

Nicholas G. Zekulin

The Story of an Operetta

Le dernier sorcier

by Pauline Viardot and Ivan Turgenev

Vol. 1

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THE STORY OF AN OPERETTA:
LE DERNIER SORCIER
BY
PAULINE VIARDOT AND IVAN TURGENEV

von

Nicholas G. Žekulin

PART I

BADINERIES IN BADEN-BADEN

*For Marian,
with whom so many of my musical experiences are associated.*

PREFACE	.....	iii
PRELUDE	.....	1
I	1867 Baden-Baden: <i>The Théâtre du Thiergarten</i>	13
II	1868 Baden-Baden: <i>Two Seasons</i>	24
III	1869 Weimar: <i>Der letzte Zauberer</i>	29
INTERLUDE	.....	42
IV	1869 Baden-Baden: <i>The Théâtre Viardot</i>	46
V	1870 <i>Année Climatérique (1): "The Karlsruhe Affair"</i>	51
VI	1870 <i>Année Climatérique (2): Drang nach Osten</i>	62
POSTLUDE	.....	69
Notes	.....	74
Bibliographic Abbreviations	.....	97
Index of Names	.....	103
Appendix I	<i>Text of Le Dernier Sorcier</i>	111
Appendix II	<i>Known Performances of Le Dernier Sorcier</i>	149

PREFACE

Few readers of the works of the Russian author Ivan Turgenev are aware of the fact that he occasionally engaged in the writing of libretti. Even fewer people realize that Turgenev was interested in libretti—both theoretically and in practice—for much of his literary career. As early as 1846 he dismissed the historical tragedy *Smert' Ljapunova* [The Death of Ljapunov] by S. A. Gedeonov, in likening it to an opera libretto. Certainly, many opera libretti seem to have been deliberately designed to prove that the genre innately lacks psychological—and occasionally even dramatic—substance. Yet in the same review of Gedeonov's play, Turgenev pointedly emphasized the psychological subtlety and dramatic effectiveness displayed in the Mozart (and da Ponte) opera *Don Giovanni*. A few years later, in 1852, he encouraged his friend Louis Viardot in his efforts to write an opera scenario for the composer Charles Gounod. Not long after that, with the experience of having written several plays, Turgenev himself turned his attention to this genre, called the most thankless of poetic tasks by Aleksandr Puškin (a writer much admired by Turgenev) since the poet always remains subservient to the musician.¹

The Turgenev archives in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris contain drafts and scenarios for several libretti. A scenario for an opera for Johannes Brahms, probably from the end of the 1860s, has recently been found and published. More recently still, a previously unknown scenario based on Puškin's novel *Kapitanskaja dočka* [The Captain's Daughter] was exhibited in London. There are some indications that Turgenev helped revise the dialogue in *Lindoro*, the opera by Louise Hérítte, daughter of Louis and Pauline Viardot, that was produced in Weimar in 1879. Around the same time he spoke of writing a new libretto for Pauline Viardot herself and in 1881, two years before his death, he tried to retrieve one of his old scenarios, *Mirovič*, from the widow of an old musical friend, possibly for the Viardots' son-in-law, the composer Alphonse Duvernoy.² These efforts, however, remained largely embryonic, not progressing beyond drafts and scenarios for putative musical works, and it is only in the four operetta libretti for Pauline Viardot that this obscure aspect of Turgenev's literary activity reached full development.

No one would claim that Turgenev's operetta libretti are a central aspect of his *œuvre*, that without them we would somehow not be able to understand him as an artist. Given that even Turgenev's "legitimate" theatre is frequently ignored, the neglect of the musical theatre is perhaps not surprising. Only a handful of scholars, among them primarily Gregor Schwirtz, and, most recently, Abram Gozenpud, has devoted any attention to the operettas. Indeed the texts of these works were unknown until 1964 and they have still not been published in their entirety.³ No attempt has yet been made to study the li-

bretti in their essential context, that of Pauline Viardot's music. Though the present two-part study cannot remedy all the *lacunae*, it represents a first effort at considering this aspect of Turgenev's life and works. It is based primarily on *le Dernier Sorcier* [The Last Sorcerer], arguably the best and most important of the Turgenev—Viardot operettas.

The choice of *le Dernier Sorcier* has been dictated by a number of factors. Above all, it was the operetta that achieved the greatest degree of popularity, the only one that was produced professionally and thereby became known beyond the small circle of invited guests at the private Baden performances. Secondly, it is the only one for which both words and music are currently available. Thirdly, it occupied Turgenev's creative attention for an unusually long time—some ten years from 1859 to 1869; the considerable number of extant manuscripts makes it possible to trace the development of the text and provides an exceptional opportunity for studying Turgenev's creative process in this genre. Furthermore, *le Dernier Sorcier*, perhaps alone of the operettas, contains a serious element beneath the comic surface, an element not without links to Turgenev's other, "standard" works.⁴ Finally, the operetta presents us with a view of Turgenev that is usually well-hidden. It shows Turgenev in semi-private, in the bosom of the family he loved, engaged in activities that gave him considerable pleasure even though they were considered by many of his contemporaries as totally incompatible with his public status as an important author. For if *le Dernier Sorcier* does not provide us with indispensable insights into Turgenev the artist, it provides many important ones into Turgenev the man.

The public attention that was focused on the private Baden performances of *le Dernier Sorcier* and then on the public ones in Weimar and Karlsruhe in the late 1860s permits us to view the life of both Pauline Viardot and Turgenev in their social, artistic and political milieu. Such a perspective will appeal to readers interested in the broader topic of mid-nineteenth century cultural history; it forms the primary focus of the present volume which traces the history of the performances of *le Dernier Sorcier* from the time of the first documented performances in Baden-Baden in 1867. A second volume, with a more specific focus, will concentrate on Turgenev's texts for *le Dernier Sorcier* (their evolution and their links with other works in the Turgenev canon) as well as on Pauline Viardot's music.

In its final form *le Dernier Sorcier* is a fairy tale, with a discreetly hidden moral—consistent with Turgenev's philosophical views—of the triumph of Nature and Will over Man and Reason. Turgenev himself supplied a résumé of the "plot" in the account that he wrote of the 1869 Weimar production. It is appropriate to turn to this little known résumé for a preliminary acquaintance with this work:

Somewhere, in a land far, far away, in a huge forest, there lives a sorcerer named Krakamiche. Once upon a time he had been powerful and dreadful; but his magic has spent itself, his power has diminished, and now he barely manages to get

by, obtaining by means of his magic wand nothing but his daily bread, and that with the greatest of difficulty. The magnificent palace that he had erected has gradually shrivelled into a miserable hut; his servant, a giant of great strength, capable of knocking over mountains as if they were nothing but sugar loaves, has turned into a puny and slow-witted dwarf. Krakamiche is particularly sensitive to this decline in his personal significance because he has a daughter called Stella, for whom he had planned a brilliant future... In that same forest there live female spirits—elves; they are governed by a queen. These elves are Krakamiche's sworn enemies; it had been very much not to their liking that he had taken it into his head to settle in their forest; but at the time they were unable to do anything to prevent it; now however, they annoy the old fellow in all kinds of ways, infuriate him, drive him to distraction. Not far from the forest there lives a king; he has a son, Prince Lelio, who often goes hunting in that forest. The Queen of the Elves has taken him under her protection and wants to marry him to Stella, whom she has come to love despite the fact that she is Krakamiche's daughter, and, naturally, she attains her goal. [...] First there is an introduction in the form of a small overture; two or three of the principal themes of the operetta interweave in a lovely way in this introduction and then resolve in a triumphant fortissimo. The curtain rises on a graceful chorus of elves teasing Krakamiche; he is having a lot of trouble with the fireplace in his hut while they pour water down the chimney onto his fire and laugh at his powerless anger. The Queen appears; one of the elves reports that she has succeeded in tricking Krakamiche into believing that a delegation of Cochinese spirits that are subject to him is due to arrive that very day with their customary, but long unpaid, tribute, namely a blade of the grass *Molý*, known already to the ancient Greeks and mentioned in the *Odyssey*; this magic grass has the power to restore a man to youth, beauty and strength. The elves themselves will dress up as Cochinese and, able in such a way to enter the abode of their enemy (they cannot do so without tricking him—Krakamiche still has that much power left), they will be able to have fun aplenty at his expense. The Queen approves the plan... but at that moment, a horn sounds; Prince Lelio approaches—the elves disappear. The prince enters and sings a romance in two verses; he "has wounded a hart with his arrow, but has himself been wounded in the heart." He has seen Stella, but does not know who she is. At that moment the Queen appears. (All her speeches are melodramas—that is accompanied with music.) She throws the prince a magic rose; the rose will

make him invisible to everybody except Stella, but the magic is effective only after sunset. Then she exacts his word that he will obey her blindly and points out Stella, who appears at the window of her house. Lelio wants to rush to her, but the Queen orders him to withdraw: he obeys. Krakamiche enters; in a long, very characteristic aria he recounts his grief... Nonetheless, the news of the Cochinese delegation, which he has believed, raises his hopes and his spirits. Two or three drops of rain fall on his face... "What!" he exclaims, "has the magic net within which I have enclosed my dwelling also lost its power and is letting in water just like an old mackintosh?" He summons his idiot of a servant, Perlimpinpin, and sends him for an umbrella. There follows a comic scene, culminating in a furious Krakamiche's kicking and shoving him off stage and then himself following after him. Stella comes out of the house... She feels sorry for her father, speaks of her mysterious protectress, the Queen of the Elves, of the unknown, handsome young man with whom the Queen has brought her together and, noting the drops of rain, addresses them in a short but lovely aria, one of the highlights of the entire operetta, asking them to water her flowers. The queen appears again [...] and informs her of her imminent meeting with Lelio. Delighted, Stella exits and Perlimpinpin enters in her place. He sings an aria, the humour of which resides in the fact that, as a result of his dimwittedness, he is completely incapable of finishing any idea. The music corresponds perfectly to the words. [...] Suddenly, off-stage, a fantastic march is heard: it is the Cochinese delegation approaching. Perlimpinpin runs to warn his master—both are dreadfully agitated and they just about knock each other over... Krakamiche is determined to receive his former subjects in all the majesty of his power; he demands an armchair to serve as a throne, his ceremonial wizard's hat... Perlimpinpin fusses about. Somehow or another, everything is sorted out and as the delegation enters, Krakamiche is seating himself in the armchair and inclines his head with dignity in response to the bows of the disguised elves. The final sounds of the march die down... Krakamiche delivers a kind of throne-speech [...], refers to the "prestige" of his name, to his dynasty, to his desire to preserve peace, etc. Finally he demands the grass *Molý* contained in a magnificent casket. But at that moment the treacherous trick is revealed: the elves throw off their costumes, the Queen appears in response to their call, and Krakamiche's hat, struck by the Queen, flies off his head... Grabbed by his merciless foes, he spins for a long time in a wild waltz ... Exhausted, half-dead, he finally escapes into his dwelling. The elves celebrate their victory with a dance

until the Queen gives the order to go and rest until the following night. An extended, well-developed and extremely melodious chorus [...] concludes the first act.

The set does not change for the second act. It begins with a small romance for Lelio who cannot wait for the onset of night in order to approach the girl he loves with the aid of the magic flower... He hears a noise in the house and withdraws. Krakamiche and Stella enter... The old man finds it stifling in the cramped rooms. He brings with him a giant folio, the last work of the famous magus "Merlin"; this folio contains the cabbalistic incantation against which everything is powerless. But how to find this incantation? Krakamiche sits down and begins to search for it. His daughter sits down next to him with her spinning wheel... A conversation ensues. She asks him to take a rest, to forget the insult inflicted on him, but he is burning with a desire for revenge. She begins to assure him that she has no need whatsoever of wealth, that she needs "a simple cottage and a loving heart." The old man turns crimson with rage. A duet follows in which he expounds to her all the advantages of wealth; but she stands her ground. Seeing that he cannot convince her, he orders her not to disturb him in his search and get on with her spinning, and then buries himself once more in his book. She obeys and sings a song in two verses with a catchy melody... Off-stage, Lelio sings a third verse and, a moment later, enters, the magic rose in his hand. The ensuing love duet between him and Stella, by its modest and at the same time impetuous fervour, is perhaps the principal jewel of "le Dernier Sorcier." Krakamiche peers around in consternation, but, thanks to the flower, sees no one; besides, he thinks he has found the incantation... However, when at the end of the duet, Lelio falls to his knees before Stella and lets the rose fall, the magic ceases and everything stands revealed to the old man. He becomes indignant, furious. He is convinced that his old powers have returned to him, that he can now annihilate the bold intruder; he pays no heed to Lelio's pleas, to his claims to royal blood and when Lelio refuses to leave, he arms himself with the folio and pronounces the spell with which he summons forth the most terrible monster, which is supposed to tear apart his foe... A gong is struck—and, in place of the monster, a ram appears from the depths of the earth! [...] "The wrong incantation," cries Krakamiche in despair and falls senseless to the ground... Lelio and Stella both rush to him, try to comfort him... The Queen of the Elves appears, in order to help them. Krakamiche finally gives in, consents to his daughter's marriage, promises to leave the forest and live with his son-in-law; after an unaccompanied quartet (a

capella) (in which Perlimpinpin also participates), he leaves to the strains of a march which signals the arrival onto the stage of the elves. The Queen waves her wand in the air... The house of the last sorcerer crumbles—the final chorus of the elves is heard celebrating their victory and hailing their cherished forest, theirs entirely and alone, now and forever, and the curtain falls.⁵

In this, to all intents and purposes its final form, the operetta differed considerably from the initial, more rambunctious, version that Turgenev had first created at least ten years earlier, in France. It was, however, in the later form that the operetta became known throughout Europe, as a result primarily of surprisingly frequent newspaper accounts, for no more than a few hundred people could ever have seen it. Two of its numbers were eventually published, but the operetta has languished for almost a century since its last documented performance in 1889. It very nearly had a revival in 1969, but eventually the directors of the Newport Festival in Rhode Island decided in favour of the much later Viardot operetta *Cendrillon* [Cinderella].⁶ In 1983, at a concert of music to words by Turgenev held on the occasion of an International Turgenev Symposium in Calgary, three numbers from *le Dernier Sorcier*, Krakamiche's aria "Ah! la sottise existence," Stella's "Chanson de la pluie" and their duet "Si tu ne sais pas," as well as the Pasha's aria from *Trop de femmes*, were performed by Michael Hope and Patricia Hrynkiw accompanied by Catharine Greene, but in its entirety *Le Dernier Sorcier* still awaits rediscovery.

Many people have helped and supported me over the several years that I have been working on this subject, and I would like to thank them all. In particular I would like to thank my parents, who read the manuscript at various stages and offered valuable advice, my colleague Zoltan Roman for his much appreciated superbly critical editorial eye, and Maureen Novak and Kiki Krol for patience, care and expertise in the typing of much of the text. Special thanks must go to M. André Le Cesne for his kindness and interest in my work over many years. Finally, my deep appreciation goes to my colleague Peter Thiergen for his seemingly inexhaustible patience in waiting for a manuscript that must have seemed to take forever to arrive on his desk.

Nicholas G. Žekulin
Calgary, August 1988

PRELUDE

Few families can have had as much impact and success in the operatic world as that of Manuel-del Popolo-Vincente-Rodriguez Garcia (1775-1832). Born into obscurity in Seville, Spain, Manuel Garcia went on to become Europe's foremost tenor—and Rossini's favourite (he created the rôle of Count Almaviva in *Il barbiere di Siviglia* [The Barber of Seville] in 1816). He is often credited with having brought "Grand Opera" to North America, where, in New York, he met Mozart's librettist, Lorenzo da Ponte, and, at his urging, staged that city's first performance of *Don Giovanni*. Manuel himself composed popular light operas that were occasionally produced on European stages. By his second (bigamous) wife, Maria Joaquina Sitchès (or Sitgès; 1782-1864), herself a singer, he was the father of three remarkable children, all of whom—but especially the two oldest—were to be schooled by him in the "Garcia Method" of singing.

The eldest, also Manuel (1805-1906), was a baritone in his father's company in North America, but he soon exchanged the stage for a most distinguished career in teaching, initially in Paris, and from 1850 in London. Among his best known pupils was the "Swedish nightingale," Jenny Lind.

The second child, Maria-Félicité (1808-1836), blazed like a meteor across the European operatic firmament under the name of the middle-aged expatriate Frenchman, Eugène Malibran, whom she married in New York—and left there. A fatal riding accident in Manchester brought her career to a premature end, but did not erase her from the memory of European opera lovers for many years.

Michelle-Pauline-Ferdinande-Laurence was born on 18 July 1821—thirteen years after her sister—in Paris. Although lacking Maria's striking beauty, Pauline was probably the most gifted of the three children, and was to become one of the remarkable women of her time.

Garcia's venture of bringing opera to North America in 1825 was a financial success, but it ended in disaster when Mexican bandits robbed them of all their possessions. Nonetheless, back in Paris in 1829 Manuel *père* found he could not return to a successful career on the stage; so instead he concentrated on teaching and gained the reputation of a superb mentor, if the sternest of task-masters.

At the age of four, apparently already prattling in four languages, Pauline had accompanied her family to North America, and it was there that her musical education began. This included piano lessons from the cathedral organist in Mexico City, and her first singing lessons with her father on the return crossing to Europe. If Pauline's general education appears haphazard at best, her later musical training certainly benefited from the most eminent teachers. In harmony and musical theory she was taught privately by the Bohemian composer, Antonín Reicha, professor of composition at the Paris

Conservatoire. She was still too young for serious vocal training and, although her father composed a number of vocal exercises for her, she undoubtedly learned much more from listening while accompanying her father's students during their lessons. Her few piano lessons in Mexico must have produced astonishing results, for she assumed the task of accompanist immediately on the family's return to Paris. Indeed, her talent as a pianist was of such an order that she eventually became a pupil of the foremost virtuoso of the day, Franz Liszt.

In 1832 Manuel Garcia père died. Pauline and her mother moved to Brussels, where Maria, still waiting for her divorce from Malibran, was living with the famous violinist Charles de Bériot, and Joaquina took over her younger daughter's musical training. At first this was dominated by the piano, and Pauline even played occasionally at her sister's concerts. But in 1836, after Pauline's adult voice—a mezzo-soprano of extraordinary range—had begun to establish itself (and no doubt influenced by the fact that with Maria's death that year, for the first time in forty years there was no Garcia on the public stage), Joaquina decided to prepare Pauline for an operatic career.

Joaquina trained her daughter in Manuel's vocal "method" and the quick—if originally somewhat reluctant—pupil was soon appearing before the Brussels public. De Bériot took her under his wing. She appeared in concerts with him in Belgium, in Germany and Italy (where they made a joint concert *tournee*) and then, in 1838, in Paris.

Pauline's first appearances in the acknowledged capital of the civilized world were a success with both the press and the concert-going public. But it was on the operatic stage that careers were made and her first offer came not from Paris, but from London. She made her operatic debut at the Queen's Theatre, on 9 May 1839, as Desdemona in Rossini's *Otello*, the title-rôle of which had been, under the composer's personal tutelage, one of her father's greatest successes.

Among those who witnessed Pauline's success in London was the director of the Théâtre Italien in Paris. The Théâtre Italien had been Rossini's own theatre in the 1820s; it was now once again enjoying a period of flowering with the foremost singers of the day in its company: the sopranos Giulia Grisi and Fanny Persiani-Tacchinardi, the tenor Giovanni-Batista Rubini, the baritone Antonio Tamburini, and the bass Luigi Lablache. Pauline's career thus seemed to be assured when she was signed to a contract for the 1839/40 season. The director who offered her that contract was Louis Viardot.

Louis-Claude Viardot is one of the more unjustly neglected figures of French nineteenth-century intellectual history. Born in Dijon on 31 July 1800, Louis studied law in Paris, but soon gave up its practice for a career as a journalist and writer. His many works reflect his abiding enthusiasm for Spain, for art and for hunting, as well as his convictions as an atheist and a socialist republican. His several books on art include a valuable series on the museums of Italy, Spain, France, Germany, England, Russia, Belgium and Holland. His hunting articles were collected into a book of souvenirs recounting his venatic adventures in Spain, Britain, Hungary, Russia and Germany. His love for

Spain produced several studies on the art, history and politics of that country, as well as a magisterial French translation of Cervantes's *Don Quixote de la Mancha*, first published in 1836-37 and still available today in a popular paperback edition.

By his own admission, as a young man Louis preferred music to art. In the winter of 1819/20 he succumbed to a spell that was to play a profound rôle in the rest of his life. The Théâtre Italien had included Mozart's *Don Giovanni* in its season, with Manuel Garcia père in the title-rôle. A friend of his widowed mother took the impoverished student to a performance and Louis was completely overwhelmed. Foregoing even his usual frugal meals, he managed to save enough to hear another ten or twelve performances from the cheapest seats in the "gods." Louis's taste in music was thus fixed once and for all (his rejection of almost all music written after Mozart was to be the source of considerable teasing in his own family); what is more, within twenty years he became the director of that same theatre. Less than two years later he married Garcia's youngest daughter who had not even been born at the time of his first acquaintance with Mozart's opera. And finally, in 1855, after it had been turned down by the National Libraries of Austria, Prussia and England, Pauline purchased the autograph score of *Don Giovanni*; until she donated it to the Paris Conservatoire in 1893, it turned whatever place the Viardots made their home into a virtual shrine for visiting musicians.

The 1839/40 season with the Théâtre Italien was a great success for Pauline. Enthusiastic notices by Théophile Gautier and Hector Berlioz were added to the one with which Alfred de Musset had greeted her concert performances in 1838. She made extensive contacts in various strata of Parisian society, but none proved more significant than that with George Sand. A close friendship developed between the two women; the older writer became an important adviser to Pauline, while the younger singer was transformed, in Sand's novel *Consuelo*, into the embodiment of Art itself. George Sand also played a decisive rôle in Pauline's personal life by discouraging her and her mother from accepting the suit of the infatuated Musset. Instead she supported the marriage proposal of the much older, and unquestionably more stable, Louis Viardot. The civil marriage ceremony took place on 18 April 1840.

Louis Viardot was a man of rare moral integrity. At a time when opera companies were all too frequently formed to please prima donnas, whose hold over their directors was due not to their talent and appeal to the public alone, Louis felt that his status as the husband of a rising opera star was incompatible with the directorship of an opera company. Consequently, he resigned from the Théâtre Italien. Despite—or rather, because of—her success, Pauline's contract was also not renewed by the theatre. Indeed, for most of her career she was effectively barred from the Paris opera stages by the intrigues of various rivals. When, in 1841, together with Pierre Leroux and George Sand, Louis founded the socialist journal *la Revue indépendante*, many elements of the Parisian press who had been enthusiastic supporters of Mademoiselle Pauline Garcia, were also antagonized and became bitter opponents of Madame Pauline Viardot-Garcia. She was forced to make her career in London

and in various German cities, where she sang to constant critical and popular acclaim, her reputation growing apace. Her fame and popularity, however, were nowhere greater than in Russia. After a triumphant initial season there in 1843/44, she returned three more times, and continued all her life to consider the Russian—and especially the Saint Petersburg—audience as her favourite.¹

Among the most significant events of that first Petersburg season was her introduction, on 1/13 November 1843*, to a "young Russian landowner, a good shot, pleasant conversationalist and a bad poet." The young man reputedly thus described was Ivan Turgenev and the meeting determined the future course of his life.²

Ivan Sergeevič Turgenev was born in the provincial Russian town of Orël on 29 October (9 November) 1818, the second son of a wealthy and wilful local landowner, Varvara Petrovna, née Lutovinova, and her philandering younger husband, Sergej Nikolaevič Turgenev. His childhood experiences at Spasskoe, his mother's estate near Orël, formed in him a sensitive and compassionate character strongly opposed to the Russian institution of serfdom. His liberal thinking was confirmed by philosophical studies at the universities of Moscow, St. Petersburg and—especially—Berlin, as well as by his friendships in Russian and German intellectual circles. When he returned from Berlin to Russia in 1841, he intended to pursue an academic career in philosophy, but his attention was increasingly diverted, not so much by his life-long passion for hunting, as by a growing commitment to literature. By the end of 1843, he had published several short lyric verses and a narrative poem entitled, after its heroine, "Paraša."

Turgenev was introduced to his fellow hunter Louis Viardot even before he met Pauline, no doubt as someone who would likely be useful to him in his collecting of the material about hunting in Russia that Louis then published in 1844 (along with a study of Russian art museums). The following year Louis was to bring before the French public the works of Russia's great satirical humorist Nikolaj Gogol'; the translation was at least in part Turgenev's. Despite occasional ups and downs in Turgenev's relationship with Pauline, the two men remained firm friends until their deaths in 1883 (Louis died on 5 May, Turgenev on 3 September); they hunted together as long as health permitted, and formed what was the most productive collaboration for the translation of Russian literature into French in the mid-nineteenth century. The central core of this collaboration was Turgenev's own work and it helped establish him as the first Russian writer with a Europe-wide reputation.

Although Turgenev was only one among thousands of Pauline Viardot's admirers in St. Petersburg, his persistence (and no doubt his acquaintance with

* Russia was still using the Julian calendar (called "old style") which, in the nineteenth century, was twelve days behind the Gregorian calendar ("new style") used elsewhere in Europe.

Louis) won him entry into the relatively small circle of Pauline's closer friends in the Russian capital. After the end of the season, contact was maintained by mail. The first letter to Pauline of a correspondence that stretches to 1881 (the year of Turgenev's last major trip away from the Viardots) is dated 9/21 May 1844.³ Turgenev renewed his court during the following operatic season, after which, in the summer of 1845, he was invited to spend some time at Courtavenel, the small sixteenth-century château in the Brie country south-east of Paris, that had been bought with some of the proceeds of Pauline's first Russian season.

Pauline did not return for a fourth season in 1846/47 and, in January 1847, Turgenev arranged for a trip to Western Europe, where he was to spend some three and a half years, mainly in France. During this period, he wrote most of the works that established his literary reputation in Russia, including the *Zapiski okhotnika* [A Hunter's Notebook]. Although he lived mainly in Paris, he was often invited to Courtavenel. Indeed, in 1849 he spent at least one extended period there largely because his mother refused to send money to her errant son as long as he continued to trail after "that damned gypsy."⁴ In fact Pauline, accompanied by Louis, spent much more time away from France than in it, as her career continued to flourish everywhere but in her native country. Consequently, our best sources of information about Turgenev's activities and literary works of this period are his long, detailed letters to her.

The last—as well as one of the most disruptive—links in the chain with which Turgenev bound himself to Pauline Viardot, was forged in 1850 when he sent his eight-year old illegitimate daughter, Pelageja, to be brought up in the Viardot household. Pelageja—who became Paulinette in France—came to resent Pauline's hold over her father and disliked her intensely, a fault which Turgenev could neither tolerate, nor forgive. If her life was not an easy one, she also complicated her father's, not the least by exhibiting a total antipathy for all that he held dear, including Pauline Viardot.

Despite occasional infatuations on his part and several periods of cooling on hers, Turgenev remained constant throughout his life in his profound affection for Pauline. Indeed, his love was capacious enough to be extended to two of her daughters: his favourite, Claudie (1852-1914), and Marianne (formally Maria-Anne) (1854-1919). His relationship with the only son, Paul (1857-1941), who became an internationally-known violinist, was considerably cooler. Nonetheless, he supplied him with letters of introduction (and admonished him on his behaviour) when Paul made his first concert tour of Russia.⁵ His relationship with the Viardots' difficult eldest daughter Louise (1841-1918) was much more distant. Still, it was in Turgenev's lodgings in Baden that Louise and her husband, Ernest Hérítte de la Tour, stayed in 1864. There, on 17 April, she gave birth to their son, named Louis Jean Paul in honour of his maternal grandparents and Turgenev. Turgenev was the child's godfather. Some years later, after Louise had left her husband and was a professor of singing at the St. Petersburg Conservatory in the late 1860s, Turgenev, through his friend Pavel Annenkov, was the conduit for information about her to her estranged but anxious family. Despite various claims,

often made in the face of incontrovertible facts, scholars now agree that, while there may have been a short period of physical intimacy between Pauline Viardot and Turgenev, all four Viardot children were fathered by Louis.

Any hope Turgenev had for travelling once more to Western Europe after his return to Russia in the summer of 1850 (especially after the death of his mother which left him a relatively well-off land-owner) was dashed by his arrest in April, 1852. He was exiled to Spasskoe, the official reason being his circumvention of censorship restrictions by publishing an obituary for Gogol'. A clandestine meeting with Pauline in Moscow in late March (o.s.) 1853 notwithstanding, the early 1850s represented their longest separation. Only in the summer of 1856, after the death of Czar Nicholas I, was Turgenev able to travel abroad again, but this did not improve matters greatly. Although he saw the Viardots quite often during the next five years and stayed at Courtavenel on several occasions, even for prolonged periods, his relationship with Pauline had reached its lowest ebb. Their correspondence tended to sputter and was frequently one-sided, as his letters went unanswered. He felt the awkwardness of his position keenly, something which may have contributed to the fact that during this period his emotional attention occasionally shifted elsewhere. In 1854 he briefly considered marriage to a distant relative, Ol'ga Turgeneva. In 1859 he travelled extensively with the Ukrainian writer Maria Markovič, some of whose works he was translating into Russian. The same period also witnessed the flourishing of his highly intense correspondence with the Countess Lambert, a reclusive, devoutly religious woman of St. Petersburg society, who could scarcely have represented a greater contrast to Pauline Viardot.

The question of Pauline's feeling for Turgenev is a much more complex one. Though many of his letters to her are now published, very few of hers are even known to be extant. It is certain that Turgenev had more rivals for his position in Pauline's court than she had in his affections. For Pauline, although generally considered "ugly" (an exception was usually made in the case of her expressive eyes), evidently possessed an aura which captivated men—and women. The list of those infatuated with her at one time or another would be long, and would include many famous names, including the composers Hector Berlioz and Charles Gounod. In addition to Turgenev, a number of men occupied a particular place in her life, especially in the 1850s. Among her close friends of this period was the artist Ary Scheffer, who in 1840 had painted one of the best known portraits of the singer, and continued as a devoted friend, adviser, and secret admirer. After Scheffer's death in 1858, his place was taken by the German musician Julius Rietz; Pauline conducted an intense correspondence with him at precisely the time when Turgenev's correspondence with the Countess Lambert was at its most active. Just as that lady was in many ways the antithesis of Pauline, so Rietz, a somewhat stolid, reticent provincial *Kapellmeister* (musical director and conductor) was the opposite of Turgenev, then well on the way to establishing a European reputation.

Two names of specific importance in the history of *le Dernier Sorcier* need to be added to the list of men for whom Pauline had a particular affection. Among her most devoted admirers was a German artist and journalist, Ludwig Pietsch (1824-1911). It is from his numerous sketches and extraordinarily enthusiastic articles that we gain our best picture of Pauline's activities in Baden in the 1860s. Pietsch had the misfortune of moving to Paris in order to pursue his art studies just as the Viardot family left the French capital for Baden-Baden, but later he was often to visit them—and Turgenev—there. Indeed, Turgenev's letters to Pietsch represent another most valuable source of information, for the two men, kindred in their feelings for Pauline if not in their relative status, became fast friends.

Like Pietsch, the Frenchman Louis Pomey (1835-1901), and later his entire family, were linked in close friendship with Turgenev. Pomey shared with Turgenev the privilege of having his photograph adorn Pauline's writing table in Baden. By training a lawyer, Pomey was by avocation an artist, as well as a poet and translator. He translated some of Pauline's song texts into French; he is also credited with the French translation of the fifty Schubert *Lieder* edited by Pauline Viardot and published in 1873, even though the translations were initially prepared by Turgenev and Pauline herself in Baden. Pomey was also an amateur singer of some note; he was the first to sing the rôles of the Pasha in *Trop de femmes* [Too Many Wives] and Krakamiche in *le Dernier Sorcier* in Baden and sang them again at their last performances, in 1889 in Paris.⁶

In 1859 Pauline's singing career was slowly drawing to a close. A decade earlier, she had finally—and triumphantly—breached the gates of the Opéra de Paris at the insistence of Giacomo Meyerbeer, who had demanded that Pauline create the rôle of Fidès in his new opera, *le Prophète* [The Prophet]. Nevertheless, her career still unfolded away from the French capital. For many years she had included in her recitals works by Christoph Willibald von Gluck, a composer largely neglected if not forgotten at the time. The director of the Théâtre Lyrique in Paris, Léon Carvalho, decided to stage Gluck's masterpiece *Orphée et Eurydice* [Orpheus and Eurydice] with Pauline Viardot in the rôle of Orpheus and the musical direction in the hands of Hector Berlioz. The *première* took place on 18 October 1859 and it was Pauline's last—and greatest—triumph. The opera was given a total of 150 times in two seasons. Its success prompted the director of the Opéra de Paris to stage a rival production of Gluck's *Alceste*, also with Pauline. This also ran for two seasons (1861/2 and 1862/3), but it was no match for *Orphée et Eurydice*, the popularity of which is vividly demonstrated by the fact that it immediately prompted Jacques Offenbach's famous parody, *Orphée aux enfers* [Orpheus in the Underworld]. On 24 April 1863 Pauline gave a final farewell performance of *Orphée et Eurydice* at the Théâtre Lyrique. Although she later appeared in opera productions occasionally, and continued to sing concerts for a number of years, this date marked her formal departure from the stage. She retired to concentrate on her other talents, especially teaching, in the small German town of Baden-Baden.

The reputation and importance of Baden in the mid-nineteenth century belied its size. A town of some eight thousand permanent inhabitants, it received more than forty thousand visitors annually, particularly during the six-month "season" from April to September. The 1868 Baedeker Guide to the Rhineland gives the following description:

Baden lies at the gateway to the Black Forest, in one of the most exquisite valleys of the Oos or Oel Spring between friendly hills covered with coniferous forest. [...] It disputes with Freiburg and Heidelberg the title of the most beautiful spot in Upper Germany. The air is mild and healthy. The medicinal springs were known already to the Romans. [...] Baden is, after Wiesbaden, the most visited German spa [...]; no other has a greater number of pleasant walks. French tone and French language predominate.⁷

The huge society that Baden attracted ranged from crowned heads to artists, from political notables to (well-off) political émigrés. Some came for the waters, some for the beauties of the surrounding countryside, some to relax; some came for the annual horse races, some just to be seen, and some for the famous casino. The enterprising director of that profitable venture, Edouard Bénazet, catered also to those who preferred less nerve-wracking entertainment and brought to Baden the best musicians available in Europe. The cultural activities and the comings and goings of this unrivalled wealth of talent were recorded in detail in the local newspaper, the *Badeblatt der Stadt Baden-Baden*; it reflected the cosmopolitan nature of its readers by publishing articles in side-by-side German and French versions. For many years, the editor of the *Badeblatt* and chronicler of the "season" was Richard Pohl (1826-96). Pohl was to play a variety of rôles in Turgenev's life and works, culminating in his gratuitously satirical appearance as the critic "P." in Turgenev's 1872 story "Vešnie vody" ["Spring Floods"]. He was an occasional poet (some of whose poems were set to music by Pauline Viardot with Russian translations by Turgenev), a long-time enthusiastic advocate of *Zukunftsmusik*, the avant-garde music of the day as represented by Richard Wagner, Liszt and Berlioz, and a noted music critic who was the Baden correspondent for a number of prominent German musical journals. Even with so many musical visitors, it is not surprising that Pohl soon became well-acquainted with the activities of such a prominent musician as Pauline Viardot among Baden's new "permanent" residents.

Pauline Viardot had been giving concerts in Baden regularly since 1856. In 1859 she had participated in a celebrated Berlioz festival directed by the composer. In 1862 Louis and Pauline spent four months in Baden and, before leaving in early September, Louis bought a large property of almost one and three quarter hectares in the then still sparsely populated area known as the "Thiergarten." The property had a Swiss-style "cottage" or villa which, despite

its modest name, was a building of three storeys, large enough to accommodate the Viardot household numbering eleven persons—and several animals. The new owners felt that the house needed renovating, and they also commissioned a small art-gallery-cum-concert-hall to be built at the lower end of the garden.⁸

The Viardots' move to Baden is usually explained by their political opposition (primarily Louis's) to the Second Empire of Napoleon III. It is certainly true that, as an old republican, Louis was antagonistic to the Second Empire and that he found the French emperor personally antipathetic, to the point of recounting scabrous stories about him in letters to Turgenev!⁹ However, Napoleon's empire had been in existence for more than ten years when the Viardots decided to leave France, and it can be assumed that reasons other than political ones began to play a capital rôle at precisely this time. Most of Pauline's career had, in fact, been spent away from France; she returned there, often to the isolated haven at Courtavenel, primarily to rest. Such would no longer be the case once she retired from the stage. The fact that Paris had never truly welcomed her as an artist suggested that it was unlikely to welcome her as a teacher. The musical directors who had avoided hiring her were unlikely to be any more favourably disposed towards her students. Furthermore, both the cultural climate in Napoleon's Paris and the society that supported it inclined towards a frivolousness that was an anathema to Pauline's artistic rigour and seriousness. The move to Baden (closer to France in every sense than any other foreign town) was therefore a logical choice for the Viardots, given Pauline's professional activities.

After the final performance of *Orphée et Eurydice*, the Viardots returned to Baden, this time to stay. Not all of the preparations were complete, and it was not until the middle of August that they were able to move into their new home. What was left of Louis's magnificent art collection (primarily of old Flemish masters) after an auction in Paris, was hung in the art gallery in which were also installed a grand piano and Pauline's superb Cavallé-Coll organ. Within a very short time Pauline established regular musical *matinées*—on Sunday afternoons from three o'clock to five in the art gallery—and they became immensely popular with the privileged invited guests. These included many of the notable visitors to Baden; among the most faithful members of the audience was Augusta, Queen of Prussia. The chief attraction of each programme was, of course, the hostess herself, both as singer and as pianist or organist, but many of Europe's finest musicians were honoured to participate. Among them was the pianist Clara Schumann, whom Pauline had met as long ago as 1836, before Clara's marriage to the composer Robert Schumann and Pauline's to Louis, and before either had established a European reputation. Clara, now widowed, used Baden as a regular rest residence for herself and her children during the summers. She became an intimate of the Viardot house, even though, in private, she could never entirely accept the high society in which Pauline moved with such ease and apparent pleasure.¹⁰

It was through Clara Schumann that Pauline gained one of her first pupils in Baden, Aglaja von Görger. For it was with a letter of introduction to Clara that this young Austrian, who was to become well-known under her

professional name of Orgeni, arrived in Baden in May 1863. She was quickly followed by many others, some of whom had already embarked on a career, but felt that they could learn from a woman who had been as famous for her acting ability as for her vocal training. Others, like Aglaja, came in the hope of preparing for a stage career, for Pauline had already earned a reputation for the solidity and soundness of the training she gave her pupils. This included opportunities for carefully planned appearances at her famous *matinées*.

It was in part for her students that Pauline Viardot turned to composing so assiduously during the 1860s. She was following a tradition established by her father, who had composed songs and exercises, as well as six chamber operettas, for his pupils. By participating in the domestic performances of these operettas, Pauline began another tradition that would continue in her own family.

Pauline had, in fact, begun composing much earlier. Her first collection of songs, *Album de Mme Viardot-Garcia*, had been published in 1843 and a second, *Dix mélodies par Pauline Viardot. Album de chant pour 1850*, had followed seven years later. However, it was in the Baden years that her output of songs was the most prolific. A total of fifty *Lieder* were published between 1864 and 1874 by the Petersburg publisher A. Johansen, originally in six collections. They were all reissued—with an additional four songs—in 1874. The choice of Petersburg (the first volume also appeared simultaneously in Leipzig and later in Paris) and the somewhat unexpected fact that most of the songs are to words by Russian poets are only some of the indicators of Turgenev's hand in these volumes. At various times he was poet, translator, proof-reader, publicist and financier. That the later volumes were published at his expense (secretly from Pauline) is now well-known, but the fact remains that the Johansen firm republished the fifty-four songs on several occasions, including a last edition in 1887, four years after Turgenev's death. Pauline continued composing until shortly before her death. Her compositions consist preponderantly of vocal music (including arrangements for pedagogical purposes), but there was some instrumental music, most of which also seems to date from the Baden years when she began to compose violin and piano pieces for herself and Paul.¹¹

Like her father, Pauline saw the value of small-scale operatic works which provided pupils not only with vocal training, but also with essential stage experience before a selected audience. She had always had an interest in theatre, and the attic at Courtavenel had housed the Théâtre des Pommes de terre (so named because the price of admission was a potato). All the inhabitants of the château were expected to participate in the productions—primarily of French classics—that took place there, although Louis was allowed to confine himself to the single rôle of Arnolphe in Molière's *Ecole des Femmes* [School for Women]. Indeed, the first extant reference to *le Dernier Sorcier* dates from 1859, towards the end of the Courtavenel years and, ironically, perhaps the nadir of Turgenev's relationship with Pauline. However, since nothing is known of a performance in 1859, a discussion of these

beginnings will be postponed until the analysis of the extant texts in the second part of this study. The presence in Baden of a willing and even eager librettist in the person of Turgenev accounts for the fact that, although she composed one or two stage works later, it is the Baden period that saw her greatest activity in this domain.

The causes for the near-break in the relationship between Pauline Viardot and Turgenev remain obscure. In 1858 Turgenev saw the Viardots hardly at all. A crisis occurred in late 1860; after some unknown confrontation with Pauline, Turgenev declared to the Countess Lambert that a major turning point had occurred in his life and that he was now irrevocably cut off from the emotions of the past. The causes for the re-establishment of relations, this time for the rest of Turgenev's life, are equally obscure. Nonetheless, within two years of the "irrevocable" rift (evidently with her encouragement), Turgenev established a new basis for his relationship with Pauline, devoted, warm and intimate, but calm and emotionally stable. After his trip to Russia in 1862, it was to Baden-Baden that he went for a stay of two months, and not to Paris where he was awaited by his daughter and her governess, Maria Innis. And early the following summer he came to Baden to establish more or less permanent residency. Paulinette and Mrs. Innis stayed with him for the summer before returning to Paris early in October, hoping to find Paulinette a husband. For the last time, Paulinette lived in proximity to the woman who had virtually raised her, and the scenes that resulted left no doubt about her animosity. By early June in 1864 Turgenev's renewed relationship with the Viardots was such that he purchased the property that adjoined theirs (some one and a quarter hectares) and pronounced himself an "eternal resident of Baden."¹² The legalities were not completed until August, upon which Turgenev commissioned an obscure Paris architect, Joseph Olive, to build a large house and to lay out a spacious garden. Olive's plans are dated September 1864 and building commenced on 19 September, but this happy beginning proved illusory. Building dragged on interminably; eventually, in 1867, Olive had to be replaced with a local architect, Armbruster. In the meantime, Turgenev's finances had become so precarious because of the incompetence of his uncle, Nikolaj Turgenev (manager of his estate in Russia), that he had to sell the house to Louis Viardot even before he could occupy it. Nonetheless, the purchase of the Baden property can be said to constitute an important event in Turgenev's relationship with Pauline Viardot, and thus in his life.¹³

Even before Turgenev bought his property in Baden, the operettas attracted his attention once again. Writing to Louis Pomey on 9 January 1864, he thanks him for sending "the scenario" so promptly—perhaps a manuscript left behind in Paris. It was, however, not until the summer of 1866 that work on *le Dernier Sorcier* began in earnest. Writing on 10 August, Pauline Viardot informs Pomey that she is "itching to compose" and that Turgenev firmly intends to finish the libretto before 23 August (the opening of the hunting season). She therefore invites him to come to Baden for a few days. Turgenev

adds his urgent plea to Pomey to come and help copy the manuscript, writing that it is time that the thing was finished without further delay.¹⁴ Thus began a relatively short but happy period during which the names of the "celebrated singer" Pauline Viardot and the "famous writer" Ivan Turgenev were openly linked throughout Europe as a result of their "Badineries in Baden-Baden."

Chapter I

1867 — BADEN-BADEN

The Théâtre du Thiergarten

L'art est un vrai dieu (...) et son culte est bien doux, puisque ses maîtres lui restent fidèles jusque dans l'intimité. Bienheureux sont les dévots d'une religion qui fait de si aimables loisirs à ses plus divins interprètes.

P.-J. Stahl

"In one of the charming valleys that rim that celebrated avenue in the vallon des Chèvres, a *magic* castle was raised several years ago, as if by the wave of a magic wand, [...] The strangest rumours circulate for half a league around concerning it ... and do you know why? It is because it is closed up. That which is closed can only conceal mysteries." With these words of surprise that any space in town should be unoccupied at the height of the Baden season, the French publisher Jules Hetzel set the tone of fantasy which was to surround the private Baden performances of the Viardot—Turgenev operettas.

In August 1867 the "Villa Turgenev" stood empty but finished, the last house "on the broad country road that rose slowly up the defile to the Fremersberg and then dropped down to the small village of Thiergarten on the other side. Its right façade faces onto the extensive garden that dips sharply towards the valley, a garden of lawns and flowerbeds with mighty old nut and apple trees. Around it flows a well-supplied clear mountain stream which divides the whole area from the adjacent meadow that extends up on the far side to the alpine pine forest. The main windows of both floors and in the high, steeply-inclined roof face out onto this meadow, onto the mountain and the forest. So does the wide balcony that extends out from the ground floor and from which a pair of staircases, placed over the cellars, lead down into the garden."²

In many ways Turgenev's house epitomized the Russian novelist in the late 1860s. First and foremost, of course, its location next door to the Viardots symbolized his intense attachment to that family. But its very architecture was also symbolic. Olive had designed the house in a style called "Louis Treize," a "mixture of the Gothic and the Renaissance of old French châteaux." It was

a style that also carried political comment, for "the partisans of this new building style were for the most part in explicit opposition to the ruling class of Napoleon III." Turgenev's was the first house in Baden to have been built in this style.³

External appearances were, however, somewhat deceptive. Its scale may have represented Turgenev's emergence as a writer of European status, and its location in international Baden his self-imposed absence from his native country. But thanks to the actions of his Russian uncle, the incompetence of his French architect and the slow pace of building in German Baden, it was more than three and a half years before he was finally able to move into a house that, legally, was no longer even his. And once there, the inherently unassuming Turgenev could not feel entirely comfortable in his new-found grandeur. He described himself variously as a young girl who had just received her dowry; as a man dressed in clothes that are too big for him; and as a young bride: "somewhat uncomfortable and even sad—I constantly feel as though I'm about to break some piece of furniture."⁴

If at the height of that summer of 1867 Turgenev's house was unoccupied, it was certainly not empty. "On many afternoons the loveliest of girls' voices ring out clearly far through the profound stillness of this secluded forest valley, mingling in an artistically graceful aural texture and alternating with deeper, vigorous, manly sounds in a charming and mischievous give and take." Then, finally, "one fine summer evening [...] the lanterns in front of the garden entrance and in the driveway to the castle were lit up, the brightly illuminated ground-floor entrance-hall could be seen through the glass doors, the brilliant reflection of light from the tall windows of the ground-floor salon and the adjoining rooms streamed out onto the lawn and onto the treetops in the garden, while along the road from Baden, normally so lonely and empty of an evening, trundled carriages and cabs, bringing guests to the evening festivities in the 'château enchanté'.⁵

Thus began the first season of what became known locally as the "Théâtre du Thiergarten," and which saw the presentation of two Viardot—Turgenev operettas, *Trop de femmes* and *le Dernier Sorcier*. Initially, perhaps, *Trop de femmes* occupied pride of place. The *première* of this "grand opéra en deux petits tableaux" ["Grand Opera in Two Short Scenes"] was given early in August and was quickly followed by a second performance on Friday, 10 August and then by at least three subsequent ones. However, *le Dernier Sorcier* quickly eclipsed its companion in popularity and attention. Its *première* appears to have taken place on 20 September and it also was quickly followed by a second performance, on 23 September. At least two further performances took place, including a gala presentation of both operettas on 17 October. This gala brought to an end the first season at the Théâtre du Thiergarten, which had seen a total of eleven performances. According to Ludwig Pietsch, by that time the operettas had become "one of the principal topics of society conversation" in Baden.⁶

Pietsch had come to visit Turgenev in early September and recorded the scene with scrupulous detail in one of his articles:

The salon, which we enter immediately from the front hall, is of a moderate size, the main door being set opposite the fireplace in the centre of one of the two longer walls; on either side of this fireplace there is a floor-to-ceiling window opening out onto the garden balcony; adjacent to each of the shorter walls is a smaller room, one the library, the other the dining-room. About one third of the whole room is set off by a plain green curtain suspended from about mid-way up the wall and surmounted by oleander branches. A chandelier in the ceiling and a few lamps on the mantelpiece light up the room, the elegant piano already positioned in the centre, and the cheerfully excited company which has taken its place on the chairs and armchairs that are informally set around the room and even in the dining room.

Three raps on the floor behind the curtain, the entrance of Pauline Viardot who takes her place at the piano, and "the cheerful laughter, the lively conversation cease." Pauline plays the introduction and the green curtain parts to reveal a rudimentary set: "flower-pots and oleander trees represent a forest and the be-windowed cardboard wall in the corner represents the ruined hut in which 'le dernier des sorciers' [...] bemoans the decline of his magical powers from their erstwhile pinnacle."⁹

In the first performances the part of Krakamiche (and that of the Pasha in *Trop de femmes*) was taken by Louis Pomey, but for the gala presentation on 17 October Turgenev had to replace Pomey and thus had to memorize both parts at short notice. Although in his enthusiastic review of that performance Richard Pohl states that "maestro Turgenev, the gifted author who endowed the whole enterprise with words and form, has today metamorphosed into director, actor and—singer(!), and he ruled over the fresh and bewitching world of youth with capital humour," it can be assumed that Pohl was exaggerating. To Turgenev's eternal sorrow, Nature had not endowed him with any kind of a singing voice. He assured those of his correspondents who might have been able to imagine the effects of his singing that, although he played the part, "I did not sing, I hasten to say." For the benefit of Annenkov, whom he clearly expected to be highly sceptical, he added that he acted "not as badly as might have been expected."⁹

One of the principal objectives of these operetta performances was to provide stage experience before a real audience for Pauline Viardot's more advanced students. In 1867 the young Belgian Marie Hasselmans took the part of Arthur in *Trop de femmes* and of Stella in *le Dernier Sorcier*. "What a marvellously beautiful, blue-eyed round-cheeked daughter this wizard has," comments Pietsch, "with what amusing naïveté, with what a ringing, lark-like soprano, with what impudent verve, with what a genuine French accent does she bemoan her little anxieties, does she apprise the trees of her dreams and desires, does she proclaim with joy the sweet hopes that the fairy has

encouraged." In a curious omission—perhaps out of deference for the Viardot family's sensibilities—Pietsch left his readers in ignorance of the fact that the mezzo-soprano *travesti* rôle of the young hero, Prince Lelio, was played by a former pupil of Pauline, her eldest daughter Louise Hérítte, who had descended unexpectedly on her family in Baden with her son after leaving her husband in Cape Town. Pohl, on the other hand, singles out Louise, adding that she was herself already a masterful singer.⁹

There can be no doubt, however, that the stars of the performance were the three remaining Viardot children: fifteen-year-old Claudie as the Queen of the Elves, thirteen-year-old Marianne in the small part of the principal elf, Verveine (Verbina), and Paul (who had just turned ten) as Krakamiche's lazy servant, Perlimpinpin. In describing the two sisters—particularly Turgenev's favourite, Claudie—whose parts were almost entirely spoken with only short solos within the choruses, Pietsch's customary lyricism reached new heights:

...a real Fairy Queen, as only a poet could conceive her. On that border-line between child and woman, she presents a slender but still resiliently energetic figure; on a proud neck there is the head of a girl in whose clear brow and from whose large dark-grey eyes shine forth the great intelligence and the charming poetry of a chosen and favoured womanhood about to blossom; something resembling the austere smile of an unconscious determination would seem to play around her firmly—yet delicately—drawn mouth, were it not that from that mouth emerge a still half-childlike yet already masterful singing and a beautiful gracious speech; a dark cascade of luxuriant hair provides the finishing touch to the whole luminous appearance, as it flows over the shoulder in front and down the back, between the fairy wings, to well below the sash around the sheer white costume; the hair is crowned with a rose wreath surmounted, in symbol of sovereign authority, by a glittering diamond star.

Pietsch was only slightly less effusive in his description of Marianne: "a most charming child with red blossoms in her free-flowing black hair, with tender, smiling brown eyes, the clear, even, light-brown complexion of the Spanish race and a voice which even in her speech resembles music [...]" Together, the two sisters were for Pietsch the highlight of the operetta: "whoever saw the two charming sisters that evening, the Queen of the Fairies leaning on the shoulder of the younger one, her magic wand in her hand, her radiant glance directed upwards, whoever heard them, surrounded by the fairy chorus, begin the final number of the first act: 'la lune, notre blanche reine,' that person would certainly have been amazed." Paul, however, was not to be outdone by his sisters and, indeed, *he* had a major aria to sing. Nonetheless, the essence of his part lay in its comedy and "that singular, huge-eyed little lad,

in a broad red doublet and slippers" who "instead of performing his duties, plunged his master into double despair with the most shameless and ridiculous answers," was perhaps the surprise of the evening, astonishing all by his comic talents. Having seen him perform several times, Clara Schumann declared him "a genuine comic genius."¹⁰

Not surprisingly, the most fulsome praise was reserved for Pauline Viardot. For Pohl she was "the real fairy in the Château enchanté"; for Pietsch "the real embodiment of the *Genius loci*." Not only the *Genius loci*, however, but also the practical factotum. "My mother," recalled Paul Viardot, "accompanied on the piano, supervised everything, ran into the coulisses during the intermission to re-attach a fairy wing, to fasten a pin."¹¹

Turgenev's salon could not hold more than thirty people. The select group of invited guests fell into two categories. One of these comprised friends from the Viardots' enormous international intellectual and cultural circle. Hetzel, who himself belonged to this group, expressed great astonishment at his first glimpse of the company gathered for the *première* of *Trop de femmes*: "Julia Grisi, [...], Mario. Another minute and I would have begun to look for Rubini, Lablache, Mme Malibran at their sides!.. Behind them, others diversely famous in the arts: Mlle Artaud, Léonard, Mme Léonard, Garcia and my old friend, Viardot [...] This audience of unrivalled artists played its rôle of spectators to perfection [...]." Nor was the audience any less illustrious when it came time to perform *le Dernier Sorcier*. On this occasion, described by Pietsch, pride of place in the front row went to Clara Schumann, but there were several other well-known pianists in the room—Antonio Peruzzi, Jacques Rosenheim and Pauline's nephew, the son of de Bériot and Maria Malibran, Charles-Wilfred—as well as other prominent musicians: the violinist Hubert Léonard, the Karlsruhe *Kapellmeister* Hermann Levi and the singers Marianne Lüdecke and Albertina Ferlesi. Hetzel was there once again, as were a few representatives of Baden political circles: Albert von Flemming, the Prussian ambassador to the Baden court, and his wife and Baron zu Lauffen, the Austrian ambassador.¹²

It was Alfred von Flemming in particular who seems to have served as a link between this "cultural" audience and the other—"society"—audience. Von Flemming was not only the Prussian ambassador, but also a gifted amateur cellist who participated frequently in the Viardot musical *matinées*. His wife, Armgard, was a daughter of Goethe's friend Bettina von Arnim, whom Turgenev had greatly admired in his student days. The von Flemmings thus were invited both to performances where the audience came from the world of culture, but also to those attended by what Pietsch frequently called "an audience of Kings."¹³

The central figure of this royal audience was Queen Augusta, wife of King Wilhelm of Prussia, after 1871 the first German *Kaiser*. The relationship between Pauline and Augusta, begun informally in Berlin in 1847 when Augusta was still the Crown Princess, had been renewed eagerly when the Viardots moved to Baden, where Augusta spent much of the summer. By 1867, theirs was a close friendship. In a letter written in February of that year,

Turgenev remarked to Pauline that "it is impossible to be more gracious and one senses that she has a genuine affection for you," adding with his customary naïveté in matters concerning Pauline Viardot: "something that makes her charming in my eyes." Pauline herself came to refer to the Queen as "ma bonne Augusta" and considered her among the most outstanding women she had ever met. Augusta's attachment to Pauline appears in turn to have been of considerable importance to her. Although the Franco-Prussian War brought a premature end to a friendship that included a regular and frequent correspondence, long afterwards Pauline continued to remember fondly the woman who became the German Empress and who, according to Louise Hérítte, "loved music and painting, [...] was very well read, and always *au courant*."¹⁴

Of Augusta's interest in the operettas there can be no doubt. Having seen what was probably the *première* of *le Dernier Sorcier*, she declared "the King must see this when he comes." This royal wish was fulfilled on 23 September. Unlike his wife, Wilhelm seems to have appreciated only military music. He is quoted as having said "when I am at a concert, I never know why it [the music] begins and why it stops." Nonetheless, whatever the King's reactions to the music, Paul Viardot recalls that he "laughed until tears rolled down his face at the political allusions which Turgenev had scattered throughout the text," a fact that Turgenev confirms in a letter to Annenkov.¹⁵ This success led directly to the gala on 17 October, a royal command performance to celebrate the forty-sixth birthday of the Crown Prince, Friedrich Wilhelm. Augusta's appreciation was manifested in the various presents she gave Pauline and above all in a "magnificent album":

The famous Karlsruhe flower painter Alwina Schroedter has painted the title page, which consists of portraits of Mme Viardot and her children within a wreath of the animated flowers that appear in *le Dernier sorcier*. The Genius of Art hovers above this compositional grouping. Beneath is an inscription taken from the works of Louis Viardot: "Il n'y a qu'un seul et même Art: le Beau révéle; divers seulement dans ses modes de manifestation." On the second page all the august personages who were in the theatre that evening [17 October, N.Ž.] have signed their names. [...] The remaining pages of the album will be filled with photographs of all those performers who have taken part to date in Mme Viardot's *matinées* and *soirées*.¹⁶

Turgenev had remained cautiously silent on the subject of the operettas, even to his closest friends, until the success of the performances prompted him to break the news to various correspondents. He constantly deprecated the importance of his own contribution, while his enthusiasm for Pauline Viardot's music was a constant theme in his letters. Admittedly, a note of hesitation

crept in when he found himself not only the fêted author, but also an actual performer on the occasion of the royal gala. "Something in me flinched, when I lay on the floor as the 'Pasha' and saw the gentle disgust of cold contempt playing slowly on the lips of your haughty Crown Princess. Despite the generally low respect that I have for myself, the whole thing did hit me rather too vividly," he commented to Pietsch. And yet his overall reaction remained positive. Even after confessing to these niggling doubts in the face of the reactions of Crown Princess Victoria, who, apparently taking a cue from her mother, was not amused, Turgenev immediately goes on to conclude that for all that "these performances have still been something entirely good and delightful."¹⁷ Indeed he would appear to have been prouder of his contribution than he was prepared to admit. When his fanatically musicophile friend Vasilij Botkin called on him to take his libretto writing for Pauline Viardot more seriously, suggesting that his works did not provide enough scope for her particular talents, since their "tiny, narrow framework" excluded "the sphere of the imagination and of poetic creation" and produced nothing but "nice, talented bagatelles," Turgenev defended *le Dernier Sorcier* vigorously. It belonged "precisely to the type of libretto that you are proposing—and I know of nothing more poetic than the music which Mme Viardot has written for it," he argued, singling out the love-duet (the "Duo de la rose"), "the likes of which I know but very few in all of operatic literature." He goes on to cite a string of musical authorities, including Clara Schumann, Anton Rubinstein and the English critic Henry Chorley, who had praised the work and had suggested that it could enjoy great success on a public stage. Despite this aesthetic defense, however, it would seem that the chief pleasure for Turgenev lay in the joyous atmosphere of intimate creativity that the operettas provided within the Viardots' domestic circle. Ultimately he justifies it all very simply: "it amuses both her and me and, apparently, others do not find it boring either."¹⁸

Despite the relatively modest goals of the operettas as a source of stage experience for some of Pauline Viardot's pupils and a new outlet for her own creative efforts that simultaneously provided considerable domestic enjoyment on the one hand, and amusement for a small, select group of guests on the other, Pauline's reputation as well as the artistic and political prominence of the various guests made it certain that the increasingly popular private performances could not long be kept from the public. Indeed, Hetzel's *feuilleton* on the first performance of *Trop de femmes*, published on 13 September under his literary pseudonym P.-J. Stahl in the prestigious Paris newspaper *Journal des Débats*, was deliberately intended to create a broader public knowledge of the operetta performances. Hetzel wrote his article as if he had stumbled onto what he had taken for a real-life pasha living in seclusion with his harem in a rented Baden villa. Upon discovering the true nature of this "mystery," and with much mock indignation, he then chides both audience and participants for their secretiveness:

Of course, my good friends, I tell myself, you delight in delectable pleasures behind closed doors, you hide in order to perform small masterpieces, you claim the right to enjoy your jewels in secret, you make your sons, your daughters, your pupils—young girls between the ages of twelve and sixteen—sing as only teachers like you could teach children to sing, and you think all this can remain a secret. Oh! Certainly not! Your operetta lacked a real villain. I shall permit myself to provide you with one. [...] The echo of the vallon des Chèvres will spread your delightful follies further than you wish.¹⁹

Hetzel's prediction proved correct, but he was not, in fact, the first to break the secret. Already on 25 August a short notice had appeared in the *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* stating that a one-act opera with music by Pauline Viardot and words by Turgenev had been performed in the Viardot villa [sic] to "the complete approbation of the audience." Nor did this news escape the attention of Turgenev's countrymen. A very similar text, no doubt taken from the *Revue et Gazette musicale*, appeared in the September issue of the "Musico-literary supplement" to the Russian magazine *Nouvelles*.²⁰

Other capitals may have lagged behind slightly, but news of the operettas also soon appeared elsewhere. In Brussels *le Guide musical* published a short notice of *Trop de femmes* on 10 October, commenting that the success enjoyed by the twenty young performers gave lie to the title. A few days later the prestigious London journal *The Athenæum*, in its "Musical and Dramatic Gossip," quoted extensively from a letter by "a Correspondent" who "had the good fortune [...] to be present the other evening at the private performance of the chamber-operetta by M. Tourgueneff and Madame Viardot." While also praising the performers at some length, this is the only notice which, as befitted its author Henry Chorley (the journal's music critic and a long-time admirer of Pauline Viardot), makes any attempt to give a serious critical evaluation of *le Dernier Sorcier* and particularly of its music. Chorley writes:

It is not possible to conceive anything of its kind more perfect in quaint fantasy, real charm and complete execution. The story, which is a faery legend, is original and full [...] of happy touches of humour and picturesque sentiment. The music is delicious. The writer of it has already proved her thoroughly deep and dramatic feeling, and her power over the secrets of musical combination and construction, [...] but here, without bating a lot of such excellent qualities, are an ease, a freshness and a variety in the happy golden mean betwixt commonplace and pedantry—'golden,' because in no point or quality trenching on vulgarity or chargeable with mediocrity.

[...] the simplicity of the pleasure was as unique as its perfection, the entertainment surpassing, as it did, anything of the kind I have seen at home, public or private, and unpurchasable by money, being given as much for the pleasure of those who took part in it as for the very small audience of friends privileged to be present.²¹

Not surprisingly, the gala royal performance brought renewed attention to the domestic entertainment taking place in Baden, and Baden itself was finally to be apprised officially of the mysterious activities going on in its midst. Richard Pohl's column of 19 October, the twenty-third in his series on the 1867 Baden season, was devoted not to one of the public events, but to "le Théâtre du Thiergarten." Emulating Hetzel's tone of fantasy, Pohl writes of having "dreamt a 'midsummer night's dream' with tender elves and their bewitching queen," while deriving an obvious thrill from the august audience in whose presence he had attended the performance. A few weeks later, on 3 November, as if to make up for the earlier neglect of Pauline's singing career, no fewer than three musical newspapers in the French capital reported—with some delay—on the Royal Gala. *Le Ménestrel* and *la Revue et Gazette musicale* offered short notices which emphasized the prestigious audience dominated by various royalty, but *la France musicale* published a lengthy review by C. Lallemand under the title "Deux opérettes de Madame Viardot," in which Lallemand praises both authors effusively:

Ah, Monsieur *le Dernier Sorcier*, you have found the right spell [...] in two charming libretti which, in their great simplicity and delicious naïveté, make you a relative of two immortal story-tellers, La Fontaine and Perrault. Your secret [...] lies in your huge, good heart! [...] But you needed a devoted fairy to hold the magic wand. Mme Pauline Viardot was that fairy. She waved the magic wand over her royal audience with music that achieved greatness, elegance and mystical grace in the *Dernier Sorcier* and which proved humorous and full of laughter, gentle, supple and yielding in *Trop de femmes*.²²

German readers outside of Baden also came to hear of the operettas. Some reports were brief, such as the one in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* of 16 October, which announced simply that an operetta, *Trop de femmes*, by Mme Viardot-Garcia, "based on an oriental subject," had been performed privately in Baden. However, Germany also saw what were by far the most enthusiastic and detailed accounts in the two separate reports published by Pietsch.

In the summer of 1867 Pietsch was returning to Berlin after completing his art studies in Paris. He described his leisurely journey home in a series of seven articles, appropriately called "Heimfahrt auf Umwegen" ["A Round-about Journey Home"], which were published in successive Sunday supplements of the Berlin newspaper *Vossische Zeitung*. Most of this chronicle is devoted to Pietsch's lengthy stay in Baden-Baden, and most of that to Pauline Viardot's music-making. The sixth of these articles, published on 10 November, describes a performance—most probably the *première*—of *le Dernier Sorcier*. His exuberant descriptions of the performers have already been quoted, but Pietsch later returned to the subject of the operettas again. In December, in the inaugural edition of a magazine entitled *Der Salon für Literatur, Kunst und Gesellschaft*, he published "Fürsten und Feen im Salon Turgenjews" ["Princes and Fairies in Turgenev's Salon"], a short note on the second performance of *le Dernier Sorcier*, to which he appended one of his sketches. This article certainly covered all three aspects of the new magazine's broad title, perhaps with particular emphasis on the last element: Pietsch not only carefully listed the members of the august audience, but they are clearly identifiable in the accompanying sketch. This sketch has been reproduced several times and has no doubt contributed to the fact that this Pietsch piece in *Der Salon* has, unfortunately, become virtually the only known journalistic account of the Baden performances.²³

The unique elements gathered around Pauline Viardot in Baden which had led to the undeniable success of that first season of the "Théâtre du Thiergarten" had been discerned from the first by Hetzel. Pietsch was no less aware of them, even if his usual verbal excesses introduced a measure of pedantry into his musings: "A French operetta, written by a Russian, set to music with all the fervour of the 'most German' spirit by a Spaniard, performed by French, Spanish, Italian, Belgian and German artists and amateurs on the German estate of a Russian proprietor before an audience drawn from all nations, but nonetheless predominantly German—can such a 'concours international' in the pure worship of Art and Beauty, can the realization of the concept of an ideal, genuinely human, free social fellowship be found anywhere else but in this valley?!"²⁴

Such philosophical questions were, however, of little interest to most of the youthful performers for whom the climax of the evening may well have resided in what followed. Paul Viardot long remembered that, after the performance, "a supper, invariably consisting of cold meats and potato salad, was prepared for the performers. The supper took place in our house and the entire length of the two gardens had to be crossed; these nocturnal processions, with everyone still in costume, were not the least picturesque aspect of those memorable evenings." The hungry Paul's concentration on supper provides a useful reminder of the more mundane context in which these performances were, in fact, presented. Their enchanting side cannot, of course, be denied and, as might be expected, the picturesque processions to the Viardot villa moved Pietsch to yet another lyrical effusion:

I would try in vain to describe the magic of those summer evenings and the nights that followed, during which those young artistically-trained maiden voices awoke the echoes in the nearly dark walls of fir trees on the forested hills all around. And then, when the entire troupe in its fantastic costumes [...] made its way along the moonlit garden paths, over the glittering, dewy meadows and through the pitch-dark park to the Viardot villa, where, following the most cheerful singing, it was long past midnight before the company dispersed!²³

Chapter II

1868 — BADEN-BADEN

Two Seasons

Plans for a third operetta were under way even before the 1867 season had been completed. Indeed, in the very first letter to Pietsch in which he mentions the operettas, Turgenev already added the information: "we are now working on a third." The work on this operetta no doubt increased in intensity after the last performances of *Trop de femmes* and *le Dernier Sorcier* and then continued throughout the winter, interrupted only by Louis Viardot's serious illness in mid-February, and then by Pauline's less serious one. Nonetheless, the new operetta was sufficiently advanced for a spring season, devoted entirely to this new work, entitled *l'Ogre* [The Ogre], to be planned.¹

In March Turgenev made a trip to Paris. His letters back to Baden document the extent to which *l'Ogre* occupied his attention: having arrived at his hotel, but unable to sleep despite an execrable night on the train, he worked on a duet for the first act, a duet that he admits was concocted "with difficulty." No sooner were the shops open than he dashed out to order the red and black ogre costume of which he was to be so proud. When he dined at the house of his namesake, the Decembrist and political exile Nikolaj Turgenev, the main topics of conversation were, equally, the operettas and his latest novel, *Dym* [Smoke], recently published in French translation. Meanwhile, in Baden Pauline was also busy. She informed Turgenev that she had finished the opening "chœur des fileuses" ("Spinners' chorus"), had found two oil lamps with reflectors that would light the stage effectively and had tested one of her more advanced pupils, Anna de Baillodz, for one of the principal rôles, that of the Princess Aleli. She also asked Turgenev to buy coloured sequins for the costumes.²

On his return to Baden on 1 April, Turgenev immediately entered into a dual turmoil: that of moving—after repeated delays and countless problems—into his new house and, secondly, the final preparations for the *première* of *l'Ogre*. On 17 April Turgenev finally took up residence in the "château enchanté"; the very next day full-scale daily rehearsals began in his salon.³

This time both authors were actively involved in the performance from the first. Turgenev had designed the rôle of the ogre, Micocolembo, for himself and had therefore deliberately left it as a speaking part. Pauline Viardot took on the *travesti* rôle of Prince Saphir. The three younger Viardot children were once again featured prominently; Claudie and Marianne among the ogre's prisoners and Paul as Estambardos, aide-de-camp to his mother, the prince.

Even Louis Viardot took on the function of prompter, one of his rare active involvements in the various family theatrical ventures. With Pauline on stage, direction of the performance from the piano was entrusted to a family friend, Karl Eckert, who was conveniently staying in the Viardot villa for a while with his family.⁴

The success of *Trop de femmes* and *le Dernier Sorcier* had prompted the authors to do things on a grander scale. In addition to the matter of Turgenev's imported Paris costume, they asked Alfred Beauval, the ballet master at the nearby Karlsruhe theatre, to choreograph a *pas oriental* in which Claudie was to be the *prima ballerina*. Turgenev complained of the heat, conjuring up for Annenkov the picture of his "entire house [...] overflowing with young ladies, [...] singing, dancing, trying on costumes. [...] There has been chaos these last few days, daily rehearsals... sets, hammering. [...] Noise, din, sweating... laughter, gaiety—ta-ta-ta, tu-tu-tu!" Paul recalled Alfred Beauval's exasperation at "the ponderousness of the Swiss girls, the clumsiness of the Swedes, the slowness of the Germans, the chattering of the French."⁵

Invitations were sent out. Louis even invited George Sand to be the guest of honour: "not only the voice, organ, piano and violin are being prepared for you," he wrote to his old friend, "but also the operettas, of which one that is completely new is being worked on and completed in your honour. [...] After *Trop de femmes* and *le Dernier Sorcier*, this is to be a *fairy-tale*, quite a large work, to take up a whole evening." At least one newspaper, the Leipzig *Signale*, published a notice of the forthcoming event and the customary august audience impatiently awaited the *première*, which took place on 23 May. Even as changes were being made to the operetta, three further performances followed in rapid succession, before another royal command performance on 8 June closed out this short but very successful spring season.⁶

In fact, the season might have been extended beyond the five performances of *l'Ogre*, had it not been for Turgenev's unexpectedly early departure for Russia. Nonetheless, the work had attracted extensive newspaper coverage throughout Europe and its success prompted the Viardots to plan building a small theatre adjacent to the art gallery.⁷

Turgenev's trip to Russia was necessary both to complete the agreement concerning a new edition of his collected works and to visit Spasskoe for the first time since appointing Nikita Kišinskij as manager in place of his uncle. Both these measures, he hoped, would help ease his financial condition. However, his letters to Baden reveal the extent to which the operettas again travelled with him in spirit. From Berlin he reports another bout of insomnia during the overnight train trip; he attempted in vain to put it to good use by devising new libretti. In Berlin itself, he reports, "All the papers are talking of *l'Ogre*." He would have found the situation no different on arriving in St. Petersburg on 6/18 June, for the Russian press had been following the events in Baden closely. One of two reports in the important *Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti* prepared his compatriots for the arrival of the newly-discovered thespian with its comment that "the audience applauded the text, the music, the performance. Mr. Turgenev, who, as the *Ogre*, did not sing his part, and Mme

Viardot [...] elicited enthusiastic applause." Nonetheless, Turgenev's friends and acquaintances apparently remained unconvinced, even in the face of such authority. Not that Turgenev's enthusiasm could be dampened, as is evident from the account of his meeting with a highly skeptical Annenkov: "I related the story of *l'Ogre* to old Annenkov in minute detail and I admit I had great difficulty in convincing him of the excellence of my acting!" He fondly remembers the "assemblages of young ladies under the direction of Mme [sic (?)] Beauval [...]" He asks if there have been any more articles about *l'Ogre*, enquires several times if construction has begun on the new theatre and approves of the proposed location "at the foot of the garden." He even begins to quote from the operettas and to identify himself with the characters. "The poor ogre was a sad sight," he laments to Pauline in describing his journey seated next to a drunken coachman. An unexpected attack of gout makes him "resemble Krakamiche more than Microlembo," [sic (?)] but with an improvement in his condition he can again say that "Micocolembo sends his regards to all his former prisoners." At Spasskoe he complains that a dreadful head-cold is preventing him from finding a subject for a new libretto and he even links his eagerly-desired return to his Baden "nest"—in time for Pauline's birthday on 18 July—with a "revival" of *le Dernier Sorcier* that he sets for two days later. And then he reminds Pauline that he is waiting for a copy of the Krakamiche part to be sent to him—perhaps to refresh his memory in anticipation of new performances, perhaps to make further changes in the part that was now firmly his.⁹

In the event, a relapse of his gout delayed Turgenev's return beyond 20 July and attacked him yet again on his arrival in Baden. Nevertheless an autumn season was planned and a new production of *le Dernier Sorcier* was prepared to join *l'Ogre* in the repertoire. On 8 September the *Badeblatt* informed its readers that both operettas, "newly studied and with a partially new cast," had been performed the previous week.

Among those who attended the performance of *le Dernier Sorcier* on 1 September 1868 was Sextius Durand, a correspondent for *la France musicale* visiting Baden for the climax of the resort season. His "Correspondance de Bade" was enthusiastic about both the performers and the work itself. He asserts that the operetta is "worth a hundred times over those that you see in our Paris theatres." He praises the music, which has "a new form and style; one perceives the presence of a hand adept at presenting the musical material in a new light, with the most appealing effects and a greater variety of colours." As for the libretti, they "are without pretension; M. de Tourguenief [...] intended to write only small-scale works, a kind of proverb elaborated in music [...]" However, in the process, he knew how to make witty allusions to topical events and persons and how to inject into his prose such mordant elements as are always fair game in such instances.¹⁰

Another visitor was Ludwig Pietsch, making one of what were now becoming annual trips to Baden as a guest of Turgenev. Pietsch had the opportunity on this occasion to see for the first time both Turgenev and Pauline Viardot performing together in one of their operettas. He responded

to the event with another of his ebulliently detailed articles. "Never would one have expected to find in him such humorously dramatic acting ability. And never was a rôle of this kind realized more masterfully [...] a singular mixture of horrible and ferocious malignity, genial *bonhomie* and directly civilizing sensibilities," he remarks in some surprise of Turgenev. And hearing and seeing Pauline Viardot on stage again evoked deeply felt memories in him:

How well we [...] know this deep sonorous voice; how often over twenty-two years and in how many places in Europe have we carefully listened to her [...] and always, today just as then, with the same rapture, with the same elation of the entire inner being. Nor does time appear to have had any sway over her appearance, over this head, over this figure: today the dark eye still radiates, perhaps with even greater intensity, the flame of genius, of serenity and of superior intelligence; a full head of pitch-black hair still cascades around these temples, and, in the magnificent costume of the Fairy Prince Saphir, glittering with jewels which bedeck the lithe limbs of this glorious woman, I seem to see once again, as if it were yesterday, that Romeo who strode the boards of the Berlin Opera House on so many winter evenings in 1847 [...] and sang of his tragic love, pain and ecstasy.

Once again the post-performance suppers at the Villa Viardot were a popular conclusion to the evening, but for Pietsch there was, in 1868, the additional pleasure

of the slow return to Turgenev's domain through the solitude of the valley surrendered over to the deepest silence and slumber, to the castle, at the door of which the magnificent, huge, long-haired pointer Pegasus eagerly awaits him, not entirely without the justification born of his designation as the closest and most beloved friend of his master's heart. How often, each with a candle in hand and standing on the landing with the intention of betaking ourselves off to our separate bedrooms, we then nonetheless remained standing in the hallway, engrossed in conversation, or rather, since I was captivated by some description, by a story of his, not infrequently by one that later crystallized or developed into a much admired work of art... And how often did the morning announce itself over there, above the forest, before I tore myself away from the marvellous spell of this poetic word and spirit in order to seek at least a short rest.¹⁰

The performances of *l'Ogre* and *le Dernier Sorcier* in the autumn of 1868 do not seem to have been as frequent as those of the previous year, interrupted as they were by Turgenev's recurring bouts of gout (between which he and Louis tried to get in at least a few days of hunting), and then by the departure of Paul Viardot for Karlsruhe where he was being prepared for entry into a boarding school. Nevertheless another royal command performance—as in the spring, of *l'Ogre*—was presented on 17 October in honour of Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm's birthday, and an "aller-aller-allerletzte" ("absolutely, definitively, very last") performance of the same operetta—perhaps in response to a popular demand for more performances—took place on 31 October. Both Viardots again received a gift from Augusta, Louis a vase, described by Turgenev as magnificent, and Pauline a bracelet, but Pohl was warned not to publicize Augusta's presence in Baden and so he published no report of the gala performance. With that, the second 1868 season came to a close as the Viardot family moved to Karlsruhe for the winter, where they were soon joined, naturally, by Turgenev.¹¹

The primary purpose of the move to Karlsruhe was the presence in that town of a well-known art school. Claudie Viardot had begun to show promise as an artist and her family took her talent seriously. In February 1867 she had accompanied her mother when Pauline had gone to sing in Berlin, but this had not proved successful for Claudie, since the prominent artist Oskar Begas, who had been supposed to give her some lessons, was away for much of the time. The winter spent in Karlsruhe would give her the opportunity to find a more reliable teacher.¹²

It is also true that Baden could seem a rather deserted city in winter, but Turgenev at least found Karlsruhe not much better, by and large very quiet, if not dull. There were some musically-minded acquaintances in Karlsruhe, including Hermann Levi, the Count and Countess von Flemming and Richard Pohl, and Pauline was soon actively involved in musical *matinées* (her own on Tuesdays, as well as others), but other aspects of cultural life in this, the capital of the Principality of Baden, were less satisfactory. Turgenev stated on several occasions that he did not think much of the local theatre, although he expended considerable energy in organizing an outing for some of his Russian friends to the local production of Richard Wagner's new opera *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* [The Mastersingers of Nuremberg]. Pauline Viardot was apparently also not greatly enamoured of this company, even though she was eager for one of her pupils, Magdalene Murjahn, to join it.

The relative tranquility of Karlsruhe at least permitted Turgenev—between hunting expeditions—to do more writing than he had done in Baden, primarily on the literary reminiscences for which his Moscow publisher was waiting impatiently, but also, to judge by a letter to Moritz Hartmann, on a new operetta. All of this, however, was interrupted and overshadowed by an unexpected proposal to stage a professional production of *le Dernier Sorcier* at the Court Theatre in Weimar.¹³

Chapter III

1869 — WEIMAR

Der letzte Zauberer

The Grand-Duke Karl Alexander of Sachsen-Weimar remembered well the Sunday mornings he had spent as a child in the house of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, undoubtedly the jewel in the cultural glory that was Weimar's in the reign of his grandfather, Karl August. Karl Alexander himself—despite a reputation for the nebulousness of his artistic schemes on the one hand and a certain miserliness on the other—did succeed in bringing to Weimar a second cultural flowering, marked by the founding of an Academy of Art in 1860 and a National Museum three years later. The jewel in his crown, however, was not a venerated German writer, but a celebrated Hungarian piano virtuoso who had withdrawn from the concert stages of Europe in order to concentrate on his radically innovative composing. Franz Liszt had been appointed *Kapellmeister* in 1842 by Karl Alexander's father, and during the years of his residency in Weimar (where he lived somewhat notoriously in the famous "Altenberg" residence with the Princess Caroline von Sayn-Wittgenstein) he made that town a mecca for supporters of modernist music. The works of all three luminaries of contemporary music—Liszt himself, Berlioz, and Wagner—received support, encouragement and performances in Weimar that were denied them, or attained only with the greatest difficulty, elsewhere. Liszt had left in 1861, primarily because of conflicts with the director of the Court Theatre, Franz Dingelstedt, but he remained on friendly terms with Karl Alexander. After Dingelstedt's departure for Vienna in 1867, he was persuaded to return, if no longer as a permanent resident, then at least for regular and extended annual visits.

It was a custom in Weimar to celebrate the birthday of the Grand Duchess Sophie, on 8 April, with a special gala performance in the Court Theatre. Frequently it was the occasion for introducing a major new work to the Weimar audiences. Such was intended to be the case again in 1869 when Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, first produced in Munich some ten months earlier, was to have its Weimar *première*. Wagner's operas were, of course, not easy to produce. They required great resources and, particularly, time to prepare adequately. Evidently, despite Weimar's experience with his works, *Die Meistersinger* proved too difficult and too long to prepare in the time available, a fact duly reported with some regret on 12 February by the Leipzig paper *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. The *Neue Zeitschrift* also announced

that Wagner's new opera would be replaced for the Grand Duchess' gala with "a new opera by Lassen and an operetta by Pauline Viardot-Garcia."¹

In his account of the Weimar production published in *Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti*, Turgenev says that the initiative for the decision to present *le Dernier Sorcier* in Weimar came from Karl Alexander and that the idea had received eager encouragement from Liszt and active support from the Weimar *Kapellmeister* Eduard Lassen. That Karl Alexander knew about the Viardot—Turgenev operettas is scarcely surprising, since he had always been close to his sister, Queen Augusta of Prussia. Furthermore, the Grand-Duke, whose mother had been the Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna of Russia, knew and admired Turgenev's published works, which he read in French translation. Indeed, in a letter to Liszt he asks jokingly "Do you think that I might, as a pleasant surprise, slip in at the feet of the Ogre without running the risk of being chomped?" suggesting that he also knew the latest of the Viardot—Turgenev operettas. In any event, it was Karl Alexander who invited Pauline to come to Weimar to make the necessary arrangements for performing *le Dernier Sorcier*.²

Liszt had also heard of the operettas. Some time before her departure from Baden-Baden for Warsaw in 1868, Maria Kalergis—formerly Chopin's pupil, and now a fanatical supporter of Wagner and an ardent admirer of Liszt (who in turn much admired her)—wrote to him that "In Baden Pauline reigns and governs. Crowned heads abound and do not tire of applauding *Le Dernier Sorcier*." Liszt would not have been surprised. Ten years earlier, in December 1858, Pauline Viardot had come to Weimar and performed in Bellini's *Norma* and Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia*. Her appearances in Weimar prompted Liszt to publish a major laudatory article devoted to her, in which he also made a point of praising her talents as a composer, declaring that she wrote music "with a sensibility for profound delicateness expressed in harmonic subtleties." Nor was he later to change his opinion. In February 1869 he described Pauline's compositions as "charming music, lively, elegant, witty and well-styled." According to Pauline herself, he praised her music to all and sundry in Weimar and even went so far as to tell August von Loën, the director of the Weimar Court Theatre, that "Never [...] has there been a woman composer of genius—finally, here is one!!!" As late as 1881 he yet again expressed the opinion that Pauline was "a composer of the most delicate and lively intelligence."³

Lassen would undoubtedly have been involved in the decision to postpone until the following season the production of *Die Meistersinger*, as well as in the one to stage *le Dernier Sorcier* in a double bill together with his own opera. A protégé of Liszt, the Danish-born Lassen (1830-1904) had been appointed Court Musical Director in Weimar in 1858 and Court *Kapellmeister* in 1867. Lassen had first heard Pauline sing in Meyerbeer's *le Prophète* and had then met her when she came to Weimar in 1858. With Liszt temporarily absent when she arrived, it had been Lassen who had first done "the honours of Weimar for her." He found that although her voice "had diminished greatly, she still remains the great artist [...] and honestly, her 'Rosine' is enough to drive a saint wild." This opinion was echoed in 1864 when Pauline sang in Weimar

once more, at a concert conducted by Lassen: "I was very pleased to see and hear her again; her voice has, of course, deteriorated further, but despite that, she sings so magnificently that it is a genuine pleasure."⁴

The earliest mention of a decision to replace Wagner's opera with two works of a completely different scale and importance is found in a letter from Liszt to Princess Caroline, dated 4 February 1869, in which he approves of both works, declaring them to be "pretty and even distinguished of their kind," adding that Pauline was expected in Weimar the following week.⁵

Pauline Viardot left Karlsruhe for Weimar on 11 February, the day before the change of programme was made public in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. She stayed for ten days during which she was not only occupied with the necessary preliminary preparations for mounting *le Dernier Sorcier*, but also took an active part in the musical life of Weimar. There can be no doubt but that she wanted to make an impression with her music. In addition to *le Dernier Sorcier* (and probably *l'Ogre*), she is described as having come with "a bag full of her *Lieder*." On 12 February she gave a concert at the Grand Ducal Palace, and sang there again two days later, on both occasions performing some of her own songs. She held a *soirée* at her hotel, the *Erbprinz*, and took part in one of Liszt's renewed and already renowned Sunday *matinées*, where her programme was devoted almost entirely to her own music. Evidently she succeeded in arousing the interest of both Liszt and Lassen, particularly with her early song "La caña," while her setting of Goethe's "Vor Gericht" ["Judgement"] caused a minor scandal on account of its subject, the murder of an illegitimate baby by its mother. On 18 February she again sang her Mörrike songs for Liszt and he continued to express his interest in her music: "All that is a thousand times too kind, I know perfectly well," adds Pauline of Liszt's praises. "But in any event it is an encouragement to persevere."⁶

Pauline read through *le Dernier Sorcier* at the house of von Loën on 13 February and the reading was, she informed Turgenev, a complete success. It was a dramatic rendition, she says: "It would appear that I read *divinely*: in a toned-down Holmsen style. Everybody laughed a great deal—I tried to imitate my best performers." The Grand Duke was particularly pleased with the libretto, declaring—writes Pauline—that it had made Turgenev "*grow*, if that were possible (his very words), in his estimation (what good luck) by the distinctive touch, *simple, original, poetic* and totally *French* (can one be more grand-ducal?!!!) which you [Turgenev] have managed to impart to it." Liszt, who appears also to have gone through the music separately with Pauline, was so enthusiastic about the operetta as to provoke a mildly jealous resentment in one of his local female admirers, Rosa von Milde.⁷ The task of bringing *le Dernier Sorcier* to Weimar, however, was enormous, not the least because of the transformation that the salon operetta was required to undergo in order to conform to expectations of what should be put onto the Grand Ducal stage. In the first instance, Karl Alexander wanted the work expanded and the production to be on rather a grand scale. Then, the musical numbers had to be orchestrated and—last, but by no means least—the entire

text had to be translated into German. And the time available was very limited—eight weeks!

The Weimar theatre prided itself on its technical staff, on the costumes and sets designed by Karl Doepler and by Händel. The Grand Duke's ambitious plans not only required the use of all these resources, but also inevitably moved the production away from the simplicity that had been a necessity in Baden because of limited resources, but that had also constituted much of the charm of those performances. Karl Alexander declared that he wanted "a beautiful set on several levels—the elves to be costumed as winged flowers, the Queen of the Elves to appear a different way each time, on a branch, in the crook of a tree, in a word always in such a way as to surprise [...]" Pauline was also given the chance to assess, and even help select, the local performers for the operetta. On 14 February she attended a performance of Weber's *Oberon* and reported:

Orchestra good, choir fairly good—female singers nice, staging also very nice. Singers: tenor bad, baritone (Milde) very good—the soprano could be a pleasant Lelio if the two arias were transposed—the day after tomorrow I am to hear Mlle Reiss who has been assigned for Stella, if I like her—there are also two nice small women for the rôles of the Queen of the Elves and Verveine. That could all be very good—let's have a look at the Stella [...]

A performance of *Lohengrin* three days later added more details, as well as testifying to Pauline's enthusiasm for Wagner's music, which no doubt dismayed Turgenev. "Mlle Reiss (Elsa) is not very good, she has a sourish voice and no dramatic sense. Mme Barnay (Otrud, quite good) a lot of fervour, a bit too fiery. [...] Telramund (Milde) *absolutely superb*. Orchestra perfect."⁴

Ultimately five new musical numbers were added for the Weimar production. Pauline and Turgenev had obviously already agreed on a major scene between Krakamiche and Stella, culminating in the duet "Si tu ne sais pas." The short introduction to the opening chorus was to be preceded by a full-scale overture. The operetta lacked a major ensemble number, and this deficiency was rectified by the unaccompanied quartet "Adieu, témoins de ma misère" before the Act II finale. Some spoken numbers were converted into melodramas by the addition of a simple accompaniment, while Krakamiche's Exorcism, "Louppola, Schibbola, Trix," became a full-scale sung number. At the Grand Duke's insistence, a ballet was added before the Act I finale and Pauline agreed to all this with the comment "That's a lot of hard work." However the biggest and most immediate musical task, and the main reason for Pauline's trip to Weimar, was the orchestration.

Although Clara Schumann had declared on first hearing the operettas in 1867 that "one can hear the instrumentation throughout the accompaniment"

and, according to Turgenev, Anton Rubinstein, among others, had urged Pauline to orchestrate it, the music had in fact been conceived and written for the piano. While Pauline may have had some ideas for instrumental colouring, she had had no experience writing for an orchestra. Rumours of Liszt's active participation in orchestrating the operetta even reached the press: in a report on 28 March announcing the Weimar performance, *la Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* stated outright that the operetta had been orchestrated by Liszt. There is, however, no indication of Liszt's involvement in any of the accounts published after the performances. On the contrary, considerable attention is paid to the rôle played by Lassen.¹⁰

Certainly, Liszt originally had no intention of becoming involved, writing to Princess Caroline that Pauline had arrived in Weimar in order "to work out with Lassen the orchestration of her *Sorcerer*." Maybe he allowed himself to be carried away by his enthusiasm for the music (he is said by Turgenev to have liked the first act finale in particular), for it would appear that he did in fact become involved after all. Turgenev certainly claimed so in private, most specifically in a letter to Botkin, who would have appreciated such details as the fact that Liszt "is himself orchestrating several numbers." Such a limited rôle also seems to be confirmed in a letter to Caroline of Wittgenstein from Henrietta von Schorn, who was keeping an eye on Liszt for the Princess. After a visit from the solicitous *abbé* (von Schorn was confined to bed as a result of illness), she reported that Pauline had orchestrated her operetta "with Liszt and the local musicians." By "local musicians" she meant Lassen.¹¹

Pauline and Lassen went through the score carefully. It is conceivable that Pauline indicated preferred instrumentation in some instances, as well as determining the overall instrumental colouring, while leaving details to the Weimar musician. Lassen had extensive experience and an excellent reputation as an orchestrator; his work on the Viardot—Turgenev operetta was to earn considerable attention and universal praise in the press reports, and especially in Turgenev's account. Still, whatever Lassen's success, there can be no doubt that the rather large orchestra inevitably contributed to altering the characteristic simplicity that had originally distinguished *le Dernier Sorcier*.¹²

Despite her numerous musical and social activities, Pauline was very busy with preparing the operetta while she was in Weimar. The pressure of time resulting from the need to prepare the vocal and instrumental parts, the conductor's score and the prompter's text before she returned to Karlsruhe, is clearly sensed in her letters. Pauline herself could, of course, provide some of the new music for which no new text was required; Turgenev was presumably working on the Krakamiche—Stella scene, a scene which gave him some trouble. The biggest pressure, however, was undoubtedly on the translator, Richard Pohl.

The suggestion to use Pohl may well have come from Weimar, where Pohl had lived for many years and where, as a young man, he had been a prominent member of the "Murlys" group which had fanatically supported Liszt's efforts on behalf of *Zukunftsmusik*. While in Weimar Pohl had supplied

texts and translations for several major musical events organized by Liszt, and as late as 1877 he was recommended by Liszt to Saint-Saens as a translator for the French composer's *Samson et Délila*, which was to have its *première* in Weimar that year. Pauline herself was very skeptical about Pohl's ability, fearing that he would "want too much wit—I am certain that he is polishing it meticulously and looking for 'the pith' at every turn—that the whole thing strikes him as too simple, too plain." Pauline's apprehensions proved all too well-founded. There had been unanimous agreement as to the wit and grace of Turgenev's original French text, qualities that depended on lightness of touch and a surface "frivolousness." Turgenev—who had more than a passing acquaintance with French operetta, particularly as represented by its acknowledged master, Jacques Offenbach—used light "frivolous" humour precisely to avoid the heavy-footed "moral" that Pauline feared Pohl would constantly seek. As the German musicologist Otto Keller lamented when acknowledging French supremacy in the domain of operetta: "we do not have the crafty, half-harmlessly merry, half-elegantly mischievous love of ridicule that the French have." This verdict was certainly true of Richard Pohl.¹³

Pohl had actually begun work before Pauline's trip to Weimar. He wrote to her there, promising to send the completed translation before she left; that he failed to do so is clear from her complaints to Turgenev. She especially wished that Pohl would send what he had finished, or at least the words to the sung numbers, since some of the singers (such as Milde) wanted to go through their parts with her. Certainly, Pohl faced a difficult task under severe time constraints. The text of the sung numbers had to be subordinated to the demands of the music already composed. But even in the prose linking the musical numbers, where no such strictures operated, Pohl clearly demonstrated his inability to comprehend the essence of Turgenev's original, described by Alexander Gottschalg in one of his reviews of the Weimar production as "a dramatized children's [fairy] tale, and specifically a *French* one; [...] a poetic work of charming imaginativeness, childlike naïveté, full of elegant turns of phrase, graceful barbs and not without an admixture of gentle irony and innocuously teasing satire." Officially Turgenev described the Pohl translation as having been done "very satisfactorily," but this comment was added as an afterthought to the text of his report published in the *Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti* and was omitted entirely from the French version. His dissatisfaction is perhaps best shown by the fact that he himself attempted to improve Pohl's text. Several such attempts have survived—all of them aimed primarily at lightening Pohl's ponderous verse; indeed, some of these appear to have been adopted. Turgenev's version of Lelio's Act II Stornello convinced Pauline that the author himself "would have done the translation of the opera better than anybody, had you wanted to." As it was, the Pohl translation proved a significantly detrimental factor in the process that turned *le Dernier Sorcier* into *Der letzte Zauberer*.¹⁴

Pauline returned to Karlsruhe on 24 February just as the European musical press began to spread the news of the impending performance. That day, the

Neue Berliner Musikzeitung published the information about the postponement of *Die Meistersinger* that had previously appeared in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. The next day the always well-informed *le Guide musical* not only announced the forthcoming production, but stated that Pauline Viardot was in Weimar assisting with the production and named the operetta for the first time, though obviously in a reverse translation from the German, as *le Dernier Enchanteur*. This report was reprinted verbatim in two Paris papers, *la France musicale* and *la Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, on 28 February. On 3 March the *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung* again reported the postponement of *Die Meistersinger*, this time naming Lassen's opera, *Der Gefangene* [The Captive] for the first time, while still referring to its companion piece as "a dramatic opus-culum by Mme Viardot-Garcia."¹⁵

Meanwhile in Karlsruhe there reigned a period of intense activity and mounting excitement. On 2 March Turgenev wrote to Botkin about his intention to go to Weimar, adding "I will be nervous and will shake, as I have never been nervous for myself." Writing the same day to Afanasij Foeth, he again anticipates being nervous, but this time adds "although a success is certain." On 7 March he reports to Pietsch that "Madame Viardot is in good spirits and working hard." Invitations had, of course, been sent to friends and past enthusiasts of the operettas. Pietsch had to decline because he was due to set off on a journalistic expedition through Eastern Europe as far as Athens and Constantinople. The Eckerts, recently established in Berlin where Karl had been appointed *Kapellmeister*, announced their intention to attend, as did Anton Rubinstein.¹⁶

As the date approached, the press again announced the forthcoming Weimar production, even if not with great accuracy. The report in *la Revue et Gazette musicale* that proclaimed categorically that Liszt had orchestrated the entire work, also misinformed its readers as to the title and the occasion, calling the operetta *le Dernier des Sorciers* and claiming that it was being given in honour of the Grand Duke. Even as this notice appeared, Turgenev was in the French capital on another of his flying visits. He saw various French *littérateurs*, including a dying Sainte-Beuve, Littré and Flaubert, and then visited his daughter and son-in-law in Rougemont, not far from Dijon. Yet, despite this flurry of activity, he wrote to Pauline: "You are going to laugh at me; but I assure you that I am thinking only of our *Dernier Sorcier* ..." On 4 April he was back in Karlsruhe and the next evening he set out for Weimar to join Pauline who had been there since 30 March.¹⁷

Goethe had always been amongst the authors most admired by Turgenev, and the Russian was clearly affected emotionally on finding himself in the town so intimately associated with "the greatest poet of modern times after Shakespeare" as well as with several other giants of German literature. Although largely devoid of comfort and beauty, except for its pretty location, Weimar's literary associations were all the more valuable for that, since the town still bore "the imprint of those great personages with which all its past is hallowed." Turgenev spent the two days between his arrival and the first performance visiting the sights—Schiller's house with its austere bedroom and

the staircase leading to Goethe's house (which was still owned by his grandchildren and closed to the public). There, the "hideously mannered" female figure that had been painted on Goethe's own instructions, confirmed his worst suspicions that, despite his excellent judgement in matters literary, the German genius had "the worst taste in matters of sculpture, art and architecture." Nonetheless, he felt a particular pleasure in walking along the river path through the park designed by Goethe. He praised the double statue of Goethe and Schiller by Ernst Rietschel in the square in front of the theatre, and condemned the one of Wieland by Hans Gasser for making Wieland appear "hydrocephalous." He saw the famous grand ducal collection of drawings by such masters as Raphael, Rubens and Leonardo da Vinci, including the latter's sketches for the *Last Supper* which he particularly appreciated because the fresco itself in Milan was already in such pitiful condition. He even had time to visit the theatre where he praised the natural and youthful vigour of the actors, but thought considerably less of the prize-winning pro-tobacco play *Schach dem König* [Mate on the King] by Hippolyt Schauffert.¹⁹

Under the directorship of von Loën, the Court Theatre in Weimar was a dynamic and enterprising company, even if it was in the provinces. During the season there were performances virtually every other night; the list for April 1869, for example, indicates nine dramatic shows (with double bills a total of twelve plays, including Shakespeare's *Richard III* to mark the playwright's birthday) and eight operas. The operatic programme that season—fourteen major operas of which four were by Wagner—was ambitious by any standards and exhibited a clear preference for German composers. The theatre itself had been rebuilt after a fire in 1825 in a neo-classical style (which had been preferred to a more flamboyant design submitted by Goethe). Turgenev found the exterior "very bare," but the interior had only just been completely refurbished and was dominated by James Marshall's ceiling painting depicting authors and composers particularly identified with Weimar's cultural institutions: Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, Hebbel, Gluck, Mozart, Weber, Liszt and Wagner.¹⁹

Turgenev admits quite candidly that he was nervous the day of the first performance. Etiquette prescribed that there be no applause during the royal gala for the Grand Duchess' birthday and this must, inevitably, have added to the tension felt by the authors seated in a box above the stalls. Even the laughter was restrained because of the solemnity of the occasion, but Turgenev at least perceived none of "that barely noticeable, but agonizingly constant rustling, that distinctive sound" that betrays an audience in the process of being bored. Private messages of congratulations were quickly forthcoming from both the Grand Duchess and Queen Augusta (who was in Weimar for the occasion), once between the two acts, and then again after the performance.²⁰

Turgenev declared himself well-satisfied with the stage-set and the costumes, but details of the production are rather scant. A. W. Gottschalg in the local *Weimarische Zeitung* wrote that the *mise-en-scène* showed "a fine under-

standing, good taste and great care," but in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* he complained of slight technical problems on the first night, although this probably concerned Lassen's opera in the first half of the programme, since *Der letzte Zauberer* had a single set and minimal stage-business—even the ram produced by Krakamiche's spell had the good grace to bleat on cue both times. It is not clear whether Karl Alexander's wishes concerning the diverse appearances of the Queen of the Elves were heeded, but she was always positioned towards the back of the stage in such a way as to remain invisible, at least to the human characters, who thus heard only her disembodied voice. The only concrete evidence concerning costumes comes from Turgenev's rather left-handed compliment to Karl Knopp. For the first night, in an effort "to remind the audience that Perlimpinpin had turned from a giant into a dwarf, he [Knopp] made a huge head and a broad trunk for himself and walked with his legs bent. The effect was cumbersome and unpleasant." Realizing that his approach had been unsuccessful, Knopp abandoned it for the second performance, turning himself instead into "a real little fool" who "made the audience laugh with every word." "A splendid *tour de force*, which demonstrates the versatility of the talent and intelligence of this actor," comments Turgenev, perhaps recalling wistfully the simplicity of the Baden performances with Paul as the indolent servant.²¹

Of the performers, Turgenev singled out Feodor Milde's Krakamiche, declaring the German baritone "perhaps the best singer in Germany"—a sentiment later echoed by *le Ménestrel*. Only F.B., the jaundiced reviewer for *Die deutsche Schaubühne*, felt constrained to consider Milde not quite suited to what he, F.B., saw as the grotesquely comic aspect of the character, whereas Milde treated it rather as an ordinary *buffo* rôle. Turgenev mentions the Lelio of Marie Barnay and the Queen of the Elves (Mme Podolsky) only in passing. Anna Reiss' Stella draws more approval from him for her performance on the second night, but F.B., while admitting her overall popularity in Weimar, echoes Pauline Viardot's original assessment in finding that she lacked liveliness and mischievousness. The orchestra was universally praised, but the chorus, according to Turgenev (who no doubt was once again thinking fondly of the Baden performances with their plethora of future operatic stars), was insufficient in numbers and lacking freshness and accuracy of intonation.²²

The second, "public," performance took place on Sunday, 11 April. With the restrictions of etiquette lifted, the audience reacted enthusiastically despite the reputation of reserve ascribed to them by Turgenev. Many of the individual numbers were greeted warmly and several accounts attest to the ovation at the end. According to *le Guide musical*, "almost every number was applauded enthusiastically and due to the incessant demand of the audience and the orchestra, Mme Viardot had to come out on stage, brought there by her principal interpreters." Lassen's opera was also well received and he was likewise called out onto the stage.²³

There can be little doubt of the success of the performance as far as those who had been most directly concerned with the Weimar production were concerned. Unfortunately Liszt had left before the actual event in order to attend

a performance of his newly revised oratorio *Die Legende von der heiligen Elisabeth* [The Legend of St. Elizabeth] in Vienna, but before leaving he had predicted a new, triumphant career for Pauline Viardot as a composer. This pronouncement (duly reported in *le Ménestrel*) would certainly have pleased Turgenev, for the principal aim of the Weimar production, at least as far as he was concerned—and he so claimed on numerous occasions, both privately and, with unfortunate frankness, publicly—had been precisely to open up such a second career for her.²⁴

According to the Leipzig paper *Signale*, the *raison d'être* of the whole enterprise, the Grand Duchess Sophie, rewarded Pauline with "a valuable jewel." As for Karl Alexander, his pleasure and satisfaction were manifested more grandly. Once again scooping its rivals, *le Guide musical* reported on 22 April that the success of *Der letzte Zauberer* had prompted the Grand Duke to call on Pauline the day after the performance "to compliment her and to ask her for another opera, placing at her disposal all the resources of his theatre and congratulating himself that this small capital city, already famous for the sojourns of Goëthe [sic], Schiller, Wieland, etc., was the first to reveal a woman composer." A few weeks later the same journal specified that "this time it is no longer the case of an operetta, but of a large-scale work, of a grand opera, for which M. Turgeneff will supply the lyrics." The story of this commission was then published in a variety of other newspapers and was confirmed by Turgenev, who actually drafted a detailed scenario (in French), recently published under the title *l'Homme mystérieux*.²⁵

On a more personal level, close relations developed between Pauline Viardot and both Milde and Lassen as a result of the Weimar performances. When Milde came to Baden some four months later for a concert (and it would appear that Pauline had some part in arranging his participation), he admitted to his wife that Baden itself did not appeal to him greatly: "for me, the real Baden-Baden consists of Madame Viardot, [...] Turgenev etc. and... Nature." The following winter, which the Viardots and Turgenev spent in Weimar, they frequently visited the Milde household for music-making, and Milde even took some of Pauline's songs into his repertoire. In 1873, while he was in Karlsbad trying vainly to cure his gout, Turgenev was glad to find Milde and his wife in nearby Franzensbad. He found the singer "still as pleasant and gentleman-like." When Pauline returned to Weimar briefly in 1879 for the performance of Louise Hérítte's opera *Lindoro*, Milde was still there and they were able to renew their musical acquaintance.²⁶

As for Lassen, it was to him that Turgenev turned to bemoan the difficulties of finding suitable accommodation for himself and the Viardot family as they prepared for spending the winter of 1869-70 in Weimar. Once there however, a very active musical cooperation, both private and public, ensued between Pauline and Lassen. Lassen was once again greatly in evidence during Pauline's visit in 1879, and he repaid the compliment three years later by coming to see Pauline in Bougival—a second visit, for he had been there already in 1876. This second visit was probably, if unwittingly, the impulse for a brief resurrection of *le Dernier Sorcier* after many years of neglect.²⁷

The fiasco of the subsequent Karlsruhe performances has obscured the relative success of *Der letzte Zauberer* in Weimar and the wide—and largely favourable—coverage in the European musical press. The first report, in the *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung* of 14 April, certainly predicted that the work would enjoy no great success on the larger public stage "despite the many beautiful and delicate melodies which the gifted composer has brought to this work," because it totally lacked dramatic substance. Nevertheless, the general reaction was more positive. The reports that were based on second-hand accounts, including those in *le Ménestrel*, *The Athenæum*, *la France musicale*, the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and *la Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, all spoke of success. The last named added in a second report on 2 May that "the German papers that we receive are all unanimous in confirming this success." These accounts also consistently echo the opinion originally expressed in the *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung* concerning the excellent and beautiful melodies to be found in the work.²⁹

For the most part, the first-hand accounts also attest to a success, although they naturally provide some important details and qualifications. The reviewer for the *Leipzig Signale* gives a capsule history of the operetta and judges its music as "throughout charming, graceful and subtle in its inventiveness and thereby very grateful for the voice." He notes that the newly added numbers were among the most effective and gives particular praise to Lassen for the orchestration. On 9 May *le Ménestrel* carried a fairly lengthy report signed "P.R." The author begins with short histories of Pauline Viardot and the operetta, and adds a few words about Turgenev. In commenting specifically on the Weimar production and performances, he reports Liszt's praise for the talents of the composer and makes special mention once again of Lassen's orchestration. The success of the whole enterprise was, he concludes, "indubitable." Only then does he admit that his information is derived from a "very knowledgeable" private correspondent who, nonetheless, felt obliged to affirm that his report was "strictly accurate." As if to lend corroboration, *le Ménestrel* then adds a lengthy extract from the review published in the *Weimarische Zeitung*.²⁹

A different note was struck by F.B. in *Die deutsche Schaubühne*, though *Der letzte Zauberer* fared far from worst in his unremittingly negative coverage of theatre in Weimar during the month of April. F.B. dismisses the performance of *Richard III*, recalling with fond memories a production done by Dingelstedt for the Shakespeare tercentenary in 1864. He savages Lassen's *Der Gefangene* mercilessly, primarily—but by no means exclusively—for its libretto. He was also irked by Turgenev's libretto; consequently, one is then surprised to read his overall assessment of *Der letzte Zauberer* as "the poetically inspired, occasionally even exciting work of an amateur, which makes a greater impression the more unpretentiously and modestly it manifests itself in its external form—as an operetta."³⁰

The most detailed analysis of the operetta is found in two reviews by A. W. Gottschalg, a prominent Weimar organist; the first was published in the *Weimarische Zeitung* of 24 April, the second in the *Leipzig Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* on 14 May. Gottschalg found a number of similarities between *Der*

Gefangene and *Der letzte Zauberer*. He affirms that both works were well-received by the audience. Musically, he had a slight preference for Lassen's opera, but credited both works with "noble melodies, interesting rhythms and harmony." Specifically of Pauline's music he adds that it is "a happy mixture of delicate humour, charming sentimentalism and piquant coquettishness, with attractive and (as is to be expected from this mistress of singing) highly singable melodies and lively, lilting rhythms." Here as elsewhere, Lassen's instrumentation receives the highest praise: "the auspicious success" of the operetta, says Gottschalg (this time in the *Weimarische Zeitung*) was "an acknowledgement of the irresistible charm of the musical composition, the melodic, harmonic and rhythmic charms of which have been brought into even clearer focus by the superlative orchestration." In discussing Lassen's opera, Gottschalg lamented the fact that it was difficult "to avoid minor reminiscences of other works and to maintain complete originality." He notes that Pauline's music also is "not always original" (in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* he suggests that one can detect the influence principally of Mendelssohn), but adds that the "always fresh and vital melodies and characteristic, often biting, rhythms" are "sometimes willing to caress the text, sometimes drawing it on and chasing it forward [...]." All in all, says Gottschalg, "it is a highly worthy work for a woman!"³¹

What problems *Der letzte Zauberer* had were blamed mainly on the libretto. Turgenev himself expressed his awareness of the fact that a "libretto, written for the salon and suited to it, might appear excessively naïve, almost childish, insufficiently developed; the change of a frame in which a picture is placed often changes the picture itself." F.B. condemned the text, wrongly claiming that it had been hastily cobbled together for music already composed, without regard for its dramatic viability; he also noted (astutely, but negatively) that the characters were parodied from Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Gottschalg showed more subtlety and discernment: in an age when opera had largely moved to through-composition and Wagner was talking of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, it is not surprising that Gottschalg felt that an excess of dialogue over music was a common fault, all the more noticeable in shorter operatic forms. He does detect some boring and trivial elements in the text and suggests that the work might have been better shortened into a single act. At the same time, Gottschalg was conscious of the problems that arose from the translations. He was obviously acquainted with the original texts of both *Der Gefangene* (translated by the local Weimar poet Peter Cornelius from a French play by Eugène Cormon) and *Der letzte Zauberer*, for he notes that "both libretti have been shorn of much of the graceful wit found in the originals and have thereby become burdened with much lead-weighted lumbering triviality." His complaint about the translation, however, is not one of insufficient attention to the merits of the original, or of incompetence; it is not even so much that he considers the salon nature of the original to be inappropriate for the larger stage (as had the *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung*). Rather, he sees here a fundamental cultural difference between the French *conte de fées* and the German *Kunstmärchen*, a difference that made excessive demands of an audience that did not possess the cosmopolitanism of the select Baden audiences:

the characters of the fairy tale, even down to their names, strike us as something foreign, cold, more or less incomprehensible, at the very least totally alien to our sympathies, and considerable qualifications are required of the spectator, e.g., a fair degree of abstraction, the ability to make a mental reverse translation so to speak, in order to warm up to these characters and their deeds and activities.³²

Astutely, Gottschalg pinpointed the chasm between French and German culture which reflected the fundamental divergence in national postures, characteristics and goals. This divergence was to lead—in just over a year—to the Franco-Prussian War.

INTERLUDE

To this day, one of the most controversial pieces in the entire body of Turgenev's works remains the account that he wrote about the Weimar production of *le Dernier Sorcier*. Through the offices of his ever-faithful friend Pavel Annenkov, this was published in the newspaper *Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti* on 23 April (5 May) 1869 under the title "Pervoe predstavlenie opery g-ži Viardot v Weimare" [A First Presentation of Mme Viardot's Opera in Weimar]. A predictable result was the immediate appearance of a caricature in the satirical journal *Budil'nik*, under the title "Poslednij mel'nik-koldun' (Opera)" [The Last Miller-Sorcerer (An Opera)], accompanied by a little verse:

*The life of a miller used to be good:
He weaves his magic—and old wives exclaim...
But what kind of life do we lead now?
Take my case—
Not even spirits could save me!*¹

Even friends were scandalized by what they saw as simple puffery for Pauline Viardot. Nor did Turgenev deny this allegation, while defending his actions vehemently: "it is an advertisement for something that I consider to be beautiful. But to consider *tactless* the fact that for the *first time* in a twenty-five-year friendship I mention the name of Mme Viardot in the context of something that took place in public—that goes beyond even what I would have expected!" Attempts to have a French version of this article published proved completely futile, even though the intermediary was Hetzel (with a *carte blanche* to use the text as he saw fit) and despite Turgenev's willingness to revise his original text in any way Hetzel deemed necessary.²

Past experience should have told Turgenev that news of the Weimar production would reach the Russian and French papers in any case. In both countries the information was based on the published German accounts which were generally favourable on the subject of the music. And even if they were not quite as enthusiastic as he was, Turgenev should have realized that they would carry more weight than anything appearing under his name. Yet his defense shows no awareness that he might have badly miscalculated; even in his last letter to Hetzel on the subject, long after the French press had carried various reports, he blames himself for not having made the piece amusing enough, and repeats: "If some day or other you want to use it in some way, I would say a hearty thankyou to you."³

There can be no doubt that Turgenev's primary purpose was to drum up support for Pauline Viardot as a composer, something in which he passionately believed. He admits as much in the account itself. Quoting Karl Alexander's hope that Pauline's second career, as a composer, would prove as brilliant as her first, he adds: "Therein precisely lay the crux of the matter for all of us who are friends of Mme Viardot." He then proceeds to fulminate against the prejudice that denies "one and the same person's being able to achieve outstanding results in two different fields of endeavour," before launching into what can only be called a diatribe against the Russian public's taste in art song: they prefer, he thunders, the works of "retired staff cavalry captains and faded society ladies [...] who concoct their songlets by ear, picking with one finger on the piano [...]" He openly promotes the Johansen edition of Pauline's songs (though few would have realized the irony of his calling Johansen an "enlightened and enterprising publisher" given the difficulties that he faced in persuading Johansen to continue publishing the edition) and urges the Russian public to buy this "wonderful collection which should be in the possession of every lover of singing."⁴

At the same time, the songs could not have been the sole reason for Turgenev's *feuilleton*, since there is no mention of them in the French text, even though the first (1864) album had also been published in Paris by Gérard in 1866. The canny Annenkov seems to have detected another purpose at the heart of his friend's letter, for he added a note of his own in sending the manuscript to the newspaper. In it, he tries first of all to deflect some of the anticipated criticism by perpetuating the fiction that Turgenev's report was a private letter which he, Annenkov, was sending on

despite its intimate and, so to speak, domestic nature, [as] it will also be not without interest for the general public as the first information about an item of musical news which has received the enthusiastic approbation of Liszt and other experts and on account of the names of its authors [...]

Annenkov then goes on to say that the

opera by Mme Viardot to a text by I. S. Turgenev will probably make the rounds of many European theatres, and it is to be desired that it not bypass Russian ones, if only in order to convince the public of the possibility of combining profound creativity, fresh inspiration, poetry and grace in a work without pretentiousness, without colossal and complex conceptions, without enormous demands on the production and the singers, indeed with not much else.

Turgenev's heartfelt thanks to Annenkov for these comments seem to confirm Annenkov's perspicacity. Only a short time later Turgenev was to use the services of Sir Charles Dilke to send a copy of the score of *le Dernier Sorcier* to Louise Héritte in an attempt to arrange a performance of the operetta in Russia with the assistance of the composer Aleksandr Serov. Furthermore, the vast majority of the minor changes introduced by Turgenev into the rough copy of his "letter to Annenkov" can be categorized as an attempt to emphasize the merits of the music of *le Dernier Sorcier* and the Weimar audience's positive reactions to it. Similar hopes of a performance in France might have prompted Turgenev to write also to Hetzel.⁵

There is, however, another important aspect of Turgenev's report, namely the lengthy section in which he describes his reactions to the town of Weimar itself. That this section was of some considerable significance to Turgenev is shown by the fact that not only did he expand it quite considerably in the rough draft of the Russian version, but when he revised his original letter to Hetzel by shortening it (omitting, for example, the lengthy description of the operetta itself), he kept the entire text devoted to his peregrinations through Weimar (excluding only his visit to the theatre), something that, on the surface, might seem to have been particularly expendable.⁶ Turgenev's comments on Weimar thus represent an important *apologia* of his profound admiration for, and debt to, German culture. Such an *apologia* would have had different targets in Russia and in France, but would have been equally appropriate in both versions of the text.

In Russia, as a result of his 1867 novel *Dym*, Turgenev had become widely perceived as anti-Russian and thoroughly "Germanized." Certainly he has no qualms about identifying Weimar as "the German Athens," or himself as a "dyed-in-the-wool admirer of Goethe," but at the same time he is at pains to show that he did not accept blindly everything he found in Weimar. He finds the town itself far from attractive. He disparages Goethe's schoolboy taste in art, while praising the Grand Ducal collection of drawings. He notes that while the statue of Goethe and Schiller is a model of how to sculpt, that of Wieland is a model of how not to. He pointedly recounts a story of how Goethe and the Grand Duke Karl August spent a whole morning cracking whips, thereby shocking bourgeois expectations of seriousness in both poet and monarch—so much so, Turgenev added in the French text, that the poet Klopstock formally protested to Goethe and broke relations with him. Even his attack on the Karlsruhe theatre company for its "wilting artificiality [and] senectuous mediocrity"—given the context in which it is contrasted with the freshness and talent of the Weimar troupe—suggests an attempt to show artistic discrimination rather than pure spite, however ironic such an attack proved to be in the light of what happened to *le Dernier Sorcier* in Karlsruhe a few months later.⁷

Turgenev's target in France must have been different, since painting himself as a carefully discriminating admirer of only the best in German culture would scarcely have interested French readers. In his references to Shakespeare as the greatest poet of modern times, to the achievements of the

classical culture of Germany and to the great art of Italy and Flanders, the absence of any French name is striking and would seem to reflect Turgenev's occasional frustration at the cultural chauvinism and downright ignorance of foreign cultures that he found prevalent in much of the French intelligentsia. Perhaps it was this as much as the element of advertising that precluded the publication of Turgenev's account of the Weimar performance in France.

Chapter IV

1869 — BADEN-BADEN

The Théâtre Viardot

Turgenev returned from Weimar to Karlsruhe on 13 April. Some days later he moved back to a Baden full of greenery and blossoms, accompanied by the Viardot family, who lodged with him for a while pending a thorough cleaning of their own house. He immediately set about writing his account of the Weimar performances for Annenkov and Hetzel, and his letters to various correspondents all speak of the success of—and his own satisfaction with—the Weimar enterprise.¹

In the meantime, construction on the Viardots' theatre was continuing at Baden's customary snail's pace, and Turgenev and Pauline were working on a new operetta, *le Miroir* [The Mirror]. On 1 June Turgenev wrote to Pietsch suggesting optimistically that the *première* might be towards the end of the month—"if all goes well." His optimism proved sadly misplaced as he himself became the victim of an attack that proved to be gout affecting his heart, and Pauline Viardot spent some time confined to bed with a severe cold. By 20 June however, Pauline had reinstated her Sunday *matinées* and Turgenev was talking of a postponed *première* for *le Miroir*, tentatively planned for 10 August.² Four days later, the completed part of one of the principal rôles, that of Babakhan, the Prime Minister of Gulistan, was dispatched to Maximilian Fredro. Fredro, an artist and occasional playwright, was a friend of Anton Rubinstein through whom, it is assumed, he made the acquaintance of the Viardots and Turgenev. By 1869 he was on close friendly terms with them and a habitué of the Viardot *soirées* in Karlsruhe. The part was sent to him in Weimar, but some time later he was back in Baden for rehearsals.³

Despite such strong circumstantial evidence, there appears to be no firm information as to whether and when *le Miroir* might have been performed. If a performance did take place, it is likely to have been on 18 July in celebration of Pauline's birthday. That day a number of Pauline's students, came to the Viardot villa to perform an early morning birthday *aubade*, conducted by Brahms. Contrary to her usual practice, the châtelaine was not up early. After the performance Brahms made his way into the house through a window and let the singers in to deposit their bouquets, where they were surprised by Pauline, come to investigate because Louis had thought that one of the dogs had been baying. It would appear that there was a more conventional performance later that day.⁴ There certainly was an operetta performance that evening, but in his letter to Claudie, who was "taking the sea air" in Trouville, Turgenev does not name the work (presumably Claudie would have

known). Indeed, Turgenev himself had probably been able to attend only with considerable difficulty (and definitely would have been unable to participate) as a result of a particularly violent attack of gout the night before that left him unable to put any weight on his foot for several days. Of course, he would have had himself carried anywhere for such an occasion, particularly so if the occasion had been the *première* of *le Miroir*. The performance itself was a success and Turgenev reported that Mesdemoiselles Bury and von Asten had made a particular impression.⁵

Shortly after the 18 July performance, plans were being made for the official inauguration of the new theatre. On 26 July Turgenev reported to the still absent Claudie that the decision had been made to do *le Dernier Sorcier*. This choice was undoubtedly influenced by the fact that the production could be on a grander scale than had previously been possible, since the theatre had a small orchestra "pit," but—whether by accident or design—it also happened that many of those who in the past had been involved with this operetta were to be in Baden in the first part of August. The Eckerts were visiting from Berlin; Feodor von Milde was singing in a concert at the Conversations-Haus on 5 August. Part of his programme included *Lieder* by Lassen, who was on hand to accompany him. Also taking part in that concert was Pauline's "cousin-in-law" Hubert Léonard. The crusty Henry Chorley, whose flaming physiognomy Turgenev found uglier than ever, was visiting from England, as was Manuel Garcia. Manuel had not been expected until the middle of the month, but he arrived early and, true to his reputation as a practical joker, turned up at the Viardot villa dressed as a woman to surprise his sister.⁶

In addition to their formal concerts, the visitors were joined by various local musicians, including Brahms, in frequent private music-making that featured several chamber works by Brahms, as well as in expeditions to other concerts and plays. At a gathering in the Viardot villa on 8 August, Turgenev read the text of *le Miroir*; Milde then sang the Krakamiche arias from *le Dernier Sorcier* and was joined by Pauline, her cousin Antonia and Manuel for the quartet from that operetta. Three days later, the Karlsruhe company was in Baden for one of its weekly visits with a performance of Mozart's *Die Hochzeit von Figaro* [The Marriage of Figaro]; according to Milde, it was only later that same night that the final decision was made to inaugurate the theatre on 13 August.⁷

The theatre had been designed by the local architect F. Th. Fischer. It was built at the foot of the incline at the extreme eastern end of the Viardot property—closest to the town of Baden—and adjacent to the Art Gallery-cum-Concert Hall, to which it was later joined by a connecting room that became a second gallery. As usual, for a detailed description we can rely on Pietsch:

A few wide steps lead from the gravelled forecourt in front up to the vestibule, open to the outside and surmounted by a gable with an ornamental relief in burnt clay, with its two arches separated by a column. [...] Having penetrated into the hall through the dark, heavy velvet curtains of the two

entrance doors, one sees a relatively high auditorium that is brightly and agreeably lit by numerous candles in the chandelier that hangs from the ceiling [...] To a height of one metre above the floor that slopes gently down to the orchestra area, the walls are covered in dark wainscoting above which extend plain areas divided by red pilaster bands. Bordering the ceiling, which inclines upwards at an obtuse angle, one can read in gold lettering the names of the greatest playwrights and composers.

Thanks to the extensive use of wood, the acoustics were excellent, but the auditorium itself, some 7.5 metres wide by 7 metres long (with another 1.5 metres for the orchestra pit) was rather small, as Turgenev noted in his report to Claudie. The stage area was a further 7 by 7 metres square.⁹

Since Claudie was still absent, "her" part of the Queen of the Elves was taken by Marie Hausmann (a student of Pauline who was about to begin her career at the theatre at Karlsruhe), while Anna von Asten sang Stella, eliciting praise from both Turgenev and Milde. Marianne revived her rôle as Verveine, but as Paul was also away from home, *Perlimpinpin* was to be sung by Manuel. However, his best efforts to learn the part—and Turgenev notes that it is not at all difficult—proved futile, so the arrival of Paul was greeted with great relief and his performance was such as to add Milde to the long list of admirers of his comic talent. As if to make up for his deficiency, Manuel was otherwise "very active, was solicitous of everything, shot around the stage like a rocket, setting a lamp to right here and a piece of scenery there, in short all action and fire." Even Louis took an active part once again, "directing the production and acting as a prompter."

The gathering of musical talent in the pit would have done many a professional house proud. A quartet of string players was presumably led by Léonard, *Herr Hofkapellmeister* Lassen played the wind parts on the piano, Jeanne Pohl (whom Liszt had once appointed to the Weimar orchestra on the recommendation of Berlioz) played the harp while, for once, her husband emerged from his rôle as spectator and critic to play the cymbals and triangle. *Herr Kapellmeister* Eckert conducted.

Despite the presence of Milde, it was Turgenev who took the part of Krakamiche. The production would have been in French and Milde knew only the discredited German text. However, it was simple enough to learn Krakamiche's sung parts in French, and so came about the famous occasion when Milde sang from the wings while Turgenev mimed these pieces on stage—"very dramatically" according to Milde—to the enormous enthusiasm of the audience and the satisfaction of the two principals.

Pauline Viardot also revived her rôle as Lelio and the gathered family, friends, musical collaborators and admirers used the occasion to honour her upon her entrance on stage with such a shower of "flowers and garlands [...]"

that the mound of flowers, which remained lying for the entire first act, incommoded the players." The entire performance was judged a great success and the second-act duet between Lelio and Stella had to be repeated.'

Strangely enough, the local press seems to have ignored this joyous occasion and only faint echoes appeared elsewhere—and that after a considerable delay. The *Neue Berliner Zeitung* reported this "undoubtedly unique" event more than a month later, noting in particular that "Herr v. Milde of Weimar performed the arias of the only male rôle [...] in the wings, while Turgenieff mouthed every syllable separately on stage and represented every single expression and movement with consummate artistry, even keeping his mouth open and holding his breath during runs, as if he were the singer. A more comic effect, and one which moreover was completely novel, cannot be imagined." This account was picked up on 7 October by *le Guide musical*, which, noting that the audience was privy to the deception, could not avoid adding editorially that it was an innovation "which can be recommended to theatre directors who find themselves in a spot."¹⁰

The evening ended traditionally with a supper at the Viardot villa for the performers, joined on this occasion by two members of the audience, Ernst Naumann and Johannes Brahms. This was almost certainly the first time that Brahms had heard *le Dernier Sorcier*. It would appear to have made a considerable impression on him, for it led to his collaboration with both of the authors. The abortive idea of his writing an opera to a libretto by Turgenev (the project failed to get beyond a scenario) no doubt dates from around this time, and early in September he began to write the *Alt-Rhapsodie* (op. 53) which was to have its first public performance, conducted by Naumann, in Jena on 3 March 1870 with Pauline Viardot singing the alto solo. More immediately however, Brahms undertook to conduct a performance of *le Dernier Sorcier* himself and, in fact, did so some ten days after the inauguration, probably on 24 August. No details are known of this event; the on-stage performers were probably much the same, although Milde had left Baden-Baden and Claudie had returned, so perhaps she resumed her rôle. Brahms conducted from the piano.¹¹

To what extent the theatre was put to good use apart from these two performances of *le Dernier Sorcier* is unknown. Turgenev's letters fall largely silent on the subject of the operettas, although he had earlier written to Claudie that it was intended to stage individual scenes from operas in the theatre. The arrival in Baden of Queen Augusta on 10 September, however, immediately produced a request for an operetta performance in the new theatre. Perhaps because Marie Hasselmans was visiting, it was decided to revive *Trop de femmes* for the occasion, but it was extensively revised and enlarged to suit the location. New music was added, and each of Pauline's students was given the opportunity to sing a song of her own choice and nationality in the "competition" scene (Pietsch reports that there was even a Japanese song!). Marie Hasselmans once again played Arthur, the rôle that

she had created, the three younger Viardot children also took their familiar parts, Turgenev played the Pasha, and Pauline Viardot directed from the piano.

This performance seems to have taken place on 26 September. It was followed by what was to be the last Royal Command performance in honour of the birthday of the Prussian Crown Prince on 15 October; it was also almost certainly the last performance of one of the Viardot—Turgenev operettas on the stage of the Théâtre Viardot. We do not know which work was performed on this occasion.¹²

Chapter V

1870 — ANNEE CLIMATERIQUE (1)

"The Karlsruhe Affair"

Perhaps surprisingly, Turgenev was a superstitious man who believed quite seriously in the concept of *années climateriques* in his own life.¹ Such a "climacteric" or "critical" year certainly befell *le Dernier Sorcier* in 1870. It was a year that witnessed more public performances (four) of the operetta than any other, but also failed attempts to stage the work in a number of cities. Furthermore, the public performances aroused not only adverse criticism in the press, but actually some hostility directed personally against the authors. Ironically, a work which began life, at least in part, as a parody of the contemporary French political scene—in the person of Napoleon III—came to be seen as a parody of what some fanatically considered the highest achievement of German culture—the operas of Wagner.

Given Turgenev's assertion that Pauline Viardot had kept aloof from the Karlsruhe company throughout the winter of 1868-69 while living there, and that neither she nor he had kept secret their adverse opinion of Eduard Devrient, the director of the Court Theatre there, the decision to perform *Der letzte Zauberer* (for it was in the Weimar "version" that it was to be given) might seem somewhat unexpected. However, it was not a decision of the Director, but a directive from the court that brought *Der letzte Zauberer* to the Karlsruhe stage. Both Grand Duke Friedrich and Grand Duchess Luise had attended the Baden performances of the operettas on a number of occasions, and Turgenev claimed that it was the Grand Duke who was instrumental in bringing about the Karlsruhe performance. The Baden *Badeblatt* suggests that the success of the Weimar production prompted the Grand Duchess to express the "august wish" to see it in Karlsruhe. Regardless of which noble spouse was responsible, Devrient would certainly have resented such interference in "his" affairs.²

A member of one of Germany's most distinguished theatrical families, Eduard Devrient (1801-1877) came to Karlsruhe at the invitation of the then Crown Prince Friedrich in 1852. He was the first "professional" to be appointed Director of one of the Court Theatres, a post that was usually reserved for courtiers. An idealist with a strong sense of mission for the theatre, he favoured a conservative repertoire designed to educate and inspire the audience culturally. (He refused, for example, even to consider a popular work like Gounoud's opera *Faust*, on the grounds that it was intrinsically a

travesty of a classic of German culture.) Indeed, as some of his arguments over opera with Hermann Levi show, Devrient would always give precedence to dramatic considerations, even to the detriment of musical ones.³

After eighteen years as Artistic Director in Karlsruhe, Devrient was a tired man and 1869 had been a particularly difficult year for him. In April, he had been attacked in an anonymous pamphlet entitled "Herr Eduard Devrient und sein Stil" which had even been delivered to members of the theatre company. He had been quite seriously ill twice, and was feeling so frustrated that he had actually considered an offer from Stuttgart to become Director of the Court Theatre there; this had exacerbated some of the tensions with Grand Duke Friedrich and led to his decision to retire. In fact, relations with the Grand Duke had not been uniformly smooth throughout his tenure. Having been assured in writing at the time of his appointment that it was he who had the authority for the artistic and administrative direction of the Court Theatre, he suffered frequent interference from the court. In terms of the repertoire, such interference meant, for example, the regular production of the latest Wagner opera in Karlsruhe, despite Devrient's antipathy both to the music and to the man, and expenditures that went considerably beyond what the somewhat tight-fisted Grand Duke was normally prepared to countenance. Interference in personnel matters frequently undermined the principle Devrient adopted in Karlsruhe of an ensemble company in which everything—including people—was subordinated to the "overall interests of a harmonic total effect," a principle that reflected his life-long antipathy to virtuoso individualism on stage and the "star" system of invited guests. In this approach to the direction of the Karlsruhe theatre, Devrient was, of course, running counter to the entire tenor of Pauline Viardot's career, and he strongly resented the fact that pressure was not infrequently exerted on him from above to consider Pauline's pupils for his company.⁴

Devrient had first heard Pauline Viardot in the late 1840s. He found her voice detestable, but her acting superb and profound. After the Viardots' move to Baden, Pauline did appear a number of times as a guest in Karlsruhe, and in 1868 her pupil Aglaia Orgeni made three very successful guest appearances. Shortly afterwards, apparently under some direct pressure from the Grand Duke, Magdalene Murjahn was taken into the company where she rapidly became (in the words of *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*) "a favourite with the public." She was joined for the 1869/70 season by another of Pauline's pupils, Marie Hausmann.⁵

As early as 1863, Devrient had travelled to Baden in order to discuss plans with Pauline Viardot for the possible establishment of an official Singing Academy, an idea which came to nothing. He met Turgenev at the Villa Viardot on that occasion, but notes in his diary that the now white-haired author had actually visited the Devrient house on several occasions, though that had been in Berlin, nearly twenty-five years earlier, while Turgenev had been a student at Berlin University. It is inconceivable that Devrient and Turgenev would not have met again during Turgenev's Baden years, either during the regular visits of the Karlsruhe company to Baden, or in Karlsruhe itself. For all Turgenev's later public denigration of Devrient's theatre, the fact

remains that he wrote the vaudeville "Une nuit à l'Auberge du Grand Sanglier" [A Night at the Great Boar Inn] especially for that company, although it is not known whether the work was ever translated into German or performed. During the winter Turgenev spent in Karlsruhe, the two men would certainly have met in society. According to Devrient's diary, Turgenev was introduced into the local Literary Society on 14 December 1868 by Hermann Levi. On that occasion, Devrient notes, Turgenev discoursed on Russia, on the beauty of its language, and on the emancipation of the serfs. Later Levi and Devrient argued about Wagner's *Die Meistersinger*; one could almost see Turgenev more favourably disposed to the Karlsruhe Theatre Director, if not because of his predilection for some of Turgenev's favourite playwrights (such as Shakespeare or Calderón), then for his antipathy to Wagner, Turgenev's musical *bête-noir*, to whom he was wont to refer as a "splenetic eunuch."⁶

On 6 January 1870, *le Guide musical* published a report from Karlsruhe announcing that *Der letzte Zauberer* was being prepared for the local theatre thanks to the particular interest in it of the grand ducal family, that a number of pieces had been added (most notably a coloratura aria for Magdalene Murjahn who was singing Stella), and that a number of Pauline's other students would be taking part. This report actually appeared before final arrangements had been made. Only the next day did Devrient write to Pauline Viardot to confirm that, at Pauline's express request, the Grand Duke had granted his "august permission" for her to sing the part of Lelio herself. This information also rapidly became public with reports in *le Ménestrel* and *le Guide musical*.⁷

It was "far from being a fiasco, nor did I hear any hissing," Turgenev subsequently insisted to Pietsch, though he also admitted that "no one received a curtain call and the applause was scanty." The first of the two Karlsruhe performances took place on 28 January. As usual, it constituted the second half of a double bill, this time following a one-act farce entitled *Nord und Süd* [North and South] by Charles Narrey, a minor but prolific French author of vaudevilles and farces. As announced, Magdalene Murjahn sang the part of Stella; Marie Hausmann was the Queen of the Elves, Karl Brulliot played Krakamiche and Devrient's thirty-two year old son Otto played Perlimpinpin; Hermann Levi conducted. In addition to the new Act II "Romanze" ("Je rêve un jour"—Turgenev once again wrote the original in French), at least some of the melodramas were converted into sung arias.⁸

For Eduard Devrient, it must have been a somewhat difficult occasion. That very morning he had attended his last meeting to discuss repertoire; that evening he and his wife Therese attended the Karlsruhe theatre for the last time in his tenure as Artistic Director. His diary entry reflects both his pride in "his" theatre, as well as some of the acerbity of his aesthetic judgements:

The opera "Der letzte Zauberer" was exemplary as regards direction, décor and performance; la Viardot herself, with her

cacophonous voice, was the only discordant element. Otto had devised a delightful character for his giant-become-dwarf. The composition shows much character and expressiveness, but the tasteless emptiness of the text permitted only scanty applause. Ultimately their friends were clever enough to refrain from any manifestation, otherwise there would have been hissing.⁹

Initial reports in the national musical press, in the *Signale* and the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, merely stated that "Der letzte Zauberer" had in fact been performed.¹⁰ Then came news that the reception of this performance "before a packed house and in the presence of the Court" had been "disappointing," and that the operetta had suffered an "unpropitious fate: the magic did not want to work."¹¹ The local reaction, however, was much more intense—and adverse.

The first report appeared the day after the first performance in a local publication called *Didaskalia*. It was quoted a few days later in a new Leipzig musical weekly, *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, and concluded with the comment: "Unfortunately we must report a total failure. The high expectations were in no respect satisfied. The applause, which was weak from the beginning, gradually diminished and ended in a perceptible hissing."¹²

Other local papers were equally dismissive. The *Badische Landeszeitung* published a review on 1 February in which the principal attack was directed against the libretto. The plot of the operetta was derisively recounted in mock detail and was then followed by musings about its possible significance. Two alternatives were facetiously suggested: since the fairies ultimately triumph over the sorcerer, either magic is an exclusively female domain, or—given the work's international authorship (the reviewer mentions Russia, Germany, France and, for some inexplicable reason, Italy), as well as the presence in Berlin at that moment of a Chinese delegation—there was some mysterious, "high diplomatic" meaning to it all. There are certain things, the reviewer suggests, "that a critic cannot discuss seriously"; finally, he notes in passing that "much that is laudatory" could be said about the music, the singing, the guest artist and the local performers. One is only led to wonder, he concludes, why "an artist, whose successes during her artistic career were the result of creations of an intensely poetic inspiration, should, at the twilight of her professional pursuits, retain so naïve a sentiment as to be able to enter into the simplemindedness of a nursery." The final comment—"We must not conceal the fact that the operetta was conducted to the grave with hissing from a house in which all the seats were filled"—must have been calculated to dissuade those supporters of Devrient's policy of high seriousness and artistic import in the theatre who had not yet been dismayed, from attending the second performance of *Der letzte Zauberer* that evening. Pauline Viardot saw the obvious wisdom of withdrawing—her place was taken by Amalie Boni—and, ironically, the companion piece on this occasion was a one-act

comedy by Gustav von Pülitz entitled *Unerträglich* [Intolerable].¹³

The public reaction also appears to have been heated, and rumours abounded. Turgenev recounts the story of how he was accosted on the street by an army officer, indignant at the enormous sums purportedly paid to Turgenev, Pauline Viardot and Pohl while Devrient's policies constantly deprived him of the best—and most expensive—tenor of the day. A newspaper campaign was waged over the bringing of the operetta to Baden. The Karlsruhe newspaper *Badischer Beobachter* published a letter from an anonymous reader in Baden who remarked that "the oft repeated observation of genuine connoisseurs of Art has once again been confirmed here: that the most famous writers can write nonsense, the most excellent singers can write ear-splitting music. We are now eager to see if it is also intended to favour the Municipal Theatre here with this novelty [...]" No doubt the anonymous reader knew the answer only too well. The Baden *Badeblatt* of the very next day carried an advertisement for the regular weekly visit by the Karlsruhe Theatre company announcing the 18th presentation of their season, consisting of the one-act comedy *Der letzte Trumpf* [The Final Trump] by Alexander Wilhelmi, to be followed by *Der letzte Zauberer*. In order to counter the "mixed, partly adverse, criticism" that the operetta had met in Karlsruhe, the paper precedes the advertisement with an article that briefly recounts the humble domestic origins of this "in no respect provocative" work, the libretto of which would undoubtedly have been more sophisticated, had Turgenev intended it for the stage of Court Theatres. The readers are reminded that it is, after all, an operetta, and that it had never had any pretensions at being an epoch-making work; but the music "even if not particularly original and absorbing, is nonetheless melodious, graceful, well-fashioned and singable, in no respect trite or affected, and splendidly orchestrated." Furthermore the production and performance, says the paper, can only be described as "superb."¹⁴

The most deprecatory criticism of the Karlsruhe production, and the one which has undoubtedly coloured all subsequent assessments of *le Dernier Sorcier*, was written by an anonymous Karlsruhe reviewer, but it appeared in the influential Leipzig paper *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* on 9 February. Commenting on the success enjoyed by both Murjahn and Hausmann, the reviewer goes on to note that:

It is a great pity that such splendid talents have to be connected with works such as the opera *Der letzte Zauberer* by Frau Viardot-Garcia, text by Ivan Turgenev, German translation by R. Pohl. The production and the performance were as good as is altogether possible with our forces. At the first performance, the composer herself appeared in the rôle of the young lovesick hunter. Nothing but silence is appropriate not only for the impression that this artist, who was justly fêted decades ago, now makes, but also for the text and music of the entire work.

The potentially contentious nature of these comments prompted the editor to comment that "all other reports that we have seen, are also in accord that the failure of this feminine opera was complete."¹⁵

The degree of animosity evidenced in some of the reports from Karlsruhe suggests that more was at work than simply a theatrical flop. Writing to Pietsch, Turgenev provides a rather varied assortment of "factors":

the hostile attitude of old Devrient, about whose administration Mme Viardot and I were plain-spoken—the envious feelings of the remaining theatre personnel, particularly of Hauser as a singing teacher—friction as a result of Mme Viardot's having remained aloof from them all last winter, jealousy at the favour manifested by the Court, habitual opposition to the Grand Duke, who actually pushed the thing through—and above all disdainful disparagement of *foreigners* and their presumptuousness [...]

Turgenev's assessment would seem to imply a deliberate attempt on the part of Devrient and the opera company to sabotage the production, something that is not apparent from either Devrient's diary or from the reports of the efforts put into the production and performance. At the same time, the plea of the *Baden Badblatt* to give the work a fair, "impartial" hearing, suggests that there was at least some organized opposition to the operetta and that this contributed to the degree of its failure.¹⁶

An accusation of a cabal against *Der letzte Zauberer* was, in fact, explicitly made in a second article on the Karlsruhe production in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* published on 23 February 1870. The editor once again provided a note, explaining that this was the report of a "correspondent known to us to good advantage," which had been submitted "only 'in the interests of truth'," and adding that at least it provided a different perspective from that of the consensus of other reports. This report not only seeks to rehabilitate both music and libretto—without making extravagant claims for either—but it speaks of a deliberate and well-organized attempt at sabotage on the part of "certain circles," to the extent that "dark rumours" circulated even before the operetta went into rehearsal. During the performance itself, the report goes on, the lack of response was the result of a particular group in the audience which maintained a "meaningful polite silence" after each number in pointed opposition to the applause;

only just before the end of the piece, after the principal protagonists (including Mme Viardot herself) had left the stage, did those who were silent given any sign of life, in that

some individuals tried to curb the applause that was breaking out, which would have been justified in and of itself inasmuch as the music, which is unbroken at this point, was obscured by the applause for several bars.

Similarly, the "precipitate" reports in the press of a "complete failure," of the "rapid dying away of an applause that was weak from the very beginning" and of "audible hissing" were attributed to intrigue. "The truth is that Turgenev has created a delightful fairy story to which Mme Viardot has composed charming music that found merited approbation in all fair-minded persons." Of the text, the report says briefly that

the whole is sustained in a genuine imaginative fairy-tale tone, [...] the merry scenes proceed with a lively humour and [...] there is no trace of the "naturalistic pranks" that were denounced in one of the censorious accounts, on the contrary the merriment is continually kept within the bounds of a refined taste.

The assessment of the music is even more positive. Responding to charges that the music was "occasionally studied," the reviewer notes that "the boundary of what is beautiful is not crossed" even in those few places which "are harmonized with somewhat modern liberties," adding:

It is a long way from the liberties that are permitted in this day and age to the experiments of the "New German School." Seen from these few places, it is precisely the now so seldom encountered unpretentiousness of the music which constitutes its intrinsic charm. Always finely conceived, sometimes impish, sometimes full of profound feeling, it knows how to say much with simple means and how to maintain us in the realm of agreeable delights. Some of the songs are of so tender a warmth that one feels tempted to believe that only a woman's feelings could have conceived them. One experiences such an effect in the first, immensely lively Chorus of Elves. [...] In the "Sorcerer" the elves jest and laugh all at once as playfully as happy children. It is as if an imaginative woman, when she sets elfen songs to music, can really believe in the existence of an elfen realm, something of which we men are no longer capable.

Although the reviewer mentions no one by name, references to the

"ominous hostilities of the present day" point a clear finger at the origins of the rancour:

It would almost seem to appear that a party that has in very recent times brandished its black bat-wings everywhere with frenzied exertion, has caught the scent of unpleasant allusions in the libretto that was already known from Weimar and Baden-Baden, and as a precaution let out the word that the whole thing must be explained as absolutely meaningless rubbish. It is true that in several scenes one can scarcely restrain the notion of certain parallels; but nobody has the right to hold responsible the creator of a work that is at no point abusive.¹⁷

The reference is clear; only Richard Wagner was capable of provoking passions of anything like this intensity, and when one ventures into the murky waters that swirled around Wagner, a number of contacts with the principals in the "Karlsruhe affair" (as Pietsch called it) emerge.

Devrient made no secret of his opposition to Wagner's operas and to the man personally. Hermann Levi was, of course, an ardent partisan of Wagner; despite certain difficulties resulting from his being a Jew, he was even to conduct the 1882 *première* of *Parsifal* at Bayreuth. But it was chiefly pressure from the Grand Ducal court that accounted for the relatively prominent place Wagner's operas had in the Karlsruhe repertoire. Like so many others, Devrient found the composer to have "a thoroughly sinister character" and to be impossible to work with. The operas were not only expensive, but enormously difficult to mount; suitable singers were often impossible to find, and postponements proved all too frequently necessary. The depth of his dislike for the music itself is clearly evident from his assessment of *Die Meistersinger* as "a tormented, self-contradictory and boring monster, palmed off and forced upon the stupidity of the world with dazzling effrontery. The fact that it has achieved dissemination is a question of fashion, like chignons or Chinese dresses; nobody considers them beautiful, but everybody wears them." Eventually the personal antagonism between Devrient and Wagner spilled out into public postures. On 8 March 1869, Wagner published (this time under his own name) a revised edition of his notorious pamphlet *Das Judentum in der Musik* [Jews in Music]. Devrient considered the pamphlet a barely comprehensible pack of falsehoods, and his own publication of his memoirs of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy that same year was seen in many quarters as a direct rebuke to Wagner, a perception that was reinforced by the appearance and dissemination of the Wagner pamphlet aimed directly at Devrient, *Herr Eduard Devrient und sein Stil*.¹⁸

Wagner's anti-Jewish pamphlet also had its link with Pauline Viardot. Its first (anonymous) edition, published in 1850, was provoked at least in part as a result of his having seen Meyerbeer's *le Prophète* in which Pauline was

starring. In fact, in secret from her husband and much to Turgenev's chagrin, Pauline was a keen admirer of Wagner's music. Her reactions on hearing *Die Meistersinger* prompted her to write an enthusiastic letter in its praise to Wagner early in February 1869. She was rewarded with a copy of the score of this work from the composer inscribed with the words "der Meistersängerin Mme Viardot" [To the Master Singer Mme Viardot]. The publication of the second edition of the *Das Judentum* pamphlet less than a month later prompted a second letter from Pauline, this time a letter of protest. Wagner's response was typical and predictable. Pauline's attitude was immediately ascribed to the fact that she had to be Jewish! An answer was prepared by Cosima, which Richard then copied out in his own hand and dispatched. That Pauline's letter was not a secret—and that Wagner's reaction was fully anticipated—is clear from a letter of 22 March to Pauline from Levi.¹⁹

All sources agree, however, that in the case of *Der letzte Zauberer* in Karlsruhe the principal attack was directed against Turgenev's libretto—interestingly, and in distinction to the case in Weimar, not against the translation by Pohl, whose life-long enthusiasm for Wagner's music was, of course, well-known. It was also common knowledge among Turgenev's acquaintances (even among staunch Wagnerites like Marie Mouchanoff-Kalergis) that Turgenev could not abide Wagner's music. At the end of August 1869 he had travelled to Munich where he had witnessed the fiasco surrounding the dress-rehearsal and the subsequent cancellation of the *première* of Wagner's newest opera, *Das Rheingold* [The Rhine Gold]. It is unlikely that his caustic remarks concerning the potential that these events presented for a "moral-satirico-political" comedy on the model of Aristophanes were confined to letters that he wrote back to Russia. Yet would such views be enough to provoke attacks on his libretto?²⁰ And what of the suggestions that there were clearly discernible allusions to Wagner in the text of *Der letzte Zauberer*? Curiously, if one takes account of the inflamed sensibilities surrounding the subject of Wagner and blithely disregards facts, certain "parallels" between the operetta and *Das Rheingold* may be perceived, even though—given that Turgenev had written his text long before his acquaintance with Wagner's opera—direct allusions were, in fact, impossible. Might not a fanatical partisan have seen some hint of the successive possessors of the Ring—the dwarf Alberich and the giants Fasolt and Fafner—in the giant-turned-dwarf Perlimpinpin? Is there a parallel between the elves teasing Krakamiche (described at length in the *Badische Landeszeitung*), and the teasing of Alberich by the Rhine Maidens? The *Tarnhelm* makes its wearer invisible—far from an unusual phenomenon in mythology—but does not the magic rose in *le Dernier Sorcier* also make Lelio invisible? The price demanded by the giants for building Walhalla is Freia, the goddess whose apples keep the gods so young, just as Krakamiche desperately seeks the magic grass Moly, one of the properties of which is to restore youth. Might not a fanatic see a lampoon of Wogelinde's opening doggerel with its mixture of real words and assonant sound plays ("Weia! Waga! Woge, du Welle, walle zur Wiege! / Wagala weia! Wallala, weiala weia!") in Krakamiche's thunderous spell, which to his consternation produces not an Alberich-like monster, but a

bleating sheep ("Luppola! schibbola! Lux! / Kerement! Zeremetz! Trix! / Schibbola! Luppola! Baba yaga! / Lux! Fux! Trix!")? No one—submits the anonymous correspondent in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*—would be "so narrow-minded [...] as to deny entirely the sense of the fabular that is innate to all of us, or to demand that one be ashamed of it." But if *Der letzte Zauberer*, a tale of fairies and waning magical powers, came to be seen in certain quarters as a travesty of Wagner's teutonic mythology, it would have been enough to provoke a concerted attack on it.²¹

To what extent it may have been a result of personal animosities between the authors and the Karlsruhe Theatre, to what extent the result of a pro-Wagner cabal, to what extent a function of the work itself, or of Pauline Viardot's decision to sing Lelio, or indeed to what extent other, unknown, factors played a rôle, the fact remains that the Karlsruhe performances of *Der letzte Zauberer* were not a success, even if some of the newspaper reports would indeed appear to have been exaggerated. Perhaps we can rely on the regular Karlsruhe correspondent of *Die Deutsche Schaubühne* for a more balanced assessment of what actually happened. Writing some time after the event itself, and therefore after the various other accounts had appeared (the report was published in the March issue), this generally exacting but knowledgeable anonymous critic wrote:

"Der letzte Zauberer" [...] was received by the audience as a curiosity. The action drags itself insipidly through two acts, the music is entirely praiseworthy for an amateur, though it contains something of all styles and even gravitates towards Zukunftsmusik. What was winning about it was received with approval. Thus Frl. Murjahn as Stella, Frau Viardot as Lelio and Frl. Hausmann as the Queen of the Elves were singled out in particular, Hr. Brulliot as the Sorcerer made the best of this ungrateful and exacting part and Hr. Devrient as Perlimpinpin provoked the hilarity of the audience from his first appearance; his ingenious make-up and his acting had a vivid effect. The set was also most charming, the elves' dances and groupings were tasteful, in short, the entire staging was most pleasing to the eye.

That Frau Viardot still cannot bring herself to rest upon her laurels and embrace Art only in her salon, is puzzling for us, for even if we must admire the consummate technique of her singing, the deterioration in the voice is nonetheless too evident.²²

The Karlsruhe production of *Der letzte Zauberer* undoubtedly did sound the ultimate death-knell for this operetta on the public stages, despite efforts throughout 1870 to recreate at least the modest success experienced in Weimar. What had been so well received in the intimacy of a salon by an aristocratic

audience both socially and artistically attuned to the subtler allusions of Turgenev's French text, sung superbly by indisputably superior musical talents to a piano accompaniment that harmonized with the modest scale of the entire enterprise, was unable to survive the transmogrification of a rather leaden German translation and a distension of its musical dimensions. The resultant anomalous hybrid, deprived of the delicate simplicity on which it had been based, lacked the necessary distinctive brilliance of either text or music to appeal instantly to a general audience, and perhaps particularly and specifically to a German audience in the increasingly jingoistic atmosphere of that *année climatérique*.

The Karlsruhe company did perform *Der letzte Zauberer* in Baden-Baden on 9 February 1870, but the performance seems to have gone unnoticed in both the local and the specialist musical press. Indeed Turgenev, and probably the entire Viardot family, had not even waited for it to take place. By 8 February Turgenev was already ensconced in the Hôtel de Russie in Weimar, regretting only the warm house he had left behind in Baden-Baden.²³

Chapter VI

1870 — ANNEE CLIMATERIQUE (2)

Drang nach Osten

There were several reasons for the Viardots' move to Weimar. First and foremost, just as with the move to Karlsruhe, there was the question of Claudie's art studies. Karlsruhe had not turned out satisfactorily; Turgenev was very disdainful of the artists of the famous Karlsruhe School, including their leading representative, Karl Lessing. He even went so far as to declare to Pietsch that Claudie had more artistic imagination than ten Lessings put together! Evidently, some of the eminent artists who had been attracted to the new art school in Weimar promised better. This, at least, was the opinion of the prominent Berlin artist Adolph Menzel. Turgenev visited him just after Christmas 1869 on a flying visit from Weimar, where he had gone in an effort to find suitable accommodation for the forthcoming stay—a far from simple task, as it turned out. Secondly, as Turgenev admitted to Hetzel, Pauline had received a number of very attractive proposals from Weimar, including the chance to recreate her famous rôles in Gluck's *Orphée et Eurydice* (at the Grand Duke's specific request) and Meyerbeer's *le Prophète*, to which there was talk of adding a new Gluck rôle, Clytemnestra in *Iphigénie en Aulide*. Furthermore, as the yet again well-informed *le Guide musical* had not failed to report, August from Loën had "placed the theatre at her disposal" in the event that her students wished to gain experience of the stage, something that would make up for the loss of her private theatre in Baden. And Baden, as Turgenev confided to Hetzel, was "definitely too deserted" that year. Besides, after the events in Karlsruhe, Turgenev somewhat bitterly felt that he was now held in as little esteem in Baden as in his native land.¹

Apart from the extremely cold temperatures that prevailed on their arrival (Turgenev complained of waking up in the morning with icicles in his beard), the stay in Weimar did prove altogether a more pleasant experience than the previous winter in Karlsruhe. Pauline's music-making was both extremely active and successful, even if with a certain element of *succès d'estime*. These were her last triumphs on the public stage; as Turgenev realized, they were primarily reminders of past glories even for Pauline. She also sang in several concerts in and around Weimar, including the *première* of Brahms's *Alt-Rhapsodie* in Jena. On that occasion she was made an honorary member of the prestigious Akademisches Singverein as "artis musicae lumen ac deus cantandi arte" [a luminary of the art of music and a god in the art of singing].

She took part in performances at the Weimar court and at innumerable *matinées*. Her own songs were much in evidence, not only in her programmes, but also in those sung by Milde or organized by Lassen, and they were noted favourably in the musical press on several occasions.² With the arrival of Liszt on 8 April, the music-making reached a new level of intensity: "when she and Liszt made music together, it gave them both so much pleasure that there was no thinking of stopping as long as she still had strength in her throat," Adelheid von Schorn later recalled. In addition, their Weimar friends were introduced to the "Portrait Game" in which Turgenev drew the sketch of a head and each player had to give a characteristic of the person depicted. Not everybody was as enthusiastic about this game as the regular members of the intimate Viardot—Turgenev circle; Adelheid von Schorn, for example, regretted the time spent at this game, because "one couldn't converse with Turgenev then."³

Despite all of these activities, and despite what had occurred in Karlsruhe, the operettas still occupied the attention of their authors. Turgenev had a vague idea of translating *Trop de femmes* into German, this time doing it himself with the more promising assistance of Ernst Dohm, the editor of the local satirical newspaper *Kladderadatch* and himself the author of comedies and vaudevilles and the translator of several Offenbach operettas. Nothing seems to have come of this, but on the evidence of Konstantin Mozdalevskij (a Russian student in nearby Jena), a performance of *le Dernier Sorcier* did take place in Weimar that winter, probably with minimal staging and for a fairly intimate group of friends. Somewhat to Mozdalevskij's shocked astonishment, Feodor Milde once again sang for Turgenev behind the scenes. Since Turgenev is unlikely to have learned the Pohl text for this occasion any more than he had for Baden, it is probable that this last performance in Weimar was given in French; indeed, it may have been done specifically to introduce various Weimar friends to the more graceful wit of Turgenev's original text. Turgenev's final verdict on the Weimar sojourn reflects not only its ultimate success, but also the atmosphere that he and the Viardots enjoyed during their stay of some three months: "there was a lot of music-making—and I liked the society very much—Mme Viardot's elder daughter found an excellent teacher and made remarkable progress in her painting, etc." If Karl Alexander was disappointed at not getting the opera he had commissioned, he did not show it. Turgenev found him extremely amiable and dined with him three times in the first month alone.⁴

Even as the Viardots and Turgenev were in Weimar, the German version of their operetta was trying to spread its wings eastwards. At the end of March, Pauline found the time to fit a two-week visit to Berlin into her busy musical activities. There she attended the Berlin *première* of *Die Meistersinger* conducted by Karl Eckert on 1 April and was invited to the post-performance cast-supper. Several local newspapers also reported her participation in the Court concerts, where once more she sang some of her own songs. At the same time, it is evident that she took the opportunity to urge Eckert to stage *Der letzte Zauberer* in Berlin, although it is unlikely that there was ever any

talk of a performance in the Court Theatre of which Eckert was the director. Pauline returned to Weimar without a definite commitment, sometime in the second week of April; on 22 April, noting that there had been nothing but "deep silence" from the Eckerts, Turgenev expressed his doubts that anything would come of this matter and his pessimism proved justified. There is no evidence of a performance ever having taken place in Berlin. Nonetheless, Eckert must have made an effort, for in mid-May no less than three newspapers reported that a private performance was being prepared, with rehearsals taking place in Eckert's home. The chorus was to be recruited locally from among the leading vocal students, while Stella and Lelio were to be sung by Marianne Brandt (a soloist at the Berlin Court Theatre since 1868 who had taken lessons from Pauline in 1869-70) and Pauline herself. Turgenev—said the newspapers—was also expected to attend. The *Berliner Musikzeitung Echo* felt constrained to add that the performances in Weimar and Karlsruhe had shown the work not to be viable on stage; moreover, it claimed, the group involved in Berlin was the hotbed of local agitation in favour of Wagner and the new German School!⁵

On 12 April (31 March o.s.), even as Pauline Viardot was in Berlin trying to arrange a performance there of *Der letzte Zauberer*, the operetta was being given in Riga as part of the *benefice* for Louise Mayer, an alto in the German theatre company there. This rather unusual choice reflected the fact that Louise Mayer had been Pauline's pupil in Baden, and also a member of the chorus for the 1867 performances of the operettas.⁶

It cannot be said that the beneficiary had chosen her programme altogether happily, for the Viardot—Turgenev operetta was preceded by the overture to Rossini's opera *La gazza ladra* [The Thieving Magpie] and by the second and fourth acts of Verdi's *Il Trovatore* [The Troubadour]. It is not surprising that the reviewer in the local *Zeitung für Stadt und Land* suggests that it would have been preferable to have had the other two acts of the Verdi opera. As was often the case with *benefices*, the programme was probably decided on not long before the performance; in any event, the announcement appeared only a week beforehand.⁷

All three local reviews suggest that the performance was not, in any respect, a success, though each account is idiosyncratic in its own way. The *Zeitung für Stadt und Land* of 2/14 April begins with information about the rest of the programme of that night and expresses a clear preference for Verdi. In discussing *Der letzte Zauberer*, the reviewer proposes that Turgenev's libretto is either completely imbecilic, or else a political satire on France. If the latter, then the primary villains are the principles of sovereignty and the blind mass obedience that reduces people to dwarfs—as represented respectively by Zornebock (Krakamiche) and Papperlappap (Perlimpinpin)—while the elves are the "spirits of a new era." The music, on the other hand, is "honourably intended and an airy, poetical fairy tale, though with many echoes and little originality," apparently with the exception of Stella's aria "Quand vient la saison fleurie" and the "Duo de la rose" in the second act, which the reviewer felt possessed "attractive" melodies. The audience, concludes the reviewer, was

unhappy and restless, with only Herr Markwordt's Papperlappap able to abate their dissatisfaction. As a result, a "quick and scarcely illustrious end" was predicted for the operetta.⁸

Fr. P., the reviewer of the *Riga'sche Zeitung*, obviously took his duties seriously. He devoted two articles to the *bénéfice*, the first of which appeared on 1/13 April and was actually entitled "Der letzte Zauberer" (he discussed the remainder of the programme the next day). In addition to attending the rehearsals, he also unearthed Pietsch's 1867 note "Fürsten und Feen im Salon Turgenjews" and quotes from it extensively in this rather long review. He contrasts the success of the earlier, private performances with "the cold, Northern" reception which the work received in Riga after having succumbed to the "love of travel that dominates today's world." In Riga, the contrast of both text and music with Verdi's Grand Opera inevitably proved too much for the smaller work, the salon nature of which he found all too evident. Making allowances for the translation, Fr. P. nevertheless remarks that Turgenjev's "poetry and his wit do not [...] manifest themselves in a dramatically effective form." He is somewhat more favourably disposed towards the music, even though he judges it could be effective only with "a very intimate audience freshly receptive to the most delicate artistic utterances." While singling out yet again the "Duo de la rose" and some of the choruses, his overall assessment is that of "sonorous, subtle moments, composed with complete technical assurance, which, in addition to a not entirely original melodic invention, lack the contrasts, climaxes and salient characteristics without which music for the stage, however ingenious and versatile in form, prospers with difficulty, at least in large theatres." Obviously unaware of Lassen's rôle, Fr. P. devotes considerable attention to the masterful orchestration, which he finds astonishing for a woman.⁹

The most curious review was that in the local Russian-language newspaper, *Rižskij vestnik*, of 4/16 April. The anonymous author admits that he does not normally review performances in the German theatre, and feigns ignorance of earlier productions of the operetta, while evidently aware that the Krakamiche part had been sung off-stage for Turgenjev. In fact, this review is simply an excuse for a diatribe against what the writer claims is a total neglect of Russian drama and opera in German Riga, and against Turgenjev's last two novels, both of which he sees as catering exclusively to the anti-Russian sentiments of foreigners. The only reference to the performance of *Der letzte Zauberer* in this, also fairly lengthy, "review" predictably describes it as completely unsuccessful, with the comment that "this opera has no particular merits, either musical, or literary."¹⁰

If Riga was the only city within the Russian Empire actually to stage *le Dernier Sorcier*, there was at least talk of productions in both Warsaw and Saint Petersburg.

Maria Kalergis, a pianist of considerable talent and widely known as one of the most ardent public supporters of Wagner's music, had nonetheless had something of a reputation as a recluse during her years of residency in Baden in the 1860s. Among the few joys that she had permitted herself was the

private music-making of Pauline Viardot; indeed on a number of occasions Pauline organized musical events especially for her old acquaintance Maria. When Kalergis wrote to Liszt in 1867 to inform him of the success of the Viardot—Turgenev operettas, she likely based her opinion on performances she had attended. In 1863 Maria Kalergis had married Sergej Mukhanov who had shortly before resigned as Police Chief in Warsaw. Five years later he was appointed director of the State Theatres in Warsaw; the appointment proved to be the beginning of a period of flowering for the Warsaw theatre, thanks in considerable part to his wife's active support. From Warsaw Maria kept in touch with musical events elsewhere in Europe and, after hearing of the "huge success" of "Pauline's little opera" in Weimar, she wrote to her daughter: "We want to put it on here in M. Serge's continually improving theatre." There is, however, no evidence to suggest that this idea ever came to fruition.¹¹

In July 1869 Charles Wentworth Dilke, the English parliamentarian and publisher of *The Athenæum*, had come to Baden to meet Turgenev prior to going to St. Petersburg, and had received from him several letters of introduction to various Russian statesmen. Turgenev made use of Dilke's journey to send with him a copy of *le Dernier Sorcier*, which the Englishman was to deliver to Louise Héritte. Louise, who had already spent several years in the Russian capital teaching singing at the conservatory, had become a close friend of the Serovs, Valentina and Aleksandr. They were both prominent in Russian musical circles, Aleksandr as a critic and composer (one of the few contemporary Russian composers whose music Turgenev did not find completely antipathetic, even if he did not always find it particularly original or inspired) and Valentina also as a composer and as a music educator. It was evidently the intention that Aleksandr Serov should be the prime mover in trying to arrange a performance of *le Dernier Sorcier* in the Russian capital, but by the time of Turgenev's subsequent visit to Russia almost a year later, in June 1870, apparently nothing had come of this project. Another seven months later Serov was dead and, as Turgenev informed Pauline shortly afterwards, "with his death, everything has collapsed."¹²

As was to happen with increasing frequency, Turgenev's plans had to be changed at the end of his 1870 stay in Weimar because of an attack of gout, and it was not until 20 May that he was finally able to leave. He went to Baden, stayed there for a few days and then set off, by way of Weimar and Berlin, on his planned trip to Russia. He arrived in St. Petersburg on 21 May/2 June, stayed there for a week, and then spent a few days in Moscow before going on to Spasskoe with his English friend and translator, William Ralston. There, as he candidly admitted, he set about the business of making some money: he tried to sell some of his land and finished the revisions of his new story "Stepnoj Korol' Lir" [A King Lear of the Steppes]. The Germany—and, indeed, the Europe—to which he returned one month later, was fundamentally different from when he had left it. It was a change that presaged the end of Turgenev's Baden idyll and, with it, his short-lived incursion onto the operetta stage which in so many ways epitomized that idyll.

As Turgenev passed through Berlin on 15 July, the call for a general mobilization was issued in Germany. He arrived in Baden on the last civilian train, in time (as he tried whenever possible) for Pauline's birthday on 18 July. The next day, in the wake of an imputed insult to its ambassador to the Berlin court, France imprudently declared the war that Bismarck had long seen as the key to his plan for unifying Germany.¹³

Their intense dislike of Second Empire France guaranteed that the sympathies of the Viardots and Turgenev would be on the side of Germany, even if they seriously underestimated the Germany military strength and expected at least initial French successes, possibly even a French occupation of Baden. The extent and speed of the French rout astonished them, as indeed they did many others, reportedly even Bismarck himself. On 4 August the German armies crossed the border; on 10 August they laid siege to Strasburg and began to bombard it. On 1 September they inflicted a crushing defeat on the French at Sedan, bringing about the capitulation both of the French army and of the Emperor, and resulting in the declaration in Paris of a new French republic three days later. However, the Germans decided to proceed to Paris despite the capitulation, and siege was laid to the French capital on 19 September.

With this decision, the situation of the Viardots changed and their views and those of Turgenev also shifted. Having welcomed the downfall of Napoleon III, Turgenev now came to feel that the Germans had become the aggressors. At the beginning of the war, Pauline Viardot and her daughters had even joined the other ladies of Baden in working with the German war-wounded, providing them with clothes. The events at Sedan impelled them to withdraw these services. All hope of normal activity had now faded, and in order to avoid financial ruin, the Viardots decided to move to London. Turgenev—as was to be expected—immediately determined to follow them. Around 22 October he accompanied Pauline and her daughters as far as Ostende and then returned to Baden. On 26 October a violent storm toppled one of the chimneys he had always detested and brought it crashing through the roof of his house; he now remembered bitterly that in response to the anxiety he expressed at the time the house was being built, Olive had declared that "these chimneys are as solid as France itself." Within three weeks, on 13 November, Turgenev and Louis Viardot made a very difficult Channel crossing to England. From there they followed the series of sad events which were ultimately to determine their return not to German Baden, but to a devastated Paris.¹⁴ Increasingly despondent, they noted the bombardment of the French capital which closed out that traumatic year, followed soon after, on 28 January 1871, by the capitulation of Paris. Some six weeks later, the Paris commune was declared; it culminated in a virtual civil war and the bloody week of 21-27 May, during which Frenchmen massacred each other with reckless abandon to the bemusement of the conquering Germans. The peace treaty had just been signed in Frankfurt; it ceded Alsace and parts of Lorraine to Germany and committed France to the payment of a huge war indemnity. One wonders whether, on 17 October 1870, shortly before their departure for London, the Viardots and Turgenev had remembered the success

of the Royal Galas in honour of the birthday of Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, whose military successes at the head of the Prussian Third Army were being celebrated throughout Germany? In London, on 18 January, as King Wilhelm was being crowned Emperor of Germany in Versailles, did they recall Augusta's enthusiasm at the first performance of *le Dernier Sorcier* and her declaration "the king must see this when he comes"? Did they remember Kaiser Wilhelm's tears of laughter at Turgenev's satire of Napoleon III in the speeches of Krakamiche?

The "exile" in cold, dark and damp London was not a happy one for either the Viardots or Turgenev. Louis grew increasingly morose, Pauline suffered from colds and a sore throat as a result of the climate, and Turgenev was depressed at his friends' misery and misfortune. At least, though, Pauline succeeded in earning some money. She found pupils readily, and sang at concerts both in the capital and in the provinces. Thanks to her own contacts of old—and no doubt to those of her brother Manuel—she was able to move into London's social and musical world rapidly, appearing at private musical gatherings even before Louis and Turgenev had arrived. It was at a private gathering of new and old friends in the Viardot residence at 30 Devonshire Place that *le Dernier Sorcier* made its next, brief and rather pathetic, appearance on 11 February, 1871.¹⁵

The event would appear to have been organized at rather short notice, to judge by the fact that Turgenev was forced to postpone his planned departure for Russia. The fairly large crowd that attended included several journalists, although no account appears to have reached the English press. The evening was noted in the diary of George Henry Lewes who was accompanied by George Eliot. Among other members of the audience Lewes mentions Robert Browning, Charles Gounod (whom the war and common exile had reconciled with Pauline), the painter Frederick Leighton, as well as Manuel Garcia. Lewes's description also records the extent to which the "performance" sadly reflected the different circumstances of the Viardots in London by comparison with the happy days in Baden: "The entertainment consisted of an Operetta composed by Viardot, who played accompaniments and sang tenor, a chorus of girls, and Tourgeneff read the libretto." Presumably Claudie and Marianne sang their solos as well as the choruses, perhaps with help from some of Pauline's new English pupils (whom she described on another occasion to Clara Schumann as "dreadful"). Lewes does not mention Paul's participation as Perlimpinpin; perhaps his voice was beginning to break or maybe, for once, his English boarding school would not release him. No attempt appears to have been made at even rudimentary staging; Pauline sang *Lelio* from the piano. Possibly some sections were left out entirely, even though the Leweses did not get home until what was—for them—the unusually late hour of half-past-midnight.¹⁶

POSTLUDE

The depressing picture of the performance of *le Dernier Sorcier* in London was perhaps an ironically fitting end to the *année climatérique* that had been 1870. Nonetheless, the operettas did not disappear completely thereafter.

The Viardots moved back to France in October 1871 (after a brief return to Baden to sort out their affairs), and they reestablished themselves in their old house on the rue de Douai. Naturally, Turgenev, followed them; he occupied the top floor of their house in Paris and, after the joint purchase in 1874 of "les Frênes" (an estate on the Seine, downriver from Paris, in Bougival), he built a chalet for himself in the grounds, some fifty metres from the main villa.¹ It was thus in France—in very intimate surroundings—that the operettas were to make their final occasional reappearances, bringing back memories of the joy and pleasure which they had originally occasioned. Their first revival, however, required travel into the French provinces.

Throughout his life Turgenev had been fond of the saying that when the mountain refuses to come to Mohammed, then Mohammed must go to the mountain. Despite numerous invitations, George Sand had not come either to Baden or to Weimar to hear the operettas; consequently, the operettas now went to her at her estate at Nohant, in central France. Turgenev made his first visit there in early October 1872, joining Pauline, Claudie and Marianne Viardot who had arrived a few days earlier. Evenings at Nohant were always filled with activities—reading, music-making, theatre, and especially puppet theatre, depending on the guests. On 4 October it was determined to acquaint the aging authoress with works she had only read about. Probably *Trop de femmes* was chosen on this occasion and the "performance" was likely even more primitive than the one in London, though the intimate atmosphere and audience may have suited the event better.²

A few years later, in 1878, the operettas apparently attracted the attention of Aleksandr Čudinov, the indefatigable editor of the Orël newspaper, *Orlovskij vestnik*. Having discovered one of the articles by Pietsch about the operettas, Čudinov wrote to Turgenev, no doubt hoping to obtain these unknown works from a native son who had been willing to help the local newspaper in the past. Turgenev's response was perhaps uncharacteristically harsh, and certainly not entirely truthful; he told Čudinov that not even the manuscripts of these unpublished works had been preserved: "They served as a vehicle for the works of Mme Viardot—and, having provided brief amusement—have disappeared without trace." A few years later, in 1881, he was equally short with another compatriot who expressed an interest in receiving a copy of *le Dernier Sorcier*: "The work of which you speak—of

which the real title is 'Le dernier Sorcier'—since it has never been engraved—cannot be sent to you," he wrote to Marie Lynen. These "public" pronouncements differ sharply, however, from the private one that Turgenev made in 1882, his last, and perhaps most candid, evaluation of the operettas and specifically of *le Dernier Sorcier*.³

Over the summer of 1882 Pauline Viardot had only a few pupils who, consequently, often came to Bougival and became intimates of the family. Turgenev was already suffering painfully from his eventually fatal illness, but he was frequently to be found in the salon of the villa. Occasionally, the conversation would then turn to the reminiscences of the two long-time friends. One of these pupils, Sof'ja Gurevič, recalls that "Ivan Sergeevič became unusually animated when the reminiscences touched on events connected with their life in Baden-Baden. That those were the years of their happiness could be felt in his words, in their rejoinders to each other, their looks, their promptings. [...] Thus we learned of Ivan Sergeevič's playing the title rôles in the operettas *l'Ogre* and *le Dernier Sorcier*. In the description and the account given by two of the elect, everything took on a brilliant colour and charm." That same summer Edouard Lassen came to Paris and on 8 August he was invited to Bougival for dinner. Turgenev mentions only the fact that Lassen played extracts from the recently premiered *Parsifal*, which the Russian found as indigestible as Wagner's earlier music. Nevertheless, Lassen's visit seems to have provided the necessary incentive for bringing out *le Dernier Sorcier* one more time. After dinner on 12 August, Sof'ja Gurevič recalled,

Turgenev settled himself on the sofa and we carefully wrapped him in his favourite red shawl. Mme Viardot and I played the score of the operetta together, four-handed, I sight-read the arias of the operetta and [sang] the duets together with Mme Viardot. Ivan Sergeevič was in a cheerful mood and took an active part in our performance, humming along and recounting in detail how he had acted the principal rôle of the 'sorcerer'; he remembered various incidents during the staging of the operetta, became animated and would get up and walk about the room.

Turgenev himself described that evening in a letter to Claudie written the following day:

Yesterday all five of the Bougival pupils dined at the house. In the evening they were introduced to *Krakamiche*, text and music. It was an enthusiastic success. It was good to see all those young faces turned towards mama with an expression of admiration and tenderness. Mme Wassilenko laughed like

a little idiot at Perlimpinpin's stupidities. As for me, it gave me also the greatest of pleasure [...] You know how much I love that poetic and graceful music—and then all those memories, all that wonderful period (perhaps the best of my life) passed before my eyes. I saw you as the queen of the Elves, I heard your voice—down to the tiniest inflection, and all the others—and Paul—who was not the Paul of to-day [...] etc. etc. We really must try to give a performance of *le Dernier Sorcier* this winter.⁴

The terminal illnesses of both Turgenev and Louis Viardot made this urgent desire impossible to fulfill, but the operettas were to make one more appearance—brief, no doubt tinged with a little sadness, but almost as glorious as in their heyday at Baden.

On 8 April 1889, exactly twenty years after the Weimar *première* of *Der letzte Zauberer*, the salon of Pauline Viardot's apartment at 297 Boulevard St. Germain was transformed "into a theatre, the stage having all the accessories and decorations of a veritable opera house." Among the audience that was no less distinguished artistically than had been those in Baden, were Ambroise Thomas (composer, and Director of the Paris Conservatoire) and his wife, the cellist Anatolij Brandukov (one of Turgenev's favourite players of this, his favourite, instrument) and, on the eve of his departure for London, the composer most admired among contemporary Russian composers by both Turgenev and Pauline Viardot, Pëtr Čajkovskij. The occasion was a triumphant revival of *Trop de femmes*. The existence of an elegant pastel-coloured programme is evidence of the fact that *le Dernier Sorcier* was revived at the same time, although the exact date of its performance cannot be determined. This programme shows that, to a remarkable extent, members of the original cast were reassembled. Louis Pomey recreated his Krakamiche (as well as the Pasha), Claudie was once again the Queen of the Elves, although Marianne sang the more demanding part of Stella, rather than her original Verveine. Pauline Viardot was once more at the piano, while among the eight ladies of the chorus was Pomey's daughter and Turgenev's god-daughter, Thérèse. Speaking of *Trop de femmes*, a contemporary newspaper remarked that the work had been "very successful, many of the numbers being encored, and after the curtain fell on the last act, Mme Viardot was warmly praised and congratulated."⁵ We can be quite certain that Turgenev was prominent in the memories of many of the performers on those evenings in 1889.

In this story of the operettas, we sadly lack Pauline Viardot's own assessment. Sof'ja Gurevič's memoirs do attest to the fond memories that Pauline, like Turgenev, had of the Baden idyll. Obviously Pauline had helped promote the operettas, primarily through her students, although the dearth of her published correspondence makes it impossible to judge whether her

promotion was as assiduous as that of her librettist. For Pauline, the original purpose of the operettas as a vehicle for her students (who, despite the attention devoted to the Viardot children in the newspaper accounts, performed the technically more demanding parts) seemed to remain more central than it did for Turgenev, who saw them as a vehicle for demonstrating Pauline's talents as a composer. Pauline was universally acknowledged as an immensely perspicacious musician. Although such perspicacity does not always extend to one's own work, there are grounds for thinking that she was more aware than Turgenev of her own limitations. Though she passed on Liszt's extravagant praise of her music, knowing that it would please Turgenev to hear it, it was probably not false modesty that prompted her to add: "All this is a thousand times too much, I know perfectly well. But it is an encouragement to persevere in any case." In fact, despite the opportunity presented by Karl Alexander's commission after the Weimar production of *Der letzte Zauberer*, she always confined herself to relatively small genres: songs, operetta, solo piano and duo sonatas. In reading Louis Viardot's letter of 7 June 1869 to his old friend and Pauline's mentrix, explaining why Pauline was unable to compose an opera based on Sand's own story "la Mare au Diable" [The Devil's Mere], we cannot but sense Pauline's own words in the highly discerning and frank assessment of her composing talents. It is from these words that we might, with some justification, infer the essence of Pauline Viardot's judgement on her own music, including the operettas:

Pauline has not imagined herself to be a *composer*, she has written a fairly large number of pieces of music, but always in accordance with the circumstances that presented themselves; [...] In [her] little fantasy operas, real fairy tales, one finds for example, a *chorus of Elves* teasing the sorcerer, a *song of the rain*, a *lullaby* to put the ogre to sleep; Pauline finds the musical equivalent for the *character* of these easily. But she is not enough of a *composer*, she cannot find to a sufficient extent within herself and without the aid of a particular circumstance, the musical ideas that are necessary to succeed in all topics. [...] The other pieces [in "la Mare au Diable"] belong to the category of those where the composer must draw from within himself the melodic ideas and harmonic resources. Pauline has tried to do this on several occasions, at different times; she has never been satisfied with what she had done and has torn up these futile efforts.⁶

It was precisely the specific circumstances that existed in Baden—her students, her children, her friends and acquaintances, as well as Turgenev's delicate, but subtly suited libretti—that brought forth from her in the operettas, and particularly in *le Dernier Sorcier*, music which could delight performers and audiences alike during those wonderful evenings in the Black Forest.

[The page contains several paragraphs of text that are almost entirely illegible due to extreme noise and low contrast. The text appears to be organized into sections, possibly separated by horizontal lines or headings, but the specific content cannot be discerned.]

NOTES

For ease and convenience in reading the text, references have been grouped and notes indicate the sources used for all the information cited, as well as for additional comments. Abbreviations used are identified after the Notes.

Preface

¹ Turgenev 1960, S.I.250, 270-71. Turgenev 1972, 55-56. Puškin letter to P.A. Vjazemskij of 4.XI.1823, A.S. Puškin, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij v 10-i tomakh*, X (Moscow: Nauka, 1966), 70.

² Waddington 1982 (text reprinted in Turgenev 1978, S.XII.222-270). Month, 55 and Turgenev 1960, P.XIII,39 (see also M.P. Alekseev, "«Mirovič». Scenarij Turgeneva," in T. sb., V, 265-75). Turgenev 1972, 271.

³ See Schwartz 1959, 1964, 1969; A. A. Gozenpud, "I.S. Turgenev—muzykal'nyj dramaturg," in Turgenev 1972, S.XII.583-632. See also Robert Olivier, "Operetty Turgeneva," in Lit. nasl. 1964, 1, 69-90; Lubov Keefer, "The Operetta Librettos of Ivan Turgenev," *Slavic and East European Journal*, X (1966), 2, 134-54; Žekulin 1983, 1984.

The texts of the operettas were first published (even if not complete) in Lit. nasl. 1964, I accompanied by the Schwartz and Olivier articles and have been reprinted in Turgenev 1978, S.XII. Part of the German translation of *le Dernier Sorcier* was first published in 1916 in Geršenzon on the basis of a text booklet used in Riga in 1870.

⁴ See Žekulin 1983, 186-94.

⁵ "Pervoe predstavlenie opery g-ži Viardot v Weimare," in Turgenev 1960, S.XIV.287-91.

⁶ *The Newport Music Festival*, III, Newport, R.I.: Rhode Island Arts Festival, 1971, 6.

Prelude

¹ There are now a number of biographies of Pauline Viardot and I have drawn upon them for this biographical survey. The most significant are: April FitzLyon, *The Price of Genius: A Life of Pauline Viardot* (London: Calder, 1964); Rozanov; Gustave Dulong, *Pauline Viardot, tragédienne lyrique*

[Prelude]

(Paris: AATVM, 1987 (first published in *CahTVM*, 8 and 9 [1984, 1985], this work was originally written as a thesis in 1956). Louis Viardot is much less well served. The principal sources are: his own articles, "Le manuscrit autographe de *Don Giovanni*" and "Un souvenir de *Don Juan*," first published in 1856 and reprinted in *CahTVM*, 2 (1978), 46-71; the introduction by Alexandre Zviguilsky to volume II (pp. xiii-xxxv) of Turgenev 1971; the "Actes de la Table Ronde sur Louis Viardot" in *CahTVM*, 8 (1984), 3-51. The account of the New York *Don Giovanni* is supplied by da Ponte himself in his memoirs (*Memoirs of Lorenzo Da Ponte* [trans. by Elisabeth Abbott] [New York: Dover, 1967], 446-49).

² N.V. Berg, "Vospominanija ob I.S. Turgeneve," *Istoričeskij vestnik*, 1883, 368.

There are, of course, numerous biographies of Turgenev in many languages, indeed too numerous to list. However, perhaps the ultimately useful source of information about his life remains his enormous correspondence, collected in Turgenev 1960 and being augmented (principally by the inclusion of material from Turgenev 1971 and Turgenev 1972) in Turgenev 1978. There are a number of studies of the relationship between Turgenev and Pauline Viardot of which the most useful short account is Patrick Waddington, "Turgenev and Pauline Viardot: An Unofficial Marriage," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, XXVI (1984), 1, 42-64.

³ Turgenev 1971, I, 3-5.

This letter to Pauline is preceded by an undated letter to Louis, written during the Viardots' first winter in Russia and outlining arrangements for a roe-deer and moose hunt (Turgenev 1971, II, 3-4).

⁴ V.N. Žitova, *Vospominanija o sem'e I.S. Turgeneva*, Tula: Tulscoe kniž. izd-vo, 1961, 71.

⁵ See Turgenev 1960, P.XIII, 31.

It has been widely stated—most recently by Pierette Viardot in the article "Un grand violoniste: Paul Viardot," in *CahTVM*, 6 [1982], 50—that Paul Viardot possessed a Stradivarius violin given to him by Turgenev. However, neither the standard reference works nor leading experts on Stradivarius list any known Stradivarius violin as having belonged to Paul Viardot.

⁶ For Pietsch, see Turgenev 1968 and for Pomey, Zviguilsky 1983.

⁷ K. Baedeker, *Die Rheinlande von der Schweizer bis zur Holländische Grenze. Handbuch für Reisende*. Koblenz: Baedeker, 1868, 90.

[Prelude]

⁸ For an account of the Viardot and Turgenev properties in Baden, see Kraetz.

⁹ See, e.g., his letter of 23.I/4.II.1853 in Turgenev 1971, II, 114-15.

¹⁰ See Schumann—Brahms, I, 474-75.

¹¹ For a list of most of Pauline's known compositions, see Rozanov, 207-16.

¹² Turgenev 1960, P.V.275.

¹³ Turgenev 1971, I, 142. Turgenev 1960, P.VII.34.

Although Olive is reputed to have been well known in Baden, the local municipal Archives have no record of other buildings by him in that town, nor are any buildings by him known in Paris, where he is listed at a variety of addresses between 1865 and 1885. His origins are also unknown, and he was not a student at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, the only school of architecture in France in the mid-nineteenth century.

¹⁴ Zviguilsky 1983, 150.

It cannot be said with any certainty which scenario is being referred to here. The editor of these letters suggests 1864 for the Viardot-Turgenev letter to Pomey (Zviguilsky 1983, 153-54) which is dated simply "10 August," but 1866 seems rather more likely. A Turgenev letter to Pietsch of 8 June 1864 indicates that Pomey was expected in Baden for a visit commencing 1 August (Turgenev 1960, P.V.259) and one to Pomey himself of 9 January 1864 (Zviguilsky 1983, 150) indicates that this was a long-standing arrangement. There is no hint in either Pauline's or Turgenev's part of the 10 August letter that their pleas for Pomey to come were the result of abandoned plans or changed arrangements. (Pomey appears to have come to Baden also in early October 1864, see Turgenev 1960, P.V.285.) On 12 August 1865 Turgenev was in Rougemont visiting his daughter and son-in-law and therefore was almost certainly not in Baden two days earlier inviting Pomey to come there (Turgenev 1960, P.VI.16).

Chapter I

¹ Hetzel, 1. The avenue referred to was Baden's Lichtentaler Allee.

² Pietsch 1867b, V, 175.

[Chapter I]

³ Leni-Vetter Nieman, *Landhäuser und Villen in Baden-Baden von 1800-1870* (diss.), as quoted in Schwirtz 1965, 254.

⁴ Turgenev 1960, P.VII.116, 127, 112.

⁵ Pietsch 1867b, VI, 177 (Turgenev 1968, 147-48).

⁶ Turgenev 1960, P.VI.302, 308, 324. The hand-written programme of the 10 August performance of *Trop de femmes* is reproduced in Lit. nasl. 1964, I, 111; the programme for the Gala in Pohl 1967 and Schwirtz 1958, 521. On 3.X.1867 Clara Schumann wrote to Johannes Brahms that she had seen both operettas three times each (Schumann—Brahms, I, 565). The date of 20 September for the *première* of *le Dernier Sorcier* is suggested by the fact that this date is to be found on a little-known sketch made by Pietsch and published under the misleading title "Musikalische Matinee im Hause Viardot" in Turgenev 1923, 77 (Russ. tr., 88).

⁷ Pietsch 1867b, VI, 177 (Turgenev 1968, 148, 149).

⁸ Turgenev 1960, P.XIII, 207. P.VI.324. Pohl 1867.

⁹ Pietsch 1867b, VI, 178. Pohl 1867.

¹⁰ Pietsch 1867b, VI, 178. Pietsch 1867a, 83. Schumann—Brahms, I, 565. Writing about Paul's performance a year later, Sextius Durand noted that "le fils Viardot, jeune enfant de onze ans, qui joue et chante le rôle de Perlimpinpin avec une intelligence tout à fait hors ligne. [...] Il faut voir comment il chante *parseuseusement*, le petit dormeur. [...] ce jeune Viardot irait loin comme acteur, si je ne savais pas qu'on le destine à tout autre chose, qu'au théâtre. Mais on peut dire, que déjà il chasse de race, et non seulement il joue et chante en artiste, mais il est déjà d'une force très-remarquable sur le violon." (Durand, 282). This report was picked up (abbreviated and not always felicitously translated) in the Literary Supplement to the Russian musical paper *Nouvelles*, XXX, No.1 (January 1869), 2, whence it is quoted in Rozanov, 229.

¹¹ Pietsch 1867b, VI, 177 (Turgenev 1968, 149). Pohl 1867. Viardot, 19.

¹² Hetzel, 2. Pietsch 1867b, VI, 177 (Turgenev 1968, 149).

Giulia Grisi (1811?-69), Giovanni Matteo de Candia, called Mario (1810-83), Giovanni Rubini (1795-1854) and Luigi Lablache (1794-1858) were all singers with whom Pauline had been associated early in her career. "Mlle Artaud" is probably a homophonic misspelling for Désirée Artôt (1835-1907) who had been one of Pauline's first students, still in Paris. Hubert Léonard (1819-90) was a famous violinist and the husband of Pauline's

[Chapter I]

cousin Antonia (1831?-1914), herself a singer. The Garcia referred to was Pauline's brother Manuel.

¹³ For Albert von Flemming (1813-84), see Turgenev 1974, 125; Turgenev 1960, P.VI.222; Turgenev 1968, 210. For Turgenev and Bettina von Arnim (1785-1859), see Walter Smyrniw, *Turgenev's Early Works: From Character Sketches to a Novel*, Oakville, Ont.: Mosaic Press, 1980, 60-67.

The term "parterre von Königen" was originally used to describe the audience attending the performances of the Comédie française in Erfurt, brought there specially by Napoleon for the Congress of European Sovereigns in 1808. The number of minor sovereigns attending (in addition to the principals, Napoleon and Alexander I of Russia) was so great, that there was some difficulty in finding a seat for Goethe, whom Napoleon personally invited to attend (see *Mémoires du prince de Talleyrand*, ed. le Duc de Broglie, Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1891, I, 403-29, esp. 428). For Pietsch's use of the term, see Pietsch 1865, 3; Pietsch 1869b, II, 3; Pietsch 1878, 256.

¹⁴ Héritte, 24, 110. Pietsch, 1865, 3. Pietsch 1867b, V, 175 (Turgenev 1968, 145). Turgenev 1974, 148, 144. Turgenev 1971, I, 354. Marie Gallison, geb. Reuter, *Aus meinem Leben in zwei Welten. Erinnerungen aus bewegter Zeit in Deutschland und Amerika*. 3rd ed., [Kaiserwerth]: Buchhandlung der Diakonissen Anstalt, 1929, 123.

According to Aglaja Orgeni, Augusta wanted Pauline to establish a Music Academy in Baden, but no formal institution was ever opened (Brand-Seltei, 180). Augusta's impact on the entire Viardot family is attested to by her appearance in Turgenev's fantastic, somewhat risqué, pseudo-April Fool's story sent to Claudie in 1877 (Turgenev 1971, I, 279).

¹⁵ Pietsch 1867a, 83. Héritte, 109. Viardot, 19. Turgenev 1960, P.VI.324-25.

A rather bored-looking Wilhelm is seen in one of Pietsch's sketches of a Pauline Viardot *matinée*, reproduced in Brand-Seltei, Plate VIII-IX. Pietsch 1867a, 83 gives the date of the performance as 24 September, but a Turgenev letter to V.P. Botkin dated 22.IX.1867 states that the performance will take place "tomorrow" (Turgenev 1960, P.VI.308).

¹⁶ Gm, No.49 (5.XII.1867), n. pag. This account subsequently appeared *in extenso* in *Nuvellist*, XXIX, No.1 (January 1868), 3. The album is also mentioned briefly in *NZfM*, 6.XII.1867, 445. Alwina Schrödter (1820-92), wife of the painter Adolf Schrödter (1805-1875), remains known primarily as a painter of flowers.

¹⁷ In his letter to Annenkov of 5.X.1867, Turgenev writes: "The music is really delightful, the last operetta 'Le dernier Sorcier' is a marvel."

[Chapter I]

(Turgenev 1960, P.VI.318. For other mentions of the operettas, see P.VI. 293, 300, 301, 304, 308, 310, 321.) Letter to Pietsch of 26.X.1867, Turgenev 1960, P.VI.329-30.

¹⁸ Botkin's letter of 25.IX.1867 in *V.P. Botkin i I.S. Turgenev: Neizdannaja perepiska 1851-1869*, ed. N.L. Brodskij (Moscow-Leningrad: Academia, 1930), 269-70. Turgenev's reply, Turgenev 1960, P.VI.322.

¹⁹ Hetzel, 2.

²⁰ RGmP, 1867, No.34 (25.VIII), 276. *Nuvellist*, XXVIII, No.9, 71-72.

²¹ Gm, 1867, No.41 (10.X), n. pag. *The Athenæum*, No.2085 (12.X.1867), 472.

The authorship of this article, implied by Turgenev in his already mentioned letter to Botkin (Turgenev 1960, P.VI.322), has been confirmed by Patrick Waddington in his article "Henry Chorley, Pauline Viardot, and Turgenev: A Musical and Literary Friendship," *The Musical Quarterly*, LXVII, 2 (1981), 184. Waddington's argument that Chorley's article supports Botkin's assertions concerning the naiveness of the operetta ignores the fact that Chorley's comments are specifically directed at the "naïve" amateur performance which, Chorley wrote, "would be unattainable in any theatre, because it was unspoiled by that anxious consciousness and those hardened resolutions to be graceful which seem inevitable to persons on the stage."

²² Pohl 1867. *Le Ménestrel*, vol.34 (1866-67), No.49 (3.XI.1867), 390. RGmP, 1867, No.44 (3.XI), 354. Fm, XXXI (1867), No.44 (3.XI), 347. Lallemand was a regular critic of Baden musical events and may well have been the Strasburg-based journalist Charles Lallemand.

²³ AMZ, 1867, No.42 (16.X), 338. Pietsch 1867a and b. There were at least four and possibly five performances of *le Dernier Sorcier* and it is not known which or how many of these Pietsch attended. His early sketch (see fn. I,6) suggests that he was at the *première* and since the description of the audience in 1867b would seem to exclude both the 23.IX and 17.X performances, it is possible that it is this performance that is being described here. It is certainly the 23.IX performance that is described in 1867a. Pietsch's sketch for 1867a was in fact a careful reworking of sketches that he made while he was in Baden, supplemented by photographs and other material sent to him subsequently by Turgenev (see Turgenev 1960, P.VI.326, 329). The sketch has been reproduced in Lit. nasl. 1964, I, 179; Turgenev 1968, facing 80; Rozanov, between 96 and 97; Turgenev 1966, 253.

[Chapter I]

²⁴ Hetzel, 2 (quoted in the epigraph to this chapter). Pietsch 1867b, 179 (Turgenev 1968, 150).

²⁵ Viardot, 19. Pietsch 1878, 257.

Chapter II

¹ Turgenev 1960, P.VI.293, VII.29, 52, 79.

² Turgenev 1971, I, 150-151, 152-53, 154. Turgenev 1972, 322. This version of the duet was not used in the operetta (Turgenev 1971, I, 150, fn. 5). Pietsch sketched Turgenev in his Ogre costume (which was set off by a ginger-coloured wig! Turgenev 1960, P.VII.135) and this sketch has been reproduced a number of times (e.g. Turgenev 1923, 53; Lit. Nasl. 1964, I, 81; Brand-Seltei, Plate XXIII), including Turgenev 1960, P.VII.295, where it is wrongly identified as the costume for *le Dernier Sorcier*. The "Chœur des fileuses" was published by Miran in Paris in 1905.

³ Turgenev 1960, P.VII.100, 112, 118, 136.

⁴ The performers are listed in Pohl 1868a and 1868b, 58. For Louis Viardot's limited participation in the theatricals at Courtavenel, see Héritte, 69. For Karl Eckert (1820-79), see Schultze. Eckert had recently been dismissed, amid considerable controversy, from his position as *Kapellmeister* in Stuttgart.

⁵ Turgenev 1960, P.VII.142, 135. Pohl 1868b, 58. Viardot, 18-19. Some time before, both Claudie and Marianne had taken to amusing them-selves, and other members of the Viardot household, with "pantomimic dances" that may well have served as the inspiration for introducing a "ballet" into *l'Ogre* (see Turgenev 1960, P.VI.121). It would appear that, even though the part of Micocolemba was written for Turgenev, at least at one point there may have been an alternative musical variant and that Pomey was interested in performing it (see Turgenev 1972, 141).

⁶ Marix-Spire, 65. *Signale*, 1868, No.26 (1.V), 499 and Pohl 1868a. Turgenev 1960, P.VII.135.

The second performance took place on 29 May (Turgenev 1960, P.VII.141). In his review of the 8 June performance, the Strasburg critic and composer François Schwab indicates that three new numbers had been added to the original fifteen and that the ballet had been revised (*Courrier du Bas-Rhin*, No.139 [10(?)].VI.1868]. This review was republished in *Fm*, 1868, No.24 [14.VI], 186). Both Schwab and Pohl (Pohl 1868d) identify the

[Chapter II]

8 June performance as the fourth, but in his letter to Moritz Hartmann written the following day, Turgenev clearly states that it was the fifth (Turgenev 1960, P.VII.145).

⁷ Among the papers that published accounts of *l'Ogre* (in addition to those already mentioned) were: *Signale* (Pohl 1868c); Gm, 1868, No.22 (28.V.), n. pag.; NZfM (29.V.1868), 198; RGmP, 1868, Nos.22, 23 and (a longer report on the 8 June performance) 25 (31.V., 7.VI., 21.VI), 175, 183, 199; *le Constitutionnel* (Paris) (1-2.VI.1868), 3 (this report was picked up by StPbv, 1868, No.146 [31.V / 12.VI], 2); Fm, 1868, No.23 and 32 (7.VI, 9.VIII), 175, 249; NBMz, 1868, No.23 (3.VI), 185; and *Badeblatt* (Pohl 1868d). Of these, several mentioned the plans to build the theatre (Pohl 1868a, 1869b, NZfM, Gm, RGmP No.22, as well as StPbv, 1868, No.140 [24.V/6.VI], 2).

⁸ Turgenev 1971, I, 155, 159. For Russian accounts, see Muzyk. biblio., 103. (The first report in StPbv [No.140] appears to have been based on a notice in Gm, 1868, No.11 [12.III], n. pag. and speaks of a new opera which it identifies as "Lešij" [The Wood-Goblin]. The subsequent account [No.146, derived from *le Constitutionnel*] identifies the work correctly as "Ljudoed.") Turgenev 1972, 145. Turgenev 1972, 150. Turgenev 1971, I, 160, 165, Turgenev 1972, 157. Turgenev 1974, 161, 162, Turgenev 1971, I, 162. In a corrected version of his letter to Pauline Viardot of 23-24.VI / 5-6.VII.1869 (Waddington 1985, 63), Turgenev also speaks of an anticipated performance of *l'Ogre* on 21.VII.

The habit of quoting *bons mots* from the operettas remained with Turgenev for a number of years (see, e.g., Turgenev 1971, I, 223; Turgenev 1972, 186, 252) and even Pauline seems to have adopted it. On leaving Weimar after the performances there in 1869 of *le Dernier Sorcier*, she wrote a note to the director of the theatre, August von Loën, in which she quotes the music and adapts the words of the second-act quartet (See Turgenev 1968, 53 and cf. the German text, Turgenev 1978, S.XII.81). A number of acquaintances became known by nicknames derived from characters in the operettas, Pomey as Zulauf (Turgenev 1971, I, 148 as corrected II, 120), II, 100; Turgenev 1960, P.XIII, 207) and the Grand Duke of Weimar as Babakhan—the Prime Minister in the operetta *le Miroir*—(Turgenev 1971, I, 360; Turgenev 1972, 191, 330). The same nickname was also used by Turgenev, in a note addressed to "Babakhan" and signed "Kakamiche," almost certainly intended for Maximilian Fredro (b.1820), who was to play the part in 1869 (Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.50, 68. See I.T. Trofimov, *Poiski i nakhodki v moskovskikh arkhivakh* [Moscow: Moskovskij rabočij, 1979], 71).

⁹ Pohl 1868e. Fm, 1868, No.36 (6.IX), 282.

For this first performance Antonio Peruzzi (d. 1905) was at the piano,

[Chapter II]

although later performances saw Karl Eckert return. Similarly, during this season, Anna de (or von) Baillodz shared the *prima donna* honours with Pauline's first Baden pupil, Aglaja Orgeni (1843-1926), who was visiting Baden in connection with her triumphant appearance as Valentine in Meyerbeer's *les Huguenots* with the Karlsruhe company (Pohl 1868e; Fm; Pietsch 1869b, II, 3; Brand-Seltei, Plate XXII).

¹⁰ Pietsch 1869b, II, 3. Pietsch 1878, 257. Pietsch was describing a performance of *l'Ogre*, but it was neither the performance of 1 September (because he mentions Eckert was at the piano), nor the gala of 17 October (because Anna de Baillodz sang *Aleli*).

¹¹ Turgenev 1960, P.VII.208, 222, 216, 229-31.

¹² P.VII.308. Turgenev 1972, 128, 132.

Turgenev had a very high opinion of Claudie's talent (see, e.g., Turgenev 1960, P.VII.245). Claudie's sketch of Turgenev on his death-bed has been published in Turgenev 1966, 312 (and elsewhere). Less well-known is her delightful portrait of a pensive Turgenev published as the frontispiece to *New Zealand Slavonic Journal*, 1983. An impressive large oil portrait of her mother is in the Turgenev Museum at Bougival.

¹³ Turgenev 1960, P.VII.244-45, 260, 265, 271, 275-77, 282. For Turgenev and Karlsruhe, see Hock.

Chapter III

¹ Schorn 1911, II, 1-194 (for gala performances—including Berlioz's *Béatrice et Bénédict* in 1863—see 91, 98, 110). NZfM, 1869, No.7 (12.II), 58. The programme for the 1868/69 season at the Weimar theatre included three other Wagner operas, *Lohengrin*, *Tannhäuser* and *Der fliegende Holländer* (Gottschalg 1869b, 184).

² Turgenev 1960, S.XIV.286. Turgenev 1972, 324. Liszt 1909, 142. Turgenev 1960, P.VII.298.

³ MS letter, Liszt archives, Weimar as quoted in Marix-Spire, 73. Franz Liszt, "Pauline Viardot-Garcia," in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. III ("Dramaturgische Blätter," pt. I), ed. L. Kamann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1881), 126 (originally published in 1859 in *Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst*). MS letter to the Hillebrands, Liszt archives, Weimar as quoted in Marix-Spire, 66. Turgenev 1972, 327. Letter to Pauline Viardot (12.XII.1881), Liszt 1893, 318 (see also 319).

[Chapter III]

Liszt also had a very high opinion of Louise Hérítte-Viardot's talents as a composer (see Liszt 1902, IV, 251, 253-54).

⁴ Schorn 1911, II, 49, 92, 95, 111.

⁵ Liszt 1902, III, 204. Liszt himself had only arrived in Weimar from his self-imposed exile in mid-January 1869 (Schorn 1911, 185).

⁶ Milde, II, 21. Turgenev 1960, P.VII.294. Liszt 1909, 142. Milde, II, 21-22. Turgenev 1972, 324-27.

"La caña" was published as "l'Absence" in Pauline's 1850 album of songs. "Vor Gericht" appeared in 1869 in the fourth volume of Pauline's *Lieder* collection published by Johansen, although only in Turgenev's Russian version, which the publisher sought to have "mitigated" somewhat (see Turgenev 1972, 146-147, Turgenev 1974, 162). For the Mörike songs, see R. B. Zaborova, "O perevodakh Turgeneva iz Mörike i Heine," in T. sb., III, 175-82 and M.P. Alekseev, "Stikhotvornye teksty dlja romansov Pauliny Viardot," in T. sb., IV, 189-204.

⁷ Milde, II, 21. Turgenev 1972, 324.

Karen Holmsen had been one of Pauline's pupils in Baden. She had sung at least occasionally in Weimar since 1867 (see Turgenev 1960, P.VI.81; Schorn 1911, II, 171, 181).

⁸ Turgenev 1972, 324-25. Turgenev 1971, I, 354-55. For Doepler and Händel, see Schorn 1911, II.

⁹ Turgenev 1972, 324. For details of the additional music and changes, see Žekulin 1987, 414-416.

¹⁰ Schumann—Brahms, 565. Turgenev 1960, P.VI.322. RGmP, 1869, No.13 (28.III), 110. (This report was published, in a verbatim translation, by *The Athenæum* of 3.IV.1869 [No.2162, 479], but subsequently a correction concerning Liszt's participation was published in No.2166 [1.V.1869, 614], apparently as a result of the journal's having received press reports of the actual Weimar performances.)

¹¹ Liszt 1902, III, 204. Turgenev 1960, S.XIV.289; P.VII.308 (see also 296, 327). Schorn 1901, 161.

¹² For Lassen as an orchestrator, see Milde, I, 289-91, II, 269. For Liszt's favourable opinion of Lassen's orchestral judgement, see his letter to Felix Mottl in Franz Liszt, *Briefe aus ungarischen Sammlungen*, 1835-86, ed. M. Prahács (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966), 216. For details of the orchestration of *le Dernier Sorcier*, see Žekulin 1987, 414.

[Chapter III]

¹³ Schorn 1911, II, 39, 44, 55, 110. Sabine Teller Ratner, "La Genèse et la Fortune de «Samson et Dalila»," *CahTVM*, 9 (1985), 114. Turgenev 1972, 327. Otto Keller, *Die Operette in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung. Musik, Libretto, Darstellung* (Leipzig-Wien-New York: Stein Verlag, 1928), 87. Apart from a short autobiography (*Autobiographisches* [Leipzig: E.W. Fritsch, 1881]), there appears to be only one biography of Richard Pohl, that written by his daughter, Senta Hartlaub-Pohl: *Richard Pohl. 1826-1896: Ein Lebensbild* (Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichte Baden-Baden), *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt und des Kurortes Baden-Baden*, Heft 10 [n.d.], which contains a short section on Pohl's relationship with the Viardots and Turgenev in Baden (37-40), a topic that would merit considerably more attention. On humour in the operetta, see also Žekulin 1984.

¹⁴ Turgenev 1972, 326-27. Gottschalg 1869b, 185. Turgenev 1960, S.XIV.287. The French version states merely that "M^r Richard Pohl critique musical et littéraire distingué, traduit en allemand le texte primitivement écrit en français." (MS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Naf 16995, f200r, reproduced in Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.17.) The MS of the Russian version is also in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Slave 80, ff12-17r, as are Turgenev's rough drafts of German translations of Stella's Act I "Chanson de la pluie" and the Act II "Couplets du rouet," Lelio's Act I *Chanson* ("Dans le bois frais et sombre"), Perlimpinpin's *Chanson* ("Quand j'étais un géant") and a short section from the opening chorus (BN, Slave 75, ff123-124v). These drafts show that, in the case of these numbers, Turgenev was trying to modify a previous text (i.e. Pohl's translation). The fact that he sent the translation of the Stornello (which has not survived) directly to Pauline in Weimar indicates that this translation was original and not a reworking of a Pohl version. For the translation, see also Žekulin 1987, 416-20.

¹⁵ Turgenev 1960, P.VII.304. NBMz, 1869, No.8 (24.II), 63; Gm, 1869, No.8 (25.II), n. pag.; Fm, 1869, No.9 (28.II), 68; RGmP, 1869, No.9 (28.II), 74-75. NBMz, 1869, No.9 (3.III), 72.

¹⁶ Turgenev 1960, P.VII.319, 308, 313. Turgenev 1972, 160.

¹⁷ RGmP, 1869, No.13 (28.III), 110. Turgenev 1972, 160. Turgenev 1960, P.VII.346-47.

¹⁸ Turgenev 1960, S.XIV.291-93.

¹⁹ F.B., 128. Turgenev 1960, S.XIV.294. NBMz, 1869, No.9 (3.III), 71. Schorn 1911, II, 183.

In addition to three Wagner operas (see fn. III.1—*Die Meistersinger* would have been the fourth), the Weimar opera season—somewhat foreshortened

[Chapter III]

since the theatre did not reopen after undergoing renovations until October (Milde, II, 15)—consisted of Mozart's *Die Hochzeit von Figaro* and *Die Zauberflöte*, Weber's *Der Freischütz* and *Oberon*, Meyerbeer's *Die Hugenotten*, *Robert des Teufel* and *Die Afrikanerin* (given in German of course—despite his successes in Paris, Meyerbeer was, after all, originally a Berliner) with only Bellini's *Norma* and *La Sonnambula* as an Italian counterweight (Gottschalg 1869b, 184).

²⁰ Turgenev 1960, S.XIV.293-94.

²¹ Turgenev 1960, S.XIV.294-95, 289. Gottschalg 1869a and b, 185.

²² Turgenev 1960, S.XIV.294. P.R., 182. F.B., 131 (where we find that the parts of *Amaryllis* (*Verveine*) and *Feuerlilie* were performed by company members Both and Radecke. See also Lit. nasl. 1964, I, 213).

Milde (1821-99) had studied with Manuel Garcia in London in 1850 and had first met Pauline herself there on that occasion (Milde, I, 16). The choice of *Feuerlilie* as one of the animated flower-elves may reflect a personal taste (maybe even that of the Grand Duchess herself), since it was not in the list of flowers prepared for the Prompter's text (see Turgenev 1978, S.XII.44), nor among the names used in Karlsruhe (see Lit. nasl. 1964, I, 216).

²³ Turgenev 1960, S.XIV.295. Gm, 1869, No.16 (22.IV), n. pag. See also P.R., 182. Gottschalg confirms that "Beide Autoren wurden sammt den Hauptdarstellern mehrfach gerufen und mit vielen Beifall ausgezeichnet." (Gottschalg 1869b, 185.)

²⁴ Turgenev 1960, S.XIV.294-95. P.R., 182.

²⁵ *Signale*, 1869, No.34 (6.V), 533. Gm, 1869, No.16 (22.IV), n. pag., No. 21 (27.V), n. pag. RGmP, 1869, No.17 (25.IV), 143 and No.23 (5.VI), 191; *The Athenæum*, No.2166 (1.V), 614 and No.2195 (20.XI.1869), 670; P. R., 182. *Peterburgskaja gazeta*, 1869, No.58 (26.IV o.s.), 3. (Other Russian reports are listed in *Muzyk. biblio.*, 103.) Turgenev 1960, S.XIV.295. Turgenev 1978, S.XII. 211-16.

The suggestion that the scenario conditionally entitled "l'Ondine" might have been conceived in connection with the Grand Duke's project (Turgenev 1978, S.XII.637) can probably be discounted on the basis of a report (obviously from a German source) in Gm, 1868, No.43 (22.X), n. pag. that "Le Poète Iwan Turgeneff travaille en ce moment à un nouveau texte d'opéra pour M^{me} Viardot. Cette fois il a emprunté son sujet aux cycles légendaires du Nord."

²⁶ Milde, II, 30, 46. Turgenev 1972, 191, 330.

[Chapter III]

²⁷ Ziegengeist 1986, 251-52. Schorn 1911, II, 190-91; NBMz, 1870, No.12 (23.III), 95. Turgenev 1972, 330, 290. Turgenev 1971, I, 274.

²⁸ NBMz, 1869, No.15 (14.IV), 127; P.R., 181-82; *The Athenæum*, No.2166 (1.V.1869), 614; Fm, 1869, No.18 (2.V), 138-39; NZfM, 1868, No.20 (14.V), 171 (this was the first part of Gottschalg's report on cultural activities in Weimar, of which Gottschalg 1869b was the second part). RGmP, 1869, No.17 (25.IV), 143, No.18 (2.V), 151.

²⁹ *Signale*, 1868, No.34 (6.V), 533; P.R., 182.
The report in *le Ménestrel* by P.R. echoes, both in some details and in general sentiment, Turgenev's account of the Weimar performances and suggests a fairly long-standing acquaintance with the Viardot family. At the same time, some of the background material contains errors of fact that would seem to preclude Turgenev's direct involvement. A portrait of Pauline Viardot by a P.R., dated by the editor c.1849, is reproduced as a frontispiece for Waddington 1983.

³⁰ F.B., 129-31.

³¹ Gottschalg 1869a, 1869b, 185.

³² Turgenev 1960, S.XIV.293-94; F.B., 130-31. Gottschalg 1869a.

Interlude

¹ "Poslednij mel'nik-koldun (Opera). Podražanie opere g. Turgeneva «Poslednij koldun»," *Budil'nik*, 1869, No.17 (9.V, o.s.), 130.

This was not the only time that Turgenev's operatic activities attracted the attention of the Russian satirical press. The popular *Iskra* twice mentions them, first of all in 1868, No.23 (see Turgenev 1978, S.XII.599) and again in 1870, No.19 (15.V. o.s.), 669 quoting the French paper *le Gaulois* on the subject of a possible Berlin performance of *le Dernier Sorcier* and wondering why no Russian performances were being planned, since not only would singers be found to perform the work, but both "Fathers" and "Sons" to listen to it.

² Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.27, 16, 23, 29.

³ Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.33.

⁴ Turgenev 1960, S.XIV.295-96.

[Interlude]

⁵ Turgenev 1960, S.XIV.563. P.VIII.22, 65.

Phrases such as "charming music," "expression of approbation" and "first step," for example, became "really charming and completely distinctive music," "expression of enthusiasm and even approbation," and "first and successful step" (MS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Slave 80, ff12v, 15r, 17r, cf. S.XIV. 287, 293, 296).

⁶ See Bibliothèque Nationale, Slave 80, ff14v-15r; Naf 16995, ff200v-202r.

⁷ Only a little more than a year earlier Turgenev had publicly protested against a letter (that he had grounds to think might be published) written by Fëdor Dostoevskij to Apollon Majkov, in which Dostoevskij claimed that Turgenev had told him that he considered himself a German and no longer a Russian, and that he was proud of the fact. (See Turgenev 1960, P.VII.17 and 452; F.M. Dostoevskij, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij v 30-ti tomakh*, XVIII, ed. G.M. Fridlender [Leningrad: Nauka, 1985], 210-12 and 451.) A few years later Dostoevskij caricatured the "foreign" Turgenev in his novel *Besy* [The Devils].

⁸ Turgenev 1960, S.XIV.291-93.

Chapter IV

¹ Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.6, 9, 11-14, 19.

² Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.36, 39, 40, 47.

A.A. Gozenpud suggests that, in addition to *le Miroir*, Turgenev may also have been working on the recently published text conditionally entitled *Mimica* (see Turgenev 1978, S.XII.701).

³ Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.50, 68; P.VII.301, 317, 322.

The biographical note in P.VI.634 suggests that Fredro was responsible for some of the stage and costume designs for the operettas, but no source is given for this information. The previously cited note found in the Fredro archives and addressed to "Babakhan" (see fn. II,8) suggests that *le Miroir* made at least enough of an impression for the person designated to perform the part, Fredro, to become identified with the character of Babakhan.

⁴ The date and the pieces performed at the *aubade* have been the source of considerable dispute. In his biography of Brahms, Max Kalbeck suggests that Brahms composed a "Morgenständchen" specifically for Pauline's birthday as a *quid pro quo* for his conducting of *le Dernier Sorcier*

[Chapter IV]

and gives the far too early date of 1865 (Kalbeck, II/1, 168-69). All the known accounts published in reminiscences were written not only many years later, but also by people who could have heard about the event only from hearsay. Thus Anna Schoen-René, who tells the story of the singers' being chased away by a solicitous butler, threatening to douse them with cold water to prevent them from waking the mistress of the house, gives the impossible date of 1852 (Anna Eugénie Schoen-René, *America's Musical Inheritance: Memories and Reminiscences* [New York: Putnam's, 1941], 151-53). Florence May gives the equally impossible "seventies" in her *The Life of Johannes Brahms*, 2nd ed., vol. II (London: Wm. Reeves [1905?]), 360. Schoen-René's account, with its very unlikely quartet of singers, Marianne Brandt, Désirée Artôt, Albert Niemann and Emil Scaria (more than ten years separated Brandt and Artôt as Pauline's pupils and Pauline did not take on male singers) has led to the suggestion that it might have been one of Brahms's *Liebeswülzer* (the first series of which [op. 52] he was composing in the summer of 1869) that was performed (see Waddington 1983, 182 and 1985, 65). This also seems unlikely, given that the *Liebeswülzer* were composed with an accompaniment for piano duet. An obscure memorial notice for Pauline by the one participant correctly identified by Schoen-René, Marianne Brandt, provides the necessary information to confirm the date as 1869, the participants as including the von Asten sisters, Julie and Anna, as well as giving some details of the occasion. In her feuilleton Brandt recounts how, during her stay in Baden in the summer of 1869, "... schlugen Astens vor, Frauenchöre von Schumann und Brahms zu studieren und der Meisterin damit ein Ständchen zu bringen. Julie v. Asten und Brahms unterzogen sich die Mühe, uns vier Chöre einzupauken, was mit den ungeschulten Chorsängerinnen und bei der damals herrschenden Hitze keine Kleinigkeit war. [...] unser Geburtstagsprogramme [war] folgendes: Um 6 Uhr früh unsere beim Gärtner vorher bestellten Bouquets abholen, in corpore zur Villa Viardot hinaufziehen, um 7 Uhr da die Chöre absingen, dann alle zusammen auf der Molkenkur einem nahen Kaffeehause, frühstücken. Alles war auch pünktlich zur Stelle. Einige Eingeweihte waren als Zuhörer erschienen und, von Brahms feurig dirigiert, sangen wir unter die Meisterin Fenster unsere Chöre in die frische Morgenluft hinaus. Aber o weh! Nichts rührte sich in der Villa. Die Jalousien blieben geschlossen. Weder Schumann noch Brahms hatten vermocht, das schlafende Dornröschen zu wecken. Wir Mädchen schlugen vor, abzuziehen, Brahms jedoch hielt stand und wir sangen von neuem die ersten zwei Chöre. Nun endlich wurde im Erdgeschoß ein Fenster geöffnet (die Schlafzimmer lagen im ersten Stocke). Schnell schwang sich von der Veranda aus der damals noch schlanke Brahms auf das Fenster, sprang von da in den Salon und sperrte uns von innen die Türe auf. Wir traten ein, legten schweigend unsere Bouquets auf dem Tisch und wollten uns, Dieben gleich, davonschleichen. Da teilt sich eine Portière und herein schwebt im

[Chapter IV]

weißen Morgengewande Madame Viardot. Uns alle umarmend dankt sie für die schöne Ueberraschung und sagt: "Verzeihung, meine Lieben, wir waren gestern auf einer Soiree und sind sehr spät zu Bett gekommen. Wir schliefen noch ganz fest, als wir durch ein Geräusch geweckt wurden. Mein Mann sagt: "Ein Hund bellt!" steht auf, sieht hinaus, da hören wir, daß gesungen wird." Herrn Viardots schönes Kompliment verfeßte uns in heiterste Stimmung. Wir stellten uns sangesfreudig nochmals auf, wiederholten alle vier Chöre und zogen mit einem musikalischen "Lebe hoch!" endlich ab." ("Erinnerungen an Pauline Viardot," *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), Nr.16430 (21.V. 1910), 1-2. I am grateful to Dr. K.-D. Fischer of Erfurt for bringing this item to my attention.) As for the pieces themselves, at least one of them is identified by Max Friedländer who, in writing of the German folk-songs arranged by Brahms for women's voices, states that: "One of them, in three parts, *Da unten im Tale* [Down below in the Valley], was placed by Brahms, in 1869, at the disposal of Julie von Asten and Anna Schultzen von Asten, whose artistic talent he valued highly, for a serenade intended for Frau Viardot-Garcia." (Max Friedländer, *Brahms's Lieder*, trans. C. Leonard Leese [Oxford and London: OUP and Humphrey Milford, 1928. Rpt.: New York: AMS Press, 1976], 209-10. See also Sophie Drinker, *Brahms and his Women's Choruses* [Merion, PA: Author, 1952], 80-81. The von Astens had been members of the ladies' choral group that Brahms had conducted in Vienna and that performed the German folk-songs that he had arranged for three and four-part female chorus when he had been conductor of a similar choral society in Hamburg.) The probability of a performance later that same day is suggested by a recently published letter from Turgenev to Brahms dated 16.VII.1869 in which Turgenev writes: "Bei alle dem hoffe Ich, unsere kleine Sürprise Sonntag abends im Theater der Frau Viardot zu Stande zu bringen—und es wäre uns höchst angenehm <sein>, wenn Sie erlaubten wollen, Ihre Chöre zu wiederholen." (Waddington 1985, 65 and Fischer, 410). This would suggest that a more elaborate surprise was being planned for that evening and that Turgenev was aware of the intended morning performance by Brahms and Pauline's pupils. Consequently he requested that the choruses be included in the evening's events, perhaps as a prelude to the operetta performance (which may well have taken place in the new theatre, which was almost certainly completed, even though it had not yet been "inaugurated").

⁵ Turgenev 1972, 249-50.

⁶ Turgenev 1971, I, 249-51. Milde, II, 31-32.

⁷ Milde, II, 32-33.

⁸ Kraetz, 13-17. Pietsch 1869a, IV, 2. Turgenev 1971, I, 251.

[Chapter IV]

⁹ Turgenev 1971, I, 251. Milde, II, 33-35.

¹⁰ NBMz, 1869, No.38 (22.IX), 314; Gm, 1869, No.40 (7.X), n. pag. Two Russian newspapers, *Syn otečestva* (16.IX.1869 o.s.) and *Peterburgskaja gazeta* (18.IX.1869 o.s., 3), also picked up this story. The NBMz account is such as to suggest that the author was personally present at the performance; it is signed "I" and may therefore have been by Pohl.

The idea of singing off-stage seems to have made an impression on the Mildes, for not only was the same trick employed for a performance of *le Dernier Sorcier* a few months later in Weimar (see *infra*), but, in 1876, their son Franz made his Weimar *début* as a singer from off-stage! (Milde, II, 140.) More recently, faced with the sudden indisposition of a replacement tenor, a similar solution was adopted at the Metropolitan Opera in New York (see *New York Times*, 26.III.1984, III, 21:1).

¹¹ Milde, II, 34. Kalbeck II/2, 300-01 (with the incorrect date of 1865). The only firm indication of when Brahms conducted comes from an undated postcard to Hermann Levi in which Brahms writes to express his regrets at being unable to be at a rehearsal of his "waltzes" in Karlsruhe because of this commitment. A public rehearsal of the *Liebeswälzer* took place on 24.VIII and Clara Schumann's diary entry of that day indicates that she went to Karlsruhe alone that day to hear them (she and Brahms were to play the two piano parts at the *première* the following January), suggesting that this was the occasion on which Brahms was forced—very reluctantly—to miss a rehearsal, and therefore the occasion on which he conducted *le Dernier Sorcier*. (See Johannes Brahms, *Briefwechsel*, VII [Berlin: Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1910], 51 and Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann. Ein Künstlerleben*, 7th ed., III [Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1920], 231.)

¹² Turgenev 1971, I, 251. *Badeblatt*, 1869, No. 134 (11.IX). Pietsch 1869a, IV, 2-3 (cf. Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.85). Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.102. This is the version of the text originally published in Lit. nasl. 1964, I, 91-106 and reprinted in Turgenev 1978, S.XII.7-25, where, however, the earlier version is also now published, as a draft (S.XII.433-45).

¹ See, e.g., Turgenev 1974, 148.

² Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.187. *Badeblatt*, 1870, No.226 (7.II), 1480.

³ Kilian, 288-89. Devrient, II, 566, 510-1, 439-40.

[Chapter V]

⁴ Devrient, II, 541-49. Concerning Wagner, see *infra*, including fn. V.18. Quotation from Kilian, 288. Concerning interference on behalf of Pauline's students, see Devrient II, 530, 540.

⁵ Devrient I, 387-88. Hock, 271-73 (see also Devrient, II, 540-41; Turgenev 1972, 327). AMZ, 1870, No.6 (9.II), 47. See also the very positive appraisal of Magdalene Murjahn in DSb, X (1869), No.7, 50.

⁶ Devrient 429. Turgenev 1978, S.XII.241 (the names of the designated actors in the MS of *l'Auberge* correspond to actors in the Karlsruhe company in the latter 1860s. It is quite possible that this work dates from 1867; a Pietsch drawing of Turgenev reading from this work is itself dated "20.7.67," see Turgenev 1923, 119). Devrient, II, 532. Turgenev 1960, P.IX.88.

Turgenev first attacked Devrient publicly in his article on the Weimar production of *Der letzte Zauberer* (Turgenev 1960, S.XIV.293), but it is quite possible that Devrient may never have found out about this Russian publication. He would certainly have become aware of the second such attack (which, of course, came after the Karlsruhe performances of the operetta), in the text of "Vešnie vody." This was even discussed in the German press (Turgenev 1960, S.XI.129 and 469-70). At the same time, it should be noted that shortly before the Weimar performances, in a letter written to N.A. Miljutin, Turgenev wrote of his life in Karlsruhe: "Life in Karlsruhe flows very quietly and peacefully; though I have made a number of pleasant acquaintances. The theatre is not bad, and one can hear a lot of good music." (Turgenev 1960, P.VII.327.)

⁷ Gm, 1870, No.1 (6.I), n. pag. (A shorter report to the same effect also appeared in the NBMz, 1870, No.2 [12.II], 15.) *Le Ménestrel*, 1870, No.7 (16.I), 55. Gm, 1870, No.3 (20.I), n. pag. I am grateful to Prof. Patrick Waddington for information about Devrient's letter to Pauline Viardot, dated 7.I.69 (in error for 70).

⁸ Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.187. (For the programme of the first Karlsruhe programme, see Lit. nasl. 1964, I, 217—the fact that "Herr Devrient" was Otto is established in Eduard Devrient's diaries, see Devrient, II, 567.) For the additional music, see Žekulin 1987, 415.

⁹ Devrient, II, 567.

¹⁰ *Signale*, 1870, No.8 (3.II), 122; NZfM, 1870, No.6 (4.II), 59. These brief initial reports seem to have given the impression in certain quarters that the performance had been a success. In London, *The Athenæum* picked up the *Signale* report and deduced that the operetta "seems destined to make the grand tour of the theatre [...]" (No.2370. 12.II.1870,

[Chapter V]

237). In Russia, the journal *Modnyj svet* also reported briefly that "the audience received the opera very favourably." (No.26, 8.VI.1870 o.s., 241.)

¹¹ NBMz, 1870, No.6 (9.II), 46. *Signale*, 1870, No.10 (10.II), 156. See also *Berliner Musikzeitung (Echo)*, 1870, No.6, 46.

¹² *Musikalisches Wochenblatt. Organ für Tonkünstler und Musikfreunde*, 1870, No.6 (4.II), 93.

¹³ *Badische Landeszeitung*, 1870, No.26 (1.II), 1. Lit. nasl. 1964, I, 218.

¹⁴ Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.188. *Badischer Beobachter*, 1870, No.31 (6.II), as quoted in Schwirtz 1959, 529. *Badeblatt*, 1870, No.226 (7.II), 1480. Wilhelmi was the pseudonym of the Dresden author Alexander Zechmeister (1817-77).

¹⁵ AMZ, 1870, No.6 (9.II), 47.

¹⁶ Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.188. Reports in the AMZ and elsewhere point to the fact that musical criticism in Karlsruhe was undergoing traumatic conflicts and transition at around this time (see, e.g., AMZ, 1869, No.14 (7.IV), 111; 1870, No.13 (30.III), 103).

¹⁷ AMZ, 1870, No.8 (23.II), 61.

¹⁸ Devrient, II, 426, 462, 548, 555, 557, (quotation:) 537. Devrient, II, 540. See Julius Bab, *Die Devrients* (Berlin: G. Stilke, 1932), 169-73. The Wagner pamphlet attacking Devrient first appeared anonymously, but a second "edition" followed quickly under Wagner's own name.

¹⁹ Curt von Westernhagen, "Richard Wagner. 6: Critical and Theoretical Writings," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, XX, 111. Cosima Wagner, *Die Tagebücher*, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin and Dietrich Mack, I (Munich and Zurich: R. Piper & Co., 1976), 51, 68, 72. I am grateful to Prof. Patrick Waddington for information about the Levi letter to Pauline Viardot dated 22.III.1869.

²⁰ Mouchanoff, 124. Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.79.

²¹ AMZ, 1870, No.8 (23.II), 61. The author cites Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*, Weber's *Oberon* and Daniel Auber's "opéra-féerique" *le Cheval de Bronze* (which has in its cast a fairy princess named Stella!) as fully-accepted examples of the fantastic in opera.

Chapter V

²² DSb, 1870, No.3, 122-23.

²³ Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.181, 183, 185-86.

Chapter VI

¹ Turgenev 1960, P.VII.245. Turgenev 1972, 251. Ziegegeist 1986, 251; Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.146. Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.154-55. Milde, II, 46; Schorn 1911, II, 190-91; Gm, 1870, No.1 (6.I), n. pag. Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.188.

² Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.183, 185. P.VIII.200. Schwirtz 1959, 531. Schorn 1911, II, 190-91; Milde, II, 46; NBMz, 1870, No.12 (23.III), 95; Gm, 1870, No.18, (5.V), n. pag.

³ Schorn 1901, 161-62. Schorn 1911, II, 191.
For details of the "Portrait Game," see Marion Mainwaring, ed., *The Portrait Game* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1973).

⁴ Turgenev 1971, II, 253. L.B. Mozdalevskij, "Vospominanija K.N. Mozdalevskogo o vstrečakh s I.S. Turgenevym," in *I.S. Turgenev: Materialy i issledovanija. Sbornik*, ed. N.L. Brodskij (Orel: Izd-vo Orlovskogo Oblastnogo Soveta, 1940), 51. Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.239-40, 194.

⁵ Turgenev 1971, I, 173-74; Schultze, 294. NBMz, 1870, No.15 (13.IV), 118 (see also NZfM, 1870, No. 11 [11.III], 109; Gm, 1870, No.16 [21.IV], n. pag.; AMZ, 1870, No.24 [15.VI], 191). Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.217. NBMz, 1870, No.19 (11.V), 149; *Berliner Musikzeitung (Echo)*, 1870, No.14 (6.IV), 161; *Signale*, 1870, No.28 (12.V), 442, as quoted in Schultze, 294-95.

⁶ Lit. nasl. 1964, I, 111. See also Schwirtz 1969.

⁷ *Zeitung für Stadt und Land*, 1870, No.76 (2/14.IV [sic]. Schwirtz 1969, 288 mistakenly gives "March"). *Rižskij vestnik*, 1870, No.76 (4/16.IV), 2.
As is clear from the indication on the Decugis-Le Cesne copy of the MS, Pauline Viardot certainly knew of this performance (see *infra*, Appendix I).

⁸ *Zeitung für Stadt und Land*, 1870, No.76 (2/14.IV).
In Riga, German translations of the names of the characters were adopted.

⁹ *Riga'sche Zeitung*, 1870, No.75 (1/13.IV [sic]. Schwirtz 1969, 288 again mistakenly gives "March").

[Chapter VI]

¹⁰ *Rižskij vestnik*, 1870, No.76 (4/16.IV), 2.

There is no reference to the Riga performances in Turgenev's correspondence. The Schweinfurth referred to in his letter to Pauline Viardot of 31.III.1870 cannot be, as suggested by the editor (Turgenev 1971, I, 174), the Riga native Georg Schweinfurth who was, at the time of the Riga performance, at the mid-point of his three year exploration of Central Africa (see his *The Heart of Africa: Three Years' Travels and Adventures in the Unexplored Regions of Central Africa From 1868-1871* [London: 1873. Rpt.: London: Gregg, 1969], II, 147).

¹¹ Mouchanoff, 124, 127, 129, 140, 173, 182, 217. Turgenev 1972, 318. (See also fn. III.3.)

For the Mukhanov years at the State Theatres in Warsaw, see Józef Szczublewski, *Wielki i Smutny Teatr Warszawski (1868-1880)* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1963), 9-21. *Le Dernier Sorcier* does not appear in the list of *Wielki Teatr* productions given in this study.

¹² Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.64-65. Héritte, 156-57. Turgenev 1972, 99; 1971, I, 110 (cf Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.279). Turgenev 1971, I, 185.

Interestingly, in attempting to arrange a Russian performance of their operetta, Turgenev and Pauline Viardot decided to act through Louise (despite the frequently strained relations between Louise and her parents) and therefore through Serov (whom Turgenev had probably met in 1864—Turgenev 1971, I, 114 makes it clear that they knew each other by this time—but with whom there were no close contacts), rather than through Anton Rubinstein whose position as a former director of the St. Petersburg Conservatory was arguably more influential, and whose relationship with Pauline was of much longer standing (they had taken part in concerts together as early as 1853). As a result of the time spent in Baden during the 1860s (much of it at the Viardot villa), Rubinstein had become a close friend. In 1865 he had even married, in Baden, one of Pauline's pupils, Vera Čekuanova (see A.S. Rozanov, "I.S. Turgenev i P. Viardot v vospominanijakh V.A. Rubinstein," in *Pamjatniki kul'tury. Novye otkrytija. Ežegodnik 1980* [Leningrad: Nauka, 1981], 153-57). It had been Rubinstein who introduced Turgenev to the music publisher Johansen, and he played a very active part in the publishing of Pauline's first book of *Lieder* in Russia (Turgenev 1972, 98; 1971, I, 109).

¹³ Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.217, 224-25, 229, 231-32, 240, 243, 255.

¹⁴ Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.277 (see also M.B. Rabinovič, "I.S. Turgenev i Franko-Prusskaja vojna 1870-1871 gg.," in *I.S. Turgenev. Voprosy biografii i tvorčestva*, ed. M.P. Alekseev [Leningrad: Nauka, 1982], 99-108). Eugenie Schumann, *The Schumanns and Johannes Brahms. Memoirs* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1970. Rpt. of 1927 ed.), 126-27 (where it is,

[Chapter VI]

however, mistakenly said that the Viardots left from Baden directly for Paris). Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.281, 285; Turgenev 1971, I, 175. Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.293, 303, 311-12.

Even before Pauline's departure for London, the German press—and some friends and acquaintances—began to accuse the former "hochgeschätzte" artiste of anti-German sentiments (see, e.g., AMZ, 1870, No.42 (19.X), 335; Turgenev 1971, I, 182-83).

¹⁵ For Turgenev's complaints about the weather and its deleterious effects on the health, see P.VIII.303, 320; Turgenev 1972, 169. For this London exile, see Viardot, 21-29 and Patrick Waddington, *Turgenev and England* (New York: NYUP, 1981), 141-62. George Henry Lewes's diary entry for 11.XI.1870 shows that that day he and George Eliot attended such a gathering at which Pauline sang. (Unpublished MS in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Cited with kind permission.)

¹⁶ Turgenev 1960, P.IX.6, 8. G.H. Lewes, MS Diary for 11.II.1871. Schumann—Brahms, I, 637-38.

¹ See Waddington 1983, 209-15; Alexandre Zviguilsky, "Tourguéniev à Bougival," *CahTVM*, 5 (1981), 19-27.

² See, e.g., Turgenev 1960, P.VIII.100. Patrick Waddington, *Turgenev and George Sand: An Improbable Entente* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble, 1981), 61.

³ Turgenev 1960, P.XII.206-07. (For Turgenev and Aleksandr Čudinov [1843-1908], see G.B. Kurljandskaja, "I.S. Turgenev i «Orlovskij vestnik»," in I.S. Turgenev (1818 - 1883 - 1958). Stat'i i materialy, ed. M.P. Alekseev [Orel: Orlovskoe knižnoe izd-vo, 1960], 571-92.) Waddington 1985, 73. A recent addition to this letter adds the line "Madame Viardot est la première à le regretter" (referring to the fact that *le Dernier Sorcier* had never been engraved) (Patrick Waddington, "More Turgenev gleanings," *New Zealand Slavonic Journal*, 1988, Part II, 98).

⁴ S. Romm [Gurevič], "Iz dalekogo prošlogo. Vospominanija ob Ivane Sergeeviče Turgeneve," *Vestnik Evropy*, 1916, No.11, 124-25, 130-31. Turgenev 1972, 290-91.

⁵ Čajkovskij mentions the evening in a letter to Nadežda von Meck (see P.Čajkovskij, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij. Literaturnye proizvedenija i perepiska*, XVA, ed. K.Ju. Davydova and G.I. Labutina [Moscow: Muzyka, 1976], 88-

89). Based on this account, it has been assumed that it was a performance of *le Dernier Sorcier* that Čajkovskij attended, but the short account (from which the quotations are drawn) in an English-language (Paris-based?) newspaper preserved in the Viardot scrapbooks (but with the date and even the name of the newspaper cut off) and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (BN, Naf 16278, f208) makes it clear that it was *Trop de femmes* that Čajkovskij saw and heard. The *le Dernier Sorcier* programme (bound in with the MSS in the Decugis—Le Cesne archives) has been reproduced a number of times, though not in colour (see, e.g. Lit. nasl. 1964, I, 221; Month, 53). For Turgenev, the cello and A.A. Brandukov (1856-1930), see M.L. Vasilenko-Leviton, "Vospominanija o Turgeneve i o Poline Viardot," *Sovetskaja muzyka*, 1951, No.7, 75-76.

* Turgenev 1972, 327. Marix-Spire, 66.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

(Diacritics have been ignored in establishing alphabetical order.)

- AMZ.** Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung. Musical weekly. Leipzig.
- Badeblatt.** *Badeblatt für die Großherzogliche Stadt Baden.* Weekly newspaper. Baden-Baden.
- Brand-Seltei.** Brand-Seltei, Erna. *Belcanto. Ein Kulturgeschichte der Gesangkunst.* Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen's Verlag, 1972.
- CahTVM.** *Cahiers Ivan Tourguéniev, Pauline Viardot, Maria Malibran, 1 (1977)* —. Ed. Alexandre Zviguilsky. Paris: Association des Amis d'Ivan Tourguéniev, Pauline Viardot et Maria Malibran.
- Devrient** Devrient, Eduard. *Aus seinem Tagebücher.* 2 vols. Ed. Rolf Kabel. Weimar: Böhlau Nachfolger, 1964.
- DSb.** *Die deutsche Schaubühne.* Theatrical and operatic monthly. Leipzig.
- Durand.** Durand, Sextius. "Correspondance de Bade." *La France musicale*, 1868, No. 36 (6.IX), 281-83.
- F.B.** F.B., "[Report from Weimar]." *DSb*, X (1869), 5-6 (May-June), 128-31.
- Fischer.** Fischer, K.-D. "Turgenevs Beziehung zu Johannes Brahms." *Zeitschrift für Slawistik*, 32 (1987), 402-10.
- Fm.** *La France musicale.* Musical weekly. Paris.
- Geršenzon.** "Der letzte Zauberer." In *Russkie propilei*, III. Ed. M.O. Geršenzon. Moscow: Sabašnikov, 1916, pp. 282-94 and 343-45.
- Gm.** *Le Guide musical.* Musical weekly. Brussels.
- Gottschalg 1869a.** [Gottschalg, A.W.], "[Review]." *Weimarische Zeitung*, 24.IV. 1869. Authorship is established by the coincidence of several passages with Gottschalg 1869b.

- Gottschalg 1869b.** Gottschalg, A.W. "Correspondenz. Weimar (Schluß)." *NZfM*, 1869, No. 22 (28.V), 184-85.
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INDEX OF NAMES

(Diacritics have been ignored in establishing alphabetical order.)

Alexander I, Czar of Russia	78
Annenkov, Pavel Vasil'evič	5, 15, 18, 25, 26, 42-44, 46, 78
Aristophanes	59
Armbruster, [?]	11
von Arnim, Bettina	17, 78
Artôt, Désirée	17, 77, 88
von Asten, Anna [Schultzen]	47, 48, 88, 89
von Asten, Julie	88, 89
Auber, Daniel François Esprit	92
Augusta, Queen of Prussia (later Empress of Germany)	9, 17, 18, 28, 30, 36, 49, 68, 78
de Baillodz, Anna	24, 82
Barnay, Marie	32, 37
Beauval, Alfred	25, 26
Begas, Oskar	28
Bellini, Vincenzo	30, 85
Bénazet, Edouard	8
de Bériot, Charles	2, 17
de Bériot, Charles-Wilfred	17
Berlioz, (Louis) Hector	3, 6-8, 29, 48, 82
von Bismark, Otto	67
Boni, Amalie	54
Both, [?]	85
Botkin, Vasilij Petrovič	19, 33, 35, 78, 79
Brahms, Johannes	iii, 46, 47, 49, 62, 77, 87-90
Brandt, Marianne	64, 87, 88
Brandukov, Anatolij Andreevič	71, 96
Browning, Robert	68
Bruère, Gaston	35, 76
Bruère, Paulinette [Tourguéneff]	5, 11, 35, 76
Brulliot, Karl	53, 60
Bury, [?]	47
Čajkovskij, Pëtr Il'ič	71, 95, 96
Calderón de la Barca, Pedro	53
Carvalho, Léon	7
Cavaillé-Coll, Aristide	9
Čekuanova — see Rubinstein, V.A.	
de Cervantes-Saavedra, Miguel	3

Chaikovsky — see Čajkovskij	
Chopin, Fryderyk	30
Chorley, Henry Fothergill	19, 20, 47, 79
Cormon, Eugène	40
Cornelius, Peter	40
Čudinov, Aleksandr Nikolaevič	69, 95
da Ponte, Lorenzo	iii, 1, 75
Devrient, Eduard	51-56, 58, 91, 92
Devrient, Otto	53, 54, 60, 91
Devrient, Therese	53
Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth	44, 66
Dingelstedt, Franz	29, 39
Doepler, Karl	32, 83
Dohm, Ernst	63
Dostoevskij, Fëdor Mikhajlovič	87
Durand, Sextius	26, 77
Duvernoy, Alphonse	iii
Eckert, Karl	iii, 25, 35, 47, 48, 63, 64, 80, 82
Eckert, Kathi	iii, 25, 35, 47, 64
Eliot, George [Mary Ann Evans]	68, 95
Ferlesi, Albertina	17
Fet — see Foeth	
Fischer, F. Th.	47
Fischer, K.-D.	89
Flaubert, Gustave	35
von Flemming, Albert	17, 28, 78
von Flemming, Armgard	17, 28
Foeth (Šenšin), Afanasij Afanas'evič	35
Fredro, Maximilian	46, 81, 87
Friedländer, Max	89
Friedrich I, Grand Duke of Baden	51-54, 56, 58
Friedrich Wilhelm, Crown Prince of Prussia	18, 28, 50, 68
Garcia, Manuel	1, 17, 47, 48, 68, 78, 85
Garcia, Manuel del Popolo Vincente	1-3, 10
Garcia, Maria Joaquina	1-3
Gasser, Hans	36
Gautier, Théophile	3
Gedeonov, Stepan Aleksandrovič	iii
von Gluck, Christoph Willibald	7, 9, 36, 62
von Goethe, Johann Wolfgang	17, 29, 31, 35, 36, 38, 44, 78, 83
Gogol', Nikolaj Vasil'evič	4, 6
von Görger — see Orgeni	
Gottschalg, Alexander	34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 85

Gounod, Charles	iii, 6, 51, 68
Gozenpud, Abram Akimovič	iii, 87
Grisi, Giulia	2, 17, 77
Gurevič — see Romm	
Händel, [?]	32, 83
Hartmann, Moritz	28, 81
Hasselmans, Marie	15, 49
Hauser, Joseph	56
Hausmann, Marie	48, 52, 53, 55, 60
Hebbel, Friedrich	36
Héritte, Louise [Viardot]	iii, 5, 6, 16, 18, 38, 44, 66, 83, 94
Héritte de la Tour, Ernest	5, 16
Héritte de la Tour, Louis Jean Paul	5, 16
Hetzl, Jules	13, 17, 19-22, 42, 44, 46, 62, 82, 93
Holmsen, Karen	31, 83
Innis, Maria	11
Iogansen — see Johansen	
Johansen, Avgust Rejngol'dovič	10, 43, 83, 94
Kalergis — see Mukhanova	
Kalbeck, Max	87
Karl Alexander, Grand Duke of Sachsen-Weimar	29-32, 35, 37, 38, 43, 44, 62, 63, 72, 81, 85, 86
Karl August, Grand Duke of Sachsen-Weimar	29, 44
Karl Friedrich, Grand Duke of Sachsen-Weimar	29
Keller, Otto	34
Kišinskij, Nikita Alekseevič	25
Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb	44
Knopp, Karl	37
Lablache, Luigi	2, 17, 77
de La Fontaine, Jean	21
Lallemand, C[harles ?]	21, 79
Lambert, Elizaveta Egorovna	6, 11
Lassen, Edouard	30, 31, 33, 35-40, 47, 48, 63, 65, 70, 83
Leighton, Frederick	68
Léonard, Antonia	17, 47, 78
Léonard, Hubert	17, 47, 48, 77
Leonardo da Vinci	36
Leroux, Pierre	3
Lessing, Karl	62
Levi, Hermann	17, 28, 52, 53, 58, 59, 90, 92
Lewes, George Henry	68, 95

Lind, Jenny	1
Liszt, Ferencz (Franz)	2, 8, 29-31, 33-39, 43, 48, 63, 66
72, 82, 83	
Littre, (Maximilien Paul) Emile	35
von Loën, August	30, 31, 36, 62, 81
Lüdecke, Marianne	17
Luise, Grand Duchess of Baden	51, 54, 56
Lynen, Marie	70
Majkov, Apollon Nikolaevič	87
Malibran, Eugène	1, 2
Malibran, Maria-Félicité	1, 2, 17
Maria Pavlovna, Grand Duchess of Russia (and Sachsen-Weimar)	30
Mario, Giovanni Matteo (de Candia)	17, 77
Markovič, Marija Aleksandrovna	6
Markwordt, [?]	65
Marshall, James	36
May, Florence	88
Mayer, Louise	64
von Meck, Nadežda Filaretovna	95
Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix	40, 58
Menzel, Adolph	62
Meyerbeer, Giacomo (Jakob)	7, 30, 58, 62, 82, 85
von Milde, Franz	90
von Milde, (Hans) Feodor	32, 34, 37, 38, 47-49, 63, 85, 90
von Milde, Rosa	31, 38, 39, 90
Miljutin, Nikolaj Alekseevič	91
Molière, Jean-Baptiste (Poquelin)	10
Mörke, Eduard	31, 83
Mouchanoff — see Mukhanova	
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus	iii, 1, 3, 36, 47, 75, 85, 92
Mozdalevskij, Konstantin Nikolaevič	63
Mukhanov, Sergej	66, 94
Mukhanova, Marija Fëdorovna	30, 59, 65, 66
Murjahn, Magdalene	28, 52, 53, 55, 60, 91
de Musset, Alfred	3
Napoléon I, Emperor of France	78
Napoléon III, Emperor of France	9, 14, 51, 67, 68
Narrey, Charles	53
Naumann, Ernst	49
Nicholas I, Czar of Russia	6
Niemann, Albert	88
Offenbach, Jacques	7, 34, 63
Olive, Joseph	11, 13, 14, 67, 76
Orgeni, (Anna Maria) Aglaja [von Görger]	9, 10, 52, 78, 82

Perrault, Charles	21
Persiani-Tacchinardi, Fanny	2
Peruzzi, Antonio	17, 18, 81
Pietsch, Ludwig	7, 14-17, 19, 21-24, 26, 27, 35, 46, 47, 49, 53, 56, 58, 62, 65, 69, 75-80, 82, 91
Podolsky, [?]	37
Pohl, Jeanne	48
Pohl, Richard	8, 15-17, 21, 28, 33, 34, 40, 48, 55, 59, 63, 80, 84, 90
Pomey, Louis	7, 11, 12, 15, 71, 75, 76, 80, 81
Pomey, Thérèse	71
von Pülitz, Gustav	55
Puškin, Aleksandr Sergeevič	iii, 74
Radecke, [?]	85
Ralston, William Ralston Sheddon	66
Raphael (Raffaello Santi)	36
Reicha, Antonín	1
Reiss, Anna	32, 37
Rietschel, Ernest	36
Rietz, Julius	6
Romm, Sof'ja Evseevna [née Gurevič]	70, 71
Rosenheim, Jacques	17
Rossini, Gioacchino Antonio	1, 2, 30, 64
Rubens, Peter Paul	36
Rubini, Giovanni-Batista	2, 17, 77
Rubinstein, Anton Grigor'evič	19, 33, 35, 46, 93, 94
Rubinstein, Vera Aleksandrovna [née Čekuanova]	94
Saint-Saens, Camille	34, 84
Sainte-Beuve, Charles-Augustin	35
Sand, George [Lucile Aurore Dudevant]	3, 25, 69, 72
von Sayn-Wittgenstein, Caroline	29, 31, 33
Scaria, Emil	88
Schauffert, Hippolyt	36
Scheffer, Ary	6
von Schiller, (Johann Christoph) Friedrich	35, 36, 38, 44
Schoen-René, Anna	88
von Schorn, Adelheid	63
von Schorn, Henrietta	33
Schroedter (Schrödter), Adolf	78
Schroedter (Schrödter), Alwina	18, 78
Schubert, Franz	7
Schultzen — see von Asten, Anna	
Schumann, Clara	9, 10, 17, 19, 32, 68, 77, 90
Schumann, Robert	9, 88
Schwab, François	80

Schweinfurth, Georg	94
Schwirtz, Gregor	iii
Serov, Aleksandr Nikolaevič	44, 66, 94
Serova, Valentina Semënovna	66
Shakespeare, William	35, 36, 39, 40, 44, 53
Sitchès — see Garcia, Maria Joaquina	
Sitgès — see Garcia, Maria Joaquina	
Sophie, Grand Duchess of Sachsen-Weimar	29, 30, 36, 38, 85
Stahl, P.-J. — see Hetzel	
Stradivari(us), (Giacomo) Antonio	75
Tamburini, Antonio	2
Tchaikovsky — see Čajkovskij	
Thomas, (Charles Louis) Ambroise	71
Thomas, Elvira	71
Tourguéneff, Paulinette — see Bruère, Paulinette	
Turgenev, Ivan Sergeevič	<i>passim</i>
Turgenev, Nikolaj Ivanovič	24
Turgenev, Nikolaj Nikolaevič	11, 14, 25
Turgenev, Sergej Nikolaevič	4
Turgeneva, Ol'ga Aleksandrovna	6
Turgeneva, Pelageja — see Bruère, Paulinette	
Turgeneva, Varvara Petrovna	4-6
Vasilenko-Leviton, Marija L'vovna	70
Verdi, Giuseppe	64, 65
Viardot, Claudie	5, 6, 16, 18, 20, 24, 25, 28, 38, 46-49, 61-63, 67-72, 78, 80-82
Viardot, Louis	iii, 2-11, 13, 17, 18, 24, 25, 28, 38, 46, 48, 59, 61, 67, 68, 71, 72, 75, 80, 89
Viardot, Louise — see Héritte	
Viardot, Marianne	5, 6, 16, 18, 20, 24, 38, 46, 48, 49, 61, 67-69, 71, 72, 80
Viardot, Paul	5, 6, 10, 16-18, 20, 22, 24, 25, 28, 37, 38, 46, 48, 49, 61, 68, 71, 72, 75, 77
Viardot, Pauline	<i>passim</i>
Victoria, Crown Princess of Prussia	19
Victoria, Queen of England	19
Vjazemskij, Pëtr Andreevič	74
Waddington, Patrick	79, 91, 92
Wagner, Cosima	59
Wagner, Richard	8, 28-32, 35, 36, 40, 51-53, 58-60, 63- 65, 70, 82-84, 91, 92
Wassilenko — see Vasilenko-Leviton	
von Weber, Karl Maria	32, 36, 85, 92
Wieland, Christoph Martin	36, 38, 44

Wilhelm I, King of Prussia (later Emperor of Germany) . . .	17, 18, 31
68, 78	
Wilhelmi (pseud.) — see Zechmeister	
Zechmeister, Alexander	55, 92
Zu Lauffen, Baron	17

APPENDIX I

The Archives Decugis-Le Cesne contain two manuscripts pertaining to *Le Dernier Sorcier* which have recently been bound together in a single volume, prefaced by a copy of the famous programme of the 1886 Paris performance. This volume was exhibited in 1983 at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, as part of the Exhibition devoted to *A Month in the Country* (Catalogue item 37).

The first MS contains the piano score (in a copyist's hand?) with the words of the sung text (in Pauline Viardot's hand) in French and German (added pages have only a French text). The MS, which was obviously not written all at the same time, has 62 pages on various sheets of music manuscript paper (315 mm high x 240 mm wide), written on both *recto* and *verso*, with continuous page numbering, but with some pages left blank. The "Introduction" (composed for Weimar) is for piano four hands, the remainder of the work for piano two hands and voice. The title-page of this MS is set out as follows:

Introduction
zur
Operette

Der letzte Zauberer
Le dernier Sorcier

Poème de J. Tourguenef

Musique de
Pauline Viardot

At the bottom of this page is the annotation "executé à Weimar, Riga et Carlsruhe," to which the words "A Bade" have been added.

The second MS contains the French text of the operetta written in Turgenev's hand. It is written on lined paper 245 mm x 193 mm, now glued onto paper the same size as the first MS. There are 32 sheets, numbered consecutively on *recto* and *verso*, for a total of 64 pages. It is this text that is reproduced here. Turgenev's idiosyncratic spellings (e.g. the common omission of the circumflex accent and the omission of the hyphen with pronouns as in "occupe toi") have been retained, but obvious errors in spelling (e.g. "il se fâché souvent maintenant" for "il se fâche souvent maintenant") as well as in punctuation (e.g. omitted periods, or capital letters, as at the beginning of sentences) have been corrected. The names of the characters, occasionally abbreviated by

Turgenev in his text (e.g. Kraka(miche)), have been written out in full. It should be noted that the text of the *sung* numbers in this MS (here printed in italics) occasionally differs from the underlay in the musical MSS, where individual words, and sometimes whole phrases, are repeated in accordance with the exigencies of the music.

In addition to the MSS in the Archives Decugis-Le Cesne, the French text of the sung numbers is to be found, with the German translation, in the MS of the full-score which is in the New York Public Library, Music Division, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation. (Further references to this MS: NYPL. I would like to thank the trustees of the New York Public Library for kind permission to use this MS.) Two numbers from this operetta, the "Chœur des Elfes" and the "Chanson de la pluie," were published by Enoch in Paris in 1899 and 1900. (The "Chanson de la pluie" was also published in the Russian newspaper *Novoe vremja* [No.8862, 28.X/ 10.XI.1900, 11] and is reproduced in Lit. nasl. 1964, I, 195.

Je tiens à remercier Monsieur et Madame André Le Cesne pour leur aimable bonté de m'avoir permis, à deux reprises, d'étudier ces manuscrits du *Dernier Sorcier* et de m'avoir accordé la permission de faire paraître par le présent le texte jusqu'ici inconnu de Turgenev.



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LE DERNIER SORCIER

Texte d'Ivan Tourgueneff

musique

de

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Personnages:

Krakamiche, vieux sorcier.	Baritone
Stella, sa fille.	Soprano
Perlimpinpin, son serviteur.	
Le Prince Lelio.	Contralto
La Reine des Elfes.	Soprano
Chœur d'Elfes.	

La scène se passe dans une forêt, devant le château en ruines de Krakamiche. Porte basse sur le devant, une autre plus petite sur le côté, escalier tournant menant au balcon du premier étage. La fenêtre du bas est faiblement éclairée. Quelques grands arbres, dont un à trou, au fond au milieu une source qui sort d'un rocher.

[OUVERTURE]
ACTE PREMIER**[SCENE I. No. 1 CHŒUR]**

La scène est vide au lever du rideau. Les Elfes entrent les unes après les autres, par différents côtés.

*Par ici, Par ici!
 Nous voici, Nous voici!
 Vite [sic], faisons une niche
 Au vieu[x] papa, Krakamiche.
 Petits fous,
 Venez tous!*

Solo [Verveine] puis en chœur:
*Il est là dans sa cachette
 Tournant, tournant sa baguette
 Pour se faire un petit peu
 de feu!*

Solo [Verveine] puis en chœur:
Mais nous par la cheminée
[Chœur: Oui, oui, par la cheminée]
*Faisons tomber une ondée
 Pour éteindre son fourneau
 sous l'eau!*

[Verveine]: *Le feu s'éteint! Bravo, bravo!*

Krakamiche: *Au Diable, les maudits lutins!*

[Verveine]: *Vieux sorcier, vieux papa. Hahaha. Hihih.*

Krakamiche: *Je vous entends, petits coquins.*

[Verveine]: *Le voilà, bien marri
 C'est bien, C'est bien.
 Mais tu ne peux plus rien!*

Chœur: *Nous avons fait une niche
 Au vieux papa Krakamiche.*

Solo [Verveine]:
*Mais déjà dans la feuillée
 La fauvette est éveillée..
 Le vent léger du matin
 Chasse le petit lutin
 Avec la rosée.
 Hihih, hahaha.
 A bientôt, vieux papa!
 Que chacun dans la calice
 D'une fraîche fleur se glisse.
 Partons!.. là, ici... là..
 Nous violà!*

Verveine: *Arrêtez, mes sœurs! vous savez que nous ne pouvons pas nous
 séparer avant d'avoir vu notre reine.*

Tilleul: *Mais j'ai sommeil, moi!*

[Verveine]: Oui, on sait que vous aimez toujours à vous cacher.

[Tilleul]: C'est vrai, je ne crève pas les yeux comme vous, à tout le monde!

[?]: Allons, allons, petites querilleuses, n'allez-vous pas vous disputer à présent?

Verveine: La reine nous a dit de l'attendre, elle veut que nous lui rendions compte de ce que nous avons fait.. Du reste, elle arrive.

SCENE II.

Les mêmes, la Reine des Elfes

Les Elfes s'inclinent à l'entrée de la Reine.

La Reine: Salut, mes sœurs, salut! Eh bien, que fait notre désagréable voisin?

(Krakamiche grogne dans la maison.)

[Verveine]: Vous l'entendez ... il grogne. — Nous avons appelé à notre aide nos sujets, les petits lutins des marrons — et nous lui avons éteint son feu!

La Reine: Très bien. Vous savez que je ne suis pas méchante et que nous ne faisons de mal à personne. Mais je ne puis souffrir que ce vieux Sorcier habite la plus verte clairière de notre forêt... ..et je n'aurai de repos que quand j'aurai fait disparaître cette vilaine habitation humaine, qui est venue si grossièrement s'établir dans notre joli royaume. J'ai juré une guerre d'extermination à Krakamiche, et il faudra bien qu'il quitte la partie. Voyons, mes sœurs, qu'avez-vous fait pour le tourmenter? Toi, fleur de [T]illeul?

Tilleul: Je lui [ai] envoyé tous les frêlons et toutes les guêpes qui bourdonnent dans mes rameaux.

La Reine: Très bien. Et toi, fleur de Sureau?

Sureau: Moi, reine, j'ai mêlé du jus de mes fleurs à chaque goutte de l'eau qu'il boit, et le malheureux est en rage.

La Reine: Parfait! à ton tour, Myosotis?

Myosotis: Je vis, comme vous le savez, au bord de l'eau. Eh bien, toutes les grenouilles de mon lac ont coassé aux oreilles de Krakamiche toute la nuit.

La Reine: Oh la bonne idée! — mais toi, Verveine, qu'as-tu fait?

Verveine: Oh moi, maitresse! J'ai fait plus que toutes mes compagnes. J'ai arrangé une petite conspiration.

La Reine: Et comment?

(Les Elfes se rapprochent pour écouter.)

Verveine: Je me suis présentée à Krakamiche sous un déguisement et je lui [ai] annoncé pour aujourd'hui même l'arrivée de cette ambassade de farfadets chinois, qui lui apportaient—autrefois, quand ses conjurations n'avaient pas encore perdu leur puissance, Le Moly, l'herbe mystérieuse, qui donne la jeunesse et la beauté. Depuis bien des années ils avaient cessé de venir.

La Reine: Et il t'a crue?

Verveine: Il m'a crue... et il nous laissera entrer... Nous serons bien soigneusement enveloppées.. il ne nous reconnaîtra pas sous nos voiles. Car, tout vieux qu'il est, il peut encore nous empêcher de franchir le seuil de son habitation. — Et une fois qu'il sera entre nos mains — Ah ah ah.

Toutes: Ah pauvre Krakamiche!
Nous le ferons sauter, danser!

La Reine: Et c'est moi qui conduirai la ronde. — C'est très ingénieux, c'est charmant — et je veux te récompenser. Dès demain tes ailes auront une nuance de nacre de perle.

Verveine: Merci, merci! Oh que cela ira bien avec le rouge!

[La Reine]: Je le répète — je ne veux pas de mal à Krakamiche. Il a une fille qui me plaît, car elle nous ressemble — mais il faut que notre chère forêt nous reste...

(Fanfare de chasse dans la coulisse)

Qu'entends-je? une fanfare? Ah, c'est ce jeune chasseur, que j'ai pris

sous ma protection — Retirons-nous, mes sœurs — et à mon premier signal, arrivez — toutes!

(Les Elfes se retirent, la Reine reste au fond du théâtre jusqu'à l'entrée de Lelio, qui chante son premier couplet derrière la scène, puis elle disparaît.)

SCENE III. [No. 2 AIR]

Lelio (*dérrière la scène*) :

CHANSON No. 2

1. *Dans le bois frais et sombre
Réveillé par le cor,
Le cerf bondit dans l'ombre
Des pins aux pommes d'or.
Mon chien joyeux s'élançe
En aboyant sur lui,
Et moi je ris d'avance
En brandissant ma lance,
Qui n'a jamais failli.
Honneur
Au valeureux chasseur!
Lalalala.*

(Lelio entre en scène.)

2. *A mes pas attachée
La nuit comme le jour,
Une image adorée
Me poursuit à mon tour.
Hélas! la lutte est en vaine
Comme le cerf blessé
Je sens tarir ma veine.
Je veux fuir — et je traîne,
Le trait qui m'a percé!
Honneur
Au malheureux chasseur.
Lalalala.*

C'est pourtant... Depuis que j'ai aperçu la charmante jeune fille, qui remplit maintenant tous mes rêves, je ne puis m'éloigner de ces lieux. Qui est-elle, cette adorable enfant? et quel est cet être mystérieux, que je

n'ai jamais vu, mais qui me parle et me guide dans ces ombrages? Serait-ce une de ces Elfes, qui habitent les forêts? ... on dirait qu'elle s'intéresse à moi. Comment expliquer ce qui m'arrive? je suis toujours aux aguets — J'attends toujours que la voix me parle — mais rien, rien!

SCENE IV. [No. 3 MELODRAME (et ROMANCE)]

La Reine, Lelio

(La reine apparait dans un arbre derrière Lelio —elle est invisible pour lui.)

MELODRAME

La Reine: Lelio!

Lelio: C'est sa voix! je vais enfin apprendre..

La Reine: Reste immobile.. Ne m'interroge point.

Lelio: Comment, tu exiges...

La Reine: Jeune mortel, il faut obéir et se taire... Regarde à ta droite.

(La Reine étend vers la maison de Krakamiche la branche de lys, qui lui sert de sceptre.)

Lelio: Une maison! comment se fait-il que jusqu'au [sic] présent je n'avais vu que des arbres autour de moi?

La Reine: C'est là qu'habite celle que tu aimes.

(Il veut s'élancer.)

La Reine: Arrête!.. tu ne saurais y pénétrer sans mon aide — Jures-tu de m'obéir toujours?

Lelio: Toujours, je te le jure!

La Reine: Eh bien, je vais te donner un talisman qui te rendra invisible à tous les habitants de cette maison. Seule, la jeune fille, Stella, pourra te voir... Mais le charme n'agit qu'après le coucher du Soleil.

Lelio: Hâte-toi donc, o nuit! Et que dois-je faire?

ROMANCE

La Reine (*Lui jetant une rose*):

*Ramasse cette rose
Et la fleur à la main,
Ce soir, à la nuit close
Arrive et ne crains rien.*

Regarde! (*Stella apparaît à sa fenêtre.*) Mais silence.. prends garde!

*Garde bien cette rose
Et la fleur à la main,
Ce soir à la nuit close
Arrive et ne crains rien.
Fuis!
Obéis!*

Lelio (*Hors de lui*) : Stella!.. je t'aime, Stella!

Krakamiche (*de l'intérieur*) : Ah, c'est trop fort à la fin .. et ma patience est à bout.

(La fenêtre se referme.)

Lelio se retire précipitamment. La Reine disparaît.

Fin du mélodrame.

SCENE V. [No. 4 (AIR DE KRAKAMICHE)]

Krakamiche, entrant furieux

AIR

*Ah la sottise existence
Ah le triste métier
Que celui d'un sorcier
Quand il a perdu sa puissance.
(pleurant) Aha .. aha!
Dans quel état me voilà.
Je me donne à tous les Diables
Moi, ma fille et ma maison!*

*Ces lutins abominables
Me font perdre la raison!
Aha .. aha!
Dans quel état me voilà!*

*Sans cesse tourmenté,
Vexé, persécuté,
Egratiné, pincé,
Mordu, piqué, blessé!..
Ma vie est un enfer!
Je ne suis pas de fer!
C'est à n'y pas tenir,
Je n'ai plus qu'à mourir!
Ah la sotte existence!*

*Je m'épuise en vain..
Maudite baguette!
Je veux du bon vin...
C'est de la piquette!
Je veux un coursier —
C'est une haridelle!
Je veux un soulier
Il est sans semelle!
Je trouve un pepin...
Au lieu d'une pomme.
Et Perlimpinpin...
A cessé d'être homme.
Aha aha!
Ah la sotte existence
Ah le triste métier
Que celui d'un sorcier
Quand il a perdu sa puissance!
Aha aha!
Dans quel état me voilà!*

Ah! l'on se moque de moi! on rit du vieux sorcier, tombé en enfance! mais tout n'est pas dit encore et si cette ambassade que l'on m'annonce, m'apporte en effet la plante merveilleuse ... tremblez mes ennemis! Vous reverrez Krakamiche dans tout l'éclat de son gloire!... Hélas! en attendant je ne suis qu'un pauvre vieux bonhomme sans pouvoir!.. Ma Stella! ma chère fille! est-ce là l'avenir que j'avais rêvé pour toi — qu'aurait dit ta mère, cette illustre princesse Persane que je fis venir à moi à cheval sur un rayon nocturne, toute chargée encore de diamants dont l'avait parée son fiancé, le grand Shah?.. Hélas, elle est morte!.. et les diamants aussi ont disparu! Ma Stella! toi que j'aime tant, tu n'as pas d'autre refuge que cette misérable cabane, seul débris du

magnifique palais que j'avais construit à cette place même; pour serviteur, tu n'as que Perlimpinpin, cet esclave dont j'avais fait un géant et que j'avais doué d'une force de 500 chevaux, Perlimpinpin, qui remuait des montagnes comme des pains de sucre!.. et qui, maintenant, devenu un nain idiot et stupide, ne saurait résister à une souris! Ah! je ne puis le regarder sans frémir d'indignation... je vois en lui l'emblème de ma force évanouie. ... Eh bien? Qu'est-ce? qu'ai-je senti sur mon front? sur le bout de mon nez? une goutte de pluie? Le réseau magique invisible, dont j'avais entouré mon habitation, aurait-il aussi perdu sa force.. et laisserait-il passer l'eau ni plus ni moins qu'un vieux makintosh?.. oui, en effet.. voici encore une goutte de pluie... Et encore sur le bout du nez! Ah! C'en est trop! ... Perlimpinpin! viens sur le champ. — Il est devenu sourd à présent ... Perlimpinpin! Perlimpinpin!

(On entend la voix de Perlimpinpin dans la maison.)

[Perlimpinpin]: Quoi?

Krakamiche: Quoi? insolent! n'entends-tu pas que ton maître t'appelle?

(Perlimpinpin entre en s'étirant.)

[SCENE VI.]

Perlimpinpin: Eh bien! est-ce qu'il faut toujours venir quand on vous appelle? je ne savais pas, moi! *(Il baille)* Et puis... j'étais si bien couché...

Krakamiche: Mais tu es donc le plus grand paresseux qui soit au monde? Mais tu ne sais donc pas qu'il faut manger son pain à la sueur de son front?

Perlimpinpin: Je l'aime mieux au fromage.

Krakamiche: Fi! le vilain!

[Perlimpinpin]: Et je ne suis pas paresseux... moi! je fais tout que je puis faire!

Krakamiche: Mais tu ne fais rien!

[Perlimpinpin]: Eh bien! Si c'est tout ce que je peux faire!.. moi!

[Krakamiche]*: On perd les paroles avec toi! va me chercher mon parapluie!

Perlimpinpin (*Va vers la porte et revient*) : Maître.... empêchez donc ces grosses mouches de venir me bourdonner aux oreilles: "Ton maître est une bête.... ton maître est une bête.".... au commencement c'est agréable... ... mais à la fin cela vous ennuie.

Krakamiche: Te sauveras-tu, Stupide? apporte moi mon parapluie, te dis-je!

(Perlimpinpin rentre dans la maison.)

SCENE VII.

Krakamiche seul

Krakamiche: Ah, je le vois bien, je le vois bien!.. il faut des réformes, des réformes importantes dans le gouvernement de ma maison! — Perlimpinpin! — Il est capable de s'être rendormi... Perlimpinpin!

Voix de Perlimpinpin: Voilà!. voilà... quelle impatience!

SCENE VIII.

Krakamiche, Perlimpinpin

Perlimpinpin: Voilà votre parapluie...

Krakamiche (*essayant de l'ouvrir*) : Mais il est complètement abîmé, ce parapluie! mais c'est un horreur ce parapluie! — Et pourtant — avec mon réseau — il n'y avait guère d'occasion de s'en servir!

Perlimpinpin: Ah pardon! il m'a souvent servi — de tournebroche!

Krakamiche: Attends, misérable! je vais t'apprendre à faire le bel esprit! tiens ... attrape!

(Il le frappe avec le parapluie.)

* Turgenev mistakenly has Perlimpinpin here.

Perlimpinpin: Aïe, aïe, aïe, aouh! aouh!

(Il se sauve dans la maison, Krakamiche l'y poursuit.)

SCENE IX. [No. 5 (CHANSON DE LA PLUIE)]

Stella (*Paraissant au balcon*) : Je crois avoir entendu la voix de mon père — il semblait fâché... il se fâche souvent maintenant ... (*Elle descend en scène.*)
 Pauvre père! mon avenir l'inquiète ... (*elle soupire*) Moi aussi, j'ai mes inquiétudes!... Ce beau jeune homme, que j'ai vu hier, là-bas, près de la fontaine... Je l'ai toujours devant les yeux... Il voulait me parler... mais cette fée, qui s'est dévoilée à moi depuis quelque temps et qui m'avait amenée là — m'a ordonnée de fuir... et j'ai obéi. — Mon père me met en garde contre elle, il la dit son ennemie... Mais non! Je ne puis pas le croire; non, elle ne me veut pas de mal! — Comment tout cela, va-t-il finir! J'ai le cœur bien gros! (*Soupir*) (*Levant la main*) Tiens... il pleut. Je ne pourrai pas sortir — je voudrais pourtant bien aller du côté de la fontaine... C'est joli, une pluie légère et fine. — Elle rafraichira mes fleurs que je n'ai pas arrosées aujourd'hui.

CHANSON DE LA PLUIE.

- I. *Coulez, gouttes fines
 Le long des collines
 En petits ruisseaux.
 Coulez sur la mousse,
 Verdoyante et douce,
 Baignez les rameaux.*
- [II.] *Le vent vous entraîne
 Jusque dans la plaine
 Qui répand au loin
 Une odeur de foin...
 Sous l'eau qui ruisselle
 En rideau mouvant
 La fleur étincelle
 Comme un diamant.
 Coulez etc.*

C'est égal, je pense toujours à ce jeune homme! (*Avec enthousiasme*) Dieu! qu'il a une jolie petite moustache et qu'elle est bien frisée! Cela doit être quelque prince... on dit qu'il y en a dans le voisinage, et il doit avoir un nom... un nom charmant! Voyons un peu! quel nom pourrait-il avoir?

SCENE X. [No. 6 (MELODRAME et AIR)]

Stella, la Reine des Elfes

La Reine: Stella!

Stella (*Sans se retourner*) : Ah! C'est la voix de ma protectrice! — que me voulez-vous?

La Reine: Tu aimes donc bien Lelio?

Stella: Lelio! c'est ainsi qu'il se nomme! Oh, oui! je puis bien vous l'avouer... je l'aime beaucoup.

La Reine: Tu le verras aujourd'hui.

Stella: Où?

La Reine: Ici.

Stella: Mais mon père...

La Reine: Ne crains rien... Ton père ne pourra pas le voir, grâce [à une] fleur que [je] lui ai donnée.

Stella: Comment cela?

ROMANCE

La Reine: *Sur les yeux de ton père
Un voile s'étendra.
Attends ce soir, espère
Ton amant reviendra.*

*Silence! prends garde
Obéis.*

(La Reine des Elfes disparaît.)

SCENE XI.

Stella seule.

Stella: Lelio! quel joli nom! il va venir... mon cœur bat avec une force!..

Ah mon Dieu! il va venir — et je ne suis pas encore coiffée! vite! *(Elle remonte au balcon.)* Lelio!

(Elle rentre.)

SCENE XII. [No. 7 (CHANSON DE PERLIMPINPIN)]

Krakamiche *(dans la coulisse), puis Perlimpinpin*

[**Krakamiche:** Perlimpinpin! Où est mon grand bonnet de cérémonie? Perlimpinpin!

Perlimpinpin *(entrant par la porte du bas)* : J'ai un drôle de maître — il m'appelle toujours .. Est-ce que tous les maîtres sont comme ça?

Krakamiche: Perlimpinpin!

Perlimpinpin: Va, mon vieux, va... il faut d'abord que je mange cette saucisse que je t'ai volée... *(Il la tire de sa poche et la flaire)* Elle est bonne, cette saucisse! — Si je chantais un brin, pour me mettre en appétit! tel que vous me voyez j'ai une très belle voix et je chante .. je chante comme .. comme on ne chante plus.

CHANSON DE PERLIMPINPIN

1^{er} Couplet

1. *Quand j'étais un géant
j'étais beaucoup plus grand!*
(parlé) *(Non, ce n'est pas ça...)*
 *Quand j'étais moins petit
j'avais un grand esprit...*
(parlé) *(Ce n'est pas encore ça!)*
 Mon maître.. mon maître...
(parlé) *(Ah voilà)*
 *Mon maître, mon maître
Si je t'envoyais paître
Tout seul à la maison
Je ferais une vie...
Allons! bon! bon!
Voilà que j'oublie
La fin de ma chanson!*

Krakamiche (*dans la maison*) : Perlimpinpin!
[Perlimpinpin] (*Saluant très bas*) : Bonjour, monsieur!

2^d Couplet

2. *Quand j'étais gros et fort*
Je n'avais jamais tort...
[parlé] (Non, ce n'est pas ça!)
Quand j'avais douze pieds
j'usais bien des souliers!
[parlé] Pas encore ça!
Mon maître ... [parlé] c'est ça!
Mon maître, mon maître,
Vous croyez me connaître...
Mais sachez, vieux barbon
Que lorsque l'on m'ennuie...
Allons! bon! bon!
Voilà que j'oublie
La fin de ma chanson.

Mangeons, cela vaut mieux. (*On entend les 1^{re} mesures de la marche des Farfadets.*) Ah, mon Dieu! qu'est-ce que c'est que cela? (*Il regarde à droite.*) C'est l'ambassade! L'ambassade des Chinois! L'ambassade! l'ambassade!

(*Il entre en courant dans la maison par la porte basse.*)

SCENE XIII. [No. 8 MARCHE]

Krakamiche et Perlimpinpin

La marche continue en rapprochant de plus en plus pendant le dialogue jusqu'aux paroles: "Du calme et de la majesté."

Krakamiche entre en courant par la petite porte de côté.

Krakamiche: Qu'est-ce? Qu'entends-je? L'ambassade! l'ambassade! — Et rien n'est prêt pour la recevoir! Mon bonnet de cérémonie!* (*Il crie*) Toi

* The following text has been crossed out in the MS:

mon bonnet!

Perlimpinpin (*accourant, une casserole à la main*) : Voilà votre bonnet!

aussi, tu mettras ton bonnet! il ne le trouvera jamais, l'imbécile! mon bonnet! mon bonnet!

Perlimpinpin (*sort de la maison par la grande porte d'en bas, le bonnet de Krakamiche à la main.*) : Voilà, voilà!... Eh bien! où est-il à présent ce gros hurluberlu?

(*Il entre dans la maison par la porte d'en côté.*)

Krakamiche (*Entre en courant par la grande porte. Il a le bonnet de Perlimpinpin sur la tête.*) : Perlimpinpin! Canaille!

Perlimpinpin: Eh bien? quoi? voilà votre bonnet!

Krakamiche (*Le lui arrachant*) : Donne! (*Il veut le mettre.*) Ah! j'ai le tien sur la tête! — (*Il ôte le bonnet de Perlimpinpin et l'en coiffe.*) Tiens! mets celui-ci! Vite, approche un siège!

(*Perlimpinpin traîne un vieux fauteuil sur le milieu de la scène. Krakamiche veut se coiffer de son bonnet et le met toujours à l'envers.*)

Krakamiche: Enfin! (*Il s'assied sur le fauteuil.*) Je dois conserver ma dignité de grand nécromant. Je vais troner avec majesté! Mais toi, salue, salue beaucoup, fichtre! Sois poli comme un pauvre!

(*Perlimpinpin se place derrière le fauteuil.*)

Diable! j'ai oublié ma baguette! Il n'est pas plus temps de la chercher... Allons! du calme et de la majesté!

SCENE XIV.

Krakamiche et Perlimpinpin. Les Elfes déguisés en farfadets

Les elfes entrent deux à deux tenant les doigts à la chinoise et sautillant alternativement sur chaque pied. Costume de fantaisie, facile à ôter à vue. Elles font le tour du fauteuil de Krakamiche, se rangent en cercle et font un profond salut. Verveine se tient en avant à droite avec une riche cassette à la main. Le salut doit se faire sur la dernière note de la marche.

Krakamiche (*avec gravité*) : Messieurs les sénateurs! hi hi, messieurs les dé-

Krakamiche: Misérable! la seule casserole étamée! Veux-tu te sauver! (*Perlimpinpin entre dans la maison par la porte de côté [sic].*) Mon bonnet noir et or! Mon grand bonnet pointu des dimanches.

putés, hi hi ... *(se reprenant)* Messieurs les farfadets. Je suis heureux de vous voir ... *(Salut des Elfes. Krakamiche leur rend le salut.)* très heureux! *(même jeu)* Vous vous taisez, il est vrai — mais dans votre silence même je me plais à reconnaître l'ivresse respectueuse de vos sentiments dévoués, heu, heu. Je ne m'étonne pas de voir que mon nom n'a rien perdu chez vous de son prestige — Je suis aussi et toujours très fort chez moi — fort comme un turc, ha, ha — Enfin je suis content de vous! — *(même jeu)* Je reçois toujours avec un nouveau plaisir votre tribut habituel, le Moly. — Ma foi! J'en avais bien besoin *(salut)* et l'eau m'en vient à la bouche. Avance, toi, le petit à la cassette!

Verveine *(s'avance en sautillant sur quelques mesures de la marche; elle salue; en déguisant sa voix)* : Hihî! Et pourquoi n'as-tu pas ta baguette magique? hihî!

Krakamiche: C'est un oubli sans importance!

Verveine: Hihî. L'on prétend que tu l'as usée à se faire des omelettes!

Krakamiche: Avance ta cassette!

Verveine: Hihî! Tiens — la voilà!

(Elle lui ferme la boîte au nez.)

Krakamiche *(se levant)* : Qu'est-ce que cela signifie?

Verveine: Hihî! Cela signifie que tu n'as pas ta baguette à < 3 [?]>, hihî! que tu n'es qu'une vieille momie, hihî! *(Reprenant sa voix naturelle)* et que nous allons te faire danser.

Krakamiche: Me faire danser? Abracadabra!

Verveine *(imitant la voix de Krakamiche)* : Il n'y a pas d'Abracadabra qui ti-
enne, mon cher; c'est usé, usé jusqu'à la corde. Allons, montre nous tes
jambes! A nous, Reine!

(Les Elfes jettent leur déguisement.)

SCENE XV. [No. 9 RONDE DES LUTINS]

Les mêmes, la Reine des Elfes

La Reine: En avant la ronde!

(La Reine, d'un coup de baguette, jette par terre le bonnet de Krakamiche, et l'entraîne au milieu des Elfes, qui s'emparent de lui et le font sauter et tourner. Perlimpinpin, qui s'est sauvé dans la maison, regarde avec satisfaction, appuyé sur la balustrade du balcon.)

RONDE DES LUTINS

Elfes: *Tourne, tourne comme un tonton
Vieil amour de Krakamichon!*

Krakamiche: *Haha.. hoho.. Osez-vous bien!
Ces El..fes ne.. respectent rien!*

Elfes: *Bondis! Tourne comme un tonton
Vieil amour de Krakamichon.*

Krakamiche (haletant) : *Le so.. le so.. le so.. le sorcier
Poupou.. poupou.. pourra se venger.*

[Elfes]: *Bondis, bondis, cher Krakachon,
De ci, de là, comme un gros mouton!*

Vers la fin du chœur, Krakamiche s'échappe et se précipite dans la maison; Perlimpinpin rentre aussi.

Grand éclat de rire des Elfes.

SCENE XVI. [No. 10 CHŒUR DES ELFES]

Les Elfes, la Reine

La Reine: *Et maintenant, reposez-vous. Laissez tranquille le vieux bonhomme. Laissez le respirer un peu dans sa cabane, où il s'est barricadé.... Nous achèverons plus tard notre victoire; elle ne peut plus nous échapper. La pluie a cessé. Le soleil darde sur nous les plus ardeurs rayons — Voici l'heure de nous retirer dans les recoins les plus obscurs de notre chère forêt — Des lits de mousse nous attendent au fond des fraîches grottes où des sources limpides gajouillent à petit bruit. La nuit reviendra et nous reprendrons notre essor.**

RONDE DES ELFES

[La Reine]: *Compagnes ailées
Mes sœurs bien aimées,
Mollement bercées
Au chant des grillons.*

* This passage, beginning "Le soleil darde ...," is not in Turgenev's hand.

[Chœur]: *Oh troupe riieuse,
Des nuits amoureuses,
[En ronde joyeuse]*
Tournons et dansons!*

[La Reine]: *La lune notre blanche reine
Du haut des cieux si bleus, si doux
Nous voit folâtrer dans la plaine,
Brouillards légers, dispersez vous!*

[Chœur]: *Compagnes ailées, etc.*

Verveine: *Le sylphe est au bons cœurs fidèle,
Mais à l'oreille du villain
Comme un moucheron fin et grèle
Bourdonne et rit son chant malin.*

[Tutti]: *Compagnes ailées, etc.*

[(Le rideau tombe.)]

FIN DU 1^{er} ACTE

* This line is in the text of the musical scores.

SECOND ACTE

Même décor. A droite du spectateur une table rustique avec une chaise et un petit banc. Un rouet et un tabouret. Au lever du rideau, Lelio, appuyé sur un rocher à droite, contemple la maison.

SCENE I. [(No. 11 / 1) STORNELLO]

Lelio: *Pourrais]-je jamais aimer une autre femme?
Crois-tu retrouver un cœur comme le mien?
Qui donc t'aimera, si ce n'est moi, mon âme?
Et qui m'aimera, si ce n'est toi, mon bien?*

(Il regarde dans la maison.)

J'entends du bruit quelqu'un vient ... et le soleil n'est pas encore entièrement couché!.. retirons nous.

(Il sort.)

SCENE II [(No. 12 MELODRAME)]

Krakamiche seul

Krakamiche sort de la maison — ayant sous les bras un gros infolio orné de figures Cabalistiques. Il s'approche à pas lents de la table rustique et pose son livre.

Krakamiche: Il fait étouffant dans cette maison. Je serai mieux à l'air. *(Il s'assied.)* Mais que je suis donc content d'avoir enfin retrouvé ce vieux livre de magie, que cet imbécile de Perlimpinpin avait fourré dans je ne sais quel fatras! J'ai la conviction que ce livre, le dernier et sublime ouvrage de l'incomparable Merlin, renferme une formule, à laquelle rien ne saurait résister ni sur la terre, ni dans le ciel! mais il s'agit de la trouver, cette merveilleuse formule! — Cherchons... cherchons encore... *(Il met des besicles, et ouvre le livre.)* Il me semble qu'il commence à faire sombre.. oui, le soleil vient de se coucher... il me faudrait de la lumière, mais quant à cela, par exemple, je n'ai besoin de personne pour en avoir sur le champ.

MELODRAME

Krakamiche (*fait des signes magiques au-dessus de la table, et prononce les mots suivants*) : Mux, mux, fiat lux.

(Une lumière surgit devant le livre.)

Ce n'est plus difficile que cela!

(Au moment où il se baisse sur [le] livre, une elfe derrière lui dans un arbre — souffle la lumière.)

Allons, bon, du vent maintenant!
Mux, mux, fiat lux! —

(La lumière reparait mais dès que Krakamiche baisse la tête, l'Elfe la souffle.)

Comment, encore?

(Il frappe avec fureur sur la table.)

Mux, mux, fiat lux!

(La lumière reparait, Krakamiche la regarde d'un œil menaçant — Elle est soufflée de nouveau.)

Krakamiche se renverse avec désespoir sur le dos de sa chaise.

Quoi! pas même cela! quoi! Je devrai me servir d'une vulgaire chandelle, comme un simple épicier!! O honte! Stella! Stella! viens ici, viens avec ta lampe!

SCENE III.

Krakamiche, Stella

Stella (*sort de la maison, une lampe à la main*) : Me voici, mon père... vous voulez...

Krakamiche (*l'interrompant*) : C'est bien, c'est bien... pose ta lampe là ...
(Stella pose la lampe sur la table) et va-t-en.

(Il ouvre le livre.)

Stella: Mon père...

Krakamiche: Quoi? que me veux-tu?

(Il feuillète le livre et marmotte entre ses dents.)

Stella: Vous feriez mieux de vous reposer... de dormir un peu... après la fatigue de ce matin. — Vous êtes encore tout pâle, tout agité.. donnez-moi ce livre; je vous le rendrai tantôt....

Krakamiche *(se retournant)* : Sais-tu ce que c'est le plaisir de la vengeance? non? Eh bien, je le sais, moi.. ..et je veux en goûter. Il ne sera pas dit que ces Elfes, ces lutins maudits ... ah! le seul souvenir de leurs outrages fait bouilloner tout mon sang!

(Il se remet à marmotter.)

Stella: Mais mon père, votre santé...

Krakamiche: Laisse-moi, te dis-je... Je veux plutôt mourir que ne pas me venger!

Stella: Mourir, mon père... mais si tu meurs, que deviendrai-je?

Krakamiche: Tu deviendras... tu deviendras... Mais je ne mourrai point. Croirais-tu, par hasard, toi aussi, que je ne suis un magicien pour rire? Je retrouverai tout, la jeunesse, la beauté, la force... Il s'agit seulement de chercher, de bien chercher ...

(Il marmotte.)

Stella: Mais, mon père...

Krakamiche *(se frappant le front)* : Grand Dieu! J'oubliais Perlimpinpin! Perlimpinpin!

La voix de Perlimpinpin *(dans la coulisse)* : Je ne peux pas venir... je suis couché.

Krakamiche: L'insolent! Veux-tu venir?

La voix de Perlimpinpin: Attendez un peu!

(Stella va s'asseoir sur le petit banc.)

SCENE IV.

Les mêmes, Perlimpinpin

Perlimpinpin (*tout endormi*) : Eh bien .. me voilà .. que me voulez-vous?

Krakamiche: Apporte moi sur le champ mon grand bonnet! Sans bonnet, je ne trouverai jamais la formule ... il faut l'uniforme complet. (*A Perlimpinpin qui ne bouge pas*) Eh bien! quoi? qu'as-tu à me regarder avec tes gros yeux de poisson?

Perlimpinpin: Votre bonnet? Ah bien ouiche! Les Elfes l'ont emporté. Dieu sait ce qu'elles en font à cette heure! (*Il se dirige vers la maison.*)

Krakamiche: Mais où vas-tu?

Perlimpinpin: Vous ne le devinez pas? me recoucher dans votre lit, donc!

SCENE V. [No. 13 / 3-2 Air et Duo]

Les mêmes, sans Perlimpinpin

Krakamiche: Ce garçon ne périra que de ma main! Heureusement pour lui je n'ai pas le temps de m'occuper de ces extravagances!

(*Il se replonge dans son livre.*)

Stella: Mon père ... papa!

Krakamiche: Mais je n'aurai donc jamais un instant de repos! quoi... papa?

Stella: Mon père, je t'en prie, ne te fâche pas .. mais tu viens de parler de ta mort prochaine qui serait pour moi le plus affreux des malheurs... Alors cela m'a fait venir des idées. — Si j'allais me trouver comme cela, toute seule dans le monde?!! C'est effrayant. — Tu comprends bien que Perlimpinpin n'est pas un appui fort rassurant ... et alors ...

Krakamiche: Alors?

Stella: Alors ... je pense qu'il m'en faudrait ... peut être ... un plus ferme. Il paraît que toutes les jeunes filles de mon âge finissent par se marier .. et s'il arrivait que

Krakamiche: Voilà bien de ces péronnelles! Je suis occupé de la chose la

plus grave qui se puisse imaginer ... et elle vient m'entretenir de fadaïses!

Stella: (*après un moment de silence*) : Mon père ... j'ai une idée!

Krakamiche (*se retournant*) : Bah! tu m'étonnes! Voyons un peu cette idée que tu as?

Stella: N'est-ce pas, c'est pour devenir de nouveau très riche, pour pouvoir me donner une très belle dot, pour me trouver enfin un bien magnifique parti, que tu tâches de découvrir cette mystérieuse formule?

Krakamiche: Oui ... pour cela même... pour cette raison, Mademoiselle ma fille!

Stella: Eh bien, mon père! Ne dit-on pas souvent que la grandeur et la richesse ne font pas le bonheur?

Krakamiche: Eh, eh! Où as-tu pêché cette belle maxime?

Stella: Et qu'il faut dans le cas dont nous parlons ..

Krakamiche: Hein?

Stella: Ne jamais se laisser influencer par des considérations pécuniaires.

Krakamiche: Comme elle parle! On reçoit donc les journaux ici? — Mais malheureuse, tu ne sais donc pas ce que c'est la richesse? Pas d'argent, pas de suisse ... pas de mari; sans argent, pas d'équipages, de laquais, de palais.....

Stella: Oh papa, mon rêve est tout autre.

Krakamiche: Eh bien, voyons un peu le rêve de Mademoiselle!

COUPLET DE STELLA

*Je rêve un jour **

* The text of this number is not given in either of the two Decugis—Le Cesne MSS.

Krakamiche: Ah! maintenant que tu m'as conté ta bête de petite histoire à laquelle je n'ai rien compris, laisse-moi tranquille, je te le dis encore une fois!

Stella: Mais papa, je ne veux pas devenir une vieille demoiselle.*

DUO

Krakamiche: Si tu ne sais pas
 Combien la richesse
 Même à la jeunesse
 Peut apporter d'appas...
 Combien il est doux
 De voir dès l'enfance
 Couronnés d'avance
 Les vœux les plus doux...
 Les plus grands seigneurs
 Offrir leurs services
 Humbles serviteurs.
 De tous tes caprices —
 Font un fleuve d'or
 A tes pieds s'étendre —
 S'ouvrir et répandre
 Trésor sur trésor ...
 Perles d'orient
 Et monceaux d'argent
 Va, laisse moi faire
 Et mon livre aussi
 Ton bonheur, ma chère
 Est mon seul souci.

Stella: *Le bonheur..... le bonheur n'est pas dans ceci...*

Krakamiche: (2^e couplet)
*{Allons, donc, bah!
 Ecoute, enfant,} **
 Etre au rang suprême!*

* This text, beginning from "Mais malheureuse ..." is added on a one page sheet (165 mm x 210 mm) at the end of the MS, replacing a shorter version, without the "Couplet," in the main text.

** These lines are in the NYPL MS of the full score.

Porter fièrement
Un beau diadème
Tout étincelant!
Festins nuit et jour,
Toujours en liesse!
Se parer sans cesse
Des plus beaux atours..
Avoir des palais
De beaux équipages —
Les plus grands laquais,
Les plus petits pages...
Marchez toujours droit
N'avoir qui vous gronde,
Du bout de son doigt
Mener tout un monde
N'est-ce pas charmant?
Va, prends patience,
Ce bonheur immense
T'attend, mon enfant!

Stella: *Ce n'est pas le bonheur que je rêve à présent ...
Mon cœur me dit, mon père...*

Stella: *Que ce bonheur*

*Que j'entrevois à peine
Et qui ne doit jamais finir
N'est pas là-bas
Où votre main m'entraîne.
J'ai rêvé d'un autre avenir...
Ah, ne trahissons pas le secret
 qui m'enivre,
Gardons-le bien caché dans le
 fond de mon cœur —
La vie est devant moi... je veux,
 j'espère vivre
Mes ailes ont poussé — je m'ap-
 prête au bonheur*

Krakamiche: *Ce bavard doit se
 taire.*

Ah, que de bruit!

*N'insistons pas! reprenons notre
 livre
Cherchons, plongeons, sondons
 sa profondeur.
Si je trouve le mot — il faudra
 bien me suivre.
Et tout s'écroulera devant mon
 art vainqueur.*

Krakamiche (Haut, se rassoyant) : *En voilà assez! Laisse-moi tranquille, je te
le dis encore une fois!*

Stella (Avec vivacité) : *Mais papa, je ne veux devenir une vieille demoiselle!*

Krakamiche: Voilà bien de quoi se désoler! tu entreras dans un couvent ou bien chez quelque Lady anglaise .. en qualité de lectrice ... tu la rendras malheureuse comme les pierres, tu feras des cancons — et cela te soulagera! En un mot, laisse moi tranquille au Nom du ciel et occupe toi de ton rouet.

(Il se replonge dans son livre et se remet à marmotter.)

Stella (se rasseyant et prenant son rouet) : Allons! c'est vous même qui l'avez voulu!

COUPLETS DU ROUET [No. 14 / 3]

I

*Quand vient la saison fleurie
Où tout s'éveille à la fois —
Le ruisseau dans la prairie
Le rossignol dans le bois...
Au cœur de la fille jolie
En secret chante une voix.*

) bis

2^d Couplet

*Cette voix est douce et tendre
Et chaque fois qu'il l'entend
Le cœur ne peut se défendre
De battre légèrement...
Il voudrait bien la comprendre,
Mais il ne sait pas comment!*

) bis

III

La voix de Lelio: *Près de vous quelqu'un respire
Qui met en vous son espoir.....*

Stella (se levant, parlé) : Grands Dieux!

La voix: *Il attend, languit, soupire
Et si vous daignez le voir...*

Stella (parlé) : Serait-ce lui?

(Elle rapporte vers la maison le rouet et son banc.)

142

La voix: *Peut-être il saura vous dire
Ce que vous voulez savoir.*

Krakamiche (*se retournant étonné après le couplet de Lelio*) : Qui est-ce qui chante là?

Stella: C'est moi.

Krakamiche: Là ... dehors?

Stella: C'est ... c'est probablement l'écho.

Krakamiche: Ah! il me semble que tu rêves. Hum! hum! — C'est donc pour cela que tu me parlais tantot de mariage... Mauvais signe, quand les filles rêvent tout haut ... Mauvais signe! Tâche de ne plus me troubler dans mes réflexions — car ou je me trompe fort ... ou je suis sur les traces de la grande formule je sens mon esprit déjà tout enflammé .. Perlimpinpin!

La voix de Perlimpinpin: Dieux! que ce vieux là est tannant! quoi? que me voulez-vous?

Krakamiche: Apporte-moi de l'eau fraîche!

La voix de Perlimpinpin: Quelle rage vous avez de me déranger. Vous savez vous même que l'eau est là, dans un petit puits, en sortant du jardin, à droite!

Krakamiche: Ah, c'est trop fort à la fin!

Stella: Attendez, mon père, je vais vous chercher ce que vous désirez.

SCENE VI. [No. 15 / 4 DUO DE LA ROSE]

Les mêmes, Lelio

(Lelio sort de derrière le rocher, qui est près de la source, et s'avance sur les pas de Stella, qui l'a aperçu et qui apporte un verre d'eau à Krakamiche. Lelio tient la fleur magique à la main.)

DUO

Lelio: *C'est moi, ne craignez rien — cette fleur nous protège
Je n'ai pu résister au désir de vous voir.*

Stella: *C'est lui! quelle terreur! ah, si c'était un piège!
Si mon père pourtant allait l'apercevoir.*

(A cet endroit du Duo, pendant la ritournelle, Krakamiche, étonné d'entendre une voix étrangère, se lève, regarde autour de lui — mais ne voyant que Stella — Lelio avance vers lui la fleur magique — se rassied et reprend son livre. Vers la fin du Duo, il montre par ses gestes qu'il croit avoir trouvé la formule.)

Lelio: De plus que je vous vis, je vous donnai ma vie
De grâce, par pitié, ne me renvoyez pas!

Stella: — Je ne sais que lui dire .. un trouble m'a saisie ...
N'approchez pas plus près — et surtout parlez bas.

(A la fin du Duo, Lelio se met à genoux et laisse échapper la fleur. Krakamiche se lève brusquement et l'aperçoit.)

Krakamiche: Que vois-je? Misérable étranger — qui es-tu? D'où sors-tu?
— et toi, Stella, je te vois toute interdite ... Serais-tu sa complice? Ah,
c'est donc là cet écho?

Stella: Mon père ...

Krakamiche: Ah malheureuse! je devine tout!... rentre sur le champ! quant
à toi, jeune présomptueux, il faut avouer que tu as bien choisi ton mo-
ment! Sais tu que je viens de découvrir la grande formule — et que je
puis te pulvériser en un clin d'œil sans que tu aies seulement le temps
de dire "Ouf."

Lelio: Vous ne le ferez pas avant de m'avoir entendu.

Krakamiche: Je ne t'entendrai pas!

Lelio: J'aime votre fille!

Krakamiche: Quelle audace!

Lelio: Elle m'aime aussi!

Krakamiche: Quel mensonge!

Lelio: Je suis fils d'un roi du voisinage.

Krakamiche: Je m'en moque!

Lelio: Je vous demande la main de Stella!

Krakamiche: Et moi je te dis que si tu ne te sauves sur le champ, je te
mettrai en chair à paté!

Stella (le suppliant) : Mon père ..

144

Krakamiche (*furieux, à Stella*) : Toi, je te ...

Lelio : Seigneur, vous menacez votre propre fille!

Krakamiche : Il ose à ma barbe prendre sa défense! Mais tu ignores donc que tu as à faire au plus grand magicien qui ait jamais existé? Que je puis, si je le veux, mettre le soleil dans ma poche droite, la lune dans ma poche gauche et me poudrer les cheveux d'étoiles fixes!

Lelio : Seigneur, n'espérez pas m'intimider!

Krakamiche : Ah, c'est ainsi!

(Il va vers le livre, qu'il prend à deux mains.)

Stella : Fuyez, prince, ne bravez pas sa colère!

Lelio : Moi — fuir? Jamais!

Krakamiche (*revenant à Lelio*) : Sauve-toi — ou je vais lâcher un monstre qui ne fera de toi qu'une bouchée!

Lelio : Ah vraiment!

Krakamiche : Tu ne veux pas t'en aller? *(Il ouvre le livre)* Une fois! deux fois? trois fois?

Lelio : Non!

Krakamiche : Non?

SCENE VII. [No. 16 / 5 EXORCISME]

Les mêmes, Perlimpinpin qui reste effrayé

Krakamiche (*En frappant le livre et en faisant des signes magiques*) :

EXORCISME

*Louppola, Schibbola, Trix,
Keremet, Zeremet, Trix!
Astaroth! Belzebub!
Antropos! Lucifer!
Appare!*

*Louppola, Schibbola, Baba Yaga!
Lux! Fux! Trix!*

Coup de tamtam. On voit sortir de [la] terre un mouton. Eclat de rires des Elfes invisibles... Perlimpinpin tombe la face contre terre. Le mouton disparaît. Perlimpinpin se relève lentement. Krakamiche tombe anéanti sur sa chaise.

Krakamiche: Ah ce n'était pas la bonne formule! Je suis perdu!

Stella (se jettant à genoux) : Mon père, au nom du ciel, revenez à vous! ne vous désespérez pas ainsi!

Krakamiche: Non! La vie m'est à charge! je suis avili, mort! dis à cet étranger de venir m'achever.

Lelio: Seigneur, cet étranger s'approche de vous en effet ... mais ce n'est pas pour répandre votre sang. C'est pour vous réitérer sa demande. Accordez lui la main de votre fille. Il la comblera de plus de dons et de biens, que votre magie n'aurait jamais pu lui procurer.

Krakamiche: Et vous dites que ma fille vous aime?

Lelio: Regardez là!

Krakamiche: Et vous êtes fils de roi?

Lelio: Le roi Mégabaze est mon père!

(Stella se relève.)

Krakamiche: Bien sûr?

Lelio: Seigneur, suivez-moi .. vous aurez bientôt la preuve. Oui, suivez-moi, quittez cette triste solitude. Nous aurons pour vous les soins les plus tendres et les plus respectueux.

Krakamiche: Vous me dites cela ... mais qui me répondra de la vérité de vos paroles?

SCENE VII. [No. 17 / 6 MELODRAME]

Les précédants et la Reine des Elfes

La Reine (apparaissant tout à coup au fond de la scène) : Moi! *(Krakamiche se retourne et s'incline; tous s'écartent respectueusement.)* Ecoute, Krakamiche! Tu sais que pendant longtemps j'ai été ton ennemie. Je ne pouvais souffrir

que tu vinsses t'emparer de notre belle forêt. Mais je crois avoir effacé tous les torts que j'ai pu avoir envers toi, tous les chagrins que j'ai pu te causer, en donnant à ta fille un pareil épouse, à toi un pareil fils! Accorde au prince Lelio la main de Stella et va t'établir dans le royal palais qu'il t'offre pour demeure. Tu passeras dans le bonheur les derniers jours de ta vie.

Krakamiche: Allons! je suis vaincu, je suis le dernier des sorciers! Prince, je vous accorde la main de ma fille. Emmenez nous. Allons, mon gendre, en route! Et vous, Elfes, amusez-vous bien!

SCENE IX. [No. 18 / 6 QUATTUOR SANS ACCOMPAGNEMENT]*

(L'accompagnement doit être supprimé dans ce morceau si les chanteurs ont l'intonation sûre.)

Krakamiche: *Adieu témoins de ma misère!
Hélas, en vain j'aurai lutté
Ranime-toi, mon cœur, espère
On t'offre la félicité.*

Stella et Lelio: *Après la nuit vient la lumière
Après l'exil la liberté
Et désormais ma vie entrée
S'appelera félicité*

*O jour plein d'allégresse
Quelle tendresse brille en tes yeux
A mon cœur, à mon âme
Leur douce flamme montre les cieux.*

Perlimpinpin: *Sans regrets moi, je m'envoais.
Perlimpinpin s'impressionne avec ivresse
De fuir ces lieux.
Le monde le réclame, et s'il prend femme,
Bonsoir le malheureux vieux,
Il vous quitte avec volupté.*

* This scene is missing from Turgenev's MS, although since Scene X is marked as such, there is in fact no Scene IX in this MS. The text here is taken from the NYPL.

PLANTAS DE LA ZONA

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APPENDIX II

Known Performances Of *Le Dernier Sorcier*

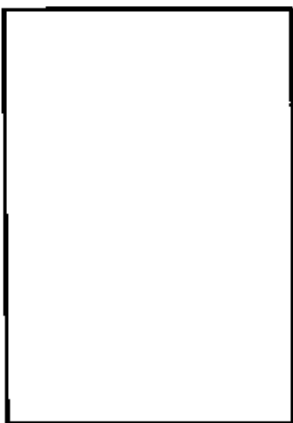
1867		
September 20 [?]	Baden-Baden	Villa Turgenev
September 23	Baden-Baden	Villa Turgenev
September / October ?	Baden-Baden	Villa Turgenev
October 17	Baden-Baden	Villa Turgenev
1868		
September 1	Baden-Baden	Villa Turgenev
1869		
April 8	Weimar	Großherzogliches Hoftheater
April 11	Weimar	Großherzogliches Hoftheater
August 13	Baden-Baden	Théâtre Viardot
August 24	Baden-Baden	Théâtre Viardot
1870		
January 28	Karlsruhe	Großherzogliches Hoftheater
February 1	Karlsruhe	Großherzogliches Hoftheater
February 9	Baden-Baden	Stadttheater
February / March ?	Weimar	[?]
April 12	Riga	Stadttheater
1871		
February 11	London	Viardot Salon
1882		
[August 12	Bougival	Villa Viardot]
1889		
April ?	Paris	Salon Viardot



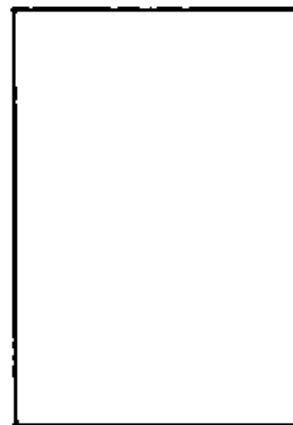
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ILLUSTRATIONS

The Villa Turgenjew



Chœur des Elfes



Editions Enoch

Turgenev as l'Ogre (Pietsch)

Pauline Viardot (Pietsch)

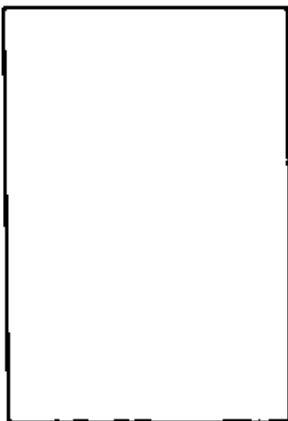
Le Dernier Sorcier

(Pietsch)

Ludwig Pietsch

Edouard Lassen

Le Théâtre Viardot



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