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A Brazilian Slave Opera: The Genesis of Gomes's Lo schiavo

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by

Bruno Bastos do Nascimento

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Brazilian Slave Opera: The Genesis of Gomes's *Lo schiavo*

by

Bruno Bastos do Nascimento

Doctor of Musical Arts

University of California, Los Angeles, 2021

Professor Neal H. Stulberg, Chair

Antônio Carlos Gomes (1836-1896), one of the most famous opera composers of Italian Opera from the Americas during his lifetime, is still largely unknown outside his home country of Brazil. Gomes lived and trained in Milan for several years, starting in 1864, with four of his operas premiered at La Scala. His output spans the heights and collapse of the Brazilian empire, and the rise of the so-called Italian *Risorgimento.* Gomes's operas are here situated during these transitional times in both Brazil and Italy. The focus of this study is Gomes's opera *Lo schiavo* (*The Slave*), premiered in Rio de Janeiro in 1889, and it reevaluates Gomes's artistic achievements within Italian musical and dramatic traditions. *Lo schiavo* is shown to be not only an exemplar of contemporary musical practices; it points forward to *verismo* operas such as *Cavalleria rusticana* (1890) by Pietro Mascagni (1863-1945), *Pagliacci* (1892) by Ruggero Leoncavallo (1857/58-1919), and *La bohème* (1896) by Giacomo Puccini (1858-1924).

At the same time, *Lo schiavo* displays Brazilian influences, broadening our cultural understanding of Gomes's creative output.

An abolitionist and multiracial individual, Gomes aimed in *Lo schiavo* to celebrate the abolition of slavery in Brazil, declared one year before the premiere of his opera. On account of complex political developments in the country and because of references to the old regime in the libretto, the opera was not performed in Brazil in the following years, while copyright issues prevented *Lo schiavo* from being performed in Italy. Not only the opera reflects the subject of slavery during and before the time it was composed, *Lo schiavo's* subject also remains relevant today, as issues concerning racial inequality and conflict in both Brazil and the United States continue to be observed.

In the four main chapters of this study, I situate *Lo schiavo* in Gomes's life and work, analyze key musical and dramatic features of the opera in the context of then-current Italian opera traditions and other national influences, and finally explore aspects of the opera that are distinctively Brazilian. With this project I aim to stimulate a revival of interest in Gomes's music outside of Brazil and to promote reconsideration of *Lo schiavo*, not only for its musical riches but also for its historical lens on social issues of ongoing importance.

The dissertation of Bruno Bastos do Nascimento is approved.

James Bass

David Kaplan

Peter D. Kazaras

Katherine R. Syer

Neal H. Stulberg, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2021

DEDICATION

To my mother, Nilda Bastos, for introducing me to music when I was little, to my father, Sirone Nascimento, for teaching me about life, which shaped who I am today, and to my dear brother, Breno Nascimento, for always supporting me.

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Completing this program at the University of California, Los Angeles, is a personal goal I have been striving towards for many years, even before starting my life as a UCLA student. This achievement would not be possible without the support of special mentors, professors, relatives, and friends.

First, I would like to thank my esteemed adviser, Professor Neal Stulberg, for believing in me and inviting me to come to the United State of America for the first time in 2014, and for accepting my application in 2018. It was a long journey of support, patience, and continuous encouragement. I cannot express enough gratitude for all his guidance and opportunities. His immense musical knowledge and experience have been essential to my learning process at UCLA and for my future career as an orchestra conductor and professor.

This study originated in one of the program's course requirements. Regarding that, I would like to express my sincerest appreciation to Professor Katherine Syer, for her constant support at the beginning of this project’s conception. Her assistance impacted the development and shape of this study.

I also would like to thank professors James Bass, David Kaplan, and Peter Kazaras for being part of my dissertation committee. It is an honor to have such outstanding and recognized professionals involved in this important moment in my academic life. My gratitude extends to the Faculty of UCLA Herb Alpert School of Music for the funding opportunity to undertake my studies at UCLA, and for all the support and musical experiences we have exchanged during my time in the program.

Thanks, too, to my friend Danielle Colares for the arduous task of proofreading my work. Also, thanks to my friend Júlia Coelho for revising translations and the overall prose of this study, and for providing frequent insights on musicological and historical aspects. I appreciate both of you for your patience and valuable suggestions. You have played a crucial role in making this study come to life.

Finally, my appreciation goes to my family and friends. Without their tremendous cheering and help, it would be impossible to complete this program.

VITA

Bruno Nascimento is a Brazilian conductor from the Amazon State, currently working as a professor at the Universidade Federal do Amazonas (UFAM). He has studied conducting under Marcelo de Jesus (Brazil), Gustavo Medina (Venezuela), Sandino Hohaggen (Brazil), Claudio Cruz (Brazil), Edward Dolbashian (USA), Daisuke Soga (Japan), Achim Holub (Austria), and Neal Stulberg (USA). He has extensive experience as a collaborative pianist with instrumentalists, as an opera coach, and as an active performer and conductor, having played in Brazil, the United States, Japan, and South Korea.

In Brazil, Nascimento has served as a guest conductor for the Amazonas Filarmônica, Orquestra de Câmara do Amazonas, Orquestra Experimental da Amazonas Filarmônica, Orquestra da Universidade do Estado do Amazonas, and in the USA, for the Columbia Civic Orchestra in Missouri. His assistant conductor positions include those with the Amazonas Filarmônica (Brazil), Festival Amazonas de Ópera (Brazil), University of Missouri Philharmonia (USA), and UCLA Philharmonia (USA), in addition to serving as conductor for the French Alliance Chamber Orchestra (Brazil) and UCLA Symphony (USA).

Nascimento graduated in conducting at the Universidade do Estado do Amazonas (Brazil) in 2009, and in 2017 received a master's degree from the University of Missouri (USA) in orchestral conducting, where he was inducted as a member at the Gamma Gamma Chapter of Pi Kappa Lambda, National Honor Society (USA). He has been a member of the faculty of the Arts and Music School of the Universidade Federal

do Amazonas (Brazil) since 2010, and has recently accepted the invitation to be a part of the Academia Amazonense de Música. Nascimento completed his Doctor of Musical Arts degree in orchestral conducting in the Department of Music at the UCLA Herb Alpert School of Music, studying with Prof. Neal Stulberg.

INTRODUCTION

Antônio Carlos Gomes (1836-1896), Brazil's most prominent opera composer, achieved great success in Italy in the second half of the nineteenth century. After writing the operas *A noite no castelo* (1861) and *Joana de Flandres* (1863) in Brazil, he received a scholarship from the Brazilian Emperor to study in Italy. Gomes arrived in Milan in 1864, at the peak of the Italian *Risorgimento* and the height of Giuseppe Verdi's (1813-1901) influence as opera composer.[1] It was a time of turmoil in Italy. In the arts, numerous factions developed, some influenced by foreign countries supporting change, others resistant. Nationalistic impulses directly impacted art, music, and literature, all used as tools to spread new ideas.[2]

Gomes and his operas are aligned with strong currents of social and musical change, which coursed through the years in which Italy became a nation state. Most of the peninsula was unified into the Kingdom of Italy in 1861, which also included Venetia and the former Papal States starting in 1871. From his first opera composed there, *Il Guarany* (1870), to the last one, *Condor* (1891), Gomes gained a variety of experiences, which will be considered later in this research. Furthermore, the Brazilian composer was skilled in navigating distinct musical groups in Milanese musical society.

[1] The *Risorgimento* was a cultural and political movement that led to Italy's unification and independence. For more information on the Italian *Risorgimento,* see Philip Gossett, "Giuseppe Verdi and the Italian Risorgimento," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 156, no. 3 (2012): 271–82, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23558088; and Alberto Mario Banti, *Il Risorgimento italiano* (Laterza, 2009).

[2] For more information on Gomes's early life and works see Marcos Góes, *Carlos Gomes: A Força Indômita* (Belém: Secult, 1996), 18-20, and Marcos Pupo Nogueira, *Muito além do Melodramma: os prelúdios e sinfonias das óperas de Carlos Gomes* (São Paulo: Unesp, 2006), 19-21.

For instance, as Verdi's close friend,[3] Gomes discussed ideas about earlier opera traditions and current foreign influences on Italian opera.[4] Through Alberto Mazzucato (1813-1877)[5] and Arrigo Boito (1842-1918),[6] he had connections with the progressive *scapigliati* movement.[7] Furthermore, as a foreigner in Italy, Gomes had his own personal and cultural experiences that uniquely shaped his operas. Gomes's success in Italy heightened his fame in Brazil, paving the way for opportunities in his native country.

After numerous operatic successes, failures, and ten fallow years, *Lo schiavo* (*The Slave*) premiered in Rio de Janeiro in 1889, forty-two days before the fall of the Brazilian empire. The opera was originally commissioned by the Teatro Comunale di Bologna

[3] The relationship between Gomes and Verdi is mentioned in numerous documents and letters, but without many details. For more information, see Giuseppe Verdi, Arrigo Boito, Marcello Conati, Mario Medici, and William Weaver, *The Verdi-Boito correspondence* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 178-79; See also Silio Boccanegra, *In memoriam: artista brasileiro* (Bahia: Typ. Bahiana, 1913), 306-07.

[4] For Verdi's influences on Italian opera, see Gregory W. Harwood, "Verdi's Reform of the Italian Opera Orchestra," *19th-Century Music* 10, no. 2 (1986): 108–34, https://doi.org/10.2307/746639. In this dissertation, "early Italian opera traditions" refers to traditions from the first half of the nineteenth century, or *primo ottocento,* when bel canto style and *la solita forma* were established by composers like Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868), Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848), and Vincenzo Bellini (1801-1835).

[5] Italian composer, professor at the Milan Conservatory, and writer at the *Gazzeta Musicale di Milano*. He was Gomes`s principal teacher at the conservatory, and a leading member of *La Società del Quartetto*.

[6] Italian librettist and composer known best for his collaborations with Verdi: *Otello* (1887) and *Falstaff* (1893). He studied in the Milan Conservatory with Alberto Mazzucato, and is considered the main figure of the *scapigliati* movement. His opera *Mefistofele* (1868) is still performed today.

[7] The *scapigliatura* was an artistic movement in Italy that flourished in the second half of the nineteenth century. It developed as a consequence of the *Risorgimento*, with painters, poets, writers, and musicians reacting against prevailing conformism at many levels. In music, it served as a counterpoint to Italian melodramma, of which Verdi was a leading example. The *Risorgimento* was highly influenced by Richard Wagner's writings about opera promoting musical continuity, the formal importance of text and plot, and expressive chromaticism. See Jay Nicolaisen, *Italian Opera in Transition* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980),140; Guido Salvetti, "La Scapigliatura milanese e il teatro d'opera," in *Il melodramma italiano dell'Ottocento*, ed. Giorgio Pestelli (Turin: Einaudi, 1977), 573–74; and Mary-Lou Vetere, "Italian Opera from Verdi to Verismo: Boito and *la scapigliatura*" (Ph.D. diss., SUNY Buffalo, 2010), 157-59.

in 1888, but not performed there or anywhere else in Italy before a production was mounted in Cagliari in 2019. In the completed work, Gomes aimed in *Lo schiavo* to celebrate the abolition of slavery in Brazil, which had been declared just one year before. Gomes himself was a *mulato*, which may have stimulated his attraction to a topic concerning progressive attitudes towards racial inequality.[8] Dedicated to Princess Isabel, who signed the abolition, *Lo schiavo* soon became a symbol of the old regime, however, and was forgotten in the years that followed.

While attracted to the musical qualities of Gomes's music in general, and the now scarcely known score of *Lo schiavo* in particular, I should add here that the opera's story concerned with racial inequality and slavery in Brazil only intensified my motivation to focus on *Lo schiavo* for this doctoral project. Since I arrived in the United States a few years ago, racial inequality and conflict are challenges I have become acutely aware, prompting me to reflect on differences between my home country of Brazil and the U.S., and the history of such difficult issues.

Grounded in study of the score, this dissertation highlights key musical and dramatic elements of Gomes's *Lo schiavo* through analysis of the genesis of the libretto and its dramatic characters, its various musical influences, and Gomes's compositional practices. Stylistically, *Lo schiavo* comes to light as a combination of traditional early nineteenth-century elements of Italian Opera and newer devices that would become common practice in operas such as *Cavalleria rusticana* (1890) by Pietro Mascagni

[8] The term mulato is commonly used in Portuguese, without negative connotation, to mean a multiracial person with both Black and White ancestry. The term creole has also historically been used in Brazil. Gomes's status as a mulato put him in excellent company in Brazil, among some of the most successful writers, musicians, politicians, engineers and the like. Today, Brazilian identity is strongly tied to its mulato legacy. In Europe, Gomes was optically identified as Black.

(1863-1945), *Pagliacci* (1892) by Ruggero Leoncavallo (1857/58-1919), *La bohème* (1896) by Giacomo Puccini (1858-1924), and in some of Richard Strauss's (1864-1949) operas as well.

The works examined in preparation for this study encompass primary and secondary sources on Gomes's music and the historical context of his life in Brazil and Italy. To the first category belong Brazilian and Italian journals and magazines from the late nineteenth century, such as *Diario do Commercio, Gazeta de Notícias, Il Teatro illustrato di Milano,* and *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*. Selected letters and documents from the time reveal essential evidence in understanding Gomes's compositional process, and choices. In terms of secondary sources, published scholarship on Gomes's music by Marcus Góes, Marcos Nogueira, Marcello Conati, and Gaspare Vetro and others inform this study. Various works on Rio de Janeiro and life at the court of D. Pedro II also represent valuable references; they clarify the political and social contexts in which Gomes wrote his music, thus helping us to better understand why he incorporated certain musical and dramatical choices. Additional scholarship related directly to Italian opera includes Jay Nicolaisen's *Italian Opera in Transition* (1980), Scott Balthazar's *The Cambridge Companion to Verdi* (2003), and Andreas Giger's *Verismo: Origin, Corruption, and Redemption of an Operatic Term* (2007).

The present study is divided into four main chapters. As a relatively obscure composer outside of Lusophone countries, Carlos Gomes takes the stage in Chapter One in the context of his most prominent stage works, situating him in Brazil and Italy's musical life.[9] An introduction to *Lo schiavo* accompanies comments on the libretto's

[9] Lusophone encompasses all the countries where Portuguese is the main language. In the current context, it refers to Portugal and Brazil.

construction and critical reception of the opera. In Chapter Two, I provide an overview of *Lo schiavo* by examining the overall structure of the opera, the main characters' personalities and musical connections, and Gomes's orchestration practices. The chapter that follows consists of an analysis of foreign influences on *Lo schiavo,* including French and German operatic repertoire, and numerous examples of Italian Opera elements from the first half of the nineteenth century. *Lo schiavo*'s relationship to verismo operas and their characteristics is also briefly discussed. In the last chapter, I examine evidence of Brazilian music influences in *Lo schiavo* and specific compositional practices undertaken by Gomes.

CHAPTER ONE

CONTEXT

Antônio Carlos Gomes's Career

The importance of Carlos Gomes in the operatic world is unquestionable, even if his recognition outside of Brazil has yet to be achieved. His success is in part reflected by the numerous biographical studies of Carlos Gomes's life, dating since the time he was still alive. Framing the works by Luiz Guimarães Junior in 1870 and by Rodolfo Paravicini in 1881, are the most recent studies by Gaspare Vetro in 1996 and 2002 demonstrate a continuous interest towards the composer from Brazilian scholars and performers.[10] These works are well known in Brazil, providing a variety of perspectives to his life and experiences. For this reason, I do not intend to exhaust all the information about Gomes's life. In this chapter, I aim to indicate relevant aspects of Carlos Gomes's life related to this research topic, and analyze the historical context within the opera Lo *schiavo* was written.

When Antônio Carlos Gomes was born in 1836, Brazil had undergone a series of changes. In 1815, Brazil became the center of a European empire entitled "The Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves" because of the transfer of the Portuguese royal family from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro in Brazil in 1808. Together with the Court, numerous instrumentalists, singers, and composers moved to Brazil, transferring

[10] Luiz Guimarães Junior, A. Carlos Gomes: perfil biographico (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Perseverança, 1870), https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:11418347$1i; Rodolfo Paravicini, "A. Carlos Gomes," *Il teatro illustrato di Milano*, August 1881, 2-3, http://ciniviewer.xdams.net/books/1880-1881_9_FASCICOLO.html#page/2/mode/1up; and works by Gaspare Vetro, such as Gaspare Nello Vetro, *Antônio Carlos Gomes* (Milano: Nuove Edizioni, 1977), Vetro, *Antônio Carlos Gomes Il Guarany* (Parma, 1996), and Vetro, *A. Carlos Gomes Carteggi Italiani* (Parma, 2002).

musical traditions from Portugal, especially the influence from Italian Opera.[11] With its independence proclaimed in 1822, Brazil became an empire ruled by the King Don Pedro I. These political changes impacted the economy, infrastructure, culture, and society, visible namely in the employment of a series of artistic programs to create a sense of unity and a national identity in Brazil. During this process, the government supported the development of Literature, a new history for the country, and the creation of national symbols. This period was a time of massive arts production, known nowadays as Brazilian Romanticism. One of the most important ways to convey these new concepts and ideologies was through Opera, in which Gomes later became its foremost representative, and a symbol of the monarchy later in the century.[12]

Gomes grew up in Campinas, a small town near São Paulo. In the second half of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, the city became the principal coffee producer of the country. Wealthy farmers from the region often sent their sons to Europe to study. When they returned, they brought with them new technologies, as well as cultural and political ideologies. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Campinas was a prosperous city with an effervescent musical and artistic life. Gomes's father, Manuel José Gomes (1792-1868), was the *Kapellmeister* of the city.[13] José

[11] Maria José Borges, "Verdi e o gosto pela ópera italiana em Portugal no século XIX," *Estudos Italianos em Portugal*, no. 8 (2013): 11-13, https://doi.org/10.14195/0870-8584_8_1.

[12] Miriam Dolhnikoff, *História do Brasil Império* (São Paulo: Contexto, 2017), 69-85. See also Vanda Bellard Freire, *Rio de Janeiro, século XIX: cidade da ópera* (Rio de Janeiro: Garamond, 2013), 49-78.

[13] Gomes's father served for 50 years as a conductor, composer, music teacher, and copyist. During his career, he drew attention to the variety of repertoire copied, primarily instrumental music by European composers like Haydn, Boccherini, and Weber. In addition, the main collection of Brazilian colonial music is preserved because of José Gomes's work. See Juvenal Fernandes, *Do sonho à conquista* (São Paulo: Fermata do Brasil, 1978), 9-14; and Marcos Pupo Nogueira, *Muito além do melodramma: Os prelúdios e sinfonias das óperas de Carlos Gomes* (São Paulo: Unesp, 2006), 47-48.

Gomes was responsible for church music, wind bands, orchestras, and marching bands. Raised in this environment, Gomes learned the violin, piano, clarinet, and percussion instruments. Additionally, Gomes and his brother Santana Gomes followed their father, from an early age to his multiple rehearsals, concerts, and activities as a copyist and composer.

In Campinas, Carlos Gomes composed waltzes, polkas, and *quadrille* pieces for piano.[14] He also began writing *modinhas, a* genre in which Gomes would later gain great fame.[15] In 1854, at the age 18, he wrote his first mass, titled *Missa de São Sebastião*. It was around that same year that he became well known in São Paulo as an established composer, pianist, and music teacher, participating frequently in events and gatherings for the middle and upper classes.[16]

In 1859, encouraged by friends from Campinas and São Paulo, Gomes moved to the court in Rio de Janeiro. This had a substantial impact on his life as a composer, as he become known by the most renowned musicians of the court. After moving to Rio, Gomes had the opportunity to meet the emperor, Don Pedro II. The latter introduced the young composer to members of the Imperial Conservatory of Music and the National Opera Company. In the conservatory, Gomes studied with the orchestra conductor Gioacchino Giannini (1817-1861) and the conservatory director, Francisco Manoel da

[14] *Quadrille* is a dance genre based on the European quadrille from the eighteenth and nineteenth century that spread to the colonies. In Brazil, it became a standard five-movement suite, similar to the ballet quadrilles in French Grand Opera.

[15] *Modinha* is a Brazilian genre for voice and piano equivalent to the German Lied. For more information, see Chapter 4.

[16] Fernandes, *Do sonho à conquista*, 15-54.

Silva.[17] Gomes was subsequently invited by the Spanish musician and National Opera manager José Amat to be the assistant conductor of both the orchestra and the choir of that institution. In this position, he participated in various opera productions by Brazilian, Italian, French, and German composers.

Gomes premiered his first opera, *A Noite no Castelo* (1861), two years after moving to the capital. The opera was an enormous success, earning him awards from the emperor and enthusiastic press reviews. As a result, Gomes received a commission to write another opera, and after two years of writing and publishing short piano and vocal pieces, he premiered *Joana de Flandres* (1863) in Rio de Janeiro, again to great acclaim. The opera's success earned Gomes an invitation by Empress Teresa Cristina to study in Italy, her home country, and a scholarship from D. Pedro II to study in Milan.

Gomes moved to Italy in 1864 to continue his studies at the Milan Conservatory, during the prolific time of the Italian *Risorgimento* – a time of substantial modifications in all aspects of Italian musical life, including opera.[18] These changes lead to what is known as Italian Grand Opera, culminating in the Verismo operas in the transition to the

[17] Gioacchino Giannini was an Italian orchestra director who moved to Rio de Janeiro in 1844. Giannini was a board member and professor at the Imperial Conservatory of music, and the first opera conductor at the National Opera.

Francisco Manoel da Silva is known as the composer of the Brazilian National Anthem. He was director and board member of the Imperial Conservatory of music, and contributed with numerous didactic publications about music theory, harmony, and counterpoint, widely used in mid-nineteenth century in Brazil. See Cristina Magaldi, "Concert Life in Rio De Janeiro, 1837-1900." (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1994), 216-17. See also Vincenzo Cernicchiaro, *Storia della musica nel Brasile* (Milano: Fratelli Riccioni, 1926), 599.

[18] The term *Risorgimento* refers to a cultural and political movement that led Italy to independence. For more information, see Philip Gossett, “Giuseppe Verdi and the Italian Risorgimento” *Studia Musicologica* 52, no. 1 (April 2011), 241–57, http://www.jstor.org/stable/43289762. See also Mary Ann Smart, “Verdi, Italian Romanticism, and the Risorgimento” Chapter, in *The Cambridge Companion to Verdi*, edited by Scott L. Balthazar, 29–46. Cambridge Companions to Music. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, doi:10.1017/CCOL9780521632287.004.

twentieth century. During this time in Italy, a period comprising the early 1860s to the 1890s, the music industry, opera houses, and orchestras were changing. In music, early traditions from Rossini, Bellini, and Donizetti were modified, with emerging artistic movements influenced by elements from the French Grand Opera and individual composers, such as Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791-1864), and Richard Wagner (1813-1883).[19]

In his first years in Italy, Gomes dedicated himself to the studies in the music conservatory, studying with Lauro Rossi and Alberto Mazzucato, and watching recitals, concerts, and Opera productions. The Brazilian composer finished his studies in two years, receiving the title of *maestro compositor* on July 6, 1866. In the same year, Antonio Scalvini (1835-1881) invited Gomes to write the music for the *ritornelli popolare* entitled *Se sa minga,* a particular kind of play with music and spoken text, which addressed daily social life, arts, and politics.[20] The day following the premiere, the newspaper *Corriere di Milano* dedicated a page to a positive review of the spectacle. Some music from the production became popular among the Italians, and Gomes became known by the leading composers and musicians of the time.[21]

This first success led Gomes to compose his first opera in Italy, *Il Guarany* (1870). Premiered at La Scala with great success, it received more than 60

[19] For the opera transition in the second half of the eighteenth century in Italy, see Jay Reed Nicolaisen, “Italian Opera in Transition, 1871-1893” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1977), 2-8; and Gregory Harwood, "Verdi's Reform of the Italian Opera Orchestra," *19th-Century Music* 10, no. 2 (Fall 1986): 108–34.

[20] Antonio Scalvini was an Italian playwriter, librettist, and opera director. He was well-known in Milan during Gomes’s time in Italy, writing numerous operas, operettas, and *ritornelli popolare*. He became later the librettist for *Il Guarany* (1870), Gomes’s most famous opera.

[21] Marcus Góes, *Carlos Gomes: a força indômita* (Belém: Secult, 1996), 69-71.

performances across Europe and the Americas. With *Il Guarany,* Gomes inaugurated a new trend in Italian opera, the *opera-ballo,* in which the orchestra plays a leading role in the opera. It was applied later by other composers, such as Verdi in *Aida* (1871), Amilcare Ponchielli (1834-1886) in *La Gioconda* (1876), and later Puccini in *Le Villi* (1884) and *Edgar* (1889).[22] Authors like Góes, Ruberti, and Conati provide valuable details about Gomes's success with *Il Guarany*.

In *Il Guarany*, Gomes portrayed the exoticism of Brazilian indigenous people on stage and through the employment of indigenous instruments, dense orchestration, and unusual sound palette. In the following operas, the Brazilian composer tried to avoid these topics once he considered himself an Opera composer from the Italian tradition, as the political and cultural changes due to the *Risorgimento* had a strong impact on his music and ideologies. After *Il Guarany,* Gomes composed three more operas in Italy before *Lo schiavo.* Some of these new operas were popular and critical successes, other failures.

In *Fosca* (1873), the Brazilian composer brought a European subject to the stage and innovated in the music. Gomes asked for an "actress soprano" to play Fosca, a character with a doubtful personality and bad reputation. It was not a common request at the time, and neither was the temper of the role, which usually was portrayed in Italian operas as reserved ladies with good character to the society's view. To the orchestra, he gave a prominent role, like in *Il Guarany,* while the music had an elaborated chromaticism, continuous flow overlapping arias and recitatives, fewer gaps between sections, and several *leitmotifs*. He based these ideas on elements from the

[22] For more information in *opera-ballo*, see Nicolaisen, *Italian Opera in Transition,* 262.

scapigliati movement, which later became essential components of *Verismo* Opera.[23] These elements were employed later by Georges Bizet (1838-1875) in *Carmen* (1875), followed by Italian composers in the 1880s, such as Verdi and Ponchielli. *Fosca* did not achieve the expected success, having only seven performances in 1873 and eleven in 1878 after its revision.

For the subsequent stage work, *Salvator Rosa* (1874), Gomes returned to a livelier and lighter Italianate style. *Salvator Rosa* became the second most successful Gomes's opera, premiering at the Teatro Carlo Felice in Genoa, and opening the season at the Teatro alla Scala in the same year. These productions marked the peak of Gomes's career in Italy. By this time, he had become the second most performed composer in the 1870s in Milan, behind only Verdi.[24]

Throughout the successes of *Salvator Rosa* and the continuous performances of *Il Guarany* and some of *Fosca*, Gomes had numerous conflicts with publishers and critics, which led to a decline in the number of productions in Milan of his operas in the years that followed. One of the reasons was tied to concerns on national style: foreign operas by Meyerbeer, Wagner, Bizet, Charles Gounod (1818-1893), Gomes, among others, were often performed in the Italian opera houses, leaving few spaces to Italian

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[23] For *leitmotif,* see Arnold Whittal, "Leitmotif," *Grove Music Online,* 2001; Accessed 6 Oct. 2021; and Thomas S. Grey, "Leitmotif, temporality, and musical design in the *Ring*," in *The Cambridge companion to* Wagner*,* ed. Thomas S. Grey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 383-402.

For more information on verismo operas, see Chapter 3.

[24] See Nicolaisen, *Italian Opera in Transition,* 358; and Fiamma Nicolodi, "Italian Opera," *The Cambridge companion to grand opera,* ed. David Charlton (Cambridge Companions to Music. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 383-91. doi:10.1017/CCOL9780521641180.020.

composers. Naturally, it caused reactions by critics and composers from Italy.[25] In addition to this criticism as a non-Italian, during this time Gomes had numerous losses that profoundly impacted his personal life. In 1873, one month before the premiere of *Salvator Rosa*, his daughter Carlota Maria died in the first months of her life. In the same year, his son Manuel José died at 18 months of age. Finally, Gomes lost his other son Mário Antônio in 1879, at the age of five.

Despite these personal tragedies, Gomes continued writing and premiered *Maria Tudor* in 1879 at La Scala, based on Victor Hugo's play with the same title and a libretto by Emílio Praga and Arrigo Boito. This work is characterized by its psychological depth and a darker emotional quality, perhaps reflecting in part the above-mentioned difficulties in Gomes's life. The opera brings back elements employed in *Fosca,* but with more maturity and sobriety. Although Gomes considered it his best work, it was the first time the Brazilian composer heard boos at one of his premieres. The next day, the opera was received negatively by the critics. According to the leading Gomes's scholar Marcus Góes, the main reason was the persistent conflicts between the Brazilian composer and Italian critics and publishers.[26] After a few performances, *Maria Tudor* was received more positively by the public in Milan and later produced at Covent Garden in London.[27] Despite *Maria Tudor's* mixed response*,* Gomes was doing well financially due to frequent performances of *Il Guarany, Fosca,* and *Salvator Rosa* in Italy, Russia, Argentina, Cuba, and Brazil.

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[25] Nogueira, *Muito além do melodramma,* 27; See also Lenita Nogueira, "Música e Política: o caso de Carlos Gomes," *XV Congresso da ANPPOM,* 2006, 1-7.

[26] Góes, *Força Indômita*, 290-96.

[27] Penalva, *Carlos Gomes,* 102-02; and Fernandes, *Do sonho à conquista*, 131.

It would take ten years for Gomes to premiere his next opera, *Lo schiavo*, which debuted on September 27, 1889, in Rio de Janeiro. It is a four-act opera concerning Brazilian historical events from the early seventeenth century, reflecting on relationships and conflicts between the Portuguese and the indigenous enslaved people. Gomes dedicated the opera to the Princess Isabel de Bragança, who had signed one year before the "Golden Law," abolishing all forms of slavery in Brazil. The premiere was given weeks before the fall of the Brazilian empire, an event which affected drastically as a composer and public figure in Brazil.[28]

In 1890, La Scala commissioned a new opera from Gomes. During this time, Gomes was unwell and not able to leave his house. He spent most of his time composing and receiving friends like Verdi, Mascagni, and Puccini at his home. Gomes wrote his new three-act opera, *Condor*, in three months, premiered on February 21, in 1891. Distinctive features are the abandonment of lyrical melodic lines for the singers, substituting instead a heightened *parlante* style, and the disuse of set pieces.[29] The opera was a success, with nine performances in the first production at La Scala. It reflects the transition of the Italian Opera and the change of taste of the Italian

[28] See the next chapter of this research for details on the ten years gap without a new Gomes's opera, and the process of the libretto of *Lo schiavo*.

[29] *Parlante* (lit. "speaking") is a musical term that describes an orchestral melody over a vocal dialogue through counterpoint or doubling the melodic line. For more information, see Julian Budden, "Parlante (ii)," *Grove Music Online,* 2002; Accessed 6 Nov, 2021, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/ 10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-5000007252.

The term set pieces is related to the *la solita forma*, becoming the standard musical structures employed in stage works. Some examples are arias, cavatinas, cabalettas, overture, and tempo di mezzo. For more details, see Scott L. Balthazar, "The Forms of Set Pieces," *The Cambridge Companion to Verdi*, edited by Scott L. Balthazar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 47–68, doi:10.1017/CCOL9780521632287.005.

audience, who was exposed one year earlier to Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana* for the first time.

Condor was Gomes's last opera, although he premiered in the next year the vocal poem *Colombo* (1892) for the holiday celebration of the Discovery of the Americas. Due to the political changes, Gomes's refusal to write a new National Anthem and the strong monarch symbolism that he represented lead to obstacles created by the new regime to erase the Brazilian composer from public performances. He moved to Belém in 1896, the capital of the Pará state, to become director of the music conservatory there, but he was too sick to take the position, and died of cancer on September 16, 1896.

Lo schiavo's Libretto

Lo schiavo's libretto went through several stages of development. Due to conflicts between composer, librettist, historian, and impresarios, it took around ten years to produce a final version. Understanding the libretto's development reveals essential insights to comprehend the opera and perceive Gomes's musical choices for the final product.

The 1880s were busy and troubled years for Carlos Gomes. In the first half of the decade, he divided his time between Brazil and Europe, attending numerous productions of *Il Guarany, Fosca,* and *Salvator Rosa.* In 1881, Gomes moved from Milan to Maggianico-Lecco in Lombardy, where he built the *Villa Brasilia*, which became one of the meeting places for the *scapigliatura* movement.[30]

[30] *Villa Brasilia* is a complex built in eight months between 1880 and 1881 upon the project of the architect Attilio Bolla. Currently called *Villa Gomes*, it comprises a park and a two floors house reflecting

During the second half of the decade, opera productions by Gomes in Italy declined. At the same time, his personal life suffered due to his divorce from the pianist Adelina Peri in 1885, as well as financial issues that ultimately led to the sale of *Villa Brasilia* in 1887. Busy with the productions of previous operas and personal matters, Gomes turned his compositional attention to short pieces for voice and piano, string quartets, and small ensembles, publishing various albums in partnership with the Italian publishing house Casa Ricordi, yet without writing a new opera.[31]

At this time in Brazil, abolitionist movements were spreading across the country, perhaps partly as a consequence of the Civil War in the United States and also due to anti-slavery pressure on Brazil from the United Kingdom.[32] Since moving to Rio de Janeiro at the beginning of his career, Gomes was always engaged with politics, directly or indirectly, and had longstanding relationships with leading figures of the abolitionist movement in Brazil like Alfredo Taunay and André Rebouças. It was from his friendship with Taunay that a slavery theme for a new opera emerged.[33]

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architectural elements of the Brazilian Empire. There are more than 40 species of trees on the ground, and during Gomes's time, the park housed many Brazilian typical animals. He considered it a Brazilian outpost in Italy, a place that would provide reflection and inspiration for his future compositions. Gomes also used the property for concerts, recitals, and meetings with friends from the musical circles. See Antônio Alexandre Bispo, "Il Parco di Villa Gomes – a Villa Fiori. Cultura/Natureza no paisagismo, na arquitetura e na pintura de interiores sob o signo da Divina Comedia e suas implicações para estudos do compositor de Il Guarany," *Revista Brasil-Europa: Correspondência Euro-Brasileira* 161, no. /07 (March, 2016:03), http://revista.brasil-europa.eu/161/Il_Parco_di_Villa_Gomes.html.

[31] José Penalva, *Carlos Gomes: o compositor* (Campinas: Papirus, 1986), 41-45. See also Juvenal Fernandes, *Do sonho à conquista: revivendo um gênio da música* (São Paulo: Fermata do Brasil, 1978), 147-51.

[32] For the abolitionist movement and the face of Brazil internationally see Miriam Dolhnikoff, *História do Brasil Império* (São Paulo: Contexto, 2017), 73-85, and also Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, ed., *O Brasil monárquico, v. 6: declínio e queda do império* (Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2016), 167-72 and 209-17.

[33] For Gomes's relationship with Taunay and Rebouças and their political engagement, see César de Carvalho Ismael, "O 'maestro da abolição' e sua ópera O Escravo" (MM diss., Universidade Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro, 2014), 60-65.

Lo schiavo's origins go back to late 1880. The first version of the libretto was based on the work *I Danicheff* (1879) by Alessandro Dumas Figlio and on Taunay's travel experiences across the country. Asked by Gomes during an informal meeting, Taunay sketched a four-act opera with the action in 1881 in Rio de Janeiro, in which slavery was the subject, a black slave was the protagonist, and a plot that followed *I Danicheff's* storyline. From this meeting, Gomes set the title *Lo schiavo,* and the argument of the new opera. Taunay summarizes the encounter with Gomes in an article published after the premiere of the opera in 1889:

> I can, without any inconvenience, exempt my name and my literary competency from no small responsibilities, as a knowledgeable and read man in national things, regarding the singularities, anachronisms, and curious historical and ethnic confusions embedded in a very modest sketch of a libretto arranged by me in a hurry, and on the day of Carlos Gomes's departure for Europe at the end of 1880. "Give me any idea," would tell me the conductor with anguished insistence. "Italian librettists make beautiful verses, but they have no creativity. A small draft is enough. I do not want, however, an indigenous subject, like the *Moema* you sent me. In *Il Guarany* there was already too much *bugre*."[34] "That is fair," I answered him. I will give you brief instructions, susceptible of being well developed in the hands of those who know how to take advantage of them. And, appealing to literary reminiscences, as it was not my work, I wrote in pencil on five or six pages of paper at a table at the *Hotel de França*, while Carlos Gomes finished packing his luggage.[35]

[34] *Bugre* is a pejorative word in Portuguese to referring to indigenous people.

[35] "Posso, portanto, sem inconveniente algum ressalvar de não pequenas responsabilidades o meu nome e os meus foros de literato de homem um tanto lido em coisas pátrias, quanto às singularidades, anacronismos e curiosas confusões históricas e étnicas, que enxertam num modestíssimo esboço de libreto, por mim arranjado às pressas e no dia da partida de Carlos Gomes para a Europa, em fins de 1880. - Dê-me uma ideia qualquer. Dizia-me o maestro com angustiosa insistência. Os libretistas italianos fazem versos lindos, mas não tem engenho inventivo. Basta o menor rascunho. Não quero, porém, assunto índio, como Moema que você me mandou. No Guarany já havia bugre demais. - Pois bem, respondi-lhe. Vou ministrar-lhe ligeiras indicações, suscetíveis de bom desenvolvimento nas mãos de quem as saiba aproveitar. E, apelando para reminiscências literárias, pois não se tratava de obra minha, escrevi a lápis sobre a mesa do um hotel de França, enquanto Carlos Gomes acabava de arrumar a bagagem." Alfredo Taunay, "Lo schiavo: Opera e Libretto," *Gazeta de Notícias,* October 4, 1889, 277.

For translations from foreign languages (Italian and Portuguese) the original versions are placed in the footnotes and my translations are in the text as quotations, a practice that I will follow throughout this

In this article, Taunay rejects the responsibility for the changes in the libretto.[36] He refers in particular to the change from a black to an indigenous slave as the opera protagonist, the time shift from the nineteenth century to the early sixteenth century, and the misleading information related to the early history of Brazil.

Both the composer's daughter Ítala Gomes, and Taunay's son Affonso d'Escragnolle ascribe these modifications to Rodolfo Paravicini, the librettist contracted by Gomes when the latter arrived in Italy from Brazil in 1880.[37] Despite their attribution to Paravicini, Góes believes Gomes bore the main responsibility for the changes in the libretto, basing his argument on a letter from Gomes to Paravicini on 5 December 1884:

> I should write you a long argument, perhaps without explaining myself well. Suffice it to say that we must meet to decide upon the end of the libretto. The second act seems to me to be very, very successful, mainly due to the dances and the end, which I thought of finishing without the duet between Americo and Rolando. ... After you left me, I was paralyzed in time, without the strength to continue. ... It was only later that I ended, with great difficulty, the second act. ... It is your fault for having abandoned me at a time when I was so full of heat and excitement for work! Now we are at the last minute! If you really help me, we can, perhaps, stage it by Lent. ... Think about it, among other things, it is necessary to change the era of the action, which will bring difficulties at various points in the second act. We will perhaps change the name of Isaura, so that no one says it was taken from Mancinelli's opera, whose *prima donna* is, in fact, called Isaura! I am truly excited working on this.[38]

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dissertation. An exception will be made for the translation of Taunay's sketch, reproduced in Appendix 1, p. 90.

[36] For a full translation of Taunay's sketch, see Appendix 1, p. 90.

[37] See Affonso d'Escragnolle Taunay, "Algumas cartas de Carlos Gomes ao Visconde de Taunay," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, November, 1910, 44.

[38] "Deveria escrever-te um longo arrazoado, talvez sem me explicar bem. Basta dizer-te que é absolutamente necessário que nos reunamos para tomar uma resolução sobre o fim do libretto. O segundo ato me parece muito, muito bem-sucedido, principalmente pelos bailados e pelo final, o qual pensei em terminar sem o dueto entre Américo e Rolando ... depois que me abandonaste, fiquei paralisado no tempo, sem vigor para continuar. ... Foi só ultimamente, que terminei, com dificuldade, o segundo ato. ... A culpa é tua por me teres abandonado no momento em que estava tão cheio de calor e

The letter reveals that the Brazilian composer had finished the second act only in 1884. It has different character names compared to the final version, in which later Rolando became Rodrigo, and Isaura became Ilàra, and Gomes was still asking for changes in the plot. Yet, there is a letter from Gomes to Taunay in 1883, which leads to a different understanding of this subject:

> Your letter of February 10th gave me great pleasure. You answered some points of my questions about *Lo schiavo* - not everything; however, I am partly satisfied. Your idea of changing the era was accepted by me – not by the poet. ... On this topic, I will write to you as soon as I have a final decision.
> Ferrari [Angelo Ferrari (1835-1897), an opera impresario in Brazil in the nineteenth century] wants to premiere *Lo schiavo* in Rio de Janeiro. What do you think about this proposal? ... The opera is not ready, but it must be finished in order to take it to the stage next December.[39]

Here, Gomes infers that Taunay proposes the idea for changing the plot's era. However, Taunay later opposes the modification in the libretto, while denying any responsibility for mistakes in it.[40] It is not clear the reasons for the changes made by Gomes and Taunay, but Paravicini is certainly not responsible for them. Instead, he

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animado ao trabalho! Agora estamos em cima da hora! Se me ajudas, de verdade, poderemos, talvez, encená-la na Quaresma. ... Pense bem, entre outras coisas é preciso mudar a época da ação e isto trará dificuldades a vários pontos do segundo ato. Trocaremos, talvez, o nome de Isaura, para que não se diga que foi tirado da ópera de Mancinelli, cuja primadonna se chama, de fato, Isaura! Estou animadíssimo no trabalho." At the library of the Teatro alla Scala in Milan. For a transcription of the letter, see Góes, *força indômita*, 328-29.

[39] "A tua carta de 10 de fevereiro me deu muito gosto. Respondeste a alguns pontos das minhas perguntas acerca *de Lo schiavo* – não tudo; porém, fico em parte satisfeito. A tua idéia de mudar de época foi por mim aceita – não pelo poeta...Sobre esse ponto te escreverei logo que se tomar a última resolução. O Ferrari [Angelo Ferrari (1835-1897), empresário de ópera no Brasil no século XIX] quer dar o Escravo pela *prima volta* no Rio de Janeiro. Que dizes (d)a proposta? … A ópera não está pronta, mas há-de por força ficar acabada para subir a cena no mês de Dezembro próximo." See the entire letter from Gomes to Taynay on April 16, 1813, at Boccanegra, *In memoriam: artista*, 108-09.

[40] See Appendix 1, p. 90.

opposed this idea since the beginning. In the last two letters between Gomes and Paravicini, the difficulties between them are noticeable. In general, conflicts between composer and librettist were quite common at this time. Gomes was often dissatisfied with verses by Italian librettists and frequently wanted to refine them, but in *Lo schiavo* this resulted in significant changes in the story and later legal problems regarding copyright issues.[41]

Gomes's central changes in *Lo schiavo* are related to the novel *The Confederation of Tamoios* (1856) by Gonçalves de Magalhães (1811-1882). In the form of a poem, the work describes an armed Indigenous revolt against Portuguese conquerors between 1554 and 1567.[42] Even though Magalhães's 1856 work was well-known in Brazil, it returned to the spotlight in 1883 due to a painting by the Brazilian painter Rodolfo Amoedo (1857-1941), titled *The Last Tamoio* (1883), which became famous in Europe at the time.[43] In the end, the libretto of *Lo schiavo* became a mix of numerous sources, resulting in many modifications since its origins in 1880.[44] It had

[41] Góes, *Força Indômita*, 328-37.

[42] The Confederation of Tamoios was a unification of numerous indigenous tribes with the aim to expelling the Portuguese's forces from the region where is now Rio de Janeiro back in the 1550s. This event turned into a novel written by Gonçalves de Magalhães and became a reference in the Brazilian Romantic literature. See Danilo José Zioni Ferretti, "A Confederação dos Tamoios como escrita da história nacional e da escravidão," *História da Historiografia: International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography* 8, no. 17 (2015): 171-91, https://doi.org/10.15848/hh.v0i17.922.

[43] Rodolfo Amoedo, *The Last Tamoio,* 1883, oil on canvas, 180,3 x 261,3 cm, National Museum of Fine Arts, Rio de Janeiro.

[44] Amoedo painted *The last Tamoio* in 1883, the same year in which Gomes and Taunaydecided to change the libretto of *Lo schiavo.* The success of Amoedo's work, and the interest to the Magalhães's *Confederation of Tamoios* might have influenced the modifications in the libretto of Gomes's new opera. There is no evidence for this fact, and Amoedo's work was exhibited first time in French in 1883, and only in the next year in Rio de Janeiro. Gomes and Taynay would hardly have had access to the painting before the exhibition in Rio de Janeiro. Despite the speculation, it was a favorable coincidence.

influences come from *I Danicheff*, *Confederation of Tamoios*, Taunay's experiences, and some of Brazilian history from the early sixteenth century, as summarized below.

The opera *Lo schiavo* takes place in the city of Rio de Janeiro and its outskirts in 1567. Ilàra and Iberè, from the Tamoio tribe, are enslaved in the farm of Count Rodrigo. The Count's son, Americo, is in love with Ilàra, who returns his love. Act I of the opera begins by portraying the hard life of the slaves and the constant hope for freedom represented by Iberè. The Count Rofrigo hears about a slave revolt in Guanabara. Fearing the same will happen to his slaves, he asks Gianfera, the Count's foreman, to bring to him the most rebellious slave to punish as an example. Gianfera brings Iberè, the most insubordinate of the slaves. However, Americo orders the foreman to hold back and saves Iberè, who swears he will be eternally faithful to his young protector. Knowing his son's love for the indigenous girl, the Count sends the young man to Rio de Janeiro to join the Portuguese army against the Natives' uprising, promising he will support Americo's desire to marry Ilàra when he returns. During Americo's absence, Rodrigo arranges the wedding of Ilàra to Iberè, and sell them in a slave market in Guanabara.

Act II is set in Niterói, a city close to Rio de Janeiro, where a French garrison is allied with the natives against the Portuguese. The act starts with the young Countess of Boissy, a keen abolitionist who used to buy slaves in the slave market to free them, welcoming Americo to her house. She shows him deep affection, but he refuses her because of his love for Ilàra. For this time, she organizes a party with French officials and numerous guests to free all her indigenous slaves. Among the guests is Americo and, surprisingly, amid the slaves are Iberè and Ilàra, who are then in Countess'

possession. When Americo finds out that Iberè and Ilàra are married, he is filled with hatred and wants to kill Iberè.

The third act takes place in the forest in Jacarepaguá, where Iberè and Ilàra have the freedom to live their lives. Iberè tries to win his wife's love in the hope of making her happier. Ilàra, however, tells Iberè of her oath of fidelity to the young Portuguese Americo. Iberè respects her but, hating the situation, joins his tribe against the Portuguese colonizers.

The fourth act begins with different tribes led by Iberè preparing for the war against the Portuguese. At the same time, Iberè fights his inner conflict about his love for Ilàra, understanding that her heart belongs to another man. The fourth scene of the act is for orchestra alone. The music here represents the sound of the forest during dawn in the Guanabara Harbor. This scene describes the sound of different birds, the waves on the beach, and the Portuguese vessels' call to war. In the war, Americo is imprisoned and brought to Iberè. In order to keep his oath, Iberè betrays his people and frees his benefactor. Americo and Ilàra escape but are spotted by the indigenous, who want revenge. Iberè kills himself, offering his life in exchange for the lives of the lovers.

Premiere and Critical Reception

Under the direction of Carlos Gomes, *Lo schiavo* premiered in Rio de Janeiro September 27, 1889 at the Teatro Imperial D. Pedro II. Riccardo Boniccioli conducted the subsequent performances. The nationalist connotations and exaltation of the monarchy in this opera made the debut a great success. Below is a premiere's report in the *Diario do Commercio* days after the premiere:

> The extraordinary attendance of the population for the first performance of *Schiavo* by our great conductor Carlos Gomes, gave Theatro D. Pedro II the grandiose appearance of a truly national party. … the opera pleased in general. The audience applauded wildly. Carlos Gomes, the artists, the scenographers, [and] the conductor of the orchestra were all acclaimed and repeatedly called on stage in every act. The audience sometimes interrupted the performance by thoroughly applauding the interpreted passage, its author, and its performers.[45]

Despite the success of the premiere, later reports had opposing views about the opera. For example, in *Il teatro illustrato di Milano* from November 1889, there is a transcription of an article published previously in Brazil at the *Gazeta de Notícias* in October 1889 regarding the new opera.[46] In the introduction, the Italian editor Carlo Slop provides his perspective about the libretto:

> Let's talk about the *Schiavo*: the first honors [go], so to speak, to the libretto. And let me immediately explain: it is a bad imitation of the *Danicheff*: it is a dramatic action that takes no interest in protasis [introduction of a play] or catastrophe.

[45] "A concorrência extraordinária da população à primeira representação de *Schiavo*, do nosso grande maestro Carlos Gomes, deu ao Theatro D. Pedro II o aspecto grandioso de uma verdadeira festa nacional...a ópera agradou geralmente. O público aplaudia com frenesi. Carlos Gomes, os artistas, os cenógrafos, o regente da orquestra, todos foram victoriados e repetidamente chamados à cena em todos os atos. Os espectadores interromperam por vezes a representação para cobrirem de palmas o trecho interpretado, seu autor, e os intérpretes." See "Primeiras: Lo schiavo," *Diario do Commercio,* September 29, 1889, http://memoria.bn.br/docreader/DocReader.aspx?bib=248070&Pesq=Gomes&pagfis=1219.

[46] See the entire article at "A estréa do Schiavo," *Jornal do Commercio,* September 29, 1889, at Silio Boccanegra, *In memoriam: artista brasileiro* (Bahia: Typ. Bahiana, 1913), 144-50. Some critics of the time referred to Gomes's opera as *Schiavo.* For this study, I adopt the title employed by Gomes, *Lo Schiavo.*

> The way the scenes are structured [has] no criteria, the versification ... [is] barbaric. Since the local color, the environment, are totally lacking to the whole drama, the poet perhaps wanted to make up for it with his seven and eleven syllables. And he succeeded perfectly: [there is] nothing more barbaric. The characters have a rather special way of expressing themselves. When something happens nothing is ever justified, and there is such monotony in the entire plot that it would make a person want to cry.[47]

Leaving aside the ironic tone of the author, it is necessary to remember that he might have had access only to the libretto published by *Ricordi*, part of the music, and a few reports coming from Brazil. On the other hand, later in the same article, the Brazilian composer is praised for his expertise in melding the music and the plot. There is also a brief performance overview of each cast member, such as singers, orchestra, chorus members, and more.[48]

Following the premiere, the controversy with the libretto emerged through the above-mentioned article by Taunay discarding responsibilities and disowning the changes in the plot, as well as the longer protest published by Paravicini in *Il teatro illustrato di Milano* in December 1889**.** In the latter, he presented his version of the problems surrounding the creation of the libretto.[49] Taunay was a well-known writer,

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[47] "Parliamo dello *Schiavo*: i primi onori — per modo di dire — al libretto. E mi spiego subito: è una cattiva imitazzione dei *Danicheff:* è un'azione drammatica che non interessa nella protasi, nè nella catastrofe. La condotta scenica senza criterio, la verseggiatura... selvaggia. Siccome in tutto il dramma manca totalmente il colore locale, l'ambiente, il poeta ha forse voluto supplirvi coi suoi settenari ed endecasillabi. E vi è riescito perfettamente: niente di più barbaro. I personaggi hanno una maniera di esprimersi tutta speciale. Nulla di quanto accade è giustificato e in tutta l'azione v'è una tale monotonia che farebbe venir la voglia di piangere." See Carlo de Slop, “Lo schiavo,” *Il teatro illustrato di Milano,* November 1889, http://ciniviewer.xdams.net/books/1889_FASCICOLO_11.html#page/14/mode/1up.

[48] For the premiere, see n. 46 of this chapter.

[49] For the entire Taunay’s article, see Appendix 1, p. 90.

For the article, see Rodolfo Paravicini, “Cicero pro domo sua: a proposito dello Schiavo di Gomes,” *Il teatro illustrato di Milano,* December 1889, http://ciniviewer.xdams.net/books/1889_FASCICOLO_12.html#page/4/mode/1up.

historian, and politician in Brazil, while Paravicini contributed for years to *Il teatro illustrato di Milano* and had an esteemed reputation as a music critic in Italy. Neither of them wanted their names associated with a problematic libretto.

There were other controversies surrounding this opera. For Taunay, the libretto dealt questionably with historical events, resulting from changing the time of the story to centuries earlier. For Paravicini, there were two mains issues: the inclusion of Taunay's name as one of the libretto's authors; and more crucially, the use of *Inno della libertà* (*Hymn of Freedom*) with text by Francesco Giganti, in the opera.[50] Because Gomes included this hymn, Paravicini and Gomes went to court over copyright; the Brazilian composer lost the case and was not permitted to perform the opera in Italy.[51] Another controversy surrounding *Lo schiavo* was directly related to the monarchy and abolitionism. *Lo schiavo* celebrated a regime that was then in crisis, due in part to the abolition decree issued one year before the opera's premiere. On the other hand, the abolitionists were not sympathetic to the choice of having an indigenous slave rather than a Black slave as the opera's protagonist.

Lo schiavo was performed eight times in Rio de Janeiro and three in São Paulo, but after the Republic was proclaimed on November 15, 1889, Gomes had no further opportunities to have the opera performed, mainly because of his connection with the

[50]Francesco Gigante was an Italian lieutenant in the 12th Infantry at the Military school in Milan, who partnered with Gomes to compose hymns and marches for the Italian army. See Bispo, "Carlos Gomes e a formação patriótico-nacional italiana – Inno-Marcia para o Collegio Militare di Milano como homenagem ao exército italiano à luz do recrudescimento do identitarismo nacional na Europa do presente," *Revista Brasil-Europa: Correspondência Euro-Brasileira* 162, no. 5 (April, 2016), http://revista.brasil-europa.eu/162/Inno_Marcia_de_Carlos_Gomes .html

[51] See Góes, *Força Indômita,* 375-76.

monarchy.[52] The only subsequent productions of the opera occurred in 1921 in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Montevideo; 2010 in Manaus; 2016 in Rio de Janeiro; and 2019 in Cagliari, its Italian premiere.

[52] Ibid., 375-85.

CHAPTER TWO

LO SCHIAVO: AN OVERVIEW OF THE DRAMA AND MUSIC

Opera in Four Acts

Before providing a detailed examination of *Lo schiavo* in the next chapter*,* an overview of its structure is necessary for a general understanding of the opera.[53] Gomes shaped *Lo schiavo* as a traditional four-act opera, beginning with an overture followed by arias, duets, trios, recitatives, chorus numbers, ballet numbers, and other set pieces.[54] Gomes followed this format until his last opera, *Condor*, despite the fact that the employment of set pieces was a waning practice at the end of the nineteenth century in Italian opera*.*

The four acts are quite distinct in musical and dramatic atmosphere. In the *preludio,* featuring a simple melody line in minor mode played by the oboe, Gomes sets the nostalgic and sad tone of the opera, suggestive of the suffering of slaves.[55] Gomes then gradually introduces the characters, musically emphasizing their different personalities. Gomes employs motifs to evoke different identities for the leading roles, recalled frequently throughout the opera.[56] The act concludes by establishing the

[53] For the edition referred in this study, see Antônio Carlos Gomes, *Lo schiavo* (*drama lírico em 4 atos*), libretto by Rodolfo Paravicini, on an original by Alfredo Taunay, ed. Roberto Duarte (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, 2016).

[54] Balthazar, "The Forms of Set Pieces." Chapter, 47–68.

[55] Gomes used the terms *preludio* or *sinfonia* for all kinds of instrumental music in his operas. See Nogueira, *Muito além do melodramma,* 19-45.

[56] For this study, the term motif is employed to mean a short associative melodic figure, revisited and varied throughout the opera.

opera's central conflict, when Americo travels to Niterói and his father forces the marriage of Ilára and Iberè.

The second act depicts opposing perspectives and emotional spheres, starting with a mix of sarcasm and passion, and ending with hate and betrayal. Gomes introduces new ensemble elements, such as the chorus, a ballet corps, and two extra characters, the Countess of Boissy and her servant Lion. These new components increase activity on the stage and set up the opera's first climax, a turning point that marks the only time when all the characters are together on stage.

The music of the *preludio* returns in the two first scenes of Act III. The dark color of the orchestration contrasts with nostalgic and anguished feelings expressed by Ilàra. Gomes creates a static and introspective ambiance in which Iberè tries, unsuccessfully, to reach Ilàra's heart while she continuously mourns her circumstances and the loss of her lover Americo.

In the last act of the opera, Gomes brings back musical forms heard in the previous acts and also includes innovative features. For much of the act, the movement on stage is notably static, providing a feeling of suspension and suspense. In scene 4, this reflective character is most noticeable. Stage movement and voices fall silent, and Gomes interjects an orchestral *preludio* which depicts dawn in the Guanabara Harbor in Rio de Janeiro, with Portuguese vessels on the horizon, and the indigenous people preparing for war. It is explicitly political, quoting the Independent National Anthem at the end while exalting the monarchy and the recent abolition of slavery. Following this emotionally charged moment, the stage movement becomes more active, the number of characters onstage increase, and the volume and dissonance of the music intensify as

Gomes concludes the opera with Iberè's suicide, committed to save Americo and Ilàra.[57]

The Characters

Gomes explores a traditional triangle of forbidden love and betrayal, as is found in Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* (1865), Bizet's *Carmen* (1870), Verdi's *Aida* (1871), or later in Puccini's *Turandot* (1921). The Brazilian composer writes soprano, tenor, and baritone roles to create this dynamic trio, a common practice in nineteenth-century opera. Besides the leading roles, Gomes also included chorus, ballet, and numerous minor characters. The *dramatis personae* for *Lo schiavo* is seen below in table 1.

[57] For more information on the orchestral *preludio,* see Chapter 3.

CHARACTER	DESCRIPTION
Count Rodrigo	Bass A coffee farm owner living close to the Paraíba river
Americo	Tenor The count's son. Born in Brazil, he is an official of the Portuguese Navy
Ilàra	Soprano A Brazilian indigenous slave on the Count's farm
La Contessa di Boissy	Soprano A French lady living in Niterói
Iberè	Baritone A Brazilian indigenous slave on the Count's farm, and former chief of the Tamoio tribe
Goitacá	Bass One of the indigenous leaders
Gianfera	Baritone The count's foreman
Lion	Bass The countess' servant
Guaruco, Tapaocá, Tupinambá, Carijó, Caiapó, Arary, Botocudo	Warrior leaders allied to the Indigenous conspiracy
Indigenous warriors, French ladies, French officials, comrades, henchmen, count's servants	Chorus (Act III)
Indigenous slaves	Ballet (Act III)

Table 1: Characters in *Lo schiavo.*[58]

The three prominent characters — Iberè, Ilàra, and Americo — invite closer consideration. In *Lo schiavo,* there are two main motifs and two musical grouping

[58] Information based on Rodolfo Paravicini and Antônio Carlos Gomes, *Lo schiavo: dramma lirico in quattro atti,* libretto (Milano: Ricordi, 1980), 5; See also the full score edition A. Carlos Gomes, *Lo schiavo* (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, 2016), 9.

structures related to the development of the plot.[59] One of the motifs is attributed to Iberè, shown in Figure 1**:**

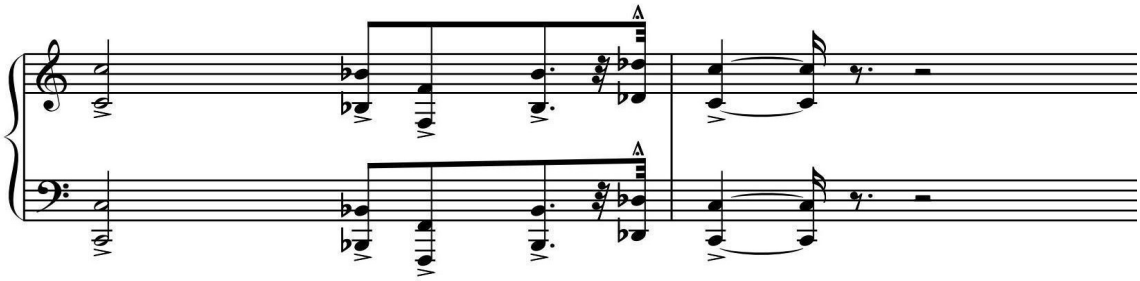

Fig. 1: Iberè's motif, piano reduction.[60]

This motif is applied in multiple ways: to prepare the character's entrance on stage, when another role describes Iberè's personality or strength, and when Iberè refers to himself as a warrior and a Tamoio leader. Hence, although Gomes first presents the protagonist Iberè on stage in Act I, scene 5, he refers to him musically already in scene 3 through the motif shown in Figure 1. Furthermore, Gomes endeavors to suggest many nuances of Iberè's rich personality: a combination of his being considered uncultured and also noble in spirit, his indomitable strength and respect from others, and capable of full expressions of both hate and love. Iberè represents a symbol of freedom and resistance against the invaders throughout the entire opera.

[59] "Musical grouping structure" refers to a large musical segment formed by motifs, basic ideas, phrases, sentences, and more. For more information, see Ray Jackendoff, and Fred Lerdahl, *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music* (United Kingdom: MIT Press, 1983), 36; and Willian E. Caplin, *Classical Form: A Theory of Formal Functions for the Instrumental Music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1998), 28-29.

For analysis of motifs and grouping structure, see Chapters 3 and 4.

[60] See Góes, *Força Indômita*, 344. Further comments are in the next chapter.

In contrast, Gomes assigns two melodic elements to Ilàra: a musical grouping structure and a motif, both introduced in the opening *preludio* of the opera, as shown in Figures 2 and 3:

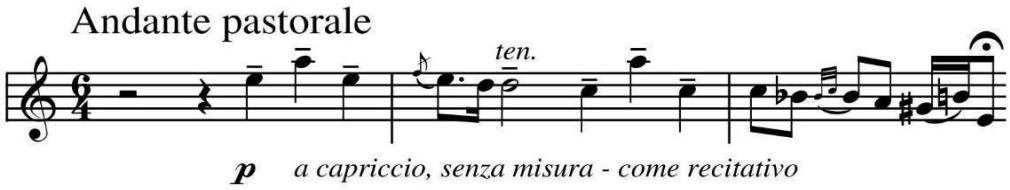

Fig. 2: Gomes*, Lo schiavo* Preludio*,* mm. 1-2.[61]

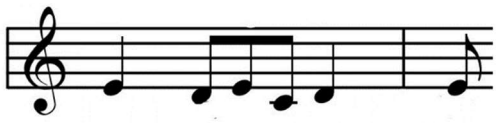

Fig. 3: Gomes, *Lo schiavo*, Ilàra's motif as presented first time in the Preludio, mm. 22-33.[62]

In Figure 2, Gomes suggests Ilàra's internal conflicts, the longing for her land when she was free in a distant past, and her love for Americo, lying in deep emotional dependence, which represents more broadly the enslavement of her people. The composer chooses here the penetrating timbre of the oboe playing alone, in a recitative style, to create a memorable atmosphere in the *preludio* of the opera. Gomes uses the same music in Act III, scene 1, in a more specific dramatic context and to connect that

[61] For a complete analysis of the opening *preludio,* see Nogueira, *Muito além do melodramma,* 252.

[62] Ibid., 261-62; See also Góes, *Força Indômita*, 343-45.

feeling state to her other main motif shown above in Figure 3. This motif, found throughout the opera with numerous variations, represents Ilàra's external conflict associated with Iberè. She is aware that the situation is not his fault and that Iberè loves her, but also knows that she cannot betray her heart and love him in return.

Ilàra is a complex character who symbolically encompasses various feelings. According to Góes,"Ilàra was, in short, Carlos Gomes, with his lamentations and longing for Brazil. Of all the characters in Gomes's operas, she is the one who most identifies with the composer, musically and psychologically.[63] In the opera, Gomes gives voice to three predominant populations during the formation of the country Brazil: the Indigenous people who lament the invasion of their lands; enslaved Black people who miss their land and people; and the Portuguese people who long ago left Portugal without returning.[64] Ilàra's endless sorrow is not only about sadness, but also evokes the lament and nostalgia for simpler times in Brazil, which resonates with the homesickness of the Black slaves and Portuguese peoples in the opera, and Gomes's own experience abroad as well.

Surprisingly perhaps, Gomes did not compose a specific musical motif for the main character Americo. Instead, he wrote a challenging role for the singer with a continuously high tessitura and requiring strong dramatic skills. Americo's character

[63] "Ilàra, em suma, era Carlos Gomes, com suas lamentações e saudades do Brasil. É ela, de todas as personagens de suas óperas, a que mais se identifica, musical e psicologicamente, com o compositor." Góes, *Força Indômita*, 343.

[64] There are numerous studies on nostalgia and *saudade* related to Brazilian culture and history. One of the first scholars to address this was Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, "Considerações sobre a nostalgia" (Ph.D. diss., Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Tipografia Imparcial de Francisco de Paula Brito, 1844). For more recent information on this topic see Cleisson de Castro Melo, "Saudade: Representação e semiótica em Villa-Lobos" (Ph.D. diss., Universidade Federal da Bahia, 2016), 20-23.

evolves as the story unfolds, and his motional upheavals become more pronounced, revealing different sides of his personality: a fair and passionate man in Act I, an elegant officer at the beginning of Act II, a man full of hate at the end of the same act, and a grateful soldier at the end of the opera.

The Orchestra in *Lo schiavo*

Only recently has interest in Gomes's orchestration process increased in Brazilian scholarship. To date, these studies are directed only at Gomes's purely instrumental passages within his staged works. The two main studies, by Nogueira and Keer, both focus on the *preludios* and *sinfonias*.[65] Still, these studies support further discussion of Gomes's orchestration in *Lo schiavo* as a whole.

Gomes was one of the last opera composers steeped in nineteenth-century Italian traditions to preserve passages of discrete instrumental music in stage works. The *La forza del destino* overture (1869) was one of the last stand-alone overtures by Verdi. Following the short *preludio* in *Aida* (1871), the Italian composer abandoned the independent form for his following operas. In many of Puccini's operas, the vocal music starts right after the first chords of the orchestra. From *Il Guarany* (1870) to *Condor* (1891) Gomes maintained the use of instrumental pieces to launch his operas, and within them, underscoring the orchestra's role as a kind of dramatic protagonist and its contribution to plot development. Examples include the *preludio*, the *sinfonia,* and the *ballets* in the opera-ballo *Il Guarany* (1870), the two *preludios* and *sinfonia* in *Fosca*

[65] See Nogueira, *Muito além do melodramma*; and Isaac Willian Kerr, "Instrumentação e Orquestração em Antônio Carlos Gomes: Um Estudo em seus Prelúdios e Sinfonias" (MM. diss., Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2016).

(1873), the two *preludios* in *Lo schiavo* (1889), and the *preludio* and nocturne in *Condor* (1891), among others.[66]

Three phases of influence on Gomes's rich orchestral writing include his early experiences working with his father in Campinas, his years in Rio de Janeiro working at the National Opera and studying with Francisco Manuel da Silva, and his later period in Italy. Along the way, he experienced a wide range of repertoire in performance. According to Nogueira, the experiences in Campinas strongly influenced how Gomes approached and thought about orchestration through to his later stage works. Later in Rio de Janeiro, his studies with Francisco Manuel da Silva would have exposed him to the teachings of the German composer Sigismund Neukomm (1778-1858), with whom Da Silva studied.[67] In the Milan Conservatory, Gomes studied with Alberto Mazzucato (1813-1877) and was a close friend of Arrigo Boito (1842-1918), both of whom were leading figures in the *scapigliati* movement. In 1863, this group created *La Società del Quartetto* to promote absolute instrumental music in contrast to the strong interest in theatrical and programmatic music. Though there is no clear evidence that Gomes was part of the movement, but he often associated with members of the group, leading most likely to discussions on the topics that interested this musical society. Besides a general connection with the *scapigliati* movement*,* Gomes was directly influenced by his close friend Verdi, and he absorbed aspects of French Grand opera.

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[66] Nogueira, *Muito além do melodramma,* 47-50. See also Ítala Gomes Vaz de Carvalho, *Vida de Carlos Gomes* (Rio de Janeiro: A. Noite, 1946), 19.

[67] Neukomm was an Austrian composer. After appointments in Salzburg and St. Petersburg, he moved to Brazil to work at D. João VI's court in Rio de Janeiro. He was responsible for introducing Joseph Haydn and Wolfgang A. Mozart`s works in Brazil and influenced a generation of Brazilian composers including Da Silva. Kerr notes how Neukomm's work in Brazil might have reached Gomes during his lessons with Manuel da Silva in Rio de Janeiro. See Kerr, "Instrumentação e Orquestração em Antônio Carlos Gomes," 43-46.

Before exploring these influences more closely in susequent chapters, let us consider the particular orchestration Gomes used for *Lo schiavo*, shown in table 2:

Ottavino (Ott.)	Piccolo
2 Flauti (Fl.)	2 Flutes
2 Oboi (Ob.)	2 Oboes
2 Corno Inglese (C.I.)	2 English Horns
2 Clarinetti (Cl.)	2 Clarinets
2 Fagotti (Fag.)	2 Bassoons
4 Corni (Cor.)	4 Horns
2 Trombe (Tr.)	2 Trumpets
2 Cornette (Ctt.)	2 Cornets
3 Tromboni (Trb.)	3 Trombones
Cimbasso (Cimb.)	Bombardone / Tuba
Arpa (Arpa)	Harp
Timpani (Tp.)	Timpani
Campane (Camp.)	Bells
Campanelli (Clli.)	Glockenspiel
Gran Cassa (G.C.)	Bass Drum
Piatti (Ptt.)	Cymbals
Tamburi (Tamb.)	Drum
Triangolo (Tri.)	Triangle
Violini I (Vni. I)	Violin I

Violini II (Vni. II)	Violin II
Viole (Vle.)	Viola
Violoncelli (Vc.)	Cello
Contrabassi (Cb.)	Double Bass
Musica di scena	Incidental music

Table 2: Required orchestration for Gomes's *Lo schiavo*.[68]

The instrumentation follows the basic Italian model in use when Gomes arrived in Italy in the 1860s and remained the same throughout all of his Italian-period operas, with the exception of some drama-specific indigenous percussion instruments used in *Il Guarany*. Although *Lo schiavo* had an indigenous subject, Gomes maintained the standard Italian instrumentation, perhaps because he intended to premiere the work in Brazil, where the use of “exotic” elements would have been superfluous.

Also notable is the adoption of the *cimbasso* and two cornets. The term *cimbasso* had different meanings across the nineteenth century; for Gomes, it meant the *bombardone*. Kerr summarizes the reasons and origins of the term *cimbasso,* the connection with the *bombardone,* and the difference preferences for Verdi and Gomes. Verdi did not like the *bombardone* because of what he perceived as limitations in its musical expression. For Gomes, by contrast, the timbre of the conical *bombardone* matched well with cornets, which were ubiquitous in his opera orchestration.[69] His concern for color and texture is evident in how he often combined the low and high

[68] The list is based on the full score edition in Gomes, *Lo schiavo*, 8.

[69] For information regarding Gomes and the use of the term *cimbasso for bombardone,* see Kerr, "Instrumentação e Orquestração em Antônio Carlos Gomes,” 119-32.

sound of trombones and trumpets, while combining the low and high sounds of the conical *bombardones* and cornets.

This particular deployment of brass expanded the sound pallet Gomes had available. For example, in the instrumental *preludio* in Act IV of *Lo schiavo*, Gomes writes similar melodic lines for trumpets and cornets, like a distant echo in the sea, evoking the Portuguese vessels far in the bay preparing to the war, as shown in Figure 4:

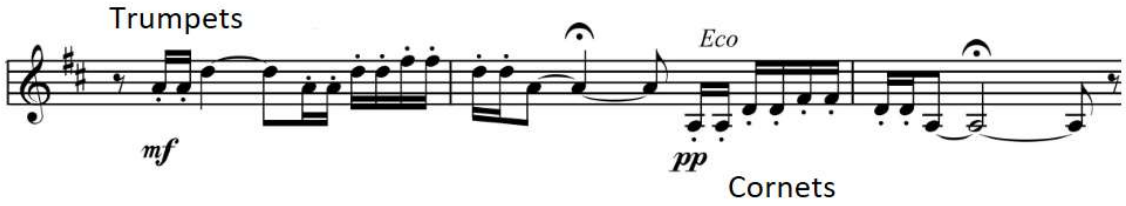


Fig. 4: Gomes, *Lo schiavo*, Act IV, scene 4, mm. 31-33.

This careful concern for color and texture is also observed in Ilàra's romanza in Act IV, scene 5, mm. 67-83, when Gomes changes the key from F-sharp major to the enharmonic key of G-flat major, the latter being apparently more idiomatic for the harp regarding pedaling. Same for the strings, where Gomes might modify the color and texture with frequent change between F-sharp major and G-flat major.[70]

In terms of Gomes's use of the orchestra to advance the drama in *Lo schiavo,* the deployment of a solo cello is especially notable, both as an expressive instrumental element and as vocal accompaniment. Examples include Act III, scene 2, mm. 47-63, in

[70] For harp pedaling, see The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Pedal harp," Encyclopedia Britannica, July 20, 1998, https://www.britannica.com/art/pedal-harp; For enharmonic keys and the colors impact, see M. Rusty Jones, "Modulation by Key Class," Indiana Theory Review 24 (2003): 1–27, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24046459.

Iberè's aria. Another example in Act IV, scene 9, mm. 4-7, when Americo becomes a prisoner of the Tamoios tribe and meets the leader Iberè.

Lastly, a noteworthy feature of Gomes's actual notation — already evident in *Il Guarany* and more pronounced in subsequent operas — demonstrates his detailed attention to articulation, color, and balance, and how these elements connect to the plot. In *Lo schiavo*, besides the tradition notation, Gomes often supplements the usual Italian performance markings with detailed instructions in Italian explaining precisely what he intends from both orchestra and singers. This accuracy and level of detail from the composer are also found when he includes specifications about which string the violinists should played and even which fingering should be used. All these details demonstrate the importance of the orchestra for Gomes, as well as his attention to actual performance.[71] Further analysis on the music of *Lo schiavo* is found in the following chapters, demonstrating the special role of the orchestra for Gomes in his operatic works.

[71] For a detailed study on the principal elements of Gomes's orchestration, see Kerr, "Instrumentação e Orquestração em Antônio Carlos Gomes," 99-194.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PAST AND FUTURE IN *LO SCHIAVO*

The changing currents in music and society that Gomes experienced in Europe and his home country crucially shaped his musical signature. *Lo schiavo* reflects his past experiences, then-current trends, and a glimpse into the future. Even after ten years without writing a new opera, Gomes continued to attempt to balance tradition and innovation, resulting in an unprecedented work. In this chapter I analyze musical and dramatic aspects of *Lo schiavo* related to earlier Italian opera traditions, foreign influences, and elements to be found in later operas. The musical examples I have chosen encompass form, harmony, orchestration, vocal lines, and the correlations that they have with one another.

Earlier Opera Traditions and Foreign Influences in 'Lo schiavo'

Although some early nineteenth-century (primo ottocento) Italian opera traditions were falling into disuse during Gomes's time, select elements are still to be found in *Lo Schiavo*, alongside more experimental strategies. Composers like Verdi, Boito, and Ponchielli also combined past traditions and new compositional devices in their operas. Broadly speaking, Italian opera absorbed a range of foreign influences, especially as French Grand Opera became immensely popular mid-century, as a consequence of the *Risorgimento* and all the implications inherent to it. This evolutionary approach is at work in operas from the 1860s to the end of the century. Verdi, whose work in Paris involved direct engagement with musical and theatrical norms there, carried some of

those influences forward, as with his revisions to his 1867 opera *Don Carlos* in the 1870s and 1880s, and in new works such as *Aida* (1871) and *Otello* (1887), all these factors inform the context in which Gomes's honed his craft before working on *Lo schiavo.*[72]

In Gomes's first success, *Il Guarany* (1870), he incorporated numerous elements of French Grand Opera into an overall framework rooted in primo ottocento Italian opera traditions. Gomes maintained this relatively conservative approach through to *Condor*, his last opera. However, the balance became more ambiguous in his later works.

The foundation of primo ottocento traditions was *la solita forma*, standardized by Rossini, Bellini, and Donizetti, supporting a structure of a series of set-pieces, such as recitatives, arias, cavatinas, duets, and choruses.[73] *La solita forma* typically comprised four movements: recitativo, primo tempo cantabile, tempo di mezzo, and cabaletta. Examples of this structure abound throughout the nineteenth century. For example, in Bellini's *Norma* (1831) and Verdi's *La Traviata* (1853), the respective composers employed large-scale scenes with well-defined elements of *la solita forma* in the first solos of the protagonists Norma and Violetta**.**[74] However, by the time of Verdi's *Aida* (1871), the title character's first solo is a short scene and romanza.[75] This scene begins with a recitativo in a declamatory style, followed by three distinct sections which work as

[72] See Góes, *Força Indômita,* 150-55; and Nicolodi, "Italian Opera," 383-402.

[73] For more information on *la solita forma* (lit. the "usual form") see n. 29 of Chapter 1; see also Harold S Powers, "'La Solita Forma' and 'The Uses of Convention,'" *Acta Musicologica* 59, no. 1 (1987): 65–90, https://doi.org/10.2307/932865.

[74] The first section mentioned is Bellini's *Norma,* Act I, No. 4, scena and cavatina, "Casta diva"; the second refers to Verdi's *La Traviata,* Act I, No. 6, scena and aria, "Ah fors'è lui che l'anima."

[75] The reference is to Verdi's *Aida,* Act I, *scene e romanza,* "Ritorna vincitor."

a transition to the cantabile at the end. In this case, the form is not as clearly defined as in the first two examples. However, it represents an aria's equivalent from the first half of the century, where the plot does not advance for a moment so that the characters can share their feelings and thoughts about current events.

Gomes employs a similar structure and techniques at the beginning of *Lo Schiavo,* Act I, scene 4, when Ilàra is introduced. Gomes organizes the scene into two sections: a *recitativo accompagnato,* and an *andante cantabile*. The action is suspended briefly while Ilàra reflects on her condition as a slave, considers trying to escape, and contemplates her forbidden love for Americo. In this instance, Gomes uses a *frase cantabile,* an equivalent of the aforementioned opening arias. It is on a smaller scale than the *Norma* and *La Traviata* examples, but it still has a robust dramatic effect. In the second section of the scene, the composer writes a lyrical and unpretentious melody, without a structured development, while making use, however, of large leaps, high and low ranges, and several *rubati* and *tenuti.* These variations of early Italian opera traditions were widely applied as innovative structural solutions at the second half of the nineteenth century.

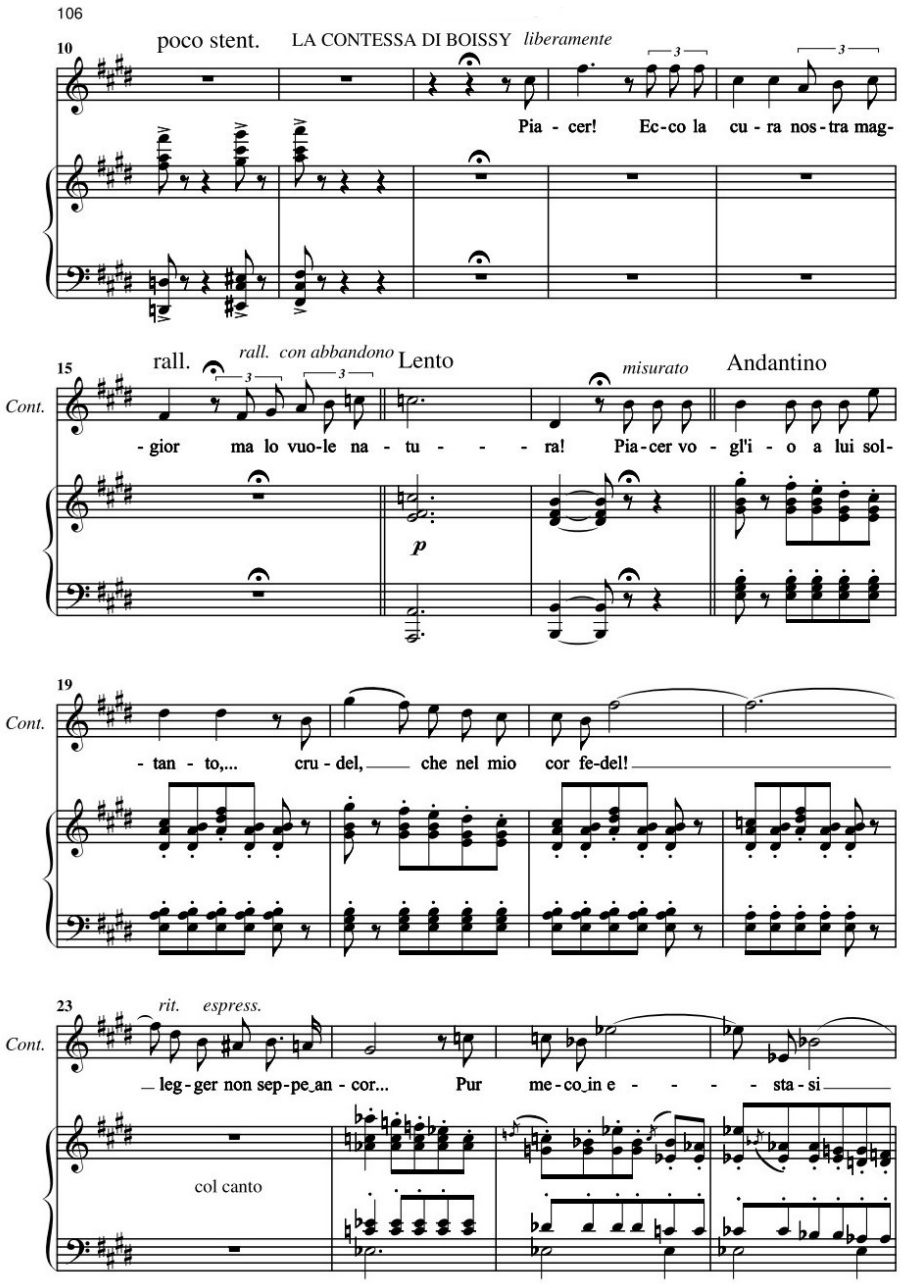
Composers like Verdi, Boito, Ponchielli, and Gomes also adopted declamatory vocal lines in the recitativo sections, with contrasting short segments of lyrical vocal lines—a regular feature in Gomes's operas.[76] For instance, in Act I, scene 1, of Verdi's *Rigoletto* (1851), the composer already utilizes a more *parlante* style in the duet for the

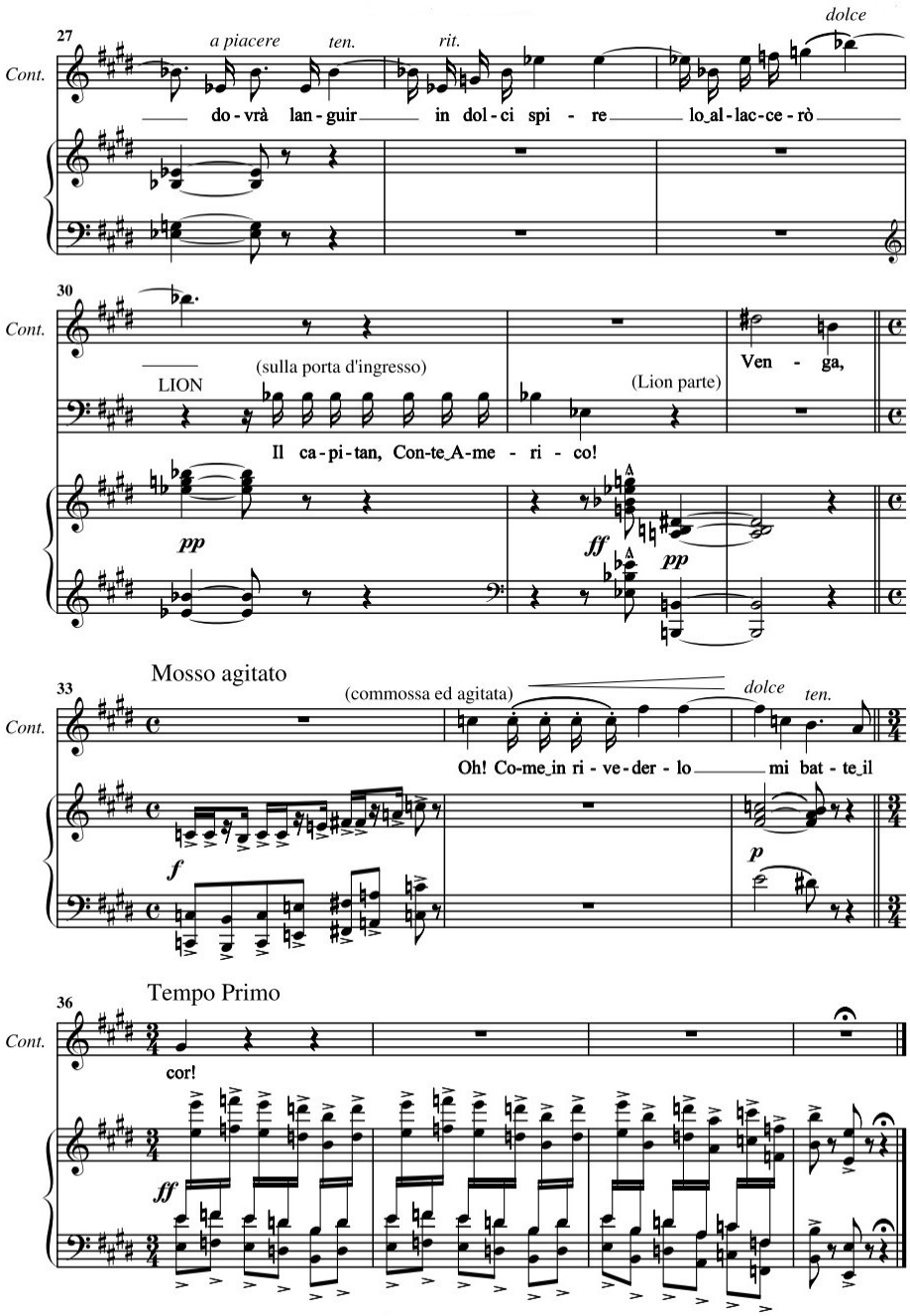
[76] See Balthazar, "The forms of Set Pieces," 49-56; Marcos da Cunha Lopes Virmond, "Construindo a Opera Condor: O Pensamento Composicional De Antonio Carlos Gomes" (Ph.d. diss., Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2007), 73-114. For more information, see also Harold S. Powers, "'La Solita Forma' and 'The Uses of Convention'" *Acta Musicologica* 59, no. 1 (1987): 65–90, https://doi.org/10.2307/932865.

characters Rigoletto and Sparafucile in the beginning of the scene**.** In Act II, scene 8, of his later work *La forza del destino* (1862), Verdi alternates an earlier style of recitativo accompagnato with a declamatory manner for the duet of Leonora and Guardiano.

In *Lo Schiavo,* there are numerous similar examples, such as in the first two scenes of the second act, as shown in Figure 5:

recitativo in parlante style




27
a piacere
ten.
rit.
dolce
Cont.
do - vrà lan - guir in dol - ci spi - re lo_al - lac - ce - rò
30
Cont.
LION
(sulla porta d'ingresso)
(Lion parte)
Ven - ga,
Il ca - pi - tan, Con - te_A - me - ri - co!
pp
ff
pp
Mosso agitato
33
(commossa ed agitata)
dolce
ten.
Cont.
Oh! Co - me_in ri - ve - der - lo mi bat - te_il
f
p
Tempo Primo
36
Cont.
cor!
ff

Tempo d'attaco

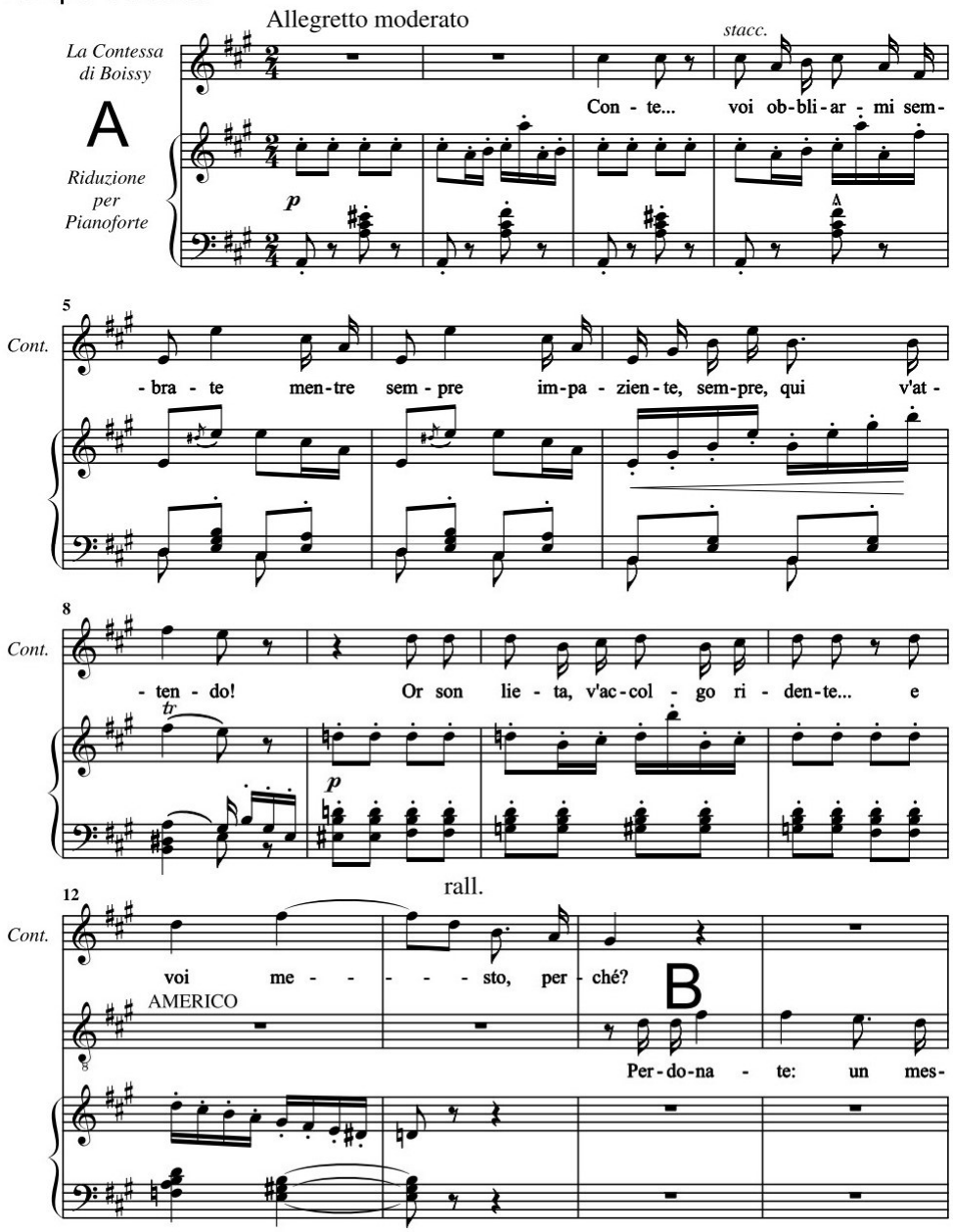


Fig. 5: Gomes, *Lo schiavo,* Act II, scene 1, mm. 10-39; and Act II, scene 2, mm. 1-15.[77]

[77] For the analysis of the whole passage, see Appendix 2, p. 96.

The act begins with the character Contessa di Boissy's recitativo accompagnato in *parlante* style, followed by a duet between her and Americo. The duet starts with a lyrical section equivalent to a *tempo d'attacco,* comparable to the beginning of a standard primo ottocento aria or duet. This first part is in ABA form, in which the countess begins the A section with a gracious and symmetrical theme, but ends with an asymmetrical phrase. The central B section is declamatory dialogue with brief lyrical lines. At the return to A, beginning in m. 52, the main theme alternates with declamatory segments before ending with a brilliant cadenza sung by the Countess and a final A major chord. The recitativo accompagnato that follows works as a transition to the slow movement, sung by Americo. Starting in m. 74, the music is new, a cantabile and elegant theme in a symmetrical form. Gomes engenders a flowing sense in a more lyrical style, but abruptly interrupts it with the Countess' vocal line in a different musical character. The duet that started traditionally now gives way to consecutive lyrical and declamatory sections.

To express the Countess' sarcasm and impatience in the face of Americo's negative response, Gomes employs a vocal line suggestive of laughter, in a quasi-*bel canto* style, as seen below. He employs this feature in different ways eight times in Act II, scene 2:

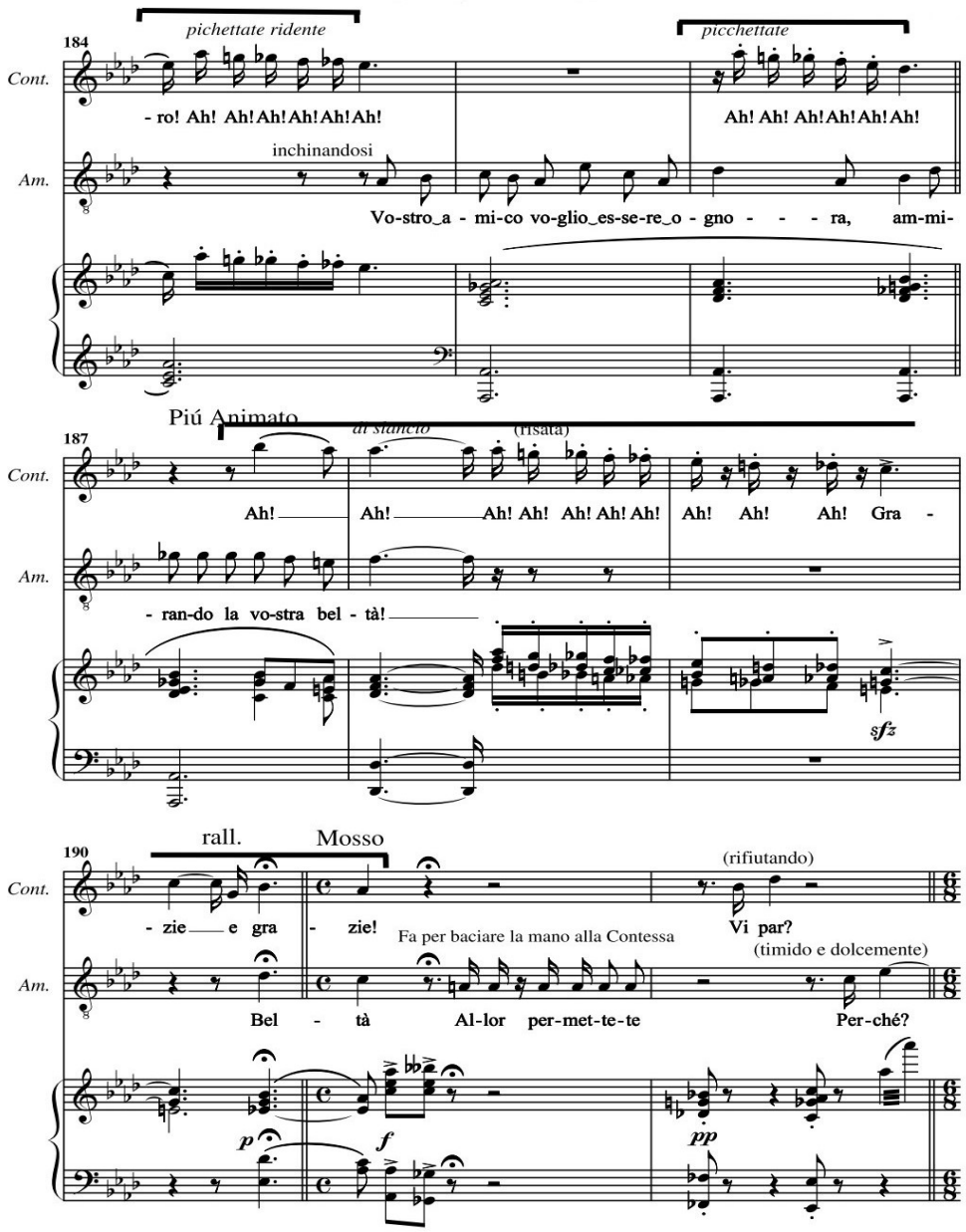


Fig. 6: Carlos Gomes*, Lo schiavo,* Act II, scene 2.

Also in Act II, to reinforce the context, Gomes includes a ballet as part of the celebratory party scene. It follows the *quadrille* format typical of ballets in the second act of French grand operas, with five segments in duple meter. Although Gomes names

each dance with indigenous references, the music is unmistakably Western European in style. The ballet is explicitly part of the entertainment for the Countess' guests before being freed from their slavery.

French Grand Opera elements infused Gomes's stage works starting with *Il Guarany*. According to Julian Budden, Gomes, Ponchielli, and Catalani were known in the Italian opera circles for maintaining "the grand Parisian genre as handed down by Meyerbeer and Gounod."[78] For Gomes, such French influences were not triggered by his move to Italy. His interest in various national music traditions began already during his years in Campinas and Rio de Janeiro. One of Gomes's most famous early piano works is *Quilombo* (1856), a five-movement *quadrille* in which the composer titles the work and each movement with references to Afro-Brazilian traditions and musical genres, such as *Cuyamba* and *Quimgombô*. As in *Lo schiavo's* Act II ballet, in *Quilombo* the use of these descriptive elements only speaks to the plot, while the music follows European music standards, occasionally resembling dance piano pieces by Frédéric Chopin (1810-1849).[79]

Other significant musical devices employed by Gomes in *Lo schiavo* include recurring musical themes, which some Brazilian scholars associate with Wagner's handling of recurring themes, sometimes referred to as *leitmotifs.*[80] In the context of

[78] Julian Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 263.

[79] *Quilombo* were communities organized by fugitive slaves in Brazil. The first *quilombos* were created during colonial times, but there are still some of these communities spread out in the country. These groups developed their own culture as a consequence of the mixture of the various tribes brought from Africa during the long slavery period in Brazil.

[80] Goes, *Força Indômita,* 343. Wagner himself did not promote this term.

Gomes's opera, it suffices to say that there are characteristic motifs and musical grouping structures in *Lo schiavo* that depict character's emotions, relationships, and nationalistic symbols.

Gomes explores the rich possibilities of musical ideas in *Lo schiavo* through variation, dissolution, and the interaction between themes related to different characters. The greatest concentration of these variations is in Act IV. For example, he employs a variation of Iberè's motif, shown in Figure 1, to the most famous aria in *Lo schiavo,* "Sogno d'amore, speranze di pace" ("Dream of Love, Hopes of Peace"), sung by Iberè in Act IV, scene 3, as shown in Figure 7:

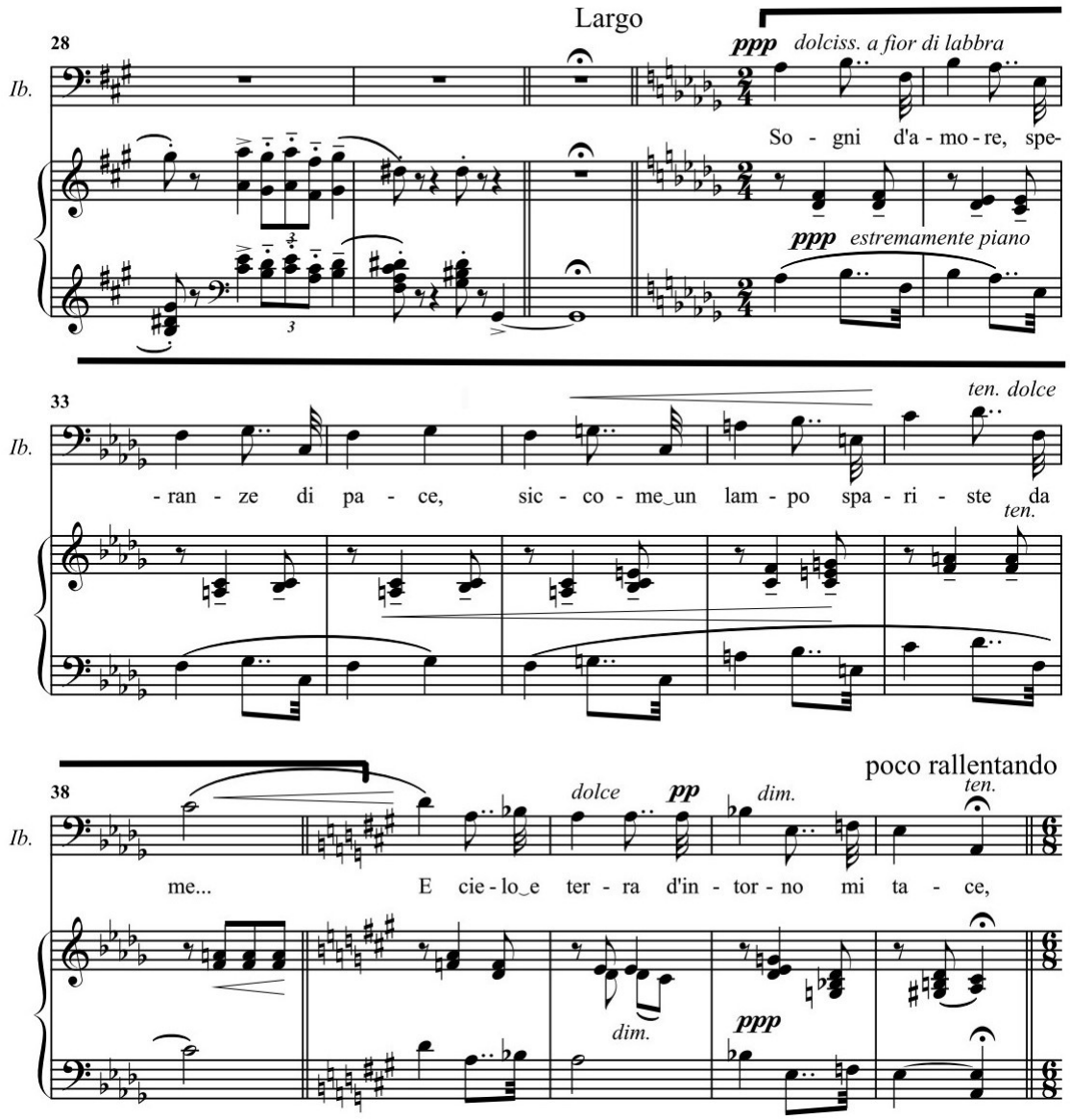


Fig. 7: Carlos Gomes, *Lo schiavo,* Act IV, scene 3, mm. 28-42.

The same motif is found in the following section of Act IV, scene 4, mm. 12-19, in the orchestral *preludio,* as shown in Figure 8:

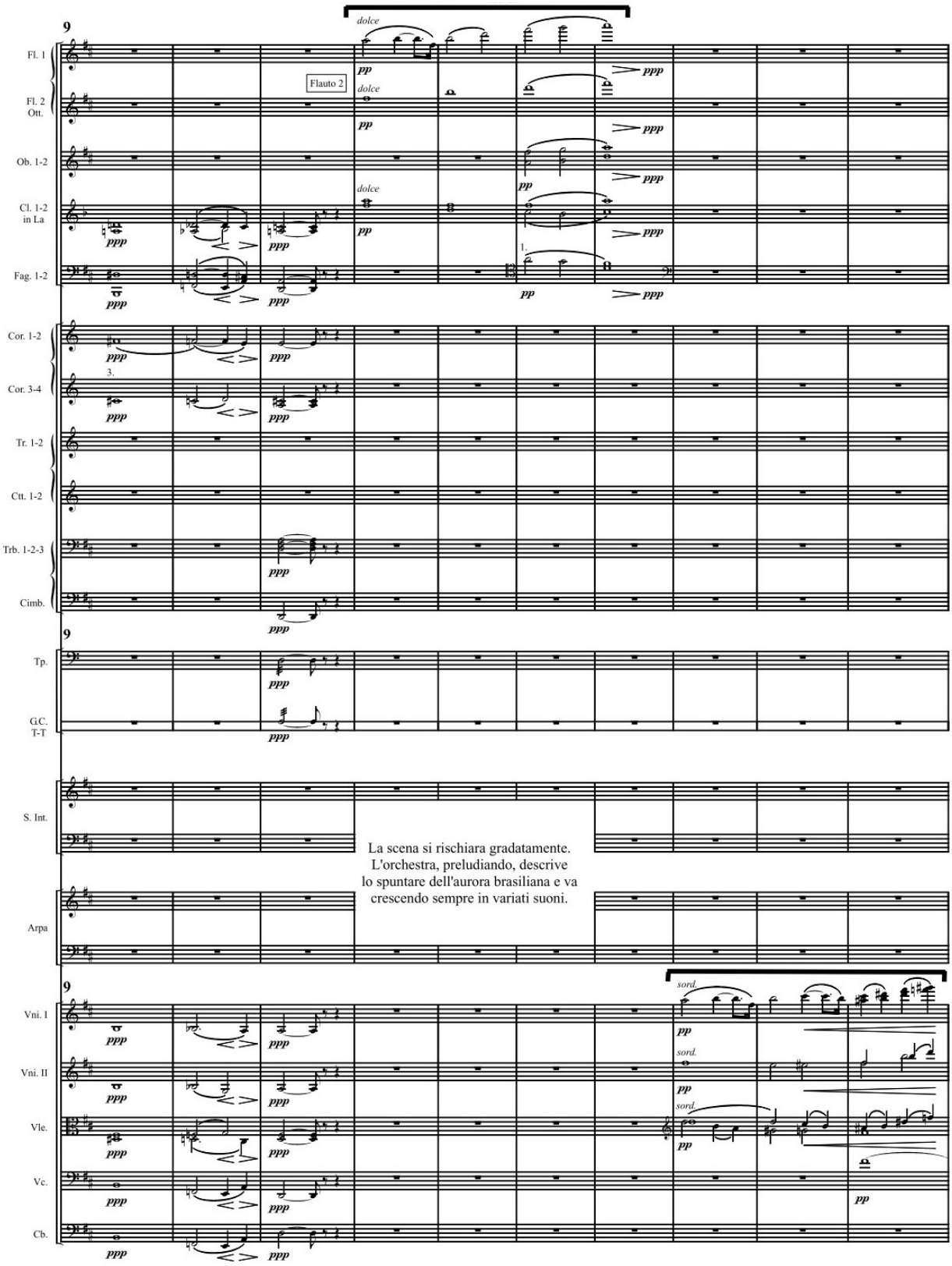


Fig. 8*:* Carlos Gomes, *Lo schiavo,* Act IV, scene 4.

Regarding Iberè and Ilàra's motifs, shown previously in Figures 1 and 3, the scholar Nogueira calls attention to Gomes's compositional skills concerning the direct musical and emotional connection achieved by correlating the two main characters' similar motifs, as shown in Figure 9:

Ilàra's motif Iberè's motif

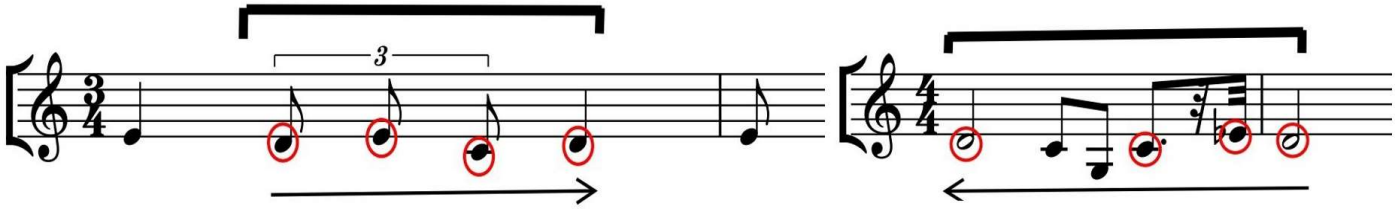


Fig. 9: comparison of Iberè and Ilàra's motifs.[81]

Relationships between motifs and characters can support dramatic complexity. For example, to prepare Iberè's *aria*, mentioned above, Gomes writes a recitativo in *parlante* style quoting Iberè's *maestoso* motif, mm. 9-13 and mm. 17. However, in the transition to the *aria*, mm. 27-28, he employs Ilàra's motifs evoking the musical theme of Iberè's *aria,* reinforcing his love for Ilàra, and his hope for freedom.

Another strategy employed by Gomes in *Lo schiavo* concerns musical grouping structures.[82] Besides the instance discussed in Figure 2, the composer creates other grouping structures associated with an overarching subject: the abolition of slavery in

[81] Figure based on Nogueira's example. For him, Iberè motifs is a retrograde inversion to Ilàra's motif. See Nogueira, *Muito Além do Melodramma,* 275.

[82] For grouping structures, see n. 59 in Chapter 2.

Brazil. Although Gomes explores this matter in various ways through the opera, with a musical grouping structure he is able to connect the fictitious plot with music symbolic of nationalism, hope, freedom, and celebration of the monarchy by alluding to the Brazilian Independence Anthem (compare Figures 10 and 11):

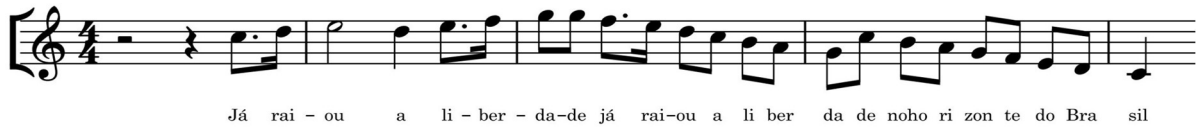


Fig. 10: part of the *Brazilian Independence Anthem*.[83]

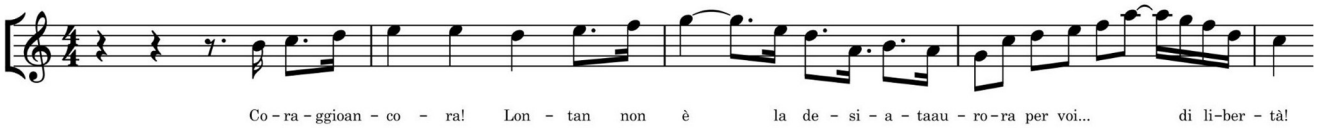


Fig. 11: Carlos Gomes, *Lo schiavo,* Act I, scene 6.

Gomes carefully deploys this music twice in the opera, in Act I and Act IV. When Americo sings for the first time, in scene 6 followed by the chorus of slaves, the anthem sounds after Americo saves Iberè from death, underscoring words of hope to the captives: *Coraggio ancora! Lontan non è la desiata aurora per voi di libertà!* (Courage

[83] Lyrics by Evaristo da Veiga (1799-1837); the music is allegedly by D. Pedro I (1798-1834). There is a controversial discussion regarding the date of composition--either 1822, right after the independence proclamation, or later in 1824. The melody was subject to numerous modifications and known variously as the National Anthem, Imperial Constitution Anthem, and finally as the Independence Anthem. The music which Gomes references is the last phrase of the first stanza. For more information on the Brazilian Independence Anthem, see Lino de Almeida Cardoso, “Subsídios para a gênese da imprensa musical brasileira e para a história do Hino da Independência, de Dom Pedro I,” *Per Musi*, Belo Horizonte, no. 25 (2012): 39-48.

again! Your desired dawn of freedom is not far away!). The second time, as mentioned earlier, is at the end of the orchestral *preludio* in Act IV, scene 4. The *preludio,* also called “Alvorada” (Dawn), is the most famous passage in *Lo schiavo*—standard repertoire for Brazilian orchestras.[84] Gomes waits until the last moment of the music to quote the anthem. Before that point, Gomes explores mainly musical colors, different textures, and ambiguous harmony, setting up a sharp stylistic contrast at the turn to the quotation at the end. In any case, it is a musical reference that any member of the audience in Rio de Janeiro would have recognized, invoking recall of the anthem’s text “Já raiou a liberdade no horizonte do Brasil” (“Liberty has already risen at Brazil’s horizon”). These words have a direct connection to the opera’s plot as the first rays of sunlight are seen while Portuguese vessels appear on the horizon, preparing for battle against the Tamoios.

‘Lo Schiavo:’ A Pathbreaking Opera

Scholars of Gomes’s music have identified *Lo schiavo* as a precursor of Italian verismo, yet have often relied on a rather murky understanding of what those aspects might be.[85] This lack of clarity and comprehension of verismo is not an issue limited to Brazilian scholars and Gomes's *Lo schiavo*. Early verismo studies offered truncated descriptions and concepts.[86] In Nicolaisen’s *Italian Opera in Transition*, *1871–1893*

[84] For the analysis of the music and its meaning, see Nogueira, *Muito Além do Melodramma,* 266-76.

[85] José Penalva, *Carlos Gomes: o compositor* (Campinas: Papirus, 1986), 107-12; Gòes, *Força Indômita,* 23-28; and Nogueira, *Muito Além do Melodramma,* 27-34.

[86] For early studies in verismo, see Karl Blessinger, *Der Verismo* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag des Bühnen-Volksbundes, 1922); and Mario Rinaldi, *Musica e verismo: Critica ed estetica d’una tendenza musicale* (Rome: De Santis, 1932).

(1980), the scholar calls attention to the problematic terminology. For him, "the term must be handled with great care if it is to be used at all, and with a rather more precise idea of the implications its use carries."[87] In one example, he discusses the implications of the enormous difference between *Cavalleria Rusticana* and operas such as *Turandot* (1924), which are, nevertheless, often placed under the same term. In *Cavalleria Rusticana*, the plot is based on a play by Giovanni Verga (1840 - 1922), considered one of the founders of the verismo.[88] Verga, however, disliked the term and preferred instead the term “naturalism,” which he used in the introduction to *Vita dei campi* (1880) to refer to his literary approach. Further explanation is found in the preface of his *Il Malavoglia* (1881), in which he describes focusing his “aesthetic on the logical and tragic development of the protagonists as fateful consequences, an endless and often wearisome agitated path trod by humanity to achieve progress, which leaves the weak by the wayside."[89] Verga's attention to lower-class characters and their struggles is significant, as is the distance or objectivity he encouraged in shaping their stories.

In *Verismo: Origin, Corruption, and Redemption of an Operatic* (2007), the scholar Andreas Giger discusses with great insight the origins of the term in literature and its different meanings and connotations throughout the nineteenth century. In the second half of the century, verismo was a generally recognized concept amongst audience members, musicians, and intellectuals. This is not to say that it was understood in detail, and its usage often overlapped loosely with different concepts,

[87] Nicolaisen, *Italian Opera in Transition,* 319.

[88] For more information, see T. Editors of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Giovanni Verga," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, August 29, 2021, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Giovanni-Verga.

[89] See Giovanni Verga, *Il Malavoglia,* trans. Judith Landry (Sawtry, UK: Daedalus, 1985).

such as the above-mentioned *scapigliatura*. Giger cautions that verismo cannot be understood solely by literal translations such as "truth" ("verità") or "true art" ("arte vera") The author presents three definitions of verismo in literature during the nineteenth century that overlap with concepts of naturalism or realism. The first is the understanding that verismo is a balance between idealism and realism; the second is an exaggeration of realism; and the third is a reaction to idealism, classicism, conventional content, form, and language. In relation to opera, Giger adopts the first and third definitions with some modification, defending verismo in opera as a transitional musical phase opposing conventions and forms associated with earlier stages of romanticism.[90]

In *Il verismo musicale* (2011)*,* Giorgio Ruberti approaches the concept of verismo mainly through musical aspects, and defines it discussing elements found in Bizet's *Carmen* (1870) and Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana*. Ruberti believes that a verismo opera is realistic, and because realism is also an art, it should express some idealistic dimension.[91] Such a perspective suggests that the criteria for a verismo opera depends heavily on the libretto its conception. The argument echoes Giger's views on the balance between realism and idealism, and the opposition to earlier traditions. Ruberti provides a summary of what he considers essential elements of a verismo opera:

> musical prose that denies closed forms and the regularity of the melodic period; the vocality tending to the stylization of the spoken word; the use of *musica di scena* in all circumstances in which music would also be used in reality; the orchestral speech of vocal origin, which serves to comment on the dramatic action; music that transports the listener to the

[90] See Andreas Giger, “Verismo: Origin, Corruption, and Redemption of an Operatic Term,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 60, no. 2 (2007): 278–86, https://doi.org/10.1525/jams.2007.60.2.271.

[91] Giorgio Ruberti, *Il verismo musicale,* (Lucca, LIM, 2011), 9-16.

place where the action is set.[92]

Although this description aligns with Giger's approach in some ways, the idea most shared by the two scholars is that there is no late nineteenth-century opera in which the composer and librettist reflect all dimensions of literary verismo, a point that Giger discusses at length.[93] So how does *Lo schiavo* fit into this picture?

To answer this question, it is important to first consider the main subject of *Lo schiavo*. Like Verga, Gomes adopts a setting featuring a lower-class character as the protagonist, the slave Iberè. Lower-class characters assume importance around the time of the French Revolution and its aftermath, as in Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* (1786). Verismo opera concerns grittier figures and circumstances, as we find in Bizet's *Carmen* and Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana*. In *Lo schiavo,* the character Ilàra has a similar role as Santuzza in *Cavalleria Rusticana*. The first lives in anguish and pain for not being able to live with her loved one, turning her feelings into hate, and the second lives in bitterness with a mixture of love and hate for Turiddu, who betrays her with Lola, Turiddu's ex-girlfriend, now married to Alfio. In addition, the suicide of Iberè at the end of *Lo schiavo* vigorously expresses the verismo spirit. When Iberè frees Ilàra and Americo and then commits suicide, he balances idealism and realism, with the idealized honor of an indigenous slave and the triumph of love through his death. However, it is the Portuguese Americo who triumphs at the end, not the slave, condemned to lose both his love and life, which reflects the reality of an enslaved person.

[92] Ibid., 17.

[93] Giger, "Verismo: Origin, Corruption, and Redemption," 308. Ruberti addresses is in *op. cit.,* 31-59.

Although authorial objectivity is one of Verga's main characteristics of verismo, in opera this is a problematic notion. Composers regularly add a layer of subjective commentary in the orchestra as it supports music anchored in the vocal line.[94] This practice has considerable roots in Wagner's mature style. An example of musical commentary involving a kind of *leitmotif* is found in *Cavalleria Rusticana,* where part of the “Romanza di Santuzza” (mm. 63-78), is quoted by the orchestra in the opera’s finale (mm. 212-224), following Turiddu's death. This device of musical quotation or *leitmotif* is a tool used in other verismo operas, such as Puccini's *La bohème*. Rodolfo's first entrance includes much motivic emphasis in the orchestra, with overlapping declamatory segments sung by Rodolfo and Marcello. In *Lo schiavo*, a direct connection between motivic orchestral music and set text only seldom overlap*, a*n example of which is shown in Figure 12:

[94] “Vocal origins” refers to orchestral doubling of vocal lines along. The term is also employed by Ruberti. See n. 91.

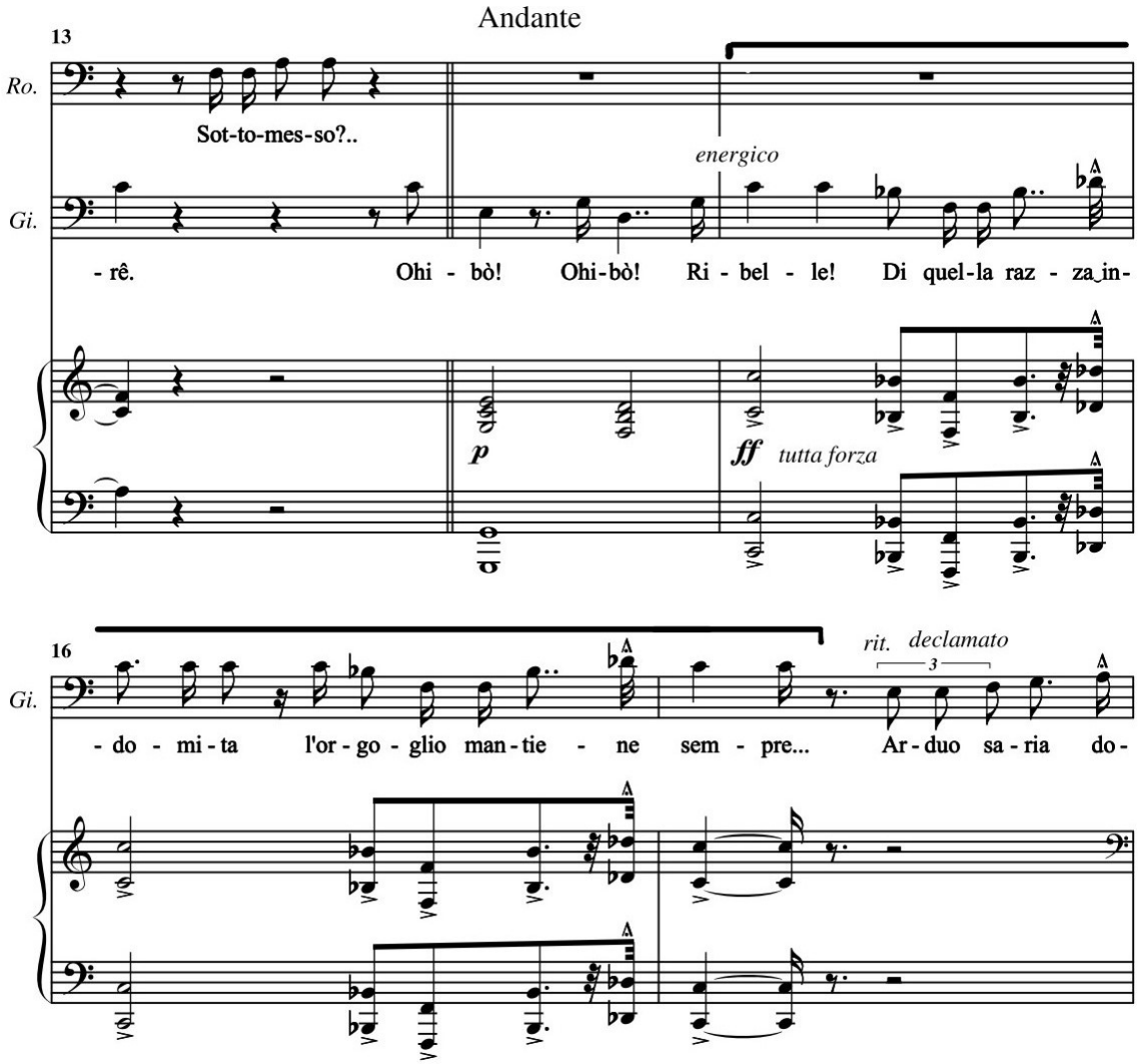


Fig. 12: Carlos Gomes, *Lo schiavo,* Act I, scene 3.

In this example, Gomes refers to Iberè for the first time through Iberè's motif, on the words "*Di quella razza indomita, l'orgoglio mantiene sempre; arduo saria domarlo"* (of that indomitable race, pride always prevails; it would be difficult to tame it), when Gianfera explains to Rodrigo who Iberè is and what he is capable of. The orchestra repeats the motif throughout the opera as a reminder of Gianfera's words.

The modification of traditional forms is a noteworthy aspect of *Lo schiavo*. Modifications of standard *la solita forma* sections and the lack of caesuras between them had paved the way to Wagnerian “endless melody.”[95] The numbering and titling of scenes evolved accordingly. By the time of *Falstaff* (1893), Verdi divided each act into two parts only, without smaller sections, similar to Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana*. In Gomes’s *Condor*, only a few scenes are numbered, or forms labeled in the opera. In *Lo schiavo,* his penultimate opera, Gomes numbers and labels the entire opera traditionally, but not all stretches feature set pieces.

[95] Virmond, “Construindo a Opera Condor,” 38-41; Balthazar, “The forms of Set Pieces,” 49-68; and Nicolaisen, *Italian Opera in Transition,* 34-40.

CHAPTER FOUR

BRAZILIAN MUSIC AND COMPOSITIONAL PRACTICES IN *LO SCHIAVO*

Brazilian Music in the Nineteenth Century

Cultural changes in Brazil during the second empire, ruled by D. Pedro II, had a strong impact on Brazilian society, and led to a vibrant artistic life in the country by the end of the nineteenth century. Rio de Janeiro became a cultural focal point, with the production of European operas, *teatros de revista* (Brazilian *vaudevilles*), *saraus* (soirées), salons, and numerous musical societies.[96] Music inside and outside of the court was clearly differentiated: the former had a particular inclination for operas, especially Italian operas, while the general population enjoyed European genres blended with musical elements from Central and Southern Africa, due to the large slave market spread across the country since the sixteenth century.[97] For the purpose of this study, I will focus on music produced outside the court, particularly the *modinhas* and *lundus*, and how these genres might have influenced Gomes and his music.

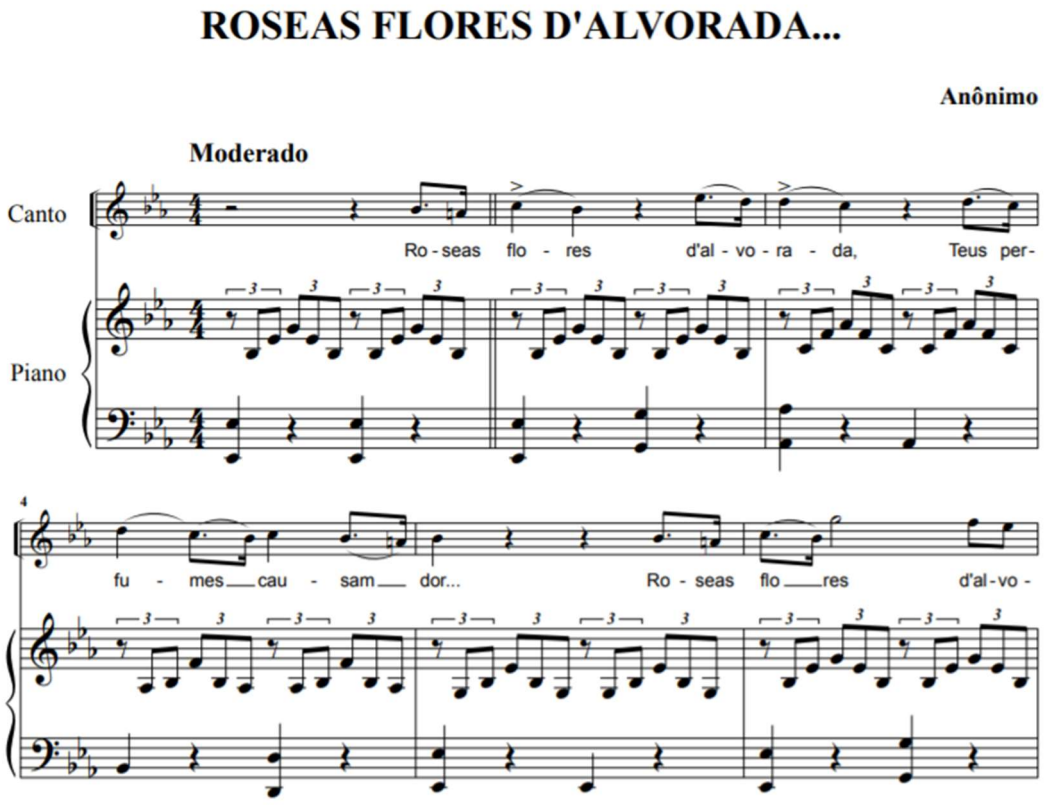
Modinhas and *lundus* have their origins in the colonial period, which is a reflection of the Portuguese expansion in the territory that is Brazil today. For most Brazilian scholars, these genres are the foundation of twentieth-century Brazilian popular music: the *choro, maxixe, samba, bossa nova*, and the like.[98] Popular in the

[96] Refer to the "Introduction" of this dissertation.

[97] See Dolhnikoff, *História do Brasil Império*, 7-18; and Freire, *Rio de Janeiro, século XIX: cidade da ópera*, 18-20.

[98] For more information on *modinhas* and *lundus,* see Mário de Andrade, *Modinhas Imperiais* (Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1980); Bruno Kiefer, *A modinha e o lundu: duas raízes da música popular brasileira* (Porto Alegre: Ed. Movimento, 1977); and Edilson Vicente de Lima, **"**A modinha e o lundu: dois clássicos nos trópicos," (Ph.D. diss.**,** Universidade de São Paulo, 2010).

high-class salons of Brazil and Portugal since the late eighteenth century, the *modinha* is a strophic song about love and nostalgia, usually *moderato* or *andante* in tempo, as shown in Figure 13:



Róseas flores d'alvorada,
Teus perfumes causam dor.
Essa imagem que recorda,
É meu puro e santo amor.

Rosy flowers of dawn,
Your scents cause pain.
That image you remember,
It is my pure and holy love.

Fig. 13: Anonymous, *Roseas flores d'alvorada,* mm. 1-6.[99]

[99] See Andrade, *Modinhas Imperiais,* 31-32.

Modinhas have some traces of influence from operatic arias, albeit are much shorter and with a preference for syncopated melodies. The accompaniment is simple, often played by piano or plucked instruments, and is characterized by the use of block or broken chords, ostinati, and Alberti bass. *Modinhas* are mostly binary or ternary in form, though a few examples are through-composed.

The genre *lundu* has its origins in Black slave circles, and was also influenced by the Portuguese *Fado,* an expressive, melancholic vocal and instrumental genre that originated in Lisbon and Coimbra in the early nineteenth century. Later in the nineteenth century, *lundu* became well-known as popular music in Brazil and Portugal. The songs are typically filled with social commentary, satirical humor, and double meanings. The instrumental version of *lundu* contains many improvisatory elements and syncopated melodies, as seen in Figure 14:

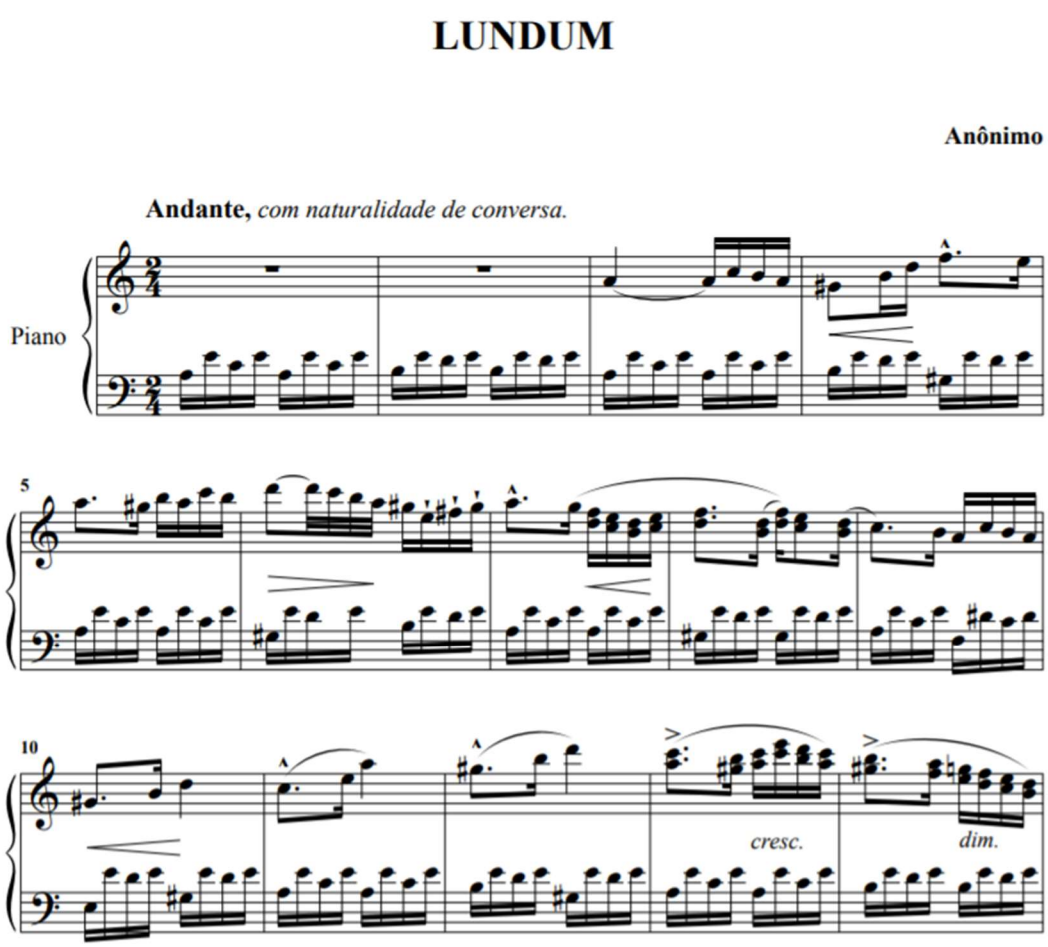


Fig. 14*:* Anonymous, “Lundum,” 1-32.[100]

As a dance genre, the *lundu* is known for its sensual moves, and is formally similar to the *modinha* but faster. [101] The syncopated character is shaped in the accompaniment by *viola,* Spanish guitar, and sometimes by castanets with continuous 16th notes and percussion instruments.[102]

[100] Ibid., 47-49.

[101] Lima, **“**A modinha e o lundu: dois clássicos nos trópicos,” 15-20.

[102] The viola is a Brazilian ten-string guitar with five courses of strings in pairs. Originating in Portugal, the viola was brought to Brazil during the colonial period as a tool used in indigenous catechization. This instrument became a symbol of popular music in Brazil from countryside communities to African-Brazilian cultures, and has been employed in almost all Brazilian musical genres.

The syncopation of the melody and accompaniment of both genres became an identifying feature of Brazilian music in the twentieth century. This rhythmic characteristic is directly associated with African music, and differs from syncopation practices in European classical music.[103] According to the Brazilian scholar Carlos Sandroni, in African traditions there is no time signature in the Western music sense, but pulses that serve as guides for groupings of rhythm and metric organization.[104] This provides a unique feeling of rhythmic pulse and nuance, perhaps best described in popular terms as *groove*.

According to Congolese ethnomusicologist Kazadi wa Mukuna, the most common rhythmic patterns connecting African music and *lundus* are as follows:

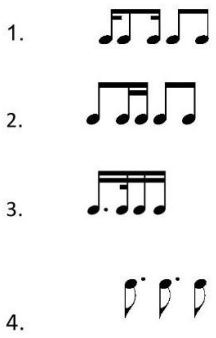


Fig. 15: African Rhythm patterns found in nineteenth-century Brazilian music.[105]

[103] In Western musical traditions, syncopation is the regular shifting of each beat in a measured pattern by the same amount ahead of or behind its normal position in that pattern. See "Syncopation," *Grove Music Online,* 2001; Accessed 19 Oct. 2021, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000027263.

[104] Carlos Sandroni, *Feitiço decente: transformações do samba no Rio de Janeiro, 1917-1933* (Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2001) 24.

[105] Kazadi wa Mukuna, *Contribuição 'bantu' na música popular brasileira*: *perspectivas etnomusicológicas* (São Paulo: Terceira Margem, 2000), referenced in Lima, "A modinha e o lundu: dois clássicos nos trópicos," 200-01.

Observed also in some *modinhas,* these patterns became part of Brazilian music in the late nineteenth century. As *modinhas* and *lundus* became popular with higher classes of society, their musical characteristics started to be blended with European genres. From this blend, other genres emerged: *choros, maxixes, quadrilhas* (*quadrille), and* Brazilian *tangos, polcas,* and *valsas* (waltz)*,* as shown in examples 16 and 17:

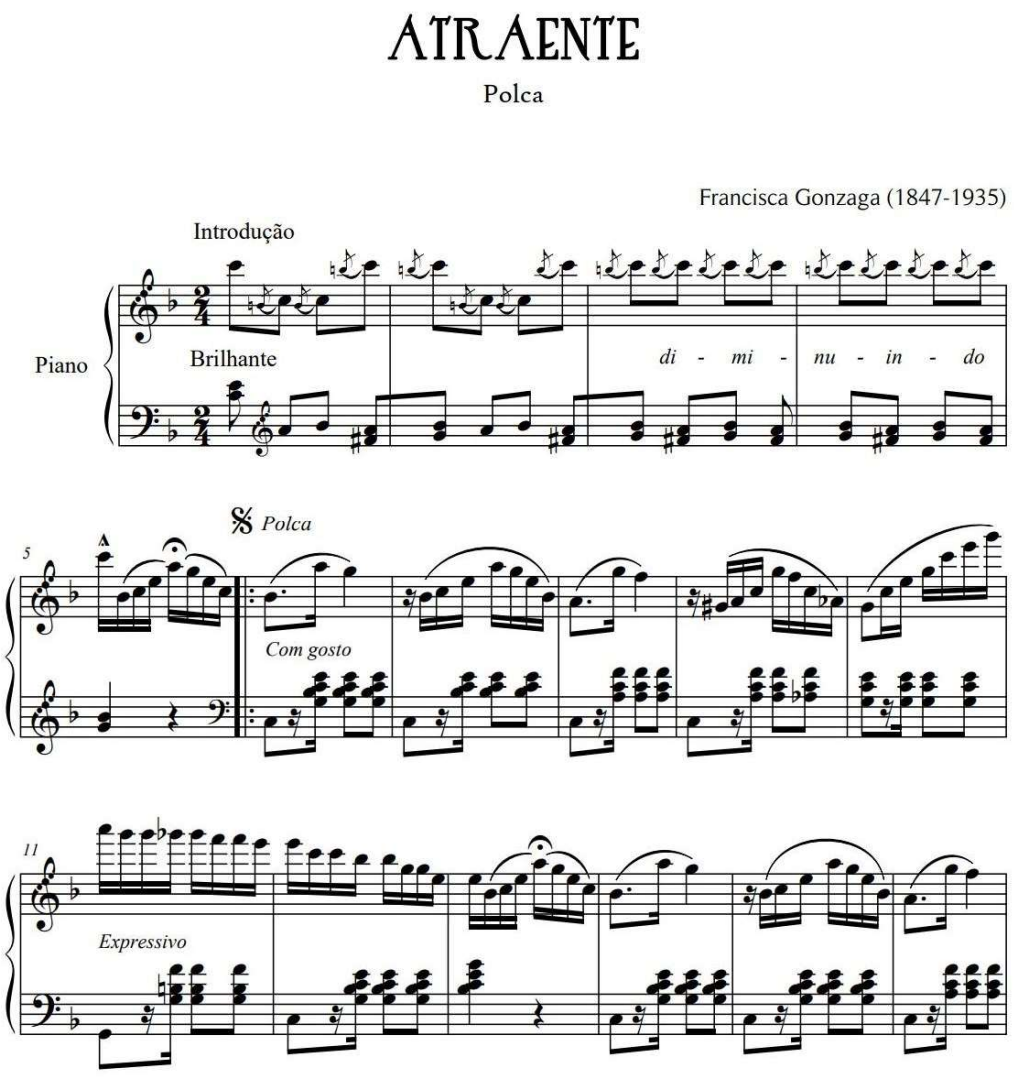


Fig. 16: Francisca Gonzaga, “Atraente,” mm.1-16.[106]

[106] Francisca Gonzaga (1847-1935), also known as Chiquinha Gonzaga, was a mixed-race female Brazilian composer. She was also a pianist, and the first female Brazilian conductor in the country. She was a close friend of Carlos Gomes, and an abolitionist. Most of her repertoire is for piano solo, and voice

Fig. 17: Ernesto Nazareth, "Batuque," mm. 1-11.[107]

and piano. For more information, see Edinha Diniz, *Chiquinha Gonzaga: uma história de vida* (Rio de Janeiro: IMS, 2009).

[107] Ernesto Nazareth (1863-1934) was a Brazilian composer and pianist, best known for creating the Brazilian *tango*, and for composing famous *maxixes* and *choros.* In Brazilian music conservatories, both his classical and popular repertoire are studied and performed. For more information, see Beth Ritto, *O Rio de Ernesto Nazareth* (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, 2016).

Composers like Chiquinha Gonzaga (1847-1935), Catulo da Paixão (1863-1946), and Ernesto Nazareth (1863-1934) were prominent in the music scene of Rio de Janeiro at the end of the nineteenth century, publishing numerous albums for piano solo, voice and piano, guitar, and woodwind instruments. These composers had a significant impact on Brazilian music of the twentieth century, and on Carlos Gomes's music.[108]

Famous above all as an opera composer by the end of the nineteenth century, Gomes had experienced both music of the court, and the popular music of salons, musical societies, and *saraus.* He moved easily between these two musical worlds, having close relationships with the musicians and composers of each. A significant part of his non-operatic instrumental repertoire is especially influenced by Brazilian popular music. He is also known for numerous *modinhas* for voice and piano, and for collaborating directly with composers such as Chiquinha Gonzaga. When analyzing his stage works, it becomes clear that the genres of *modinhas, lundus,* and the overall popular culture of Rio de Janeiro influenced the music. This is seen most clearly in the choice of texts and dramatic scenarios, and is also found in the music itself, as will be seen in the following section of this study.

Gomes's Use of Brazilian Music in "Lo schiavo"

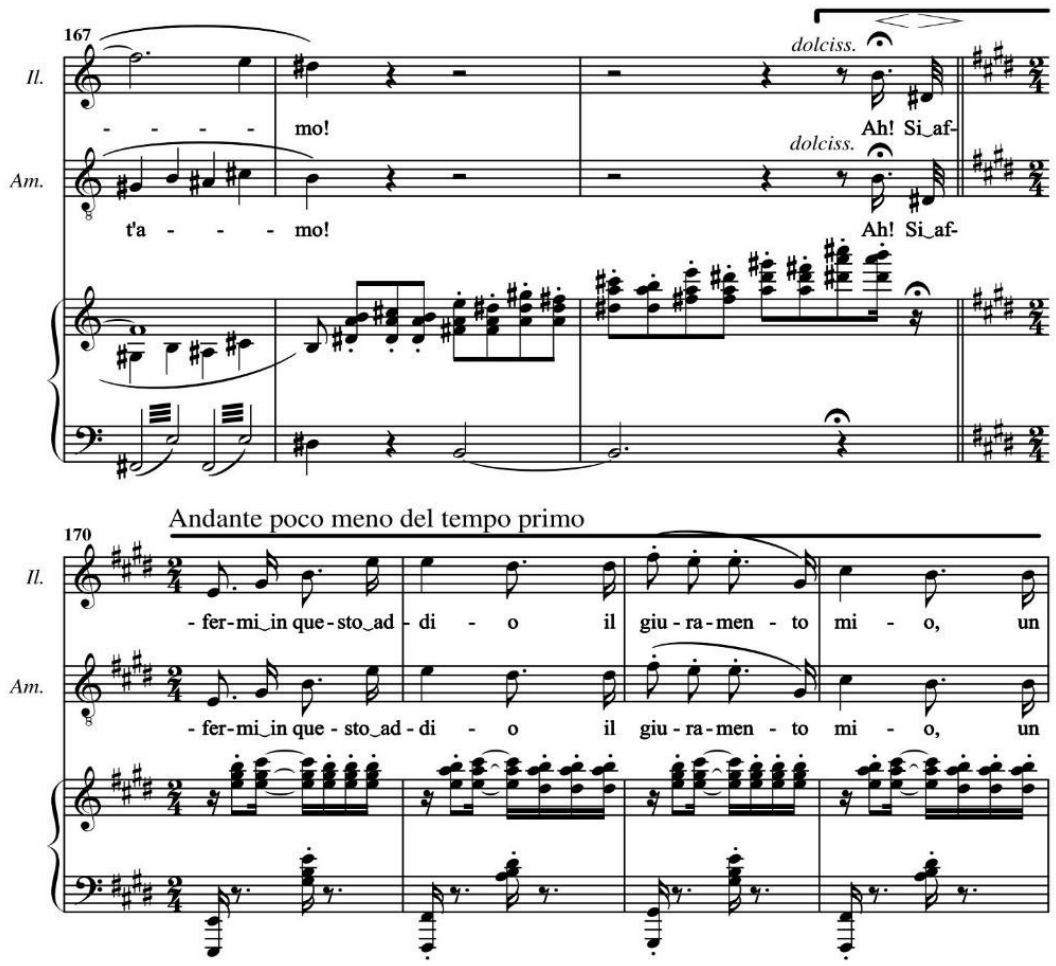
Although in *Lo schiavo* there are no explicit instances of the rhythms mentioned above, or specific Brazilian genres from that period, there are rhythmic variations, specific musical structures, and related elements that allude to *modinhas, lundus,* and

[108] For more information in the music produced in Brazil at the transition to the twentieth century, see Lilian Alves Sampaio, "A vaidade e ressentimento dos músicos populares e o universo do Rio de Janeiro no século XX," Ph.D. diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 2011.

Gomes's works for voice and piano. The composer uses these elements subtly throughout the opera, most often in short passages, providing particular nuances and character to the scenes. Below, I identify some of these elements and comment on how Gomes integrates them.

Ostinati patterns are the main device found in *Lo schiavo* which suggests a clear reference to Brazilian musical elements.[109] In most cases, this is present in the form of rhythmic ostinati with chromatic progressions. Although the ostinato itself was scarcely a new technique, subtle rhythmic displacements and accents provide particular nature and nuance to the scenes. This is particularly noticeable in Act I, scene 6, mm. 118-125, where the accompaniment supports the context of the lament scene with the accent shifting from the expected first and fourth 8th notes to the second and fifth 8th notes, as seen in Figure 21. Another example takes place in Act IV, scene 9, with continuous waves through a particular rhythm and harmonic progression in the accompaniment. Other examples encompass various musical components mentioned in the previous section, such as Act I, scene 9, in Americo and Ilàra's duet. The syncopated vocal line and the *pizzicato* accompaniment—evoking other plucked instruments—follow the *modinhas* characteristics mentioned earlier. Later in the same scene, mm. 170-187, Gomes repeats the equivalent syncopated vocal line but with a new accompaniment in an ostinato pattern, comparable once more with plucked instruments, as shown in Figure 18:

[109] According to the *Grove Music Online,* the term ostinato refers to the repetition of a musical pattern many times in succession while other musical elements are generally changing. For more information, see Laure Schnapper, "Ostinato," *Grove Music Online,* 2001; Accessed 23 Oct. 2021. https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000020547.


167
Il.
- - - - - mo!
dolciss.
Ah! Si_af-
Am.
t'a - - - - mo!
dolciss.
Ah! Si_af-
Andante poco meno del tempo primo
170
Il.
- fer-mi_in que-sto_ad - di - o il giu - ra - men - to mi - o, un
Am.
- fer-mi_in que - sto_ad - di - o il giu - ra - men - to mi - o, un

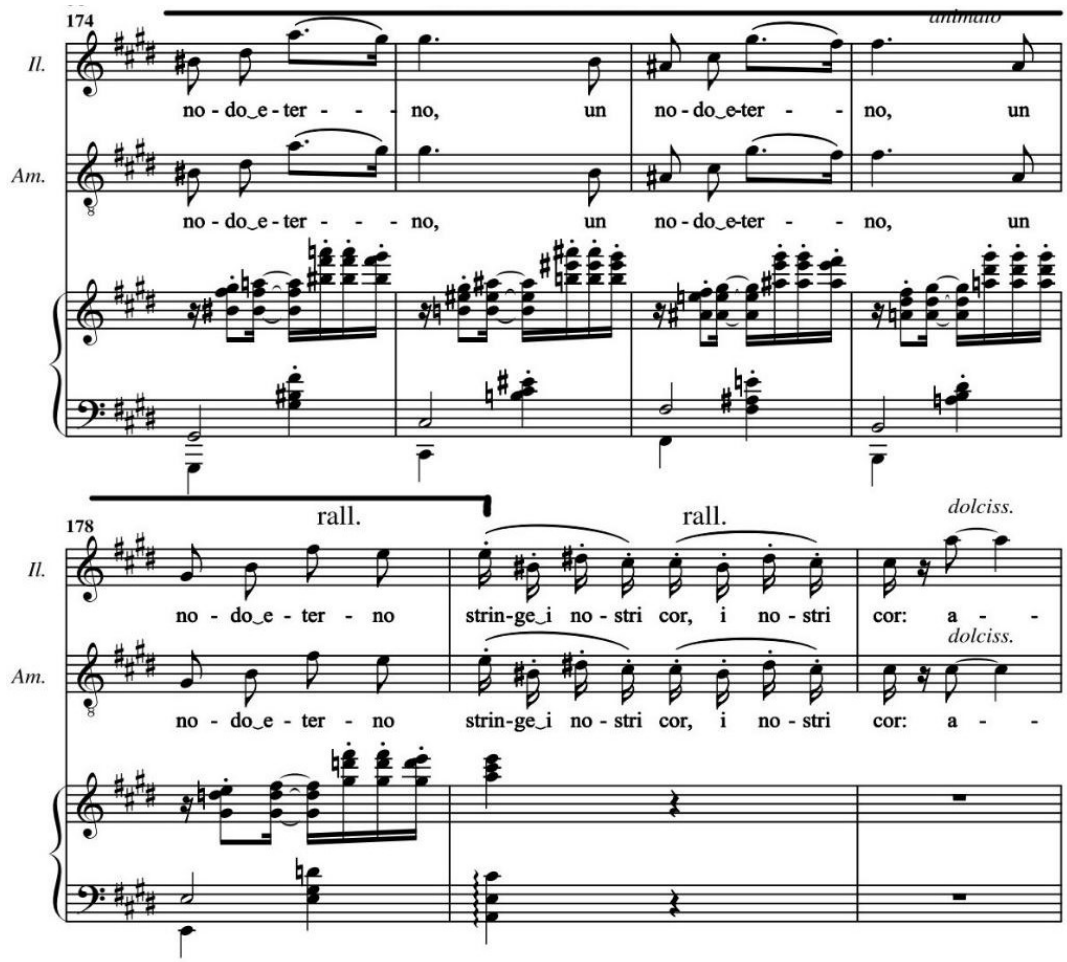


Fig. 18: Gomes, *Lo schiavo,* Act I, scene 9, mm. 170-178.

The pattern of the rhythmic accompaniment is a variation of the provided examples by Mukuna and Sandroni, patterns often found in melodies of the *lundus* and other Brazilian music from the late nineteenth century.

In Act III, scene 1, Gomes structures the passage as a traditional recitativo and aria.[110] Despite this structure, the ternary form of the aria has similarities to the *modinhas*. In mm. 42-51 of the aria, the Brazilian composer employs a subtle

[110] For aria form, see n.29.

displacement in the vocal line and an accompaniment akin to that in the previous example, as shown in Figure 19:

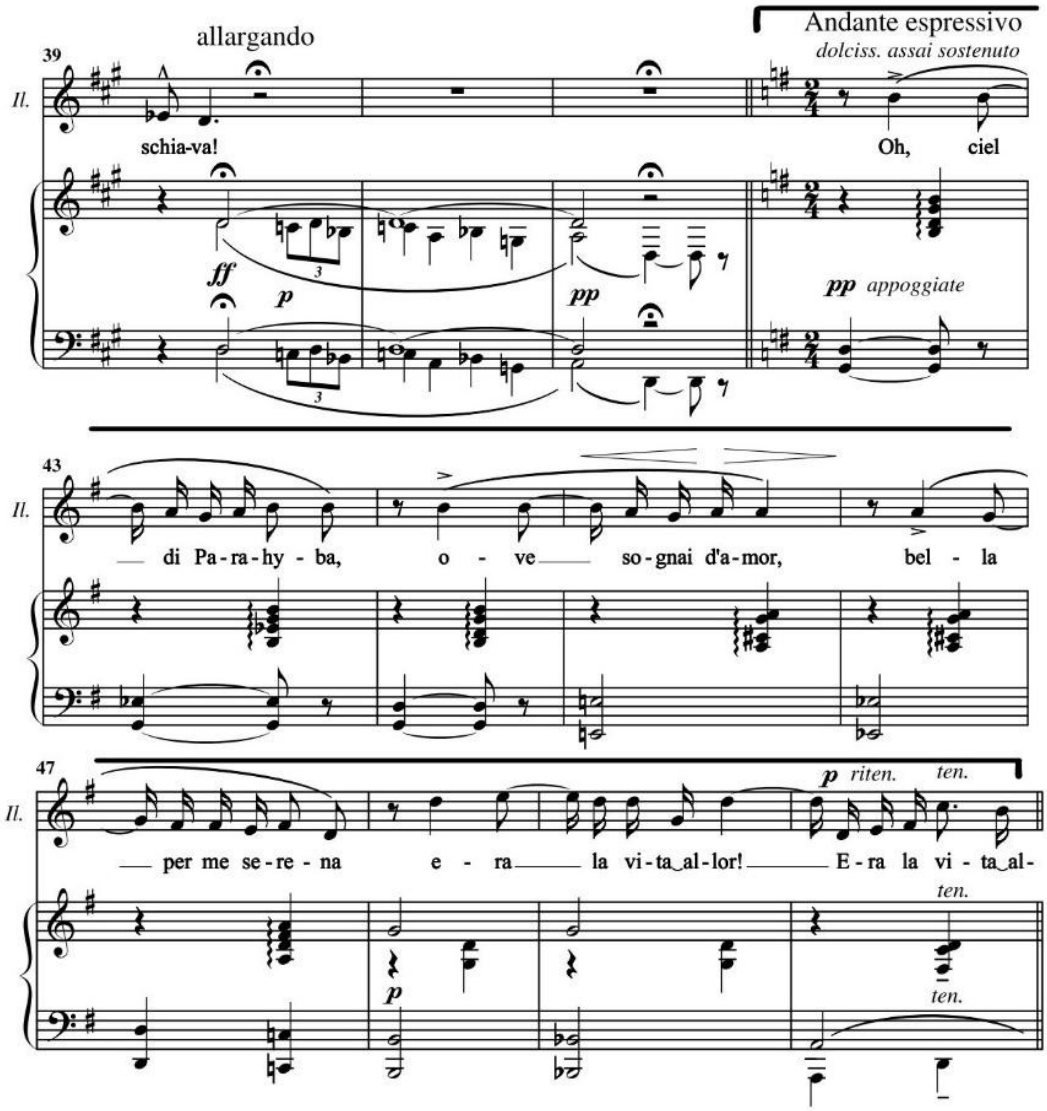


Fig. 19: Gomes, *Lo schiavo,* Act III, scene 1, mm. 42-50.

In the final section, mm. 69-108, Gomes shifts the tune to the accompaniment instead of repeating the same melody in the vocal line, as shown in Figure 20:

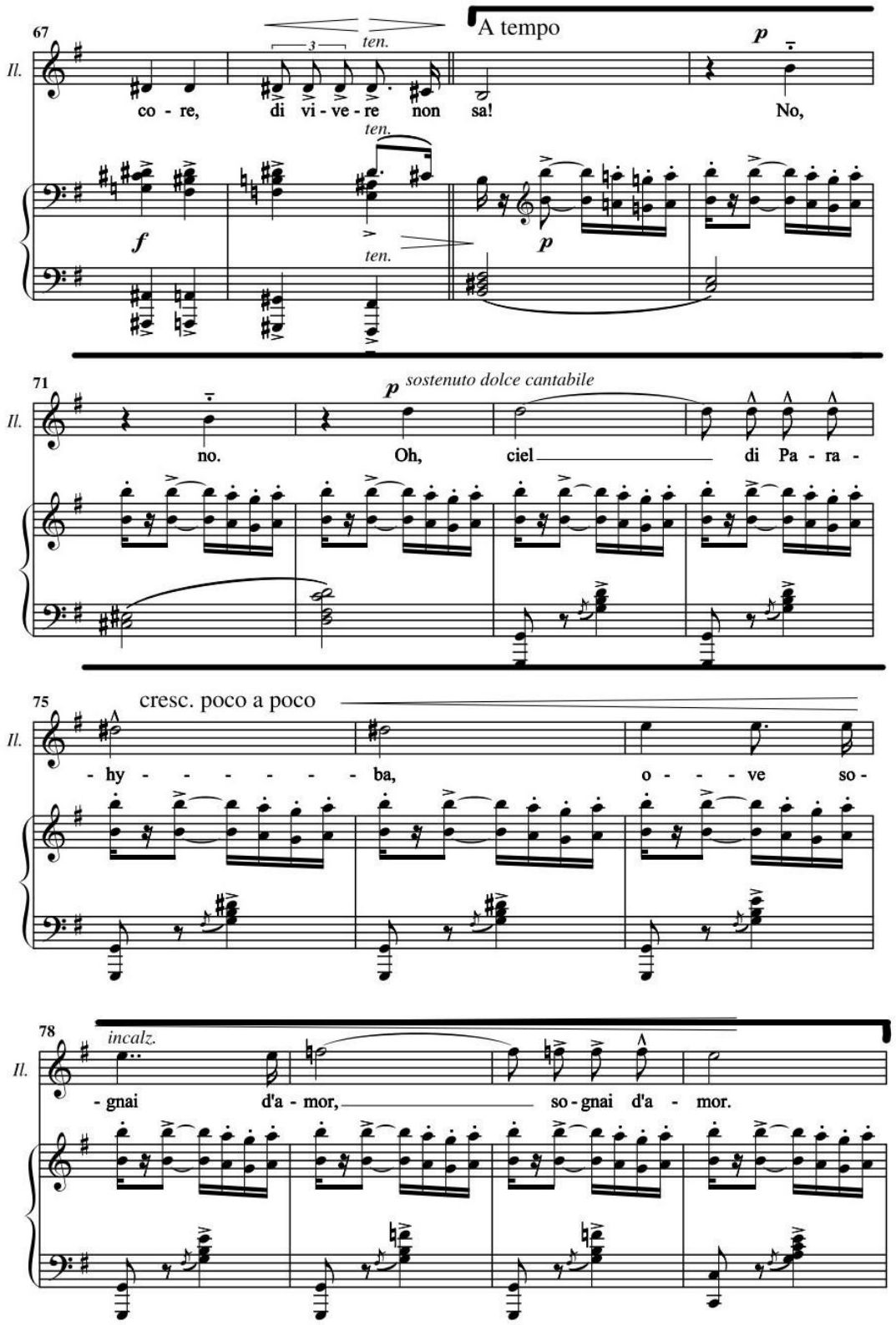


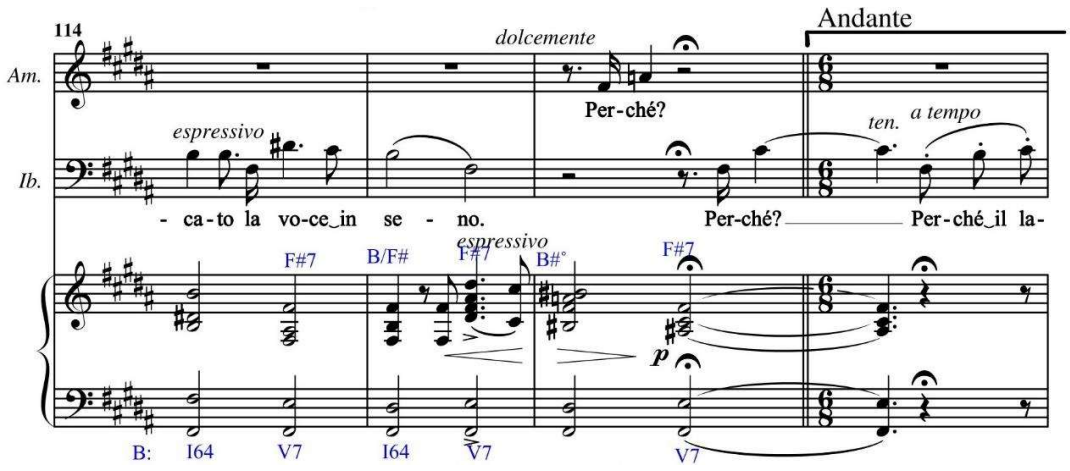
Fig. 20: Gomes, *Lo schiavo,* Act III, scene 1, mm. 69-81.

The ostinato accompaniment derives from rhythm diminution in the first section, and the vocal line is *parlante* in style, overlapping European opera practices with Brazilian musical elements.

Another aspect to observe in *Lo schiavo* is Gomes's use of harmony. Although *modinhas* and *lundus* are not known for their harmonic sophistication, Brazilian music in the later nineteenth century increased in musical complexity. Moreover, the music in Europe was in continuous flux, with the increasing employment of chromaticism by many composers living at the transition to the new century. In *Lo schiavo,* in addition to expressive chromaticism, Gomes's harmonic language includes abrupt changes, modulations through mediants, enharmonic passages, and the repetition of certain progressions throughout the opera. These methods are not necessarily innovations, although their use reflects Gomes's incisive approach to dramatic music for the theatre. This subject merits further study, but let us consider here a few examples of Gomes's distinct harmonic techniques in *Lo schiavo*.

Gomes writes unexpected shifts in harmony mainly in short lyrical segments of through-composed sections of the opera. Often times these shifts are in the middle of a phrase, enriching the color, such as in the short *modinha*-style passage in Act I, scene 4, mm. 40-44, "Ei partirà lasciandomi nel cuore l'acuto stral d'un disperato amore" ("He will depart, leaving in my heart the acute arrow of a desperate love"). The key is A major, and in the middle of the contrasting idea of the first phrase Gomes adds a Neapolitan chord followed by a German augmented sixth chord. The augmented chord gives a sense of suspension as to what will come next. The composer then returns to A major in second inversion, and finishes the phrase with a simple dominant-tonic relation.

Unlike the first example, in which the change is only in one measure, there are longer passages with the same strategy at work, where the composer modulates for one or two phrases before returning to the home key, as seen in Figures 21 and 22:



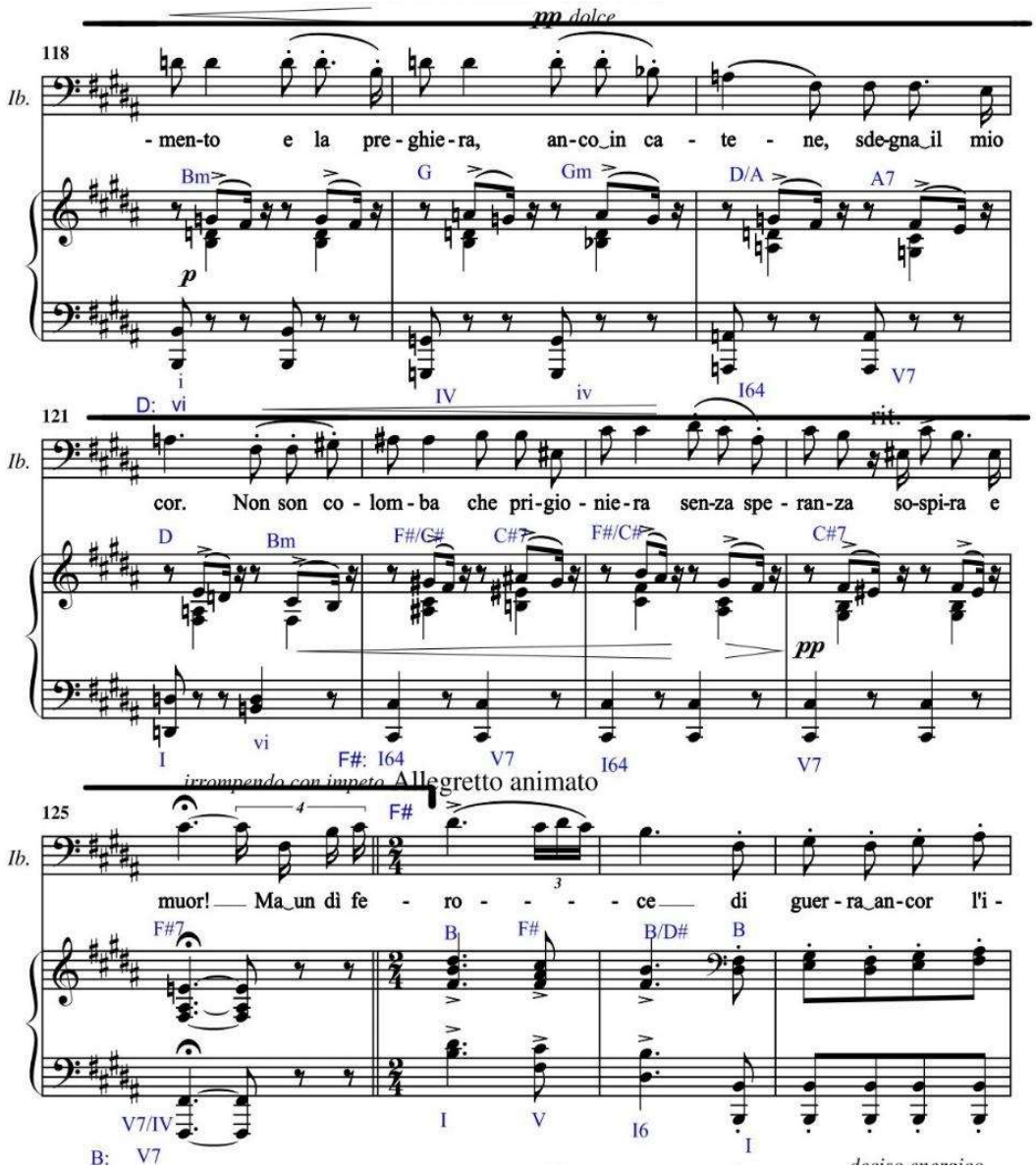
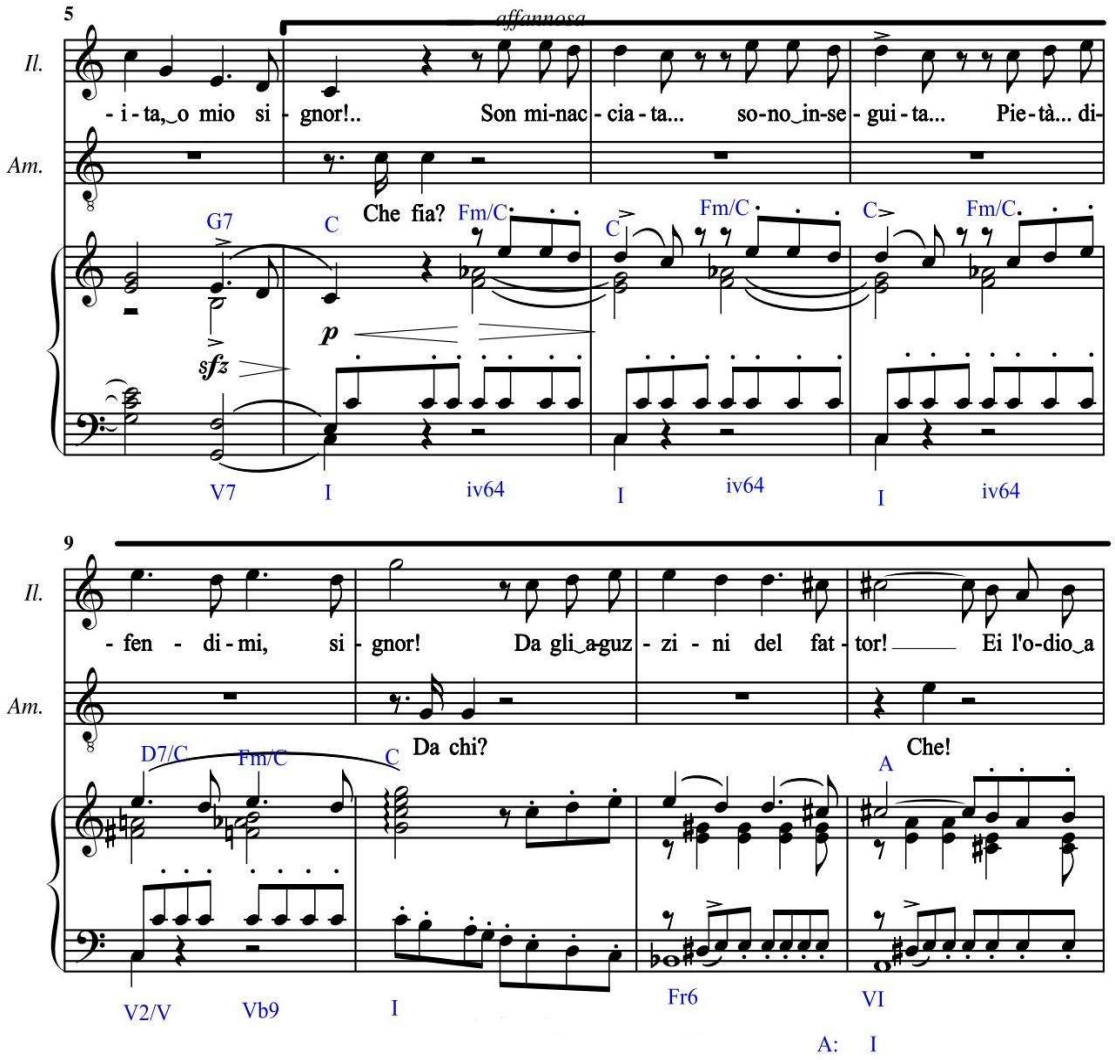


Fig. 21: *Gomes, Lo schiavo*, Act I, scene 6, mm. 117-126.


5
affannosa
Il.
Am.
- i - ta, o mio si - gnor!.. Son mi-nac - cia - ta... so-no in-se - gui - ta... Pie-tà... di-
Che fia?
G7
C
Fm/C
C
Fm/C
C
Fm/C
p
sfz
V7
I
iv64
I
iv64
I
iv64
9
Il.
Am.
- fen - di - mi, si - gnor! Da gli aguz - zi - ni del fat - tor! Ei l'o-dio a
Da chi?
Che!
D7/C
Fm/C
C
A
V2/V
Vb9
I
Fr6
VI
A: I

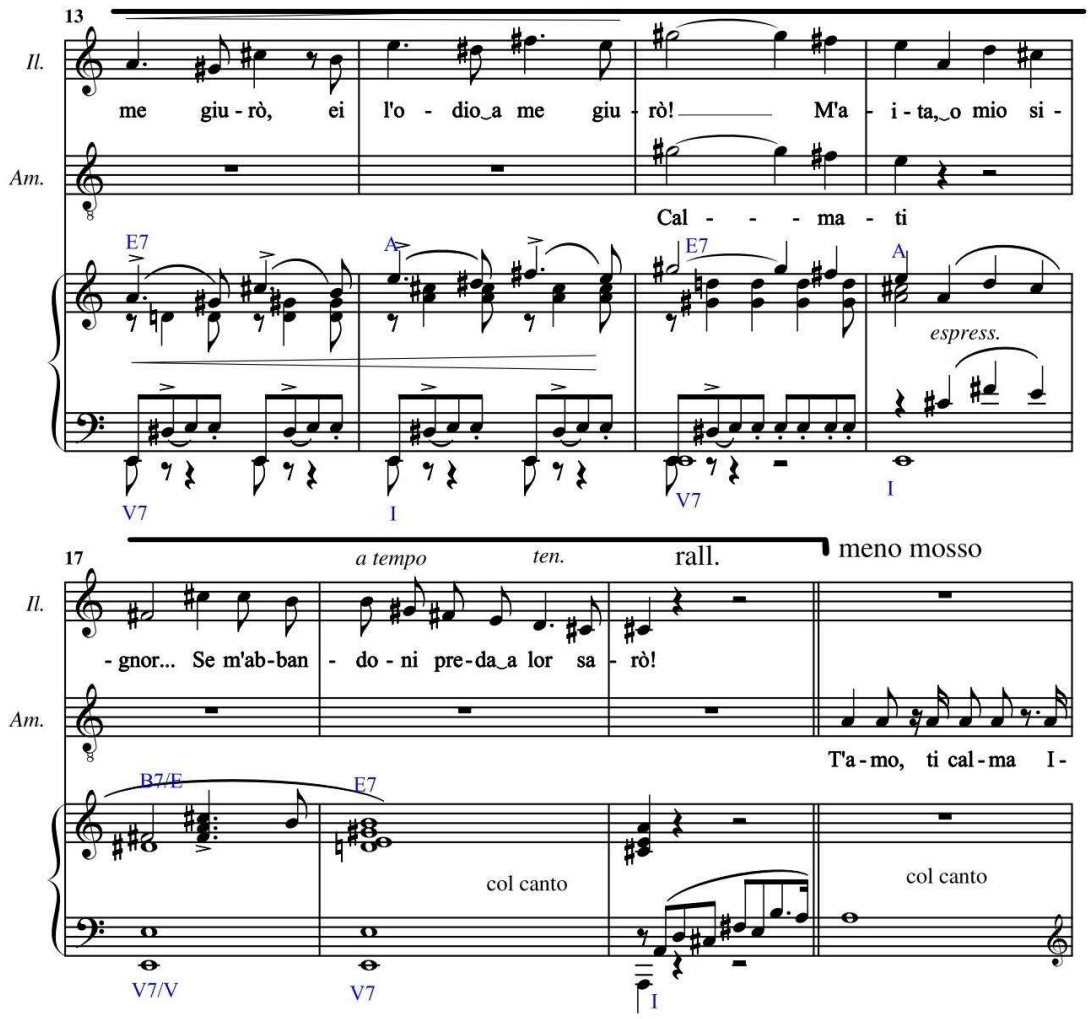


Fig. 22: Gomes, *Lo schiavo,* Act I, scene 9, mm. 6-19.

In both cases, the abrupt change happens right before Gomes establishes a new key, as in the first example. This method is employed throughout the opera and helps provide a continuous and moving atmosphere in the through-composed sections. In Figure 21, the tonic B minor is soon replaced by its relative major. Once D major is established in m. 120, Gomes modulates without preparation to F# major in the second inversion, the mediant of the previous key. Finally, Gomes arrives later in the tonality of the current key signature, in m. 126.

Besides using the mediant to modulate, Gomes creates a sense of cyclical harmonic character as the result of closely-related tonalities. Act I, scene 11, mm. 63-67, and Act IV, scene 9, mm. 107-116, are two such examples of modulations through mediants. Also, the introduction of “Alvorada” in Act IV, scene 4, mm. 1-11, offers a valuable example of Gomes’s use of cyclical harmonic progressions, as shown in Figure 23:

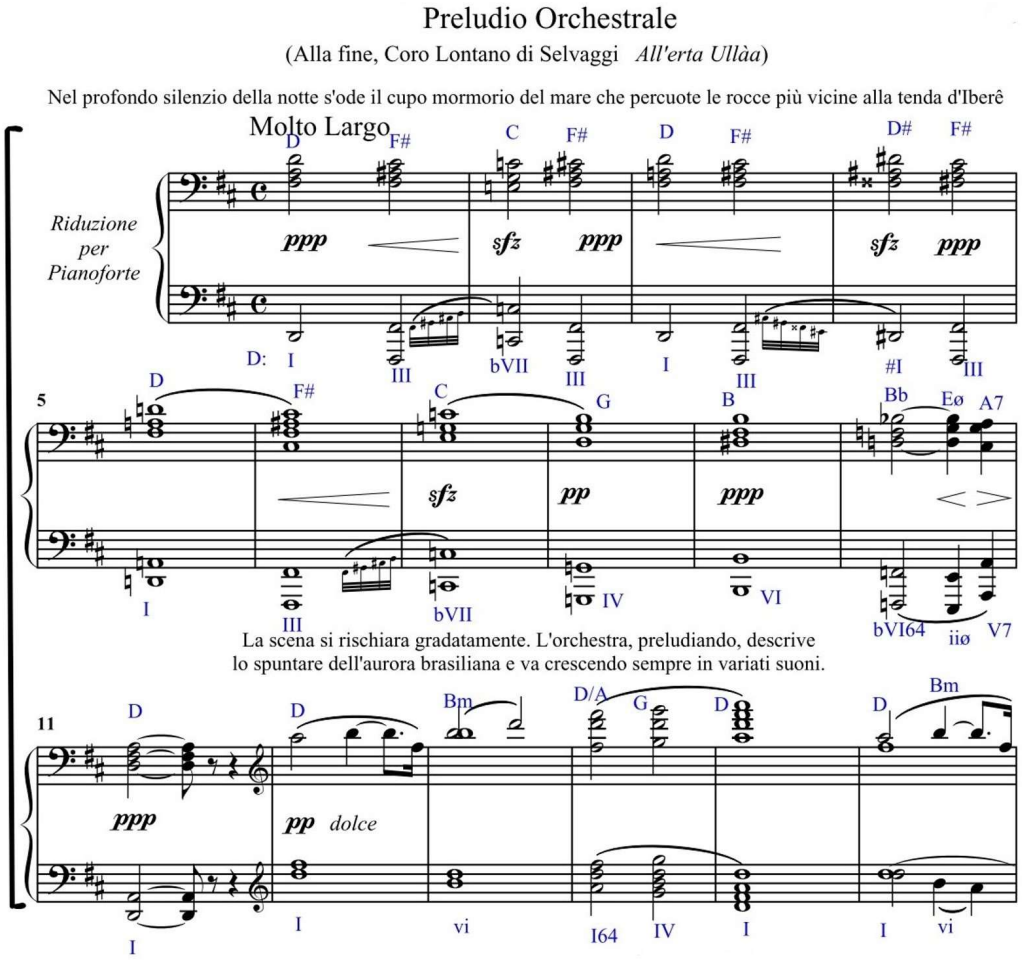


Fig. 23: Gomes, *Lo schiavo,* Act IV, scene 4, mm. 1-11.

Gomes avoids close tonal relationships in the progression, despite the constant pull to D major, keeping the flow, and delaying the sense of a home key.

To the Brazilian elements in *Lo schiavo* commented upon here could be added more. Likewise, closer attention to Gomes's harmonic approach in *Lo schiavo* would likely be illuminating, perhaps in comparison to his previous operas. Yet, this current investigation affirms Gomes's ability to command various sources and styles with a distinctive voice. At the very least, such a perspective significantly broadens our understanding of this successful composer of Italian Opera. Consequently, such fresh insights should open up new approaches to performing *Lo schiavo,* a Brazilian story with distinctively Brazilian musical influences.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

With this research, I have aimed to identify and discuss several significant musical and dramatic elements in Gomes's *Lo schiavo.* By exploring the various strategies employed in the opera, this study highlights numerous influences. The musically conservative side of Gomes is reflected in his adoption of *la solita forma* for the opera's overall structure, less so his incorporation of French grand opera practices. The ways he explores motifs and musical grouping structures is reminiscent of Wagner's stye, and was by the end of the nineteenth century widespread. Gomes was, in short, a solid craftsman. At the same time, Gomes's continuous search for innovative musical devices led him to solutions that would be adopted by other composers in the years following the creation of *Lo Schiavo*. Of special note are Brazilian musical features and particular compositional methods employed in *Lo schiavo*. This broader picture reveals a fresh and fuller way of understanding Gomes's music, and hopefully opens up paths for further research, whether musicological, theoretical, or performative/practical.

Gomes's distinctive compositional voice is heard throughout *Lo schiavo*. The way he opens the *preludio* of Act I, where he sets the opera's atmosphere of anguish, nostalgia, and the hope for freedom, is poignant and masterful.[111] Gomes draws the last act to a close by affirming feelings of happiness, a sense of reunification, and the freedom symbolized in the *preludio*, "Alvorada." The scenes that immediately follow, including the final trio and chorus, represent the reunion of Americo and Ilàra and their

[111] See n. 61 in Chapter 2.

freedom. These sections frame internal acts filled with intense, dark feelings. Following Act I, which conveys the spirit of justice, nobility, and gratitude, Acts II and III, are instead permeated with hate and revenge. Act IV closes the circle with a return to the noble tone of Act I.

Throughout the opera, there are references to contemporaneous political events in Brazil interwoven with fictional aspects of the plot. The direct quotation of Brazil's Independent Anthem at the end of the *preludio* is an unmistakable signifier of the abolition of slavery in Brazil one year before the premiere.[112] Of special interest in this regard are the two moments in the opera where characters kneel before someone. In Act I, when Americo saves and frees Iberè, the indigenous slave kneels before the Portuguese conqueror, promising him his life in gratitude. In Act IV, when Iberè frees Americo and gives Ilàra to him, the Portuguese conqueror kneels before the indigenous hero, symbolizing the end of slavery. Thus, Gomes connects both the celebration of Brazilian independence from Portugal and the recent abolition of slavery. This complementary plot design also helps explain the reason for the libretto's shift from portraying Black slaves to Indigenous slaves, since the latter, as the first habitants of the land, were considered at the heroic root of Brazilian national identity.

While this study hardly exhausts *Lo schiavo* research*,* it is hopefully a worthwhile contribution to the literature on this opera, and to Gomes's stage works in general. The musical elements explored here open fresh perspectives on *Lo Schiavo*'s musical, dramatic, historical, and even psychological significance. Although Gomes wrote *Lo schiavo* at a particular moment in Brazil's history, the social concerns of the opera

[112] See Chapter 3.

remain remarkably current, and invite reinterpretation on today's stages. The opera's recent 2019 Italian premiere is hopefully a stepping-stone for further ways of exploring how in modern retellings *Lo schiavo* can remain a symbol of freedom and social change.

APPENDIX 1

Taunay's Article Published in 1889, Days After *Lo schiavo's* Premiere.

The libretto of this splendid score has lately been discussed more vividly, which, to the honor of the Brazilian people and the glory of Carlos Gomes, has just been sung with extraordinary success in our first opera scene. It made an immense, electrifying impression, giving a day of sumptuous jubilation to the Brazilian art and yet another laurel wreath to the radiant and leonine forehead of the one and only great American conductor [great conductor of the Americas]. Therefore, I can without any inconvenience, exempt my name and my literary competency from no small responsibilities, as a knowledgeable and read man in national things, regarding the singularities, anachronisms, and curious historical and ethnic confusions embedded in a very modest sketch of a libretto arranged by me in a hurry, and on the day of Carlos Gomes' departure for Europe at the end of 1880. "Give me any idea," would tell me the conductor with anguished insistence. "Italian librettists make beautiful verses, but they have no creativity. A small draft is enough. I do not want, however, an indigenous subject, like the *Moema* you sent me. In *Il Guarany* there was already too much *bugre*."[113] …. "Well," I answered him, "I will give you brief instructions, susceptible of being well developed in the hands of those who know how to take advantage of them. And, appealing to literary reminiscences, as it was not my work, I wrote in pencil on five or six pages of paper at a table at the *Hotel de França*, while Carlos Gomes finished packing his luggage, more or less the following:

Act I

First years of this century – 1802 or 1804. A Portuguese nobleman, D. Rodrigo, owner of a vast farm on the banks of the Paraíba river, [is] afraid that the passion of his only son Américo for [?][114] Anália (who is almost white and was affectionately educated by a

[113] For *Bugre,* see n. 34 in Chapter 1.

[114] The symbol [?] is employed when is not possible to understand the primary source.

deceased lady) takes him further than his pride as a noble and wealthy man would tolerate. He [D. Rodrigo] orders the generous young man to go to Lisbon to visit the metropolis and to make acquaintance with and connect to his relatives overseas. All orders are given for his immediate departure. Americo, although desperate, obeys, but asks to say goodbye to his beloved, who he gives as a protégée to a *mulatto* [named] Ricardo. [The latter was] his childhood companion and later his page, and he has always defended Ricardo from the enmity of a brutal slavedriver, who lusted after Analia, and due to the usual severity of punishments, was leading the enslaved people from the plantation to a general uprising. As soon as Americo leaves, D. Rodrigo orders the chaplain of the house to proceed to the summary marriage of the *mulatto* with the unfortunate girl, despite the screams and protests from both in the midst of everyone, as the slave-driver had divulged her love for the young nobleman and the passion that the slave Ricardo felt for her

Act II

The scene takes place in Lisbon: A Portuguese lady, widow, in the prime of her years, beautiful, very rich and cousin of Americo, falls in love with him. At a large party that she throws in her luxurious room, after talking about subjects related to Brazil and listening to eloquent descriptions of the enchanting land, declares to the Brazilian man her feelings which overwhelms him. Although flattered, Americo is honest and confesses that his whole aspiration is to return to his homeland and to the woman who he madly loves, albeit [she is] from a humble status, close to being a slave. [The Portuguese woman experiences] resentment and irony from the one who repels her.

Dances of the time [take place], which could [?] be danced by blacks and Indigenous. At the end [of these dances], a page delivers to Americo a letter from D. Rodrigo, who calls him in a hurry to Brazil in order to help with the immense revolt from enslaved people. They are entrenched in a rough siege under the command of Ricardo, whose marriage [news] is [included] in post-script, announced with calculated perfidy. Americo finds himself with incoercible despair, which provokes in those who hear him surprise and

mixed feelings, either of sympathy and compassion, either of mockery. A Grand Concertante [takes place].

Act III

[The act takes place] in Brazil. Américo, eager for revenge, exposes himself too much and falls into the hands of the insurgents. They want to kill him immediately, but the *mulatto* leader does not consent and orders them to leave him alone with his young master. A tercet by Ricardo, Anália and Americo [happens at this point]. The latter does not hold back, insulting the unfaithful depositary, and finally slashes his face with a whiplash. “You are nothing but a vile slave,” he exclaims. “You will ask me for forgiveness on your knees. Do you know who you have treated so cruelly?” [asked Ricardo]. “An infamous one.” “No, a man who, dragged by your father’s orders to be forcibly linked by divine ties to your heart’s beloved, has lived with her only as an affectionate brother and today gives her to you as the way she was when she was born.” Analia confirms everything and exalts the greatness of the generous protector's soul. Ricardo tells how much he had struggled to save her from the undignified attempts of the slavedriver, seeing himself finally obliged, as a last resort, to incite his fellow enslaved people to the uprising. Americo, sobbing, falls at his [Ricardo’s] feet. Shots in the distance [are heard], indicating a tough fight.

Act IV

Splendid scene in the interior of a Brazilian forest. The mulatto, realizing that resistance had become impossible, advised the *quilombolas* to surrender.[115] Americo will be the guarantee of full forgiveness. Great (?) of Anália anguishes for the immense love he has dedicated to her since childhood and the heroic efforts to preserve her for another other

[115] *Quilombolas* refers to African and Afro-Brazilian descendants who escaped slavery and established communities to resist recapture. These settlements began in Brazil mid-1500s and remain with about four thousand groups across the country nowadays.

man. He declares that he took poison slowly, but that it was certain he was going to die. Anália, moved and long subdued by the nobility of his conduct, tells him that she is ready to follow him into the deepest fields, where they can still live happily. Américo enters and behind him, the mass of attackers erupts, with D. Rodrigo in front. There is a general submission of the enslaved people, for the agony by Ricardo, who asks Américo to take Analia to the altar without delay. “Take it, he says, nothing has hurt her!” Americo orders everyone to kneel down with an irresistible gesture. D. Rodrigo, although with difficulty, obeys like the others. Ricardo, in a last spurt, rises stiffly, solemn and proudly contemplates them all, and exclaims: “What a beautiful death for a slave!”

In short, this is what I delivered to Carlos Gomes. Many years had passed in which *Lo Schiavo* was only vaguely dealt with. In correspondence, Carlos Gomes once asked me permission – which I fully gave it to him, without wanting to hinder the composer's inspiration in the slightest – to make changes and additions. It was with this intent that he has requested books on the history of Brazil, which were sent soon to him. soon by Castellões, among others the six volumes of Roberto Southey and the *Conjuração dos Tamoyos*. When I read today's libretto, with the name of Alfredo Taunay on top—which represents only a moving memory of my old and brilliant friend whom I so cherish—everything was already printed, finished, with music adapted to the lyrics and situations. In short, it was an irremediable harm. This [situation] is what compels me to give these most sincere explanations, which, to loyal and honest people, cut at the root any attempt of criticism that could pertain to me literarily regarding *Lo Schiavo*. In fact, all of this is unimportant. The fire and elevated inspiration of Carlos Gomes save the biggest nonsense of the libretto. The grandiose opera he gave us is yet another precious manifestation of the divine spark that consecrates geniuses. It is even more, as in the *Huguenots*, in *Judia*, in *Africana* and many librettos much worse than *Lo Schiavo*, a proof that music, in order to live forever, only needs itself, and that the letters and liberal arts—its faithful companions—have little prestige from the help they can give to it.

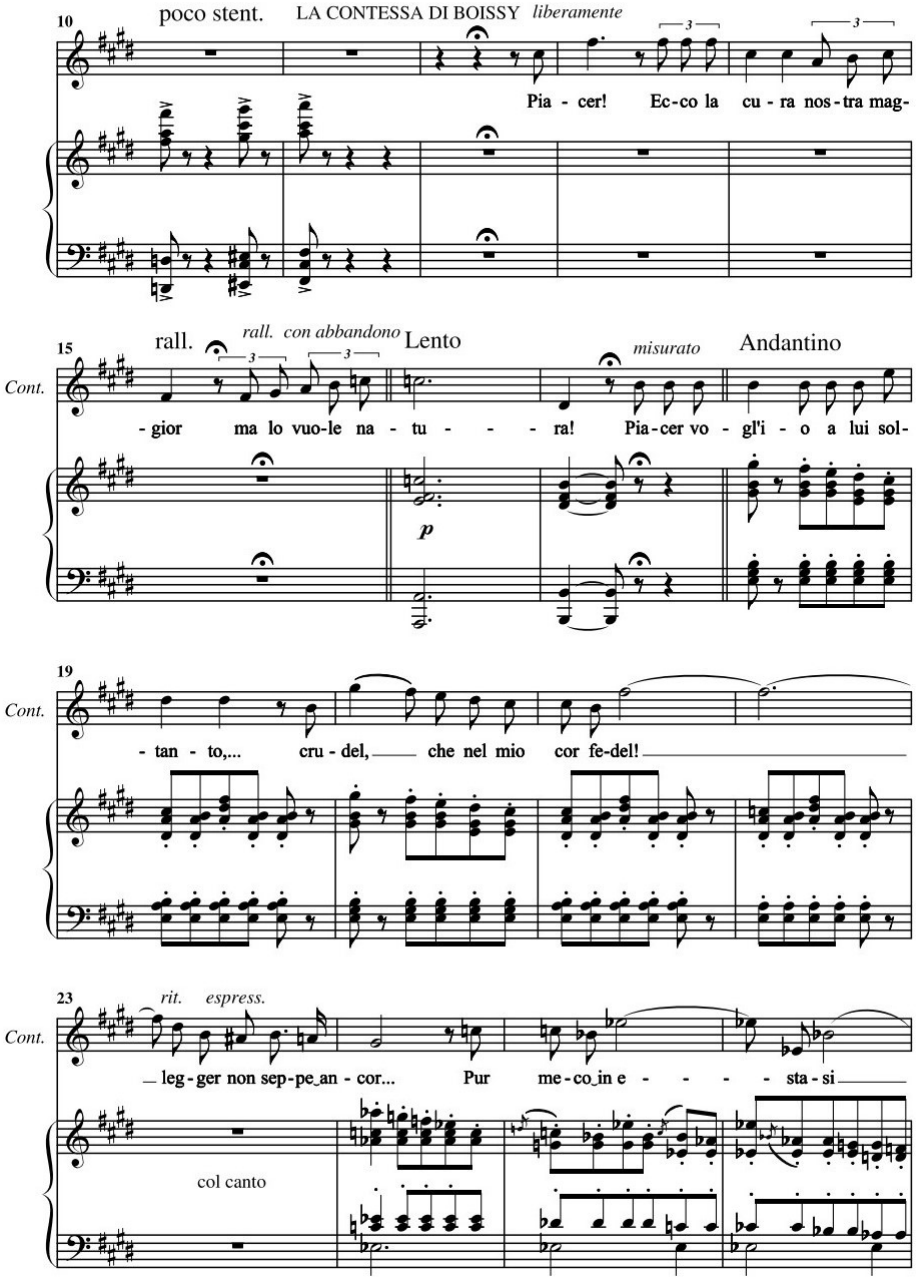
Visconde de Taunay

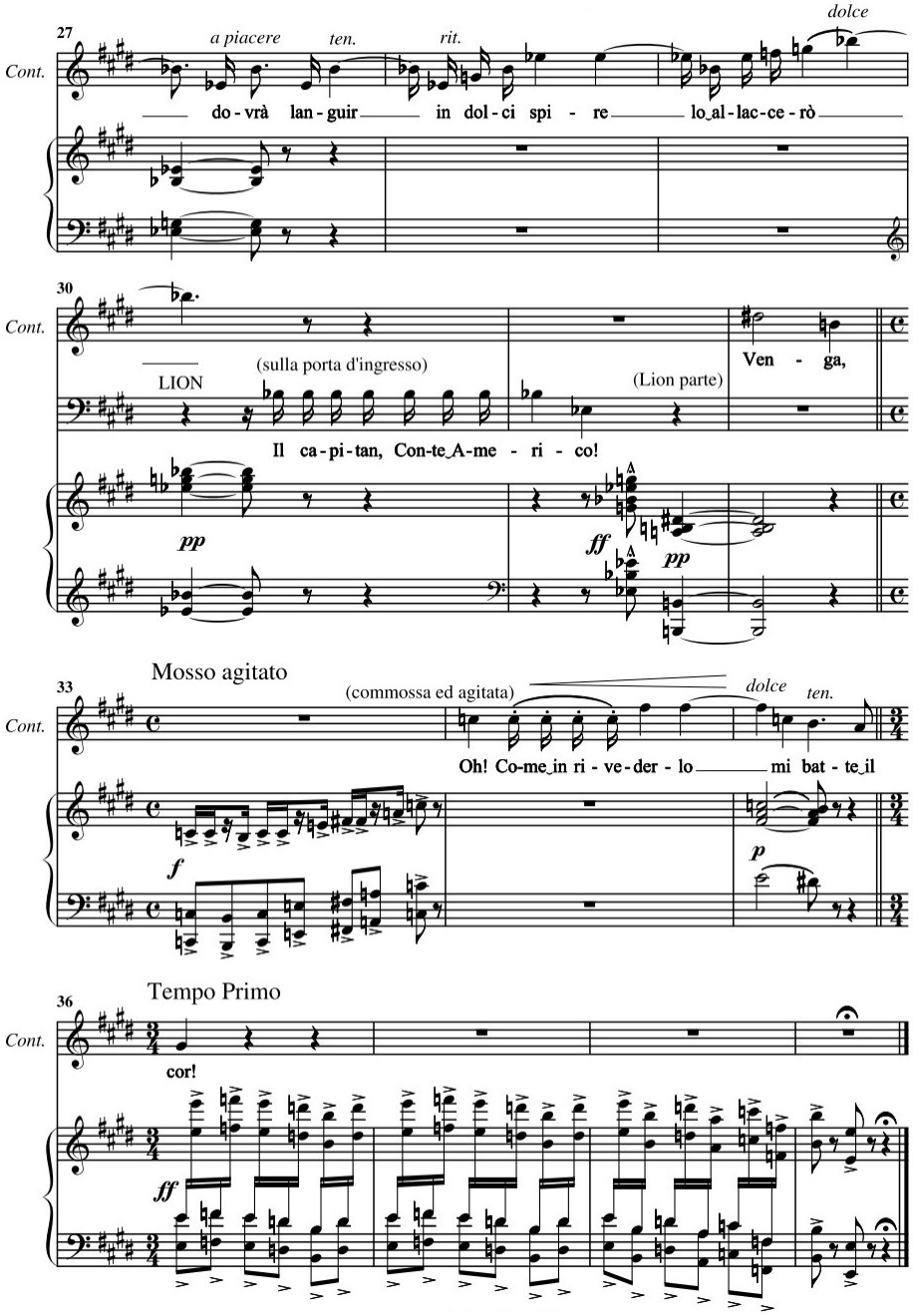
Fig. 24: Original version of the above translation, found in Alfredo Taunay, “Lo schiavo: Opera e Libretto,” *Gazeta de Notícias,* October 4, 1889, 277.

APPENDIX 2

Gomes's *Lo schiavo*, Act II, Scene 1, mm. 10-39; and Act II, Scene 2, mm. 1-89.

recitativo in parlante style

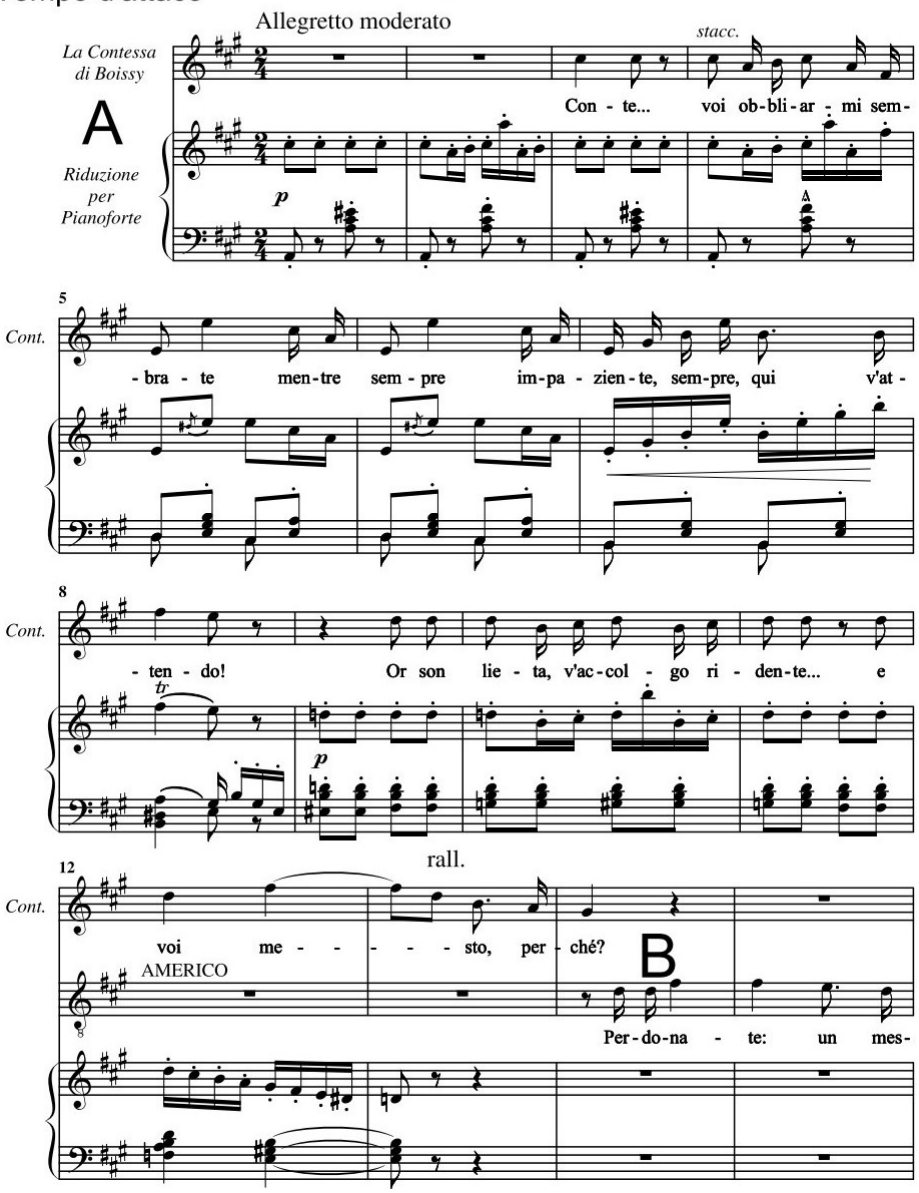


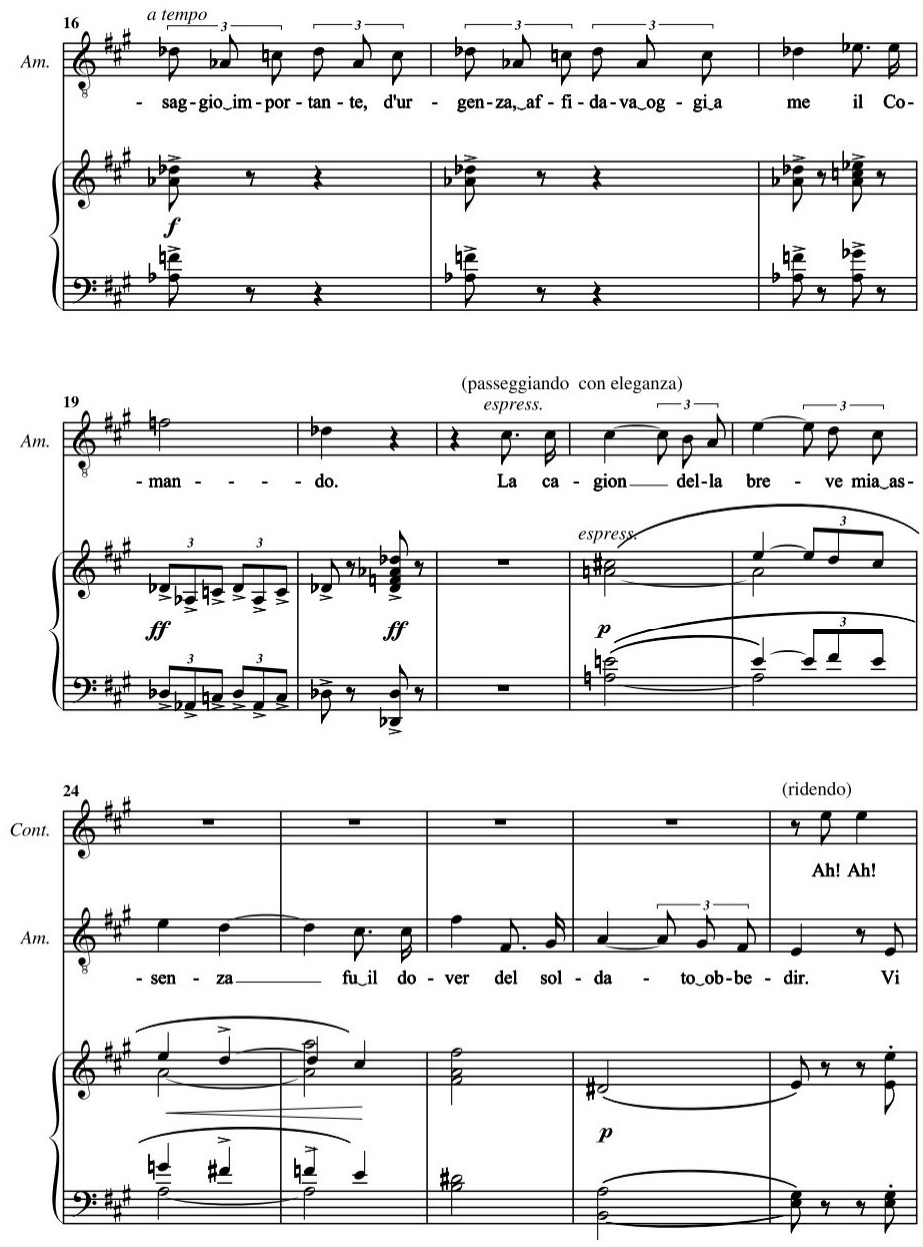

27
Cont.
a piacere
ten.
rit.
dolce
do - vrà lan - guir in dol - ci spi - re lo_al - lac - ce - rò
30
Cont.
LION
(sulla porta d'ingresso)
Il ca - pi - tan, Con - te_A - me - ri - co!
pp
(Lion parte)
Ven - ga,
ff
pp
Mosso agitato
33
Cont.
(commossa ed agitata)
dolce
ten.
Oh! Co - me_in ri - ve - der - lo mi bat - te_il
f
p
Tempo Primo
36
Cont.
cor!
ff

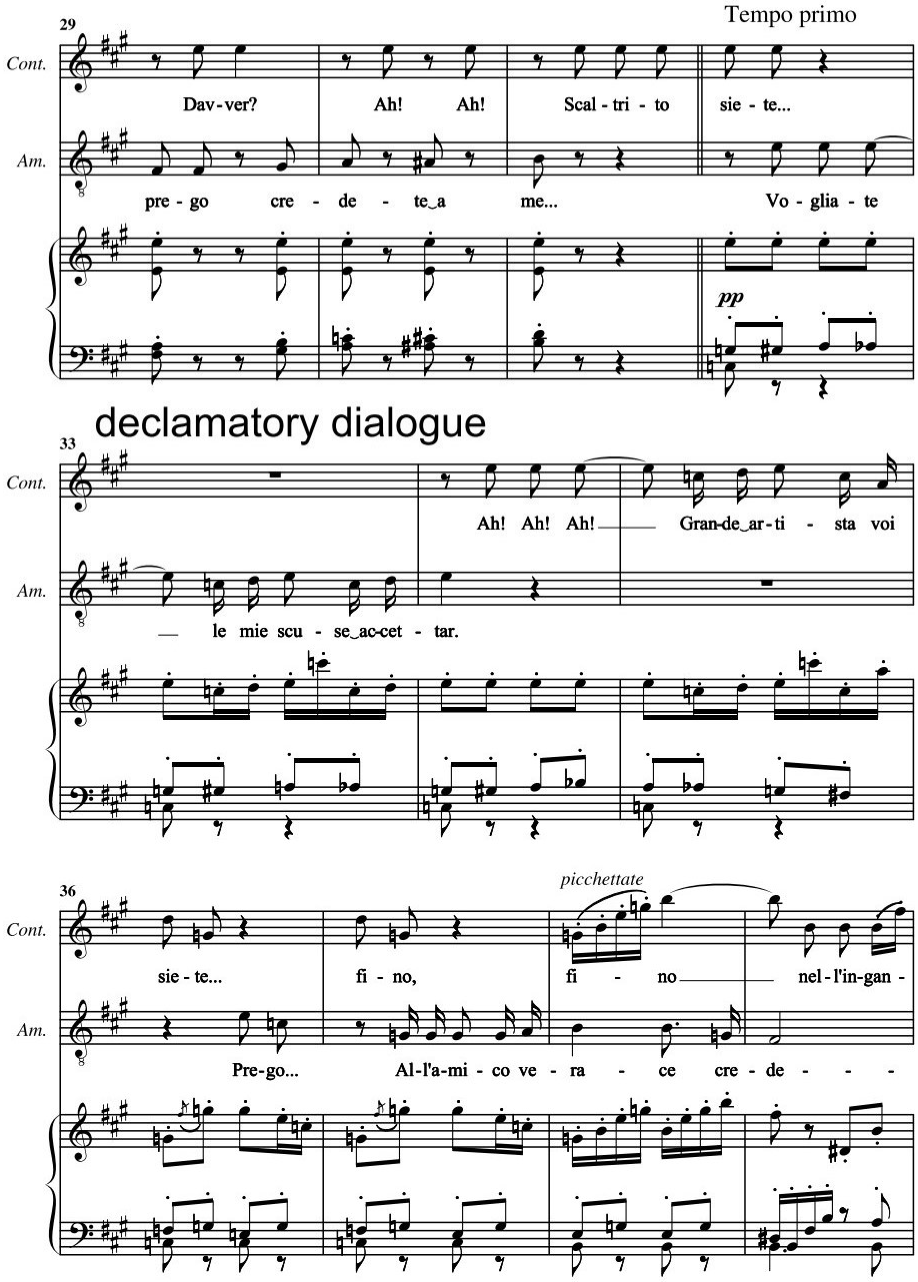
La Contessa di Boissy ed Americo

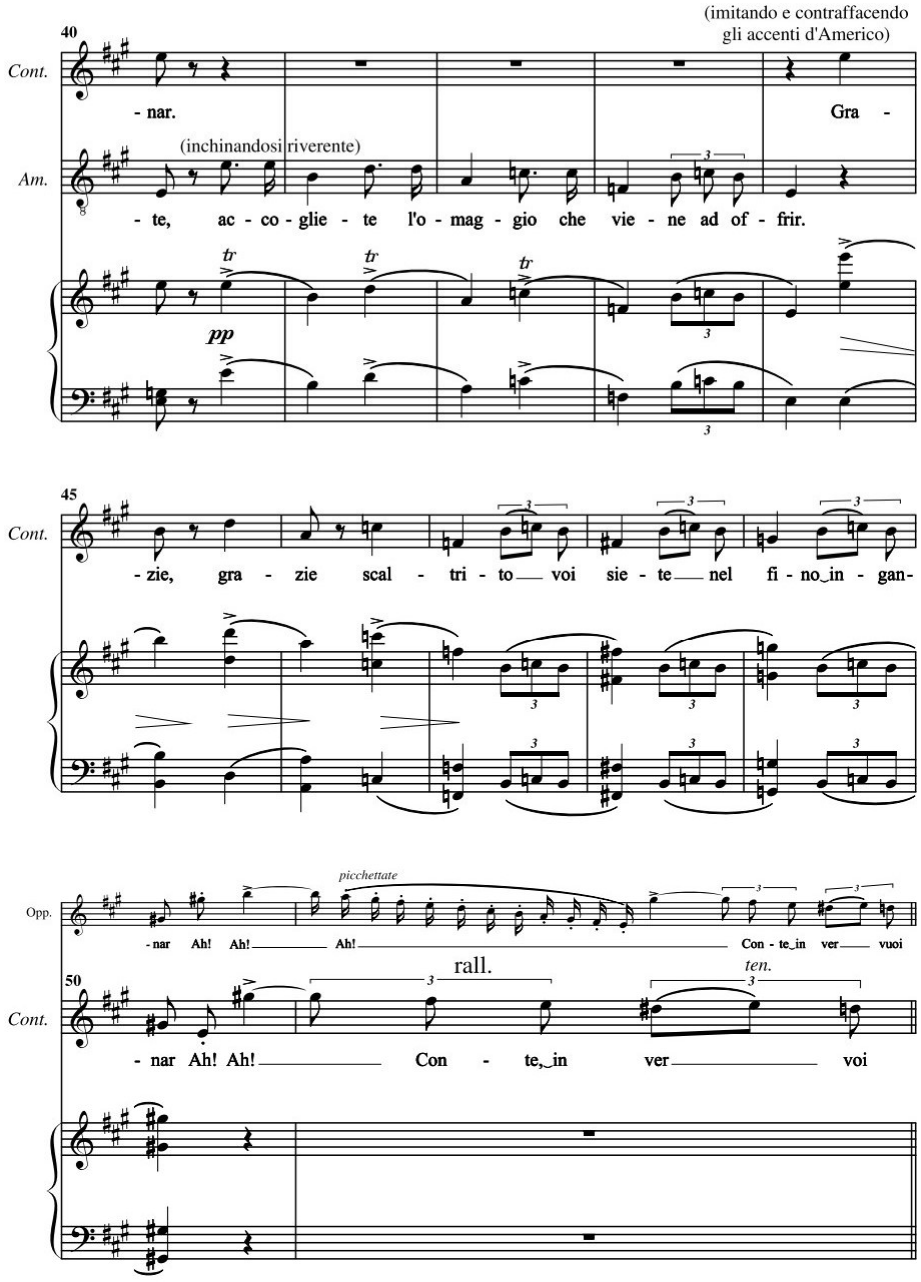
Entra Americo in uniforme d'Ufficiale di marina inchinandosi alla Contessa con eleganza cavalleresca

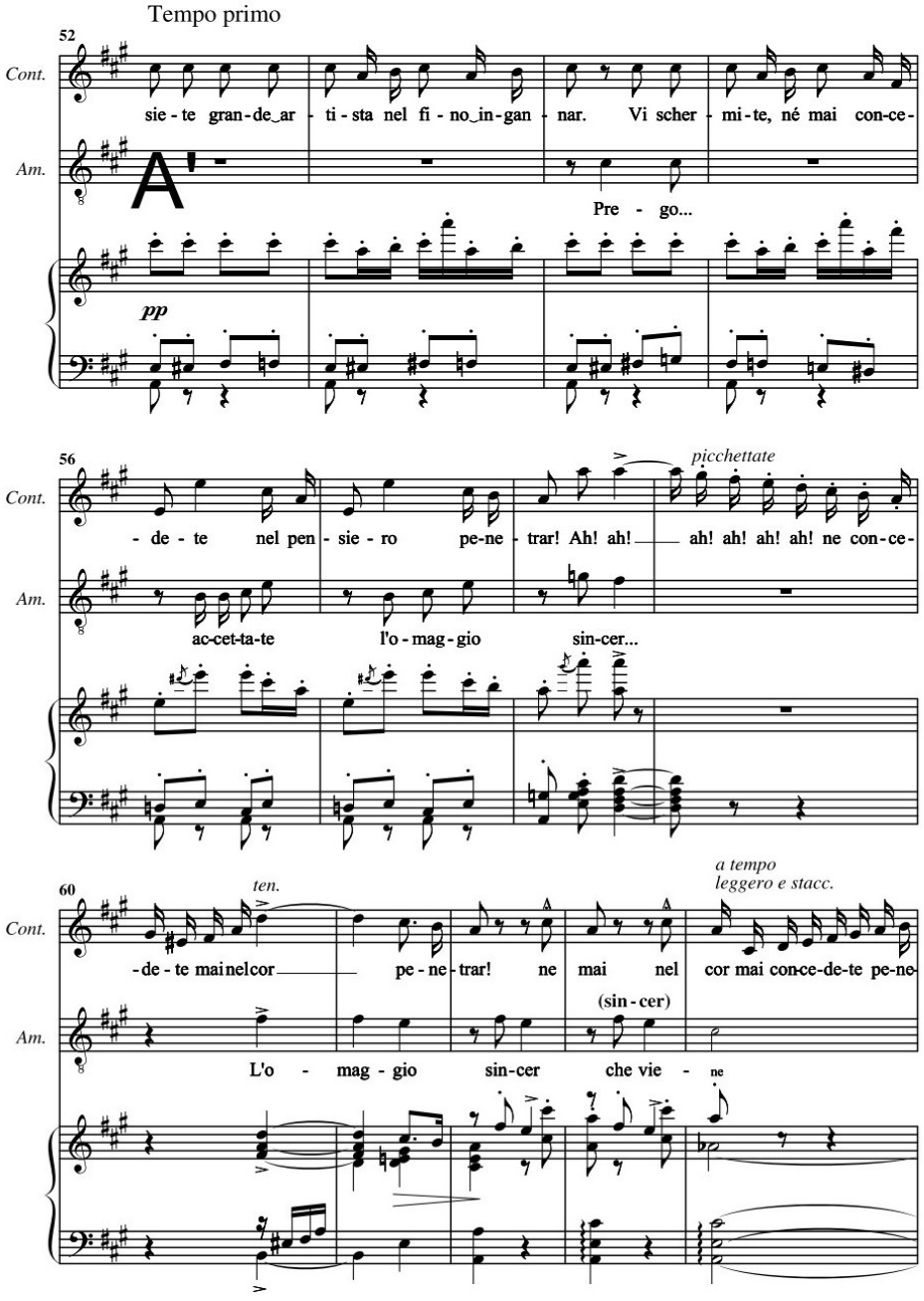
Tempo d'attaco

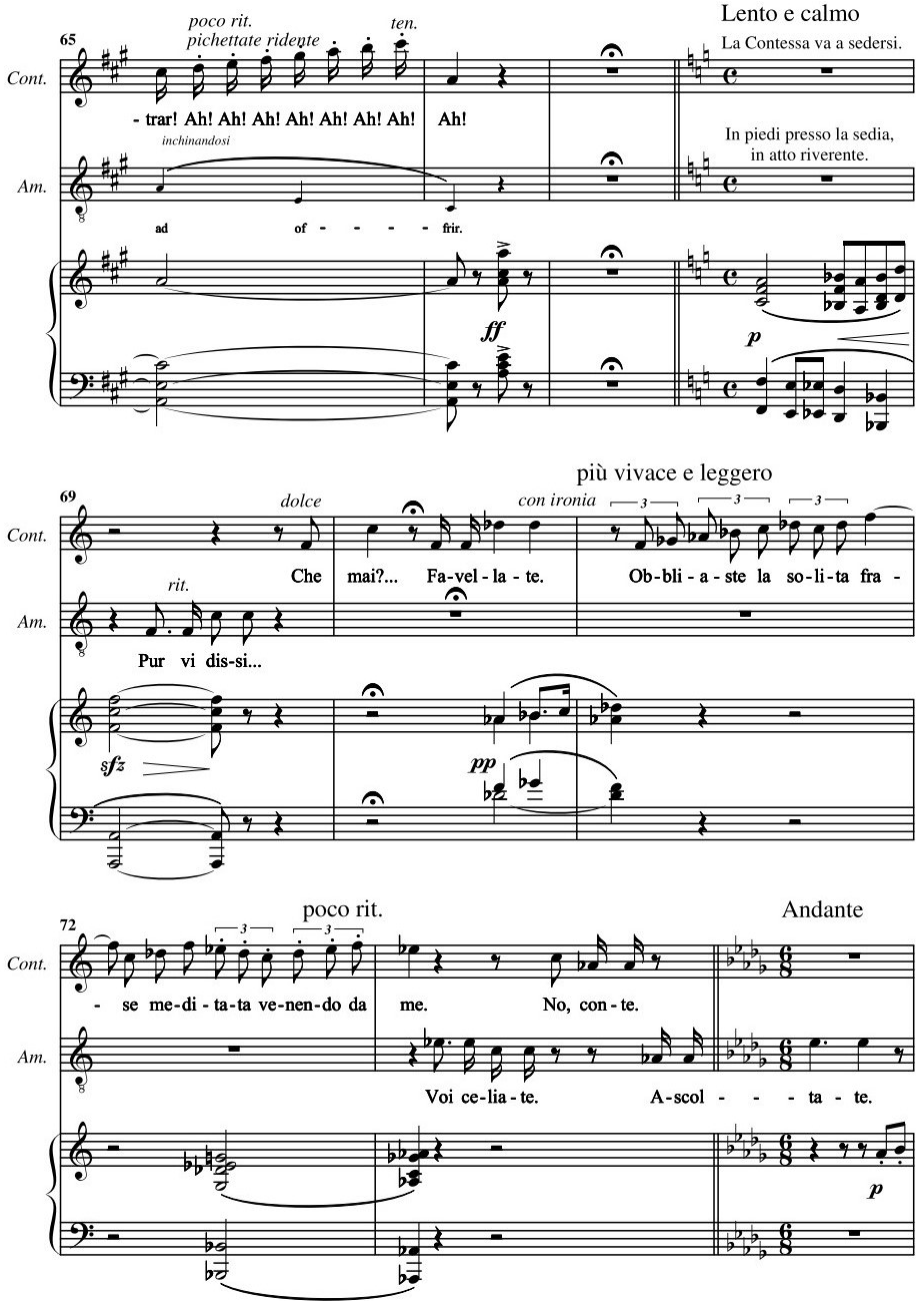



16
a tempo
Am.
- sag-gio_im-por-tan-te, d'ur - gen-za,_af-fi-da-va_og-gi_a me il Co-
f
19
(passeggiando con eleganza)
espress.
Am.
-man - - - - do. La ca-gion del-la bre - ve mia_as-
ff
ff
espress.
p
24
(ridendo)
Cont.
Ah! Ah!
Am.
- sen - za fu_il do-ver del sol-da - to_ob-be-dir. Vi
p

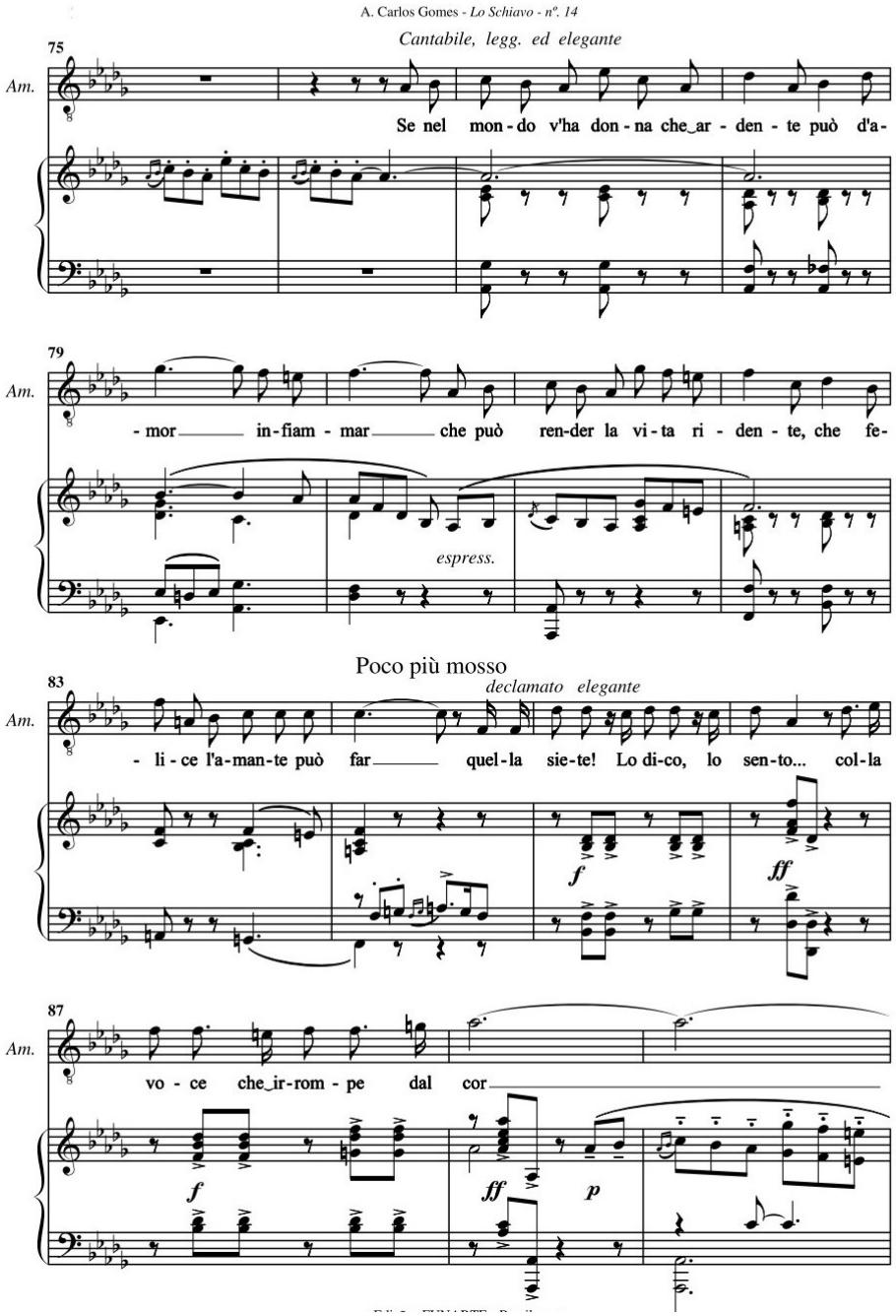

Tempo primo
29
Cont.
Dav-ver?
Ah!
Ah!
Scal-tri-to
sie-te...
Am.
pre-go
cre-de-te_a
me...
Vo-glia-te
pp
declamatory dialogue
33
Cont.
Ah! Ah! Ah!
Gran-de_ar-ti-sta voi
Am.
le mie scu-se_ac-cet-tar.
36
picchettate
Cont.
sie-te...
fi-no,
fi-no
nel-l'in-gan-
Am.
Pre-go...
Al-l'a-mi-co ve-ra-ce cre-de-


(imitando e contraffacendo
gli accenti d'Americo)
40
Cont.
- nar.
Gra -
(inchinandosi riverente)
Am.
- te, ac - co - glie - te l'o - mag - gio che vie - ne ad of - frir.
tr
tr
tr
pp
45
Cont.
- zie, gra - zie scal - tri - to voi sie - te nel fi - no in - gan-
Opp.
picchettate
- nar Ah! Ah! Ah! Con - te_in ver vuoi
50
Cont.
rall.
ten.
- nar Ah! Ah! Con - te, in ver voi


Tempo primo
52
Cont.
sie - te gran - de_ar - ti - sta nel fi - no_in - gan - nar. Vi scher - mi - te, né mai con - ce -
Am.
A
Pre - go...
pp
56
Cont.
- de - te nel pen - sie - ro pe - ne - trar! Ah! ah! ah! ah! ah! ah! ah! ne con - ce -
picchettate
Am.
ac - cet - ta - te l'o - mag - gio sin - cer...
60
Cont.
ten.
- de - te mai nel cor pe - ne - trar! ne mai nel cor mai con - ce - de - te pe - ne -
a tempo
leggero e stacc.
Am.
(sin - cer)
L'o - mag - gio sin - cer che vie - ne


65
poco rit.
pichettate ridente
ten.
Lento e calmo
La Contessa va a sedersi.
Cont.
- trar! Ah! Ah! Ah! Ah! Ah! Ah! Ah!
Ah!
inchinandosi
Am.
ad of - - - - frir.
In piedi presso la sedia,
in atto riverente.
ff
p
69
più vivace e leggero
dolce
con ironia
Cont.
Che mai?... Fa-vel-la-te.
Ob-bli-a-ste la so-li-ta fra -
rit.
Am.
Pur vi dis-si...
sfz
pp
72
poco rit.
Andante
Cont.
- se me-di-ta-ta ve-nen-do da me.
No, con-te.
Am.
Voi ce-lia-te.
A-scol - - - ta - te.
p

consecutive segments to the end.



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