realising the new tasks facing the art of ballet. The delivery of general education subjects was no different from that of second-level schools; in specialised subjects, along with mastering technical skills, particular attention was paid to music, facial expressions, improvisation, and make-up." [2, p. 74]

In March 1924, Malinovskaya, beset by numerous opponents both inside and outside the Bolshoi Theater, was forced to resign both from her post as its director and from her position as head of the Moscow academic theaters. However, having now become the chief administrator of the "Committee for Assistance to the Peoples of the Northern Outskirts under the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee," she continued to closely follow events in the theater department. At the end of 1926, Malinovskaya compiled and sent a detailed note to members of the Soviet government, in which she harshly criticised the activities of her successor (both as director of the Bolshoi Theater and in the Administration of Academic Theaters), Grigory Koloskov. Among other sins of the latter, she noted his attitude towards budding dancers: "The exploitation of the students at the Ballet School is especially outrageous. They replace employees to participate in most ballets and operas. The number of performances a student makes varies from 8 to 12 per month, even reaching 17 times per month. For each performance, 3 rubles 50 kopecks are due; however, this money is not given to the participants in cash but is used to offset the 'subsidy' given to the Ballet School."[4]

In January 1930, Malinovskaya returned to her post as director of the Bolshoi Theater, simultaneously also gaining control of the ballet vocational school. Although she tried to attract outstanding musical figures and teachers to the group she led, such endeavours were not always successful. A draft of Mikhail Gnesin's response letter to her on this topic on 12 May 1930, which is full of notes and corrections, has been preserved by the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art. Thanking Malinovskaya for the invitation to attend Lunacharsky's lecture in the Bolshoi Theater building ("I am very interested in the lecture and would certainly come. In recent years, I have often attended lectures and all sorts of meetings organised

[2] A. A. Bakhrushin State Central Theater Museum (SCTM). Fund 154. No. 523. P. 1.

[3] Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RSALA). Fund 648. List 2. Portfolio 26, pp. 203–303 back side.

[4] RSALA. Fund 1933. List 1. Portfolio 61. P. 8.

by the theater — for some time I was even a member of the Council"), Gnesin nevertheless resolutely refused it: "But since the theater permitted itself to indulge in the most vile and completely irresponsible mockery of one of the most remarkable artists of our country, one of our few genuinely progressive musical figures, M. A. Bichter, I resolved not to enter into any further relations with this theater — and, in particular, not to accept any 'pleasantries' from it. I feel sick even walking past it on the street."[5] Gnesin's complaint, as far as can be understood from the somewhat confused text, was that the "brilliantly gifted musician" Mikhail Bichter was never offered a position as conductor at the theater, despite having counted on it due to his involvement for several months in the production of the opera *Sadko*.[6] Perhaps Malinovskaya did not think it advisable to engage Bichter due to the musician's notoriously harsh character. [3, p. 67] One way or another, the failure with Bichter complicated relations between Mikhail Gnesin the Bolshoi Theater — including with Malinovskaya personally.

Attempt to "Conquer" the Conservatory

During the first half of the 1930s, in her restored position heading the Bolshoi Theater, Malinovskaya paid significant attention to the ballet vocational school. However, she also tried to bring the Moscow Conservatory under her control. Ekaterina Vlasova, who discovered the document cited below, draws attention to the context: Malinovskaya not only wanted to create a personnel reserve for the Bolshoi Theater, but also to "save the Conservatory from the final collapse to which it was led by the actions of members of the Red Professors' faction and former Production Collective of Student Composers of the Moscow Conservatory (Prokol) members who became leaders of the Russian Association of Proletarian Musicians (RAPM)." [4, p. 313] At the end of winter or beginning of spring 1932[7] Malinovskaya[8] approached Kliment Voroshilov, one of the leaders of the Government Commission for the Management of the Bolshoi Theater and the Moscow Art Theater, who also held the post of the People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs, with a detailed note on the needs and requirements of the Bolshoi Theater.

Of considerable interest is the section of the note entitled "Training of new personnel." It begins with a categorical statement: "…it must be said right away that in terms of personnel for the opera, orchestra and chorus, the situation is catastrophic." The author of the note shared her bitter experience as an employer: "The market for artistic labour is completely exhausted. This is eloquently demonstrated by the fact that the directors and representatives of all major provincial theaters live in Moscow almost without venturing outside the capital. They systematically seek the consent of the Bolshoi Theater management for transfers or tours to the provinces of Bolshoi Theater artists (not only accredited artists,

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[5] Ibid. Fund 2954. List 1. Portfolio 261. P. 1.

[6] Ibid., pp. 1–1 back side.

[7] Unfortunately, the note is not dated. On the first page there is a note by Kliment Voroshilov, made on March 7, 1932: "Give it to me in 3–4 days" [Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RSASPH). Fund 74. List 1. Portfolio 394. P. 26].

[8] Although the document is not signed, Malinovskaya's authorship can be established based on the consideration that only she, as director of the Bolshoi Theater, could have addressed the Government Commission with a detailed note on the urgent needs of the theater.

but also those occupying an obscure position); more often than not, they surreptitiously go behind the back of management to tempt one or another artist with a high fee, large advances and other tempting promises." Noting that the even the Bolshoi Theater itself "feels a shortage of workers" and in the current season had even been "forced to invite a number of orchestra artists from Berlin," Malinovskaya notes that the competitions held periodically "in the opera, orchestra and choir give the most deplorable results: for a number of years, the same people appear at the competitions, who in no way meet the requirements."

The note also raised the question of the reason for the lack of artistic talent: "It is absolutely impossible to accept that among the working-class and urban working youth there is really such a shortage of musically and vocally gifted people. Therefore, the reasons for the catastrophic situation with young vocal and musical personnel must be sought in the inability to develop these forces and provide them with the necessary qualifications. The collapse of the former Moscow Conservatory, which turns out to have been completely incompetent in the responsible task of training musical and vocal personnel, is creating a complete crisis." From the sad state of affairs described in this way, the following conclusion followed: "The Bolshoi Theater considers the only way out of the current situation to be the transfer of the former Moscow Conservatory to the jurisdiction of the Bolshoi Theater. This event will also be rational because the teaching staff of the Conservatory is closely connected with the Bolshoi Theater: the majority of the conservatory teachers are either current or former employees of the Bolshoi Theater." In the event of the transfer of the conservatory to the jurisdiction of the Bolshoi Theater, the author of the note promised quick positive results: "…it can be confidently guaranteed that its work will be established already in the second year," and "in 4–5 years it will be possible to release the first replenishment both for the Bolshoi Theater and for other opera houses of the USSR."[9]

The Battle for the Ballet School

The same note also refers to the Ballet School, at this point being under the control of the director of the Bolshoi Theater, as being certified in completely different terms. "The situation with the training of ballet personnel can currently be considered as favourable. The presence of a ballet vocational school at the Bolshoi Theater ensures the proper organisation of the training of ballet personnel. As a result of the events held this season, the vocational school's educational and production work has improved significantly," the note stated. True to the spirit of the times, Malinovskaya calls attention to a dramatic increase in the "working class" among the students at the vocational school: "If in the previous composition of students the children of workers and party members made up 17%, then among the newly admitted they make up 61% (the children of specialists make up 28%, the children of employees 11% of the total number of newly admitted)." The document emphasises that the objectives of the educational institution "have been significantly expanded since the current season: the vocational school's curriculum is designed to train not only qualified ballet dancers, but also choreographers, directors, and teachers. Special courses have already been opened in the performing and choreography-directing departments. However, it has not yet been possible to open a pedagogical department due

[9] RSASPH. Fund 74. List 1. Portfolio 394, pp. 32–33.

to a lack of space." The studies also implied gradual inclusion in the creative process of the Bolshoi Theater, in whose performances the future artists underwent "practical training": "The review of the results of studies in special subjects will be carried out by staging the ballet *The Nutcracker* by the students and a special performance for May 1st on the theme of the pioneer movement."

As she had many years before, Malinovskaya continued to consider it important to teach at a high level not only specialised, but also general education subjects. "Educational subjects in the ballet school are taught according to the program of the People's Commissariat of Education, approved for seven-year schools," she reported in the same note, linking this to the increased popularity of the vocational school: "…the influx of people wishing to send their children to the vocational school has increased enormously. It is characteristic that parents motivate their persistent requests for admission of their children, in addition to referring to the comparatively good school environment (light, air, food), mainly by the fact that the vocational school provides students, in comparison with other schools, with the most complete development. Indeed, the general education program in the seven-year period is linked in the vocational school with special classes, physical training, music instruction, language study, and socio-political education, carried out not only theoretically, but also through a variety of community work." The growing interest in the vocational school, it would seem, should have led to the expansion of this educational institution; the note mentions as if in passing that an increase in "the number of students is impossible without freeing the premises currently occupied by the vocational school by tenants."[10]

Malinovskaya's note depicts the state of the vocational school in almost idyllic tones; the only problem of the educational institution was, if we are to believe her, the lack of available space in the building it occupied. There were other opinions: at around this time, Malinovskaya was criticised for her ruthless exploitation of future dancers — interestingly, in almost the same terms in which she herself had earlier criticised the actions of Grigory Koloskov. On May 6, 1932, the secretary of the Bolshoi Theater cell of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Safonov sent Kliment Voroshilov an extensive report on the activities of Malinovskaya and her circle, in which he criticised, among other things, the policy of the theater's management regarding the use of students from the Ballet College. The latter were involved in the performance of *The Nutcracker*, which was intended as a final production, but for financial reasons was included in the repertoire and began to be staged more often. "There is no doubt that such a decision by the administration should have the most serious impact and is already having an impact on both the health of children and their general education. The curriculum remains the same, but daily rehearsals of *The Nutcracker* drag on until 10 p.m. After the performance, children leave the theater after 11 o'clock with frayed nerves, fatigue, etc." The author of the note drew the attention of the People's Commissar to the harm that this brought to the students: "We must not forget that their bodies are still developing, and such a load not only does not bring them any benefit, as the directors of the Ballet Vocational school

[10] Ibid., pp. 33–34.

assure us, but threatens to undermine their health, curtail their growth and deter their artistic formation."[11]

Clearly conscious of the aspersions he was casting, Safonov wrote: "Some girls of 15–16 years old, who perform their roles very well, feel the danger and are afraid that such work will overwhelm them before they reach the rank of worker of the Bolshoi Theater ballet. The danger is compounded by the fact that many of the students are poorly nourished." The secretary of the party cell tried to influence the feelings of the high-ranking addressee: "Fatigue and an unchildlike pallor are already clearly visible in the children of the Ballet Vocational school. However, these questions are of little concern to those for whom the success of *The Nutcracker* strengthens their position at the Bolshoi Theater." Citing as an example of "callous and heartless treatment of children" the case of Golovkina's student, who became ill while dancing during "women's days," Safonov also took a jab at Malinovskaya's protégé Viktor Semenov, who headed the vocational school: "One can't help but recall that Semenov was expelled from the Leningrad Ballet School for torturing children. This is what the Chairman of the Regional Department of the Trade Union Rabis[12], Comrade Gorodinsky, assures."[13]

On 13 May of the same year, 1932, a week after Safonov had compiled his report, both he and Malinovskaya, along with other representatives of the Bolshoi Theater administration, attended a meeting of the Government Commission for the Management of the Bolshoi Theater and the Moscow Art Theater, which was chaired by the Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, Abel Yenukidze. It was then decided (probably based on a report from the Bolshoi Theater's management) to rename the Ballet College into the Choreographic College and to build on the building it occupied on Pushkin Street in view of the "need to develop experimental production work."[14] The experienced and influential director of the theater withstood the pressure from the secretary of the party cell, which, however, had not ceased even a year later.

Her enemy continued to "hit" the same spot. On June 28, 1933,[15] Malinovskaya wrote to Abel Yenukidze (her patron in the highest spheres of the Soviet apparatus): "The very next day after your departure, Safonov and his friends began an offensive, and the vocational school almost fell apart. But the district committee, i.e. its secretary Andreasyan, after a month realised that we had a squabble and where it was coming from, and everything has ended well for now." Speaking about the graduating class of that year, whose star was Olga Lepeshinskaya, Malinovskaya, who had long been friends with the family of the artist Vasily Polenov and gradually occupied the "Polenov" places on the Oka for the rest of the Bolshoi Theater employees, wrote: "As a reward for[16], we placed this class in Bekhovo, in 2 rooms, we are infinitely happy." Justifying the significant

[11] The document is signed only by last name. However, Safonov's initials and position are established based on materials from the Bolshoi Theater's archival collection: RSALA. Fund 648. List 2. Portfolio 805. P. 64.

[12] Rabis — is an short abbreviation of "rabotniki iskusstva" [art workers].

[13] RSASPH. Fund 74. List 1. Portfolio 400, pp. 11–12.

[14] Ibid. Portfolio 396. P. 18.

[15] The document does not indicate the year, but it does talk about the admission of Olga Lepeshinskaya to the troupe and the production of *The Flames of Paris* on the Bolshoi Theater stage — both events took place in 1933.

[16] The word is read tentatively.

expenses (the work on the vocational school building alone required another 150 thousand), Malinovskaya confessed: "I admit our guilt, but we are doing so well, in my opinion, that we deserve leniency." Finally, she also mentioned the famous estate of the Volkonsky princes near Moscow, which was planned as a place of rest for future dancers: "I inspected Sukhanovo, which you promise to give us for the vocational school, and made arrangements with the Head and N. A. Semashko." The help of Semashko, whom Malinovskaya had known since her underground work in Nizhny Novgorod in the 1900s, played a role in quickly resolving the issue ("Now we are preparing the place together," the director of the Bolshoi Theater noted in a letter to Yenukidze).[17]

Until the end of her work as director of the Bolshoi Theater (her final resignation took place in January 1935 [5, p. 89]), Malinovskaya continued to manage the vocational school. Thus, on November 21, 1934, she contacted Yenukidze, asking "in connection with the upcoming 125th anniversary of the Choreographic Vocational School of the Bolshoi Theater of the USSR" for "awarding a number of employees." Yenukidze, reporting this to his fellow commission members (Voroshilov and the People's Commissar of Education Andrei Bubnov), agreed with Malinovskaya's petition: "This is a rare anniversary. It is necessary to mark this day by awarding the school employees the titles of Honoured Artists and Honoured Actors, as well as by issuing cash bonuses."[18] Organising the college's anniversary was, in all likelihood, Malinovskaya's last significant undertaking for this educational institution.

Principal and Schools: Results of Interaction

During the years that Malinovskaya spent in leadership positions in the theater department, she had to deal with issues of theater and music education more than once. During the initial period of her work in academic theaters, Malinovskaya only occasionally touched upon issues of training opera singers in her patronisation of the "studio" work of Fyodor Komissarzhevsky. Years later, in 1932, she attempted to take control of the Moscow Conservatory in order to transform it into a forge of creative personnel for the Bolshoi Theater. One can be sure that Malinovskaya's energy and experience would have had a significant influence on the entire internal structure of this famous musical institution. However, the conservatory was able to defend its independence — and in general Malinovskaya did not gain any significant influence over the education of singers and musicians. The situation was different with the Ballet School, which for many years came under the patronage of the director of the Bolshoi Theater. Malinovskaya monitored both the living conditions in the vocational school (the condition of the building, conditions for recreation, etc.) and the educational process. She attached great importance to teaching not only specialised but also accorded significance to general educational subjects. At all times, she showed an interest in the successes of graduates and developing fledgeling talents, making constant efforts to involve them in the creative work of the theater even at the stage of study. The latter gave rise to accusations of "exploitation" of students, of which, at various times, Malinovskaya was both the author and the target.

[17] RSASPH. Fund 667. List 1. Portfolio 19, pp. 57–59.

[18] Ibid. Fund 74. List 1. Portfolio 394, pp. 161–162.

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