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Darko MILOWICH

Born on 30 November 1958 in Belgrade (Serbia)

"ECHOING DOLOMITES"

LEONE SINIGAGLIA: REMEMBERING GLORIOUS SUCCESSES TO RE-ESTABLISH A FORGOTTEN COMPOSER

Dissertation defence committee

Dr Damien SAGRILLO, dissertation supervisor

Professor, Université du Luxembourg

Dr Sonja MARINKOVIĆ, Member

Professor, Faculty of Music Arts, University of Arts, Belgrade

Dr Luc NIJS, Chairman

Professor, Université du Luxembourg

Dr Giacomo FORNARI, Member

Professor, Conservatory "Claudio Monteverdi", Bolzano

Dr Claudio CICOTTI, Vice-Chairman

Research Scientist, Université du Luxembourg

Abstract

Italian composer, ethnomusicologist and alpinist, Leone Sinigaglia (1868-1944) is an example of an indisputably singular figure in Italian and European music history at the turn of the twentieth century. Unfortunately, his work was neglected and forgotten after he passed away towards the end of the 2ndWW. Today, his name is largely forgotten, and his prolific contribution towards classical music from the early 1900's is insufficiently acknowledged.

His resistance to Italian musical contemporary customs of the time, overwhelmed by the powerful presence of operatic composing, provided an example to follow. Other Italian composers who were inspired by his influence¹, likewise, started to search for educational resources in countries abroad after their initial music studies. Sinigaglia opted for Vienna, and among all of his contemporaries (Ottorino Respighi /1879-1936/, Gian Francesco Malipiero /1882-1973/, Alfredo Casella /1883-1947/, and others, see p. 57), he was a representative of the German late romantic tendencies. He further distinguished himself by infusing his compositions with a treasury of Piedmont folkloric tunes.

Four years in Vienna (1895-1899), and then more than half a year in Prague, permitted Sinigaglia to live in closeness to personalities of perhaps one of the most focal European musical coeval centres. His promenades with Brahms (1833-1897), studies with Mandyczewski (1857-1929), and later with Dvořák (1841-1904) in Prague, brought the young Sinigaglia on the path to follow in his romantic composing development. His innate musical curiosity for popular song, which he put into practice when he returned to Turin in 1902, was greatly enhanced during this period.

Along with his composing, his endeavours resulted in an impressive number of around 500 collected Piedmont folk songs, collected from the mouth of last old connoisseurs. The complete disappearance of Leone Sinigaglia's name after his death, along with the consecutive negligence of his revival after the Second 2ndWW in both Italy and the rest of Europe, is the enigma which had put this study on its itinerary. His name, one among the most prominent

¹Taking over from Martucci and Sgambati who were first to refuse operatic composing as an only choice in Italy like Alfredo Casella noticed in his memoirs *I segreti della giara*, Kindle version of *Il Saggiatore*, 2016, pos. 1482 "For how important was German schooling in reviving the French one from asleep instrumental consciousness (the situation which, for more than one particularity, reminds on our historic period which started with the pioneer action by Martucci (1856-1909) and Sgambati (1841-1914))".

music composers in the first decades of the 20th century in Europe and America, was eclipsed in Italy due to his Jewish origins in 1938, after antisemitic racial laws were enacted.

His symphonic works are, however, to this day never programmed for concerts, and his chamber music remains under the firm cover of oblivion.

The methodology of the investigation for this study rests historical which is immanent to its biographical character, with some relevant interviews I conducted. By the realized research, I aim to achieve a rediscovery of the unjustly forgotten composer. I intend to give some musical, social, historical, as well as anthropological contexts to consider for the negligence of Sinigaglia's contribution to the Italian and European musical scene at the turn of the 20th century until the present time.

Consulting for the most part documents stowed in the Sinigaglia Archive in Turin induced me to conclude as follows: the declining of Sinigaglia's notability by the end of his life was not due to a reduced number of his works in years towards the 2ndWW. The fading trajectory of his carrier was a consequence of historical and sociopolitical circumstances that was fuelled by anti-Semitism, anti-localism, and sectarianism.

The purpose of this study is to give new musical importance to the name of the composer Leone Sinigaglia for years to come.

Key words: Leone Sinigaglia, Italian music, Piedmont folklore, Turin, forgotten composer, romantic music, ethnomusicologist, alpinist.

Acknowledgements

In the first place I want to thank Dr. Marcello Sorce Keller, who greatly inspired me to start to reflect on giving my written tribute to Sinigaglia with his essay "Ignored and Forgotten", and later encouraged me to continue my work by simply closing his experienced eyes after reading my disastrous initial pages. Dr. Sorce Keller, a member of CET until July 2023, was very considering during difficult moments of my research. He used his influence and contacts to resolve a temporary inaccessibility to the Fondo Sinigaglia applied to me for no understandable reason. The Sinigaglia Foundation is considered to be public property, conditioned as such by the donator and testimonial curator of Sinigaglia's patrimony, the musicologist Luigi Rognoni.

Dr. Damien François Sagrillo, my mentor at the Université Luxembourg, is the person who made everything possible by accepting my PhD proposition and assured it's long compositional process with ever patient and positive accompaniment and I am very grateful to him for it.

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My sincerest thanks go to Dr. Sonja Marinkovic, who accepted to join the CET committee for the final phase of accompanying this study after the sudden retreat of Dr. Sorce Keller. She generously offered her enormous musicological expertise to aid to the success of my work.

My principal research could only start in Turin, in the library of the Conservatory Giuseppe Verdi, where the Fondo Sinigaglia preserves the complete correspondence of the composer, and where his manuscripts are conserved. Thanks to the kind teacher and organist, Mrs. Giuliana Maccaroni, who is also responsible at the library, I could have access to this precious collection.

The previous librarian, Mrs. Bianchi, who I had an opportunity to meet after her retirement, needs the acknowledgment of everyone, and she of course has mine, who has gleaned information from the Fondo Sinigaglia for her first classification of the epistolary by identifying the professions or family liaison of some of persons who were the authors of some letters written to the Italian composer. It is understandable that this was an uneasy task if one consults the copies of some letters (see the Annexe) and confronts the graphological particularities of each of the numerous calligraphic and enigmatic looking handwritten texts.

My thanks go to Mrs. Tedesco, responsible of the Archive of the Jewish Community of Turin, who offered me all available documentation to consult when I wanted to trace the genealogical itinerary of both of the families of Sinigaglia's parents.

During my researching sojourns in Turin, I was privileged to spend a wonderful time with an outstanding musician, pianist Massimiliano Genot, who himself greatly reanimated the memory of the Turin composer, either by participating in rare conventions remembering his work, or through numerous concert programming of Sinigaglia's music and recordings of his piano and chamber works. I therefore address my acknowledgment to him for his advice and for sharing his ample knowledge and his kind and energetic personality.

Mr. Giorgio Sinigaglia, the only remaining relative of the composer, took several initiatives to protect the name of his *avo.*² He was an important source to me of precious data, and an irreplaceable conversation partner, taking care to keep me informed of every rare occasion in which his ancestor would be written about in medias, or played at the concert or on the radio, which is even more rare, and I am truly thankful to him.

The last linguistic verifying work of this study was done by my friend and violin/viola duo partner, Renata van der Vyver. The musician and anglophone scholar that she is, put the last stamp on the English text written by a Serbian/Luxembourgian. The difficult job of decoding some sentences and expressions, which are the product of a life-long multilingual thinking and communication, could only have been done by a friend who knows me and who shared long conversations when travelling for our concerts. I can never thank her enough.

Very last, but decisively not very least thanks, are for my *dolce metà* Ramona D'Agostino. Her constant devotion to me integrally, extended to my work on this study which she was permanently sheltering, considering it also hers with reason. She accompanied me on my Turin trips, worked with me on the classification of samples, looked at all the Italian texts and helped me a lot with the graphological layer of epistolary reading. Finally her confirmation about the faultless state of the text after her last orthographic corrections could have been done only by her practised eye. Furthermore, if this research would not already have been important enough, and worthy of being written in order to protect the legacy of a composer who cannot do so for himself anymore, writing it to enjoy the appreciation of the person that Ramona is, would be enough.

² Maybe the most important was the initiative for the placement of the stumbling block with Sinigaglia's name at the entry of the conservatory in Turin, Piazza G. Bodoni.

The University of Luxembourg offered me an opportunity to give a PhD frame to my research and work which was following the rhythm of my last years as a violinist in the Luxembourg Philharmonic, and therefore in a half-time regime. After spending long years as a student of the Doctoral Department I come to the conviction that it's organisation of doctoral studies is highly functional and supportive, and that the quality of the researching conditions makes it possible to place this university high among universities internationally. Thank you for that privilege!

Dedication

I dedicate this study to the memory of my parents and my missing sister Seka

Contents

Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	4
Introduction.....	11
Contribution of Study and Methodology.....	18
1. MUSICAL TURIN JUST AFTER RISORGIMENTO IN ITALY	22
2. SINIGAGLIA'S ITALIAN IDENTITY OVERSHADOWED BY HIS JEWISH INHERITANCE.....	32
3. CONTEXTUAL BIOGRAPHY.....	40
3.1 Sinigaglia in Vienna... ..	46
3.2 ...and in Prague	55
3.3 Toscanini, and Sinigaglia's consecutive adulthood	65
4. <i>CANTI POPOLARI</i>	74
5. SELECTED SINIGAGLIA'S SYMPHONIC OPUS.....	89
5.1 Piedmont Dances Op. 31, No. 1 and No. 2.....	89
5.2 Short analysis	93
5.3 <i>The Suite Piemonte</i> Op. 36	95
6. SYMPHONIC WORKS WITHOUT POPULAR THEMATIC MATERIAL-selected	100
6.1 The Violin Concerto Op. 20 in A major	100
6.2 <i>Le Baruffe Chiozzotte</i> Op. 32.....	109
7. LIST OF WORKS.....	113
7.1 With Opus number:.....	114
7.2 With a date but without opus number	122
7.3 Without opus number or date.....	125
8. LIST OF CONSULTED LETTERS (expeditors)	128
9. RECORDINGS	136
10. CONCLUSION	138
10.1 Further research directions	145
ANNEXE	148
No. 1 Breitkopf & Härtel Calendar	148
No. 2: Aunt's letter for the upcoming Bar Mitzvah	149
No. 3 A letter from Mandyczewski – cello sonata promotion	150
No. 4 The copy of the letter of acknowledgment for the donation to the Confraternità Israelitica di Beneficenza	151
No. 5 Ricordi's letter of denunciation of Jewish collaborators.....	152
No. 6 signalled in the footnote 191.....	153

No. 7 Letter from Gorret- gratitude for the donation	154
No. 8: Sinigaglia's letter from Berlin after the premier of Violin Concerto.....	155
No. 9: Original letter after the first concert of symphonic works	156
No.10: Original text of the letter from Vienna, meeting Brahms	156
No.11: Letter about Kubelik, adding the Concerto to his repertoire.....	157
No. 12: Letter after the premiere of the Concerto in Vienna.....	157
No. 13: Debussy's letter to Sinigaglia.....	158
No. 14 Sibelius' letter to Sinigaglia.....	159
No. 15: Bloch's letter to Sinigaglia	162
No. 16: Joachim's letter about Variations after one theme by Brahms	164
No. 17: Two letters from Ševčík.....	164
No. 18: Letter from Scalero to his wife	165
No. 19: Letter from Ysaÿe to Breitkopf promoting Sinigaglia	165
No. 20: Letter from Wilhelmj	166
No. 21: Letter from Kreisler about Piemontese Rhapsodie	167
No. 22: Rubinstein's letter, excusing not to assist to the concert with Piedmont music... 	167
No. 23: Saffonof's letter- similarity between Sinigaglia's character and his music.....	168
AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SCRIPTS	170
RECOLLECTIONS FROM VIENNA	171
I. BRAHMS AND MANDYCZEWSKI	171
II. VIENNESE MUSICAL LIFE.....	173
Season 1895-1896	174
Season 1896-1897	175
Season 1897-1898	176
Season 1898-1899	176
III ADDITIONS	178
VIENNA (1895-1899).....	181
BRAHMS IN ITALY	183
TOSCANINI.....	185
ANTONIN DVOŘÁK	187
BIBLIOGRAPHY	201
Books cited.....	201
Cited letters	206
About the author.....	207
Figure No. 1	23

Figure No. 2	82
Figure No. 3	87
Example No. 1	82
Example No. 2	85
Example No. 3	93
Example No. 4	97
Example No. 5	101
Example No. 6	103
Example No. 7	112

Introduction

The sudden discovery of a composer's name, unknown during my musical studies as well as later during decades of my professional violinist career generated the present work. While programming a chamber concert by my ensemble "*d'arco*", composed of a string trio³ at that time, I was specifically looking for a music composition by a lesser-known composer. This endeavour made me stumble upon the name of Leone Sinigaglia which appeared on the score of "Serenade" Op. 33. The work is clearly written in the romantic composing style of the end of 19th century.⁴ The consequent biographic research about the life path of this composer had ignited a curiosity in me that has never stopped since.

Discovering, step by step, facts about this composer, the surprise was enormous to discover parallel with an identity of a composer the personality with a fine feeling for the beauty and importance of a popular song. Sinigaglia was a classical skilled musician who bowed to the protection of the cultural patrimony of the province of Piedmont. Additionally, and remarkably, he was an internationally acknowledged alpinist. In his book "Climbing Reminiscences of The Dolomites"⁵ which he wrote when he was only 27 years old on this subject gives to readers his competent view on the particularities of certain new traced paths in the Dolomites.

My concern about a composer of a scarcely known but charming musical composition, "Serenade" for string trio was undeniable and my determination to speak up for the mountaineering composer/ethnomusicologist was developing fast.

As a teenage university student, I immediately appreciated that puzzling quote pronounced by Martin Mull: "Writing about music is like dancing about architecture"⁶. Despite this, I've realized that the only option to give a merited importance to Leone Sinigaglia and his music, which is accessible to a large number of readers was to create a source of knowledge through intense research, that I could share publicly by writing about it. Simultaneously, I consider it

³ Ensemble "*d'arco*" is a chamber group which through 29 years of its activity would perform in various chamber music formations from being either a string trio 2 violins, cello, classical string trio (violin, viola, cello), string quartet, piano quartet or quintet, octet etc. up to chamber orchestra.

⁴ Maybe because "That romantic ideas about the arts never had a firmer hold on popular consciousness (as opposed to scholarly discourse) as they have today. ", Marcello Sorce Keller, *What makes the Music European*, Scarcrowpress, Lanham/ Toronto/ Plymouth, 2012.

⁵ Leone Sinigaglia, *Climbing Reminiscences of the Dolomites*, T. Fischer Unwin, London 1896 [Primary Source Edition].

⁶ This sentence of uncertain origine was noted in: Sperrazza, Gary, "Looka Here! It's Sam & Dave!" *Barrier Express Magazine*, Issue Number 26, Volume 3, Number 6, White Plains, N.Y., p. 25.

the goal of this research: introduce the name of Leone Sinigaglia to the English-speaking musical and literary world.

If only offering his played music, the audience might appreciate it but would not be informed enough about this outstanding musician. Injustice that he was a victim of would thus be completely ignored.

After the essay by Marcello Sorce Keller, mentioned in Acknowledgements, my first written sources about Sinigaglia were by Lidia Benone Giacoletto⁷ who devoted a fair part of her activity to this composer. I followed the dissertation by Flavia Ingrosso⁸, and essays by Andrea della Corte⁹, Rosy Moffa¹⁰ and Roberto Leydi¹¹. During my research I surprisingly got aware about an existence of the book written by the lawyer G. La Villa and an amateur scholar of Leone Sinigaglia, titled: *La musica delle alte vette*, written in collaboration with A. Lo Piccolo¹². In this case though, we rather have to do with a "fictionalized biography" as the critic¹³ underlined. The musicological shine of the second part of the book by Lo Piccolo pretends more.

Sinigaglia's book *Climbing Reminiscences of the Dolomites*¹⁴ helped me to discover the climbing passion of the young composer and integrate it as an auxiliary information to this research.

While concluding some of chapters of this study, I had a joy to be offered by a colleague a document in preparation, written by the young Italian pianist Edoardo Turbil, intitled "Leone Sinigaglia: A Rediscovery of Brahms's Italian Apostle".¹⁵ The script representing the partial fulfilment for the Doctor of Musical Arts on Julliard School was written in English. The focus of this study, profusely oriented towards Brahms and musical analysis of piano works by Sinigaglia assisted me with different English translations of the young pianist. Employing some

⁷ Lidia Benone Giacoletto, Introduzione in *Leone Sinigaglia, 36 vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte, per canto e pianoforte (1914-1927)* a cura di L. Benone Giacoletto e A. Lanza, Giancarlo Zedde Editore, Torino, 2002, VII-XVII.

⁸ Flavia Ingrosso, *Leone Sinigaglia e il suo tempo: documenti e testimonianze*, PhD dissertation, Lecce University, 2002.

⁹ Andrea Della Corte, *Le antiche canzoni piemontesi*, L. Rattero, Torino, 1960.

¹⁰ Rosy Moffa, *Lontano da Cavoretto*, Centro studi piemontesi: Istituto per i beni musicali in Piemonte, 2003.

¹¹ Roberto Leydi, *Canzoni popolari del Piemonte; La raccolta inedita di Leone Sinigaglia*, a cura di Roberto Leydi, Diakronia, Vigevano, 1998.

¹² Gianluca la Villa e Annalisa Lo Piccolo, *Leone Sinigaglia: La musica delle alte vette*, Gabrielli editori, Verona, 2012.

¹³ Christopher Howell, Leone Sinigaglia (1868-1944), at the Internet <https://mahlerfoundation.org/mahler/contemporaries/leone-sinigaglia/>.

¹⁴ Sinigaglia Leone, op. cit.

¹⁵ Edoardo Turbil, "Leone Sinigaglia: A Rediscovery of Brahms's Italian Apostle". The script representing the partial fulfilment for the Doctor of Musical Arts on Julliard School (published in June 2021).

of them, I was aware of discernible differences according to the original text in Italian and did corrections that in my opinion brought more authenticity to the ensemble of this study.

The rest of Italian texts are translated by the author the same as all the translations from French and German are. A small number of letters from the rich correspondence, written in English, are presented in their original.

The *Fondo Sinigaglia*, hosted in the library of the Conservatory Giuseppe Verdi in Turin, cited in most of previous studies, however, was the most significant treasury of documents that I have consulted on multiple occasions during my sojourn in Turin, and it represents the richest and the most valuable source of my information employed in this research. In his recent conference, Marco Fiorentino mentioned "more than 300 nominatives almost all identified, sometimes very famous, sometimes unusual: vocal and instrumental interpreters, conductors, composers, impresarios, teachers and directors of conservatories, musical establishments, radio broadcast companies of the whole world."¹⁶ Actually the *Fondo Sinigaglia* is trying to digitalize and catalogize the correspondence of musical concern and to complete the alimentation of audio and video material about Sinigaglia to the portal "Memora" of the region Piedmont. This portal, not managed by the Conservatory Giuseppe Verdi, is supposed to be of free access but not easily consultable.

Through this process, precise quantity of documents is estimated on 947 different manuscripts, 3537 letters, 115 published scores, 270 photographs and innumerable other holographs, all of them witnessing the link that Sinigaglia had with a music world of his time (concert leaflets, articles from newspapers, autograph scripts, poetry, essays). An intrinsic selection of documents was comprised on the basis that they were justifiably contributive to the purpose of my research. The list of two hundred consulted letters from the voluminous epistolary of Leone Sinigaglia is annexed further.

In this collection, a curious typed document called *Cenni biografici su Leone Sinigaglia* [Biographical Notes on Leone Sinigaglia], stands out. It is written partially in third¹⁷ and in first person around 1940 and contains no signature, making part of remained heritage after Sinigaglia's death which was handed to the musicologist Luigi Rognoni by Sinigaglia's sister

¹⁶ Marco Fiorentino, *Leone Sinigaglia e l'ambiente musicale a cavallo del '900* (...) trans. D.M., a study presented on Convegno in the Monastery of Camaldoli, July 6, 2023. Marco Fiorentino, the cousin of mentioned Giorgio Sinigaglia kindly provided a document for me several days before conclusion of this study, wanted to put an accent on materials about Sinigaglia hosted in other establishments in Italy or Europe that were not the subject of this research.

¹⁷ They are other examples of biographical writing in the third person of which the autobiographic book of the socio-musicologist, Alphons Silbermann is a significant example. Alphons Silbermann, *Verwandlungen*, Gustav Lübbe Verlag, Bergisch Gladbach, 1998.

Alina, shortly after Sinigaglia passed away. The ten pages represent a summary of years with aspects of the composers' life and work in Vienna and in Prague. For instance, one handwritten page is dedicated to a representation of his works during his last years. Titles: "The Artist", "Studies", "Patriotic Work" provide his short impressions of different situations from his artistic life.

Autobiographical notes were not an exception since the eighteenth century and there are many examples of so called "monumenting". The following quotation confirms it:

The "monumenting" which starts shaping and changing musical culture of the nineteenth century, latest after the Beethoven's death, starts to influence music biographies which now does not only forms heroism as a biographical concept but also considers a biography (often in multiple volumes) as a monument: it is as much a central medium of cultural remembrance as it is proof of musicological and historiographic claim.¹⁸

Other discovered authentic documents written by the composer himself are: "Recollections of Vienna (subdivided in "Brahms and Mandyczewski", "Viennese Music Life" and "Additions"), "Vienna", "Brahms in Italy", "Toscanini" and "Antonin Dvořák". The last document is dated January 24, 1940, Turin, and therefrom it is deduced that most of documents were compiled around the same date.¹⁹ Sinigaglia's age, being over seventy years old in 1944, and suffering the sixth year of clandestine life after the promulgation of Racial Laws, most likely induced him to leave some memoirs of his abundant artistic life and work to posterity. His rights were outlawed, his property was seized, and his collaboration with editing houses stopped, who consequently withdrew his compositions from public use.

Sinigaglia's personal attributes to be well organized, systematic, and meticulously precise in keeping his work materials in perfect order, be it check lists, calendars, documentation of performances of his own works, concert schedules and critics, register of performers, conductors, and editors of his scores, remained unchanged in spite of his governmentally imposed limits. He only had to keep his actions introverted or exchanged within a reduced and reliable circle of his contacts. His personal records noted in those documents (from the mentioned *Fondo Sinigaglia*) therefore remain regardless of the reason for their creation, to be a precious primary source for every researcher.

Along with the research, the idea was growing clearer and in the present study I intended to give an answer to the main question: "Why is a composer like Leone Sinigaglia, very famous and frequently played for many years before WW1, albeit less afterwards, who was gradually

¹⁸ Melanie Unseld, *Biographie und Musikgeschichte*, Böhlau Musikverlag, Köln, 2014, p. 20, trans. D. M.

¹⁹ All of them translated in English in Annexe.

eclipsed from the music scene due to his Jewish origins in the middle of the political situation just before and after the beginning of 2ndWW, still forgotten and not re-established in the music history, and why are his works not included in concert repertory either in Italy or internationally"?²⁰

Sinigaglia's way of composing music did not produce any mannerisms. His music unfortunately also did not mature into true individualistic creations. Some great musicians, solicited to give their opinions about work of the composer, did not meet his expectations like the critic of Variations on Brahms' theme, expressed in the letter written by Joseph Joachim²¹ or remarks by Ferruccio Busoni about his Study for piano²². His compositions instead remained within the borders of a strong influence from Brahms. His dense and rich orchestration offers no unmistakably recognisable phonic material. The sound of his ensemble writing, or orchestration is of impeccable structure, but rarely reveals a singularity to be distinguished among other romantic personal styles. Only by introducing native popular tunes to orchestral music, for the first time, to my knowledge, in the music history of Piedmont, he made the instrumental sound optimistic, energetic, and therefore popular. By outlining the mountainous profile of his province in his music, he instantly proves his attachment to his native soil.

Hence, the title of this study "Echoing Dolomites" was chosen as a working title but kept until publishing of this study because it is recalling climbing adventures of Sinigaglia that brought to our composer the reputation of the first great Italian climber in the Dolomites.²³ It is an attempt to symbolically combine the musical story of Sinigaglia with his alpinist reputation. His aspiration to achieve in his work the highest musical standards of European music tendencies of the end of 19th and the beginning of 20th, echoes with his achievement of climbing one of the most spectacular mountain ranges and bringing his contribution to the progress of the history of alpinism.

Sinigaglia's team-climbing experiences must have garnered some strong commitment for his composing work. His ambitions were infused with a positive rigidity and endurance in his determinations to arrive to the top, like the one to study composition with no one else but

²⁰ While preparing this study surprisingly Berlin Philharmonic performed Sinigaglia's *Romance for Violin and Orchestra* Op. 29 and *Rapsodia Piemontese* Op. 36 on June 11th, 2022, with Noah Bendix-Balgley as a soloist and Kirill Petrenko conducting, and the critics hailed it as one of the best programming of that season. Only few months before it, members of the Deutsche Symphonie-Orchester performed the *Romance for Horn and String Quartett* Op. 6 on April 21st, 2022.

²¹ The integral text of the letter in original German and in English translation (by D. M.) is in Annexe No. 16.

²² The copy of the original, letter with translation in English (by D. M.) in the Annexe No. 24.

²³ Edmund J. Garwood, the author of the preface for the Sinigaglia's book, *Climbing Reminiscences of the Dolomites*, T. Fischer Unwin, London 1896, gives credit to Sinigaglia who was the first to describe his personal ascents in surroundings of Cortina in English, those to Croda da Lago e Monte Cristallo by new routes.

Brahms, his musical idol. Having no success in his intention because Brahms would not teach,²⁴ and completing his subsequent studies with Eusebius Mandiczewsky instead (upon Brahms' recommendation to Sinigaglia), he pursued with his ambition to study with another amongst his idols, Dvořák, who was most appreciated by Brahms. In this latter goal, he prospered.

Sinigaglia early on expressed his need to share his experiences with others. Further, his love for the beauty of the mountainous nature and people living there, offered him the possibility to develop his prolific ethnomusicological activity of collecting folk songs of his *patria* and complete the richest selection of the singing folk traditions (497 songs precisely) of Piedmont up to date (Costantino Nigra's /1828–1907/ preceding collecting work in the same region that Sinigaglia's mission was based on, did not include written music but only texts which is imminent for the philologist that Nigra was). Through collecting popular local songs, he got unconditionally involved with linguistic patterns of Piedmont, the dialect which he was so passionate about²⁵.

Although the gathering of popular songs took place in surroundings of his parents' holiday house in Cavoretto on outskirts of Turin, his climbing successes took him further to peaks of Dolomites where he made his name as a climber. The Alps and Dolomites were from the mid-19th century mastered by foreign climbers, mostly of English and Austrian origin, without attracting great interest from the local population²⁶.

Sinigaglia's passion for climbing was thus exceptional among Italians at the end of 19th century. Edmund J. Garwood writes about him in the introduction to his book translated in English and edited in 1896 (mentioned in footnote No.5):

Notwithstanding his comparative youth, Signor Sinigaglia has had considerable experience in Alpine work, having previously ascended many important Swiss peaks; amongst them may be mentioned his memorable ascent on the Italian side of Matterhorn in 1890. It was during his attempt on this historic peak on August 23rd, that this fascinating mountain claimed one of the latest of its victims, in the person of his guide,

²⁴ Brahms' only student, Gustav Jenner is mentioned in the music history predominantly for that unique privilege.

²⁵ Alberto Cavaglioni in his book *Gli Ebrei in Piemonte [Jews in Piedmont]*, Impressioni grafiche, Aquir Terme, (AL), 2016, p. 74, finds a common denominator for preferences of Jews in Piedmont: "The passion for science, for a dialect and for a mountain are three valuable research tracks..." (about Jewish-Piedmont history of common ideas), Trans. D. M. Sinigaglia, exchanging the science for music was a typical example of that profile.

²⁶ Climbing Wetterhorn in September 1854 by the pioneer Sir Alfred Wills (1828-1912) was considered as the beginning of sport alpinism although the alpinist historian W. A. Brevoort Coolidge (1850-1926), mentions 132 peaks climbed before this date but those were occasional climbing attempts. For more from the story about Sir A. Wills: Peter Berg, "The Eagle's Nest", www.alpinejournal.org.uk/Contents/Contents_1995_files/AJ%201995%20205214%20Berg%20Wills.pdf.

Jean Antoine Carrel, who lost his life from fatigue and exposure on the mountain indelibly associated with his name, of which he had a more intimate knowledge than any living man, having made the first ascent from Italian side immediately after Whymper's famous ascent from Zermatt which terminated fatally for the majority of the party.²⁷

The incident in which J. A. Carrel lost his life during their attempt to ascent to Matterhorn moved Sinigaglia to write the book, *Climbing Reminiscences in the Dolomites*, and it seems to have determined the end of his climbing career.

Our ascending composer offered with his multiple activities to his young country a promotional favour, both through the thoroughness of his alpinist descriptions and through his ethnomusicological conservation of the local heritage. This was fundamental for the moment when they became public, putting in the centre of attention a new Italy, aiming to find its valorisation among other European countries.

This study is presented in separate divisions, treating different aspects of the richness and multifaceted activity in the life of Leone Sinigaglia.

In the first chapter I give an overview of the socio-cultural and musical local conditions in Turin during the post-unification period in the second part of the 19th century. These are the conditions Sinigaglia grew up in, developing his cultural preferences and musical taste.

The ancestral origin of the composer is a very delicate topic when situated within a musicological context, and one should not put it in the immediate focus of the research of his musical heritage, like some of my predecessors did when discussing Sinigaglia. This layer of his persona is even less relevant, as in the case of Sinigaglia's Jewishness, which is repeatedly declared and insisted on, when considering that it was never mentioned by himself in his correspondence. A small (second) chapter is therefore devoted to address this problematic approach to some of the preceding musicological research.

Biographical details from his childhood and youth follow in the third chapter and they are based on the epistolary facts as is the case in most of this study. This chapter, giving overview of familiar and scholastic conditions that he grew up with, includes subchapters about his studies abroad both in Vienna and in Prague, consecutive to one another. Sinigaglia only returned to his hometown of Turin after completing both periods of study. The final subchapter informs about his relationship with Toscanini and the last decades of his life.

The consequent, fourth chapter is an overview of his ethnomusicological activity of collecting popular songs of Piedmont.

²⁷ Leone Sinigaglia, op. cit.

The fifth chapter presents the choice of Sinigaglia's symphonic works issued from the thematic material of popular songs with analysis of *Danze Piemontesi* and *Suite Piemonte*.

The sixth chapter is a presentation and short analysis of two of his orchestral works without the schematic being based on popular tunes.

Following is a comprehensive list of the composer's works in the seventh chapter, the list of consulted letters from the archive in the eight, and a list of the recordings of his works up to date in the ninth chapter.

Ending the study follows the conclusion in the tenth chapter by presenting a consideration of all elements previously discussed with possible responses in reference to the original debate.

Finally, in the subchapter to the tenth chapter an overview of possible directions for future research is consultable. An ample Annexe containing photos of original letters with transcriptions of certain letters in original language and the English translation for each of them is offered.

Consequently, the translation of Sinigaglia's autobiographical scripts provides the opportunity to compare the content of the study with biographical details as narrated by the protagonist himself. For the subchapter about Dvořák, the copy of the original in Italian is included.

The bibliography of the consulted literature and the short biography of the author are completing last pages of this study.

Contribution of Study and Methodology

The essential contribution of the research for this study was historical-musicological with an extension to extant ethnomusicological research of the time. This field existed in its primary stages in northern Italy during the beginning of the twentieth century before more contemporary acceptable musicological research by Bartók and Kodály for example, were grounded, the latter sustained with a phonograph.

The possible suspect responsible for the absence of Sinigaglia's name and work in the publications of history of music until the latter years of the previous century unfolded when consulting a collection of contributing articles, describing international ethnomusicological research until the middle of the twentieth century with a worldwide geographical overview. which was put together by Helen Myers in *Ethnomusicology: Historical and Regional*

*Studies*²⁸. When it comes to Italy (III/7) in Part Two, the section granted to the competence of the well-known Italian musicologist Roberto Leydi, he ignores the existence of Sinigaglia's *Canzoni popolari del Piemonte*, collected from the very beginning of twentieth century:

Interest in the musical aspects of Italian folk tradition started late and developed only after 2ndWW. Folklorists of the 19th and the early 20th century had, with few exceptions, been interested only in song texts, following the trend of folklore studies and strong Italian literary and humanistic traditions.²⁹

He further gives credit to Costantino Nigra and his collection [texts] of *Canti popolari del Piemonte* (1888) on which Sinigaglia's research was based with the remark that this collection was limited to only ten tunes. About Sinigaglia's 497 popular songs collected, harmonised, and edited in six volumes until 1927, we find no mention. Unless the expression "with few exceptions" in the last quotation is a reference to Sinigaglia's work, Leydi seemed to either not know of, or deliberately leave out any mention of his extensive collection. How could an important ethnomusicologist, of none other than Piedmont origin fail to acknowledge an important contributor to the preservation of the popular song of their shared region of birth?

The answer must be that Sinigaglia's work, and publications were not rediscovered at least until 1993, the year from which the mentioned collection of articles originates. Now, fifty years later, Sinigaglia and his works are still forgotten. Sporadic occasions to remember his name by the institute which is named after him in Chivasso³⁰ or occasional concerts to mark a round anniversary either of his birth or his death had no accompanying publicity to revive the once famous composer.

The initiative to change the name of the Turin Conservatory from Giuseppe Verdi (1813-1901) to Leone Sinigaglia³¹ because Verdi's place [and country!] of birth³² and central activities were neither concentrated in Turin nor in Piedmont, yielded no result. Verdi's activity took place essentially in Milan and his presence in Turin was rather circumstantial. The inappropriate consideration of the role Sinigaglia has in the Italian music brought to him a deprivation from the honour of having his name institutionally preserved. The year 1936, when the conservatory of Turin was baptised with the name of the great operatic composer Verdi, Sinigaglia had to live already a low-profile life as a Jew to whom later the Racial Laws from 1938 were applied.

²⁹ Helen Myers, *Ethnomusicology: Historical and Regional Studies*, The Macmillan Press Ltd., London, Hampshire RG21 2XS, 1993, pp. 125-126.

³⁰ I personally was invited to assist to the *Convegno* devoted to Sinigaglia from April 11-16, 2018, in the *Istituto musicale comunale* in Chivasso.

³¹ Information from the interview with Mr. Giorgio Sinigaglia, realized by the author on May 10, 2019.

³² It is not largely known that the pillar of Italian lyrical music, even worldwide, Giuseppe Verdi was born (1813) in the village Le Roncole near Busseto in the Duchy of Parma, renamed department Taro as under the authority of First French Empire. He was registered as: Joseph Fortunin François Verdi.

To invert this injustice to the Italian composer, which was never rectified, this study was necessary.

For determining the methodology of my research, I had opted for the work of Midhat Šamić (1907-1990), a most important Yugoslav methodologist of the 20th century. He was a teacher in Sorbonne, and I consulted his book *How a scientific work arises* with the subtitle *General introduction to the methodology and technic of the science-researching work*.³³ His and other consulted studies³⁴ instruct that historical research's frame, being the base of methodology of this study, is correct if based on primary sources and my access to the *Fondo Sinigaglia*³⁵, opened to me a treasury of personal scripts of the composer and thus represent the right source of primary information.

A linguistic problematic in research was present itself in the epistolary of the composer, who perfectly mastered four languages. This proved to be an obstacle, difficult to surmount for all previous research of Sinigaglia's work and life. In order to understand some particularities of Sinigaglia's contacts, even the knowledge of Russian language needed to be employed and I was fortunate to also have this lingual frequency to assist in this area.³⁶

The short philosophical discussion in the second chapter of this study concerning Sinigaglia's attitude towards his Jewish origin, and the unimportance of composer's ethnic heritage in musicological research in his case, where the stylistic outcome of his works is not even in the least influenced by his Jewish heritage, is concluded from ensemble of previous research in Italy³⁷. The chapter explores the aforementioned concepts with the intention of challenging long-held beliefs, but a disadvantage of a philosophical research includes the fact that theoretical conclusions are not final, but rather open to various interpretations and future developments.

My choice of letters among the Sinigaglia's rich correspondence, hosted in the *Fondo Sinigaglia*, was based on a critical historical prospective pertinent for musical activity of the composer. With few exceptions, personal writings which are unrelated to his musical activities were not considered in present research.

³³ Midhat Samić, *Kako nastaje naučno djelo* [How a scientific work arises], IP Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 2003.

³⁴ Соња Маринковић, *Методологија научноистраживачког рада у музикологији* [*Methodology of scientific research in musicology*], Матица српска и ФМУ, Нови Сад и Београд, 2007.

³⁵ My access to *Fondo Sinigaglia* was not always easy (mentioned in my acknowledgements to M. Sorce Keller), even restricted in certain moment due to the suspicious attitude of previous Conservatory director.

³⁶ An example of research of biographic details about Wouten Hutschenruijter confronts texts offered only in Dutch and Russian option in the available data center and it is Russian that was consulted.

³⁷ Consult footnotes Nos. 7, 8, 12, 75.

One of such exceptions from Sinigaglia's ample correspondence that I sifted entirely also contains a letter from his old friend who, writing from his camp in Leh Ladakh, the capital of Kashmir in 1914 anticipates Sinigaglia's future biographs:

My dearest, finally I've got a real letter from you- I think that within one century, your autographs will have a record price, because they will be really rare. And if in Italy would exist the mania of "*Vies et correspondance*" which is ruling in France and England, your biographer would have quite something to do to put together a volume.³⁸

And how true it is, going through the epistolary of a talented, successful single man with keen communication interest, either to stimulate needs of his profession or simply to maintain the contact with kind, admiring, even only curious [frequently feminine] individuals.

My interviews with the only remaining relative of the composer represent, together with the literature by previous researchers, a secondary source as he was born decades after Sinigaglia's death. Information provided to me by Mr. Giorgio Sinigaglia, directed me towards sources like the Sao Paolo Bank Archive where documents (118 pages) concerning deprivation of Sinigaglia's proper ties are kept. These documents, even though after they were consulted and judged to be of little musical relevance, do reveal life circumstances that were of a significant influence, and should therefore be considered relevant in the larger musicological context.

The current study focuses its methodology on descriptive research aspects. By verifying, analysing, and synthesizing documentary materials relating to Sinigaglia, the research contribution of this study also focused on discovering the extent to which Sinigaglia was engaged in the musical life of his country, and how the admiration of the world audience that he touched was based on very few of his works, all issued from stylistic features of popular tunes.

The review of literature informed the formulation of this study's contribution and the necessity of relevant information about the forgotten composer who once was among the most interpreted and listened ones.

³⁸ From the letter from April 25, 1914 by Filippo de Filippi (1869-1938) while on his famous expedition in Central Asia, exploring Baltistan, Ladakh and Xinjiang. One can count more than 50 letters that Sinigaglia received from Filippo de Filippi and possibly answered them which confirms their friendship that started in early school years. (Mio carissimo, finalmente ho una lettera tua- Penso che fra un secolo i tuoi autografi avranno un prezzo record perché saranno rari davvero. E se in Italia vi fosse la mania delle "*Vies et correspondance*" che impera in Francia ed in Inghilterra, il tuo biografo avrebbe un bel da fare a mettere insieme un volume.)

1. MUSICAL TURIN JUST AFTER RISORGIMENTO IN ITALY

In 1868, Sinigaglia's birth-year, Turin was still recovering from the economic shock of losing its importance as the capital city of the new-born Kingdom of Italy. Following the 1865 September Convention, Florence was designated as the capital.³⁹

Consequent to Turin's demotion, the local economy went through difficult times, eventually arriving to the entire breakdown of its banking system. Simultaneously, an agronomy crisis and "customs war" with France⁴⁰, was bringing silk fabrication, along with other valuable productivities, to its lowest point of cultivation. The population's savings were being lavished and bankruptcies were multiplying, all while non-employment was rising. A period of an important internal migration flux from the south of Italy to the north of the country, or further abroad even to other continents, has begun. One of the external migration waves, touching Piedmont in particular, happened from the summer of 1886 onwards. Downy mildew that started in Val Pellice, spread and destroyed various vineyard zones in Piedmont. The resulting crisis in this agricultural branch pushed winegrowers to immigrate to the Americas.

After the disastrous failure of *Esposizione Italiana* in Milan in 1871, Turin was rapidly developing economically by industrial means. It prepared an *Esposizione* for 1884, when the generous space was offered to projects of the Turin orchestra, as well as to orchestra societies of other Italian towns.

By Sinigaglia's adulthood, 1884, Turin for its *Esposizione*,⁴¹ organised by the "Promotional Society of National Industry", put together orchestras from Rome, Milan, Napoli, Bologna and Parma in honour of musical celebrations for the event.

*Concerti popolari*⁴² proposed twenty-one concerts to take place in the Park of Valentino in Turin, conducted by Franco Faccio (1840-1891). In 1898, for another *Esposizione generale*

³⁹ The September Convention was a treaty, signed on 15 September 1864, between the Kingdom of Italy and the French Empire, under which: French Emperor Napoleon III would withdraw all French troops from Rome within two years; King Victor Emmanuel II of Italy guaranteed the frontiers of the Papal States, which at the time consisted of Rome and Latium. The Kingdom of Italy had to change the capital by avoiding it be Rome as Turin was too peripheral to the new composed kingdom. Between Florence and Napoli, Florence was chosen.

⁴⁰ In March 1888, "commercial war" between France and Italy began after Italian government decided and put in practise in January 1888 a new export tariff for grain, sugar but also various industrial products like textile products, iron and steel industry and chemical products. That was the answer to French measures from 1882 when import of Italian meat and livestock to France was highly taxed. During *Guerra Commerciale* producers of wine, oil and citrus fruits from the south Italy had to undergo the most important damage and the economical division of the north and disadvantaged south started its history [and lasts until today] after the commercial exchange between Italy and France reduced to only third of the previous.

⁴¹ ...with a proud result that around 3 million visitors from abroad Italy visited 14.237 exponents, following fiasco of the previous *Esposizione* in 1871.

italiana, held 50 years after the declaration of Statuto Albertino⁴³, a cycle of symphonic concerts conducted by Toscanini, who had just started his career in Turin, were scheduled. These events make it evident how determined the city authorities were to create a musical identity in a city whose sovereign leadership in industrial Italy was recovered.



Fig. 1. Poster for the Esposizione generale Italiana 1898

Piedmont has at this time never been acknowledged as a province that represents musical significance. Neither has it been seen as an important contributor of Italian music through history. Indeed, in regard to the number of famous composers of Piedmont origin, this evaluation of the musical status of the region might have been statistically correct. However, a number of musicians like Gaetano Pugnani (1731-1798), Giovanni Battista Viotti (1755-1824),

⁴² In the further text, *Concerti popolari* will be amply discussed. Detailed description of its activity in: Giuseppe Depanis, *I concerti popolari ed il Teatro Regio di Torino, II., 1879-1886*, S.T.E.N., Torino, 1914.

⁴³ The *Statuto Albertino* (Albertine Statute) was the constitution granted by King Charles Albert of Sardinia to the Kingdom of Sardinia on March 4th 1848 and written in Italian and in French. The Statute became later the constitution of unified Kingdom of Italy and remained in force, with some changes, until 1948. Statute declared all citizens equal before the law, with equal civil and political rights, regardless ranks and titles.

Giovanni Battista Polledro (1781-1853)⁴⁴ has been part of the musical history of Turin already since the 18th century, thanks to music amateurs and wealthy benefactors of that city.⁴⁵

Thus, during the last decades of the nineteenth century, the time of Sinigaglia's young years and early education, Turin experienced a significant cultural advancement which was brought about as a reaction against the gradual sociopolitical marginalisation of the subalpine city. A group of enterprising, educated people started to be nationally and internationally reestablished as precursors of new intellectual progress. In music, the key protagonists of the movement of the 19th century renaissance of the city of Turin were Carlo Pedrotti (1817-1893), Giovanni Depanis (1823-1889), and the legendary Arturo Toscanini (1867-1957). Most of their efforts were towards culturally civilising Piedmont audiences and finding opportunities to widen their horizons through habitual contact with German instrumental and symphonic repertory.

Liceo Musicale was founded in 1866 and were to be the source of Sinigaglia's and his contemporaries first musical acquaintances. The establishment grew to what is today known as the Conservatory Giuseppe Verdi in Turin. The present Conservatory Concert Hall (*Sala del Liceo*) hosted numerous orchestral concerts of ever finer quality throughout the years. If the *Teatro Regio* was Turin's lyric pride, the *Sala del Liceo* came to be the city's centre for instrumental music. These two names are intrinsically linked with that of Carlo Pedrotti, who occupied directing roles of both *Liceo Musicale* and *Teatro Regio*.

In 1872, the first ever musical institution of its kind in Italy, with regular symphonic concerts under the name *Concerti popolari* was installed in Turin thanks to Giovanni Depanis, with his bright managing spirit, gave an enormous impulse to the development of the musical life in the sub-Alpine metropole, consecutively passing this duty to his son Giuseppe Depanis (1853-1942). *Concerti popolari* which lasted until 1886, induced an orchestral ensemble who was under direction of Carlo Pedrotti for its first ten years.

The programming of these concerts varied, but what is peculiar to observe in a pioneer musical project like *Concerti popolari*, is that apparently works by Wagner (Preludio from *Lohergrin* and Overture for *Tanhäuser*), which were considered very modern at the time, were more frequently programmed than, for instance, Beethoven symphonies. Even more interestingly,

⁴⁴ For further reading about 18th century musicians in Turin: Adelmo Damerini e Gino Roncaglia, *Musicisti piemontesi e liguri*, XVI settimana musicale, Accademia musicale Chigiana, Siena, 1959.

⁴⁵ "It is not without interest to remember that the third of Schumann's daughters, Julie, about whom Brahms was enchanted, went to marry a Turin aristocrat: Vittorio Radicati di Marmorito", Alfredo Casella, *I segreti della giara*, Il Saggiatore s.r.l., Milano, 2016, version Kindle, loc. 692, trans. D.M. Count V. Radicati di Marmorio was an active member and sponsor of *Concerti popolari*.

these concerts were received with both kinds, albeit sometimes critical, and quite exuberant reactions from the audience.⁴⁶

Furthermore, in the metropole *oltr'Alpe*⁴⁷ such as Paris, where in 1878 Turin represented Italy on the occasion of the Exposition Universelle, Wagner was rather unknown even twenty years later.⁴⁸

The well-known musicologist, Andrea Lanza, formulates the following observation of the circumstances at the *fin de siècle* in Turin:

In that period, after the court of Savoia had left due to the transfer of the capital, the changed circumstances induced Turin to find a new identity in modernisation. The dynamism of Turin musical life in those years is notable: from Depanis' and Pedrotti's *Società dei Concerti* to the early enterprises in support of modern music, from the musical activity of women's associations to the foundation of the first National Orchestra. Less known is the sudden re-awakening of musical creativity, involving an unusual concentration of young composers in the town: Alfredo Casella [1883-1947], Luigi Perracchio [1883-1966], Giorgio Federico Ghedini [1892-1965], Ettore Desderi [1892-1974], Marco Gandini [?] Lodovico Rocca [1895-1986], Giulio Cesare Gedda [1899-1970] and others. In many cases it was an ephemeral season designed to produce more lasting benefits elsewhere. But beside the impulses towards modernity and competition, other attitudes emerged - of a contrary nature but nonetheless significant: the nostalgia of old times, the search for a more private identity, the longing for a *genius loci*, which in [...the secluded person of..., authors correction of an incomplete translation in English of an Italian text] Leone Sinigaglia gave rise to a passionate rediscovery of the submersed patrimony of folk song.⁴⁹

They represented the symphonic series, which functioned as an alternative to the *Teatro Regio* operatic productions by programming concerts at those times of the year when the latter was on recess. Hosted in the *Teatro Vittorio Emanuele*⁵⁰, the *Teatro Regio*'s orchestra under Pedrotti's direction as a resident conductor of the season, performed Italian premieres of orchestral compositions by Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847), Mikhail Glinka (1804-1857), Robert Schumann (1810-1856), Franz Liszt (1811-1886), Richard Wagner, George Bizet (1838-1875), Jules Massenet (1842-1912) and Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827).⁵¹ Giuseppe Depanis, in

⁴⁶ Sometimes with shouts: *Fuori i barbari!* [Out with barbarians!].

⁴⁷ Very local expression from Piedmont having Alps mountains as a frontier to Switzerland, Slovenia, Austria and France, *oltr'Alpe*, translated here "beyond Alps", means-abroad.

⁴⁸ A. Casella, who studied in Paris writes that Wagner was rather unknown there twenty years later. *Ibid.*, pos. 1465: *...la conoscenza dell'opera wagneriana era relativamente arretrata in Francia verso il 1900*. [...knowledge of Wagner's opus was relatively backwarded in France around 1900].

⁴⁹ Andrea Lanza, Preface to the Collection, *Leone Sinigaglia: 36 Vecchie Canzoni Popolari del Piemonte*, Giancarlo Zedde Editore, 2002, English Introduction, VI, trans. D. M.

⁵⁰ Now rebaptised "Arturo Toscanini", Auditorium RAI, via Gioacchino Rossini 15.

⁵¹ All Beethoven's symphonies except the *Nineth* were on programme.

his memoirs, gives an overview of the *Concerti popolari*'s impact on the state of musical affairs in the subalpine metropole:

In a short time, symphonic music had made gigantic steps in Italy. Until a few years ago, we had neither repertoire, nor performance forces, nor audiences. We had no repertoire because we lacked performance forces, we had no performance forces because there were no audiences, and finally we had no audiences because we lacked performance forces, repertoire, and concerts. Vicious circle from which it was difficult to escape, in a country where every musical activity revolves around the operatic theatre and where through the theatre, and only for the theatre, the privileged ones acquire fame and wealth, while the mediocre ones hardly earn enough to make ends meet. Yet, what appeared to be the utopia of a few lonely dreamers has actually happened. With honourable exceptions, we still do not have an extensive repertoire of real symphonic music, but something has been done on this matter, and more will be done over time...Where and by whom was the miracle worked?... A boost came from Turin. Turin, to which the other superb Italian cities of noble tradition denied any musical competence- proponents Carlo Pedrotti and the *Concerti Popolari*'s Committee- lit the spark that, stoked with assiduous care through fortunate events, flourished, expanded, and flared up in the blaze which we warm up...For many years Turin was at the helm of the symphonic movement in Italy. Turin saw the creation of Concerti Popolari. Turin, a unique example in Italy, summoned in 1884 the major Italian orchestras for a magnificent fair that revealed Giuseppe Martucci (1856-1909) and in 1889, in an unforgettable series of concerts, it brought fame to the name of another great conductor, Arturo Toscanini, who in Turin had taken his first steps in 1887.⁵²

As mentioned by Depanis in the paragraph above, the *Esposizione generale italiana* of 1884 and 1898 were, indeed, two momentous events that shined a national and international spotlight on the former capital of Italy with a special impact to its musical aspect.

Toscanini played determinate role in the flourishing of musical life in Turin. On the very beginning he was the cellist who Sinigaglia remembered in his autobiographical scripts⁵³ while rehearsing his first chamber composition with a quartet. Short time later, Maestro Toscanini conducted the orchestra version of those smaller pieces in Turin, *Hora Mystica* and the *Scherzo Op.8*. The *Scherzo* was an award winner at the Competition of the Symphonic Concerts Society in Milan in 1895.⁵⁴Ernesto Ferrettini, a music critics hailed Toscanini: "Toscanini is the one

⁵² Giuseppe Depanis, *I Concerti popolari ed il Teatro Regio di Torino*, Vol. 1, pp.7-8 and 10, translation by E. Turbil corrected by D. M. In Italy, Toscanini debuted as orchestra conductor directing the première of Catalani's *Edmea* at the Carignano Theater in Turin on November 4, 1886. The conductor's rendition of the opera made such a tremendous sensation that it triumphally inaugurated what would become the international career of a music legend.

⁵³ Autobiographical scripts, chapter *Toscanini, Fondo Sinigaglia*.

⁵⁴ In the letter to his sister. "Since we are dealing with music, I cannot wait to give you the news that will not fail to please you. One hundred and two compositions entered the *Teatro alla Scala* Competition, but only five were admitted. Among these, as Professor Orsi disclosed to me in a lovely letter, there is my *Scherzo* for strings. It is an absolutely unexpected fortune - and desired for a long time - to have a piece of mine performed at *La Scala*, and

who turned out to be a performer with pulse. Sureness, communication, cold blood, diligence, eidetic memory, this young maestro has everything which can enable him to last long" (trans. D. M.).

Despite his great first success in *Teatro Carignano*, Toscanini continued as an apprentice, combining his conducting with his orchestral and chamber activity as a cellist. He was there for the *Concerti popolari*, conducted by Giovanni Bolzoni before he received some months later his first engagement as a conductor of *La Scala* in Milan. After this engagement, his affairs were in Casale Monferrato, Novara. He returned to Turin in spring of 1889. Until 1891 he did productions of *Carmen*, reprise of *Edmea*, *Luisa Miller*, *Cavalleria Rusticana* and the whole season full of French repertory including *Mignon* by Ambroise Thomas (1811-1896), *Faust* by Charles Gounod (1818-1893) and *Carmen* again. Together with his activity in the lyrical genre, Toscanini was solicited to conduct some concerts, including April 10th, 1889, in *Teatro Vittorio Emanuele* Theatre and June 14th in *Teatro Carignano*, as a pianist, and as a cellist, with a quartet on April 28th in the *Liceo Musicale* as well as on May 26th in the Artists Circle. He was finally inseparable from the musical agenda of Turin city for the year 1890 through musical soirées in Savigliano, organized by Massimiliano Villa. Those chamber music events in Villa's private auditorium constructed in 1883, welcomed musicians of the fame like Enrico Polo (1868-1953), Teresina Tua (1866-1956) and Hungarian violinist Tivadar Nachéz (1859-1930) who expressed great enthusiasm about this concert project.⁵⁵

In 1895 Toscanini was formally appointed as a conductor in Turin with a following contract: "*maestro concertatore e direttore in prima per le opere ed altre esecuzioni (esclusi i balli) con lo stipendio annuo di L. 5000 a decorrere dal 10 dicembre 1895*".⁵⁶ The Turin public was then to discover more of Wagner's master pieces as well as the works of contemporary lyric composers, including Alfredo Catalani.⁵⁷ A long-lasting collaboration and eventual friendship between Sinigaglia and Toscanini resulted in many years of fruitful exchange in the musical carrefours of the world.⁵⁸

having obtained it in this way is particularly and greatly precious to me.", dated Vienna, April 15, 1895: *Fondo Sinigaglia*, trans. D. M.

⁵⁵ Gianluca La Villa e Annalisa Lo Piccolo, op. cit., p. 26.

⁵⁶ Rosy Moffa, "Dall'orchestra di Corte all'orchestra municipale: un percorso lineare", in *Il Teatro Regio di Torino 1740-1990. L'arcano incanto*, a cura di Alberto Basso, Electa, Milano, 1991, pp. 561-581. The Toscanini's yearly salary would correspond today to approximately € 17.000.

⁵⁷ Catalani would continue his friendship with Toscanini all life long and the first-born daughter of Toscanini was named Wally after the heroine of Catalani's last opera *La Wally* written to the outstanding libretto by Luigi Illica.

⁵⁸ If the relation between Sinigaglia and Toscanini could be called "a friendship", consulting here cited part from Toscanini's letter to G. Depanis can give an idea about his slightly hypocritical attitude towards Sinigaglia when writing about his latest composition and Sinigaglia as a person. If we remember the biographical difference between characteristics of the familiar nest of the family Sinigaglia and family Toscanini, the elegance of the

Esposizione generale Italiana of 1884 and 1898 were, indisputably two momentous events that attracted national and international limelight in Turin. Turin Civic Orchestra played forty-three symphonic concerts for 1898 *Esposizione*, put together in cooperation with the *Società dei Concerti*⁵⁹ and led by Arturo Toscanini, musical director also for that circumstance. Symphonies and overtures, preludes and intermezzi drawn from operatic repertoire with Verdi as the only Italian composer, were on the programme. This programming choice was due to another Toscanini's deliberate intention to expand and refine the appreciation for symphonic repertoire in his audiences. He exposed Italian listeners to masterworks of composers *oltr'Alpe*. The Maestro's crucial contribution to ameliorating the state of music in Piedmont and Italy, however, also included the genre of Italian opera.

A personality much criticized at that time, Luigi Piontelli-Rho, was in the position to act as the theatre impresario, but the Musical Institute of Turin [supporting Toscanini] had the power to circumvent his authority and make decisions about a musical activity of the theatre. The theatrical scene in Turin was punctured with invasive malpractice. Soloists were negligent of their roles and approximated the gestation of musical text, while conductors got away with abusive habits.

This was tolerated by the poor education of the audience. E. van der Straeten writes on this topic:

The oppression of the people by despotic princes and a degenerate priesthood, who no longer supported the great and sublime in art, but merely looked to it for sensuous enjoyment, had changed the mentality of the whole people.⁶⁰

written word of one and prosaicness of the other could appear immanent: "As much as we can consider the Suite 'Piemonte' new, it is always one of those rhapsodies turning around Piedmont folk songs and if this time it is not about 'Spunta il sol' (The Sun is Rising) or 'Ciao, Ciao, Ciao', we will find 'Violetta' and other similar songs. The Suite is dedicated to me...oh!... Sinigaglia is a Jew in case you did not know and since several years he is hovering around me, soliciting me, boring me etc. etc." a letter included in Andrea della Corte, *Arturo Toscanini*, Studio Tesi, Roma, 1989, ristampa dell'edizione del 1958, pp. 112-113, trans. D. M.

⁵⁹ The Turin *Società dei concerti* (Concerts Society) was, as a matter of fact, the extension of the *Concerti popolari* series as the latter had to be disbanded in 1886. The reasons were numerous, but crucial one was Pedrotti's departure from Turin to Pesaro's *Liceo musicale*. Disconnected, Depanis stepped in once again, launching series of initiatives that resulted in two significant cultural advancements for the subalpine city. One was the establishment, in 1884, of the first permanent Italian Civic Orchestra, whose members were selected through a rigorous public competition. Depanis unhesitatingly nominated Toscanini as its resident conductor, consolidating a partnership between the two that eventually led to a significant refinement of the city's musical standards. As mentioned before, the second was the foundation of the *Società dei concerti* in 1896, an institution whose objective was to cultivate and disseminate the symphonic and chamber-music-repertoire. Its designated venue was the "Vittorio Emanuele" Theatre - chosen to represent the continuity with *Concerti popolari* series - and its rudder was entrusted to Giuseppe Martucci first, and then yet again to Toscanini. The latter concluded his ongoing collaboration with the subalpine city's music organizations when, in 1898, he obtained the post as principal conductor of *La Scala*. The Turin *Società dei concerti* lasted until 1935.

⁶⁰E. van der Straeten, *The History of Violin, its ancestors and Collateral Instruments from the Earliest Times To the present Day*, Vol. II, Cassel & Co. 1933, republished by Travis & Emery 2009, p. 341.

Toscanini's intention towards the audience was to change uneducated attitude that van der Straeten describes in the passage above. Instead of attending performances for pure "sensuous" leisure, the viewers should be informed and receive intellectual stimulation through the experience.

The audience was in fact expected to respect the theatre as an entity with moral and aesthetic function integrated in the life and culture of one society. Its requirements were multiple: lights for the orchestra placed in the orchestra pit, low lights in the hall, renouncement on air encores, prohibition of entries in the hall to belated auditors and searching for a unity of purpose between soloists, orchestra, choir, staging, scenography, and costumes. An important fact to remember is that in that epoch of larger productions, stage managers did not exist yet.

Toscanini's initiative to put lights down during the opera performance to foster concentration needed for played and sang music during the premiere of *Tristan and Isolde* by Wagner in Turin (February 14th, 1897) provoked such contestation of the audience that the direction of the theatre had to reestablish full lights already by the second entry of *Tristan*⁶¹.

Another educational innovation introduced by Toscanini for the Turin opera audience was the renouncement of frequent encores of certain arias. This has been a previously accepted custom but was banned on the occasion of the first "*Götterdämmerung*" performance in Turin on December 22nd, 1895, which he conducted⁶². He maintained that the useless repeating of certain numbers would be harmful for the flow of the musical work, resulting in disturbance to both, the musicians, and the listeners. With this correction, he also eliminated the tradition of *claqueurs*, groups of mostly students who would noisily ask for an encore for a tiny fee paid by narcissistic singers who needed admiration from the audience.

This social and musical surrounding was contemporary to Sinigaglia's development, and it was unquestionable that Toscanini's extensive tenures in Turin's musical establishments proved pivotal in elevating the cultural stature of the Piedmont capital to the general higher level in Europe.

While Leone Sinigaglia was quickly developing his first musical knowledge, the loss of his father surprised him in 1893. This event in the life of the young aspiring composer made a huge emotional impact. Sinigaglia, 27 years old, was rushed to meet several important decisions.

⁶¹ Depanis tried it already some twenty years earlier in 1876 for the production of Arrigo Boito's *Mefistofele* but without success.

⁶² For more informations about Toscanini's initial years: Piero Melograni *Toscanini: la vita, le passioni, la musica*, Arnoldo Mondadori, Milano 2007.

He had always displayed strong ambition for his studies, and his trips to Milan to his maternal family members brought him to meet Antonio Bazzini, (1818-1897) who was appointed composition and music theory teacher in Milan in 1873, later director.⁶³ Bazzini, who was an experienced traveller and very informed of the musical conditions in most of Europe, did not view Paris as the preferable musical centre in the last decades of the 19th century, even though he spent twelve years alone in that city.⁶⁴ Sinigaglia could not find a better advisor to trace his future music development than Bazzini, who thought that the best solution for someone who wants to compose "absolute music"⁶⁵ was to search for a teacher abroad. He suggested the names like Reinecke (1824-1910), Rheinberger (1839-1901) or even Brahms, all three representatives of the German composing tradition, superior to others in coeval Europe.⁶⁶

Sinigaglia's first trips in 1891 would take him to Munich, Bayreuth, Prague, Leipzig, and Berlin, then to Nice and Monaco. Here he stayed for an extended period of time while he presented his works in the musical salons of baroness Demidoff and madame Walz. His experiences in the salons provided many opportunities for Sinigaglia to meet local musicians.

Another European trip, visiting Amsterdam, Brussels, Leiden, Liège, Mainz, Berlin, and Vienna followed on the beginning of 1894 with a similar intention to discover which city surrounding would suit him to continue his studies before his definite departure for Vienna in autumn 1894.

Concert life in Turin at the end of the 19th century seemed to be a succession of continuous initiatives to establish musical pockets centred around social groups within the affluent society. Particular people in these groups were aiming to lift the local level of chamber and symphonic music making and composing to at least the level of prime examples in other European countries. A symphonic tradition in Turin, much inferior in comparison to that of Vienna, was replaced with focus given instead to sung lyrical music, thusly defined as the "Golden Age" of

⁶³ Bazzini, a successful violinist who toured upon Paganini's recommendation around Europe, stopped in Leipzig for four years to study German masters (Bach & Beethoven mostly) after almost 10 years of touring in Austria, Germany, Poland, and Denmark. To complete his knowledge about musical tradition on the continent, he toured in Spain and settled in Paris in 1852 for another 12 years.

⁶⁴ Casella describes Paris during years of his studies there: "I am limiting myself to say that in 1900, the aspect of French music was the one with a Nordic grey climate, lisztian-wagnerian chromatism...clear, limpid, elegant but also superficial", Alfredo Casella, op. cit. loc. 1482, trans. D. M.

⁶⁵ Defined like "pure music", Milan musicologist Rognoni constitutes that the Sinigaglia's music is "the unique concrete confirmation of the pure music in the Italian history within this period" (trans. D. M.) Luigi Rognoni, *Ritratto di Leone Sinigaglia* in *L'Ambrosiano*, XVII, n. 138, Edizione pomeridiana, Milano, *sabato 11 giugno 1938*, p.138. Before this article, on the beginning of 1938, Rognoni presented a concert of Sinigaglia's "Vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte" on frequencies of Radio Svizzera Italiana in Lugano; Pietro Misuraca, *Rivista italiana di Musicologia*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (2003), pp. 139-153, *Nel ginepraio del mio archivio*, documenti di Luigi Rognoni a Palermo, p. 5.

⁶⁶ "Certainly, Germany could in those times boast a major musical culture [according to Italy] and especially an infinitely superior theatre and concert equipment", A. Casella, op. cit., loc. 1558, trans. D. M.

Italian opera. Italy was usurped by *bel canto*, and composers of the most famous works were Verdi, Puccini, Leoncavallo, and their predecessors Rossini and Bellini. Sinigaglia's aspirations were clearly geared towards the symphonic and chamber music genres, and his choice of leaving for Vienna was based on the argument that this city would offer him the opportunity to develop his talent to its greatest extent.

2. SINIGAGLIA'S ITALIAN IDENTITY OVERSHADOWED BY HIS JEWISH INHERITANCE

A salient feature which arises in the musical language of Leone Sinigaglia is the outlined Italian/Piemontese character of his works. This character, self-declared in his autobiographical script⁶⁷ one finds in 1932 expressed as "Italianità" by Giulio Cesare Paribeni⁶⁸. Sinigaglia was inspired by his universal musical overview which was focused particularly to Vienna actualities of the end of 19th century, aspiring to overcome the poor symphonic tradition in Italy⁶⁹. Thus, in opposition towards following the local lyrical trend and maintaining in his music and his soul a fundamentally Italian, Piemontese, to be more precise, he established himself as a composer who was "swimming against the tide". He bravely exposed his music during all of his working years to be confronted with the greatest names in the European instrumental and symphonic romantic musical tendencies at the beginning of the 1900s.

The Italian musicologist, Alfredo Untersteiner, emphasizes Sinigaglia's qualities as a composer of instrumental and orchestral music:

To me it seems that Sinigaglia's talent is specifically adopted and intended for instrumental music, because it is of completely intimate character and because the melodic inspiration and the style are those that concur to instrumental music, which evades the particular emphasis of dramatic music. Leone Sinigaglia, who is still young, arrived in his latter works at an enviable maturity and to the very personal affirmation of (his) art. It is good to recognise this from now on in Italy without waiting to be compelled by the reputation that the Italian composer had already attained abroad, and which will probably be only increasing.⁷⁰

For the first two decades of the 20th century, amongst Italian composers of the symphonic and chamber music genre, Sinigaglia's music was by far the most performed abroad.⁷¹ This is

⁶⁷ Already mentioned script, in Annexe, intitled *Cenni biografici su Leone Sinigaglia*, (Biographical Notes On Leone Sinigaglia), starts with the first chapter *Artista*: "Nella produzione artistica di Leone Sinigaglia emerge un carattere essenziale, quello 'italianissimo' della sua musica." (In Leone Sinigaglia's artistic production, emerges the essential character of his music, the most Italian one.) Trans. D. M.

⁶⁸ Giulio Cesare Paribeni, *Sinfonisti Italiani d'oggi- Guida per i radio-amatori dei concerti*, Milano, Edizioni Radio Teatrali Artistiche (ERTA), 1932, pp. 57-59, trans. D. M.

⁶⁹ It is interesting to remember that Berlioz, spending a year in Italy as a laureate of *Prix de Rome* between March 1831 and May 1832, 50 years before Sinigaglia's youth years, writes similarly: "L'art instrumental est lettre close pour le Romains. Ils n'ont même pas l'idée de ce que nous appelons une symphonie. (Instrumental art is letters close for Romans. They have no slightest idea about that what we call a symphony.)" Mémoires de Hector Berlioz, chapter 39, in Internet <http://www.berlioz.com/Writings/HBM39.htm#pifferari>. Trans. D. M.

⁷⁰ Alfredo Untersteiner, *Profili di musicisti contemporanei: Leone Sinigaglia*, in *Il Marzocco*, a. XII-n. 50, Florence, June 11, 1938. Trans. D. M.

⁷¹ Breitkopf & Härtels's publication (a segment of which in Annexe no. 1) gives overview of the frequent performances of Sinigaglia's compositions all over the world in 1910 and 1911.

especially true in Germany, Austria, and even in England, where he obtained numerous successes, forged friendships with illustrious figures, and sustained a long and rich correspondence with them. There is no major city in the United States of America where his *Danze Piemontesi* or *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte* were not applauded⁷². He also completed his very personally precious project of collecting, by transcribing oral renditions, in twelve years of meticulous labour, an extensive collection of Piedmont folk songs. His propinquity to the folk songs resulted in his work *Vecchie Canzoni Popolari del Piemonte* (Old Folk Songs of Piedmont), just when they were on the verge of disappearance, only to exist in the memories of the oldest local generation. Published by Breitkopf & Härtel, editor of most of his works hitherto, their success was instantaneous. Sinigaglia promoted those songs throughout Europe by giving concerts. He accompanied a personal selection of singers on the piano and drew the attention of the audiences to the region of his birth.

With his awareness about actualities in contemporary musical streams on the continent and further, like Debussy's colours and Wagner's rich orchestration, he was secluded, even repulsed by any internationality and decadence. Even though his role of an adamant advocate of "pure music" was openly declared⁷³, he still used folkloric titles for his most famous orchestral compositions: *Rapsodia Piemontese*, "Piedmont Overture", "Piedmont Dances", although he declares himself that *Rapsodia Piemontese* is "influenced by original themes of Piedmont character but not popular".⁷⁴ Composing music inspired by tunes of the region of his birth, as declared through the titles of his most well-known scores, was his way of self-identification as an Italian. It is therefore curious that the evidence of Sinigaglia's Jewish ethnicity guided a few of preceding researchers to consider him and to insist on referring to him as an Italian-Jewish composer⁷⁵. Where is his musical Jewishness to be recognized and so repeatedly cited?

Nothing can respond better to this question than the explanation of Ludwig Berne⁷⁶ recalling his own experience with the following words: "Some people criticize me for being a Jew;

⁷² The distinguished musicologist, Dr. Karl Geiringer, former director of the "Gesellschaft für Musikfreunde" in Vienna after he moved to USA in 1940 to give conferences in major cities wrote to Sinigaglia: "I was certainly not surprised but very pleased to see how famous you are in America. I always found your compositions in almost all libraries of the colleges and universities I visited, and the professors regularly mention you in their lectures as one of the leaders of the new Italian School", letter to Sinigaglia dated Vienna, January 31st, 1941, *Fondo Sinigaglia*, trans. D. M.

⁷³ See footnote No. 65.

⁷⁴ Leone Sinigaglia, "Cenni biografici su Leone Sinigaglia", chapter *Studi*, *Fondo Sinigaglia*.

⁷⁵ Eduardo Turbil, "Leone Sinigaglia: A Rediscovery of Brahms's Italian Apostle", *Julliard School*, 2021, PP.III, 2, 14, 15.

⁷⁶ *Letter from Paris* No.74 quoted in translation in Gilman S.L./J. Zipes, *Yale Companion to Jewish Writing and Thought German Culture*, 1096-1996, New Haven and London, 1997. Born to a Jewish family under the name of

others forgive me for being one; a third even praises me for it; but all are thinking about it". Written in Germany in the beginning of the 19th century, applicable to various epochs for decades to come. Similar phrases continued to put emphasis on the latent antisemitism, present in Europe by the end of 19th century, and amplified by the *Affaire Dreyfus* in France,⁷⁷ until its culmination in the politics of the Germanic national-socialist stream during the second half of Sinigaglia's life. Prominent antisemitism, spread to Italy after the Italian Racial Laws declaration in 1938⁷⁸ and further on, developed rapidly and overwhelmingly through the hegemonic power of Germany in (mostly northern) Italy after the Sease Fire of Cassibile, signed on September 3, 1943.

A reflexion about the role of ethnicity in order to define individuals was in certain periods of history used as tool for implementing the exclusiveness of certain social groups. The following definition indisputably supports the fact:

Ethnicities are rather like classes (in this respect); frequently they are defined or excluded in terms of classificatory systems of the dominant group whose guiding motive is the control and co-option of potentially problematic "others"...It allows us to turn from questions directed towards defining the essential and "authentic" traces of identity "in" music (a question with which much nationalist and essentially racist folklore and ethnography is explicitly concerned) to the questions of how music is used by social actors in specific local situations to erect boundaries, to maintain distinctions between us and them, and how terms such as "authenticity" are used to justify these boundaries.⁷⁹

In a musical context, bringing to the forefront the religious and ethnical Jewish identity⁸⁰ of composers in a pejorative manner intends to undervalue their music by means of their origin. It

Juda Loew Baruch (1786-1837) Ludwig Berne was a distinguished journalist, literature, and theatre critic in Germany.

⁷⁷ The political scandal that divided the Third French Republic 1894-1906 when a 35-year-old Alsatian French artillery officer of Jewish descent was falsely accused and sentenced for espionage. He spent five years of harsh imprisonment in the penal colony on Devil's Island in French Guyana before proves for his sentence based on antisemitism were discovered. The decisive role that brought to Dreyfus' exoneration played the famous opened letter written by Emile Zola "J'accuse...!" in the newspaper "L'Aurore".

⁷⁸ The Italian racial laws (*Leggi Razziali*) were a set of laws, promulgated by the Council of Ministers in Fascist Italy from 1938-1944 in order to enforce racial discrimination and segregation in the Kingdom of Italy. Italian Jews and African inhabitants (even native) of the Italian Colonial Empire (1923-1947) were the main victims of this laws which remained enforced in the territories ruled by the Italian Social Republic (1943-1945) until the end of the 2nd WW.

⁷⁹ Martin Stokes, *Ethnicity, Identity and Music*, Berg Publishers, Oxford/New York, 1994, pp. 20, 6.

⁸⁰ Jews living in occidental countries always wanted to integrate and it might be peculiar to note that, in the Jewish world, the beginning of historiography is a recent phenomenon, dating from the 19th century. The first and only written document from the post biblical time treating the history of Jews is written by the French Huguenote Jacques Basnage at the beginning of 1700. In 1819 in Germany, Society for the Culture and Scientific Studies of Judaism (*Wissenschaft des Judentums*) was founded by Eduard Gans, Hegel's student, and Heine, one of members of the committee. Its task was based on the emancipation, and it derived from the need to integrate the Jewish history into histories of other peoples (and not to separate it!), study it with the same scientific criteria by abandoning the providential prospective which distinguishes the Jewish people as the chosen one.

offers them only a niche in the field of musical history where they would be stored with and compared to other composers of theirs or "similar" origin, meaning non-Christian.

Marcello Sorce Keller, who uses the contested adjective "Jewish-Italian" for an analytical historical overview of composers of Jewish origin in Italy, writes:

As far as music is concerned, it would have been unthinkable in that Italian context to have anybody writing, like Wagner did, a pamphlet concerned with 'Musical Jewishness'. No awareness of Jewish music as such existed in Italy at that time [during the early years of fascism].⁸¹

Therefore, if "no awareness of Jewish music" were to be ascertained in Italy, we can call it Italian music as written by Italian composers, regardless of their ethnic or religious minority.

By complementing and classifying composers with one simple useless adjective⁸², one exhibits two intentions. Firstly, another crucial ethnomusicological subject is brought to the table: a discussion on superiority of an "occidental" over an "oriental" composer- a person who happens to be by mere coincidence of their origins, also the author of the corresponding music. The second intention is to underscore the ancient origins of composers in a pejorative context, despite the fact that their presence in occidental Europe for centuries through their genealogical history, is easily provable. Even if the adoption of such a classification in any activity, especially non-lexic activities such as music, would not prove to be the germ for the heritage of a long-lasting antisemitic attitude in Europe, it is still completely unjustifiable and harmful.⁸³

Sinigaglia was not using any Jewish themes in his music owed to Jewish religious tradition, like in case of Bloch or Milhaud, or even Castelnuovo-Tedesco⁸⁴, to point out only few among the most known examples. He did not use characteristic oriental tunes⁸⁵ (less used in the occidental tradition of musical composition) in order to pronounce some possible distance from the population and culture where he was born and had grown up. He was also not giving titles in Hebrew to identify himself as Jewish.

To this subject, Enrico Fubini writes:

⁸¹ Marcello Sorce Keller, op. cit., p. 453.

⁸² "A Jew is always designed as such. It is enough to say for someone that's a Jew and that's it. He is then allotted an identity which could possibly not be his, but it puts him on a distance, *separates* him.", George Arthur Goldschmidt, *Un destin*, p. 18, trans. D. M.

⁸³ "C'était l'antisémite qui le faisait Juif malgré lui." (It was antisemite who made a Jew despite himself), Jean-Paul Sartre, *Réflexions sur la question juive*, Gallimard, 1946, pp. 146-147, trans. D. M.

⁸⁴ By titles like "Shelomo", "Avoda Hakodesh" for Bloch or "Kaddish", "Lekha Dodi" for Milhaud and Castelnuovo-Tedesco, issued from the Jewish religious tradition, those two composers wanted to declare their Jewishness through original titles of their musical pieces in Hebrew.

⁸⁵ There I intended what is called in Yiddish "freygish" mode (close to Phrygian church mode), *Ahavoh Raboh* in Hebrew (tonic-minor second-major third).

However, speaking about Jewish music, one can also refer to distinguished musicians, Jewish born, who left behind them a vast and clearly individualized repertory wherein the Judaism often brings about problematic or cryptic results... Since the epoch of emancipation, after the French Revolution, one could legitimately ask whether the musical works of Jewish composers still in some way resembles the Jewish musical tradition, and whether in those compositions salient contributions attributable to the Jewish folk could actually be recognizable.⁸⁶

The *Risorgimento* offered Sinigaglia and his generation an opportunity to easily integrate to the new Italian nation. Any local ethnic identity was banned in favour of the emulsion of all minor populations of duchies and counties in order to unify the newly created Kingdom of Italy. He could never ignore this evolutive national move as it granted him the opportunity of a simple assimilation into the new Italian nation. His father had to live with restrictions which would limit Jews of Italy in a subcategory to Christians, with the absence of choice in profession and the banning of possessing private property.

One can go back in music history and compare this degradation specifically by Jewish origin to one of first harsh contestations of music written by a Jewish composer in 19th century by the musician, music critic, and composer himself, Theodor Uhlig⁸⁷ (1822-1853) who was ruthlessly cheapening Mayerbeer's music by using the self-coined expression "Hebrew-art-taste"⁸⁸ and undervaluing its musical quality by comparing it with his own idol's, namely Wagner's monumental music elements⁸⁹.

David Conway is isolating the underlined origin of Jewish composers in various articles and critics in Germany:

Only in Germany [or better: German speaking countries, remarque D. M.] is there significant evidence of Jewish musicians and their music being a source of contention for their contemporaries.... In the concert halls of London and Paris, music that Jews wrote or played was not distinguished as a separate category. Only later in the century, with the birth of political anti-Semitism as a mass movement, and Wagner's later return to the fray in 1869 through a lengthened version of his attack (this time published under his own name), began the transformation of the notable musical achievements of Mendelsohn, Mayerbeer and their generation into a stick with which to beat them.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Enrico Fubini, *Musicisti ebrei nel mondo cristiano*, Giuntina, Firenze, 2016, p. 11, trans. D. M.

⁸⁷ German music critic of certain reputation and possible noble origin.

⁸⁸ This expression, "hebräisches Kunstgeschmack", used in the following book: Theodor Uhlig, "Dramatisch from Zeitgemässe Betrachtungen" in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 32.33, 1850:169-71, was resumed by Wagner in his (antisemitic) essay *Das Judentum in der Musik*, Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. J. Weber, Leipzig 1850.

⁸⁹ It is coincidence that the most pronounced critics against Wagner were coming from the pen of Friedrich Nietzsche, spending his time in Torino when Sinigaglia was living his youth years in the Maria Victoria Street, few steps away from the famous philosopher's rented apartment on the 4th floor of the Via Carlo Alberto No.6 where he wrote "The Case Wagner" in winter of 1888.

⁹⁰ David Conway, *A New Song, Jewish Musicians in European Music, 1730-1850*, The Cambridge Companion for Jewish Music, pp. 156-166.

There is no valuable reason why one would need to heed to the precise Jewish origin of Sinigaglia. The topic being researched refers to an Italian composer from Turin, who loved his region of birth above all, even though he was internationally involved for his whole life. *Ubi bene, ibi patria*.⁹¹ Sinigaglia was feeling well, at home, within Turin and its mountainous outskirts. It is in Cavoretto where he spent the happiest moments of his life. To pointedly say that he is Jewish [within musicological context] would be close to the hypothesis of poisonous antisemitic streams⁹². One of the representants of one of such streams, Richard von Schaukal⁹³ (1874-1942), when asked how to recognize a Jew answered: "The Jewish peculiarities are those that determine the Jew as a semitic who is ascendant of the Jew. It is superfluous to describe him."⁹⁴ Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882) [who declared that Wagner was one of two persons who understood his racial theory, and coincidentally died in Turin] and Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1927) thought similarly, that it is a feeling that should guide one to conclude about someone's Jewishness.

In taking necessary distance from such a hypothesis, how could one determine that Sinigaglia was of Jewish origin? My research to uncover Sinigaglia's Jewish roots could not be extensive, since the papers of the Jewish Community of Turin were burned during the 2nd WW⁹⁵. The only document confirming that Sinigaglia would grow and be confirmed as a Jew is his aunt's letter⁹⁶, excusing herself for not being able to attend, what she only insinuated to be his *Bar Mitzva* in 1881. Later, throughout his whole adult life, one could not prove his religious and practicing attachment to Jewish religious tradition by consulting his epistolary records.⁹⁷ His donations to certain Jewish institutions⁹⁸ before and in the beginning of the 2nd WW could be a sign of his empathy for Jewish suffering during war conditions. His voluntary work, also during WW 1st, however, is evidence of patriotic goodwill without any special Jewish connotation.

Sinigaglia's name features among names of composers in the notorious *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* from 1940. One of its authors, maybe the most influential antisemite in musical

⁹¹ The homeland is wherever you feel good. Trans. D. M.

⁹² Again, by Nietzsche, growing antisemitism in Europe was criticized and baptised "Rhinoxera" in *The Case Wagner*. Together with *Nietzsche Contro Wagner*, this title represents one of his last works written coincidentally in Turin 1889, just before his mental weakness.

⁹³ Austrian poet, translator, and journalist from the end of 19th century.

⁹⁴ Lion Feuchtwanger, *Nazionalismo ed ebraismo*, Italian translation of his essay *Nazionalismus und Judentum*, from 1933, Giuntina 2016, loc. 80, trans. D. M.

⁹⁵ I was helped by Mrs. Tedesco from the Jewish Archiv of the Jewish Community of Turin to consult it to whom I am very grateful. Nevertheless, no trace of Sinigaglia's parents *Ketubah* (marriage contract) or documents of his birth or *B'rit Mila* (circumcision) were to be discovered.

⁹⁶ The complete letter is in the Annexe No. 2.

⁹⁷ Some of his letters were written on Saturdays and other religious holidays when writing is not religious compatible. Despite his detailed referring of his time in Vienna either to his mother or to his sister, no notes about attending religious services (and meeting his co-religionists in the synagogue) was written about.

⁹⁸ The copy of only one of several letters with similar content in Annexe No. 4.

research of the 20th century, Herbert Gerigk, declares in the preface: "For the first time in our time, the connections between music and race are being scientifically researched in systematic work."⁹⁹

The list of composers in Italy from December 1st 1938, put together by an edition published by Ricordi for needs of National Ministry of Culture, more precisely the Italian Press Service in Rome, did identify Sinigaglia, together with Guido Riccardo Tagliacozzo (1838-1961), Alberto Franchetti (1860-1942), Ernesto Luzzato (1865-?), Felice Boghen (1869-1945), Isaia Billé (1874-1961), Guido Alberto Fano (1875-1961), Arturo Luzzati (1875-1959), Vittore Veneziani (1878-1958), Fernando Liuzzi (1884-1940), Bianchini (1885-1971), Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco (1895-1968), Aldo Finzi (1897-1945), Renzo Massarani (1898-1975), Vittorio Rieti (1898-1994), Mario Jacchia (?) as composers of Jewish race. With them, a librettist Claudio Guastalla (1880-1948) and four other composers of "uncertain race" were added.¹⁰⁰

The task of musicologists to identify through their respective statements, composers belonging to a certain style, school, epoch, or geographically region, is defined by scientific neutrality. A disagreement, however, about classifying composers according to their ancestors' origin and religion is here formally declared.

To augment my argument and to emphasise the absurdity of the subject I will add the example of how Annelise Landau,¹⁰¹ when solicited to write a history of Jewish contribution in music reacted: "I had just freed myself from evaluating composers and performers according to their birth and inheritance in a national sense-and now I should go back again and limit my outlook only (to) Jewishness?"¹⁰²

Here the most emphatic example of insisting on Jewishness of persons who themselves put no essential importance on it: Sinigaglia, the Jew, who was hiding with his sister in the *Ospedale Mauriziano* was betrayed and arrested by the Gestapo. To his macabre advantage he died of a heart attack moments later. His sister passed away in hiding a mere three weeks after him. A denouncer informed the Gestapo about their whereabouts for a small reward.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ "Die Zusammenhänge zwischen Musik und Rasse werden in unserer Zeit erstmalig in planvoller Arbeit wissenschaftlich erforscht.", Theo Stangel, Herbert Gerigk, *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik*, Bernhard Hahnfeld Verlag, Berlin, 1940, *LexikonDerJudenInDerMusik.pdf* (archive.org). Trans. D. M.

¹⁰⁰ In Annexe No. 5 the original text, trans. D. M.

¹⁰¹ Annelise Landau (1903-1991) is a German American musicologist, forced to immigrate in USA in 1939.

¹⁰² *Jewish art music*, by Lily E. Hirsch, *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, CUP, 2015, from the *Memoirs* by A. Landau, unpublished, donated to L. E. Hirsch.

¹⁰³ Declared as F.T. by Elena Löwenthal in her article for *La Stampa* on January 27th, 2019.

Leone Sinigaglia tradito dal suo caro vicino di casa - *La Stampa*.

Sinigaglia was Italian and abundant foreign influences maybe made his music more recognizable through the German romantic (orchestral) tradition but his profound identification with his home country was never put in doubt. He was *Piemontese* , and that is what he remained within his heart for his entire life, as is exclusively put into evidence through this study.

3. CONTEXTUAL BIOGRAPHY

Leone Sinigaglia was born to Abramo Alberto Sinigaglia (1832-1893) and Emilia Romanelli on August 14, 1868, one year junior to his sister, Alina¹⁰⁴, who became his lifelong closest friend and confidante. The very close bond between them led to a very rich and informational epistolary, exchanged during the long periods of their separation while he was in Vienna, Prague or other of his numerous voyages to promote his music. This voluminous epistolary is the most intact source of information about composer's life and work that currently remains.

Abramo and Emilia Sinigaglia offered their children an impeccable education which is evident in the remaining correspondence of Alina and Leone through the beauty and richness of the written language. Within their correspondence one reads citations and symbolic expressions in French, German, or English. This confirms that foreign languages were a prominent subject in their education. Leone's fluency in German made his Italian translation of Brahms' and Schubert's lieder possible.¹⁰⁵

Not mentioning financial worries in the correspondence, neither in youth nor throughout his studying years abroad, is an indicator that the family of Sinigaglia had a rather comfortably quality of life. Leone's father was able to delve into his passion for antiquities,¹⁰⁶ while also offering the best education to his children. They were living in the very centre of Turin, Maria Vittoria Street number 11 but they would spend rather long periods in the country house in Cavoretto, immersed deep into the hilly southern outskirts of Turin¹⁰⁷. Leone Sinigaglia adored these surroundings, and this was the spot that generated peace and calm for him throughout his entire life. Here he could see his friends, enjoy long walking sessions with them, or compose as his teacher Dvořák would do likewise in his house in Vysoká.¹⁰⁸

The salon of Leone Sinigaglia's parents brought him and his sister into contact with highly regarded intelligentsia from different fields of activity and studies in Turin: Antonio Fogazzaro (writer close to Italian *Scapigliatura*, 1842-1911), Galileo Ferraris (physicist, electrical engineer 1847-1897), Cesare Lombroso (physician, criminologist, 1835-1909), Leonardo

¹⁰⁴ Born Malvina Giulia Sinigaglia (Torino, July 18th, 1867-San Giorgio Canavese, June 5th, 1944) she would be named Alina through the whole correspondence.

¹⁰⁵ Following *Lieder* by Brahms were printed with Sinigaglia's text translation in Italian: *Fünf Lieder* Op. 71 (Torino, ed. Capra) and one of *Zwölf Lieder* Op.44 (Simrock, Berlin).

¹⁰⁶ The collection of miniatures of Abramo Sinigaglia, donated by Alina and Leone after he passed away to the *Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan* is housed and exposed since 1983 in *Pinacoteca Ambrosiana* in Milan (hall 9).

¹⁰⁷ "Villa Sinigaglia" exists today in Strada dei Ronchi 79. After the death of Leone and Alina Sinigaglia, it passes into hands of Felice Tossalli (1888-1953), sculptor, family friend and consecutively to his daughter, Elisa.

¹⁰⁸ More about Vysoká in subchapter *...and Prague*.

Bistolfi (sculptor, 1859-1933), Luigi Roux (journalist, politician, 1848-1913), to mention a few. It was consequently only natural that the young Leone developed an interest in poetry¹⁰⁹ art and, foreign languages, then later also in mountaineering.

His first attempts in writing poetry are present in three poetry notebooks. In those notebooks we find a souvenir from his childhood and adolescence which follows the stylish tendencies of Ugo Foscolo (1778-1827) and Giacomo Leopardi (1798-1837). Those pages contain species of scholastic, yet original compositions with a pronounced personal overtone. Here he writes:

These may be poor verses, yet they are not pretentious: I am not one of those tawdry rhymers who climbs the Parnassus with the little lantern in the hand in order to get noticed, disabling hendecasyllables and forcing septenaries to become octonaries and so it goes: I am not a *verista* as they say now, who drags the poor Muse in the mud between ugliness and vices but I have always taken the bright side of things, I have in poetry, family, Nature, everything I hold dearest in the world: and if I have done a little good, the Lord be thanked. *Pro aris et focis pugnavi* (sic, 'battle for altars and hearts'), here is my uniform of those gentlemen who do not hurt and if they try their best to do good and can do it, they are satisfied. Another thing I must recommend to the reader, and it is benevolence: I am young, I am twelve years old.¹¹⁰

Sinigaglia's scholastic and calm nature leaned towards adventurous initiatives in exploring mountain-climbing when he joined the *Club Alpino Italiano* already as a teenager. His ascents to the Occidental and Oriental Alps brought him to his favourite climbing expeditions in the region of the Dolomites, more precisely Ampezzo and Sesto. He traced new climbing paths and described them in two books: *Ricordi Alpini delle Dolomiti*, 1894¹¹¹ as well as a small booklet titled *Nelle Dolomiti di Ampezzo*.¹¹²

On August 25th, 1890, Sinigaglia experienced an utterly unfortunate incident in which his guide, Giovanni Antonio Carrel (1829-1890) was a victim of exhaustion when they were descending. This was after an attempt to reach Matterhorn from the Italian side. The poor and

¹⁰⁹ Fogazzaro, following Sinigaglia's development since his adolescence and admiring his intelligence wrote him in a letter dated January 1, 1891: "If I can sometimes be among your audience, as you kindly wish, I will be delighted: I will follow your steps even from a distance, with great interest. When you resolve to grapple with opera theatre- which I would like you to be not too impatient about- you will have a precious quality that most of your colleagues lack: the great intellectual culture, the lively sentiment of poetry". Translation by E. Turbil, corrected by D. M.

¹¹⁰ Sinigaglia's level of precociousness is quite astonishing in terms of rhetorical fluency, erudition, and refinement of thought. At the age of twelve he wrote his first book of poetry, *Poesie giovanili* (Poems of Youth). The quoted passage from the preface is written on May 16, 1880 in Turin, *Fondo Sinigaglia*, translation by E. Turbil, corrected by D. M.

¹¹¹ Leone Sinigaglia, *Ricordi Alpini delle Dolomiti*, translated in English by Mary Alice Vialls under the title *Climbing Reminiscences in the Dolomites*, T. Fischer Unwin, London, 1896.

¹¹² Leone Sinigaglia, *Nelle Dolomiti di Ampezzo*, C.A.I., Torino, 1896.

stormy weather conditions further contributed to the tragedy. Sinigaglia and Charles Gorret¹¹³, were then other two members of the group.¹¹⁴

Like so many musicians throughout history, Sinigaglia was prompted to pursue a non-artistic profession. His devotion to his father was reverential: "deep respect and esteem, even though his father appeared to disapprove of an (Leone's) artistic inclination, not profitable in his eyes".¹¹⁵ Leone, followed his paternal educational preference and enrolled in Turin law school where he graduated in 1890. His real vocation was eventually to overwhelm the jurisprudence concurrence.

Sinigaglia had his first piano studies with Severina Verri of Turin, along with harmony lessons from Maestro Carlo Fassò (1821-1894). Fassò was a very rigid theorist whose "Bible" was Fenaroli's *"Partimenti ossia Basso numerato"*.¹¹⁶ Leone soon grew tired of the piano and of the dry harmony exercises insisted upon by Maestro Fassò. He instead turned to the violin, in the study of which he found the constancy that had hitherto been lacking. For several years, Teresina Ferni (1849-1934), sister of the noble artists Angelo and Virginia Ferni Germano (1849-1934) was his teacher. Sinigaglia was much pleased later, to have deepened his knowledge of that instrument, which is of essential importance for every composer.

The composer's initiation into the study of harmony was the genuine ordeal that was devoted to scrupulous schooling in counterpoint and voice-leading progressions as taught by the traditionalist old Italian school. Such a mark played a critical role in the maturation of the composer's musical taste and individual style, as well as in his determination of the upcoming educational trajectory in Vienna. The decision to take more seriously a career in composition was suggested by two major personalities of the Italian music world: Franco Faccio (1840-1891) and Alfredo Catalani (1854-1893) after which Sinigaglia entered the class of his first composition teacher, Giovanni Bolzoni (1887-1916), to whom he remained bounded lifelong by a special admiration and devotion. Sinigaglia writes about him:

Maestro Giovanni Bolzoni, the director of *Liceo Musicale* in Turin was an eccentric spirit, outstanding musician, author of beautiful, often even genius-filled chamber music pieces and graceful small simple pictures for small orchestra, orchestrated with

¹¹³ Some correspondence with a family of his climbing buddy, Gorret who Sinigaglia was helping financially is to consult among other letters in the epistolary kept in the *Fondo Sinigaglia*, library of the Conservatory G. Verdi, Turin, a copy of the original with translation of one among them in Annexe No. 7.

¹¹⁴ This tragedy was evoked in the revue of Italian Alpin Club, *Rivista mensile del CAI*, IX, nr.8 (august 1890), pp. 293-296.

¹¹⁵ From the unpublished biographical notes, found in the Sinigaglia archive; chapter 1891-1893: *Gli Anni Giovanili*.

¹¹⁶ The church composer and theoretician Fedele Fenaroli's (1730-1818) *Partimenti ossia Basso numerato*, was the base of harmony teaching through the 19th century in Italy. Cimarosa and Verdi were his pupils. To consult it: IMSLP759424-PMLP1199163-fenaroli_partimenti_ricordi_ABO_+Z254930601.pdf.

expertise and good taste. In Bolzoni, an excellent harmonist and teacher of liberal views, Sinigaglia found the teacher who understood and encouraged him. With him, he deepened the study of harmony and learned the elements of instrumentation.¹¹⁷

Having an important protection and friendship in the person of Bolzoni, by studying composition and instrumentation with him, he counts among his friends a pianist and composer Federico Buffaletti (1862-1936) who shares with Sinigaglia a long contact and common initiative in the musical life of Turin.

First Sinigaglia's works were small forms: around twenty pieces for different instruments, for example piano, violin and piano, two violins, accompanied voice, even "Romance Op. 3" for horn and string quartet.¹¹⁸ Those pieces, written around 1887 and 1889 with a rather timid style, served as exercises to the young composer. but a correct harmonic language and form of works should be underscored.

Sinigaglia travelled to neighbouring Milan to visit his maternal relatives and expand the network of his acquaintances in the musical world of that Italian metropole. There he would meet Giacomo Puccini¹¹⁹ (1858-1924), Alfredo Catalani who was finishing his opera "La Wally", brothers Arrigo and Camillo Boito and others and frequent the parlour of prominent Piedmont patrons, Benedetto (1852-1903) and Teresa Junck, and they were the people who introduced him to the literati of the Milanese *Scapigliati* and other coeval Milan artists. This is where he met the young conductor Arturo Toscanini (1867-1957) who later advocated for composer's works over many years in both Europe and the United States of America. He had an opportunity to perform in the rooms of Famiglia Artistica¹²⁰ as pianist in his "Suite" for piano, violin and cello. The performance was quite successfully received.

His first public successes made Sinigaglia consider his future musical education and precisely in Milan, his meeting with Antonio Bazzini¹²¹ (1818-1897), the famous violinist and director of the Milan Conservatory, provided him competent suggestions about his consequent studies which could take place only in some cities of *oltr'Alpe*.

In the summer of 1891, the young composer made his first trips to Monaco, Bayreuth, Prague, Leipzig and Berlin with the task to find some advantageous contacts for his future studies,

¹¹⁷ Autobiographical notes, chapter *Studi, Fondo Sinigaglia*.

¹¹⁸ Presented in Luxembourg for the first time on January 31, 2020, by Ensemble *d'arco* and Kristina Mascher-Turner, <https://chronicle.lu/event/9386-concert-de-midi-ensemble-darco>.

¹¹⁹ "Very lovable but of simple behaviour", Sinigaglia's letter to his sister April 12th, 1891.

¹²⁰ *La Famiglia Artistica Milanese*, defined like "Association for art and artists" a place giving seat to artists of the new movement *Scapigliatura* was founded on January 14, 1873, by Vespasiano Bignami (1841-1929), Luigi Borgomainerio (1836-1876), Francesco Barzagli (1839-1892), Francesco Didioni (1839-1895) and more than hundred other founders, mostly artists.

¹²¹ See footnote No. 63.

proved by his attempts to meet Rheinberger.¹²² The periods in 1892 spent in Nizza and Monaco were according to Sinigaglia's letters very fruitful as he frequented cercles and parlours of baroness Demidoff and madame Walz, where he could listen to many chamber-music works with violinists Achille Simonetti (1857-1928) or Ippolito Raghianti (1865-1894) and the cellist Oudshoorn (1833-1906). On such occasions, some of his first opuses including *Adagio religioso* and two *Romanze senza parole* for string quartet, were played.

The composer's name was gaining ground in grand audience between 1892 and 1894 as the quartet Sarti from Bologna¹²³ integrated his works "Romanza " and "Studio" in their repertoire.

On December 31, 1892, the first concert took place in *Teatro Vittorio Emanuele* with his symphonic works exclusively on the programme. The concert was attended by rather good critics, had decent publicity in local papers, and was conducted by Giovanni Bolzoni.

The programme of the concert consisted of the following: *Vecchia Canzone* (Old Song); the tone poem, *Da Una Leggenda Nordica* (From a Nordic Legend); the *Suite* in four movements ("Pastorale", "Air de ballet", "Ave Maria" and "Carnevale"); the elegy *Per Una Piccola Morta* (For a Little Dead); the *Hora Mistica* and another *Elegia*. His enthusiasm after the orchestral rehearsal was expressed:

Orchestral rehearsals in Teatro Vittorio went magnificent, in whole my life I never felt a similar satisfaction to hear for the first time my own orchestral music. I will rush to make these compositions be played in *Concerti [popolari]* so that you can hear them in an accurate execution. The orchestra in *Vittorio Emanuele* [theatre] is excellent, I have chosen the best elements: pieces made quite an impression on *professori* [musicians, orchestra members] who are the folk most difficult in these things, especially if it is about their fellow citizen gentleman and according to Bolzoni, I am on a good way.¹²⁴

He writes about this evening to his mother with almost childish passion:

My dearest, few lines about today's concert. The invited audience hasted massively, and it was truly the most selected. I've noticed Maestro Puccini, Maestro Pomé, Ms. Ferrani, all the critics, all the *maestros* and artistic eminences of Turin. The programme, although very serious, had an outcome that I could not be happier about. The most applauded compositions were the *Leggenda Nordica*, the *Ave Maria* and the *Carnevale*;

¹²² Carl Rheinberger (1839-1901), organist, composer, from 1872 director of Königlich Bayerische Musikschule, today HMTM.

¹²³ The *Quartetto Bolognese* was composed of: Federico Sarti (1851-1921), Angelo Consolini (1859-1934), Adolfo Massarenti (1856-1920), Francesco Serato (1843-1919). One decade later, Sinigaglia would dedicate his violin concert Op.20 to the son of the cellist, violinist Arrigo Serato who premiered it in Berlin, November 9, 1901, conducted by J. Rebiček (1844-1904).

¹²⁴ The letter to his sister from Turin, dated December 27, 1892, trans. D. M. (original Italian text in Annexe No. 9).

the latter asked as an encore but not granted. Puccini and Pomé told me plenty of nice things, and all the others as well... it seems that my music really made an impression.¹²⁵

By no means were these works introduced into contemporary music repertoire after this rather successful concert. Only *Hora Mistica*, was printed (published by Richault in Paris, 1889), while the others were forgotten as the composer had desired because they were deemed unfit to represent the real talent of Sinigaglia. A rather clement review written by Luigi Alberto Villanis gives an idea about this Sinigaglia's public beginnings:

Particularly in the orchestration, Sinigaglia has an exact intuition of the colours, and uses them without hesitation, with that confidence and, often, that precision that comes from an accurate study and a delightful disposition. As a genre *Leggenda Nordica* is similar to Grieg, as a composition, original. Ingenious are the exposition and its development: well-thought the small episodes which here and there lighten the work and allow a reprise. In the instrumentation, then, I note a personal standard, to which I will return when talking about the fourth piece, and which demonstrates that he does not write arbitrarily; on the contrary, already in these first enterprises, he is guided by an exact concept of what he wants. Alongside these merits, there are some imperfections, which it is a duty of critics to point out. From the very first work, it is easy to notice in Sinigaglia an accuracy that often alternates into refinement. Its ingenious, often elegant harmonisation is haunted by continuous dissonances, by deceived or incomplete resolutions, by delays which, instead of embellishing the flowerbeds of his conception, crown them with nettles. In this I, in my humble opinion, would like him to study, and possible, change. If refinement were synonymous with elegance, it would be too easy to write elegantly. The tormenting restlessness in the harmonisation is a cloak of lead; it is a golden extinguishing agent; the effort disfigures beauty's features... From this, a character of fragmentation in some of his compositions strikes the listener, against which it would not be difficult for him to guard himself, assessing well his main themes. These strengths and defects inform the other compositions.¹²⁶

The loss of Sinigaglia's father accelerated his decision to leave abroad in research of an opportunity for his future musical studies which were the object of father's scepticism. So, in this spring of 1894 he went to Amsterdam, Brussels, Vienna, Monaco, and Berlin again. By attending concerts of contemporary musical programmes of the time in these cities his ideas got clearer during this tour. Vienna was the city which made the strongest impression on young Sinigaglia. Brahms whose music he adored, was living last years of his life there, the richness of musical initiatives and contemporary tendencies, his acquaintances with some families whose parlours were the meeting point of artists and musicians, all of these reasons made

¹²⁵ Letter from Sinigaglia to his mother, dated December 31, 1892, Turin, trans. D. M.

¹²⁶ Luigi Alberto Villanis, "Vita Artistica Torinese", *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano* 48, No. 3 (January 15, 1893), corrected translation by E. Turbil, corrected by D. M.

Vienna the best and only suitable choice. His definite decision to install there and make an attempt to study with his idol Brahms must have been taken during this trip.

3.1 Sinigaglia in Vienna...

Sinigaglia arrived in Vienna in autumn of 1894 accompanied by his mother who spent several first months with him. He remained there until 1899 except for the summer months in which he would return back to Italy.

Taking his residence in Vienna made Sinigaglia understand that the physical distance from his friends and his beloved Alpine view would last for a while. His fairly distraught emotional state was of natural consequence. He confesses in third person:

Maestro Bolzoni who loved Sinigaglia very much could not get over him quitting his teachings to go to Vienna and continue his studies (counterpoint, fugue, and musical forms). The separation was painful for Sinigaglia as well, but he felt compelled to live in a richer, diverse, and classical musical environment as was eminently that of Vienna. And he chose as a teacher Dr. Eusebius Mandyczewski, the learned Musikverein's archivist, Brahms' friend, and confidant, who indicated him as his *alter ego* in musical matters.¹²⁷

Sinigaglia, who, as already mentioned, never wrote about his financial problems in his letters, could afford to choose a residence adorned with a comfortable furnished suite and piano in the Hotel de France on the Ring and later in the Hotel Bristol for his accommodation.

His beginning in Vienna is very amply documented and he is describing the circumstances of the Viennese *fin de siècle* in it by numerous letters to his sister. Later, once his mother returned back to Italy after the initial months spent with him in Vienna, he also wrote about his impressions to her, and his old teacher Bolzoni, the pianist Federico Buffaletti, and some other friends at home were of course also included in his rich correspondence. The integration in the social milieu of the city like Vienna passed through several families of friends and relatives that he frequented: Kuppelwieser, Rosselli, Conrat, Löwenberg, Schiff or Dunba. These relations offered occasions to meet a higher level of the city intelligentsia and be noticed as a musical hope.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ From unpublished autobiographical notes, chapter *Studi* (Studies), Fondo Sinigaglia, trans. D. M.

¹²⁸ Letter to his sister from Vienna, dated November 24, 1894, trans. D. M.

Guests in the parlours of those families were most important personalities in the music scene, they recommended him to Brahms, whom he desired more than anything to be his mentor. Brahms, however, remained firm in his conviction not to teach and suggested his intimate friend, his dear advisor and rare connoisseur of music, Eusebius Mandyczewski, composer, musicologist, and librarian of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, to give to the young Italian composer the necessary compositional tools for the music that he would consecutively write. About his first impression after meeting Mandyczewski he wrote to his sister:

This morning I've had my first interview with Mandyczewski which I had expected long and impatiently. I was quite satisfied. Prepared-since I was told about it- for a ferocious demolition, I found him rather well on my disposal following an accurate examination of many works that I had sent him. His critiques concern mostly the form and harmonic exuberances, already noticed by others in my works: but he found a talent and expressivity in them, and he said that I can consider myself frank in harmony and that I can, apart from a few details, pass immediately to counterpoint and the study of form. Generally, it seems that he was very interested in my works and that he would put his effort in the part of education that I expect from him. According to his observations that he addressed to me he seems to be most intelligent, if not eclectic in his tastes.¹²⁹

In viewing Sinigaglia's remaining notebooks with counterpoint exercises, the solid document proves that he was working hard on perfecting this aspect of his musical knowledge between December 1894 and July 1897.

Sinigaglia, through his letters, confesses his appreciation for the city of Vienna also during his leisure moments, walking to Prater, drinking a coffee or a beer on a terrace, playing cards or roulette with his friends, assisting to acrobatic and animal trainer's spectacles, or listening to Yvette Guilbert, a cabaret singer whose artistic qualities and originality of expression he admired. Seduced by the sum of aspects of the city of Vienna, he wrote to his sister around Christmas, a few months after settling in Vienna, how that city was shining with a special flavour:

I am nostalgic for you others and for many friends and many things that I had left back in Italy, but I confess that the one [nostalgia] for the sun, for the blue of a midday, I hardly feel. Covered well in my fur, with a scroll of counterpoint exercises in my pocket, and maybe a good Virginia Havana in my mouth, I feel myself very cheerful and a lover of life in one of those Nordic grey days when, around four, first lights start to dazzle in the light fog through the city, wrapped in snow, then at home when our splendid sun triumphs at the sky.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Letter to his sister and his brother-in-law [starting with plural: *Carissimi*], December 2, 1894, translation by E. Turbil, corrected by D. M.

¹³⁰ Letter from to his sister dated Vienna, December 24th, 1894, translation by E. Turbil, corrected by D. M.

Certain musicians that Sinigaglia was encountering in Vienna had an important influence on his artistic development. Mandyczewski, whose profound culture Sinigaglia highly respected, is the most important among them, just like Bolzoni was important for him in Turin. His profound studies of counterpoint and musical form with Mandyczewski were giving the young composer the solidity in his composing approach that one can later observe in his compositions. He would consequently take distance from operatic composing and aspire to be part of the Italian musical history which was trying to overcome the "most mediocre and perishable part of Italian musical expression" like mentioned by G. Jean-Aubry in his essay "New Italy":

To begin with, it is only fair to remember that there is no nation on earth so misjudged, musically, as Italy. One is disposed to think that one has done justice to Italy after having made the acquaintance of few operas by Verdi, Puccini, Leoncavallo and Mascagni, although it must be stated at once that these represent only the most mediocre and perishable part of Italian musical expression. Granted that such works have proved long and profitable successes, that famous tenors continue to use them as a foil to their triumphs; granted that in certain towns the glory of Verdi equals that of Wagner; but to judge musical Italy exclusively by its operatic creations of the second part of the 19th century, would be equivalent to judging French literature of the last century by the novels of François Coppée, English literature by Mr. Humphrey Ward, or Russian music by the one and only Tchaikovsky.

It must be recognized that the success of Italian opera, from Donizetti to Mascagni, was not attributable only to the fact that it gave the public a form of art which made little demand on intelligence and culture, but that it was then actually the only Italian musical expression which could be heard.¹³¹

This is the overview of the latent antagonism between operatic and symphonic music in Italy, present since the last decades of the nineteenth century and expressed by Jean-Aubry in this article in 1920 to the anglophone music world with the intention to contest any prejudice about streams in Italy that were present during the years that Sinigaglia and the generations after him wanted to overturn, take a distance from "mediocrity", and create music which demands both "intelligence and culture" from the audience in order to be understood. To overwhelm the operatic reputation of the Italian music scene, Sinigaglia had to take a distance from his home country so that he could have the correct, critical judgment that he wanted to perfect through his studies in Vienna. The choice of an intellectual guidance such as Mandyczewski, in order to reach this particularly lofty goal, was the key to the future success.

The relation between the student and the teacher transformed into a solid friendship which lasted longer than Sinigaglia's sojourn in Vienna. Remaining letters, exchanged with Mandyczewski when he returned to Italy, contain reminiscing of their leisure time spent

¹³¹ Georges Jean-Aubry, "New Italy", *The Musical Quarterly*, Volume VI, Issue 1, January 1920, p. 29.

together walking in Prater or playing billiard, and they are exhibiting the ex-teacher's great interest in the continuation of the career of his former student.¹³²

In going through the correspondence between them, consisting of fifty-six letters, many of them dating from the period when Sinigaglia returned back to Italy, one can also understand an engaged attitude of an experienced composer like Mandyczewski, when advising his former student about the strategy to apply in collaborations with edition houses, (maybe Breitkopf & Härtel more than others).¹³³ Mandyczewski suggested certain arguments one could use in negotiations and in establishing prices for his former student's compositions. It is to Mandyczewski's merit that Sinigaglia could join the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* where every Monday new music pieces would be promoted and where Sinigaglia could then present his first works as well.

Brahms himself was the *Konzertdirektor* of this establishment from 1872-1875 before passing the position on to Hans Richter (1843-1916). His collaboration with Mandyczewski there was quite intense, and it developed to a close friendship during his directorship. Brahms continued to be present for events there until he passed away. Sinigaglia had the opportunity to meet him in the house of the metal magnates, Kupelwiesers¹³⁴ and afterwards they continued meeting with each other several times.

The description of Sinigaglia meeting Brahms for the first time shows to which extent he was aspiring to study with him. Mrs. Kupelwieser organized a breakfast with Brahms as a favour to the young Sinigaglia, who just arrived in Vienna and could not wait to meet his idol:

If the posting were not urgent, I would have many details to tell you about the meeting so anxiously awaited, that I had the day before yesterday with Brahms, thanks to the kindness of Mrs. Kupelwieser, who had invited for breakfast along with him, a small number of close friends. I found a great artist that day, fortunately in an excellent mood, very amiable, and very free and easy. He told me wonderful things about our country, which he knows very well, including Turin, which had left him with pleasant memories. After the meal, Mrs. Kuppelwieser invited in a smaller circle, Mandyczewski, Madame Campbell (a cellist), and me to go to Prater with Brahms, who is a passionate visitor there. I will write better at another moment about what a great time we had there where we stayed until evening, especially since I promised these details to Alina, and you will read them together. Of course, I never talked about music, experience with Verdi having

¹³² Mandyczewski's letter in Annexe No. 3 in which he writes about his attempt to promote Sinigaglia's cello sonata in Vienna testimonies that friendship between Sinigaglia and him continued for consecutive thirty years.

¹³³ In 1939, B & H interrupted their partnership with Sinigaglia suddenly. At the outbreak of the 2ndWW an "official order" obliged them to remove Sinigaglia's works from their publishing program as documented in the letter, dated July 4, 1939, *Fondo Sinigaglia*.

¹³⁴ Karl Kupelwieser (1841-1925), Austrian lawyer, real estate owner was patron of musicians and son of Leopold Kupelwieser, the great Schubert's admirer. To honour Leopold Kuppelwieser's wedding, Schubert had written the "Kupelwieser Walz".

suggested to me that with great musicians, it is better not to do so. Next year, I hope, and Mandyczewski as well, to get at least some advice from Brahms.¹³⁵

After this first meeting, Sinigaglia had more opportunities to meet the great composer in leisurely conditions. He describes another of his experiences crossing Brahms when he could even take a photo with him:

I was seeing Brahms sometimes during his morning walks. He was a characteristic appearance on the Ring: low in stature, stocky, with a large shining face, similar to an apostle from the Caracci school, big thick beard, with a hat in his hand, hands often crossed on his back. On Sundays, tours in the picturesque surroundings of Vienna were made: a faithful group of musicians, Mandyczewski, Stocker, Von Perger, Anton Door, and others. Brahms would join us rather gladly, he enjoyed the company of youngsters, and he was quite amused by funny Viennese tales, even musical ones, but woe betide you if you talk seriously about music! He was looking at me with sympathy, and he was so kind to pose several times for portraits and photo cameras...¹³⁶

"The Golden Age"¹³⁷ of the Austrian capital, during Leone Sinigaglia's studying years was packed with cultural offers. Sinigaglia chose Vienna among the cities that he visited, in consideration of his further educational itinerary, for that very reason. Brahms, Bruckner, and Goldmark, were all protagonists of the musical composing scene, and their works were executed under the competent batons of: Gustav Mahler, Hans Richter, Felix Weingartner, and Bruno Walter at the helm of the *Wiener Philharmoniker*, an orchestra that was at the time already amassed 50 years of activity. Sinigaglia attended concerts in the *Musikvereinsaal*, in the *Bösendorfer Saal*, and in the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Saal*, where he could hear the greatest soloists and choirs of the time. His ample collection of concert programmes serves as proof of his avid concert attendance during his studies. His notes contain descriptive precisions about his life in Vienna and provides a critical view in differences among conductors of the time: Mahler was more modern and opened to the avantgarde, Hans Richter was more classical in his choice of his repertory, while Weingartner's programmes were more varied.

To list only a selected number of the artists he listened to: pianists Emil von Sauer (1862-1942), Mark Hambourg (1879-1980), Ossip Gabrilowitsch (1878-1936), violinists Pablo

¹³⁵ Letter from Sinigaglia to his mother, dated April 12, 1895, Vienne, Translated by E. Turbil, corrected by D. M. The encounter with Verdi in the letter, dated February 22, 1894, is confirmed in Sinigaglia's biographical notes. Sinigaglia met Verdi when, after the mutual dear friend, painter Elia Todeschini (1854-1888) passed away, he was asked to bring him a memory of the deceased. He then had a long conversation with the Maestro at the Hotel Milan where Verdi himself passed away-few years later. Sinigaglia, on his way to Vienna received the notice that Verdi had died the same day, and thanks to the librettist Luigi Illica's (1857-1919) kindness, could see the Maestro's dead body. [Also today in Italy, exposing a dead body before burial of a deceased for few days in his residential house remains a tradition].

¹³⁶ L. Sinigaglia, from Autobiographical Notes, *Ricordi di Vienna, Fondo Sinigaglia*, integrally translated in Annexe, translation by E. Turbil, corrected by D. M.

¹³⁷ *Un periodo veramente aureo* as Sinigaglia called it in his autobiographical manuscript in chapter *Studi*, but later opinions are similar, [https:// theamericanscholar.org/vienna-trapped-in-a-golden-age](https://theamericanscholar.org/vienna-trapped-in-a-golden-age).

Sarasate (1844-1908), Fritz Kreisler (1875-1962)¹³⁸, the cellist David Popper (1843-1913) and singers: Adelina Patti (1843-1919), Jean-Louis Lassalle (1847-1909), Ellen Gulbranson (1863-1947), quartets: Flonzaley¹³⁹, Bohemian¹⁴⁰, Rosé¹⁴¹, Fitzner¹⁴² and Soldat-Roger¹⁴³, are only a selected number of them.¹⁴⁴ In the programming of orchestra concerts, unlike today, one would often have entire evenings dedicated only to the orchestra, with no soloist involved. The orchestras were conducted, among others, by the already mentioned Hans Richter, Felix Weingartner, or Gustav Mahler. Sinigaglia would also attend choir concerts listening to the *Singverein*, the *Schubertbund*, the *Männer Gesangsverein*, and others. Along with all these concerts that Sinigaglia had witnessed during his Vienna years and had kept the programmes of to bear detailed witness of his attendance to a modern-day researcher, one can only imagine the great number of chamber music concerts, staged in the parlours of various wealthy families, that he attended that was not necessarily specifically described in his epistolary.

In describing one of his most memorable evenings, Sinigaglia writes about Adelina Patti's farewell concert at the Große Musikvereinsaal, in which the soloist was a thirteen-year-old Bronisław Huberman who was playing his first concert in front of a Viennese audience. Sinigaglia was to develop a strong contact and collaboration 20 years later with that very same soloist.

During Brahms's conversations with Sinigaglia, he would happily recollect his trip to Italy, accompanied by Dr. Widmann (who described it in one of his rare little books). Sinigaglia never discussed music with the German Master, knowing full well that he would rather hear

¹³⁸ Kreisler was awarded a gold medal at the Vienna Conservatory at the age of ten after studying violin with Joseph Hellmesberger Jr. and theory with Anton Bruckner. Further on, he won *Grand Premier Prix* of the Paris Conservatory after only two years of studies with Lambert Massart (violin) and Leo Delibes (composition). More about F. Kreisler: Zdenko Silvela, *A New History of Violin Playing*, Universal Publishers, USA, 2001. The text of original letter in German by Kreisler praising Sinigaglia's *Rhapsodia piemontese* with English translation (by D. M.) is in the Annexe No. 21.

¹³⁹ When Flonzaley quartet was performing Sinigaglia's works, it was composed of: Adolfo Betti (1875-1950), Alfred Pochon (1878-1959), Louis Bailly (1917-1974) and Iwan d'Archambeau (1879-1955). For more reading about Flonzaley: www.arsc-audio.org/v19/v19n1p25-62.pdf.

¹⁴⁰ Founded 1891 those quartet members played together until 1906: Karel Hoffmann (1872-1936), Josef Suk (1874-1935), Oskar Nedbal (1874-1930), Hanus Wihan (1855-1920).

¹⁴¹ Composed of Arnold Rosé (1863-1946), August Siebert (1856-1938), Hugo von Steiner (1862-1942), Reinhold Hummer (1855-1912).

¹⁴² With members around 1895: Rudolf Fitzner (1868-1934), Jaroslav Czerny (1864-1936), Otto Zert (1866-1907), Friedrich Buxbaum (1869-1947).

¹⁴³ Joachim's student Marie Soldat-Roeger (1863-1955) founded around end 1880s world's first all-feminine quartet in Vienna. Other three members from 1895 when Sinigaglia could hear them were: Agnes Tschetschulin (1859-1942), Natalia Bauer-Lechner (1858-1921), and Lucy Müller-Campbell (1873-1944).

¹⁴⁴ In previous researching sources, also the quartet Hellmesberger was mentioned but as they've stopped their activity around 1901, soon after retirement of Joseph Hellmesberger who was replaced by his son Joseph Junior who made the performing level sank, it is questionable if Sinigaglia could hear them after 1904. The quartet Rosé took over the fame of its predecessor.

some burlesque anecdotes, dear to the Viennese. They went together to the Prater's puppet theatre, which Brahms adored.

Sinigaglia was known for his meticulous nature to his closest friends and family. For us the evidence of his nature is provided through his scripts of precise impressions of his life. He obsessively kept the schedules of performances of his works, their critiques, registers of concert halls and theatres, soloists of his works, as well as their conductors and editors in order. He renounced on propositions from various conservatories, to teach or direct them, to keep his composing activity sustained by his promotional managing through ample correspondence and trips, either to assist to the execution of his orchestral works or to accompany on piano singers singing his *lieder*. With such calendar, relatively modest size of his opus is understandable.

In the following passage, "Recollections of Vienna", Sinigaglia documented his arrival to the Austrian capital:

How did I arrive to Vienna? In 1893, I had completed my studies of harmony, elements of composition, and orchestration with Maestro Giovanni Bolzoni, a brilliant but uneven musician, as well as an excellent connoisseur of the orchestra, to whom I owe much. I felt, however, the urge to live in a broader, more musical environment as was Vienna at that time, and wished to conclude my training under the guidance of Brahms. I was unaware of the fact that the great Master did not teach privately, and when I learned of it, I requested and received - thanks to our mutual friends, the Kupelwiesers- the encouragement to take an advanced course with the well-known musicologist Eusebius Mandyczewski, Brahms' close friend to whom he often redirected his aspiring students. Brahms did it as a consequence of his conviction that he is lacking in pedagogical talent and patience, which are necessary qualities for teaching. Of Mandyczewski- or his "dear Mandy" as he would call him- the German Master highly appreciated the vast musical and literary culture, just as his keen musical intelligence. He customarily listened to his colleague's judgements on his compositions, and he entrusted him with the correction of his drafts, as Mandyczewski was perfect at it: his "eagle eyes" never missed the slightest mistake...The two composers had, over the years, a frequent and very interesting correspondence. Dr. Karl Geiringer- a well-known musicologist who succeeded Mandyczewski as archivist and as the custodian at the *Musikverein* and *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, -published their exchange of letters, which testify to Brahms' profound esteem for and companionship with Mandyczewski.¹⁴⁵

I met Brahms in the house of Hugo Conrat, an intelligent music lover, whose daughter Ilse, ingenious sculptress, was very dear to the Master. Brahms gladly had lunch with friends' families with whom he knew he would spend a pleasant evening. Often a bit

¹⁴⁵ Karl Geiringer, *Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Eusebius Mandyczewsky*, Leipzig, Verlag Breitkopf & Härtel, 1933, republished as a special print under the same title in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 15, No. 8 (May 1933), p. 350.

rude and sarcastic- perhaps as a defence of his incredible inner sweetness and the unexpressed passions not uncommon in his life- he could occasionally be mordant.¹⁴⁶

Brahms liked to be invited and often his presence among *invités* of salons was dominant. Also his appreciation for younger female members of his hosts' families was well-known. Later, writing about the passing of Brahms, Sinigaglia's distraught words are expressing all his passion for the great composer:

He passed away on April 3, 1897, at the age of sixty-four, serenely and without suffering. The last notes he wrote were those of a Choral Vorspiel for organ on the words "O Welt, ich muss dich lassen" (oh world, I must leave you!). Amidst those who mourned him, there was our pure Italian pride, the distinguished singer Alice Barbi, who was arguably Brahms' greatest love, the one he could not camouflage- contravening his usual conduct - so much was he besotted with her. When Barbi gave her farewell concert prior to marrying Count [Boris] Von Wolf Stromersee, Brahms- who had quit playing in public for years- wanted to accompany her at the piano for the entire recital in the Bösendorfer Saal. And Alice Barbi was the sole woman, among those who mattered in Brahms' spiritual and sentimental life, to follow his mortal remains to their last resting place.¹⁴⁷

Another musician was present in Sinigaglia's reminiscences from Vienna, a composer for whose music he used generous words, his older colleague Karl Goldmark (1830-1915). The popularity of this Hungarian violinist and composer, Sibelius' teacher in the last decade of the 20th century, was at its peak. They would attend concerts and operas in Vienna together and exchange with each other their impressions and points of view about them. Sinigaglia convinced Goldmark and made it possible 30 years after his debut with *The Queen of Saba* (1879) in Turin, to return and present *Die Wintermärchen* in 1909 in the *Teatro Regio* (which was met with great success).

The description of Goldmark's presence in Turin for the performance of his opera is immortalised by the Luigi Alberto Villanis in following passage:

Carl Goldmark was the perfect antithesis to Massenet. He was short, chubby, pink in his face, sparing in words, and proper in acts. Unlikely to make himself conspicuous, he would hide deep within the hall, with the score on his knees and a pencil in his hand. He would seldomly interrupt the execution and if he were to do so, it would be with a soft "Prego". He preferred to stenograph his objections in the margins, and after the rehearsal he would confer with Pedrotti in order to translate the meaning of them.

¹⁴⁶ "If I forgot to offend somebody tonight, please excuse me". Is a well-known narrated anecdote about Brahms leaving after a dinner that he assisted. From Biographical Notes, chapter Recollections from Vienna/Brahms & Mandyczewski, *Fondo Sinigaglia*, trans. D. M.

¹⁴⁷ From Biographical Notes, chapter Recollections from Vienna/Brahms & Mandyczewski, *Fondo Sinigaglia*, trans. D. M. The integral text in chapter Autobiographical Scripts.

His sparse practice of Italian rendered him awkward in expressing himself. From the day when his "Queen of Sheba" was performed in *Teatro Regio*, he had invested himself into the study of the language, and in mere months, without any teacher or assistance, he made miraculous progress. Despite this he was still unable to express himself with clarity, and more than everything, with the same fluency of thought. He explained something in a veiled and quite convoluted manner, making it necessary for a translation [...] thus he would accept with favour some cuts proposed by Pedrotti, which were discrete but opportune. He thought that corrections of some conventionalisms in the moves and behaviour of certain personages, and certain mistakes in the set would be equal to an entire disarrangement of the intimate substance of an opera, thus exposing it to a tough risk. Always courteous, he would listen with deference to all observations, and he would justify the feeling behind them, give thanks, and as soon as one would believe that he was convinced, he would draft a timid smile and simply utter, "Let's try it one more time...then we will see."¹⁴⁸

This passage gives an idea of the character, musicianship, and personage that Goldmark had. We can only estimate how compatible he and Sinigaglia were, but their conviction of ideas and the manner in which to express them through music convey the similarities that could have brought these two composers towards one another, even though Goldmark was Sinigaglia's senior by 38 years.

While in Vienna, Sinigaglia assisted in the master classes of a famous pianist Theodor Letischitzky (1830-1915) for a limited number of participants. He found them particularly interesting not only to improve certain patterns in his piano playing and to gain insight in composing for that instrument, but also for the opportunity to meet young pianists, Letischitzky's students who would later become advocates of his own music, Ossip Gavrilovich, Arthur Schnabel (1882-1951), and others. Viennese audience was split in contrasting groups, might it be, the group of amateurs of operetta against the amateurs of *ernste Musik* or fans of certain composers, but within fans of the latter group, they were amateurs of Brahms and those of Bruckner confronting ones to others.

Without maybe ever meeting Bruckner, but listening to his music on concerts, Sinigaglia would always remain unconditionally closer to Brahms, either for the character of his music or the character of the person, that in Brahms' case was in diametrical opposition to Bruckner.¹⁴⁹

More of Sinigaglia's contacts among musicians in Vienna during his studies, that one can deduce by referring to the correspondence, would include pianists Arthur Schnabel, Eduard

¹⁴⁸ Giuseppe Depanis, *I concerti popolari ed il Teatro Regio di Torino, II., 1879-1886, S.T.E.N., Torino, 1914*, trans. D. M.

¹⁴⁹ It was rumoured in Vienna that between three pleasures of life, mentioned in Johann Strauss waltz Op. 333 "Wine, Women and Song", Bruckner experienced but the last one of them, from Autobiographical Notes, chapter *Recollections from Vienna, III Additions, Fondo Sinigaglia*.

Schütt (1856-1933), Michael Hambourg, and the violinist Emile Sauret (1852-1920). A letter to his sister, mentioned in the footnote No.157, shows that members of the Bohemian Quartet would gladly spend time after their concerts with Sinigaglia. They included several of his quartet works into their repertoire, a few of which are dedicated especially to them (Studio and Suite in five movements). Thus, the name of Sinigaglia frequently appeared on their programmes, which assisted in his eventual popularity, and was assured by frequent concerts of the quartet all over Europe. His friendship with the Bohemian quartet was particularly evident through the correspondence between him and Oskar Nedbal. Just like Josef Suk, another member of the quartet, Nedbal was a pupil of the great Antonin Dvořák, and made the initial meeting of Sinigaglia and the great Maestro possible for Sinigaglia, which in turn determined the continuation of his studies.

3.2 ...and in Prague

In April of 1900, Sinigaglia joined Dvořák in Prague, where he spent nine months practicing advanced orchestration under the supervision of the great Czech composer for nearly every day. He developed friendly relations with the old master, who took him to his holiday house in Visoká in order not to interrupt his lecturing. Dvořák, very keen on folkloric themes from both his homeland and his adopted home in America for three years (1892-95), together with his predecessor in Sinigaglia's musical education, Mandyczewski, who himself arranged popular songs from Romania, his native country, made a decisive urge to Sinigaglia's next compositional adventure towards the Piedmont popular tunes.

Given the proof of Sinigaglia's later biographical scripts, Dvořák seemed to him somewhat rough, wild, and difficult. Nonetheless, after some time spent in each other's company, he learned to appreciate the Bohemian master, and ventured to ask him for private lessons. Dvořák, contrary to his habits, accepted, and Sinigaglia remained with him for many months, first in Prague and then in his villa in Vysoká. Dvořák quickly grew a vibrant, and requited, affection for his Italian pupil. Every day, they would stop by the café, where the master used to delve into reading political newspapers. Dvořák, however, would also readily converse about music with Sinigaglia, in either German or in English, which was in fact a language Dvořák spoke quite well having been the director of the National Conservatory in New York (from 1892 until 1895). This distinguished musician-outstanding for the fresh inspiration reminiscent

of Schubert and his expertise in orchestration, palpable since his first symphonic compositions—was in truth a simpleton with certain peasant-like attributes. Relatively ugly, he had, however, bright eyes and a forehead resembling that of Beethoven's. He could open new horizons to a student with just a few drastic yet enlightening words, and he could do so more strikingly efficient than any accomplished pedagogue. Harboring a profoundly Bohemian soul, he intensely loved his country, and illustrated his fondness in brilliant musical works.

Vysokà, some sixty kilometres south of Prague, is now home to a memorial for the famous Czech composer Antonin Dvořák. A five-minute walk away, lies the magical Rusalka Lake, where Dvořák drew inspiration for his famous opera of the same name and for over thirty more works for some two decades of his life. On the opposite end of the village sits Rusalka Villa, Dvořák's country house. At first sight, Vysokà may appear to be just a tiny little village in the Czech countryside, but after taking a closer look you soon come to understand why the nineteenth century composer had a special bond with it.

Retreats passed in Vysokà were not meant to customise master classes but to be near the nature with his family, and Sinigaglia was chosen to share this privilege with the great Master. The following passage shows how fond he was of Vysokà:

The Master's first retreat at Vysoká by Příbram, where he always spent the holidays with his family, was an ordinary walled granary behind the villa in the woods where the Count Kaunitz [his brother-in-law] used to keep his carriages, sledges etc. Only when it became known that Dvořák intended to spend the summer there was the place quickly adapted for living quarters. Often, he would point to his first summer house and say: "Look there, that's where I worked at 'The Spectre's Bride'."

Later when the Master had a larger family, he bought it from his brother-in-law, the Count Kaunitz, a big place known as "The Sheepfold" from which there is a lovely view of the nearby village Trebsko. He fenced the place in, built a small one storied house in the middle and laid out lovely large garden round the house. Here he spent many happy holidays in the circle of his family, whom he loved above all else, and created many beautiful works.¹⁵⁰

His love for the surroundings of this province was as much evident as his appreciation of the people living there.

In the evening, he used to go to the inn which was frequented by miners and here he would tell them about his sojourns in America which greatly interested them. He was also fond of going to the neighbouring village of Trebsko, to the parish church, where

¹⁵⁰ Bohumil Fidler, *Recollections of Antonin Dvořák* in Otakar Šourek, *Antonin Dvořák Letters and Reminiscences*, Artia, Prague, 1954, p. 82.

he liked to play the organ that he had gifted to the church in thanksgiving for his safe return and that of his family from America.¹⁵¹

Dvořák wanted to bridge his experiences with those of the locals, connecting his city life and international activity with the everyday life of village inhabitants, and making his life challenges nearer to them. In reminiscing about his friendly relations with his neighbour, who was also the mayor of the village, he admits to some of the happiest moments of his life, and shows his closeness to the country and how he collected tones of its surroundings:

With his fine but unassuming nature, he inclined mainly to the common people from whom he had sprung. I often used to see him in the country inn at Vysoká playing "darda" with the neighbours or talking with them about pigeons and farming in general. Of these neighbours he was fondest of the farmer and mayor, Mr. Fencl. A curious thing was that though he scarcely ever talked about music, and then only with reluctance, he talked music often with his neighbour and, as I learned later, invited him to Prague at his own expense, took him to the National Theatre to see one of his own operas, and having shown him all the proper hospitality, graciously sent him home again.

Once on the Master's name-day, the village musicians from Trebsko, Vysoká and Bohutin came to play in his honour, having previously diligently practised some "opera" pieces in order to please the Master. The Master thanked them and invited them into the inn where he treated them and then got them play him some village music, whereupon he said to the musicians: "Look, play me these things, that's what I like, and these opera pieces-leave them to others!"¹⁵²

The summers passed in Vysoká were when those of the most mature creations of Dvořák were produced. There he composed or finished more than 30 opuses, amongst them the operas *Dimitri*, *The Jacobin*, *The Devil and Kate*, *Rusalka*, and *Armide*. Vysoká is tied with the creation of the oratorio *Saint Ludmila*, the cantata *Spectre's Bride*, a Requiem, the second volume of *Slavic Dances*, the overtures *My Country*, "In Nature's Realm" and *Carneval*, *Humoresques*, and not to forget the symphonic poems *The Water Goblin*, *The Noon Witch*, *The Golden Spinning Wheel*, and *The Wild Dove*. In 1900, when Leone Sinigaglia went to Prague with the intention to study under Dvořák, he had just become the director of the Prague Conservatory after having spent three years in the equivalent position in New York.

Sinigaglia's decision to pursue his musical studies in Vienna and Prague, bonded him with other young prodigal composers, namely his contemporaries who left Italy at about the same time. All of them attempted to reach an elusive secret of musical creation and inspiration under the wing of great contemporary composers abroad: Alfredo Casella (Torinese just like

¹⁵¹ From the letter by Jan Hertan (1860-1943) Otakar Šourek, *Antonin Dvořák Letters and Reminiscences*, Artia, Prague, 1954, p. 219.

¹⁵² From *Reminiscences* of Bohumil Fidler in Otakar Šourek, Antonin Dvořák, *Letters and Reminiscences*, p. 219.

Sinigaglia) left for Paris with the aim to study under Gabriel Fauré, Carlo Jachino went to Leipzig for Hugo Riemann, Ottorino Respighi to Berlin for Max Bruch and subsequently to St. Petersburg for Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakow, Gian Francesco Malipiero went to Vienna, and Rosario Scalero, also went to study with Eusebius Mandyczewski in Vienna after Sinigaglia's recommendation and enjoyed the time they would spend together. His letter to his wife describes:

We have spent all day together...Sinigaglia has a good heart, and he is truly a great friend... After all, everything we ever do is hanging out in all the cafés where Sinigaglia does the funniest things...For him, everything in the world is a source of pleasure. And for this, he possesses nerves of steel. I am a wreck, he is always calm, serene...Needless to say, in any category he has the great success with women.¹⁵³

Turin was not the centre of the European music scene and Sinigaglia felt that intensely. His first ventures as a composer were not always accompanied by encouragement. Some critics would judge him beyond the musical context, which might have been the reason why he and his contemporaries searched for musical guidance abroad.

It is worth pointing out that Sinigaglia happened to be in Prague during a period of Dvořák's life that, as indicated in letters to friends and colleagues, found great master to be unproductive. After having completed the opera "Rusalka" at the end of November 1900, Dvořák suspended his composing activities for fourteen months, during which he, ostensibly, was waiting for some kind of inspiration. During that period of creative insecurity, he also declined invitations for conducting.

He writes to Dr. Emil Kozánek, his friend and concert organiser, pianist, and lawyer, in Kromeritz on February 11 of 1902:

I have been without work for more than fourteen months, I cannot make up my mind to anything and I do not know how long my present state will last- as long as I do not find what I am seeking for I must put everything aside, and so I cannot promise you anything for which I am very sorry... I also had an invitation from Leipzig from the Gewandhaus...but I declined that there too.¹⁵⁴

He underwent a similar period of inactivity shortly after his return from New York, but it was considerably more short-lived. Dvořák thus had ample free time, much to the benefit of Sinigaglia, allowing him to attend lessons several times a week. These lessons took place in Dvořák's house in Zytva ulica, other than his summer months in Vysoká with his unburdened teacher.

¹⁵³ Scalero's letter to his wife dated Vienna, April 9, 1900, cited in La Villa/Lo Piccolo, *La musica delle alte vette*, Gabrielli Editori, Cengia, 2012, pp. 66-67, trans. D. M. Integral text in Italian in Annexe No. 18.

¹⁵⁴ Otakar Šourek, *Antonin Dvořák Letters and Reminiscences*, Artia, Prague, 1954, p. 219.

Already in November 1895, shortly after beginning his studies in Vienna with Mandyczewski, Sinigaglia expressed great admiration for Dvořák's music in a letter to his sister and also alluded to the hope of meeting him.¹⁵⁵ Soon afterwards, Oskar Nedbal, the violist from the Bohemian Quartett¹⁵⁶ and Dvořák's pupil, heard Sinigaglia hinting at wanting to meet the great Czech composer and arranged for it within the month.¹⁵⁷ Josef Suk, the second violinist who was married to Dvořák's daughter Otýlie (1878-1905) since 1898, had his merits regarding this meeting as well.

Leone Sinigaglia declared in another letter to his sister, that his future musical compositions would have no similarity to Wagner's but rather resemble Brahms' and Dvořák's style.¹⁵⁸ He characterized those as "romantic" and aimed to produce works with that same quality.

The question arises as to what influenced Sinigaglia's choice of musical idols in Brahms and Dvořák. Sinigaglia favoured music which exhibits more emotionality and a certain pureness, rather than intellectuality. This particular preference prompted his future interactions and ethnomusicological orientation.

Sinigaglia, along with Brahms, Dvořák, and other contemporary composers, thus did not limit himself to composing but also spent a considerable amount of their lives collecting musical folk patrimony. His notes from around 1902 offer an invaluable insight into the sincerity of his character: "The first quality required from someone who is collecting the poetry and music of old popular songs is an artistic honesty pushed to the limit."¹⁵⁹ That honesty which characterises the whole of his work, can be traced back to Dvořák's influence, tying the aspiring composer to the master's expertise.

¹⁵⁵ "A quintet by Dvořák is marvellously beautiful. My consideration for this composer developed extremely and I consider him after Brahms the greatest in this genre among contemporaries: and the same is the opinion of best musicians around here. I hope to do a short excursion to Prague to meet him", from Sinigaglia's letter to his sister dated November 26, 1895, trans. D. M.

¹⁵⁶ Sinigaglia's collaboration and friendship with Bohemian quartet started since they have met in Vienna just after his arrival in 1894. Scherzo Op. 5 was written and dedicated to them to underline their friendship and to start a long-lasting collaboration.

¹⁵⁷ "After the concert I went for a dinner with Bohemian Quartet, Grunfeld (pianist, 1852-1924) and Edward Schutt (important pianist and composer 1856-1933). It was a true fortune that I had met them: they've told me that they've just finished to rehearse one of my pieces (difficult) and are going to play it on their Russian tour and then in Italy, for sure in Turin; afterwards other of my works will be also studied...it is them who are going to introduce me to Dvořák.", from the letter to his sister from Vienna, November 26th, 1895, trans. D.M.

¹⁵⁸ "I would like to become less Wagnerian and incline more to Brahms, Dvořák. and old ones.", in a letter to his sister from Vienna, November 26, 1895, trans. D. M.

¹⁵⁹ "La prima qualità che si richiede in chi raccoglie poesia e musica delle vecchie canzoni popolari è l'onestà artistica spinta fino allo scrupolo ", preface by Sinigaglia to *Vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte* Op. 40 in Leydi Roberto, *Canzoni popolari del Piemonte, La raccolta inedita di Leone Sinigaglia*, a cura di R. Leydi, Diakronia, Vigevano, 1998, p. 51, trans. D. M.

Everything would point to Dvořák's genuine and pure, even religious attitude.¹⁶⁰ His stylistic determination, just like Sinigaglia's, was without compromise. He would thus say about French music (which he generally disliked) that it originated from "Babylon" (his figurative analogy of Paris). In listening to certain operas, he would condemn female protagonists of *Carmen* by Bizet, Puccini's *Tosca* or Charpentier's *Louise* for being inconsistent with their personal taste, due to their frivolity and brutality. Additionally, he strongly disapproved Puccini's parallel quints.¹⁶¹

Reminiscing about the period spent in Prague, Sinigaglia further praised Dvořák and brought up his distinctive teaching qualities, insisting that learning from him was not always uncomplicated. He glorified his teacher's uncompromising nature, a trait which he most likely emulated later in his life. Dvořák's severe judgement would easily discourage any other student, but offering honest feedback was timesaving on many occasions. He could open new horizons to his students by emitting a single word and was therefore held in high regard by them. Such was the admiration and loyalty of his students that they would accompany him back home from time to time to prolong their presence in his company.¹⁶²

Dvořák's opera *Armide* was undoubtedly less well-known and less successful than *Rusalka* (after Sinigaglia), despite its noble and important¹⁶³ intent. The production was abandoned by the best conductor of the Czech National Theatre, Karel Kovařovic. The reason for this remains unknown, but Kovařovic was dissatisfied with the scenography which possibly contributed to the level of the vocal and orchestral deficiency.

Sinigaglia witnessed how Dvořák, worried during rehearsals while attempting to rectify the shortcomings, and he suspected that the *première* would not meet the composer's high expectations.¹⁶⁴

Dvořák, then aged 63, enjoyed the apex of a prolific career that brought him fame on two continents, which he supplemented with his musical and pedagogical activities. That period of

¹⁶⁰ "I've just finished the second movement of my new symphony, the Andante, and I am, once again, happy and blissful in my work, as has always been the case up until now and, God willing, will continue to be so, for my motto is and will be: God, Love, Homeland! This alone will lead to a happy conclusion!" from the letter to Alois Göbl, December 31, 1884, [https://Quotes & Statements | Interesting facts | Antonín Dvořák \(antonin-dvorak.cz\)](https://Quotes & Statements | Interesting facts | Antonín Dvořák (antonin-dvorak.cz)).

¹⁶¹ "I asked Dvořák what he thought about Puccini. The answer was such that it cannot be referred. He hated him. He told a famous singer one day that if one would play [Puccini] for his funeral he would jump out of the coffin. The singer responded: Then may these quints be blessed, for they will bring us back the great Dvořák.", *Autobiographical Notes*, chapter Antonin Dvořák, *Fondo Sinigaglia*, trans. D.M.

¹⁶² Recent research shows that Dvořák was suffering *Agoraphobia*, avoiding open spaces, town squares, busy streets and that accompaniment by students was reciprocally appreciated. <https://www.antonin-dvorak.cz/en/did-you-know/>

¹⁶³ *Armide*, based on the poem by T. Tasso *Jerusalem Delivered*, deals with religious conflicts with an emotional torment of protagonists between feelings and duties and their representation of love with its values.

¹⁶⁴ The manuscript *Antonin Dvořák* by Sinigaglia, p. 17, *Fondo Sinigaglia*.

leisure was, unfortunately, short-lived, as his health continued to degrade: his developing uraemia, in addition to his atherosclerosis were detrimental to his inherent unstable condition. In severe pain he was unable to assist in the music festival in Prague, where the Czech Philharmonic, which he was inseparably bound to, played several of his works.

Some improvement to his state, prior to his expiration, allowed him to be seated with his family during a dinner at home, this had to be exceptionally authorised by his doctor. A sudden cerebral congestion was the reason for the great maestro's demise on May 1st, 1904. He was honourably buried in the same cemetery as Smetana. Thus, the Vyšehrad cemetery is the last address of the two greatest Bohemian composers, both having exhibited a lifelong patriotic dedication to the local musical patrimony and respect for the national identity of Czechs.

With the death of Dvořák, the most important representative of the whole post-Brahms era, the entire school of absolute music of his time had disappeared. In his pure music¹⁶⁵, he was able to aptly express his genius, pay heed to his soul, interpret the sadness and joy of his people, as well as nostalgically return to his childhood and relive it.¹⁶⁶

Dvořák's attitude towards Sinigaglia was protective, sharing with his student not only the moment of creating a musical opus but also the privacy of his home where they would meet for frequent instrumentation lessons. Their amicable relation would continue within the master's vacation house in Vysoká, which was surrounded by nature. All that familiarity confirmed to Sinigaglia the feeling that he was previously captivated by the master's music, knowing him personally, while studying in Vienna. He would thoroughly understand all those colours of Dvořák's that he named "bohemian, the characters of contrasting vivace and elegiac, kindly and inexhaustible richness of dynamic nuances". Sinigaglia describes the fiery impact of Dvořák's *Adagio* [Symphony from the New World] as if he had already known Koessler's famous expression that would puzzle Bartók.¹⁶⁷ Dvořák's kindly and frankly bohemian benevolence would always exhibit very characteristic signs of locality, despite his two years spent in America, just like Schubert can be identified as exclusively Viennese.

¹⁶⁵ *Pure music*, in some interpretations synonym of absolute music or abstract music in the sense of XVIII century German literary Romanticism by W. H. Wackenroder or E. T. A. Hoffmann, then conveyed to Wagner, was not the meaning of Sinigaglia's term used for Dvořák. He would underline the *pureness* as the issue of honest, competent, though emotional approach to composing that he was admiring about his idol.

¹⁶⁶ "Nella musica pura soprattutto egli potè più liberamente esprimere il suo genio, ascoltare la sua anima, far rivivere le tristezze e la gioia della sua gente, i ricordi della sua infanzia." Sinigaglia, *Antonin Dvořák*, manuscript, *Fondo Sinigaglia*.

¹⁶⁷ "To be able to write adagios, one should have lived them", Bartók's teacher's, Hans von Koessler's citation in the Bartók's letter to his mother, November 12th, 1902, Citron Pierre: Bartok, Edition de Seuil, Paris, 1961/1994 reprint, p. 11, trans. D. M.

Consequently, Sinigaglia drank in abundance from the source of musical creation which the great Maestro represented for him, having been generously offered to share with him his qualities of humanism, patriotism, and musical principles gathered in Europe and in America. Sinigaglia's music adopted that positivity and his first important symphonic opus after his studies in Prague, *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte*, boasted an original title and colourful themes.

In his vocation to a style derived from "pure" music, he had a romantic heritage to take with him to his native Piedmont and apply to his musical works thereafter. Just like Dvořák was defined as being a "real Bohemian *musikant*", he wanted to belong and be identified with the ground that he was born on and loved undeniably ever since.

His continued presence in his city of birth after he finished his studies with Dvořák, even later when racial laws made it difficult and risky, was the proof of his faithful disposition towards the local musical patrimony of his people in his native land.

From a social perspective, Sinigaglia reportedly refused any political engagement, be it in some committee, or in public functions, as several conservatories offered him a director's role.

Dvořák's directorships in the New York and Prague¹⁶⁸ conservatories, and even his short career as an Austrian senate member, demonstrate that he took a different approach to sociopolitical involvement.¹⁶⁹ Nonetheless, Sinigaglia was far from being disengaged, but his wish was to remain anonymous in any of the numerous circumstances in which he would generously contribute throughout. In the Great war and later in the 2ndWW he was involved in civil assistance, internal resistance, and the Italian Red Cross, risking his life through spreading anti-subversive propaganda in suburban quarters of Turin, while always avoiding being the part of an organised structure and resigning any honorific acknowledgement.

He was a person of moral rigour, dressed always in the same distinguished manner: modern, joyful, and simple. He was social and friendly, "but above all, had a great sense of humour."¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ He though refused the first proposition for a teaching position in composition.

¹⁶⁹ "Dvořák made his entry into the senate (Herrenhaus) along with Emil Frida on March 14, 1901...the greatest contemporary poet and the greatest contemporary composer of the Czech nation to the peerage should become part of a political action...wanted in some measure to placate the dissatisfaction of the Czech people dating from October 18th 1899...when Czech was completely abolished from the internal administration of local and central Government offices and law courts in Bohemia and Moldavia....He never appeared there again. ", from *Antonin Dvořák as Politician* by Josef Penizek.

¹⁷⁰ Sinigaglia's sense of humour is iconic, even in dramatic moments after promulgation of Racial Laws when he was forced to live with his sister a low-profile life, in a small apartment in Lungo Po Diaz 8, from 1941 on: "One of most gracious things is a miniscule living room which is automatically transformed into wagon-restaurant, with a table next to the window (with an enchanting view) without reservation. So, we travel on the wings of fantasy and watch imaginary landscapes mirroring in waters of the old Piedmont River", letter to Luigi Rognoni dated Turin, 2/1/1941, trans. by D. M.

Aside from his work, which was precise and methodical, his inclination to the aesthetic writing of any of his four spoken languages is present through the entirety of his rich correspondence. Documentary analysis shows that this was not the case for Dvořák. His London conducting debut was enthusiastic and he would invariably be fully in control of the with confident baton gestures and without unnecessary effects, but his facial expressions, uninhibited and wild, would be commented on by a concert listener as soon as he appeared on the proscenium with the following words: "But this is a wild man of the woods!"¹⁷¹

František Adolf Šubert (1849-1915), the first director of Prague National Theatre and later Vineyards theatre (1849-1915) gives in his memoirs another lively description of Dvořák's intense appearance and mannerisms. He describes Dvořák as impulsive, someone who would interrupt certain conversations and suddenly change topics, only to come back some other day to continue talking about the original subject. He attributed this erratic behaviour to the constant presence of musical invention inside him:

Engraved in my mind there remains- like an impression in bronze- the likeness of the great artist and his whole way of speaking. The short broad skull, the low furrowed forehead, the eyes deep-set and luminous beneath thick black brows, the somewhat prominent cheekbones, the reddish blunt-tipped nose, and lively mouth even when not speaking. The whole complexion very dark, a bristling moustache and a close-cut full beard, hair thin on the top but elsewhere a thick mane. And this is the picture I keep in my mind of this great creator in tone. And I always have it before my eyes in the bust which has captured the true spiritual expression of Dvořák's countenance- only stressing something here or there- as rendered by the gifted young sculptor, Josef Maratka.

Notwithstanding the flashing of the eyes, which at times looked searchingly, almost mistrustingly, at times with the open gaze of a child, and notwithstanding the mobility of his lips, Dvořák's face had always a certain dreaminess and even meditateness of expression. As rule he looked very serious, rarely did he laugh. Nor did he often joke himself though he was amused by the jokes of others.

He used to come and see me at my office at the National Theatre either when he had finished some work- something new or the revision of an old work- or when rehearsals of his works were on. I do not remember him ever sitting down. He usually walked to and from or stood at my desk or at the window, gazing into space, now in one direction, now in another, and spoke or listened. And it would happen that in the middle of a sentence he would suddenly break off and become lost in thought. In his mind some musical idea had taken wing and was soaring and singing like a skylark, and sometimes he began to whistle it straight away. Only after a while, and as if there had been no interruption, he would return to reality and to what he was saying.

¹⁷¹ Viktor Fischl, "Dvořák in England", *Proceedings of Musical Association*, 68th session, Taylor & Francis, Abington, 1941-42, pp. 1-17.

Otherwise during a conversation about certain subject, he would suddenly start speaking about something quite different, his mind fully occupied with it. And sometimes, in the middle of a conversation, he would turn on his heel with a greeting, or even without, and be gone. And he would maybe return in a few days "to finish what we were talking about."¹⁷²

Sinigaglia's equanimity was contrary to Dvořák's impulsivity. They would overcome those differences through Sinigaglia's fascination for the master and his impeccable education which would lead him to be compliant in moments of Dvořák's impulsivity.

The Master's large horizons and infinite humanity that he equated with Beethoven, his greatness and originality with inexhaustible pouring melodies excused every excessively strong word extended towards his student.

During a lunch in Vysoká in the summer of 1901, Sinigaglia refused to taste a typical Bohemian meal in Dvořák's house that consisted of gnocchi with prunes and chopped cheese. In a typical impulsive bout, the host proclaimed: "Who does not eat this has no shade of talent!", after which he proceeded to pout like a child for about an hour.¹⁷³

Through teaching, Dvořák invested all his qualities as an acclaimed composer into the task of educating young, aspiring composers. He proved to be concise and to the point, rather than dwelling on details. He would make his student rapidly assimilate information as he knew, like few others, how to penetrate the logic of musical form and basics of orchestration.

Primarily, he would put value to the choice of a major idea before starting a subsequent composition by suggesting clearness to his young students. This was of crucial importance for the improvement of a developing opus. Then, just like in his own compositions, he would prefer that all segments of the written musical piece would sing and live their own life within the correct musical context.

Concluding both of Sinigaglia's educational choices, his decision to leave Italy for Germanic soil was not only correct but also productive, as Italian publishing houses with Ricordi as their leader, would not print any other than operatic manuscripts because of the disproportion of instrumental and lyrical repertory in Italy, which was clearly preponderant towards opera.¹⁷⁴

Contrarily, in Vienna, Sinigaglia was introduced to Simrock who gave an opportunity to the still fairly unknown young composer. He was introduced to them by Eduard Schütt, and they

¹⁷² František Adolf Šubert, Antonin Dvořák, *Letters and Reminiscences*, Artia, Prague, 1954, pp. 201-202.

¹⁷³ Sinigaglia's manuscript Antonin Dvořák, *Fondo Sinigaglia*, p. 22, translation by E. Turbil, corrected by D. M.

¹⁷⁴ Bea Friedland, "Italy's Ottocento: Notes from Musical Underground", *The Musical Quarterly*, 56, No. 1 (January 1970), pp. 31-32, reports: "Italian printing firms eagerly accepted most opera manuscripts offered for publication but if composers approached them with a sonata, a quartet, or a symphony, the sighed, cursed at their times and counselled a trip to Germany".

initially printed his *Drei Duete* for female voices and piano (1897), *Drei lyrische Stücke* for violin and piano op. 12 (1898), two *Lieder* volumes op. 15 and op. 17 (1898), *Staccato Etude* op. 11 for piano (1900), and the *Variations on a Theme by Brahms* for string quartet op.22 (1902). Later in 1899 Breitkopf & Härtel, to whom he was recommended by his teacher Mandyczewski, started their collaboration with Sinigaglia with an edition of *12 Variations on a Theme by Schubert* op. 19, and the relationship lasted throughout Sinigaglia's lifetime. In 1899 Sinigaglia made the music world noticing his name with the *Concerto* in A Major op. 20, for violin and orchestra published by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1902. Dedicated to his friend, violinist Arrigo Serato¹⁷⁵, it was the first extensive composition presenting a now mature composer with detailed knowledge and insight of violin playing. Mandyczewski reviewed the finished product, gave it his endorsement, and assented to its promotion, as stated in a letter by Mandyczewski from Vienna, dated October 4, 1901. The piece was premiered on November 9, 1901, by the Berlin Philharmonic and was conducted by Josef Rebiček with Arrigo Serato as soloist.¹⁷⁶ Subsequently it was performed in Vienna on January 25, 1902, and in Italy a few months later once again by Serato on April 13, 1902, at the *La Scala* Theatre where it was conducted by Toscanini. Violinists of the fame and calibre of Jenő Hubay (1858-1937), František Ondříček (1857-1922), Jan Kubelik (1880-1940), Eugene Ysaÿe (1858-1931), Bram Eldering (1865-1943), and Arthur Hartmann (1881-1956) soon included it on their repertoires and made it famous all-around Europe.

3.3 Toscanini, and Sinigaglia's consecutive adulthood

After their first collaborative preparation and presentation of *Hora mistica* and *Scherzo* Op. 8, Toscanini and Sinigaglia met again to work on the Italian premiere of the Violin concerto Op. 20 in La Scala in 1902. Further they collaborated for the Piedmont Dances Op. 31 in 1905, Le

¹⁷⁵ Arrigo (1877-1948) was the son of the Bolognese cellist Francesco Serrato, started violin playing with F. Sarti at the age of 6 and graduated in 1894. He continues his studies with J. Joachim in Berlin where he meets F. Busoni in 1895 and develops a solid career performing in most of European metropolises and in USA in 1914-1915. Returning to Italy he teaches at the Conservatory S. Cecilia in Rome. From 1925, he plays in trio with I. Pizzetti (piano) and E. Mainardi (cello), and from 1930 with Trio Italiano with R. Lorenzoni (piano) and A. Bonucci (cello) until 1932 when he retires from performing and teaches Masterclasses in Siena at Accademia Musicale Chigiana.

¹⁷⁶ About this premiere, Sinigaglia wrote a letter to his family dated November 10, 1901, Berlin; even given Sinigaglia's typical enthusiasm, the evening must have been a success: "Marvelous hall, the whole musical Berlin [there], violinists, complete press: Nikisch, the director of Philharmonic Concerts, exceptionally came to hear this first Concerto for violin by a young Italian anonymous which was bringing it to be 'baptised' in Berlin. The success was great and enthusiastic: you know how reluctant I am to show myself to the audience but last night I was dragged." Integral letter in Annexe No. 12.

Baruffe Chiozzotte Op. 32 in 1908, and the Piedmont Suite Op. 36 in 1918. Their friendship was confirmed when the composer dedicated his *Suite Piemonte* to Toscanini.

Another event where they were collaborating together was the competition of the *Società italiana degli autori di musica* in 1910 in Rome, where they were solicited to be in the jury and therefore responsible to select works that were presented by young composers.

The "Italian Society of Musical Authors" was founded to give an impulse to young Italian composers by stimulating them to write symphonic works and favouring performances of their orchestral and chamber music works. They were required to write symphonically, but with liberty of form and content. They were allowed a sort of freedom from academic rules in order to help them be more inventive and to achieve in complete liberty contemporary regional styles unlike any other in Europe. The idea was to distinguish Italy and promote it in the competitive world of art of the beginning of the twentieth century, eventually successfully ushering in another generation of symphonic composers, similarly to France. The competition, created with such objective, guaranteed the execution of the works of three prize winners in the cycle of *Concerti popolari*, as well as their automatic affiliation as members of the Society.

During the founding time of the competition the name of Francesco Balila Pratella (1880-1955) appeared in Italy and in Paris with his revolutionary futuristic ideas. He was a prolific musical futurist, Mascagni's pupil, and was also interested in popular music. After his studies in Paris, he published his *Manifesto dei musicisti futuristi* (Futurists Musicians' Manifest) in January 1910 in which he encouraged atonalism, enharmony, polyphony, and absolute freedom of rhythm. He was repudiating impressionism as "nebulous" and in techniques, he was opposed to the abuse of certain compositional elements, such as pentatonic or whole-tone scales and chords, which he considered static. When Pratella's first manifest appeared, an important number of Italian composers wanted to shake off the domination of melodramatic forms and styles and started to research the symphonic genre of Italian composing, with little success.

The first competition of the "Italian Society for musical authors" ended with scandalous results. The jury was composed of Arturo Toscanini, Leone Sinigaglia, and Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari and they immediately eliminated 27 of 42 works due to the considered absence of any artistic value. They estimated the level of the candidates as immature and their compositions technically insufficiently prepared. The remaining fifteen works were not convincing the jury either, as they commented in the following text, criticizing the more general coeval musical education in Italy:

For above mentioned critical reasons, the Commission could not recognize in none of these works, at least as they were presented, the harmony of favours which would encourage it to attribute them the public performance. The Commission reached this judgment with pain as it set it out to this task with grand and lively enthusiasm. And if integrally these works represent, as it is probable, the actual state of desire and ableness from the symphonic point of view, it is necessary to draw a conclusion that there is a painful disbalance between musical thought, sometimes chosen, and incapability to find the own expressive coat; either for the lack of such technic which should be the indispensable base of the healthy and illuminate culture.

The reason? The reason, according to us, is the following: that in Italy is poorly studied. Otherwise, it would not be understandable how almost all errors and improprieties of compositions in mentioned judgment are of almost elementary, fundamental character, as poor part leading testimonies, unlucky choice of harmonies, bad employment of instruments. And all that because the major number of those composers, technically immature, waving in every moment among one or other actual author, confronted, by bad understanding or assimilation, the most modern scores, without precedingly getting familiar with grand classical models who preceded them, giving them the necessary base- and remained disorientated and paralyzed.

Other than these reasons, they are enough of those who cannot find the improvement in one simply proportion: among them the ardour typically ours, to arrive in a minute and with small effort there where the other nations arrived by a musical culture, like Germany, where the symphonism, born in Italy and from there immigrated, reached the maximum of development; while here the melodrama attracted the most ingenuity and is still holding its charm, mostly among Italian musicians.

Could one [still] hope in a mutation of such condition of things? We firmly think yes. But to reach it, other than the time and the study, it should be necessary the combination of different elements. Above all should change the attitude of Conservatories, where teaching (just like High Schools, Colleges and Universities who are forming the literary and scientific culture and do not pretend to create scholars and scientists), should educate first of all musicians, experts in every secret of the harmonic and counterpoint technic who know [how] to give to their scores a print, really orchestral, who have known and profoundly studied great models of the past through reading, through continued practising and through comments of their skilful teachers. Thus, would not exit from Conservatories people incapable to lead four parts and place with logic a chord in the orchestra, but musicians of good reason, armed with conviction to confront the arduous task of composing a Symphony.

Realising these desires, we can hope in Italian symphonic blossoming which, free of entrapment of foreign mirages, will reach, like previously in France, in Russia, its real national expression. And let's end with an absurd prejudice that symphonism is in direct opposition with Italian ingenuity. Historical traditions are there to prove the contrary and if our composers would draw from that great sixteenth and that admirable seventeenth century- the pure glory of Italy- they would illuminate everywhere (and especially in Germany) their vivifying light and would find in Alessandro and

Domenico Scarlatti and in Francesco Durante- to cite only the greatest- the candid embodiment of the Italian genius in the symphonic field.

The form of symphony is opened to all musicians who have nobility of ingenuity, phantasy, safe and ready hand: to the geniality and vividness of the Italian spirit should actually be given the eminent level, bring to symphonic development the elements which do not constitute the major and most essential value: the richness of ideas, freshness and variety of the rhythm, harmonic vagueness- all qualities that our great Masters shone in the good antic time, and that remain forever a precious characteristic of Latin genius.

We want to end this judgment with words of the supreme poet:

For if thine utterance shall offensive be
 At the first taste, a vital nutriment
 Twill leaves thereafter when it is digested.

Milan, September 30, 1910¹⁷⁷

This poetical but very determinate style of expressing the judgment of the Competition jury could only have been the fruit of Sinigaglia's writing, although he was representing the group's opinion. It gives the reader a clear insight of the cultural and musical level of young Italians with composing aspirations in 1910 and moreover, the rank of the development in musical education that Italy could offer them. The judgment, expressed by Sinigaglia at the peak of his international career, together with Toscanini and Wolf-Ferrari offers no space for doubt of its competence, and gives an idea about the delay in musical improvement in Italy according to European parameters, making clearer how important the domination of operatic weight was hindering Italian contemporary musical composing.

Amongst the prize winners of the aforementioned "Competition of the Italian Society of Musical Authors", Michele Muzii and Filippo Guglielmi remained forever unknown, while the third-place winner, Alberto Gasco, made his way mostly as a music critic. The winners' concert took place in Augusteo and was conducted by Vittorio Gui on May 26, 1910.

In June 1911, Leone Sinigaglia had an opportunity to meet Claude Debussy in Turin. Debussy was supposed to conduct concerts that included his own music for the Symphonic Season of the *Esposizione internazionale delle industrie e del lavoro*. On the programme were his works *Iberia*, *Prelude d'après-midi d'un Faune*, and *Children's Corner*. These were preceded by works by Chabrier, Ducasse, and Dukas. Compositions by Wagner and Reger were also on the

¹⁷⁷ There is no doubt that among three members of the jury, only Sinigaglia could write a letter of such content and end with Dante's verses.

programme of the season, but only Debussy accepted to travel to Turin and even to conduct (insinuated by M.G. Gatti for the reason of his financial problems).¹⁷⁸ The welcoming committee was composed of Giuseppe Depanis, Leone Sinigaglia, and Vittorio Gui.

The respected composer whose music was known and admired in Italy showed much less competence on the conductor's podium. After the first concert on June 25th (the one planned for June 24th was cancelled), in order to save the performance of the last two concerts on June 28th and June 29th, Toscanini had to replace the clumsy conductor. The change brought the project to a glorious success, and Debussy responded to a letter by Sinigaglia, who was complimenting him on the presentation of his music, in the following manner:

Dear Sir,

My cordial remembrance of your person and you, writing about the performance of *La Mer* pleased me a lot... Talking about a success, it is, believe me, completely due to that grand magician called Toscanini! I am by no means angry about the good bourgeois from Turin to make me feel down; and that they prefer Debussy by Toscanini instead of the real presence of Debussy is nothing else but the most powerful "nationalism".

Actually, on that very day my attitude did not precisely suit to the sympathy, not to talk about the storm that fell on "Iberia" which was also not circumstantial.

Finally, I am happy for such a result for my friends in Turin, among which are you, my dear Sir, and believe me that is infinitely more precious to me, maybe even more than the success itself. My affective cordiality, Claude Debussy.¹⁷⁹

In 1914, with the outbreak of 1stWW, Sinigaglia took a pause from his composing career. In fact, the Italian composer decided to promptly suppress certain musical projects in order to direct his efforts towards loyalty for his country. When Italy joined the Great War on April 26, 1915, Sinigaglia invested his energy into civil assistance and internal resistance, risking his life when he was engaged in anti-subversive propaganda in the suburban zones down from Cavoretto for 4 years. Amongst other activities, he operated in the *Opera Nazionale Scaldarancio*¹⁸⁰ to bring packs to the front line, assisted in Italian Red Cross propaganda, made visits to Military Hospitals to donate books to soldiers, assisted soldiers' children, and divulged brochures about the *Valanghe*.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Guido Maggiorino Gatti, "Torino musicale del passato: II. La sala del Liceo e alcuni personaggi", *Nuova rivista Italiana I*, No. 2 (July-August 1967).

¹⁷⁹ Anna Rognoni Schilacci, Una singolare lettera di Debussy a Sinigaglia, *Lo spettatore musicale*, VII, 5, pp. 2-6, trans. D. M.

¹⁸⁰ The National Project *Scalda-Rancio* (ration-warmer) was a civic association dedicated to the production of special paper rolls imbued with paraffin which soldiers used to heat their rations on the Great War battlefield.

¹⁸¹ During WW1, an estimated 40,000 to 80,000 soldiers died as a result of avalanches during the mountain campaign in the Alps at the Austrian-Italian front, many of which were caused by artillery fire. In winter 1916/17,

All his actions were completed anonymously, without being part of any committee, and by his own financial means. Sinigaglia refused any type of honourable recompense. His individualism was also evident in the fact that he refused certain political responsibilities which were offered to him and turned down invitations to direct conservatories in the great cities of Italy, either by his preference for independence, or in believing that he had insufficient qualities to perform the function of such an occupation.

The composer writes about himself:

His profound Italian spirit as a citizen and an artist is revealed as Italy enters the Great War. Sinigaglia immediately abandons music completely to give all his energy to the homeland. To this tireless and passionate deed for four years, in all the fields of civil assistance and of the entire resistance- Senator Giuseppe Bevione can attest this. Let it be mentioned here that in fulfilling his mission, Maestro Sinigaglia even risked his life, since this was his duty, when he went to make anti-subversive propaganda in the suburban districts of Turin, immediately after Cavoretto, and that his activity was carried out in all possible ways: 1) National Project *Scalda-Rancio* 7; 2) Packages on the front; 3) Propaganda for the Italian Red Cross; 4) Visits to the military hospitals; 5) Assistance to soldiers' children; 6) Books to the soldiers; 7) Brochures on the Avalanches; and the "Dangers of the Cold" authorised by the Supreme Command of the Army; 9) Propaganda for the "National Loan"; 10) Propaganda for internal resistance; 11) Fundraising for the Civilian Assistance Organisation. All this work was always anonymous. Leone Sinigaglia never wanted to be a member of any committee: he assumed in those years the serious moral and financial responsibilities of all his initiatives only under this condition. Shy of publicity, of honours (he had none), of public offices, (he declined several times the invitation to direct Music Conservatories of large Italian cities). Good patriot and citizen, he always felt the duty to contribute widely to the assistance and welfare of his city.¹⁸²

From this passage, it emerges how Sinigaglia identified himself once again as fully Italian. Sinigaglia's main ideological intention was firm in determination throughout his entire life: to help the most unfortunate, whether it be the soldiers on the front, or the abandoned children. The Fondo Sinigaglia brims with receipts of donations that the composer regularly and frequently made to the Red Cross and to hospitals and orphanages which helped countless of people during the war years. In 1920, Sinigaglia was invited, alongside with Toscanini and composers Adriano Lualdi (1885-1971) and Italo Montemezzi (1875-1972), to preside over a

more than 10.000 soldiers died as victims of avalanches among Austrian and Italian soldiers employed on the front. On December 12th, 1916, on the north slope of Marmolada, 253 soldiers died under only one avalanche.

¹⁸² His autobiographical notes, page intitled *Opera patriottica*, translation by E. Turbil, corrected by D. M.

concert in Fiume (now Rijeka, Croatia) during the invasion of the city by the Italian poet Gabriele D'Annunzio¹⁸³ Lualdi describes:

The first time I was able to closely observe Gabriele D'Annunzio dealing with music and musicians in November 1920 when *La Scala* orchestra, led by Arturo Toscanini went to Fiume at the beginning of the great Italian American tour of concerts. D'Annunzio wrote to Toscanini in June of that year: "Come to Fiume of Italy if you can. The most resonant aria in the world is here today. And the soul of the people is as symphonic as your orchestra. The Legionaries await the Fighter who one day led the warrior choir".

Accompanying Toscanini in his musical (but also sentimental) journey were with me Leone Sinigaglia and Italo Montemezzi. We knew that we would spend memorable hours, that the atmosphere we were going to encounter had nothing in common with the one we had left, that D'Annunzio had placed music at the foundation of the social and civil order of the City and that about the music had written wittingly, in the Fiume Statute: *Excitat Auroram* it claims, "it excites the dawn".¹⁸⁴

Anything but coincidental, Sinigaglia's participation in the event was doubly political: as the composer he was summoned most likely to represent- by virtue of his gained reputation as a musician of the people- the Italian population redeeming a claimed town, as well as Italian music itself as the politicised and institutionalised core constituent of it. The concert included, other than Sinigaglia's Piemonte Suite, music by Beethoven, Wagner, Verdi (the *I Vespri Siciliani* overture) and Respighi (the tone poem *Fontane di Roma*).

The last twenty years contained Sinigaglia's progressive withdrawal from the public spotlight. The fascism in Italy took its turn and Sinigaglia could feel himself completely exposed and unprotected, due to his Jewish origin. Although Mussolini's only "rhetoric" instead of a missing "philosophy", people were indoctrinated and taking part in leading political fraction. Umberto Eco in his *Reconnaître le fascisme* comments on D'Annunzio and political conditions in which Sinigaglia was involved for this singular circumstance:

Contrary to what one thinks in general, Italian fascism did not own a philosophy. Italian Fascism was the first dictatorship of the Right that dominated a European country, and

¹⁸³ After the Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920, preparing Versailles Treaties) once Dalmatia's annexation to Italy denied, an upheaval in irredentism and growing nationalism occurred. Gabriele D'Annunzio, the politically strong and decadent poet led a brigade of Italian "Legionaries" to conquer and reclaim Fiume [Rijeka in Croatia today], a city that had remained contested. After Italian government proved adversarial to the enterprise, D'Annunzio proclaimed Fiume an independent state as The Regency of Carnaro. However, the endeavour. was short-lived as the Italian poet was forced to surrender the city at the close of 1920 after 16 months of turbulent events. Interestingly, the Charter of Carnaro, while defining music as its cardinal "religious and social institution" was later supposed to contain incentive pro-Fascist ideas and methods. But for D'Annunzio's enterprise even Lenin expressed his admiration with words "you made the Bolshevik thistle bloom in red".

¹⁸⁴ Antonio Lualdi, "D'Annunzio e la Musica", in *Piazza delle Belle Arti, Rassegna 1957-1958* dell'Accademia Nazionale di Musica Luigi Cherubini, Lettere e Arti Figurative (Florence: Accademia Nazionale Cherubini, 1957), p. 144, translation by Eduardo Turbil, corrected by D. M.

the Mussolini's regime offers successively an archetype to all analogue movements of that type. Italian Fascism was the first to create the military liturgy, a folklore, even dressing code which had more success abroad than Armani, Benetton or Versace...D'Annunzio was the national poet, a dandy that would be dragged in front of the execution peloton, whether it be in Germany or in Russia.¹⁸⁵

As Sinigaglia's productiveness, he was reaching a compositional maturity towards his late chamber music masterworks: *Cello Sonata* op. 41 (1923), the *Rondo* for violin and small orchestra op. 42 (1934), and the *Violin Sonata* Op. 44 (1936), together with a total of four opuses that were composed in a span of 13 years. His *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte Overture* as well as his orchestral tone poems *Danze Piemontesi* and *Piemonte Suite* were contemporary very popular, both in Europe and in the United States¹⁸⁶. In an interview with Guglielmo Barlan in 1933, Sinigaglia meaningfully declared his musical viewpoints and suggested an example to follow to "young composers", as mentioned in the following text:

I was judged by someone of being classicist, which would be unfair if with this qualification it designates an artist who is obstinate to modern conquests. More than once I had to defend the most modern musical creations with enthusiasm, when I was among the firsts in 1912 to applaud to Stravinsky's *Petrouchka* and, recently to *Les Noces* by the same author. Not a long ago I joyfully listened to Mosolov's "Iron Foundry", which I regard as a brilliant idea. The "to the old way" that I happened to recommend more than once, is to be understood *cum grano salis* [with a grain of salt-moderately, carefully] since even through the classic forms of sonata, quartet, symphony, a modern mind has all the possibilities to express one's whole spirit without the requirements of the form hindering its development. But do not let yourself be possessed by experimentation in and of itself, forgetting the glorious work of the great ones of the past, while worsening in alchemical constructions: nor neglect that melody is the first reality of music. This, however, seems to have been understood by a very young group of our composers who are beginning to avoid engaging about the cold and tormented external research, who recognise the musical advantage of the parsimony of the great means, and perceive how dissonances are magnificent if used with sobriety and at the right time and spot, but become horrible when one makes them the sole element of the musical structure¹⁸⁷.

Sinigaglia had to retire to a discrete way of life, first in Via Mario Gioda 39 (Via Giolitti now) and then to the little studio in Via Lungo Po Armando Diaz 8. He had no choice but to rent out

¹⁸⁵ Umberto Eco, *Reconnaître le fascisme*, Kindle format, p. 39, trans. D. M.

¹⁸⁶ Toscanini disseminated Sinigaglia's music through countless performances in America. Mahler also included *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte Overture* in an all-Italian programme which happened to be the eminent conductor's last concert in New York. It took place at Carnegie Hall on February 21, 1911. The other composers featured on the programme of that evening were Giuseppe Martucci, Marco Enrico Bossi, Ferruccio Busoni and Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (with the *Italian Symphony* in A Major No. 4, Op. 90 instead of previously programmed symphony by Giovanni Sgambati).

¹⁸⁷ Guglielmo Barlan, "Un grande compositore italiano", *La provincia di Bolzano*, October 12, 1933, translation by E. Turbil, corrected by D. M.

his lavish villa in Cavoretto¹⁸⁸. In 1943, on September the 10th, Turin was occupied by German troops which were amplifying the overwhelming hegemonistic terror. The RSI (*Repubblica Sociale Italiana*) Police Order No.5, on November 30th of that same year, ordered the Italian Police to arrest all Jews in German-occupied northern Italy, except for those born from mixed marriages and those gravely ill or over seventy years old. In 1943 Alina Sinigaglia had turned 76 years old and Leone 75. Until April 25th, 1945, the Liberation Day, 1246 Jews were arrested in the Turin province alone.

The supposed exception for the elderly was another despicable lie. In 1944 the seventy-six-old composer was hiding, together with his sister Alina, at the city hospital Mauriziano Umberto I. They hid there by simulating a medical condition which needed stationary care in order to escape the Waffen-SS troops' brutality. An abominable tip made this endeavour futile. Sinigaglia died on May 16th, 1944, from cardiac syncope, his old heart stopped after the sight of the Nazi officials at the doorstep of the hospital room, intending to deliver him to Auschwitz. By miracle they did not take his sister Alina. Sinigaglia and Alina's sister-brother bond was however so strong that she passed away only three weeks later, on June 6th, from natural causes. Luigi Rognoni, musicologist, and dear friend of Sinigaglia, was informed by Alina Sinigaglia about the death of the composer¹⁸⁹, and she gave him all the remaining papers and documents from the composer's life and work just a few days before she died. Rognoni kept this most important heritage in his personal collection until 1971, when the first part of it was donated to the Conservatory Giuseppe Verdi in Turin. The second part also was donated in 1982 to the conservatory, and thus the present *Fondo Sinigaglia* was founded and bestowed on the library of the establishment.

¹⁸⁸ Tragically, the composer's efforts to surreptitiously slip off the grid were of no avail. The Cavoretto villa was requisitioned first, and then, in 1944, plundered by unidentified individuals, undoubtedly acting under authorities' complicit directions. For Sinigaglia, the pillage was a tremendous affliction. An entire folder is extant in the Archive, as well as in Sao Paolo Bank, containing all letters and documents concerning the barbarous crime. Even today, neighbouring inhabitants of Cavoretto believe that there is a Sinigaglia's violin hidden in some of walls or under the ground on the property of Sinigaglia's in Cavoretto.

¹⁸⁹ The copy of the note about the death of Leone Sinigaglia by his sister, addressed to Rognoni in Annexe No. 6.

4. CANTI POPOLARI

Sinigaglia's level of instruction, his curiosity, and his repeatedly mentioned meticulousness must have brought him closer to his folk song collecting experience through his studies of the existing national heritage. In England this practise was started by John Playford (1623-1686)¹⁹⁰, and led to the first anthologies of sung folk poetry already since the 17th century. The practice of studying ones' own national heritage only began to appear in Italy from the beginning of the 19th century. Sinigaglia's studying years in Vienna, which was then, together with Berlin, the focal centre of interest in folk song, developed his experience profoundly, especially later when he could observe Dvořák's closeness to the musical traditions of peasants and farmers in Vysokà. When back in Italy in 1902, Sinigaglia's theoretical knowledge could both be invested into practical application and integration into the augmenting of local musical patrimony, with a clear patriotic connotation.

It is never easy to return back to a place of birth, where one is devoid of the position once occupied in public life before the departure. Criticisms and suspicions are reserved for those who return, and their national identity is put into question. After an exposure to the foreign influences of cities abroad, even if the identity of the artistic persons themselves is not questioned, their creations are put under scrutiny. Alfredo Casella, returning from Paris decades after Sinigaglia tried to describe similar difficulties:

I was returning to Italy considering a musical renewal there in 1930, charged with a powerful 'European' experience, and firmly decided to put this 'spiritual luggage' available to my country but... unseemly and ridiculous uproars were denying any character of my Italianity as much to my art as to my action which obliged me to prove that my music is Italian, although modern, but Italian and never non-Italian or cacophonous.¹⁹¹

Though, contrary to Sinigaglia who confronted every opposition alone and let his international reputation win over that local "puritanism", Casella founded Società Nazionale di Musica where he, together with artists and literates like Malipiero (1882-1973), Gatti (1892-1973), De Chirico (1888-1978), Carrà (1881-1966), Savinio (1891-1952) and Papini (1881-1956) in the revue *Ars Nova*, stood for and amplified his idea about music modernisation in Italy. The argument was that they are in music two species of "nationality": first, folkloric, popular,

¹⁹⁰ His book *The English Dancing Master* edited in 1651 represent the music and first written instruction for English Country Dances.

¹⁹¹ Alfredo Casella, op. cit, loc. 1721.

immediately affable, and the second, being based on race, cultivation, atavism, specific taste, technique etc.

Together with the mentioned probability that Sinigaglia got his inspiration to start the research and collecting of popular songs of his region from his teacher, Mandyczewski,¹⁹² it is even more likely that the most significant influence came from Dvořák, who had his own attachment to popular song¹⁹³ that resulted in his *Slavic Dances* and lyric works. Moreover, Sinigaglia's idol, Brahms, with his interest for a popular music art which he portrayed in, amongst other works, his *Deutsche Volkslieder* and *Ungarische Tänze*, was realistically yet another probable spur that induced Sinigaglia to turn towards his pioneering ethnomusicological activity in Italy. One can also consider the coincidence that contemporary to Sinigaglia's studying years in Vienna, the trend of discovering ethnomusicology brought by Guido Adler¹⁹⁴ who was teaching there, advantaged the birth of comparative musicology and it must have been a topic in circles that Sinigaglia attended. The main figures, however, that come to mind when one considers the first research on the field of ethnomusicology in the beginning of the 20th century are unconditionally Bartók and Kodály.

There is no doubt that Bartók has an "ethnomusicological" stature evidently superior to Sinigaglia and that Hungarian musician enlarged his attention and his reflection to the complex problem of traditional sound communication, vocal and instrumental, placing himself as a father of the ethnomusicological discipline. But, even in these senses, Sinigaglia remains the only Italian who had confronted the problem to be a researcher of the musical folklore and a composer in the horizon close to the one of Bartók (including the "national" sentiment, or, for Sinigaglia, "regional", lively, and operational in both).¹⁹⁵

His passionate and long ethno-musicological work resulted in 497 songs of popular tunes in their various variants and can with positivity be considered to be the completion of Nigra's anthological work by a musician who added his "touch" of precious piano accompaniment.

With Sinigaglia's work in the field, which started around 1902, only Alberto Favara's collection of Sicilian popular tunes could perhaps be compared. Favara, however, less a composer than a teacher, would have less success than Sinigaglia with his melodies, definitely never getting into any European public dimension.

¹⁹² Eusebius Mandyczewski collected around 200 Romanian folk songs and arranged them with a piano accompaniment.

¹⁹³ Mentioned in the passage relating to the footnote No. 153.

¹⁹⁴ Precursor of ethnomusicology in the middle of 19th century starting under the name of "comparative musicology".

¹⁹⁵ Roberto Leydi op. cit. p. 8.

Our Piedmont composer and climber had put his mountaineering ardour together with his passion for a dialect. Encouraged by his fresh musical competence, as confirmed by highest personalities of the musical life of Europe, he chose the task to complete the work of Costantino Nigra (1828-1907)¹⁹⁶, to sum up in his *Canti popolari del Piemonte* in 1888 and to give a written and musically notated form, for the first time, to the Piedmont musical popular tradition.

Italy, according to Sinigaglia's predecessor, Costantino Nigra was supposed to be divided in two zones, including in the first the northern part: Piedmont, Liguria, Lombardy, Venice, and Emilia (Romagna) and in the second the rest of Italy. The popular song which then spread towards the southern part of peninsula starts to change either the substance or the poetry but the form as well. Going to the south, it starts to be erotic in content, giving to the local author the liberty to invent the text according to actualities of his region and mixing with Greek influence brought over Adriatic and Ionic Sea. On the north, the singing is more with a subject from the past representing traditions and life of the time without artificial or literary variations, narrative, and epic, reflecting Celtic origin, later latinised like the population. The conservation of certain traditions of subtracts of Celtic origin, similar to other regions in Provence or in Catalonia from where they arrived in Piedmont, according to certain hypothesis is due to the geographical particularity of Piedmont, limited by mountains around.

Sinigaglia admits that French influence was present in the literature of Piedmont, but when it comes to music, he praised the originality of Piedmont melodic line, better and nicer than French:

By the richness and liberty of the phantasy, purity of line, higher agility in vocal movements and extensions and in generally superior expressive intensity regarding French versions, which often equalizes also in grace and spirit, quality that often remains typical for our sister *oltr'Alpe*.¹⁹⁷

In getting acquainted with the ethnomusicological activity of Leone Sinigaglia, I have based my research on three editions of his works, two of them recent: *Canzoni popolari del Piemonte, La raccolta inedita di Leone Sinigaglia*, a cura di Roberto Leydi, Diakronia 1998, Leone Sinigaglia, *36 vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte per canto e pianoforte (1914-27)* a cura di Lidia Benone Giacoletto e Andrea Lanza, Giancarlo Zedde Editore 2002, and Leone Sinigaglia: *La raccolta inedita di 104 canzoni piemontesi* a cura di Andrea Lanza, Torino,

¹⁹⁶ Costantino Nigra, Italian nobleman, philologist, poet, diplomat, and politician completed his collection of popular songs (even if sources say that he started it in 1854) after 30 years of his diplomatic functions of ambassador in Paris, St. Petersburg, London, and Vienna, at the age of 60 contrary to Sinigaglia's 34 years of age when he started his work.

¹⁹⁷ Leone Sinigaglia, *Vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte*, inedited essay, written March 2, 1915.

Difficulties in researching the exact chronology of Sinigaglia's beginnings in collecting popular tunes, due to the abrupt end of the correspondence within Sinigaglia's family, was coupled with the loss of his frequent written expression of his state of spirit, and his thorough documentation of musical life of his epoch. We do know, though, that he consulted two other Piedmont preceding sources of popular treasury: *Canti popolari monferrini* by Giuseppe Ferraro (1846-1907)¹⁹⁸ edited in 1870, and Alessandro D'Ancona's (1835-1914) writings about Piedmont tunes edited in 1889.¹⁹⁹ Sinigaglia's sensibility for the Piedmont dialect is bound with his Jewish heritage and therefore he treated it with an utmost respect.²⁰⁰ There is a hypothesis that if the history would allow Piedmont dialect to develop, it would have grown to be next to Italian what Portuguese is next to Spanish and Dutch next to German.²⁰¹

The only deficit of documents by Nigra, Ferraro, and D'Ancona that Sinigaglia consulted in preparation for the upcoming research, was that they were lexical without giving precisions about intonational aspect. This is where the composer found a field to invest himself into, to conserve melodies as sung by the voices of the last elderly people in the region for generations to come. He had the advantage of meeting seniors of the region of Cavoretto where he was familiar with surroundings since his childhood, while passing long periods of vacations in his parent's house. Convincing the people, he has come to know to overcome their timidity and make them sing a tune, however he needed all his patience, musical competence in comparing different versions, and time to keep repeating them until arriving at a solid version to accept and write down. Memory and rhythmical problems from one to another seasoned singer made the path towards the pure original tune a near-impossible task to accomplish.

He [Sinigaglia] writes: The more I was getting involved with a work, the more it was surprising me, and all together the unexpected growing richness that I was about to discover was dismaying me, so that I ended in reducing the research on a limited zone of the Height of Turin, particularly the surroundings of Cavoretto, where I should say that I was lucky to find collaborators, so devoted and voluntary that they have made it possible to collect in two years of work a surprising harvest of quality and quantity; almost no one would expect to discover in our Piedmont and in such a narrow space of spots, such a richness of musical folklore, not to mention numerous unedited poems that I also had luck to trace.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Giuseppe Ferraro, *Canti popolari Monferrini*, Ermanno Loescher, Roma-Firenze, 1870.

¹⁹⁹ Alessandro D'Ancona, *I canti popolari del Piemonte*, Tipografia della camera dei deputati, Roma, 1889.

²⁰⁰ In Piedmont was developed since around fifteenth century the Judeo-Piedmont dialect, which was a vernacular language, today disappeared after exterminating last connoisseurs of it during the 2nd WW.

²⁰¹ The Denina's quotation in *Canzoni popolari del Piemonte, La raccolta inedita di Leone Sinigaglia*, a cura di R. Leydi, Diakronia, Vigevano, 1998, p. 47.

²⁰² Leone Sinigaglia, *36 vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte*, Torino, Giancarlo Zedde Editore, 2002, XV, trans. D. M.

Once the timidity of folksong connoisseurs in front of the researcher, urging them to sing, was mastered, the difficult task to isolate the correct interpretation of different versions would commence, until finally an exact transcription of the genuine popular music was reached.

Sinigaglia completed his collecting work with outstanding meticulousness, marking different versions of every tune. He developed his work, started in 1902, at the very beginning of the 20th century, before Kodály and Bartók. Pierre Citron mentioned in his book about Bartók: "in 1903, he [Bartók] started to take an interest, episodically but as a technician, in certain popular airs. In 1904 he started to write them more systematically"²⁰³ while Sinigaglia was already completing his two years long work as cited in the previous quotation taken from the preface of his edition of *36 Vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte*. He was a precursor of other ethnomusicological initiatives in other regions of Italy that followed thirty years later. The first of such collections after Sinigaglia dates from the period between 1stWW and 2ndWW, but ethnomusicological research according to established phonetic standards started only with an arrival of modern recording devices after the 2ndWW.

36 Vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte for voice and piano²⁰⁴ was the first work of Sinigaglia's collection. The manuscript never attracted the attention of ethnologists and ethnomusicologists, who classified it as a novice work of Sinigaglia, in a field where he had no experience yet. The error of such judgement was only noticed much later, as in these songs Sinigaglia respected the pure profile of the melody to which he subdued the piano accompaniment. In the manuscript version, corresponding to the one melodic line without accompaniment, one can notice, also through the choice of tunes, that his intention was to transmit a pure final version of the melody, without the elegance or finesse that would normally please the taste of European salons. Contrary to pleasing an extant audience, a visible generic aspiration which intended to extract from oblivion this repertory, with all the modesty and respect that are qualities of a delicate researcher, was present in every detail of his work. Only for the printed version, the added piano accompaniment embellished the original melody. The employment of piano was not only meant for the purpose of mere harmonisation, but took the form of real pianistic requirements, some of the songs included an introduction, some had a concluding coda, or both, resembling the classical principles common to Schubert or Brahms.

In-person song collecting requires a lot of patience, just like Sinigaglia himself wrote in his introducing text to *36 Vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte*. The source of his work was the

²⁰³ Pierre Citron, *Bartok, Solfèges*, Editions Seuil, Paris, 1963, p. 31.

²⁰⁴ The first interest for this collection was expressed by Alfredo Nicola who prints a part of them in photocopy in *Musicalbrandè* (nn. 76-78 and 80-82) omitting all the texts and more than thirty songs considering by mistake them doubled of those already printed.

memory of aged peasants who were welcoming the researcher with diffidence, although they knew him since early childhood, when he was coming to the house of his parents in Cavoretto to spend long periods of vacation time. Their reinterpretation of memorised tunes was not always consequent and thus varied from one session to another. The text varied less than the music, but what suffered the most was especially the rhythm. The oral passage of those songs from generation to generation involved variations and modifications that one had to trace and decide on what version is more original than the other. Then of course there were also those persons who were among last to remember the tune, who could never understand the purpose and importance of such research. The patience of the researcher was needed to overcome all similar difficulties and to be in good grace of peasants who were required to repeat and repeat the same song until the most acceptable version was chosen. Sometimes two songs were melted in one, or the opposite. The rhythm would change, the poetry with it, and if one wants to deduce the "right" version by comparing several interpreters, the problem is multiplied.

Edward D. R. Neill writes about particularities of the Piedmont popular song:

Generally entire folkloric music, not only Italian, is characterized by a much tonal as modal implant while the Piedmont one reveals already a clear distinction between "major" and "minor" and appears rare in modalism. It could induce us to formulate two hypotheses, meaning that the origin of Piemontese popular songs is relatively recent, or that those were introduced by an extern cultural stream which might have contributed to modify the archaic tonal implant, conferring to it a major modernity.²⁰⁵

Nigra's collection was focused on poetical, philological aspect of research without the melodic base "except for the last dozens of tunes, not always corresponding to the relative traditional melodies. But Nigra's objective was different: between 1854 and 1888, a part of collecting a precious and voluminous poetic material, he engaged himself in the study of the comparative popular poetry (comparing some lyrics and tunes from various regions) and in the research of the origin of the popular poetry"²⁰⁶ Thus, Nigra inspired Sinigaglia with his texts but also by characters of the Italian folk poetry. Composer's musical identity, marked by the attitude towards a popular treasury of the sang poetry, also by their harmonisation and later integration in his opus.

Sinigaglia results to be the first who focused his interest to the musical aspect of popular tunes and thus can be considered the pioneer of this type of work which developed much later in Italy, towards the period between two World Wars. It was even more important that everything

²⁰⁵ Edward D. R. Neill, "Introduction" to the record of *Vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte*, Rosina Cavacchioli, soprano, Enrico Lini, piano, YNAMI, 1964.

²⁰⁶ Flavia Ingrosso, op. cit., p. 110, trans. D. M.

was taking place in Piedmont, which was always considered, as it was mentioned in the chapter *Turin after Risorgimento in Italy*, inferior in its musical [or artistic in generally] aspect. Sinigaglia writes himself in his notes: "it was always a general opinion that Piedmont is, musically, the region 'in the middle of nowhere' in Italy: and that its musical production is limited on few vulgar songs, of mostly satiric and burlesque character".²⁰⁷

Sinigaglia's collecting work, even if not lacking systematic, methodological aspect, was not accompanied by a phonographic device as an accompanying standard for a scientific justification of his research, because this technique arrived in Italy much later, after the second 2ndWW, used by Diego Carpitella and Alan Lomax in 1954 who started from the south of Italy.

It was not reciprocally appreciated when confronted with principal European references in such work, Zoltán Kodály and Béla Bartók who in the meantime realised similar research in Hungary, Slovakia, Ukraine, and Romania. Their collecting by aurally recording, cataloguing and classification in the form of their original harmonic tunes was sustained by recording devices which permitted to reach a transcription of those tunes which was extremely precise but also eliminating any mistrust about the scientific criteriums of acceptance. This phonographic support would open a possibility of comparative studies between recorded variants of the same song but also a comparative study of songs from different localities (regions).

Such "lacking" in Sinigaglia's collecting work, exposed Sinigaglia to critics accusing him of absence of scientific value of his research. It was approached that he was introducing in his piano accompaniments tunes of some foreign traditions, close to other European examples, like Schubert or Brahms. It was thus alleged that he was a traitor of the spontaneity of the genuine popular Piedmont song.

Some of comments would also downgrade the quality of the local tunes and render Sinigaglia's work almost useless. About the popular music art of Piedmont, an opinion of Giulio Cesare Paribeni tones down all enthusiastic acclaims. He writes: "Unfortunately, the Piedmont popular song (like Antonio Capri notes about it) is not among the most poetic and suggestive; Sinigaglia could not go beyond the zone of pleasant and enjoyable and arouse to vibrations of major emotional intensity."²⁰⁸

Soon afterwards, the fact that Piedmont song could never approach to the European standards was contested as Piedmont song, with its origine takes distance from rural environments and aspires approaching to higher standards. Andrea Della Corte writes:

²⁰⁷ Roberto Leydi, op.cit., p. 45, trans. D. M.

²⁰⁸ Giulio Cesare Paribeni, *Sinfonisti Italiani d'oggi - Guida per i radio-amatori dei concerti*, Milano, Edizioni Radio Teatrali Artistiche (ERTA), 1932, pp. 57-59, trans. D. M.

The antique Piedmont song resonates the middle-age in its most fierce aspects, recall the cavalry's poetry of historic and dramatic songs, smiles maliciously in an eighteenth-century French manner, makes itself grotesque with climbing shoes and velvet britches. It is a story, and it is an art; restored together thanks to the love and care of a Piedmont artist.²⁰⁹

Other musicians' opinions were much more enthusiast, and their approaches were much more subtle and admirative:

It is not only on simple collecting of text that Sinigaglia's collection is limited. The harmonisation and composition of its accompaniment are the personal work of pure invention which for itself has remarkable advantages of geniality, of sober gentleman's elegance. They are real and genuine instrumental commenting of strophes of the song. The original varieties of harmonisation, the richness of counterpoints, the imitations, the transpositions, and combinations of themes, constitute the principal means of this commenting work, which reaches that so difficult task to create the variety in unity. It is not particular, not elementary, as much as hold of poetic picture that Sinigaglia does not bring an importance to his tasty and most inspired touches, constructing the accompaniment of every song e small lyric frame exquisitely original and personal.²¹⁰

Once collection accomplished, Sinigaglia expresses with handwritten dedication on the manuscript his modest gratitude to his compatriots who helped him to arrive to his result: "I dedicate with gratitude those songs, collected from the mouth of folk to those who were singing them to me, revealing the unknown musical soul of our old Piedmont. L. S., Cavoretto, August 10th, 1013." With those words, identifying himself with songs that he collected, he wrote the note on the border of his folders Op.40, 36 old popular songs of Piedmont for voice and piano, published by the Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig in six volumes two by two in years 1914,1921 and 1927.

The particularity of the piano accompaniment is that it is always discrete and never prevails the original melody, which is enriched by Sinigaglia's harmonisation, remaining in major tune in almost all songs, even in sad ones. Here, the strong character of the Piedmont people is emphasized, marking courageous resistance to whatever emotional challenge.

²⁰⁹ Andrea Della Corte, *Le antichi canzoni piemontesi-annotate, scelte ed armonizzate da Leone Sinigaglia*, Musical Brandé, ed. L. Rattero, giugno 1960, No. 6, trans. D. M.

²¹⁰ Michele Lessona, *Canzoni del vecchio Piemonte*, Biblioteca musicale A. Della Corte, Torino, trans. D. M.

Ex. 1 An example of the manuscript of popular song "Contrasto" (*Caro barba*) with harmonisation

The image shows a handwritten musical score for the song "Contrasto" (Caro barba). It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has a vocal line on a treble clef staff and a piano accompaniment on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The lyrics are: "Ca-ro bar-ba mi sun di me san-vi voi ma-ri-daa-mi se voi ve-ri! O mi-". The tempo is marked "Larghetto" and the dynamics include "mf." and "f.". The second system continues the piano accompaniment with lyrics: "-tati d'un'impe-ri non-ta, t'e non ve go-gua d'par-le co. si.". The piano part includes various chords and melodic lines.

The second collection of 24 canzoni popolari del Piemonte was published posthumously by Luigi Rognoni, musicologist and friend who conserved Sinigaglia's remaining heritage and edited by Ricordi in Milan in 1956. Sixty songs were published among 500 written in three notebooks with a date, place and names of persons singing them for him.

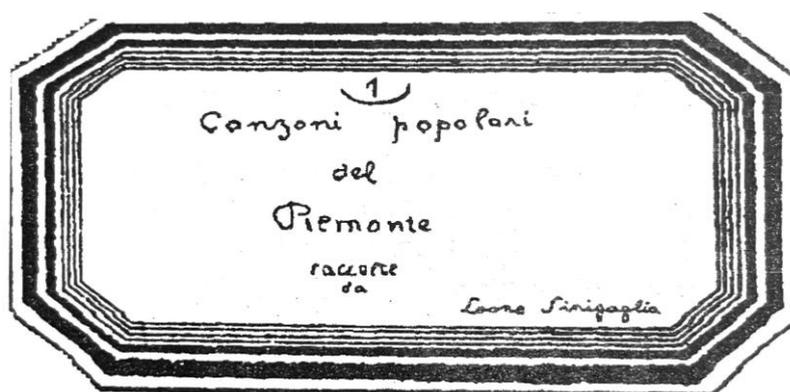


Fig. 2 The Sinigaglia's notebook of Canzoni popolari del Piemonte

Songs of different character, from elegy to satiric content of text, from pastoral to joyous, passing through a song for dancing circumstance are collected there, everything with a rural atmosphere and metrically similar. Generally tonal, with few modalism examples, without challenges for vocal registers, remaining within one octave. Titles are meaningful to common

subjects, either the girl seeking for a man to marry or how to seduce a traveller, emblematic fables etc.

Songs selected in the following text give an idea about a type of content that this popular poetry treated, sometimes with brutal unexpected ending, sometimes offering a useful wit at the end. The emphasis is here made on the song "The Drummer" for its symbolic message with very possible Celtic origin and humour. In the following Example No. 2 several variants of that song are presented.

The Cricket and the Ant (*Il grillo e la formica*) finds a moral conclusion of the well-known fable, Lullaby of Baby Jesus (*Ninna nanna di Gesù bambino*) with lyrical peaceful sweetness of the popular lullaby, and a comic reality of The Wood Hunter (*Il cacciatore del bosco*) with rhythmical pulse. Following titles are The Little Husband (*Il maritino*), Three Wives (*Tre comari*), *La brandolina*. The characteristic rhythm of local dance in 4/4 rhythm *Monferrina* is represented in the sentimental song Dear Mother I'd Wish, I'd Wish... (*Mamma mia vorrei, vorrei...*) and in The Pilgrim of St. Jacob (*Il pellegrino di San Giacomo*).

The passionate subject was exposed in more than one song, like in the 9/8 ballade The Nun Bride (*La monaca sposa*) where a girl, forced to be closed in the monastery by parents, writes to her loving one that she is captured against her wish, and he rushes to ask to marry her and to save her from the capture.

The song The Drummer (*Il tamburino*) has a very interesting moral message. The story is about three drummers who were arriving from the war. One of them had a bouquet of roses, which the princess who was watching him from the window desired. In exchange for the roses the drummer wanted the princess's hand in marriage. Her father, the king, was asked, but he first wanted proof that the drummer was sufficiently wealthy. The modest drummer responded that his only wealth is his drum and his sticks. Considering this a mockery, the king threatened to hang him. The drummer however responded that the troops of his own country would come to his defence. After questioned, it was revealed that the drummer's father was the king of England. The father of the princess rushed to confirm his assent to the marriage in his will, only to find that the drummer had changed his mind, saying that there are more beautiful girls in his country.

This song somehow confirms the mentioned Celtic origin of Piedmont popular songs, offering to its folk who was singing it a fine educational aspect of valuing moral qualities beyond the material ones. From the collecting point of view, it is an example of Sinigaglia's research of the most genuine version by writing down many variations of it, each different either in thematic

structure or even in title of the tune. The editor accepted to publish only Piedmont and French texts in translation by Marguerite Turin.

First interpreter of his songs was Chiarina Fino-Savio in 1915. The soprano Stella Calcina joined her subsequently. They had performed them numerous times in Italy and abroad, frequently accompanied by Sinigaglia until the releasing of racial laws in Italy in 1938. Some of letters by the composer himself describe the obtained success of songs, often requiring encores. Two concerts took place in the *Castello Reale* a Racconigi, after the invitation by the Princess Maria of Piedmont herself.²¹¹ Other European and American voices included those songs in their repertoire: Angioletta Roncallo and Rosina Cavicchioli who sang them with a string quartet; and Mariarosa Carminati at the Accademia Corale Stefano Tempia in a version for the voice and a small orchestra, the version that the author never had chance to hear. The French version was transcribed for Yvette Guilbert with whom Sinigaglia created a contact with while studying in Vienna and who he admired very much. Anna Young, Eva Gauthier (1885-1958) and others brought the name of Sinigaglia to America singing his popular songs. Isolated in his house in Cavoretto through *Leggi razziali*, after 1938, Sinigaglia continued working on popular tunes, writing transcriptions for various ensembles. We though discover the collection for four mixed voices, for 4 male voices choir a cappella and for the choir with orchestra accompaniment. The elegance that characterizes Sinigaglia's popular song transcription for voice and piano is the quality that one can find in his transcriptions for choir taking probably Brahms' example, always with a carefully leaded accompaniment, subordinated to the main melody. A volume under the title *18 Canzoni per coro misto a 4 voci*, under the opus number 40B was published posthumous by Luigi Rognoni in 1980 in Edition Suvini Zerboni in Milan. Verbal texts and their translation and notes are by Roberto Leydi.

²¹¹ Roberto Leydi, op. cit. p. 52; When in Italy, Sinigaglia would regularly play for the Belgium princess Marie-José, married to the Umberto II, crown prince and later the last king of Italy. Sinigaglia had met her most probably through Ysaÿe whose pupil she was. Luca Scarlini writes about concerts for her majesty in "Scarponi e pentagramma", *Corriere della sera*, edizione Torino, May 25, 2018.

Ex. 2 Different variants of tunes of the same song in Canzoni popolari del Piemonte

Sin. 425: Il tamburino

anche *Q. Gar.* 9; *Ms. arm.* 79

VARIANTI

Sin. 106: Sa j'è tre tambourin

Sin. 338: La fia del re

Sin. [338_{II}]: (= *Leydi* 338a): S'a j'era tre tambur

anche *Q. var.* 11; *Q. testi*, p.44

Sin. 385: Il tamburino

The musicologist Massimo Mila writes:

It is for sure that the original harmonisations by Sinigaglia could be a precious example for conductors of popular choirs, as the Piedmont melodies, most of them natural and

simple, take almost more genuine aspect, purified of those lieder-istic elegance where they are thus ornamented in the version for the voice and piano.²¹²

The version for *a cappella* choir and the one for voice and piano was praised by Edward Neill, but he was severely criticizing the orchestra version. From those songs, today are known choir versions, despite their undoubtful monodic descent, except in cases where the collective origin is proved (*certi canti da osteria cansun da fiola enunciate da gruppi corali*), and for precisely this reason, one should abstain from orchestral versions qualifying them inferior to the version for voice and piano, which he hoped that even the author was aware of.²¹³ Later, during Sinigaglia's last working period before he passed away, different versions were elaborated for various ensembles that remained in manuscripts: songs for 4 men voices choir, for voice and chamber orchestra/quartet, or 2 female voices and a small orchestra.

Seeing that Sinigaglia, if enlarging the accompaniment of his songs to more than piano, he would never involve a great orchestra and it is interesting to try to compare Sinigaglia with Sibelius in this sense: In 1946, he [Sibelius] had forbidden to Finnish Broadcasting Company to perform his songs other than in original form, with piano... "I don't want them orchestrated for they completely lose their individual character. One can't express little ideas by means of a large orchestra."²¹⁴

Canzoni popolari for choir were publicly performed by the choir of *Algemeine Musik-Gesellschaft* in Basel, conducted by Hans Suter who executed *Pastora Fedele*, *Il cacciatore del bosco* and *Il maritino*, all of them for four mixed voices. In Turin, they were sang by Choir society "Palestrina", *Coro magistrale* and *Coro del dopolavoro Fiat*. In other cities, they were presented by *Coro del Teatro alla Scala*, Florence Conservatory Choir, *Cantori di Firenze* and *Accademia femminile del Teatro alla Scala*, and others.

Generally, without the aid of a phonographic device, the objectivity of the collector can only be hoped for. Thus one can admire his work as much as the compositional aspect of his popular song collection. Although Sinigaglia's research in folklore was not scientifically conducted, there were elements of it in the considerable effort that he put into collecting multiple variants of a single song and trying to select the most genuine one, sometimes from more than ten options (Ex. 2).

²¹² Massimo Mila, recension of the record *Arie del vecchio Piemonte* for choir, recorded by Turin University Choir, conducted by Roberto Goitre (Folklore F/S 30078) in *Nuova rivista musicale Italiana*, May-June 1979, pp. 595-597, trans. D. M.

²¹³ Edward Neill, *Leone Sinigaglia e i problemi del canto popolare*, bimestrial discographic review y. VI-nr. 266. March-April 1968, pp. 19-23, trans. D. M.

²¹⁴ Santeri Levas, *Sibelius, a personal portrait*, J. M. DENT & Sons LTD London, 1971, pp. 85-86.



Fig. 3 Front page of the first edition of *Vecchie Canzoni popolari del Piemonte*

In following numerous European attempts to approach "compositionally" popular music with high musical competence, one can find the names of, to mention only a few, Mily Balakirev, Edvard Grieg, Jean Sibelius, Bedřich Smetana, Dvořák, as already discussed, Zoltán Kodály, Béla Bartók, Emmanuel Chabrier, and Manuel De Falla. It is only Sinigaglia who had a comparable capacity as a highly skilled composer among all the Italian ethnographic researchers up to date, who could be considered a representative of similar intentions at an equivalent calibre in Italy.

Sinigaglia wrote around 1920 his impressions about collecting folk songs in following passage:

One summer day, on the Cavoretto hills (1902), I heard a peasant woman singing such a beautiful song that I was shocked, and I thought that some careful research could reveal an unsuspected wealth in the field of Piedmont folklore. Constantino Nigra's book was of a great help to me in these investigations. Reading the first verse of popular poems to the peasant women whom I was questioning was often sufficient to reawaken in them, little by little, the remembrance of the melody. I also collected many unpublished poems

and many different versions. These tunes were almost completely forgotten- they were not sung anymore, except perhaps sometimes during the long winter vigils. I once had a trio of old ladies, over eighty years old, very willing, happy, and a little proud of the task I entrusted them- a rare case: more frequent is the distrust, the fear of being “made fun of”, the misunderstanding of the purpose and interest of these research. It is often difficult-in older women-to discern through the trembling of their unsure cantilena the exact contour of the theme and rhythmic line, often interrupted by fermatas of an utterly voluntary and personal nature. At first, I had thought for long about publishing a collection of old folk sound from all over the Piedmont region. But I soon realised that, even when limiting my research to those of the Turin hills, a lifetime would not be enough. I then decided to circumscribe my investigation to the small area of Cavoretto, where, in ten years of relentless work, I found a massive number of themes along with numerous variations. I could not publish many beautiful melodies because of the lack of a stanza or some verses. I disapprove of "restorations", even when done well. *The first quality required in those who collect poems and music from old popular songs is artistic honesty to the smallest detail.* The other one, paramount as well, is patience, which is put to the test in a thousand ways. Patience is managing to have the tunes, forgotten for many years, recalled intact from memory, convincing them [the peasants] to sing them- in looking for knocking on every door to complete the missing stanzas by questioning, other than the first ones, other peasant ladies, to find which [the missing stanzas] one must often pass by, I do not know how many different places and how many times. The folkloristic musical production of many Italian regions is ignored, where almost every farmer’s house is a hive of songs that must be revived. Who knew that in our Piedmont- actually, in a small part of it- there were treasures of popular music? And yet, Nigra’s beautiful poetic work should have drawn the attention and the interest of musicians. We must make haste to conclude this task. Many of the songs I collected were known to only one woman, who would have taken the secret with her to the grave. Others- of which Nigra wrote fifty years ago, that they were popular throughout the entire Turin hill- were impossible to retrace, despite my most diligent research.²¹⁵

²¹⁵ From Sinigaglia’s personal notes, published by Roberto Leydi, op. cit., p. 51, translation by E. Turbil, corrected by D. M.

5. SELECTED SINIGAGLIA'S SYMPHONIC OPUS

Sinigaglia's interest in folklore was prevailing in his symphonic works, where he wanted to "sing Piedmont" as he wrote in the letter to his sister,²¹⁶ yet another testimony of immense pride in his region. He either introduced certain local popular tunes in his orchestral works, or his themes suggest a rustic atmosphere.

5.1 Piedmont Dances Op. 31, No. 1 and No. 2

Piedmont Dances Op.31 for orchestra were definitely expressing a folkloric aspect in his musical inspiration. Dedicated to the family friend Leonardo Bistolfi, a sculptor, they were written alongside his ethnomusicological research on the field in 1903.

After the first performance in Prague with Toscanini conducting Czech Philharmonic, they were premiered in Italy in Turin, in the Vittorio Emanuele Theatre under the same baton on May 14, 1905. The concert started a bit turbulent, and the audience was somehow sceptic. He describes that evening in his biographical notes, chapter "Toscanini":

It was the first Italian performance of *Danze Piemontesi* and for the first time a composer employed Piedmont popular theme (maybe even Italian) in a symphonic work. It was a tempestuous evening. The exposition of the gracious theme by oboe in the first dance *Spunta il sol' e la luna* (The sun comes out, and the moon) started to arouse murmurs which rapidly changed to protests, invectives, shouts "basta!". In a moment it seemed that one should stop playing the piece, but Toscanini continued, despite riots, making the sign with his left arm to galleries to calm down and to wait to what still comes. The first dance ended with lively applauses, contrasted in vain by a small minority, which gave rise to disputes, slaps, and expulsion from the theatre as well. But at the end of the second, with dissidents eradicated, was a potent success.²¹⁷

Journals were also not complimenting Sinigaglia, but rather accused him of bringing "tavern songs" and field tunes to the concert hall. Later, those *Dances* had a lot of success, especially abroad, as in Russia, Finland, Germany, Belgium, Holland, and Austria, A great number of well-known conductors chose to integrate those dances into their programmes for their good-humoured atmosphere and brilliant orchestration almost aligning Sinigaglia with his idol Brahms and his teacher Dvořák in their respective *Hungarian* and *Slavic Dances*. Sinigaglia did

²¹⁶ The quotation related to the footnote No. 223.

²¹⁷ In Autobiographical scripts, chapter Toscanini.

not, though, invent melodies in a popular style, he instead used the original themes and coloured them with orchestral sound.

The bigotry of Italian arrogant audiences on the subject explains why the *Danze* seemed to be received better elsewhere than in Italy after the tempestuous premiere. Contrary to the most reviews, Edoardo Augusto Berta tried to defend Sinigaglia's reputation by contending against the evident musical intolerance and false musical competence of Italian concertgoers. His review gained particular relevance as it illuminates some of the cultural reasons why ethnomusicological research has never truly developed in Italy. The article, almost integrally reproduced below represents another prove of a continuous conflict between popular and art music:

It happened on Sunday evening at the *Vittorio Emanuele* theatre during the performance of one of those wonderful concerts that by now represent a glorious art tradition in our city.

This is an assumption from which has sprung the manifestation of the phenomenon.

The performance to which Arturo Toscanini and his orchestra could imprint evident and patent traits of perfection, had just finished, and the soul (of each listener) was still oozing with that infinite and fresh serenity that the Genius of Bonn could impart in and pour out of his "Pastoral" Symphony, when the same orchestra, conducted by the same Maestro, audaciously resounded in the air of the theatre a small popular motive.

Known, very well known to all, is that tune those drunkards, when they scream to belt out in taverns, and our pleasant ladies, when they wait during the fragrant haymaking, gift us in full cry, accompanying it with the verses of which no one can explain the meaning: *Spônta 'l sol, è la luna, l'è la luna d'Móncalé* (Rises the sun and the moon, and the moon of Moncalieri).

After the Beethovenian magnificence, that little theme, so simple and so well known, thrown in the air, descended into all souls, penetrating all ears, like a nice and old friend we are all happy to see again.

There can be no denying, not shaking the head "no" protest, as many did right there and then. That tune, rising by surprise to the importance of, let us say, concert music, indisputably produced a pleasurable feeling in everyone. The same pleasant sensation that we all feel when, lost in a big city that we are visiting for the first time, happen to find someone or something from our country...

Last Sunday, all the Concert listeners, one by one, must have had that same impression, when the orchestra, playing Leone Sinigaglia's *Danze piemontesi*, sounded that hugely popular song's motive. They must have had it, and they certainly had it: as it is inadmissible that such is not the case, despite someone's denigrations, attempting to make disgusting harm to the aesthetic sentiment felt upon that moment.

Nobody could escape that feeling, that pleasant sensation, elicited by the reunion with a good friend, occurring, after so many years, where and when one least expects it. The popular motif was precisely the good friend, suddenly re-encountered: the modest friend whom we last saw all ragged and dirty, and whom we meet again in a tuxedo or an irreproachable tailcoat, amidst the splendour of a reception at court, with great pleasure, as everybody can imagine.

However, despite the profound humanity of this first and spontaneous sensation, many disapproved, scandalized, pontificated:

-Oh, what is this intruder doing here? Is this piece for concerts? And they took it out on the composer, also hushing him, and overstating with reproaches the offended and violated aesthetic sentiment, adding:

-Have you ever heard such a banality in a concert? Did we put together a great and outstanding orchestra only to perform the smallest and most vulgar popular music?

What impulsive naivety, and what deplorable lack of reflection in these scandalized men! And also, how much facility of dissimulation!

For each of starters, one by one, all the scandalized ones had already experienced that pleasant feeling that they were trying to deny in vain, in favour of a questionable finesse of taste, of bigoted snobbery, which can be the causes of the most comical and deplorable consequences.

Then, immediately after the lie, or the hypocrisy (it must be called that way, for there is no better term), they committed another sin- a horrible sin of snobbery and thoughtlessness. Namely, they let themselves be dominated and possessed by that ridiculous eagerness to appear exceptionally intelligent, so exquisitely refined, as to admit nothing in art that smacks of exotic. A characteristically homegrown (Italian) attitude, which aspires to the honour of being elevated to artistic dignity! Yuck! What a misery! And what brazenness, too!

If only they at least waited- for it was not possible that an artist like Sinigaglia and refined one like Toscanini would have pulled the hoax of a triumphant vulgarity on an entire audience-if they only had waited to see how the composer would ennoble with art domestic modesty of that little tune! This would have advised the most elementary spirit of reflection, which would have also prevented the impulsive ones from making fools of themselves and persuaded them that one could absolutely have good taste in art even when accepting our own things.

And another observation would have suggested certain considerations to those not prone to snap judgements at first impression.

They perhaps would have remembered how all those innumerable, and sometimes pretty, Hungarian, Slavic, Norwegian etc. rhapsodies did pass through our concerts, and continue to pass, and they are essentially woven with popular and simple motive exactly like *Sponta 'l sol*, *Vôl bela veuli vnì*, or *Ciaô, Ciaô, Ciaô* (that hold their place very honourable among other melodies of the popular world). And many, had those motives

come from far away, accompanied by a beautiful Ostrogothic with a dozen consonants and at most two poor vowels, would have certainly smiled at all three musical ideas.

But no, those motives belong to us, therefore, we must deny-or at least singly haggle over-their entry, irrespective of the fact that the themes of all those countless other rhapsodies of every nationality are, like these, plucked in the orchards (more or less elegant and flowery) of the popular muse.

For all we know, no Hungarian, no Slavic, or Norwegian public has ever rebelled against the performance of Hungarian, or Slavic, or Norwegian rhapsodies, which instead were all programmed, always meeting with fortunate and legitimate consensus and acclaim in their homelands. And let us keep in mind that the tunes of certain rhapsodies of Franz Liszt or Brahms are not, for nobleness, superior to those chosen by Sinigaglia which certainly obtain unanimous approval of admiration and applause- as they already did- from other nations.

Their-reflection, thus, harmed the lucidity of judgement and surprised the *snap-judgers*, fragrantly contradicting themselves. And it is so true that the phenomenon can be attributed exclusively to a lack of reflection, that five minutes later, the nobility of the art had the chance and time to become apparent, dressing and developing the little bourgeois themes in its aristocratic forms, the reflection made its way in everyone, and the success of the *Danze Piemontesi* was, in the conscience of the whole audience full and complete. Hardly a few obstinate ones then denied their applause, yet some then made a most loyal act of resipiscence, admitting the deplorable turmoil of their spirits.

I mentioned this accident not to defend the work of Leone Sinigaglia (who just does not need it as, despite his audacity, or indeed perhaps precisely thanks to that, he ended up having good luck on his side), but to point out this phenomenon of collective ir-reflection. An accident that, moreover, perfectly fits those conversation topics that provide the subject material for our weekly chatters.

This time, then, was all the more topical, and to a very significant degree, as it provided the opportunity to remember how we this year also have a wonderful musical blossoming in Turin, thereby vivifying, purifying, and refining the city's overall nature. The fact is such to deserve the honour of not one, but hundred articles. We shall spare us the hundred, yet not regret the one.

*Doctor Alfa*²¹⁸

²¹⁸ Edoardo Augusto Berta, "Un Fenomeno di Irriflessione Collettiva", *Gazzetta del Popolo della Domenica*, May 15, 1905, trans. E. Turbil, corrected by D. M.

5.2 Short analysis

Between two dances, both in major key, the first Dance is in *Andantino mosso*, in A major key with 6/8 measure chosen and ABA form. The oboe presents the first theme after two measures of stabilising the chord by bassoon and strings. The popular tune *Spunta il sol* is recognisable and it continues to spread through the wind section with continuous accompaniment of strings.

In the central part, another tune appears having a function of trio, *Bella se vuoi venir* in the waltz rhythm this one in A major.

Ex. 3 Score of *Danze Piemontesi* Op. 31, mesures 1-7

A Leonardo Bistolfi.

Aufführungsgerecht vorbehalten.
Die Noten dürfen nicht zu Aufführungszwecken verlihen werden; Aufführungen mit celibitarem Material sind verboten.

Danze piemontesi

(sopra temi popolari).

N° 1.

Leone Sinigaglia, Op.31 N°1.

Andantino mosso.

Andantino mosso.

Werk und Druck von Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig. Part. B. 2028. Copyright 1927, by Breitkopf & Härtel.
Aufführungsgerecht vorbehalten.

The second Dance is an Allegro con brio in G major, less intimate, more festive in atmosphere. From the very beginning the orchestral tutti let the theme *Ciao!Ciao!Ciao! Morettina bella, ciao!* (flutes, oboes, first violins) be recalled, passing it to the strings: violas and second violins an octave apart, first violins a major Sixth above the second violins.

The second theme, in the central part is more quiet, alpine in character, and therefore with frequent fermatas.

Sinigaglia's letter to his sister from Cologne describes the atmosphere of the concert in Bonn, mentioning future performances in United States:

Last night I went to Bonn where four novelties were presented in the 6th Philharmonic Concert: two Vienna Dances by Beethoven (recently discovered) the Concerto for violin by Mozart (recently discovered), the Symphony *Asriel* by Suk...the *Danze Piemontesi*. The latter were executed with grand brio and colour, with almost excessive heat and the detriment of details: this according to my taste, not the one of the audiences, which snapped in irresistible applause, especially when, betrayed by the conductor, they discovered my presence for the concert... In Chicago they will do, to my grand pleasure and surprise, Dances on the 6th Philharmonic Concert of the Thomas Orchestra.²¹⁹

The audience is maybe bigger than it might be in the sublunar concert hall: I think some five thousand persons. I have no news about the success: but I am grateful to Stock that he encloses Dances in his famous and classical programmes...P.S. The *Kölnische Zeitung* just came out, the major journal here, diffused in entire Europe. The critics of K.Z., the feared Dr. Netzel declares that "S... is the grand maestro of the form and of sense of beauty"!²²⁰

²¹⁹ Sinigaglia uses here for Chicago Symphony Orchestra the name Thomas Orchestra which corresponds to the name of the previous orchestra of the first conductor of Chicago Symphony, Theodor Thomas (1835-1905). He died on January 4th of the year when Sinigaglia's letter was written (after the Orchestra Hall, mentioned in the same letter was inaugurated before Christmas 1904) and his assistant, Frederick Stock (1872-1942) replaced him. Thomas was conducting in 1889 in New York a travelling ensemble Thomas Orchestra when his admirer, Chicago businessman Charles Norman Fay came and inquired him: "Would you come to Chicago if we gave you a permanent orchestra?" Thomas' reply was, "I would go to hell if they gave me a permanent orchestra."

²²⁰ Letter to his sister from Cologne, November 4, 1907, *Fondo Sinigaglia*, trans. D. M.

5.3 The *Suite Piemonte* Op. 36

Sinigaglia writes from Utrecht where he returned after his success with *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte* in 1907 and writes to his sister on: "Since long time ago I wanted to 'sing' my preferred homeland in the dearest, distinguished, poetic and picturesque way and I have done it with this simply and funny eruption of *Danze Piemontesi*".²²¹ Thus, is born *Suite Piemonte* Op. 36 for orchestra, dedicated to Arturo Toscanini, fresh in natural tunes, selected among the most expressive of the popular patrimony and given to the population of his region to identify themselves within its patriotic exaltation. They are old in the tradition but new through orchestral instrumentation, nevertheless always faithful to the soil where they were coming from.

Sinigaglia remains, one more time, respectful towards the musical patrimony and gives his best by adjusting original themes to this harmonic and orchestral frame that he brought with him after his studies abroad. Those thematic fragments are forming small segments, giving each of them an individual story, just like landscapes of the regional natural beauty, but connected among them, they give a complete picture. Better developed thematic material than in *Dances*, the *Suite* gives an idea of Sinigaglia's improvement in composing technic.

The first performance took place in Utrecht on February 15, 1910, conducted by W. Hutchenruyter. It was conducted later by many others, among them Toscanini, Furtwängler, Busch, Wood or Weingartner who introduced them in Vienna together with *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte*.

Sinigaglia's letter to his sister reflects complete success of his *Piemonte* suite in Vienna:

More I wander through Vienna, more I see how huge the success of *Piemonte* was: in whole my life I have never enjoyed so much popularity wherever I go and all expressions of warm sympathy that I receive everywhere by unknown ladies and gentlemen are simply dear to me, and they are warming my heart. Certainly, next year I will have, I repeat, the good occasion to hear *Piemonte*, and I hope it will be in Leipzig, in Gewandhaus, magnificent environment, magnificent orchestra, with Nikisch. Many newspapers are already out, quite "colourful", but precisely that is a good sign as it is about a "personal" composition, like Goldmark said, with my keen pleasure, dedicated to being discussed, caressed, and abused. Italo-phobic *Zeit* is furious for the "enormous success" of this music in such audience like the philharmonic, we will publish their furies, giving them their reason, thanking them for their such constatation. Excellent the *Volkszeitung* which makes grand eloges to all four movements and refers the

²²¹ Letter to his sister dated February 16, 1910, trans. D. M.

enthusiastic reception of the public. The *Morgen* writes that my Suite is the "real homeland art", that my orchestra has colours of Italy, the spirit of my people, humour, and sadness of my nation: sings and blossoms. The *Wiener Tageblatt* says that *Piemonte* will win everywhere where there is love for the melody and for the instrumental fineness. It finds the *Scherzo* (the rustic ballet) and the *Finale* (Piedmont Carneval) the most original parts. *Extrablatt* calls it the work full of life, full of colour. All journals though establish - some with evident regret - that the success of Piedmont was infinitely superior...to the half fiasco of Max Reger (the representative man of the modern German music) with his Overture [also on the programme of that evening] among which mentioned *Zeit* calls regretting a fiasco (complete). It is most possible that no conational knows about this. I am uncorrectable and too old to change. They are positively here correspondents of *La Stampa*, *Corriere*, *Tribuna*, etc. Noone showed up, in general those correspondents are not interested in music unless you do not invite and prey them [to attend the concert]. And inviting and preying is not for me...²²²

Four movements of the *Suite Piemonte* are:

I *Per boschi e campagne* (Through Forests and Fields)

II *Balletto rustico* (The Rustic Ballet)

III *In montibus sanctis* (In Holy Mountains)

IV *Carnevale piemontese* (Piedmont Carneval)

The first movement represents a quiet walk through the Piedmont field, sound of wind and brass recalls horizontal lines of popular tunes from Sinigaglia's notebooks. The first recognizable tune is *O povero merlotin* (Oh, the poor blackbird). In this section, solo clarinet introduces the theme, then oboe, with chords hold by bassoons and horns.

The second tune used is *Main cos fastu là* (...) by solo horn, then English horn sustained by strings, bassoons and clarinets. The viola solo gives later a melancholic timbre to the same theme.

E la Lioneta is another tune of major importance used in the first movement, brought by solo violin, shortly doubled by the flute. The counterpoint by oboes, later only one until the first entry of harp when clarinets play an echo to the violin.

Bell uselìn del bosch is another theme represented in the first movement by unisono flute and violins in 2/4 measure, mutating later to 6/8 for the second part of the theme.

The second movement starts with a peasants dance *I'é rivaie el foil 'd Paschèt*, with solo violin and oboe to bring the theme. changing consequently to *Curenta* (Corrente) exposed by bassoon and violas. Two horns have theme fragments sustained by other instruments.

²²² The letter to his sister dated January 11, 1912, trans. D. M.

The theme *Sa l'è tre bele fie* comes by violins, later with flutes unisono.

Ex. 4 Manuscript of popular song used as thematic material in the *Suite Piemonte Op. 36*

1.
Tër boschi e campi

I.
O po-ue-ro mor-lo-lin, a l'an ta-jà-te l'a — le!

II.
Ma-jin — cor'fas-tù la? — Ma-jin, — cor'fas-tù la? — vien di rì la men — ta-gna!

E la li-a — na-ta l'e — ra't el prà l'e-mot el prà ch'a la to — so — ra — va so gon-tit ga-ant ch'a la

zi — mi — ra — va.

I. rit.
Bel ù-oc-lin dël bosc, bel ù-oc-lin dël bosc, bel ù-oc-lin dël bosc pìs la cam-pa-gna vu — la.

II. rit.
Bel ù-oc-lin dël bosc, bel ù-oc-lin — dël bosc — l'è la cam-pa-gna vu-lo, bel ù — se —

I. rit.
-lin-dël bosc, pìs la cam-pa-gna vu — la.

The last theme is the *Vecchia corrente piemontese* by violins on the beginning and taken over by winds. Sounds of pureness to represent the pious atmosphere of the pilgrimage are characterizing the third movement *In montibus sanctis* with meditative aspect and only one popular tune *Pelegrin ven da San Giacù*. Exposed by horns, it is taken over by flutes. The last

movement, Piedmont Carneval is the allusion to the traditional orange battle, organized every February in Ivrea, in Piedmont.²²³

The first theme issued from the tune *Noi siamo i fiöi 'd Giandua* with tutti orchestra, harps, oboes and horns with rhythmical support of the line played by the rest. The theme, issued from the collection of popular songs has two versions, both employed in this movement consecutively. The second version starts with trumpet when the first ends. Later oboes join and remain until the end.

The second theme, *Richetta, richettina* is exposed by cellis, doubled by the horn on the beginning.

The third theme *Preive, preive* is by clarinets, horns, trumpets, and timpani, and the fourth, *Mesa pagnota al giorno* is started by violins and oboes, joined by the rest of strings, clarinets, bassoons and horns.

There is also a fifth popular element in this movement, *Napolione*, introduced by oboes, then violins unisono, until the conclusion again by oboes. Et the end, the last popular tune, *Quando el poreive munta coro* is played by clarinets, followed by horns, then violas and concluded by violins. The fugue is developed out of this theme. The fugue exercises when studying it hard with Mandyczewski was one of primary qualities of the German school in Vienna and the critics in the *Corriere della sera* did not miss to put a point on it:

Even the fugue assumes a popular language, to the extent to horrify pedants -and with a philosophy of the mordant joke seems to admonish that everything can be art- even the fugue, because the eternal youth of the idiom of people is an inspiration of an artist who launches on you the cascade (jet!) of the perceptible poetry.²²⁴

The Italian premiere was the success compared with *Danze Piemontesi* some fifteen years before. The success was described in the same (latter) review:

With *Piemonte Suite* by Leone Sinigaglia, we came to know a lively and delicious invention, which was also, above all, noticeably Italian. Leone Sinigaglia has never proclaimed literary programs, but here he is appearing in the matter of fact, as a frankly and distinctively Italian artist, in his work. The hints picked from the lips of folks - when entering Sinigaglia's music and giving those titles that spring at once in the mind of the observer enchanted by the beauty of the Piedmontese landscapes-undergo an all-

²²³ The Carnival in the Ivrea city in Piedmont symbolically represents the memory of victory of people against an evil duke from the 12th century when he, pretending to exercise his "droit du seigneur" and spend the night with a freshly married bride with the name Violetta, got decapitated by the latter. This celebration includes the famous orange battle, a curious tradition because the oranges that are not compatible with Piedmont climate are imported from Sicily for that occasion. In Sinigaglia's diligently classified remains, there is a fine of £ 5,19 from March 4, 1911, for "throwing violently oranges in direction of persons".

²²⁴ Article from *Corriere della sera*, October 30, 1920, trans. D. M.

natural and all-Italian elevation. Sinigaglia's imagination, impacted by the panorama and the varied lives of common people, seems to surge as a poetic synthesis, without ever losing touch with its land (*Per Boschi e Campagne* [Through Forests and Fields, the first movement]). How magic and uniquely Italian is his way.

The most anecdotic was the performance in Fiume, taking place in November 1920 when Gabriele D'Annunzio proclaimed himself the city governor there.²²⁵ D'Annunzio solicited Sinigaglia and Toscanini, with the improvised composed orchestra for the Italian tour. Prior to the performing of Piemonte Suite, D'Annunzio introduced in a vibrant speech "Italian Rhapsodist" [Sinigaglia], to the audience in the hall. After the last movement, "Piedmont Carnaval", a "garibaldino" in red shirt rose from his place to shout, amid ovations, a triple *evviva* [cheers] to *Violetta*!²²⁶

²²⁵ More about that circumstance in Autobiographical notes, chapter Toscanini, *Fondo Sinigaglia*.

²²⁶ Consult the footnote No. 225 for identity of *Violetta*.

6. SYMPHONIC WORKS WITHOUT POPULAR THEMATIC MATERIAL (selected)

Among Sinigaglia's opus, two works were selected to represent his symphonic composing without specific popular thematic. His Violin Concert Op.20 was the first success of his orchestration skills by writing his only concerto for solo instrument. The overture *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte* is one of his most played works and based on the theatre piece by Goldoni. His orchestration also in this case paints the scene of confronting of two of historically marginalized, vividly characterized groups of population.

6.1 The Violin Concert Op. 20 in A major

The most important work from the beginning of Sinigaglia's composing career, where he employs the orchestra for the first time, finished just after his music studies, is still not a piece that presents itself on the current standard repertoire of violinists, one century after its conception. Even if the solo violin is marvellously employed it is often commented upon as Brahmsian, although none of themes are very alike to the Brahms' violin concerto either from the melodic or from the rhythmical point of view. The concerto is originally conceived, with completely unique elements such as building in chords on the violin atypical for this era. After several preceding chamber music works, Sinigaglia's first serious confrontation with an orchestral accompaniment shows a musical maturity with a firm compositional confirmation of his romantic patterns. The three movements have the following tempo markings:

I Allegro rustico

II Adagio

III Allegro vivo e con grazia

As noted in the tempo indication, the word *rustico* can eventually unveil his inclination towards popular folk music. Thematically, one is introduced to a traditional romantic melodic language with all elements of employment of contrasts in musical rhetoric, skilfully integrated in order to keep elevated attention and curiosity of the listener.

The first movement presents a classical sonata form with two contrasting themes. After orchestra *tutti*, the branding beginning of solo violin with four-strings and three-strings chords in pointed rhythm expressed in *forte*, followed by an upwards moving passage indicates the effectiveness of a composer who has discovered the captivating elements of instrumental

language, as well as the value of declaring them from the first attack. The monodic line of the second theme, posed on an oscillating dominant, represents a contrasting second character, and starts with *piano dolce* to later ascend and develop into a *forte*. The development is bound with passages, accessible only to a quite superior level of violinistic technical competence, and therefore can one better understand the correspondence between professor Otokar Ševčík and Sinigaglia, when the great professor accepts the Concerto enthusiastically and suggests working on it only with his most talented students. He [Ševčík], writes to Sinigaglia from Prague on January 28, 1903:

Ex. 5 L. Sinigaglia, Violin Concerto Op. 20, 1st movement, m. 42-48

Part. B. 1684.

Dear Sir,

Please accept my thanks for your kind expedition of your Violin Concert.

I will let it be played in the class, and until you come to Prague, I will be glad if you let my students play your new Opus for you, about which I will wish to have your suggestions regarding its interpretation. The Concerto will be played on first occasion in Conservatory concerts, and I am convinced that your most important work will stir a sensation. Sincerely Prof. Ot. Ševčík.²²⁷

Then, more than one year later, Ševčík unfortunately rejects the idea of a student performance, judging the concerto more appropriate for professional violin soloists:

Respected Master,

the Première failed and for not to making any harm to the opus, I insist to wait until some more professional [violinist] gets the piece in his hands. The same will then not be presented for *Schullerabend*. With respectful greeting, Prof. Ševčík²²⁸

The second movement, with the indication *Adagio*²²⁹, gives the liberty of a slow mood. An F major tune suggests a melancholic and intimate atmosphere as proposed by the marvellous horn solo on the very beginning. Underlying strings accompaniment is later supplemented with clarinets in order to reach the aspired warmth of orchestration. Written in ABA form, the second theme is in B major with double pointed rhythm, contrasting in character and also with tempo, which moves to *Più mosso*. The third motive, rare for the period in which it was written, appears in double thirds and with an even more pointed rhythm. It is also marked *Più mosso*, but it seems that this one would have more sense if being slower than the previous section. A minor key appears (d minor, later e minor) and it is an intermezzo with few upward scale passages that presents yet another technical challenge for the soloist in this piece before it arrives at the reminiscence of the first theme.

²²⁷ The letter from O. Ševčík to Sinigaglia dated January 28, 1903, *Fondo Sinigaglia*, trans. D. M.

²²⁸ Letter from Prof. Ševčík to Sinigaglia, dated February 15, 1904, *Fondo Sinigaglia* trans. D. M. Both Ševčík's original texts of letters in German are to consult in Annexe No. 17.

²²⁹ *Adagio* in music is often understood rudimentary as a slow tempo without implication in the real meaning of that adjective. It is seldom that the genuine, *Ad-agio* explanation is given for that indication, meaning at ease, at convenience, comfortable (*à l'aise* in French) which at my opinion is different. Though it should never be fast.

Ex. 6 L. Sinigaglia , Violin Concerto Op. 20, 2nd movement, m. 1-9

44

II.

Adagio.

Flauti.

Oboi.

Clarineti in B (Si \flat).

Fagotti.

Corni I. II.
in F (Fa).

Corni III. IV.
in F (Fa).

Timpani
in C (Ut). F (Fa).

Violino Solo.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

Violoncello
e Contrabbasso.

Adagio.

Part. B. 1654.

The third movement is equivalent to the sonata-form of the first and contains articulated thematic material in a moderately fast tempo for the first theme, then more melodic material for the second theme. It has very few passages in double stops, to vary the first theme, and double stops octaves conclude the cadence of one section. Very well balanced with the other two movements, it offers as much freshness as the first movement, and gives ample possibility for another exhibition of technical ability of the soloist. Very delicate work in this *Concerto* has

been done in the layers of motives that Sinigaglia uses fragmentarily in certain passages, proving his confident composing technique and great fantasy in the beginning of his thirties. By using orchestra in the correct tutti-solo proportion, he confirms his advanced polyphonic composing skills in inventing and finding the right way in dovetailing his thematic material.

Sinigaglia started composing this concerto in the very beginning of 1889. This was at the end of his studies in Vienna, and it is documented in a letter to his sister: "I have started with sketches for a piece for violin and orchestra which I will dedicate to him [Arrigo Serato] who is going to present it in Berlin, if the roses flourish, in upcoming winter."²³⁰

It seems that he finished composing the concerto as planned and declared to his sister, until winter of the same year [1899] because Mandyczewski received the manuscript for verification at about that time. He [Mandyczewski] answers on October 24th: "The concerto is now in my possession, but I have not yet found time to have a look at it. I would really like it if we could examine the concerto together as soon as you will be here again, it would be so much simpler and more favourable".²³¹

Dedicated to the friend, young and brilliant violinist [who's life recording is according to the author of these lines still the most successful and genuine one, after more than one century passed] Arrigo Serato, it was premiered on November 9, 1901, two years later than expected, in Berlin with the Berlin Philharmonic and Josef Rebiček, himself also a violinist, conducting.

Sinigaglia writes to his family about his greatest success in Berlin up to that date:

The foolish enterprise is over, and the success which crowned it seems today to me barely possible. Serato was aware of our bravery, and I have spent yesterday a tremendous journey, I can say, not without proudness which I due to the extraordinary calm that I was feeling yesterday, to encourage him [Serato], being in his room the whole day long to make him confront the battle with necessary energy: if I would let me discourage, if it would go bad! Marvelous hall, the whole musical Berlin [there], violinists, complete press: Nikisch, the director of Philharmonic Concerts, exceptionally came to hear this first Concerto for violin by a young Italian anonymous which was bringing it to be "baptised" in Berlin. The success was grand and enthusiastic: you know how I am reluctant to present myself to the audience, but yesterday evening I was dragged, and I had to show me first with Serato, then alone, then called again, again with Serato who wanted to participate again in ovations that he by grand part merited. Nikisch came to the artist's chamber, he said enthusiastic that he did not expect such a [good] work and that I have a grand talent. Congratulations all around! An American journalist is interviewing us tomorrow to send an article about the Concerto- we've received poetries, letters, messages etc. and this will continue! I am positive that

²³⁰ The letter to his sister dated March 9, 1899, *Fondo Sinigaglia*, trans. D. M.

²³¹ Letter from Mandyczewski, dated October 24, 1899, *Fondo Sinigaglia*, trans. D. M.

yesterday evening's success outdoes the one of Concertos by Tor Aulin, Dalcroze and Sinding which Marteau played 20 days ago: Philharmonic Orchestra declared its predilection for mine and applauded me in rehearsals which I can be proud about and I exchanged it with a short speech. Serato, although most nervous, played magnificently and his interpretation was most admired: after the Concerto, he was mad with joy. I, though, had a cold blood yesterday which I cannot explain alternatively but through by profound belief in success of a proper work, assisted the Concerto from my seat and enjoyed like I have never enjoyed another. The future of this Concerto after this success is assured. Serato will play it wherever he can, and after him, there is no doubt that others will play it as well. Now there is uncertainty of the press which in generally shows amazing hostility and coldness for new compositions, and if they have to deal with an Italian novelty, it will surely be ferocious: but when many newspapers demolish the Concert in the very beginning, it is impossible that someone says something good about it: I will send and translate you when I have them all: there is such a pile, and they appear from the distance.

Other than your most affectionate telegrams more precious than every other, I have received several yesterday, from Bistolfi, from Consoli, from Simonetti (London), from Serato [the soloists' father and member of the Bologna quartet], from Joe etc. Arrigo telegraphed to Grossi for *Il Popolo* and *La Torino*, me to Bistolfi for *La Stampa*. A lot will be talked about the Concerto, and if I receive other newspapers than those, I will keep them collected to translate them to you; I believe after last evening to be out of obscurity. And it is a fair compensation for the indestructible belief and assiduous work for years. I've pursued methodically: finally, I've succeeded to say through the music - to say the word which is not ephemeral-to compose a Concerto which pleased very much, and not only musicians, but also profanes, because there is life and heart [in it] which I hope you can soon ascertain.²³²

The Vienna audience were to hear this Concerto on January 25, 1902²³³ before it was performed in Italy for the first time on April 13, 1902, in *La Scala di Milano* and Toscanini. Mandyczewski helped Sinigaglia to present his concerto in the Vienna concert of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, where he was an archivist. He writes: "Dear friend, our *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* intends to give a Concert of Novelties within the next winter and for this occasion, we would like to execute, with Serato, your Violin Concert." [Together with Sinigaglia's Concerto, on the program was the Symphony in E major by Schmidt and Symphonic Poem by Hausegger].²³⁴

And after the Vienna debut, Sinigaglia writes in similar mood to his mother:

²³² Sinigaglia's letter to his family from Berlin dated November 10, 1901, trans. D. M. (Integral letter in Italian in Annexe No. 8.)

²³³ Leaflet of the referred concert, *Fondo Sinigaglia*.

²³⁴ The concert program of this evening is only one of hundreds of concert programmes, collected by Sinigaglia himself and kept in *Fondo Sinigaglia*. (Caro amico, [la] nostra Associazione concertistica ha l'intenzione di dare un Concerto di novità nel corso dell'inverno, e per questo vorremmo eseguire con Serato, il suo Concerto per violino.)

Arrigo leaves tonight for Italy and will soon be in Turin, from him you will have details about his magnificent evening yesterday. I did not expect such a success, to surpass Berlin in the sense that after the *Adagio* burst out such a lively applause that I had, contrary to my principles, to present myself twice in front of the audience, and three times at the end. The orchestral execution left much to be desired, especially in the imbalance between the soloist and the orchestra, which was more than once evident for me, but the audience put no weight on it, and the victory was decided since the first movement. Arrigo played magnificently, as always, and this time especially in the *Adagio*, which he had sung even better than in Berlin, the success of this part of the Concerto is also in Italy assured. Arrigo wants to play the concerto again in Vienna after the yesterday's success, as soon as he can, with a more accurate orchestral execution, if rehearsals permit it. In Milan and Turin, we will have such a performance and I am already looking forward to it: it seems decided that in Turin my concerto will be on the 1st concert [of the season of *Concerti popolari*] as well. Pour la bonne bouche!²³⁵ Prague Philharmonic is in crisis and in these days, Arrigo's concert remains undecided: not bad, we can instead with the *Filarmonici Boemi* collaborate with Germans (rather better) for another time, it will be won...²³⁶

The critic from the first Italian presentation of the Concerto were somehow moderate: "About his Violin Concerto performed on Symphonic Concert of La Scala, conducted by Toscanini and those [concerts] in the theatre Vittorio Emanuele in Turin, conducted by Ferrari, the unanimous press established the seriousness of the artist and solidity of the piece."²³⁷

The Concerto which was played four times by Serato (in Berlin, Vienna, Milan, and Turin) started to be a topic among violinists in Europe. Other executions of this concerto followed and names like Kubelik, Ysaÿe, Hubay, Ondříček, Elderling, Arthur Hartmann, and others, performed it with great successes. The beginnings of broadcasting in Europe contributed to the popularity of this work and it was transmitted by Radio- Hilversum in 1938 and Radio Brussels in 1939.

Professor Ševčík made it clear that technical difficulties were insurmountable for his student, but his former student, Jan Kubelik, who was shaping his illustrious and prolific carrier²³⁸ and

²³⁵ French expression meaning "to let the nicest for the end".

²³⁶ Letter from Vienna to Sinigaglia's mother dated: Vienna, January 26, 1902, trans. D. M. (Integral letter in Italian in Annexe No. 12.)

²³⁷ *Cronache musicali e drammatiche*, a. III, No. 13, May 5, 1902, trans. D. M.

²³⁸ After his studies with Ševčík, "he began to tour all over Europe and America, twice extending his tours right round the world with ever-increasing success, both artistically and financially". Van der Straaten, op. cit. 169.

who's acquaintance Sinigaglia already had from Vienna, was the next to be seduced by the piece. Sinigaglia writes to his family a year after the Viennese promotion of the Concerto:

I have to give you news that are going to make you happy. Kubelik arrived in Vienna yesterday (where he plays on the 27th) and today, with Rosé we've paid him a visit in his hotel. Even before I've addressed the proposition which I was keeping in my heart, he declared himself an enthusiast of my concerto and announced to me that he will perform it for the first time this spring for Philharmonic Concerts in London, keeping it on his repertoire everywhere. It is useless to comment upon the importance of this news, by now you know all the triumphs of this violinist, no one nowadays plays as much as him, and he causes such enthusiasm,²³⁹ in Dresden recently he provoked such a fanaticism that one cannot recall anything similar: imagine that he had, after an infinity of encores, and all lights off in the hall, played another one [piece] in complete darkness!

It is said that he made in his genial way and expressive one, extraordinary progress, so he grew worthy in everything and for everything of his worldwide reputation. And he remained likeable, simple, modest, like in his beginnings, when I was frequenting him long years ago: afterwards I have never seen him or heard from him anymore. Imagine with how much affection I have thanked him, but he interrupted me instantly by saying that it was not necessary and that it was he who was happy to perform "such a splendid work". You will see what an impulse it will give to the Concerto, the fact that it entered in Kubelik's programmes! I have to meet with him to make him know my other works, in which he is lively interested, I wait for his sign to know if he has time now or after his concert on the 27th, which he is quite busy for.²⁴⁰

After Kubelik, successes of Sinigaglia's concerto continues to accumulate, and a few weeks later he leaves from Vienna to Budapest:

Today I am leaving for [Buda]Pest where I hope to connect with the well-known Hungarian violinist, Hubay, who wrote to me with a lot of enthusiasm about the Concerto... another interpreter of the concerto is almost positively going to make the list longer: Ondriček, passing by here [in Vienna] had told me to send it [the concerto] to him as he is keenly interested after everything which is said about it and that he will play it. Despite not being Kubelik, Ondriček is still a famous violinist and remains nothing else but to be happy...

A few days later, Sinigaglia reaches his goal and receives Hubay's compliments for his concerto:

²³⁹ The author had been told by his teacher that his popularity was such that his concert would be advertised by a poster with his photo on important squares of cities and script "Kubelik today in the city" and it was up to his admirers to find out the address and the time of the beginning of the concert.

²⁴⁰ The letter to his family dated Vienna, February 18, 1903, *Fondo Sinigaglia*, trans. D. M.

I had a lunch with violinist Jenó Hubay, extraordinarily kind, who is going to make it possible to play in S. Cecilia [Rome] my compositions and wants me to accompany him. I have to remind you that I had known him in G. [Geneve]. He thinks that, to him, my concerto leaves everything analogue written in the last years after Brahms and Dvořák far behind...yesterday I've made the precious acquaintance of Raul Pugno, the great pianist, who developed a keen affection for me. After the concert we remained until late for lunch, here a name which is going to be helpful in Paris for me.²⁴¹

Once the concerto was played with great success, the Rhapsody was the next piece that Kubelik inserted in his programme two years later:

You are going to approve with great pleasure when you hear that I have repeatedly met with Kubelik, in one moment, I really jumped on him, who had a few days of rest. We went through the *Rapsodia Piemontese* that he had received but not yet read. He remained spirited and he will play it everywhere! Thus, the fortune of this piece is already positively secured with success, especially when played by him. The first execution is probably going to be in Turin, that is sure, but in time he can play it in some other town to put it into his veins. I would wish that you do not talk about it in Turin, because I would not like if someone (who you know) puts it in his head to play it before Kubelik. Wait for programmes to be published...²⁴²

The success of the concerto did not only remain in the surroundings of Vienna but spread all over Europe. The current absence of that work is therefore even more unexplainable. In 1906 and 1907 it was played in several west European centres, with the intent to find its audience in America, and compliments of the greatest violinists were consequently accompanying this work:

[Ysaÿe] had already said to the director of the Press Association of New York, in the presence of the others and an enthusiast of the concert, that my concerto was the most beautiful and most "illuminated" amongst all modern ones and that until now he never decided for any extra-classical concerto [to put on the programme] because none intrigued him to the point of making that step... [it] seems like a dream to me that precisely my concerto was distinguished for the honour of conquering him! Ysaÿe loves my music so much by now that he would play "everything": I thought that, once decided for the concerto, he renounces on the rest, but no, he will play, a little bit here, a little bit there, *Concerto, Romance, Rhapsody*.²⁴³

After Brussels, Bram Eldering, the former Berlin concertmaster, and great coeval violinist, was the soloist for the first presentation of the concerto in Cologne. From the following letter it seems that the concerto was not played (at least not in Sinigaglia's presence) for several years after its first successes:

²⁴¹ The letter to his family dated Vienna, March 7, 1903, *Fondo Sinigaglia*, trans. D. M.

²⁴² The letter to his family dated Prague, March 2, 1905, *Fondo Sinigaglia*, trans. D. M.

²⁴³ The letter to his family dated Bruxelles, April 17, 1906, *Fondo Sinigaglia*, trans. D. M.

I am happy to announce the grand enthusiastic success of the concerto on November 2nd and 3rd in the Philharmonic Concerts of Gürzenich. Like in Vienna, the concerto won amongst other novelties (German!). Bram Eldering played it splendidly with great assurance, especially in the first and last movement, and with all his passion in the *Adagio*. The impotent audience possessed religious attention from the first until the last note and was after the end of the first movement conquered. The ovation in the end was enormous, and after Bram Eldering thanked the audience twice, after Steinbach [Emil, conductor, 1849-1919] hinted that I was present, I had to go up to the stage twice in the middle of interminable ovations. The second execution was even nicer, by both Eldering and the Gürzenich orchestra. These concerts are equivalently as important as the Philharmonic of Berlin and Leipzig, the success will echo in the whole of Germany, and I know that that very evening was telegraphed to important journals of Berlin, Leipzig, Munich, and Frankfurt. I cannot tell you how many parties they are organizing for me, and I am enjoying the moment of real "popularity" in Cologne and everywhere else. I have heard the Concerto again after many years, and I like it more than before! This success, the first "olympic" is going to definitely push [everything] very much.²⁴⁴

6.2 *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte* Op. 32

Translated directly as "Brawling in Chioggia" the *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte* overture was written in 1907, after Goldoni's play about the comical struggles, which is brought about due to love affairs, between groups of young fishers and boatmen in the lagoon-mouth village of Chioggia. A Venetian official is helplessly trying to assert dominance on the rambunctious inhabitants that he is supposed to keep under control.

Written in sonata form, the overture seeks to musically depict the image of a popular ward celebrating a party. Sinigaglia uses strong rhythmical motives in contrast to the more melodic motives. The melodic theme, which is exposed by the oboe in cantabile, receives an echo from strings of the orchestra. The same theme is reproduced by solo violin, but in A major instead of the oboe's G major. The very colourful instrumentation is never too aggressive and might with all reserves be comparative to Dvořák's orchestrations. The descriptive character of the overture, based on the theatre play, presents a resemblance to eighteenth century overtures.

Benjamin Earle, in his review for the edition of this overture has the opposite, but interesting opinion:

There is no attempt on Sinigaglia's part to follow the plot outline of Goldoni's comedy in his score. Indeed, it is difficult to see how that would be possible, given the complexity of the relationships between the characters and their rapid developments. A

²⁴⁴ Letter from Sinigaglia to his sister dated Cologne, November 4, 1907, trans. D. M.

series of increasingly furious and even physically violent exchanges (the *Baruffe* of the title) develops following the flirtation of the boatman Toffolo with Lucietta, who is engaged to the fisherman Titta-Nane, though everything is resolved in the end, through the intervention of the legal functionary Isidoro. Nor would it seem quite right to suggest (in the usual cliché) that Sinigaglia captures the "spirit" of Goldoni's play, much beyond a general jollity of tone. The elevated style of his music is far removed from the popular speech of the play's cast of fishwives and fishermen, their daughters, and daughters' fiancés. On the other hand, a kind of parallel between Goldoni's drama and Sinigaglia's Overture may conceivably be traced in terms of the latter's form. Just as the characters of *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte* find themselves, in their rage, acting against their own interests and desires (especially the leading couple, *Lucietta* and *Titta-Nane*), the sonata structure Sinigaglia appears to have established clearly in the work's opening stages becomes thoroughly confused, blown off course, as it were, in the course of its development. Only at the very end are the threads drawn together and formal clarity regained.²⁴⁵

The work was premiered in Utrecht on December 21, 1907, under the baton of Wouter Hutschenruijter (1859-1943), and chosen by Toscanini to be presented in May 1908 in a concert of new Italian music in *La Scala*, Milan, for the first time in Italy. It was later also on programmes of the following conductors: Felix Weingartner in Vienna, Ernst von Schuch in Dresden, and of Arthur Nikisch in Berlin.

After the premiere of the overture, Sinigaglia returned to Utrecht after his first success with his Suite for a "baptism" of his brand-new work, *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte*. He communicates to his sister:

My dearest, I announce to you with joy the baptism, of the beautiful baby girl, "alive and vital", happened yesterday among grand parties, born in Cavoretto. Her name is

Overture

"Le Baruffe Chiozzotte"

Op.32

for orchestra

Reception in audience, most elegant and crowdly, was splendid. The success has even more value as Serenata in four movements by Reger- the German musician in fashion- had in the audience somehow difficult, cold welcome. Hutschenruijter who is so enthusiastic about the Overture, conducted it admirably and the orchestra was following

²⁴⁵ Benjamin Earle, *Leone Sinigaglia-Le Baruffe Chiozzotte Overture*, <https://repertoire-explorer.musikmph.de/en/product/sinigaglia-leone-4/>, 2016.

him marvellously. From now on, I feel a kind of preference for this my baby-girl that I hope you will like very much...²⁴⁶

The success of *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte* from abroad arrived in Italy and they are programmed in *La Scala* for the first promotion:

Dearest, I have a magnificent news to share with you! *La Società dei concerti sinfonici della Scala* communicates me that Toscanini chose for his concert on May 5th and 6th like Italian novelty my Overture *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte*. You can imagine my joy that I will share with you, all the more because this work is dedicated to you.

I could not decide better presentation for the "dear Goldonian girl" than this which Toscanini will do for the audience in [La] Scala...²⁴⁷

From 1908 at the latest, the name of Sinigaglia, two times shadowing works of Max Reger in Vienna, started to be very frequent on music programmes. This was the case to the extent that the Vienna Philharmonic dedicated whole evening concert to his works, conducted by no one else but Weingartner:

It has been without doubt, the biggest success that I've lived until now, even more important because audience of Symphonic Concerts diffident for novelties. I agreed with Weingartner that I will present myself for the audience only if the applause after the second piece will be so noisy to insist on it, in any case not after *Baruffe*, however grand the success be. But *Baruffe* conquered the audience to the extent that after encore calls, Weingartner was, let us say, obliged to make a sign that there is a composer in the hall and I had to show myself twice in the middle of real ovations and then three times later, after the *Capriccio* [the second of Two Characteristic Pieces Op. 35] and after two other calls to Weingartner alone. Weingartner was shining and there and then asked for "exclusivity" of a new composition for the next year. The execution, which, being in the hall, meld with the audience, I could follow perfectly good, was, expressed in one word, marvellous, and I confirm that this is the best orchestra in Europe. The spirit, the vivacity, the colour, the perfection of details in *Baruffe* make it, just like in the *Capriccio*, surprising. The ideal word that suits to an execution like this is: Weingartner took off with it, with grand love, and the orchestra (which during the general rehearsal cheered both pieces enthusiastically) was on the level of their glamour. I am receiving congratulations, invitations from everyone, also by unknown persons, and among others, I had an enormous pleasure the outburst with which a young unknown Triestino came to me after the concert to express his satisfaction for this Italian success.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁶ Letter from Sinigaglia to his sister dated Utrecht, December 22, 1907, trans. D. M.

²⁴⁷ Letter from Sinigaglia to his sister dated Bologna, April 9, 1908, trans. D. M.

²⁴⁸ The letter to his sister dated, Vienna, January 16, 1911, trans. D. M.

Ex. 7 L. Sinigaglia, Overture *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte*, m. 1-5

Allegro con spirito.

Flauto piccolo.

2 Flauti.

2 Oboi.

2 Clarinetti in LA.

2 Fagotti.

I. II. in RE.
4 Corni.
III. IV. in MI.

2 Trombe in RE.

I. II.
3 Tromboni.
III.

Glockenspiel.

Timpani in LA-RE.

Tamburo piccolo.

Triangolo e Piatti.

Violini I.

Violini II.

Viole.

Violoncelli.

Contrabassi.

Allegro con spirito.

7. LIST OF WORKS

The task to create the catalogue of composer's works is an uneasy process and the subject of profound comparative work. Leone Sinigaglia is the composer who was neither the subject of studying and research, nor new editions of his works were produced in last eighty years after his death (except mentioned editions of his popular songs). Discovering and chronology of his works were to be identified according to manuscripts and several survived editions of his printed works, remained documents in the mentioned *Fondo Sinigaglia*: letters, editorial catalogues, newspapers, recensions, and other available documents. The information sources were not always reliable as the date indicated was varied between two or more of them. The difference between date of creation and the date of printing were to discover with difficulty. Sometimes, the same opus was indicated with different opus number if in several handwritten copies. Sometimes manuscripts were found without title and the classification of the piece would be enigmatic. The missed pieces, impossible to identify are very few and they are from the earliest period of life of the composer, being possible to classify more towards exercises, sketches of future compositions than integral works.

Dates of works were discovered if noted on manuscripts and having a composer like Sinigaglia as research subject is positively advantageous because of his precision and meticulousness. Though, while some manuscripts were given with a date and often with the place of creation, they are some without any temporal data. In such cases, the date has to be hypothetical, based on correspondence or newspaper critics. Sometimes, the date, marked on scores was also not completely reliable because in that period of musical history, every copying was handmade and thus the factor of time had to be employed as copying of orchestral score could last several days if done consecutively. Even not all copies would contain a date of their creation. Some manuscripts, which is easy to understand when consulting Sinigaglia's correspondence, were sent to musicians before being printed, as he wanted to solicitate them to play and conduct those and it is possible that some of them got lost and available music material kept in the *Fondo Sinigaglia* is only the copy of the original. The work of Flavia Ingrosso, was of great help but some details had to be redone, corrected, or improved.

For certain compositions, no information of its probable printing was available but the possibility that they were printed, and the copy might not be available among sources of this research is not to be excluded.

The classification of works was based on following parameters: compositions with marked opus number, those without opus number but with reference in the manuscript or through other secondary data source (newspaper or correspondence) and those with obvious instrumentation but without either title or date or opus number.

7.1 With Opus number:

Op. 1 *Cinq melodies* for voice and piano

1. *Chanson du soir*, text by Juste Olivier (1897-1876), dedicated to Daniel Turin
2. *Les paquerettes*, text by M. Rollinat (1846-1903)
3. *Ironie d'avril*, text by Henri Berguer (1844-1929)
4. *Il pleure dans mon cœur*, text by P. Verlaine (1844-1896), dedicated "à Madame Virginia Ferni-Germano"
5. *Les pensées*, text by X. Warnery (1859-1892), dedicated "a mademoiselle Elvira Veyran"

Op. 1a *Gavotta* for violin and piano, written on April 17, 1887, dedicated "all'amica gentile maestra Teresa Ferni, questa prima opera, April 19, 1887", exists (an unfinished) version for two violins

Op. 3 *Romanza in do minore*, for horn and string quartet (or string orchestra), dedicated to Quartetto Bolognese, publisher 1902 by G. Ricordi & C., Milano. Also, version for horn and piano

Op. 4 *Quiete meridiana nell'Alpe, Impressione da Fogazzaro*, for piano, written: April 1887

Op. 5 *Konzert-Etude*, for string quartet, Eulenburg, Leipzig 1889. Dedicated to *Bohemian Quartet* who premiered it in 1896 in Rome, *Accademia di S. Cecilia*

Op. 6 *Noël* (Christmas), choir for four men's voices with orchestra accompaniment, text by Teophile Gautier (1811-1872), German translation by Hugo Conrat, dedicated to the *Sociale Corale Protestante di Torino*. Published Foetisch Frères, Lausanne, 1890

Op. 7 *Fogli d'album*, for piano, G. Ricordi & C., Milan, dedicated to his sister Alina

1. *A un fiore di campo* (To a Flower in the Field)
2. *Madrigale rustico* (Rustic Madrigal)

3. *Nostalgia* (Nostalgia)

4. *Così va il mondo, bimba mia* (This is how the world goes, my baby)

5. *Scherzino*

Op. 8 *Scherzo* for string quartet, G.Ricordi & C., Milan, 1892, rewarded on the *Concorso della società orchestrale della Scala di Milano*, consecutively premiered in Milan, conducted by Vittorio Maria Vanzo (1862-1945)

Op. 9 Three choirs for four mixed voices, Arthur P. Schmidt, Leipzig, 1898, dedicated to E. Mandyczewski

1. *Waldesweise* (*Chanson de la forêt*), text by E. Schön Engelsberg (1825-1879)

2. *Wehmut* (*Tristesse*), text by Joseph von Eichendorff (1788-1857)

3. *Mailed* (*Chant du mois de mai*), text by Ludwig Hölty (1748-1766)

Op. 10 Twelve Canons for women's choir a cappella, Rieter-Biedermann, 1894

Op. 11 *Staccato-Etude* for piano, N. Simrock, 1900, dedicated "*a son cher ami, Ernesto Consolo*" (1864-1931)

Op. 12 *Drei lirische Stücke*, for violin and piano, N. Simrock, Berlin 1898, dedicated to Enrico Polo (1868-1953)

1. *Larghetto*

2. *Agitato*

3. *Adagio*

Op. 13 *Drei romantische Stücke*, for violin and piano, Wilhelm Hansen, Leipzig, 1902, dedicated to Contessa Franchi Verney della Valetta (Teresina Tua)

1. *Cavatina*

2. *Intermezzo*

3. *Erinnerung*

Op. 14 *Zwei Choralgesänge* for choir in four mixed voices on the theme by J.S.Bach, Rieter-Biederman, Leipzig, (indicated also Op.13 like previous *Drei Romanische Stücke*)

1. *Honigdiebchen stahl zum Spass* (The Honey Thief Stole for Fun)

2. *Rittersporn und Eisenhut* (Larkspur and Monkshood)

Op. 15 *Vier Lieder* for voice and piano. N. Simrock, Berlin, 1898

1. *Vom Berge* (From the Mountain)
2. *Schön Suschen* (Nice Sweetee)
3. *Vesper* (Vespers)
4. *Die Kleine* (The little One)

Texts are: Hungarian in the second lied, the three rests by J. von Eichendorff

Op. 16 *Romanza und Humoreske* for cello and orchestra, D. Rather, Leipzig, 1901, dedicated to Francesco Serato, premiered on Basler Symphonische Konzerte by Guiglielmina Suggia, conductor Hermann Sutter (1870.1926)

Op. 17 *Drei Lieder*, for medium voice with piano accompaniment, N. Simrock, Berlin, 1898

1. *Der stille Trinker* (The quiet Drinker)
2. *Wächterruf* (Guardian Call)
3. *Märzenwind* (March Wind)

Op. 18 *Drei Frauenchöre*, for choir or two female voices and soprano with piano accompaniment, D. Rather, Leipzig, 1898

1. *Winterlied* (Winter Song)
2. *Der Ziesig* (The Passerine)
3. *Süßes Begräbnis* (The Sweet Funeral)

Texts by Rudolf Baumbach (1840-1905). The manuscript dated: *Cavoretto, 3 marzo 1891*

Op. 19 *12 Variationen über ein Thema von Franz Schubert*, for oboe and piano, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1989, dedicated to E. Mandyczewski. Exists for clarinet and piano, violin and piano, oboe and string quintet and string quartet, premiered bei Düsseldorfer Quartet

Op. 20 Concerto for violin and orchestra, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1902, dedicated to Arrigo Serato who premiered it January 1902 in Berlin. Exists in version for violin and piano.

- I. *Allegro risoluto-Animato*
- II. *Adagio*
- III. *Allegro vivo con grazia*

Op. 21 *Adagio tragico* for string quartet, also in version for organ, manuscript

Op. 22 *15 Variationen über ein Thema von Brahms*, N.Simrock, Leipzig, 1901, After the theme of the choir *Dein Herzlein mild* Op. 62 No. 4 by Brahms. Played by Bohemian Quartet, Gewandhaus Quartet from Leipzig, *Quartetto Sarti* from Bologna. In Luxembourg premiered on January 27, 2016 by Ensemble "*d'arco*"

Op. 23 *Drei Romanzen* for voice and orchestra, G. Ricordi & C., Milan, 1902,

1. *Triste sera* (Sad Evening), for soprano, tenor or mezzo, text by Nikolaus Lenau (1802-1850), dedicated to Virginia Ferni-Germano

2. *Serenata*, for soprano, tenor or mezzo, text by Victor Roger (1853-1903)

3. *La tregua* (The Truce), for soprano, tenor or mezzo, text by Gabrielle D'Annunzio (1863-1938), dedicated to Marcella Pregi (1866-1958)

German translation by Hugo Conrat, French by Marguerite Turin

Op. 24 *Zwei Klavierstücke*, Schott's Söhne, Mainz, 1901

1. *Capriccio*

2. *Humoreske*

Op. 25 *Vier kleine Stücke* for violin and piano, B. Schott's Söhne, Mainz, 1901, dedicated to Arrigo Serato

1. *Albumblatt* (Album Page)

2. *Capriccio all'antica*

3. *Bagatella*

4. *Saltarello*

Exists in version for flute and string quartet and for quartet only.

Op. 26 *Rapsodia Piemontese*, for violin and orchestra, violin and piano Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1904 (Manuscript dated: *Torino, 8-10 giugno 1901*)

Op. 27 String Quartet in d major, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig 1906, written in Cavoretto, October 1902

I. *Allegro comodo*

II. *Scherzo: Allegro vivo*

III. *Adagio non troppo*

IV. *Allegro con spirito*

Op. 28 *Zwei Stücke*, for horn in F and piano, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1905. Written for a horn player Louis Savart in Vienna and premiered in Rome, *Accademia di S. Cecilia*. Orchestrated in 1903 in Cavoretto and premiered in this version with Fritz Straub-Rheinfelden on horn

1. *Lied*

2. *Humoreske*

Op. 29 *Romanze* in A major, for violin and orchestra, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1906. According to Lidia Benone- Giacoletto, written in 1899.

Op. 30 *Serenata sopra temi popolari* for orchestra. Not dated neither in the manuscript for orchestra nor in the one for piano. On the version for piano in four hands: *15 dicembre 1932*

Op. 31 *Danze Piemontesi* for orchestra, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1907, written in Cavoretto in 1903 and dedicated to Leonardo Bistolfi

1. *Allegretto moderato*, in A major, orchestra version written in December 1903

2. *Allegro con spirito*, in G major, orchestra version on December 25, 1903

Exists in version for string quintet, flute and piano, harmonium and piano (trans. Fritz Hermann), violin and piano (trans. Enrico Polo) and piano either for two or for four hands (trans. Ernesto Consolo)

On manuscript title page of Op. 31, three dances are noted: 1. Allegro; 2. Allegretto grazioso; 3. Allegro con fuoco, whereout it seems that Sinigaglia originally wanted to compose three dances.

Orchestra employed:

Dance 1. vn I/II, vla, vc, db, Picc, 2 Fl., 2 Ob, 2 Cl, 2 Fg, 4 Hn, 2 Tp, Tmp, Hp

Dance 2. vn I/II, vla, vc, db, Picc, 2 Fl., 2 Ob, 2 Cl, 2 Fg, 4 Hn, 2 Tp, 3 Tbn, Tmp, Triangle, Piatti, Glockenspiel

Op. 32 Overture *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte* for orchestra, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1908, dedicated to his sister (letter from April 9, 1908, Bologna). Orchestra version dated *Torino 25.1.08*, version for 4 hands piano numbered Op. 33 dated *Cavoretto 25 giugno 1907*. Enrico Consolo arranged it for piano in 2 and 4 hands

Orchestra employed: vn I/II, vla, vc, db, Picc, 2 Fl, 2 Ob, 2 Cl, 2 Fg, 4 Hn, 2 Tp, 3 Tbn, Tmp, Triangle/Cymbals, Snare drum, Glockenspiel

Op. 33 *Trio Serenade* for violin, viola and cello, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1908, dedicated to E. Mandyczewski

1. *Allegro moderato*, dated Cavoretto, 21/23 ottobre 1906
2. *Intermezzo: Allegro vivace*, dated Cavoretto, 28/29 ottobre 1906
3. *Egloga: Allegro molto*, dated Cavoretto, 23/25 ottobre 1906
4. *Capriccio (finale): Allegro vivace*, dated Cavoretto, 1/4 novembre 1906

Op. 34 *Quattro canzoni*, for mezzosoprano and orchestra (exists also version mezzo/piano), Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1908, dedicated to Amelia Rosselli

1. *Stornello*: “*Bella, bellina, quando vai per acqua*”, popular poetry from Tuscany
2. *La Siciliana*: “*È forte ed è gentile*”, popular Sicilian poetry
3. *Montanina*: “*Scende al pian la montanina*”, verses by Antonio Fogazzaro
4. *Serenada friulana*: “*Buona sera, case scure*”, popular poetry from Friuli

The manuscript of *Stornello* dated Cavoretto, October 21, 1907, *La Siciliana* dated Cavoretto, October 24, 1907

Op. 35 *Zwei Characterstücke* for string quartet, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig 1910, dedicated to "caro maestro Giovanni Bolzoni"

1. *Regenlied* (Rain Song)
2. *Etude-Caprice*

Both available in version for string orchestra; the manuscript of *Etude-Caprice*, marked op.21, dated December 7, 1908

Op. 36 *Piemonte*, suite for orchestra on popular themes, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1910, also version for piano, written in 1909 and dedicated to Arturo Toscanini

1. *Per boschi e campi* (Through forests and fields)
2. *Un balletto rustico*
3. *In montibus sanctis* (In Holy Mountains)
4. *Carnevale piemontese*

In manuscript, dated Cavoretto, December 7, 1909, different titles were given to movements: 1. *Canzoni nei campi*; 2. *Un balletto al chiaro di luna*; 3. *In Montibus sanctis*; 4. *Il carnevale d'Ivrea*

Op. 37 *Drei Gesänge* for voice and orchestra, or voice and piano, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1912, dedicated to Virginia Ferni-Germano

1. *Canto dell'ospite /Gastgesang* , (Guest's Song) text by Gabriele D'Annunzio
2. *Quiete meridiana nell'Alpe/Mittagsruhe in den Bergen*, (Midday Quietness in the Mountains) text by Antonio Fogazzaro
3. *Il rifugio/ Die Berghüte*, (The Mountain Hut), text by G. Cerrina, Translation in German by Alois Botstiber

Op. 38 *Lamento in memoria di un giovane artista*, symphonic poem for orchestra, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1930, dedicated to Natale Canti, on the score marked: Torino, Februar 14th, 1911, exist versions for piano, 2 and 4 hands

Op. 39 *Le ricordanze (Mirandola)*, symphonic poem for orchestra, exist versions for piano, 2 and 4 hands

Op. 40 *36 vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte* for voice and piano, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, between 1914-1927 in six volumes, republished by G. Ricordi & C., Milan, 1957

Vol. 1: *La pastora fedele; Il cacciatore del bosco; Il maritino; La promessa; Il grillo e la formica* and others, B&H no.4338

Vol. 2: *Verdolin, verdolinetto; La sposa morta; Ninetta;* and others; B&H 4339

Vol. 3: *I falciatori; La monaca sposa; La rondine importuna;* and others, B&H 5218

Vol. 4: *L'uccellino del bosco; La bella al molino; La pastora e il lupo;* and others, B&H 5219

Vol. 5: *La monachella salvata; Cecilia; Invito respinto;* and others, B&H 5359

Vol. 6: *Donna bianca; Ninna-nanna di Gesù Bambino; La sposa Beltramo;* and others, B&H 5360

First two volumes appeared in 1914, the third in 1921 and the last two in 1927. Texts are printed in Piedmont dialect and in French translation by Margherite Turin

Op. 40a *Tre vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte* for two female voices with piano

1. *La pastora fedele* (The Faithful Shepherdess)
2. *Il cacciatore del bosco* (The Forst Hunter)
3. *Il maritino* (The Little Husband)

Op. 40b (edited as Op. 40a) *24 vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte, 2nd posthumous serial*, G. Ricordi & C.

Milan, 1956, Luigi Rognoni edition

L'amoroso giardino; Girometta; Fior di tomba; La bella Leandra; Amore al convento
and others

Op. 40c *18 vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte*, for mixed choir in four voices, posthumous, Suvini Zerboni, 1980, Milan, Luigi Rognoni edition, verbal texts, translation and remarks by Roberto Leydi.

Fior di tomba; Il pellegrino di San Giacomo; Ninna Nanna di Gesù Bambino; and others

Op. 41 Sonata in C major for cello and piano, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1925

I. *Allegro*

II. *Intermezzo: Allegro animato*

III. *Adagio*

IV. *Allegro con spirito*

Op. 42 *Rondò* in G major for violin and small orchestra²⁴⁹, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1934, also for violin and piano and piano 4 hands

Op. 43 *Suite di Valzer* for orchestra. Also, in version for piano 4 hands. No dates on manuscripts.

Op. 44 Sonata for violin and piano, G. Ricordi & C., Milan, 1936, no date on manuscript

I. *Allegro moderato*

II. *Adagio*

III. *Allegro con spirito*

Op. 45 *Suite* for flute and string orchestra, posthumous opus

I. *Mattinata*

II. *Il pastore innamorato (Egloga d'autunno)*

²⁴⁹ This piece, written for the 2nd Venice Festival, held from September 11, 1932, where it was received very well was performed in many cities in Italy and abroad: in London in September 1934 by Arthur Catterall (1883-1943) and BBC Orchestra, conducted by Henry Wood, in USA in January 1938 by Sylvia Lent (1903-1972) and Sinfonietta Orchestra, San Francisco, conducted by Giulio Minetti (1866-1958).

III. Aprile

Op. 46 Quintet for flute, oboe, clarinet, horn, and bassoon. Written in Cavoretto November 19th, 1940, exists the version for piano in 4 hands

I. Allegro moderato

II. Allegro

III. Andante

7.2 With a date but without opus number

Three duets for female voices accompanied by string quartet, also with piano, N. Simrock, Berlin, 1896

1. Sepoltura di bimba/ Mägdleins Begräbnis, (Girl's Funeral) text by Gustav Hermann Kletke

2. Serenata vespertina/ Abendständchen, (Vespertine Serenade) text by Joseph von Eichendorff

3. Berceuse/ Schlummerlied, (Lullaby), text by Hugo Conrat

- *Canzone malinconica all'arcolaiò* for piano, April 1887

- *Romanza senza parole* for violin (or cello) with piano, dedicated *a mia sorella Alina*"

- *Imo duetto* for two violins, written between May 22-25, 1887

- *Canto della sera* for piano, May 1887, inspired by a poem by Fogazzaro, dedicated *"a Giorgio Finzi"*

- *Gavotta (sentimentale)* for piano, May 1887, dedicated *"Alla Signorina Carlottina Nosseda"*

- *Preghiera* for violin and piano, December, 1887

- *Leggenda* for violin and piano, December 24, 1887

- *Sei pezzi nello stile antico* for piano, October 1887- January 1888

1. Minuetto e Rondò

2. Rigaudon

3. Bourée

4. Minuetto

5. *Gavotta*

- Sonata No.1 for violin and piano, January 1888
- *Gavotta* for string quartet, January 1888
- *Momento antico, tempo di Gavotta* for piano, February 17th, 1888
- *Romanza* for four violins with piano accompaniment, March 1888
- *Ave Maria* for string quartet, March 16, 1888
- *Adagio* for string quartet, April 25-26, 1888
- *Momento antico* for string quartet, April 1888
- *Scherzo* from the 1st sonata for violin and piano, reduced for string quartet, May, 1888
- First Suite for orchestra, also for piano in 4 hands premiered on December 31, 1892

I. Pastorale

II. Air de Ballet (manuscript dated December 1889, 4 hands version, November 1888)

III. Ave Maria

IV. Carnaval

- Trio for violin, viola and cello, May 1889

I. Allegro

II. Andante con variazioni

III. Scherzo

IV. Finale: Allegro

- *2nd Studio* in D major for piano, June 1889, dedicated to "A mia sorella Alina"
- *Hora mistica* for string quartet, published in 1889 in Paris by Richault & C., dedicated to Leonardo Bistolfi
- *Marcia funebre per una bambina*, for orchestra, November 1889, (the 1st version of succeeding *Elegia*)

- *Elegia* for orchestra, April 1890 (the 2nd version of the *Marcia funebre per una bambina*). The definitive version concluded in November 1890 and first performed on November 31, 1892. Piano reduction by Gaetano Foschini

- Suite for piano, violin and cello, December 1890

I. Tempo di marcia

II. Scherzo

III. Romanza

IV. Danza rustica

Miserere for sopranos, tenors and basses with organ accompaniment, March 1891, text by Emanuelle Gallo

Improvviso for piano, Cavoretto, October 1891

Burleske for violin and piano, 1892

Melodie de printemps, for voice and piano, May 1, 1892, text by Henri- Frédéric Amiel

Vecchia canzone for orchestra, September 1892 (letter to his sister from January 2, 1893) "spiritually" dedicated to Alina

Da una leggenda Nordica for orchestra (exists for piano 4 hands), before December 1892 when performed for the first time

Per una piccola morta (Elegia per orchestra), before December 31 1892, dedicated to Gaetano Foschini and reduced for piano by G.Galuzzi

Ave Maria, for voice and piano, published by Achille Tedeschi Editore, Bologna, 1894, dedicated "alla Signora Maria Mosso"

Quatre feuilles d'album for violin and piano, published by C.G.Röder, Leipzig, hand written dedication "*All'insigne e appassionato violinista F.Kreisler- à Wien '96*", dedicated to Leonardo Bistolfi

1. *A quoi rêvent les jeunes filles ? (What Are Young Girls Dreaming About?)*

2. *Berceuse (Lullaby)*

3. *Résignation*

4. *Marionnettes*

- *Suite* for string quartet in five movements, 1889, dedicated to Bohemian Quartet, first played from manuscript

- *Romanza* for violin and orchestra (in manuscript marked Op.21 just like *Adagio tragico*), Cavoretto, October 21-22, 1900. Also for violin and piano

- *Trio* for violin, cello and piano, marked Op. 32 in manuscript, just like *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte*, Cavoretto, autumn 1904, dedicated to Berta Kolmar

I. Allegro energico

II. Scherzo: Allegro vivace assai

III. Tema con variazioni : Andante

IV. Allegro con brio

12 Lieder di Brahms, Italian version on texts by Leone Sinigaglia, published by Simrock, Leipzig, 1920

7.3 Without opus number or date

-*Am Altar, Adagio religioso* for string quartet, also for violin and piano, C. G. Röder, Leipzig

-*Imo studio (quasi-Scherzo)* for string quartet, also for piano 4 hands

-*2do studio* in D major for string quartet, also piano 4 hands

-*Due Romanze senza parole* for string quartet

1. *Pagine intime*

2. *Novelletta*

-*Allegro energico* for string quartet

-*Beim Herbstregen* (At the Autumn Rain) for string quartet, also for piano

-*Minuetto per soli archi*- quartet

-*Vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte* for voice and string quartet: *Invito respinto; La scelta felice; Lucia Maria; L'uccellino del bosco; Maria Catlina; Rana e rospo; Convegno notturno; La bella al molino; I falciatori; Le nozze dell'alpigiano; La monaca sposa; La sposa di Beltramo; Novara; Mamma mia, vorrei, vorrei...; L'aria del molino; Verdolin, verdolinetto; La monachella salvata; Il tamburino; Il pellegrino del San Giacomo; Ninna Nanna di Gesù Bambino; Grillo e formica; La Brandolina*

-*Vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte* for two female voices and string quartet: *Il cacciatore del bosco; La pastora fedele; Il maritino*

-*Gavotta* for two violins

-*Studio* in F major for piano

-*Preludio, Sarbanda e Giga* for piano

- *Pastorale* for two pianos

-*Fleurette d'avril* (April Flowerete) for piano

-*Vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte* for two female voices and piano: *Invito respinto; Ninna Nanna di Gesù Bambino; Il pellegrino di San Giacomo; Amore fedele; La pastora e il lupo* (for three voices)

-*Mater dolorosa* for mezzosoprano and piano, G. Ricordi & C., Milan

-*Serenata provenzale* for mezzosoprano, bariton and piano, text by Arrigo Boito

- *Notturmo* for voice and piano, text by Severino Ferrari

-*Chanson très vielle* (Very Old Song) for voice and piano, text by Charles Fuster

-*Ballatella* for voice and piano, dedicated to Ettore Gandolfi; text by Arrigo Boito; German version by Hugo Conrat

-*Minuetto* for voice and piano

-*Das Traumbild "Wo bist du Bild"*, (Dream Picture "Where are you Picture") text by Ludwig Heinrich Christoph Hölty

-5 Brahms' *Lieder*, translated texts by L. Sinigaglia, published by Capra, Turin

- *Marcia funebre di un uccellino* (Funeral March of a Little Bird) for orchestra

- Cortège des marionettes* for orchestra, also for piano 2 and 4 hands, dedicated to G. Bolzoni
- Marionette* for small orchestra, also for piano 2 and 4 hands
- Cortège funebre de la petite fée des bois* (Funeral Cortège for the Little Forest Fairy) for orchestra
- Berceuse* (Lullaby) by E. Grieg Op. 38, transcription for orchestra
- Adagio* for string orchestra and organ
- Elegia eroica* for orchestra, also for piano 4 hands
- Vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte* for three female voices and orchestra: *Ninna Nanna di Gesù Bambino*
- Sulla montagna* (On The Mountain) for choir of male voices, dedicated to Daniele Turin, text by Henri-Frédéric Amiel (1821-1881)
- *Vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte* for male choir: *Il pellegrino del San Giacomo; Il reggimento del Piemonte; Le nozze dell'alpigiano; La scelta felice; La Brandolina; Il cacciatore del bosco; Le tre comari.*
- Ave Verum* for four mixed voices
- 18 Canons für Frauenchor*: 1) *Ciao, ciao, ciao, morettina bella ciao*; 2) *Voglio farti un bel letto di fiori*; 3) *Addio mia bella, addio*; 4) *La dis, la dis, la dis, che l'è malada*; 5) *O morettina, vieni alla finestra a fare l'amore*; 6) *Chi sarà che piange*; 7) *Guarda lì cat chichi*; 8) *S'ode lontana la cornamusa*; 9) *Suona la campana*; 10) *Traumbild*; 11) *Frühling*; 12) *Westphälisches Volkslied*; 13) *O crux, ave spes unica*; 14) *Perchè, vezzosi rai*; 15) *I dolci lacci amate*; 16) *Ah pietà*; 17) *Occhi, stelle mortali*; 18) *Mailed*
- Allein zu dir* (Alone to You) for six voices mixed choir
- Das Kirchleine* (Little Churches) choir, text by Nikolaus Becker (1809-1845)
- Die Zwerge* (The Dwarfs) for choir, text by Klethe
- Miserere* choir with organ accompaniment

8. LIST OF CONSULTED LETTERS (expeditors)

Documented sources of Sinigaglia's life are very much based on the correspondence with his mother and his sister, which started to be scarcer after his return to Turin. This correspondence often mentioned and cited in this study and not covered in following list, further diminished with the loss of his mother in 1903, until finally disappearing by 1907, when his sister Alina separated from her husband, the engineer Enrico Segré, and continued to live with her brother. She accompanied him on some of his concert trips and shared his destiny until the end of their lives. Therefore, one can often read a greeting addressed to her by Sinigaglia's correspondents at the end of numerous letters.

The loss of Sinigaglia's regular correspondence with the family took away an important treasury of information, making the dates and feelings of our composer, previously marked in a very precise way, more approximative.

The grand value in his exchange of letters is that it represents a testimonial to his very active and intense life during the first two decades of the 19th century. Cited names of correspondents with short details of their function, activity, or an interesting family connection (like Gabrilowitsch's wife who is the daughter of Mark Twain, or Baloković who is a friend of Nikola Tesla etc.) of the chosen 200 letters prove that Sinigaglia had contact with important personalities in the musical life of Europe and further at about the end of 19th and the first part of 20th century. It further shows how much importance Sinigaglia put on consistent communication in his work relations and in his friendships. This correspondence was sometimes complimented by the descriptions of various trips (Saffonof), either of concerts where his works were played, or more generally, of his continued presence in the music world of Vienna and Europe.

1. Franco ALFANO, 1875-1954, composer, letter from 17/6/1924
2. Mario ANCONA, 1870-1931, Florence baritone (about 3 romances to study)
3. Volkmar ANDREAE, 1879-1962, conductor, composer
4. Giovanni Maria ANFOSSI, 1864-1946, pianist, composer
5. Aldo ANTONIETTI, 1881-1961, pupil of E. Sauret, naturalized English, London, Royal Academy
6. Emilio ANZOLETTI, musicians' family from Bolzano
7. Vincenzo APPIANI, 1850-1932, pianist

8. Ugo ARA, 1876-1936, violist, studied with Thompson, R. Fuchs, Vienna, Flonzaley quartet sponsored by E. J. de Coppet
9. Adila D'ARANY-FACHIRI, 1893-1966, 3 letters, sister of Jelly, niece of Joachim
10. Nene (Irene) AZZALY (RICHELMY), "Passerina", flutist
11. Louis BAILLY, 1882-1974, violist quartet Flonzaley, teaches Curtis, Quebec, nat. Canadien
12. Zlatko BALOKOVIĆ, 1895-1965, pupil of Huml, Ševčík, wife Joyce Borden, E. Roosevelt friend, Tesla's friend
13. Nora BALZANI, "Pispoletta" 19/5/1944, "da aprire dopo il mio decesso"
14. Nora BALZANI, duet with Toscanini
15. Nora BALZANI from Alba MEDEA 20/11/1946, about common friend, Rita, Rognoni's friend
16. John BARBIROLI, 1899-1970, G. Battista baptised; after Toscanini in NY, Hallé, Manchester
17. Federico BARERA, 1847- ?, teaches in Ferrara
18. Charles BARETTI, pianist, cellist?
19. Romeo BARTOLI, 1875-1936, maestro del canto, conductor
20. Emil Robert BLANCHET, 1877-1943, Swiss organist, composer, alpinist, prof. Cons. Lausanne
21. Ernest BLOCH, 1885-1977, 3-4 letters
22. Riccardo BOERIO, violinist, teacher, letters, postcards
23. Livia BONUCCI-CARLESINO, pianist
24. Ettore BONTEMPELLI, composer of songs (Massimo BONTEMPELLI 1878-1960)
25. Virgilio BROCCOLINI,
26. Willy BURMESTER, 1869-1933, Joachim's student, technic obsessed, Sibelius dedication
27. Maria Rita BRONDI, 1889-1941, luttist, guitarist, noble, singed regional songs with guitar
28. Stella CALCINA, 1889-1984, soprano, Postcard, letter
29. Lucien CAPET, 1873, 1928, violist, composer
30. Hugo CAR (VAK; MAX?)
31. Henri- Gustave CASADESUS, 1879-1947 violist, composer, (Ch. Riquet)
32. Pablo CASALS, 1876-1973, cellist
33. Matthieu CRICKBOOM, 1871-1947, violinist, conductor, teacher, Lekeu's protector, 2nd vn. Ysaÿe
34. Emile CHAUMONT, 1878-1942 violinist, Lamoureux, prof in Liege, Bxl, quartet
35. Joanna CHESSIN, violinist, Marteau's student, Geneve, thanks f. D. Piemontesi
36. Arthur DE GREEF, 1862-1940, pianist, composer, Saint Saens' and Grieg's friend
37. Olga DE PROSPERI, Padova, 6/6/1900
38. Victor De SABATA, 1892-1967, conductor, rival with Toscanini

39. Felix August Bernhard DRAESEKE, 1835-1913, German composer
40. Anthony DUBOIS (Leon DU BOIS), 1859-1935, composer, organist, director Louvain, Bxl.
41. Felix August Bernhard DRAESEKE, 1835-1913, German composer
42. Ilona EIBENSCHÜTZ, 1871-1967, pianist
43. Mischa ELMAN, 1891-1967, letter 26/12/1934
44. Nina FALIERO, 1878-1946, Swiss-Italian singer (Maria-Anna SARACE real name), 29/4/1899
45. Friend FANS(T)E, amica "Gallo", da Anna K.
46. Virginia FERNI(-GERMANO), 1849-1934, singer
47. Olga FERRAGATTI, pianist
48. Emmanuel FEUERMANN, organist
49. Chiarin FINO-SAVIO, 1878-1969, soprano
50. Carl FLESCH, 1873-1944
51. Oskar FRIED, 1871-1941, German composer, conductor, naturalised soviet.
52. Unknown author, Leri? is born, 16/4/1943
53. Raffaele FRONTALI, 1849-1916, violinist, composer, Joachim's pupil, teacher: Venice, Pesaro
54. Giuseppe FRUGATTA, 1860-1933, pianist, composer
55. Carl FRIEDBERG, 1872-1955, pianist, C. Schumann's pupil, teacher Frankfurt, Cologne, Julliard
56. Albert? FUCHS (1858-1910), Swiss/German composer
57. Gavino GABRIEL, 1881-1980, Sardinian & Eritrean ethnomusicologist, A.B. Salu-pseudonym
58. Ossip Salomonovich GABRILOWITSCH, 1878-1936 pianist, conductor, wife-daughter of M. Twain
59. M.F. GAILLARD, 1900-1973, composer, conductor, pianist
60. Maria GARELLI (VON HALLWEIL), wealthy lady
61. Nina GARELLI, 1880-1958, soprano
62. Some German musician 1911, in Gothic
63. Francis-August GEVAERT, 1828-1908, composer, director Bxl, musicologist
64. Lucia GIORDANO IN POZZO, singer
65. Umberto GIORDANO, 1867-1948, composer
66. Madeleine GREY (GRUMBERG born), 1897-1979, French soprano
67. Paul GRÜMER, 1899-1965, gambist. Cellist
68. Alfred GRÜNFELD, 1852-1924, pianist, composer
69. Guillaume GUIDÉ, 1859-1917, oboist, conductor, Monnaie
70. Yvette GUILBERT, 1867-1944, variété singer
71. Fritz HAMBOURG

72. Mark (Max) HAMBOURG, 1895-1960, Michael's son, Leschetitzky's pupil, Daily Mail process, memoirs, Cho. film
73. Michael HAMBOURG, 1855-1916, pianist, pupil of N. Rubinstein, Toronto Cons, sons Jan-violinist, Boris-cellist
74. Andre HEKKING, 1866-1925, French cellist
75. Richard HEUBERGER, 1850-1914, opérettes composer, critic
76. Hugo HEERMAN, 1844-1935, violinist
77. Fritz HOFFMANN, Kapelmeister
78. Karl HOFFMANN, 1872-1936, Czech violinist, Bohemian quartet
79. Joseph HOLLMANN, 1852-1926, cellist (Saint-Saens: 2nd concerto, "Muse et poete" duet)
80. Mieczyslaw HORSZOWSKI, 1892-1993, Polish-American pianist, pupil of Leschetitzky-Czerny, Milan
81. unknown expeditor
82. unknown expeditor
83. Bronislaw HUBERMANN, 1882-1947, Gio Batta Boraggini maire invites him to 1903 to Genova
84. Wouter HUTSCHENRUIJTER, 1859-1943, composer, conductor, musicologist
85. Leon JEHIN, 1853-1928, conductor
86. Ida JELINEK 1869-1924, born BEER, singer
87. Joseph JOACHIM, 1831-1907, violinist, composer, teacher
88. Marjory KENNEDY- FRASER, 1857-1930, Scottish singer
89. Franz KNEISSEL, 1865-1926, Hungarian violinist, Brahms' friend, Hofburg, Bilse & Boston leader, Maine
90. Hans KÖTSCHER, teacher on Music Academy in Basel where director was Hans Huber
91. Fritz KREISLER, 1875-1962, S. presented him to Fauré, letters 4/7/1904, 13/4/1907, 1911, 1934
92. Camilla LANDI, contralto, mezzo
93. Wanda LANDOWSKA, 1879-1959, Polish-French harpsichordist
94. Adée LEANDER (FLODIN), husband Carl, composer, musicologist, Father Adolph, BA
95. Michele LESSONA, musicologist, lawyer, in France 1940-45, Sinigaglia is writing, moving papers
96. Theodor LESCHETIZKY, 1830-1915, pianist
97. Max LEWINGER, 1870-1908, court violinist, played Rhapsody Leipzig
98. Jacques von LIER, 1875-1951, Dutch cellist
99. Evangelina LONGO, singer
100. Pavel LUDIKAR, 1882-1970, bass/baritone, CZ (letter about violinist Renée Clement)
101. Gigi Luigi LUZZI, 1824-1876, composer
102. Enrico MAINARDI, 1897-1976, cellist

103. Adelina MANZONI LESSONA
104. Fanny MARNEUX
105. Gladys MAQUE, Lugano
106. Czeslaw MAREK, 1891-1985, Polish pianist
107. Vera MAURINA, Russian pianist husband violinist Mikhail PRESS 1871-1938, Hrimaly's pupil,
Curtis-Flesch ass.
108. Mauri (MAURIC), "pauvre Sinigagliotto, malato a Vienna"
109. Alba MEDEA, 3 letters, postcard from S.
110. Sabine MEYEN, singer pianist
111. Carlo MIGLIARA, copyst
112. Dimitri MITROPOULOS, 1896-1960, Busoni's pupil, 1st soloist conducting (3. Prokofieff),
1951-57 NY
113. Tito MONACHESI, 1849-1914, violinist, violist
114. Isaac MOSSEL, 1870-1923, Dutch cellist, brother Max violinist
115. Friedrich von MULERT, (Fedor Vilgelmovich), 1859-1924, cellist
116. Clärchen (Clarette) MULLER
117. E. MYSZ, husband of German mezzo Lula Gmeiner 1876-1948, Berlin teacher of E. Schwartzkopf
118. Giovanni Battista NAPPI, 1857-1932, writer, critics, composer
119. Giuseppe NAVONE, 1879-1953, from the well-known family, sister harpist?
120. Oskar NEDBAL, 1874-1930, composer, violinist, conductor, quartet Boeme
121. Ferd NEISSER
122. Rosa NEWMARCH, critic
123. Arthur NIKISCH, 1855-1922, Hungarian violinist, conductor, Leipzig, Boston, Budapest
124. Romeo ORSI, 1843-1918, clarinet teacher in Milan, founder of wind instruments factory
125. Ettore (Hector) PANIZZA, 1875-1967, Argentinian composer, conductor
126. Bedrich PASKA, 1820-1904, a writer, libretist, (or Bedrich VASKA 1879-1978)
127. W.F. PENDELTON, musician's husband
128. Lorenzo Pierluigi PEROSI, 1872-1956, composer, organist
129. Egon PETRI, 1881-1962, German/USA pianist, violinist
130. Willy PIEPER, Breslau
131. E.S. PLAYFAIR, (Elsie daughter-pianist)
132. Gertrud POPPLER (1596)
133. Henri-Benjamin RABAUD, 1873-1949, composer, conductor
134. Alexandre PETSCHNIKOFF, 1873-1949, Russian violinist, teaching München, Berlin, BA

135. Stephane-Raoul PUGNO, 1852-1914, Fr. pianist, composer, concerts with Ysaÿe, died in Moscow
136. Willy REMBERG, 1863-1937, Swiss pianist, conductor, German origin
137. Carl Friedrich REINECKE, 1824-1918, composer, pianist, Leipzig conductor, teacher of Liszt's daughter
138. Fritz REINER, 1888-1963, Hungarian/USA conductor, Dresden, Cincinnati after Ysaÿe, Pittsburgh
139. Robert REITZ, 1884-1951, Swiss violinist, concertmaster Weimar
140. Illy REHBERG, 1863-1937, Swiss pianist, conductor
141. Joseph Eduard RISLER, 1873-1929, German pianist, nat. French
142. André de RIBAUPIERRE, 1893-1955, Swiss violinist
143. Lodovico ROCCA, 1895-1986, Turin composer, cons. director 1940-1966
144. Corrado ROMANO, musician
145. Moriz ROSENTHAL, 1862-1945, Polish/USA pianist, pupil of Liszt, Curtis, own school
146. Maria ROSSI, wishes a date "vestita in nero"
147. Emile ROSIER, writes about Wood
148. Clary RUBADI, pianist
149. Arthur RUBINSTEIN, 1887-1982
150. Vassili Ilich SAFONOV, 1852-1918, Moscow cons. Director, Leschetitzky's student, conductor-no stick
151. Leon SAMETINI, 1886-1949, violinist, Chicago, *Rhapsodie Piemontese* on London tour 1907
152. Giuseppe Mario SAMMARCO, 1873-1930, baritone
153. Sandro, composer?
154. Enrico SANMARTINO di VALPERGA, 1863-1947, senator of kingdom, about music 1876
155. Emil SAUER, 1862-1942, pianist
156. Emile SAURET, 1852-1920, violinist, composer, dedica autografo
157. Louis SAVART, 1871-1923, hornist, later blind-Brahms trio (2 pieces Op. 28 dedicated)
158. CASA SAVOIA
159. Rosario SCALERO, 1870-1954, violinist, composer, USA taught after Bloch at Mannes School, about studies with Wilhelmj in London, studying then with Mandyczewski,
160. Arthur SCHNABEL, 1882-1951, A/USA pianist, pupil of Leschetitzky and Mandyczewski
161. Franz SCHÖRG, violinist, Bxl quartet, postcard 1903
162. Ernest von SCHUCH, 1846-1914, Austrian conductor Dresden Oper, Strauss collaborator
163. Edouard SCHÜTT, 1856-1953, pianist, composer, St. Peterburg, declined Bayreuth direction proposed by Cosima
164. Pierre SECCHIARI, 1877-1932, violinist, Paris

165. Eugen SEGNITZ, 1862-1927, Leipzig critic, musicologist
166. Arrigo SERATO, 1877-1848, first in Berlin, later St. Cecilia, trio with Pizetti, Mainardi
167. Otakar ŠEVČIK, 1852-1934, Czech violin pedagogue
168. Jean SIBELIUS, 1865-1957
169. Elvira SILLA, pianist
170. Julius SKRIVAN, concert director
171. Fritz STEINBACH, 1855-1916, German composer, conductor
172. Richard STRAUSS, 1864-1949
173. Guilhermina SUGGIA 1888-1950, Portuguese cellist
174. Zoltán SZÉKELY, 1903-2001, Hungarian violinist, comp. 1903
175. Magda TAGLIAFERRO, 1893-1986, French pianist
176. Arrigo TASSINARI, 1889-1988, flutist, suite Op.45 dedicated.
177. Jacques THIBAUD, 1880-1953, violinist
178. Maria TIBALDI CHIESA, 1896-1968, writer, music writer, politician after war, republican
179. Vally THERMANN
180. César THOMPSON, 1856-1931, Belgium violinist, pupil of Massard, Bilse c-master, married rich in Lugano Louisa Riva
181. Teresina TUA, 1866-1956, violinist (in Franchi), pupil of Massard, USA no success, married in EU, died in monastery
182. Cesar VALABREGA, 1898-1949, pianist music critic
183. Vittorio Maria VANZO, 1862-1945, pianist, music critic
184. Bedřich VASKA 1879-1978, Czechoslovakia-USA cellist, pupil of A. Dvořák
185. Vittorio VENEZIANI, 1878-1958, choir director in Ferrara
186. Dedic di VI-SE, cellist
187. Bruno WALTER (Schlesinger), 1876-1961, conductor, nat. A 1911, Fr. 1938, USA 1946
188. Marion von WEBER-SCHWABE, 1856-1931, Mahler's Leipzig love, married Weber's grandson, C. Schumann
189. Felix WEINGARTNER, 1863-1942, conductor
190. Ernst WENDEL, 1876-1938, German violinist, composer, conductor
191. idem
192. Herman Hans WETZLER, 1870-1943, USA studies, Wetzler Symphony Orch. 1898-Strauss, Köln, Switz., Ancona
193. August WILHELMJ, 1845-1908, prodigy, F. David, friend Wagner's, "Ring" leader, Guildhall teacher
194. NN

195. Hans WINDERSTEIN, 1856-1925S, pupil of Schradieck, Nuremberg, then Leipzig
Winderstein Orchestra,
196. Ermanno WOLF-FERRARI, 1876-1925, Venetian, son German painter, pupil of Rheinberger,
Salzburg teacher, verismo
197. Theo YSAYE, 1865-1918, pianist, composer
198. Eugene-Auguste YSAYE, 1858-1931, violinist, conductor
199. Hermann ZILCHER, 1881-1948, Würzburger Kammerorchester, director Cons.
200. Carl ZIMMER, 1855-1919, Neues Symphonieorchester Berlin, composes easy music

9. RECORDINGS

Recordings of Sinigaglia's works multiplied importantly within last fifteen years and are today majority of total of nineteen (twenty with original recording of Concerto Op. 20 by Arrigo Serato recently disappeared from YouTube). Especially recording of integral string quartet works, realised by Naxos and the Archos quartet in 3 CDs from 2020 till 2023, represents another contributively important element of the existing collection. Unfortunately none of works for symphonic orchestra can be proposed in the following list because they are most missing in this collection despite their superior popularity and performing frequency a century ago.

Leone Sinigaglia, Violin Concerto Op. 20, Alfonso Mosesti, violin, Orchestra sinfonica di Roma della Rai, conductor, Ferruccio Scaglia, Rhine Classics, RH-003, 1959

Leone Sinigaglia, *Vecchie canzoni popolari del Piemonte*, Rosina Cavacchioli, soprano, Enrico Lini, piano, D405 Dynamic, 1964

Leone Sinigaglia, Two pieces for horn & piano Op.28 (Lied, Humoreske), Simone Baroncini, horn, Umberto Fanni, piano, Fonè, 98F28CD, 1999

Leone Sinigaglia, Lieder & Romanze, Ania Kempe, soprano, Massimiliano Genot, piano, Stradivarius, STR 33767, 2007

Leone Sinigaglia, Chamber Music, Violin Sonata, Op. 44, Cello Sonata, Op. 41 Solomia Soroka, violin, Noreen Silver, cello, Phillip Silver, Toccata Classics, TOCC 0025, 2011

Leone Sinigaglia, Violin Konzert Op. 20, Romanze & Humoreske für Cello & Orchester op. 16; 2 Charakteristische Stücke für Streichorchester op. 35, Laura Marzadori, violin, Fernando Caida Greco, cello, Orchestra Città di Ferrara, Marco Zuccarini, conductor, Tactus, TC861901, 2013

Leone Sinigaglia, Piccola Suite für Flöte & Streichorchester Op. 45; 2 Charakterstücke für Streichorchester Op. 35 Roberto Fabbriciani, flute, Orchestra Abima, Giacobbe Stevanato, conductor, Tactus, TC900005, 2014

Leone Sinigaglia, Sonate for violin & piano, op. 44; Le Baruffe Chiozzotte-Ouverture Op. 32 for four hands piano; 2 Pieces for piano Op. 24; Fogli d'album Op. 7 for piano; Staccato-Etude Op. 11 for piano; Danza Piemontese Op. 31 Nr. 1 for violin & piano, Alessandra Genot, violin, Massimiliano Genot, piano, Brilliant Classics, 95239, 2015

Leone Sinigaglia, Fogli d'Album Op. 7; 2 Klavierstücke Op. 24; Massimiliano Genot, piano, Brilliant Classics, 9470, 2010-2016

Leone Sinigaglia, 12 Variationen über Haidenrösslein von Schubert, Op. 19, Luciano Franca, oboe, Filippo, Pantieri, piano, Tactus, TC850002, 2016

Leone Sinigaglia, Sonata per violino e pianoforte in G Major, Op. 44; Tre pezzi lirici per violino e pianoforte, Op. 12; Tre pezzi romantici per violino e pianoforte, Op. 13; Quattro piccoli pezzi per violino e pianoforte, Op. 25, Maurizio Cadossi, violin, Roberto Beltrami, piano, Movimento Classical, 2016, available on Apple Music, Amazon, Spotify, Deezer, Youtube

Leone Sinigaglia, Romanze & Humoreske Op. 16, Raphaela Gromes, cello, Julian Riem, piano, Sony Classical, 88985413032, 2017

Leone Sinigaglia, 12 Variazioni sopra un tema di Schubert, Op. 19 (version for clarinet and piano), Sergio Bosi, clarinet, Riccardo Bartoli, piano, Naxos, 8.579034, 2018

Leone Sinigaglia, Lied Op. 28 for horn & piano Hervé Joulain, horn, Ariane, Jacob, piano, TYXart, TXA19142, 2019

Leone Sinigaglia, 12 Variationen über Haidenrösslein Op. 19, Christian Schmitt, Oboe, Alessandra Gentile, piano, Stradivarius, STR37102, 2019

Leone Sinigaglia, String Quartet D-Dur op. 27; Konzert-Etüde D-Dur Op. 5 (version for string quartet); 2 Charakterstücke Op. 35 (version for string quartet), Brahms-Variations Op. 22; Scherzo Op. 8 (version for string quartet); Hora Mystica, Archos Quartet, Naxos, 8.574183, 2020

Leone Sinigaglia, Fogli d'Album Op. 7; 2 Klavierstücke Op. 24; Studio D-Dur; Improvviso; Fleurette d'Avril; Air de Ballet, Eduardo Turbil, piano, Da Vinci, C00550, 2021

Leone Sinigaglia: Serenade für Streichtrio Op. 33, Ensemble Alraune, Nova Antiqua, LC28904, 2022

Leone Sinigaglia, Romanza for string quartet & horn Op. 3; Ave Maria for string quartet; Allegro energico; Gavotta for string quartet; Novelletta; Moderato mosso; Scherzo D-Dur; Adagio; Momento antico; String trio A-Dur; Trio-Serenata Op. 33, Wawrzyniec Szymanski, horn, Archos Quartet, Naxos, 8.574495, 2023

10. CONCLUSION

Very few studies about Sinigaglia are realized up to now and their dearth is that they are exclusively in Italian.²⁵⁰ For a composer pursued by Nazis, deprived of any property, and forced to hide for survival, without heirs, it was only thanks to a friend, the musicologist Luigi Rognoni that his manuscripts and his letters were to be conserved and thus the source for this research. The ample correspondence that Sinigaglia amassed during his life was written in all four languages that he was studying since adolescence: Italian, German, English, and French, and this linguistic richness must have posed limits to more than one researcher (or potential researchers). Sinigaglia's return to Italy brought a gradual disappearance of the frequent correspondence with his family and thus presents difficulties to the researcher to have a determinate chronological trace of his life. Two events influenced this disappearing letter exchange in an important manner: his mother's death in 1903, and his sister Alina's separation from her husband and joining Leone in 1907 under the same roof until the end of their lives.

Several sporadic initiatives in some neutral and local medias intending to give a tribute to the greatest composer of Piedmont ended in remoteness. The intention of this study is to make the name, work, and the life story of this once famous composer known to a European audience by documenting for the first time heretofore in English.

Concerning the musical orientation towards composing standards which existed in European centres beyond the Alps, Sinigaglia's choice for his educational path was the systematic characteristics of music education in Vienna²⁵¹ which took him abroad, but his return to Turin, either for familial or professional reasons was never in question.

The research through the epistolary of Leone Sinigaglia made me discover in him a person with exceptional communication needs and efficiency. Correspondence with Richard Strauss, Jean Sibelius, John Barbirolli, Arthur Nikisch, Eugène Ysaÿe, Enrico Mainardi, Pablo Casals, Mischa Elman, and Artur Schnabel, represents a continuous and intense liaison with nationally and internationally well-known names of musical world of the end of 19th and first half of 20th century. The emphasis was never put on the ethnic or religious origin of his correspondent partners, and this is the characteristic crux of the philosophy that accompanied this research and paper which distinguishes it from previous research about Sinigaglia. The validity of this

²⁵⁰ The exception of Edoardo Turbil's, *Leone Sinigaglia: A Rediscovery of Brahms's Italian Apostle*, 2021, from Julliard School of Music was discussed in the Introduction, p.11. My work remains single in Europe to this day.

²⁵¹ "greater and more musical", from Sinigaglia's Autobiographical Scripts, chapter *Ricordi di Vienna* (1895-1899), *Fondo Sinigaglia*, trans. D. M.

particular approach is even more pronounced by the fact that Sinigaglia himself never considered or commented on the particularities of persons in his surroundings by national prism.

Amongst the remaining letters were those mostly received and very few written by the author. Every received letter, however, being often an answer to the sent sheet music of Sinigaglia's compositions to musicians (often with a photo of him included) was praising his musical works and lauding his humanistic qualities, which makes us conclude that he was a person of impeccable education and skill and of profound empathy. Some citations confirm this in an undeniable way.²⁵²

His moral rigidity was obvious through his habit to always dress in a distinct manner. He would be commented to be "un uomo a mano gioviale e semplice, socevole e affabile ma soprattutto con senso di umorismo"²⁵³. He was precise, methodical, sometimes even excessively so. His check lists when doing his mountain explorations or other trips were meticulous.

His musical taste was also rather rigid. He liked "Petrouchka" and "Les noces" by Stravinsky, but these contemporary novelties in music did not interfere in the compositions he wrote after those master works of the Russian composer. He was even very critical about Bartòk, calling for stop of abusing dissonances. When hearing Bartòk's 5th string quartet, he would say in loud voice: "This is not music! " while agitating his walking stick.

Sinigaglia did not like the experimentation and abstruseness in music, he himself undoubtedly mastered harmony and counterpoint.²⁵⁴ Either in the melody or in its harmony, his music suggested no strange effect, but would develop in the traditional sense and respect for tonality. A study of his scores offers a limpid organisation of ideas and tunes, and as already mentioned, tonal and melodic refinement. His objective was to offer the most of every single instrument and to do so he would require the most effect without use of great artifices. He preferred the violin amongst all of the instruments for its balance and purity. Perhaps therefore is the violin concerto Op.20 the only concerto he wrote for a solo instrument with orchestral

²⁵² To offer an example of only one of them: "You, my dear Sir, could not imagine how happy made me receive your letters. I know many of your wonderful compositions and I am one of your admirers for years. Therefore, your encouragement was so important for me.... your grateful admirer, Jean Sibelius." A copy of original letter in German from Sinigaglia's admirer, Jan Sibelius with English translation (by D. M.) in Annexe No. 13.

²⁵³ "A man with a kind and simply hand, social and reliable but more than everything with a sense of humour", Flavia Ingrosso, "Leone Sinigaglia e il suo tempo: documenti e testimonianze", PhD dissertation, Lecce University, 2002, p. 37.

²⁵⁴ His letter to his mother from the very beginning of his studies in Vienna, February 17,1896, shows his inclination to counterpoint: "As I had said to you, I have started the study of the Fugue, the most important and arduous because, a part of new, it embraces all difficulties of counterpoint up to now. Personally, I have to say that even the Fugue is not tiring me like the counterpoint was never tiring me: seems that it must be some Italian speciality as Mandyczewski said to someone that his Nordic students were much slower than Rosselli and me."

accompaniment. Presented for the first time in Berlin on November 9th, 1901, and repeated in Vienna on January 25th, 1902, it was played for the first time in Italy in Milan on April 13th, 1902, all of these concerts with Arrigo Serato as soloist. Later, the greatest names of his time: Jan Kubelik, Eugène Ysaÿe, Jenő Hubay, František Ondříček, Abraham Elderling, and Arthur Hartmann were continuing soloists. Great violinists to have played the Piedmont Rhapsody for violin and orchestra includes Fritz Kreisler, Jan Kubelik, Carl Flesch, Zoltán Szekely, Lucien Capet, Hugo Heermann, Gustav Havemann, Jaroslav Kocian, Andre de Ribaupierre, the list continues.

His critical statements about music would not depend on a whim of the moment, they would be filled with the ardour and interest of a personal opinion from a musician. Like the scholar Flavia Ingrosso expressed in her work *Leone Sinigaglia e il suo tempo: documenti e testimonianze*, he would publicly express that he would have preference for "Menorah" instead of the "Profet" by Meyerbeer.

He would hear "Mireille" by Gounod five times and every time he would find different additional beauties in the music. " 'Mireille' merits to stand next to 'Faust' without any fear to be detrimental by such a confrontation", he said.

Giulio Cesare Paribeni, music critic, teacher, and composer, expressed his impression about Sinigaglia in 1932: "Serene, modest, silent, Leone Sinigaglia works by keeping faith in an ideal with a compendium in these words: Italianità, chiarezza, nobiltà".²⁵⁵ Only some years later, Alceo Toni (1884-1969) indicates the following merits of his music: "The clearness, the order and solidity of his scores!"²⁵⁶

Sinigaglia's Jewish origin was not underlined in this text as he himself did not consider it a preponderant element of his life, but it is immanent that it made the last decades of his career full of obstacles for his compositional work. His life's rhythm was disrupted, and his very existence was put into danger. After the first census of August 1938, with the objective to put together an immanent plan of persecutions, the Manifesto della Razza from the same year, and the Carta di Verona from 1943, made it obvious that a Jewish origin is not something that one should be emphasizing publicly, being a condition for immediate transport towards Auschwitz. Therefore, in order to keep a low profile Sinigaglia and his sister sought refuge in the family house in Cavoretto in the outskirts of Turin until it was confiscated, and they were forced to

²⁵⁵ Giulio Cesare Paribeni, *Sinfonisti italiani d'oggi- Guida per i radioamatori dei concerti*, Milano, Edizioni Radio Teatrali Artistiche (ERTA), 1932, pp. 57-59.

²⁵⁶ Alceo Toni, "Leone Sinigaglia", in *La rivista illustrata del Popolo d'Italia*, XV- n. 12, dicembre 1936, pp. 42-43.

move to different addresses. Shortly before the end of Sinigaglia's life they went into hiding at the Ospedale Mauriziano out of desperation. For the open and communicative person that Sinigaglia was, this was all a radical change. His situation was not unlike another period in the history of Jewish persecution. Jews living in the pontifical state ruled by Pope Gregory XVI had no civil rights, but held an inferior social position, as Sinigaglia's father had to endure during his childhood. Traces of the Sinigaglia family could not be provided when researching in the archive of Jewish Community of Turin due to the disappearance of documents destroyed during the war. The Turin synagogue was burned down due to bombardments in 1942. Neither was he related to Oscar Sinigaglia (1877-1953)²⁵⁷ contrary to my expectation. No correspondence that indicates any connection with this successful engineer and industrialist, Sinigaglia's contemporary, could be discovered.

Sinigaglia was from my personal point of view a rather secular Jew, and through his correspondence one could not find any trace of traditional Jewish life and observance following his Bar Mitzvah. This pro-agnostic attitude- a destiny lies in the secular attitude in more than one religion, once "religious maturity" is achieved- is a partial answer why "Intriguingly, Sinigaglia left us no study and no transcription of Jewish music."²⁵⁸ Another possible explanation is Sinigaglia's clear determination to write and promote "pure [absolute] music".

He was a child of the very beginnings of the Risorgimento, and that was the moment when D'Azeglio's motto "*Ora che l'Italia è fatta, occorre fare gli italiani*"²⁵⁹ provides the most lucid view of the situation on the peninsula at that time.²⁶⁰ The D'Azeglio family had a protective attitude towards Jews²⁶¹ and Camillo Cavour's secretary Isacco Artom was an important contributor for the decision to actively include Jews in the Risorgimento principles. Sinigaglia's Jewish origin gave him and his family only good reasons to be happy about this new state's tendency, as the possibility for integration into the new country, by ignoring the ethnic origin, was an option now open to all minorities. This was in fact the objective in the creation of the new country. Sinigaglia's father proved satisfied about his sons' freedom of choosing a future, which was possible from that moment on.²⁶²

²⁵⁷ North Italian engineer and industrial, developer of Italian steelworks.

²⁵⁸ M. Sorce Keller, *Ignored and Forgotten: Research on Jewish-Italian music during 19th and 20th centuries*, Forum Italicum 2015, Vol. 49(2), 447-461 by M. Sorce Keller.

²⁵⁹ "Now when Italy has been made, we need to make Italians".

²⁶⁰ Silvana Patriarca finds no proves that this sentence was pronounced/written by D'Azeglio himself as in his work, printed after his death *I miei ricordi*, (Things I remember), Oxford UP, 1966, figures no such quotation, Silvana Patriarca, *Italian Vices*, Cambridge UP, 2010, Format Kindle, loc. 205.

²⁶¹ "You strive to obtain emancipation of Israelites in Piedmont", from Massimo D'Azeglio's letter to his brother Roberto, *Lettere al fratello Roberto*; Primary Source Edition, Nabu Press.

²⁶² For Jews, certain professions like doctor or pharmacist were banned (although some Popes' doctors through the history were of Jewish origin).

An absurd that Sinigaglia's pioneer ethno-musicological work was not understood as a significant contribution to the national cultural patrimony was in my eyes the most important injustice towards this patriotic musician. His work was precious either historically, linguistically, or ethnomusicologically. Collecting his *Canzoni popolari del Piemonte*, making for the first time available to public popular folk songs, furthermore, harmonized to the piano accompaniment by himself, he took care of a vernacular language which was about to be transformed (until disappearing) to the language of a developing town like Turin. The end of 19th century and the beginning of the 20th was the great moment of industrial revolution and Turin was welcoming populations coming from other, mostly southern provinces of the Peninsula to amplify the labour potential of this town. Bringing their own linguistic tradition was gradually influencing and transforming the local language. historical dimension of Sinigaglia's collection is precious.

After the very first document that I could discover about this collection of folk songs written after the war - 3 written pages by Andrea Della Corte *Le antiche canzone Piemontesi*, L. Rattero, Torino, 1960, the well-known Italian musicologist Roberto Leydi took charge of personally taking care of the first unedited collection of *Canti Popolari del Piemonte*²⁶³ when he admits in the preface that Luigi Rognoni had pushed him to promote and realize such an edition already since the nineteen-fifties. He also refers to the certain inaccessibility to Sinigaglia's manuscripts²⁶⁴. Six years earlier Helen Myers, in her book²⁶⁵, solicited Roberto Leydi to instruct the reader about the chronological development of ethnomusicology in Italy. He gives an overview of the beginnings of interest in folk songs across the entire country starting from the north, Piedmont, where he himself is originally from. He presents his statements, starting with Costantino Nigra and his "only ten tunes", in *Canti popolari del Piemonte* that Sinigaglia's research was based on, without giving any credit to the consequent work done by the actual composer.

The conditions at Sinigaglia's death in 1944 were those of a country governed by a foreign domination with a strong autocratic determination based on racial division of different ethnic groups of population. This situation was not to his favour and led to the fact that his music was neglected for more than 10 years preceding his death. He also had no heirs to keep his name and work alive after he passed away.

²⁶³ Roberto Leydi, op. cit.

²⁶⁴ Rognoni finally donated all manuscripts and letters in two occasions to the Conservatory Giuseppe Verdi in Turin, once in 1971, once in 1982. Though Leydi's silence about Sinigaglia in 1993 (pp. 18-19) unfortunately seems to be deliberate.

²⁶⁵ Helen Meyers, op. cit.

The following intrinsic question is pending after getting familiar with the itinerary of Sinigaglia's life: if his financial potentials could offer him to live (together with his sister) exclusively from his composing and refuse various propositions of various teaching positions, how could he not emigrate to a safer country at latest after the promulgation of Racial Laws in Italy in 1938, and continue composing and promoting his music instead of letting it degrade in number of opuses while being forced to hide for survival. Numerous composers: Hans Eisler, Erich Korngold, Kurt Weill, Paul Hindemith continued their composing activities in exile like Hans Mayer says: "The music of Exile should be understood like emigrated music author's composing who let himself be creatively influenced through experiencing the foreignness and immigration."²⁶⁶

The answer to this question is not easy to conclude from his correspondence which started to be more symbolic in the last years of his life during war conditions. Once again one could reiterate and consider the reason to be his attachment to his country, to his beloved hills in outskirts of Turin and his advanced age which guaranteed him to be exempt of any possibility to be deported. Another hypothesis can be that he, like a lot of Jewish victims of Second 2nd WW thought and desperately hoped around 1944 that it will "soon be over".

His printed scores however remained available after the war, ethnical equality was eventually established, and awareness of the injustice done to certain minorities exposed and prosecuted. What could the reason then be for lacking in reconstituting the name of Leone Sinigaglia, especially because the result of his ethnomusicological devotion enriched the Italian, and thus also the European cultural heritage in a decided manner? Before one classifies it as a simple ignorance ²⁶⁷ a comparative linking between Sinigaglia and one of his admirers and correspondent friends, Jean Sibelius, is interesting to recall and consider. Sinigaglia finished his years studying in Vienna just when Sibelius arrived there to study with Robert Fuchs and Carl Goldmark, and we have no records about how they met. Sibelius, after finishing his studies both in Berlin and in Vienna, returned to his homeland just as Sinigaglia had returned to his own respective country of birth. Sibelius manifested his patriotic feelings and his closeness to his homeland's nature, and he would hint at it in melodies and in titles of his music pieces as well in calling them *Aino*, *Kullervo*, etc. So too did Sinigaglia in regard to his region with the pieces *Overture Piemonte*, *Danze Piemontesi* and others, and collecting folk songs of Piedmont during his promenades in the Cavoretto hills, harmonising it, and offering them to international

²⁶⁶ Hans Meyer, *Gelebte Musik*, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. Main, 1999, p. 105.

²⁶⁷ Looks like not exclusively Italian problem when reading the article by Christopher Howell: "It's generally reckoned that the British are unrivalled in their capacity to neglect their native composers." <https://mahlerfoundation.org/mahler/contemporaries/leone-sinigaglia>.

audiences. He was however not gifted with a substantial annual grant at the age of 32, initially for ten years, and later extended for life by the state, as was the case with Sibelius, who could after such a material support focus purely on composing without any existential worries. Finland, during Sibelius' young years of success, was a grand duchy as an autonomous part of the former Russian Empire until 1917 and needed to entice national values. Compensation for Sibelius' art meant to acknowledge that incipient base of the newly acknowledged autonomy by creating a local national identity. This supported identity could possibly even aspire to achieving independence in the future.

In contrast, Sinigaglia, who was struggling to preserve the national identity of Piedmont by collecting the last remaining folk songs during a period when all local and provincial characteristics were driven towards annihilation for the sake of integration into the newly composed Kingdom of Italy, was doing no gratifying job towards the state. Thus, his contribution to this musical and cultural component of the country was ignored and treated marginally. By the time Italy was making another attempt to reconstruct the country with a prosperous future by accelerated dismissal and forgetfulness for the dynamic of the 2ndWW, which was not appraised as trustworthy by the allied winners until 1943, the country that was now solidified enough to recognise the particular different histories of regions, Sinigaglia was already dead and forgotten. On one hand, Risorgimento allowed Sinigaglia to grow up in a country with a territorial integrity and national sovereignty, have a peaceful childhood, a free choice of profession, and freedom to trace the itinerary of his life. On the other hand, the same Risorgimento that offered a shelter to many ethnic minorities, insistently repudiated on the regional identities that Sinigaglia was defending. Even the work of Constantino Nigra which inspired Sinigaglia to start his ethnomusicological activity was ignored for the same reason, despite the important role Nigra had in Italian history, being one of signatories of the September Convention in 1864²⁶⁸ while on mission as an Italian ambassador in Paris (until 1876).

Yet another alternative approach to questioning the oblivion of Sinigaglia's person and his works would be blaming it on antisemitism, which can hardly be applied to Sinigaglia. He never considered his Jewish origin a determination for his life and work. His music is just like himself, full of his Piedmont proudness, and it is still today reflecting his beloved native soil with the profiles of the mountains that he was scaling in the background.

²⁶⁸ After which he was ambassador of Italy in St. Petersburg from 1876, London from 1882 and in Vienna after 1885.

10.1 Further research directions

Through present research and consequent study, only a relevant part of the archive kept in the library of Conservatorio Giuseppe Verdi in Turin, as mentioned in the introductory part of this study, had been taken into focus. The severe disorder of the Fondo Sinigaglia at the commencement of this research, with Sinigaglia's correspondence material haphazardly kept in shoe boxes, is on the brink of redemption and the systematisation, classification, and digitalisation of the enormous volume of documents continues. The portal of the region Piedmont "Memora" contains part of the documents, but difficulties to consult it are still to be surmounted.

Adversities in the graphological decoding in the contents of certain letters which were confronted for this research, need graphological expertise that might require an indefinite amount of time. Sinigaglia was fluent in Italian, French, German, and English, and the correspondence was consequently maintained in its original polylingual format. German texts are not frequent in Italy, and some of them that are translated in this study are shared publicly for the first time ever. More of the German handwritten letters, which are difficult to decipher, remain to be read and reported.

The aforementioned initiative of Marco Fiorentino (Introduction, p. 13) proved that a certain number of documents which are housed in collections in Italy and abroad have possibly never been consulted. They might be less in number and importance than those documents contained in Fondo Sinigaglia, but they possibly contain material that is a portal to some new yet-undiscovered aspects of the life and work of the composer.

Beyond the Fondo Sinigaglia, which was exclusively consulted in this study, some documents are kept in the Musicology Department of the University of Palermo (correspondence between Leone and Alina Sinigaglia with Luigi and Eva Rognoni from 1938 to 1944), A. Toscanini's letters to Sinigaglia, and Dallapiccola's 18 letters to Alina, some of which are to Leone from 1938 to 1944), the Fondo Luigi Dallapiccola c/o Archivio Bonsanti, Gabinetto scientifico letterario G. P. Viesseux, Florence (8 letters from L. Sinigaglia), the Biblioteca Casanatense, Roma, (four letters from Giovanni Sgambati to Sinigaglia) the Archivio Rosario Scalero, Istituto per I beni musicali, the Saluzzo (around twenty letters, consultable on the site "Memora" the Archivio Fogazzaro, and the Sezione antica della biblioteca Bertoliana, Vicenza (ten letters from Sinigaglia from 1883 and 1903). Further institutions containing collections include the Archivio della famiglia Rosselli, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence (twenty

letters and postcards to Amelia Pincherle Rosselli from 1896 to 1928 with personal content, two letters to Carlo Rosselli and one letter to Jacopo Capon, journalist, all written by Sinigaglia), the Archivio storico Ricordi (4 letters from 1924, 1938 and 1942 , the one from 1938 attached in Annexe), the Musikfreunde Archiv, Vienna (two postcards, two photos, and seventeen letters from Sinigaglia to Mandyczewski, as well as one letter and photo from Sinigaglia to *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, 1932 and 1937), the Czech National Museum, Museum of Music, Prague (several postcards by Sinigaglia to Jajomir Borecky, scar Nedbal and Karel Hoffmann), the Czech National Museum of Music, Prague (eight postcards from Sinigaglia to Josef Bohuslav Foerster between 1908 and 1914), the Czech National Museum, Dvořák Museum, Prague (five postcards from Sinigaglia to Dvořák, a postcard to M. Urbanek, a letter to V. J. Novotný, two manuscripts of the motive Buonanotte , dated 1902, Turin and 1908, Prague), the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (three letters/postcards to Ferdinand Loewe, two letters/postcards to Ernsy Eugen Segnitz, and three letters/postcards to Adolf Eisner von Eisenhof, all written by Sinigaglia), the Zentralbibliothek, Zürich (three postcards to Andreae Volkmar, as well as two letters to Jacob Job all of which are from Sinigaglia),the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin (two letters from Sinigaglia to Ludwig Strecker), the Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, Leipzig (postcard from Sinigaglia to Ernsy Eugen Segnitz), Universiteits Bibliotheek, Gand (two letters from Sinigaglia to Leon Rinskopf), British Library Archives and Manuscripts, London (letter by Sinigaglia to Rosa Harriet Newmarch from 1904), Royal Northern College of Music Archive (letter by Sinigaglia to Alfred Davidovich Brodsky from 1939), Yale Archives, Gilmore Music Library (two letters from Sinigaglia to Karl Weigl from 1933 and 1939), Library of Congress, Washington, Moldenhauer Archives (two letters to Karl Weigl from 1934 and one to Achille Simonetti all from Sinigaglia), Carnagie Hall Collection (one letter from Sinigaglia to David Ewen from 1934), Chapman University (photo from Sinigaglia dedicated to Henry Temianka), Harvard Library, Houghton Library (few letters from Sinigaglia to Wilhelm Gericke), the Morgan Library & Museum, New York (one letter from Sinigaglia to Ferruccio Foà), the New York Public Library, Toscanini Legacy (three photos of Sinigaglia with Toscanini from 1912).

With disputable belief that there might be more of Sinigaglia's letters addressed to his correspondents in other establishments all over the world, those documents would be an invaluable source of information if they were to be paired with corresponding answers in the Fondo Sinigaglia contribute. One might find some missing conclusions issued from the both-way-communication.

Very few music recording initiatives to commemorate the composer's name and work have been undertaken in last eighty years after Sinigaglia passed away. Few recordings, though, are the exception and those are enumerated after the list of letters consulted for this study. Further audible material is needed for the reestablishment of Sinigaglia's name in music history and actuality.

As stated earlier, the absence of recordings of the symphonic works of Sinigaglia offers a vast repertoire to realize, starting from the works which enthralled thousands of concert goers at the beginning of the previous century, the same works for which concert organizers were criticized for the overwhelming presence of Sinigaglia's name on concert programs, namely his *Piedmont Dances*, *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte* and the *Piedmont Overture*. Their freshness and optimism can be welcome in any period of the history.

The preceding detailed work of Flavia Ingrosso, which is a fine accomplishment that she completed more than twenty years ago, was critically analysed, and refreshed, with a number of wrongly spelled names and titles of works, corrected as well.

I am, with my dedication to the Violin Concerto Op. 20, preparing a competent edition of this research with corrections in the solo part, which should be printed for the first time after 1902 when it was edited by Breitkopf & Härtel just after being composed. Other opuses of the composer wait for consequent editions.

The portal dedicated to Leone Sinigaglia still does not exist. Putting together all obtained data in this research, might be made as the first step towards a platform honouring the Italian composer and consecutively enlarged and enriched and thus give amplified and continuous importance to the name and work of Leone Sinigaglia.

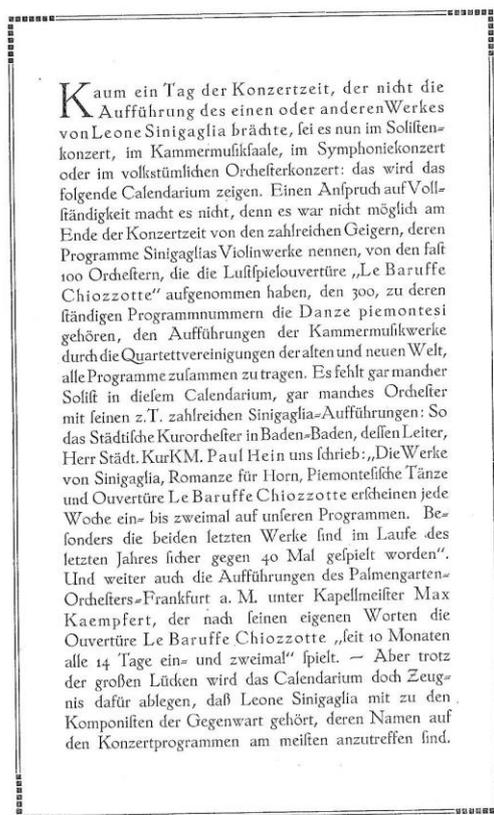
When appreciating the details in the life and work of Sinigaglia, one discerns his strong patriotism being put into disproportion to the ignorance that he suffered within Italian musical research. The idea of using Festinger's hypothesis of Cognitive Dissonance²⁶⁹ brought my endeavour in the direction of complex psychological analysis, and my musicological competence was further challenged. This might be an important subject for further research on the psychological and sociological aspects of Sinigaglia's life.

²⁶⁹ The theory of cognitive dissonance is the one of major theories of the social psychology in the middle of the 20th century. According to the theory of cognitive dissonance, appeared in 1957, when circumstances would bring a person to act against his/her convictions, he/she would feel a state of uncomfortable tension (dissonance) which he/she would tend to reduce by modification of his/her conviction towards that act. As surprising as it might be, when we are forced to act against our convictions, we have tendency to approve our actions and adopt our opinions to our behaviour.

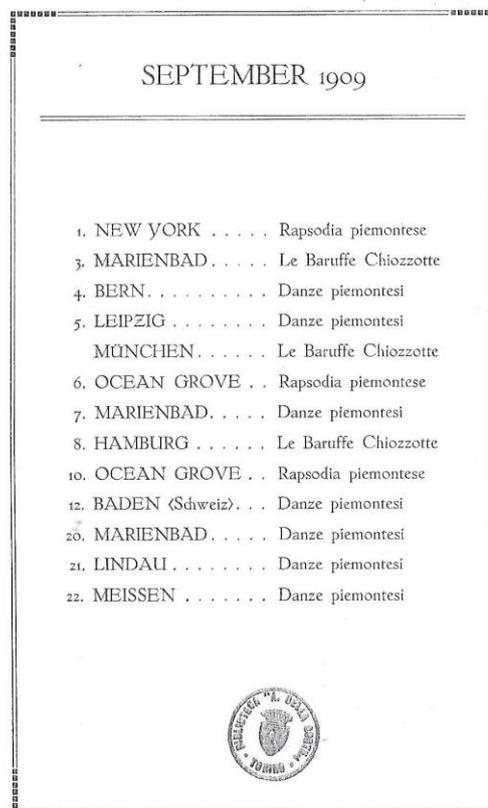
ANNEXE

No. 1 Breitkopf & Härtel Calendar
Preface (translation)

It hardly passes a day in the concert season without the performance of a work by Leone Sinigaglia, whether only in a solo concert in the chamber music hall, or in a symphonic concert, even in a popular orchestral concert: this is what the following calendar will show. It [calendar] does not claim full disclosure, for it was impossible at the end of the concert season, out of the numerous violinists whose programmes name Sinigaglia's violin works, out of a hundred orchestras that recorded the comedy overture "Le Baruffe Chiozzotte", and out of three hundred [orchestras] that included *Danze Piemontesi* as the standard part of their repertory, performances of chamber music works by quartet society of the old and the new world, to put all the programmes together. There are even some soloists missing in this calendar, even some orchestras with only part of its numerous Sinigaglia performances such as, the City Thermal Orchestra in Baden-Baden whose conductor Paul Hein writes to us:



2



3

Sinigaglia's works, Horn Romance, Piedmont Dances, Overture *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte* appear on our programmes one to two times per week. Especially the two latter were with certainty played around 40 times during the last few years. Furthermore, there are the performances of

the Palmgarten Orchestra Frankfurt at Main, under Kapellmeister Max Kaempfert, who according to his own words, plays *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte*, in the past 10 months every 14 days once or twice. Despite its big gaps, the Calendar provides evidence that Leone Sinigaglia is amongst the contemporary composers whose compositions are most encountered on concert programmes.

NOVEMBER 1909		DEZEMBER 1909	
1. BONN	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte	1. LEIPZIG	Danze piemontesi
3. GOTHA	Danze piemontesi	2. NEUSTADT O/Schl.	Danze piemontesi
5. BUDAPEST	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte	4. VÖLKLINGEN	Violin-Romanze Op. 29
FÜRTH	Danze piemontesi	GENT	Rapsodia piemontese
6. LANDAU	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte	M.-GLADBACH	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte
LANDAU	Danze piemontesi	MÜNCHEN	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte
7. LUISENTHAL	Danze piemontesi	6. BERLIN	Danze piemontesi
10. OLDENBURG	Trio-Serenade, Op. 33	BUKAREST	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte
11. AUE i. S.	Violin-Romanze, Op. 29	7. TRIEST	Danze piemontesi
GENF	Rapsodia piemontese	9. BOURNEMOUTH.	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte
LONDON	Canzoni, Op. 34	TABARZ	Danze piemontesi
12. SCHNEEBERG	Violin-Romanze, Op. 29	HAGEN i. W.	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte
FREIBURG i. B.	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte	10. BRÜSSEL	Trio-Serenade, Op. 33
13. TORONTO	Streich-Quartett, Op. 27	LONDON	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte
NÜRNBERG	Danze piemontesi	SCHWEIDNITZ	Danze piemontesi
WIEN	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte	BRIGHTON	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte
RORSCHACH	Danze piemontesi	11. LONDON	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte
14. VÖLKLINGEN	Violin-Romanze, Op. 29	BRAUNSCHWEIG	Trio-Serenade, Op. 33
AUGSBURG	Danze piemontesi	12. VÖLKLINGEN	Danze piemontesi
WIEN	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte	13. BRAUNSCHWEIG	Trio-Serenade, Op. 33
15. HEIDELBERG	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte	MANNHEIM	Danze piemontesi
16. BRIEG	Danze piemontesi	GÖRLITZ	Trio-Serenade, Op. 33
HOMBURG v. d. H.	Danze piemontesi	14. CHICAGO	Canzoni, Op. 34
17. TSINGTAU (China)	Danze piemontesi	15. ANTWERPEN	Rapsodia piemontese
18. GRAUDENZ	Danze piemontesi	ANTWERPEN	Danze piemontesi
21. MINNEAPOLIS	Danze piemontesi	16. HAGEN i. W.	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte
WIEN	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte	MONTE CARLO	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte
22. BUDAPEST	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte	18. CÖLN	Rapsodia piemontese
24. LONDON	Canzoni, Op. 34	21. KARLSBAD	Danze piemontesi
KRAKAU	Danze piemontesi	29. BOCHUM	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte
WIEN	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte	BOCHUM	Danze piemontesi
26. BONN	Danze piemontesi		
27. ST. PAUL	Danze piemontesi		
LONDON	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte		
29. TRIER	Le Baruffe Chiozzotte		
30. DENVER (U. S. A.)	Canzoni, Op. 34		

No. 2: Aunt's letter for the upcoming Bar Mitzvah

My dearest nephew,

I dream to see you and am imagining how anxious you are just before being counted among the men's council of ingenuity and sense. You could have made part of them for a long time already, but those two qualities are not enough, other qualities are to be conquered throughout the years, with a major conscience of the world and society, through being aware that every mortal one has so many tasks, particularly those sacral and saintly for parents, that every good child is expected to satisfy if they might happen to live in this world or rest in the world beyond.

Think therefore, my dear, that you are the doorpost of your house and that you should from now on be the example of support, relief of love of your parents, and as brilliant as you are in your studies, as brilliant should you be through the goodness of your heart, your obedience, the sweetness of your character and your grand love towards them.

Therefore, pardon me that I will not be there to take part in this family celebration as I am punished enough to be deprived of it.

I wish you all possible happiness and let my votes and my benedictions accompany you. Might you stay healthy and joyful as much as possible because 13 years will never come back again, I hold your hands tight, and I urge you to love forever your devoted aunt Rosina.

P.S. Please say to your mother that I have received news from Clotilde. She is getting better, and they return all together to the countryside tomorrow.

No. 3 A letter from Mandyczewski – cello sonata promotion

Dear friend, so as you see here on the note, the Sonata Op. 41 was performed yesterday evening. On piano was *Hausherr*, Mister Tarnóczy, an excellent pianist, who in regular recurrent executions that he does at his home for numerous friends and amateurs, plays a lot of nice chamber music. Usually one hears trios with piano, and there is competing the best that one can have. Originally, your Sonata was disposed in a way to be heard between two trios with clarinet, which was good. In the last moment everything changed ... So, your sonata was executed at the end. And this was not harmful for it at all. In its freshness, it speaks one language completely different than both trios, and the result was magnificent. Sincerely, it was played by both musicians absolutely insuperable, and I think that you could nowhere ever hear it better. On the cello was Mr. Winkler, a prestigious musician from here. Both played with exceptional energy, with feeling and roundness of the sound, and one could see as well as one could hear that they were forming together one singular soul. The result was a quite good impression, fresh and surprising, so that at the end everyone had a feeling of the celebration. To everyone, and to me no less, the Sonata seemed important. It has much advantage over other new compositions, for the reason that it is not musical in a pushed way, but coherent and healthy. The composer always had an idea of gracious and fine passage, and his reflection was neither disturbed nor overloaded: he only coordinated the employment of the material, but not only the material. The performers claimed that the last movement was especially difficult: but

that was not audible or visible from them. If I should wish something, with all the joy that this piece is giving to me, it would be a little shortening of the first movement, opportune maybe in the coda. This can also be completely subjective opinion. Please, write me if you already had an opportunity to hear the piece once in mode out of the ordinary. Here, this time, the piece revealed as uncommon and appreciated, full of content and in the same moment accessible while the listener's interest is constantly increasing. We were approximately forty to fifty listeners, and we all thanked you and the players from the bottom of our hearts.²⁷⁰

No. 4 The copy of the letter of acknowledgment for the donation to the Confraternità Israelitica di Beneficenza

CONFRATERNITA ISRAELITICA DI BENEFICENZA TORINO		SEGRETERIA: Via Pia 7, 12 TELEFONO: 61.026
CONSIGLIO D'AMMINISTRAZIONE		
N. 17	Risposta e note N.	OGGETTO:
pagati N. uno	del	Ringraziamenti.
	Div.	
TORINO, (106) 30 Gennaio 19340 - A XVIII		
Ill.mi Sigg. Alina e M ^o Leone SINIGAGLIA		
via Mario Giorda 39 TORINO		
<p>A nome di questo Consiglio di Amministrazione ed a nome mio proprio, anche a nome dell'ill.mo Prof. Comm. Montalcini Presidente della Comunità, ho il pregio di esprimere alle SS. LL. Ill. me i più vivi e sentiti ringraziamenti per la generosa offerta fatta a questa Confraternita a favore dei correligionari poveri della Comunità, anche profughi in transito.</p> <p>L'atto munifico delle SS. LL. ridonda a grande beneficio dei disagiati che ricorrono a questa Opera Pia e che in questa rigida stagione sono oltremodo numerosi, trovandosi fra questi parecchie famiglie di disoccupati, involontari.</p> <p>Il Cielo rimeriti il Loro atto benefico ed apporti alle SS. LL. tranquillità, benessere e salute.</p> <p>Coll'occasione aggiungo alle SS. LL. l'espressione del mio particolare animo grato e gli ossequi più deferenti.</p> <p>IL PRESIDENTE (Dott. Dario Disegni)</p> <p><i>D. Disegni</i></p>		

²⁷⁰ Letter by Mandyczewski dated Vienna, January 29, 1926.

No. 5 Ricordi's letter of denunciation of Jewish collaborators

1° dicembre 1938 XVII - AL MINISTERO DELLA CULTURA POPOLARE,

Direzione Generale per il Servizio della Stampa Italiana, Roma

Diamo visione alla Vs/ pregiata del 23 novembre u.s. e Vi comunichiamo l'elenco di quegli autori viventi che, dai rapporti continuati in questi ultimi anni, riteniamo appartenere alla razza ebraica:

Compositori: BIANCHINI Guido – BILLÉ Isaia – BOGHEN Felice CASTELNUOVO – TEDESCO Mario – FANO Guido Alberto – FINZI Aldo – FRANCHETTI Alberto – JACCHIA Mario – LIUZZI Fernando – LUZZATTI Arturo – LUZZATTO Ernesto – MASSARANI Renzo – RIETI Vittorio – SINIGAGLIA Leone – TAGLIACOZZO Riccardo – VENEZIANI Vittore.

Revisori: BOGHEN Felice – FANO Fabio – GENTILI Alberto – VENEZIANI Vittore – TAGLIACOZZO Riccardo.

Librettisti: GUASTALLA Claudio.

Di razza incerta: AMPHITEATROF Daniele – CUNEO Angelo Francesco – DI VEROLI Manlio – IVANOVA Lidia.

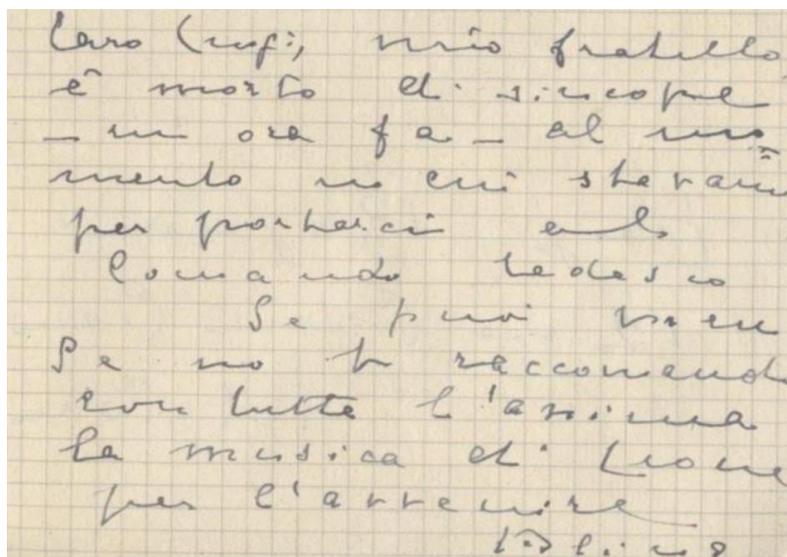
Vi mandiamo in ogni modo l'elenco generale dei ns/ autori e relative opere da noi pubblicate, perché in caso di dubbi possiate accertarvi non presso di noi, ma presso l'Ente meglio qualificato in Italia per tali precisazioni e cioè la SIAE, che ha rapporti continui con tutti gli autori, che possiede i relativi indirizzi, che conosce gli aventi causa e diritto; da quanto ci è stato riferito, ha già fatto un'inchiesta generale in merito.

Saluti fascisti.

G. Ricordi & C.

I gerenti Renzo Valcarengi, Carlo Clausetti

No. 6 signalled in the footnote 191



Caro Luigi, mio fratello
 è morto di sincope
 - un ora fa - al mo-
 mento in cui stavano
 per portarci via
 Comando tedesco
 Se puoi vieni
 se no ti raccomando
 con tutta l'anima
 la musica di Leone
 per l'avvenire
 Alina

Caro Luigi, mio fratello è morto di sincope un'ora fa- stavano per portarci via Comando tedesco. Se puoi vieni se no ti raccomando con tutta l'anima la musica di Leone per avvenire.
 Alina

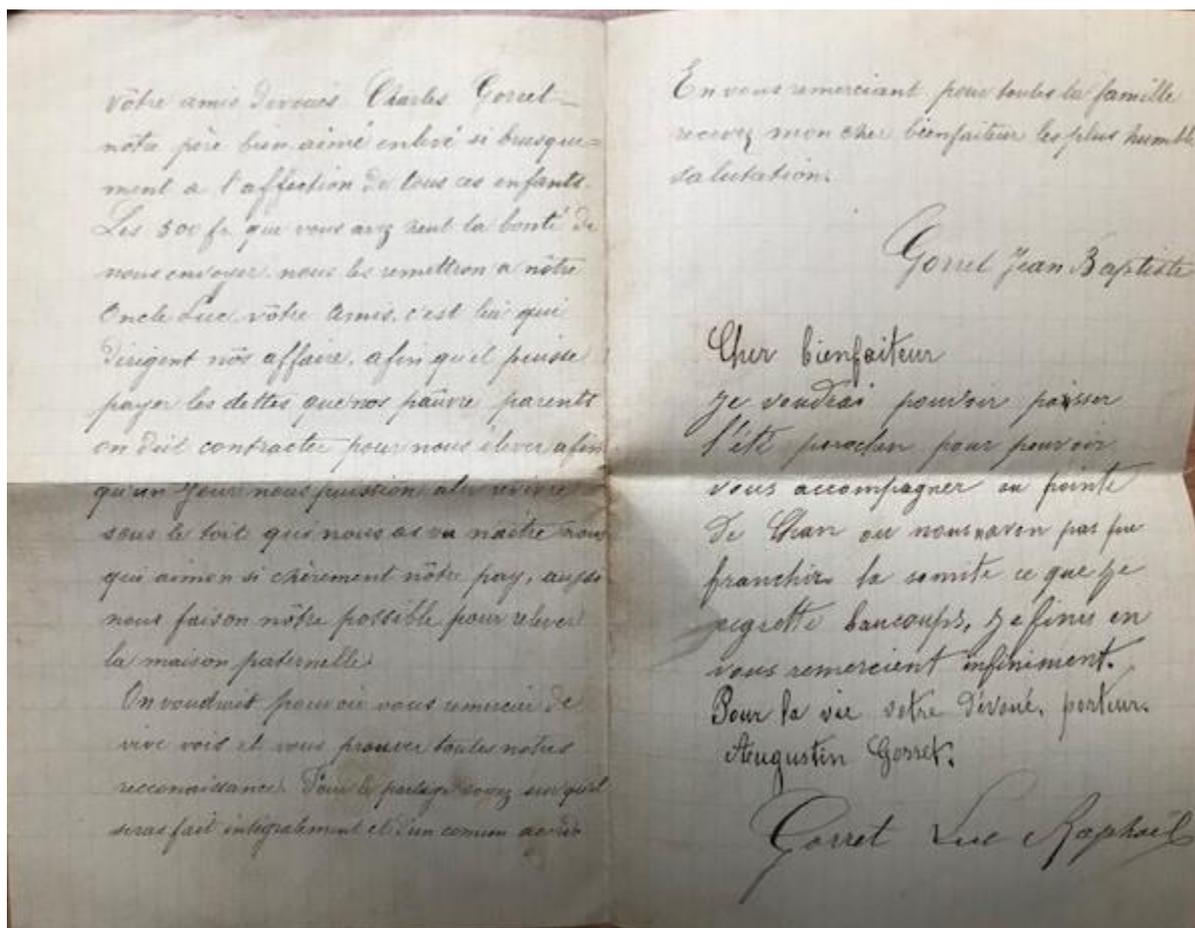
Dear Luigi, my brother passed away of heart attack one hour ago when the German commando was about to take him away. If you can, come, if not, I recommend you with my entire soul the music of Leone for the future. Alina

No. 7 Letter of gratitude for the donation from Gorret

Auberwillers 11 8^{bre} 1901

Monsieur Sinigaglia et Cher Bienfaiteur

Nous avons recû votre chère lettre le 4
8^{bre} par la quelle vous nous avez annoncé
un cadeau de 500 fr. à recevoir d'un Banquier
Parisien, et le 8 Octobre nous avons recû
la lettre du Banquier de Turin accompagnée
d'un chèque de 500 fr. que nous sommes
allés échanger dans une Maison Générale.
Cher bienfaiteur, il nous reste maintenant
à vous remercier infiniment de l'amitié
que vous nous témoignez et du bien
que vous nous faites en souvenir de



No. 8: Sinigaglia's letter from Berlin after the premier of Violin Concerto

Berlin, 10 Novembre 1901

La pazza impresa è compiuta, e il successo che l'ha coronata mi pare oggi appena credibile. Serato era conscio della nostra audacia, e passò ieri una giornata tremenda, posso dire non senza fierezza che devo molto alla calma straordinaria che mostrai ieri, per rimontarlo, stando in sua camera tutto il giorno, se egli affrontò la battaglia colla necessaria energia: se io mi lascio smontare, si andava male! Sala formidabile, tutta Berlino musicale, i violinisti, la stampa al completo: Nikisch, il direttore dei Concerti filarmonici, in via eccezionalissima venne a sentire questo primo Concerto per violino di un giovane Italiano ignoto, che lo portava candidamente a "battezzare" a Berlino. Il successo fu grande ed entusiastico: sai quanto io sia restio a presentarmi al pubblico, ma iersera vi fui trascinato, e dovetti uscire prima con Serato, poi solo, poi chiamato di nuovo, di nuovo con Serato che volle partecipassi di nuovo all'ovazione che egli in tanta parte si meritava. Nikisch venne nella camera degli artisti, entusiasta mi disse che non aspettava un simile lavoro, e che ho un grande talento. Congratulazioni da ogni parte! Un giornalista americano ci intervista domani per inviar un articolo sul Concerto- abbiamo ricevuto poesie, lettere, inviati, ecc. E la cosa continuerà! Mi si assicura che il successo di iersera superò assai quello di nuovi concerti di Tor Aulin, Dalcroze e Sinding che Marteau aveva eseguito 20 giorni fa: l'Orchestra filarmonica dichiarò la sua predilezione pel mio, e mi fece alle prove un applauso di cui posso esser fiero, e che ricambiai con un breve discorso. E una magnificenza questa orchestra, che Rebicek diresse

stupendamente: lesse a prima vista il Concerto in modo épatant. Serato sebbene nervosissimo, suonò magnificamente, e la sua esecuzione fu ammiratissima: dopo il Concerto era fuori di sé della gioia. Io, che avevo ieri un sangue freddo al quale non so dare altra spiegazione che la fede profonda nel successo di lavoro, assistetti al Concerto da una poltrona, e lo gustai come mai gustai altro. L'avvenire di questo Concerto dopo questo successo è assicurato. Serato lo suonerà dappertutto dove potrà, e dopo lui non c'è dubbio che gli altri lo suoneranno. Ora c'è l'incognita della stampa, che in genere mostra per la novità un'ostilità e una freddezza formidabili, e trattandosi d'una novità italiana, sarà certo feroce: ma quand'anche molti giornali demolissero par partito preso il Concerto, è impossibile che qualcuno non ne dica bene: ve li manderò o tradurrò quando li avrò tutti: ce n'è una tal massa, e compaiono a distanza.

Oltre ai vostri affettuosissimi telegrammi sopra ogni altri, ne ricevetti parecchi ieri, da Bistolfi, da Consolo, da Simonetti (Londra), dai Serato, da Joe, etc. Arrigo telegrafò a Grossi per Il Popolo e La Torino, io a Bistolfi per La Stampa. Del Concerto si parlerà moltissimo, e se riceverò giornali anche fuor di qui li terrò raccolti per tradurveli: credo colla serata di iersera d'essere uscito dall'oscurità. E fu giusto compenso alla fede incrollabile e al lavoro assiduo di parecchi anni. Ho metodicamente proseguito: sono finalmente riuscito a dire in musica una parola non effemera- a scrivere un Concerto che è piaciuto tanto non solo ai musicisti, ma anche ai profani, perché c'è della vita, del cuore, come spero potrete presto constatare.

No. 9: Original letter after the first concert of symphonic works

Le prove orchestrali al Teatro Vittorio sono andate magnificamente, in vita mia non provai soddisfazione paragonabile al sentir la prima volta la propria musica per l'orchestra. Vedrò di far eseguire alla spicciolata nei Concerti [popolari] queste composizioni, così potrai sentirle con un'esecuzione accurata. L'orchestra al Vittorio Emanuele è però ottima, ho scelto i migliori elementi: i pezzi fecero molta impressione sui professori che sono la gente più difficile del mondo in questa materia, soprattutto trattandosi di un concittadino signore- e secondo Bolzoni sono di esito sicuro...

No.10: Original text of the letter from Vienna, meeting Brahms

Vienna, 12 aprile, 1895

Se non urgesse l'impostazione, avrei molti dettagli a raccontarti sulla conoscenza- tanto ansiosamente attesa- che ho fatto ieri l'altro di Brahms, grazie alla gentilezza della Signora Kupelwieser, che aveva invitato con lui, a colazione, un ristretto numero di intimi. Trovai il grande artista quel giorno, per fortuna, di eccellente umore, amabilissimo, molto 'alla mano'.

Mi disse mirabilia del nostro paese, che conosce molto, compreso Torino, che gli lasciò un simpatico ricordo. Dopo déjeneur la Sig.ra Kupelwieser invitò, in cerchio ancora più ristretto, Mandyczewski, M. e Campbell (una violoncellista) e me, ad andare a Prater, con Brahms, che ne è appassionato frequentatore. Quanto ci siamo divertiti nel giro che facemmo là, ove si rimane fino a sera, lo scriverò un altro momento, tanto più che promisi questi dettagli ad Alina, e li leggerete insieme. Naturalmente non parlai mai di musica. L'esperienza di Verdi avendomi

suggerito che col grandi musicisti conviene fare così. L'anno venturo spero, auspice Mandyczewski, di poter avere da Brahms almeno qualche consiglio.

No.11: Letter about Kubelik, adding the Concerto to his repertoire

Vienna, 18 februar, 1903

Ho da darvi una notizia oggi che vi farà felici. Kubelik è giunto ieri a Vienna (ove suona il 27) e oggi con Rosé sono stato a fargli visita all'Hôtel. Prima ancora che io 'attaccassi' l'argomento che mi stava tanto a cuore, egli si dichiarò entusiasta del mio Concerto e mi annunciò che lo eseguirà per la prima volta questa primavera ai Concerti filarmonici di Londra, mantenendolo quindi stabilmente nel suo repertorio dappertutto. È inutile che io vi commenti l'importanza di questa notizia, sapete ormai tutti i trionfi di questo grande violinista, nessuno al giorno d'oggi suona quanto lui e suscita tali entusiasmi, a Dresda ultimamente fece un tale fanatismo, che non si ricordava l'uguale: figurati che dovette, dopo infiniti bis, spenti tutti i lumi della sala, dare ancora un bis allo scuro! Dicono che ha fatto nella parte geniale, espressiva, progressi straordinari, cosicché è diventato veramente degno in tutto e per tutto della sua fama mondiale. Ed è rimasto simpatico, semplice, modesto, come ai suoi esordi, quando lo conobbi parecchi anni fa: dopo non lo vidi né udii più. Pensa con che effusione io lo ringraziai, ma egli interruppe subito dicendo che non era il caso, e che era egli felice di eseguire 'un così splendido lavoro'. Vedrai quale slancio darà al Concerto il solo fatto di essere entrato nel programma di Kubelik! Debbo trovarmi ora con lui per fargli conoscere anche gli altri lavori, cui si interessa vivamente, attendo un suo cenno per sapere se ha tempo ora, o dopo il concerto del 27 per il quale è assai occupato.

No. 12: Letter after the premiere of the Concerto in Vienna

Vienna January 26, 1902

Arrigo riparte stasera per l'Italia, e sarà fra brevissimo a Torino, da lui avrai tutti i dettagli sulla magnifica serata di ieri sera. Il successo fu quale non speravo, superò Berlino in quanto dopo l'Adagio scoppiò un applauso così vivo che dovetti contro i miei principi presentarmi due volte al pubblico, e tre alla fine. L'esecuzione orchestrale lasciò molto a desiderare soprattutto per lo squilibrio fra solista e orchestra, che in più d'un punto fu, almeno per me, evidente: ma il pubblico non vi diede troppo peso, e la vittoria fu decisa sin dal I Tempo. Arrigo suonò magnificamente come sempre, e questa volta soprattutto nell'Adagio che cantò ancor meglio che a Berlino: il successo di questa parte del Concerto anche in Italia è sicuro. Arrigo vuol suonare di nuovo il Concerto a Vienna, dopo il successo ieri, appena potrà e con un'esecuzione orchestrale più accurata se le prove lo permetteranno. Una tale esecuzione avremo certo a Milano e a Torino, e me ne compiaccio sin d'ora: pare deciso che anche a Torino il mio Concerto sarà nel I° Concerto [della stagione]. Pour la bonne bouche! I Filarmonici di Praga sono in crisi e non si può decidere in questi giorni il concerto di Arrigo: poco male, tanto più che c'è invece che coi Filarmonici Boemi potremo combinare coi Tedeschi (assai migliori) per altra volta, sarà tanto di guadagnato.

No. 13: Debussy's letter to Sinigaglia

80, Av. Du Bois de Boulogne

Lundi, 1-X-11

Cher Monsieur, votre cordial souvenir et le récit que vous avez me faites de l'exécution de La Mer m'ont fait grand plaisir... Quant au succès il est, croyez bien, entièrement dû à ce grand magicien qui s'appelle Toscanini ! Je n'en veux nullement aux "bons bourgeois" de votre vieux Turin de m'avoir fait grise mine ; et qu'ils aiment mieux Debussy à travers Toscanini que la présence réelle de Debussy n'est en somme que du "nationalisme "à la troisième puissance!

D'ailleurs, ce jour-là, mon attitude ne convenait pas précisément à la sympathie, sans parler que l'orage qui tomba sur Iberia n'était pas non plus de circonstance.

Enfin je suis heureux de ce résultat pour mes amis de Turin, parmi lesquels vous êtes, cher Monsieur, et je vous prie de croire que cela m'est infiniment précieux, peut-être plus que le succès même.

Mon affectueuse cordialité, Claude Debussy

P.S. Monsieur Depanis m'a envoyé une dépêche glorieuse hier matin, je lui ai répondu : Concert- Exposition (?) ne sachant pas son adresse personnelle... Vous seriez aimable en m'envoyant cette adresse et en vous informant s'il a bien reçu ma dépêche ?

No. 14 Sibelius' letter to Sinigaglia

Sehr geehrter Herr,
Sie, mein Herr, können
sich gar nicht vorstellen
wie glücklich ich bin
über Ihren Brief!
Ich kenne viele von
Ihren herrliche Komposi-
tionen und gekenne
seit Jahren zu Ihrer
Bewunderer. Deswegen
war ein Lob von Ihnen
von so grossem Werthe für
mich.
Sehr dankbar bin ich

2

Ihnen wegen Ihrer Freund-
lichkeit meine Werke
in Italien einführen
zu wollen. Ich glaube
die geeigneten Sachen
wäre "Eine Sage", Tondichtung
für Orchester, die Legen-
de "Lemminkäinen
zieht heimwärts" und
vielleicht meine zweite
Sinfonie. "Finlandia"
passt wohl kaum für
eine Sinfonie-Conzert.
Oder wie?!
Die liebenswürdige Frau
Ekroos wird mir schon
sagen wann Sie nach
Helsingfors kommen.

Sehr geehrter Herr,

Sie, mein Herr, können sich gar nicht vorstellen wie glücklich ich bin über Ihren Brief!

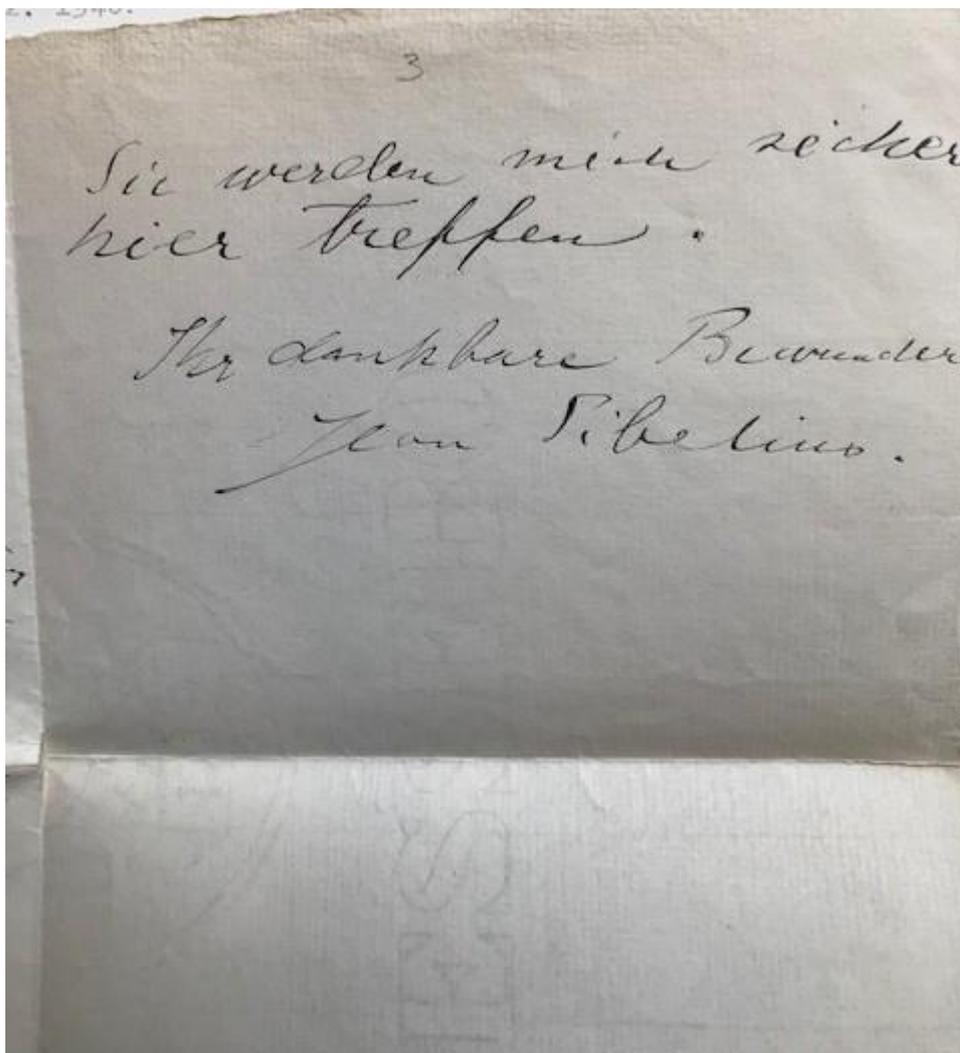
Ich kenne viele von Ihren herrlichen Kompositionen und gehöre seit Jahren zu Ihrem Bewunderer. Deswegen war ein Lob von Ihnen von so großem Werthe fuer mich.

Sehr dankbar bin ich Ihnen wegen Ihrer Freundlichkeit meine Werke in Italien einführen zu wollen. Ich glaube die geeigneten Sachen wäre "Eine Sage", Tondichtung für Orchester, die Legende "Lemminkäinen zieht heimwärts" und vielleicht meine zweite Sinfonie. "Finlandia" passt wohl kaum für eine Sinfonie-Conzert. Oder wie?!

Die liebenswürdige Frau Ekroos wird mir schon sagen, wann Sie nach Helsingfors kommen.

Sie werden mich sicher hier treffen

Ihr dankbare Bewunderer Jean Sibelius



Dear Sir,

You, Sir, cannot at all imagine how happy I am about (receiving) your letter.

I am familiar with many of your wonderful compositions, and I belong to your admirers for years.

Therefore, was your encouragement for me of great value.

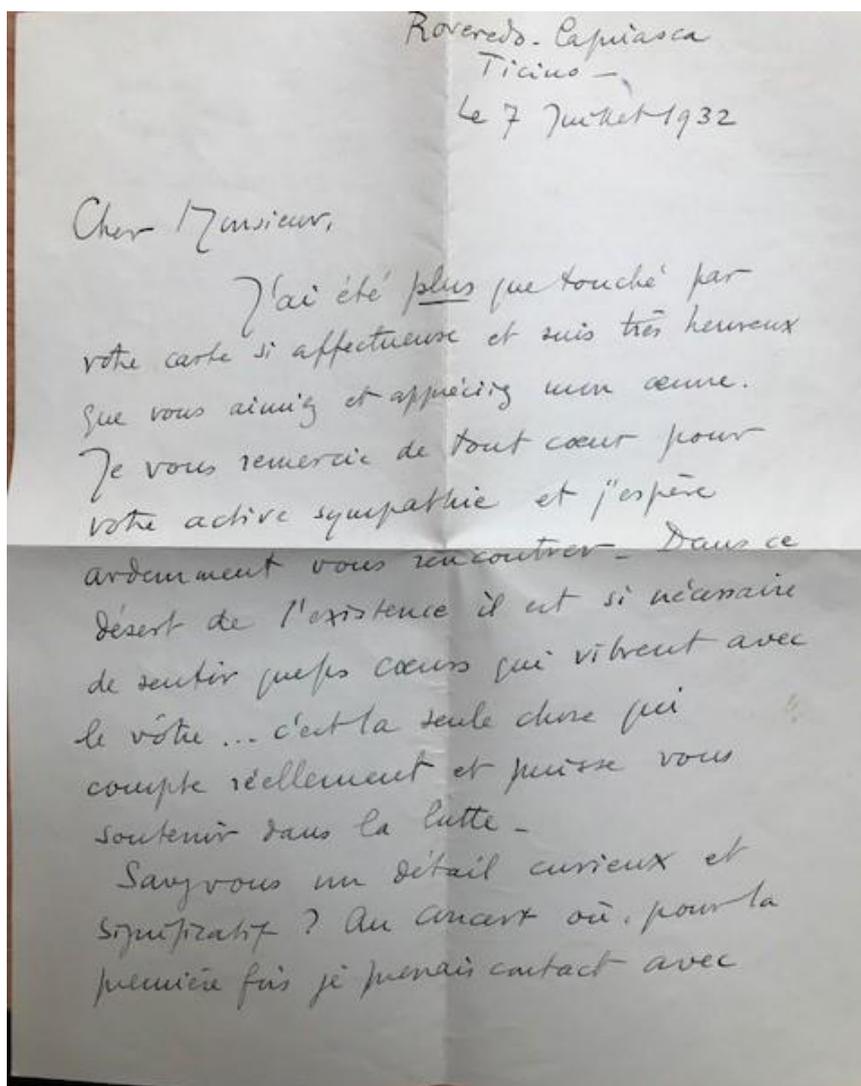
I am very thankful to you for your kindness to introduce my works in Italy. I think the appropriate pieces would be "A Sage", symphonic poem for orchestra, the legend "Lemminkainen returns back home" and maybe my 2nd Symphony. "Finlandia" barely fits for a Symphony Concert. Isn't it?

Kindest Mrs. Ekroos will tell me when you come to Helsinki.

Here, you will then surely meet me.

Your thankful admirer Jean Sibelius

No. 15: Bloch's letter to Sinigaglia



Roveredo- Capriasca- Ticino

Le 7 juillet 1932

Cher Monsieur,

J'ai été plus que touché par votre carte si affectueuse et suis très heureux que vous aimiez et appréciiez mon œuvre.

Je vous remercie de tout cœur pour votre active sympathie et j'espère ardemment vous rencontrer. Dans ce désert d'existence il est nécessaire de sentir quelques cœurs qui vibrent avec le vôtre c'est la seule chose qui compte réellement et puisse vous soutenir dans la lutte.

Savez-vous un détail curieux et significatif ? Au concert où pour la première fois je prenais contact avec le public américain, le 22 et 23 mars 1917, à Boston- où je dirigeais mes Trois Poèmes Juifs- le Dr. Karl Muck qui était alors le chef attitré de "Boston Symphony Orchestra" dirigeait, à ce même concert, votre ouverture *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte* que je connaissais déjà et dont j'aime tant la fraîcheur et la saveur si spéciales... Nous nous étions déjà rencontrés, peut-être sans le savoir.

J'espère que nous en reparlerons bientôt.

Merci encore, et croyez, je vous prie, à mes sentiments bien cordiaux et reconnaissants,

Votre Ernest Bloch

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J'espère que nous en reparlerons,
bientôt.

Merci encore, et croyez, je vous prie,
à mes sentiments bien cordiaux
et reconnaissants

votre

Ernest Bloch

Dear Sir, I was more than touched by your affectionate card and am very pleased that you like and appreciate my works.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart and I hope with ardour to meet you soon. In this existential desert, it is so necessary to feel few hearts vibrating with one's...that is the only thing that really counts, and I sustain you in your striking.

Do you know about a curious and significant detail? On the concert when I was making my first contact with American audience, March 22 and 23 1917 in Boston where I conducted Three Jewish Poems, Dr. Karl Muck chief conductor of Boston Symphony Orchestra, conducted at the same concert your overture *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte* which I knew already and whose special freshness and flavour I like so much...So we have already met each other, maybe without being aware of it?

I hope that we will soon discuss it again. Thank you one more time and please, be convinced in my cordial and appreciating sentiments.

Yours Ernest Bloch

No. 16: Joachim's letter about Variations after one theme by Brahms

Sehr geehrter Herr, Für Ihre liebenswürdigen Zeilen und Ihre freundliche Übersendung Ihre Variationen über den Brahms Thema sage ich Ihnen aufrichtigen Dank umso mehr als Sie mich dadurch auf angenehmen Tagen erinnern, die ich Vergnügen hatte mit Ihnen in Italien zu erleben. Solle ich nun meine aufrichtige Meinung als Musiker über Ihr Werk aussprechen, so muss ich sagen, dass mich manche Variation als sehr hübsch erfunden ansprach das ich aber dem Stück als Ganzes nicht zustimmen kann; denn es scheint mir in der Faktur zu ungleich, und durch manche harmonischen Fortschreitungen und Querstände wart meine Empfindung gestört. Verzeihen Sie meine Aufrichtigkeit, und nehmen Sie mit diesen weniger Zeilen eines Vielbeschäftigten fürlieb, der bald wieder Sie zu begegnen hofft. Mit freundlichen Grüßen nach unserem lieben Solo, Ihr ergebener Joseph Joachim, Charlottenburg- Berlin, Grolmanstrasse 41, 29 November, 1902

Dear Sir, I have to thank you very sincerely for your kindest lines and for the friendly consignment of your Variations on Brahms theme all the more that with it you remind me on pleasant days that I have had a pleasure to spend with you in Italy. If I am asked for my frankly opinion as a musician about the piece, then I must say that some variations would address very pretty to me though I cannot prove the totality of the work. It seems in the facture unequal and through some harmonic progressions and states would my feeling be disturbed. Excuse my sincerity and take these several lines written by the very busy man who hopes to meet you soon, for kind. With friendly regards after our dear Solo, Yours sincerely Joseph Joachim, Charlottenburg- Berlin, Grolmanstrasse 41, November 29, 1902

No. 17: Two letters from Ševčík

Prague, 28/1/1903

Sehr geehrter Herr, Bitte meinen Dank für die freundliche Zusendung Ihres Violinkonzertes entgegenzunehmen. Ich lasse es bereits in der Klasse spielen und bis Sie nach Prag kommen wird es mich freuen, wenn Sie sich Ihr neues Opus von meinen Schülern vorspielen lassen, wobei ich mir Ihre freundlichen Wünsche betreffs der Ausführung erbitten werde. Bei der ersten Gelegenheit wird das Violin Konzert im Konservatoriums Konzerte ausgeführt werden und ich bin überzeugt, dass Ihr bedeutendes Werk hier in Prag Sensation erregen wird.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung, Prof Otokar Ševčík

Verehrter Meister, Die Premiere ist gar nicht gut ausgefallen, um dem Opus nicht zu schaden, so beschloss ich zu warten, bis ein berühmterer das Stück in die Hände bekommt. Dasselbe wird also im Schuller Abend nicht aufgeführt werden. Mit hochachtungsvollem Gruß, Ihr ergebener Prof. Ševčík, Prague, 15/2/1904.

No. 18: Letter from Scalero to his wife

Siamo tutto il giorno insieme... Sinigaglia è di una gran bontà con me ed è veramente un gran amico....In fondo non facciamo che girare i caffè dove Sinigaglia fa le cose più buffe del mondo...Tutto per lui nel mondo è fonte del piacere. E per ciò ha nervi d'acciaio. Io sono mezzo rovinato, lui è sempre tranquillo, sereno...È inutile che ti dico che in qualunque categoria ha presso le donne il più gran successo.

No. 19: Letter from Ysaÿe to Breilkopf promoting Sinigaglia

Grand Hotel Beau Rivage, Genève/ Mayer & Kunz, propriétaire (pas de date)

Mon cher Monsieur Breilkopf, Combien j'aimerais vous envoyer un programme où nous avons vu figurer la Rhapsodie Piémontaise de mon ami Sinigaglia, -hélas, je n'ai pu encore la mettre au point par suite des voyages successifs, fatigants, de concerts ... absorbants tout mon temps. (deuxième page manquante) ...l'heureuse idée de publier. Je ne doute pas que l'avenir nous prouve que ces œuvres sont de celles qui arrivent tôt ou tard à conquérir l'estime de tous les musiciens et leur admiration. Pour ma part je compte jouer ces œuvres l'hiver prochaine et je crois que mon exemple sera suivi par tous les bons violonistes. Bien à vous et merci. Eugene Ysaÿe

Grand Hotel Beau Rivage, Genève/ Mayer & Kunz, propriétaire

My dear Mister Breilkopf,

How much I would like to send a programme where you were represented with the Rhapsodie Piemontese by my friend Sinigaglia. Hellas, I had not yet time to practise it due to successive trips, tiring of concerts, amazingly absorbing my time. (second page missing) ...a happy idea to publish it. I do not doubt that the future is going to prove (to) us that these works are those that arrive sooner or later to conquer the respect of all musicians and their admiration. For my part, I count to play these works next winter and I believe that my example is going to be followed by all good violinists.

Best for you and thank you, E. Ysaÿe

No. 20: Letter from Wilhelmj

London, 8. Juni, 98, 10, Gloucester Road, Regenti Park N.W.

Sehr geehrter Herr Sinigaglia!

Ihren mir von kurzem zuzusendten 3 (lustigen)...? Violinstücke finde ich ganz reizend.

Mit größter Hochachtung (?)

Ihr ergebenster

August Wilhelmj

Wilhelmj a Sinigaglia February 7, 1903

Dear Sir, I find your 3 funny violin pieces that you recently have sent to me quite charming.

With greatest respect, your sincerely

August Wilhelmj

23 Finchley Road

St. Johns Wood

Londres N.W.

7, fev. 1903

En réponse de l'estimée lettre du 2 d'écoulé, je n'ai guère eu le temps encore de me former une opinion sur le Concerto que vous avez bien voulu m'envoyer. Il me semble que c'est une composition bien intéressante et de valeur ; aussitôt que j'aurai le temps, je le regarderai de plus près et le donnerai probablement à étudier à plusieurs élèves. Alors je me ferais le plaisir de vous écrire de nouveau et de vous dire mon appréciation. Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, mes salutations bien empressées, August Wilhelmj.

Dear Sir, as an answer to your respected letter from the 2nd, for the elapsed time, I had yet not time at all to establish an opinion about the Concerto that you kindly sent to me.

It seems to be an interesting and valuable composition; as soon as I have some time, I will have a good look of it and probably recommend for study to some of my students.

So, I will have a pleasure to write you again and give my appreciation.

Sincerely

August Wilhelmj

No. 21: Letter from Kreisler about Rhapsodie Piemontese

London, 4ten Juli, 1904

Lieber Herr Sinigaglia, Ich danke Ihnen für die Zusendung der ausgezeichnete Rhapsodie Piemontese.

Ich hoffe, dass ich bald Zeit finde mich näher mit dem Stück zu beschäftigen, denn jetzt habe ich leider über Hals und Kopf Arbeit. Mit bestem Gruss, mit der Hoffnung Sie bald wiederzusehen. Fritz Kreisler

London, July 4, 1904

Dear Mister Sinigaglia,

I thank you for your expedition of your excellent Rhapsodie Piemontese.

I hope that I will soon find some time to get busy with this piece, because now I have work head over heels.

With best greetings and hope to meet you soon, Fritz Kreisler

No. 22: Rubinstein's letter, excusing not to assist to the concert with Piedmont music

no date

Mon cher Maitre,

Comme je suis navré de ne point pouvoir venir à votre concert ! J'avais une grande envie de connaître votre musique piémontaise- mais je me suis senti tout d'un coup trop nerveux et fatigué, (j'ai trop joué dernièrement) pour affronter un public de concert à la veille du mien. Mais j'ai grand espoir de connaître votre musique à une autre occasion. Encore merci de votre si aimable invitation- et à demain, j'espère !

Votre tant dévoué Arthur Rubinstein

My dear Master,

How I am sorry not to be able to come to your concert. I had a great desire to know better your Piemontese music, but I feel suddenly nervous and tired (I played a lot recently) to confront the audience of a concert, an evening before my own. But hope very much to have an occasion to know your music by some other occasion. Thank you again for your kind invitation and- see you tomorrow, hopefully!

Your sincerely Arthur Rubinstein

No. 23: Saffonof's letter expressing similarity between Sinigaglia's character and his music

Kislowodsk, Caucase, 9 juillet 1911

Mon cher ami,

En arrivant ici j'ai trouvé Votre lettre à ma femme et je ne sais vraiment pas, comment Vous remercier de tantes de bonnes choses que Vous avez mises dedans. Votre lettre est comme Votre musique : claire, distingué et pleine de grâce, - je dirais le reflet de toute Votre nature sympathique et élégante. Comme ma femme ne savait pas Votre adresse, elle n'a pas pu Vous répondre. Du reste elle est un correspondant très paresseux- d'una pigrezza terribile. Ainsi le sort m'a donné de Vous écrire à sa place et de Vous remercier de sa part et de la mienne. *Doppelt reisst nicht und dreifach hält*. Dieses dreifach est le sentiment de profonde amitié que je Vous porte dès que j'ai su le plaisir de Vous connaître et j'espère que sa tiendra très longtemps, car je suis un animal très fidèle et reconnaissant.

J'ai eu une inspiration très heureuse de retourner à mon pays par la mer, évitant la chaleur et la poussière des chemins de fer. La traversée de Naples à Odessa était tout à fait féérique : mer calme, pas de chaleur, air pur et c'est une espèce de cure que j'ai fait avant de rentrer à la maison. Maintenant je me trouve au milieu de tuyaux d'orgue que Vous connaissez par la photographie. Tout va bien, tout le monde bien portant, et j'espère de faire une accumulation de forces pour la saison à venir, qui a l'air d'être très occupée, entre autres cinq concerts à Rome du 17 Déc. au 7 Janvier. A mon passage de Londres, où je conduis un concert de la Philharmonie le 5 Décembre, je tâcherais de passer un jour à Turin et alors j'espère Vous revoir et Vous tenir la main. Bien à vous, W. Safonoff

My dear friend,

Arriving here, I found your letter to my wife, and I really do not know how to thank you for all good things that you joined to it. Your letter is like your music: clear, distinguished, and full of grace, I should say, a reflexion of your sympathetic and elegant nature.

As my wife did not know your address, she could not answer you. Moreover, she is a lazy correspondent- *d'una pigrezza terribile*. So, this situation imposed me to write you and to thank you in hers and mine name. *Doppelt reisst nicht und dreifach hält* (Double does not rip and triple holds). This *dreifach* (triple) is the sentiment of profound friendship that I gather for you since I had a pleasure to meet you and I hope that it will last long because I am an animal which is faithful and thankful.

I had an inspiration to return to my country by sea, avoiding the heat and the dust of railway. The crossing from Naples to Odessa was completely magical: sea calm, no heat, fresh air, and that is a kind of cure that I had before to return home.

Now, I am in the middle of tubes of organ that you know from the photo. Everything is fine, everyone does well, and I hope to have an accumulation of the strengths for the next season, which seems to be very busy, among other five concerts in Rome from December 17th until January 1st (7th?). After my passage in London where I conduct a concert with the Philharmonic on December 5th, I will try to spend one day In Turin, and I hope then to see you again and to shake your hand. Sincerely W. Safonoff

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SCRIPTS

In the sunset of his life, Sinigaglia wanted to give an overview of his life experience, feeling continuous danger for his existence being a subject for haunting after promulgation of Fascist's Italy Racial Laws in 1938. His cultural involvement was reduced to concealed identity to protect his and his sister's life. More intellectuals, like Sinigaglia were possibly urged to leave a written testimony about their lives for posterity. Subjects of his age were, according to official conditions excepted from the possibility of deportation but, as consequence known, it was another false and not scrupulously respected information given to the population by the authorities.

Two autobiographical documents are housed in the library of the Conservatory Giuseppe Verdi in Turin: eleven pages (one handwritten, other typed), entitled *Cenni biografici su Leone Sinigaglia* (Biographical Notes On Leone Sinigaglia) and the document presented and translated in further text.

Sinigaglia produced both, handwritten and typed copies of his scripts without necessarily preparing it to be edited in those conditions and five parts of it are not intended to be the part of kindred series. The five independent chapters of the following document are brought here in arbitrary order and titles are original: "Recollection of Vienna", sub chaptered "Brahms and Mandyczewski", "Viennese Musical Life" and "Additions", "Vienna", "Brahms in Italy", "Toscanini" and "Antonin Dvořák ", only the latter with a date: Turin, January 24, 1940. The evidence of circumstances is close to the conclusion that all those scripts are written in the similar period consequently as Sinigaglia cites Dr. Karl Geiringer's book which was published only in 1933.²⁷¹

He writes in the third person in two of those chapters, "Vienna" and "Toscanini"²⁷² and combines some personal accounts confronting them with facts from the general knowledge.

The chapter "Recollection of Vienna" describes in the first subchapter "Brahms and Mandyczewski" various situations belonging to frequentation of these two musicians. The second subchapter, "Viennese Music Life"²⁷³ is a detailed description of the great city's music life that he was participating in as a concertgoer during his studying years in Vienna. The third

²⁷¹ Consult footnote 148 for details.

²⁷² Consult footnote 17.

²⁷³ During his studies in Vienna, Sinigaglia collected programmes of concerts that he was attended and classified them in seasons: 1894-1895, 1895-1896, 1897-1898 and 1899. Missing season, 1896-1897 might simply be due to his travelling or lost through his moving. Nevertheless, the remained collection gives vast overview of the Vienna musical life in those years and makes together with original programme leaflets a genuine document of the past.

subchapter, "Additions" are an independent recollection of several situations from the same period of his life. The second chapter, "Vienna (1895-1899)", he encounters more episodes lived in the period of his Vienna exile. The third chapter, "Brahms in Italy", written with unhidden patriotic sentiment tries to find parallels between himself and Brahms. The fourth chapter "Toscanini" gives credit to this advocate of his music remembering various circumstances from the life of the great conductor and the friendship that he was sharing with him.

The form and volume of the last chapter, "Antonin Dvořák " is the only chapter with a precise date of accomplishing it. Written in Turin, January 24, 1940, the remained script makes impression, according to his previous writings which would appear mostly chronological, that it might have been a first part which is actually missing. Later handwritten remarque on the first page of the manuscript (with unmistakable Sinigaglia's handwriting) suggests a biographical part about Dvořák preceding but to this day, it was not identified in the *Fondo Sinigaglia*. His narration is though objective with a position taken about Dvořák's music and his teaching capacity, giving a realistic image of his closeness to the great composer.

RECOLLECTIONS FROM VIENNA

I. BRAHMS AND MANDYCZEWSKI

How did I arrive in Vienna? In 1893, I had completed my studies of harmony, elements of composition, and orchestration with Maestro Giovanni Bolzoni, a brilliant yet uneven musician, as well as an excellent connoisseur of the orchestra, to whom I owe much. I felt, however, the urge to live in a broader, more musical environment, as was Vienna's at the time, and I wished to conclude my training under the guidance of Brahms. I was unaware of the fact that the great Master did not teach privately, and when I found that out, I requested and received - thanks to our mutual Viennese friends, the Kupelwiesers-the go-ahead to take an advanced course with the well-known musicologist Eusebius Mandyczewski, Brahms's close acquaintance. The latter always redirected to Mandyczewski those students aspiring to enter his private studio. He claimed to lack pedagogical talent and patience, which are necessary attributes in teaching. Of Mandyczewski-or his "Dear Mandy", as he would call him-the German Master highly appreciated the vast musical and literary culture, just as his keen critical intelligence. He customarily listened to his colleague's judgments on his compositions, and he entrusted him

with the correction of his drafts, as Mandyczewski was perfect at it: his "eagle eyes" never missed the slightest mistake. Upon submitting to "Dear Mandy" the Trio for clarinet, piano, and cello [Op. 114] for proofreading, Brahms jokingly announced that "an even greater nonsense" was about to follow: what he was referring to be the wonderful Clarinet Quintet [Op. 115]. The two composers had, over the years, a frequent and very interesting correspondence. Dr. Karl Geiringer- a superb musicologist who succeeded Mandyczewski as archivist and then as custodian at the Musikverein and *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*-recently published their exchange of letters, which testify to Brahms's profound esteem for and companionship with Mandyczewski. I met Brahms at the home of Hugo Conrat, intelligent music lover, whose daughter Ilse, ingenious sculptress, was very dear to the Master. Brahms gladly had lunch with friends' families, with whom he knew he would spend a pleasant evening. Often a bit rude and sarcastic-perhaps as a defence of his incredible inner sweetness and the unexpressed passions not uncommon in his life-he could occasionally be mordant, and legend has it that one night, upon leaving, he added: "If I forgot to offend somebody, please excuse me. "

He was a gourmand and he liked to drink, yet always responsibly: what attributes his terminal disease (which was hereditary liver cancer) to chronic alcohol intoxication is only a false rumour. At times, I spotted Brahms during his morning walks. His figure made a characteristic appearance on the *Ringstraße*: short in stature, stocky, with a wide luminous face reminiscent of an apostle from Caracci's school, and a large flowing beard, the hands commonly clasped behind his back, holding the hat. On Sundays, a loyal group of musicians-Mandyczewski, Stocker [1845-1910], Von Perger [1854-1911], Anton Door [1833-1919], and others-would go out for a ramble around Vienna's picturesque surroundings. Brahms used to tag along readily, delighted by the youths' buoyancy and the gay Viennese anecdotes, even the musical ones; except, woe to those who attempted to discuss music earnestly! He treated me with sympathy, and he was so decent as to pose on several occasions for photos and photographic portraits, most of which have been lamentably lost for the few that survived, he thanked me with a lovely note. I still recall how one day we went together to the Prater's *Kasperltheater* (the puppet theatre), where he had such a great time inviting the little Viennese *Spitzbuben* [smart-aleck kids], just to watch their jaws dropping before the amusing show. I clearly remember Brahms sitting in the musicians' loge [box] at *Der Große Musikvereinssaal* (alongside his fellow [Karl] Goldmark [the composer], staunch and attentive listener of those magnificent concerts), acclaimed every time Hans Richter would conduct his symphonies or his other symphonic scores with the Philharmonic Orchestra. March 7, 1897, was a sombre day, when, leaning out of the loge-to salute the audience for the raving ovation ensuing the ending of his fourth

symphony, which had been performed under Richter's baton-Brahms's countenance looked almost unrecognizable, devastated from the serious ailment that was sapping his robust organism. He passed away on April 3, 1897, at the age of sixty-four, serenely and without suffering. The last notes he wrote were those of a *Choral-Vorspiel* [Chorale Prelude] for organ, on the words: "O Welt, ich muss dich lassen" (Oh world, I must leave you). Amid those who mourned him, there was our pure Italian pride, the distinguished songstress Alice Barbi, who was arguably Brahms's greatest love, the one he could not camouflage-contravening his usual conduct, so much was he besotted with her. When Barbi gave her farewell concert, prior to marrying Count [Boris] Von Wolf-Stomersee, Brahms—who had quit playing in public for years-wanted to accompany her at the piano for the entire recital, in the *Bösendorfer-Saal*. And Alice Barbi was the sole woman, among those who mattered in Brahms's spiritual and sentimental life, to follow his mortal remains to their last resting place.

II. VIENNESE MUSICAL LIFE

I was fortunate to further my education in the enthralling musical milieu of Vienna's golden age, from 1895 to 1899, when conductors of the calibre of Hans Richter, Gustav Mahler, and Felix Weingartner took turns at the helm of what is perhaps the best orchestra in the world—the [Vienna] Philharmonic. Concurrently, the most celebrated soloists, trios, and quartets were succeeding one another at the *Musikverein* and *Bösendorfer-Saal*-meeting venues for the cream of the Viennese music community-while the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* was putting together numerous performances of sacred and secular oratorios (ancient and modern) with superlative artists every year. At the Royal Opera, a vast and fascinating repertoire [was being offered]; the elite of the Philharmonic [orchestra] was sitting in this orchestra, too, and Hans Richter, Franz Schalk, Gustav Mahler, and Felix Weingartner alternated on the conductor's podium; furthermore, world-class singers such as Schmedes, Dippel, Van Dyck, Materna (eminent Wagnerian soprano; I was present during her poignant farewell speech after the last stage appearance she made, in "Twilight of the Gods"), Lehmann, Ehrenstein, Walker, Mark, and Renard (delightful songstresses in [Humperdinck's] "Hansel and Gretel"), and many others were being cast. The *a cappella* choral music was all the rage: all-male and mixed-voice choral societies were flourishing, inter alia, the "Singverein", the "Singakademie", the "Schubertbund", and the famed "Männergesangverein." Many Viennese families maintained their female choirs, comprised of terrific highbrows: thus, exquisite choral concerts were

arranged at the Hornbostel residence: Eusebius Mandyczewski was the much-loved director there. In Vienna's houses, by a tradition that harks back to Beethoven's and Schubert's times, much music and good music was habitually made, typically, concerts of highly renowned soloists would precede sumptuous family receptions, at which they would be invited with friends and artists. Over that period, chamber music provided opportunities for a profusion of riveting performances. There were many quartets in Vienna, including the excellent Rosé Quartet, the Hellmesberger Quartet, the Duesberg Quartet, the Fitzner Quartet, and the all-female Soldat-Roeger Quartet. Not uncommonly, first-rate pianists and preeminent composers—e.g., Grieg—would collaborate with these ensembles. In little time, then, all the finest quartets from the classical and modern literature were being presented: Brahms's and Dvořák's occupied, in the modern repertoire, a place of honour. Gleaning in the programs from 1895 to 1899—my years of study—I notice a plenty of illustrious names. Most of these individuals launched their careers in Vienna, like the violinist Huberman, who triumphantly debuted at Adelina Patti's farewell concert, and Mieczysław Horszowski, the pianist who, still a child, touched all the audiences across Vienna with his interpretations of Chopin. To give a sense of this city's musical activity in the field of concerts and opera, here is a quick survey of the most captivating things I heard during my sojourn:

Season 1895-1896

The incredibly ingenious Bohemian Quartet (Hoffmann, Suk, Nebdal, Wihan), adored by the Viennese, gave various concerts (many of which featured pianists, too), as well as the Rosé Quartet, impeccable interpreter of the classics. In addition, quite a few performances [have been given] by the Quartets mentioned above: Fitzner Q. [Quartet], Hellmesberger Q., Duesberg Q., Soldat-Roeger Q. Among the pianists: d'Albert, Sauer, Rosenthal, Hoffmann, Sophie Menter, and Teresa Carreño (two "Valkyries" of the piano), Hambourg, Gabrilowitsch, our Ernesto Consolo, and Edvard Grieg (who performed his Piano Concerto and conducted his symphonic music at the *Große Musikvereinsaal*). Among the cellists: Popper. Among the violinists: Burmester, Marie Soldat-Roeger. Among the singers—besides Adelina Patti—Henschel, Sanderson, and Nikisch [Amelie Heussner]. On January 8, 1895, I had the good fortune to attend a concert at the Bösendorfer-Saal in which Doctor Johannes Brahms—as addressed in the program—premiered, reading from the manuscript, his Clarinet Sonata in E-flat Major [Op. 120, No. 2], jointly with the valiant clarinetist Richard Mühlfeld of Meiningen. At the Philharmonic Concerts, Hans Richter conducted, notably: Bruckner's Symphony No. 2 [in

C Minor], Berlioz's "Romeo and Juliet", Dvořák's "Carnival" and "In der Natur" Overtures, all in their Vienna Philharmonic premieres. Apart from these concerts-the foundation of the Viennese music scene-three further ones [were presented] by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Felix Mottl, Richard Strauss, and Felix Weingartner. The Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (directed by Wilhelm Gericke) [presented] the great oratorios "Judas Maccabaeus" by Handel and the "Four Seasons" by Haydn, furthermore, Mendelssohn's "Lobgesang," Schumann's "Manfred", and Liszt's "The Legend of Saint Elizabeth". At the Opera House: Wagner's "tetralogy" (annually presented, even multiple times), Smetana's "Der Kuss", Smareglia's "Cornelius Schut", Humperdinck's "Hänsel und Gretel", Weber's "Der Freischütz", Gounod's "Faust", and Wagner's "Lohengrin" and "Tannhäuser". Furthermore, I was so lucky to watch the "Queen of Sheba" in the company of Goldmark himself, who welcomed me into his opera box.

Season 1896-1897

Among notable violinists, César Thomson and Hugo Heermann, two interpreters of classics. Among cellists, Klengel and Gérardy. Pianists included the young Dohnányi, Eduard Schütt, Ilona Eibenschütz, and Clotilde Kleeberg. Among male singers, the prominent baritones Gura, Stermans, Messchaert (the latter was particularly admirable in oratorios), and the tenors Von Zur-Mühlen and Gustav Walter. Among female singers, Lula Mysz-Gmeiner, Ellen Gulbranson, and our Gemma Bellincioni. Two "rare" instrumentalists, the brilliant horn player Savart and the terrific flutist with a predestined name, [Roman] Kukula. At the Große Musikvereinssaal, Nadine Slavinsky's far-famed Russian choir. The Philharmonic Concerts, under Hans Richter's baton, programmed the Viennese premieres of: Bruckner's Symphony [No. 4] in E-flat ("Romantic"), Goldmark's "Im Frühling" Overture, Strauss's "Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche", Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 5 [in E Minor], Volkmann's "Richard III" Overture, and Reznicek's "Donna Diana". In this season, Hans Richter also conducted Wagner's "Das Liebesmahl der Apostel" and Mozart's "Requiem", the last at the Karlskirche. At the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (directed now by Richard von Perger): Bruckner's "Te Deum", Schumann's "Szenen aus Goethes Faust", Mozart's "Requiem", Kiel's "Christus", Massenet's "Ève", and [Dvořák's] "Die Geisterbraut"; good old Carl Reinecke, Schumann's pupil and friend, beautifully performed Mozart's Piano Concerto "Krönungskonzert" [Coronation Concerto, K. 537]. At the Opera, other than the [Der Ring des Nibelungen] "Tetralogy" and other standard-repertoire works (e.g., Mozart's "Don Giovanni",

"The Magic Flute", and "The Marriage of Figaro", and Wagner's "Tristan und Isolde" with [Lilli] Lehmann and [Johann Joachim] Winkelmann): Goldmark's "The Cricket on the Heath" and Kienzl's "Der Evangelimann".

Season 1897-1898

Among violinists: Ondříček, Petschikoff, Sauret, Sarasate (exquisite chiseller of melodies, pleased more by his collection of fishing rods than by his successes at the violin), and Fritz Kreisler, already then, a master of elegance, ravishing sound, and good taste. Among pianists, Ferruccio Busoni - Italian and world treasure - Frederic Lamond, Stavenhagen, the young genius Artur Schnabel, and many others. Among singers: Anton Van Rooy, Ben Davies, Ernestine Schumann-Heink, and two esteemed artists: Marcella Pergi and Camilla Landi, who sparked up a clamour with their concerts in Vienna's musical milieu, dividing the public into two enthusiastic factions, notwithstanding their individual yet dazzling qualities. Alice Barbi must be added to the list, who sang at a concert dedicated to Brahms, in order to raise funds for the monument of the Master. At the Philharmonic Concerts, still conducted by Hans Richter: Tchaikovsky's "Suite" [No. 3, Op. 53] and Rimsky-Korsakov's "Scheherazade". On March 8, 1896. The concert took place on March 30, 1898, at the Bösendorfer-Saal. Alice Barbi sang an all-Brahms program, accompanied by pianist/composer Anton Rückauf. The evening was part of a concert series named Brahms-Abend, directed by Albert Gutmann, both performed for the first time in the [Philharmonic] Concerts; Brahms's Piano Concerto [No. 2] in B-flat [Op. 83] and "Akademische Festouvertüre".

At the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (directed by Richard von Perger): Beethoven's "Missa Solemnis", Schumann's "Paradise and the Peri", Grieg's "Olav Trygvason", and César Franck's "Les Béatitudes". At the Opera, this season lacked significant new titles, save for Tchaikovsky's "Eugen Onegin".

Season 1898-1899

Among violinists' concerts, Arrigo Serato's were remarkably favourable. Among the singers: Jean Lassalle (from the Paris Opera), Ludwig Wüllner, Felix von Kraus, Nina Faliero-Dalcroze, and Lillian Blauvelt. At the Philharmonic Orchestra, the eminent Gustav Mahler stepped in. Exemplary interpreter of Mozart's theatrical works, he occasionally conducted at the Vienna

Court Opera [the Hofoper], too. His Symphonies began to show up in the Philharmonic programs; fervently discussed, and quite uneven, they yet possessed many undeniable beauties. At the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* (directed by Richard von Perger): Haydn's "The Creation," Liszt's "Graner Festmess" [Missa Solemnis], Mendelssohn's "Die Erste Walpurgisnacht", and Perosi's "Resurrezione di Cristo", this last conducted by the composer himself, and featuring Italian artists; such performance touched off a sensation for "Little Abbot" by Lorenzo Perosi, who instantly conquered the hearts of the Viennese. Worthy of mention is still a magnificent concert of the Moscow "Synodal Choir", which displayed stunning bass voices, such as those of Nadina Slaviansky's choir. Mahler's symphonies, although capable of drawing broad interest, hardly won unanimous consensus in the early Viennese years. Staunch proponents were opposed by a vocal anti-Semitic press, systematically painting Mahler's artistic endeavours in a negative light. De La Grange describes an instance, occurring in 1899, in which the "Aryan" Felix Mottl was invited as guest conductor to substitute for Mahler ad hoc on a special Philharmonic Concert, commemorating the assassination of the Empress Elisabeth the year before. After some heated debates between factions, the Oberbürgermeister (mayor) specified that . . . he would not accept Mahler as conductor for the concert, as this would be tantamount to giving him "the city's official blessing". Thus, the whole project was finally abandoned.²⁷⁴ It is important to note how Sinigaglia's brief comment on Mahler's music (positive overall, although having some reservations) was most likely based on musical and internal grounds, and only possibly was influenced by prevalent sociopolitical views. The Vienna audience was adorable, vibrant, affectionate, endowed with a healthy eclecticism, open to everything charming and imaginative, and serene in their judgments even in the presence of disconcerting novelties such as Mahler's Symphonies. There was a time when the concert-going community opposed, in the symphonic arena, Brahms and Bruckner, who could recruit a considerable group of adherents. Pointless and out of-place rivalry, so much did Brahms surpass Bruckner in richness, originality, depth of inspiration, and masterly orchestration. The reclusive and simple Bruckner could not be held accountable for such dispute, all absorbed in his creations just as in his ecclesiastical activity. It was said that, of the triad dear to Johann Strauss and immortalized in one of his popular waltzes, "Wine, Women, and Song", Bruckner did not know any but . . . the last! Later on, recent trends emerging on the symphonic scene complicated matters, but this is not the place to talk about it. Undoubtedly, one could not imagine a more endearing ambiance than Vienna of those years. After my years of study, I returned there repeatedly with the same

²⁷⁴ Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler: Vienna, the Years of Challenge*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1994, 135-136.

unflagging joy. All things in the Austrian capital were enchanting: the perceptive and cordial hospitality towards the artists, the musical taste and culture, the female beauties, the delightful surroundings abundant with Alpine shadows, the spirit of the popular muse, the operettas' elegant cheerfulness at the classic "An der Wien" theatre, the waltzes' charm, oozing joie de vivre and nostalgia for felicity. But above all, what lingered in the air were the memories of those giants-Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert-who lived, loved, suffered, triumphed in Vienna. The manuscripts of their immortal works are the precious gems of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, the glorious Society that solemnly celebrated its 125th anniversary in 1938.

III ADDITIONS

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Brahms used to attend preferably the " [Zum] Rothe Igel"²⁷⁵ diner in the Graben [street], although he sporadically paid visits to the Italian restaurant (so to speak!) "Zum Grünen Anker", too. He was a good eater just as a good drinker, yet without excesses.

There is no basis to the hearsay that alcoholic intemperance led him to the grave prematurely. The malady that killed him was liver cancer, unfortunately hereditary.

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On two occasions I heard Brahms playing and conducting, disappointingly, albeit to be fair, during the autumn of his life. He conducted his "Akademische Festouvertüre" [Op. 80] (pièce for the occasion that is not, after all, among his most felicitous scores) at the *Große Musikvereinssaal*, exhibiting a rather stiff and angular gesture, without colour or momentum²⁷⁶. As a pianist, I listened to him (January 8 [and January 11], 1895) performing his two gorgeous Clarinet Sonatas, together with the revered clarinetist Richard Mühlfeld of Meiningen. Even then, in spite of the emotional rendition, he seemed to lack poetry, particularly in the quality of sound. It was the sombre twilight of that once distinguished pianist who was, in his youth, Brahms.

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²⁷⁵ The "Rothe Igel" was an important meeting point for Viennese students and musicians.

²⁷⁶ On March 18, 1895. The concert was organized by the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* Conservatory. The occasion served to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the inauguration of the new Musikverein edifice. Brahms directed a student orchestra; this was the last time he conducted in Vienna. Clive, Brahms and His World, XXXI-XXXII.

The chaste and sober composer Anton Bruckner—about whom word is he knew solely the latter of the triangle "Wine, Women, and Song," illustrated by Johann Strauss in a famous Waltz—hardly showed himself at the artists' loge of the *Große Musikvereinssaal*. He used to remain confined in his ivory tower, whence his music would cause squabbles between the honest Viennese, of whom an energetic and boisterous minority exalted him, perhaps much above his real value.

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On January 22, 1895, Adelina Patti gave her last concert, before an imposing audience, at the *Große Musikvereinssaal*. She sang Rosina's cavatina from *The Barber of Seville* (*Una Voce Poco Fa*), Elizabeth's prayer from *Tannhäuser*, and the Jewel Song from *Faust*. She was the shell of her former self, though still praiseworthy for the Raphaelesque purity of her vocal line: a sweet dusk, which barely coloured the "contours of the mountains," as Lucan eloquently put it.²⁷⁷

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Ysaÿe and Kreisler [played] together in Mozart's *Sinfonia Concertante* [in E-flat Major, K.364/320d] for violin, viola, and orchestra! A memorable evening, rarely encountered in Vienna, and an example of artistic fraternity worthy of those two great performers.²⁷⁸

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Between 1895 and 1898, two lied singers of repute, Camilla Landi and Marcella Prega, divided the Viennese public into two parties, both lionizing their respective champions. In the art of bel canto, Camilla Landi won the palm, as a contralto with a pretty, round, and mellow voice, fitting the classical style. In finesse and depth of sentiment, notably in French music, Marcella Prega prevailed. Both were of Swiss origin, in defiance of their beautiful Italian names. Camilla

²⁷⁷ Marcus Annaeus Lucanus (39–65 AD), a.k.a. Lucan, was a Roman poet. Sinigaglia's citation is doubtful (he clearly added the quotations marks later, at the revision stage). It most likely refers to a passage from the beginning of the third book in Lucan's *De Bello Civili*: Lucan, *Civil War*, trans. Susanna Morton Braund, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008.

²⁷⁸ This concert's program could not be found in Sinigaglia's dossiers (1895-1899). He might have attended it during one of his subsequent visits to Vienna, following his years of study in the city. However, Sinigaglia's letter below—signed Berlin, October 10, 1901—attests to the already-mentioned friendship and mutual esteem that developed between the Italian composer and Ysaÿe: "Arrigo Serato is waiting for me in Bielefeld [city in Germany] for the rehearsal of the Concerto. Today, I paid a visit to Ysaÿe, at the hotel. Although bed-ridden running a fever, he wanted to receive me, and for a long time. He showed a keen interest for my [Violin] Concerto [in A Major, op. 20], which I arranged for him to hear at another time."

Landi, nonetheless, had Florentine blood in her veins, as Florentine was her teacher, Elisa Freschi.

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For years, the enfants prodigies churned out by the well-known violin pedagogue from Prague, Prof. Ševčík, paraded in Vienna. Outstanding amongst them was Jan Kubelík, for sensational technique combined with nice purity of sound in the melody²⁷⁹.

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Emil Sauer: one of the best and brightest pianists I heard in Vienna! Although certainly not profound or intensely expressive (Beethoven was not for him), he showed good sense (if only everybody else had it, too!) in grappling uniquely with music suited to his temperament. His touch was of an enchanting lightness, his technique of a floaty, witty, poetic, magical fluidity. He was, along with Alfred Grünfeld (akin to him as a kind of pianist-virtuoso), the darling of the Viennese. Moriz Rosenthal²⁸⁰ could be included as third but standing at the opposite pole. He flaunted a powerful command of sonority and an overwhelming impetus of transcendental technique, in which the pedal, especially in the *fortissimo* sections, would rise to sure excessive limits. All the same, those were the very moments that would lift the audience, however intelligent, to seventh heaven. Even more so, the female aficionados (*absit injuria verbis*)²⁸¹, who would inevitably crowd the podium at the end of the concert, asking for and obtaining myriad encores.

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In one of the several night bars (similar to the Parisian cabarets) that abounded in Vienna, in the vicinity of *Kärntnerstraße*, noted foreign artists in transit would gladly swing by to hear a gifted pianist of the local orchestra, "the rhythmic pianist," who impressed everyone for the extraordinary precision and exceptional "bite" of his rhythm. Besides, such virtue was innate in the Viennese soul, conferring an incomparable character to the renditions of Johann Strauss's waltzes, incontestable masterpieces of the genre.

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²⁷⁹ The innumerable others exhibited formidable technical prowess, but were, generally, wanting in spiritual and interpretative merits. Ševčík would focus more on imparting his truly personal and interesting method than on interpretation.

²⁸⁰ Moriz Rosenthal (1862-1946), Polish pianist and composer, was a Franz Liszt pupil, as well as a close acquaintance of some of the most celebrated musicians of his time.

²⁸¹ *Absit iniuria verbis*, Latin expression, that literally translates, "Let injury be absent from these words. " It indicates that no insult be presumed by the speaker's remarks, i.e., "no offense. "

I learned too late that at the time I made it to Vienna (autumn of 1895), an old woman who had met Beethoven was still alive. What a shame! However, little she could have recounted about Him [sic], it would have been moving to hear from her "Beethoven told me..." In a way, I was compensated for this disillusionment later on (as narrated elsewhere) in a long conversation with the composer and pianist Carl Reinecke from Leipzig, who spoke to me about his teacher: Robert Schumann!²⁸²

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VIENNA (1895-1899)

Vienna's environment during Leone Sinigaglia's years of study was extraordinarily interesting. Referred to as "The Golden Age" of the Austrian capital, [such period witnessed] musicians such as Brahms, Goldmark, Bruckner; conductors of the admirable Philharmonic Orchestra such as Hans Richter, Gustav Mahler, Felix Weingartner; world-famous soloists playing at the *Große Musikvereinssaal* and the *Bösendorfer-Saal* (Viennese milieu's favourite rendezvous places); sizable choral concerts at the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* and other renowned societies; and the Opera House, where Richter, Mahler, Weingartner, and Schalk took turns in magnificent performances, casting first-rate singers, with a truly eminent orchestra. At the Philharmonic, Hans Richter conducted primarily classical music; Weingartner was more eclectic; Mahler was more modern and open to the avant-garde, while still being an exquisite interpreter of the classics (especially Mozart). Among the most notable evenings, Sinigaglia recalls Adelina Patti's farewell concert at the *Großes Musikvereinssaal*, in which the thirteen-year-old Bronisław Huberman, the real hero of the night, appeared publicly for the first time. Sinigaglia met Brahms at some mutual friends' home, and socialized with him on several subsequent occasions, particularly during spring, all along the Sunday strolls near Vienna's surroundings. Talking to him, Brahms would gladly recollect his trip to Italy, accompanied by Dr. Widmann (who described it in one of his rare little books). Sinigaglia never discussed music with the German Master, knowing full well that he would rather hear some burlesque anecdotes, dear to the Viennese. They went together to the Prater's puppet theatre, which

²⁸² Regrettably, no report of such discussion could be located in the Sinigaglia Archive at the Turin Conservatory Library.

Brahms adored: the latter would take delight in soliciting lower-class children to attend, to rejoice vicariously through their exhilaration.

It was fascinating to see the assiduous Brahms and Goldmark at every Philharmonic concert, in the musicians' loge. The latter was genuinely fond of Sinigaglia and had lavished words of praise for his compositions. He was a lovable man as well as a modest artist. Sinigaglia persuaded him to come to Turin for the staging, at the *Teatro Regio*, of his opera "A Winter's Tale" (which met with great success). Cherishing Turin in his heart, Goldmark came, in spite of his old age, and was much pleased to see his friend Depanis after thirty years, returning to the theatre where he had triumphed in 1879 with "The Queen of Sheba." One day, Sinigaglia walked in on Goldmark, in his studio (he was then nearly eighty years old), doing counterpoint exercises to loosen up his hand just prior to composing. Sinigaglia met Anton Dvořák in Vienna through the famed Bohemian quartet (Koffman, Suk, Nedbal, Wihan). The Italian composer had given them along with some compositions of Maestro Bolzoni-his own "Concert Étude", which later became a highly applauded "bravura piece" on their programs. Dvořák, at first impression, seemed to Sinigaglia somewhat rough, wild, difficult. Nonetheless, the latter - after some time spent in each other's company-learned to appreciate the Bohemian Master and ventured to ask him for private orchestration lessons. Dvořák, contrary to his habits, accepted, and Sinigaglia went to visit him (in 1900) for many months, first in Prague, then in his villa in Vysoká. Antonín quickly grew a vibrant- and requited-affection for his Italian pupil. Every day, they would stop by the café, where the Master used to delve into reading political newspapers. But Dvořák would readily converse also on music with Sinigaglia, in German or English (a language he [Dvořák] spoke quite well, having been the director of the New York Conservatory for various years). This distinguished musician -outstanding for the fresh inspiration reminiscent of Schubert, and his expertise in orchestration, palpable since his first symphonic compositions - was in truth a simpleton, a primitive person, with certain peasant like attributes. Relatively ugly, he had, however, bright eyes and a Beethovenian forehead. He could open new horizons to the student with just a few drastic yet enlightening words, and he could do so more and better than a teacher (in the literal sense of the word). Harboring a profoundly Bohemian soul, he intensely loved his country, illustrating such fondness in brilliant musical works. He lamented not being celebrated enough in Prague; Sinigaglia remembers one evening when his opera "Rusalka" was being premiered at the Bohemian National Theatre, and Dvořák being exceedingly reluctant to go see the show. It took a great deal of effort on Sinigaglia's part to persuade him. Eventually, the spectacle turned out to be a massive success, which Dvořák would subsequently think of with exuberant contentment.

BRAHMS IN ITALY

Brahms, as a rule, refrained from traveling abroad, because of his inability to speak foreign languages. Yet, he made an exception for Italy, which he adored, and where he came back to on many occasions. He was particularly thrilled to celebrate, when possible, his birthday under the beautiful sky of Naples or Taormina. On his first trip (1878), he was accompanied by his friend Dr. Billroth, a well-known Viennese surgeon, highly knowledgeable about painting and sculpture, just as music. He returned to the Italian peninsula in 1882, in 1887 with Theodor Kirchner and the publisher Simrock, and in 1890 and 1893 with his companion Dr. Widmann, who gave an account of these journeys in the pamphlet "Brahms in Erinnerungen". With Dr. Widmann, he sojourned in Genoa, Rome, Florence, Venice, Naples, and on the way back in Turin. Apropos Turin, it is worth reminding that, amidst the many "kind women" loved by Brahms, to whom he never revealed his feelings (because of innate timidity), there was Robert and Clara Schumann's third daughter, Julie, with whom he was smitten; however, not even beginning to imagine that "fire smouldering under the ashes", she ended up marrying the Count of Marmorito [manuscript: from Turin]. Brahms suffered deeply over it, although this was not his first sentimental heartache.

From Italy, he wrote to Clara Schumann about how he had spent "magical days" there, inviting her with ardent words to visit its natural beauties and artistic treasures, too [manuscript: in Italy, everything spoke to Brahms's heart and intellect]. Brahms's art, as Widmann observes, harks back to our Renaissance: in it, he had found the same care for the elaboration of the smallest details that transpire in his musical creations. His was a naive admiration, independent of literary insights, yet supported by a brilliant intelligence. In Italy, Brahms took little interest in music. He was already able to study ancient religious scores in Vienna, in the rich library of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*. And at that time, one could hear merely bad music-making in the Italian churches of almost every place (besides Rome, during Easter week). He eschewed the opera house, since the shows ended belatedly: Brahms, while in the country of bel canto, would invariably get up at dawn. He did not get tempted even by Verdi's spectacles, despite his great admiration for the Maestro (to whom he felt close, for both were men of humble origins); [manuscript: admiration] so tremendous that one day he severely scolded Hans von Bülow for his harsh judgment on the "Requiem Mass". The legend has it that, after reading it, Brahms exclaimed: "Only a genius could have written this work"! Brahms much appreciated the kind-

heartedness of Italian people. He claimed to be happy solely in Italy, where he could discern just the bright sides of men and things. It should be noticed how such fondness was reciprocated, by women as well: the pretty daughter of the "Croce di Malta's" mistress in Padua, upon his leaving, wanted to give Brahms a kiss-Widmann assures us- "in optima forma". A cicerone from Palermo (ex-Garibaldian, full of reverence for Brahms) said to him that, when they were together, he felt as being in the company of "his venerable general Garibaldi". Another individual, watching him sleeping on the train, and struck by the majestic leonine head of the German composer, told his companions: "That must be a man of genius"! Cheeky youngsters held him dear; he offered them candies at all times, and would take absolute delight in letting them play, in Naples, by the port of Anzio, tossing coins into the sea, which then they would fish out. In 1888, he arrived in Bologna, where an international music exhibition was taking place: here Giuseppe Martucci, the young director of the Conservatory and the Municipal Theatre, having learned of Brahms's presence, asked, and obtained a rendezvous with him at the "Quattro Pellegrini" Hotel, where the German composer was staying. Martucci narrated how he had conducted Brahms's Second Symphony in Naples, and then proved to him of knowing by heart all his major symphonic and chamber compositions; Brahms was very pleased by that. In 1890, he stopped in Cremona, fascinated by the Monteverdian and Stradivarian memories, as by the architectural splendour about which he was enthusiastic. At the "Del Pavone" Hotel, Brahms encountered the owner, who was likewise a barber, a factotum of the city (like the Rossinian Figaro), and an excellent violinist. In 1893, to celebrate his sixtieth birthday [manuscript: with Dr. Friedrich Hegar and the pianist Robert Freund], he vacationed in Sicily, touring in Girgenti, Syracuse, and Taormina; this was his last trip to Italy. Back in Vienna, he always looked back nostalgically on our land, which had granted him joys among the most sublime of his life. One evening in the Austrian capital, while dining at the sculptor Ilse Conrat's home, he gifted me with a portrait of him, and signed, smiling, "in homage to Italy. Giovanni Brahms"! Brahms's last infatuation- "last but not least"- was for a terrific artist of ours, Alice Barbi, an exquisite chamber-music mezzo-soprano, endowed with a golden voice. From the outset of 1890, the German master was carried away by such a fervid liking for this special creature, who was classically very beautiful, too. He later corresponded with Clara Schumann, reporting that in the interpretation of many *Lieder*, no one could match Alice Barbi's art. Brahms-who during recent years performed publicly just on infrequent and exceptional occasions-wanted to accompany at the piano Alice Barbi, at the farewell concert she gave before marrying Count Wolff-Stomersee. On April 5, 1897, Johannes Brahms's mortal remains were brought to the Vienna Cemetery, the same one where Mozart,

Beethoven, and Schubert rest. An immense crowd escorted the coffin. But neither parents, nor wife, nor children. Of the women who had embellished his existence, only one attended, heartbroken: Alice Barbi. [It was the] Last tribute of a distinguished Italian artist to the great Master, who had dearly loved Italy.

TOSCANINI

Leone Sinigaglia met Arturo Toscanini around the time when the latter was conducting Catalani's "Edmea" at the Carignano Theater in Turin, starring Virginia Ferni Germano (1886).⁷⁸ The Italian composer remembered how, during that period, he was rehearsing his first chamber compositions with a quartet of which Toscanini was the cellist. Afterward, the Maestro conducted two [of those] smaller quartet pieces in Turin, "Hora Mystica" and the "Scherzo", Op. 8, the second of which was an award winner at the Competition of the Symphonic Concerts Society in Milan in 1895. In 1901, Toscanini (turning a blind eye to his principle of excluding soloists from his programs) conducted the Violin Concerto in A Major, Op. 20, with Arrigo Serato, at the Teatro alla Scala in Milan. In 1905, he requested from Sinigaglia, who was in Prague, his still unpublished *Danze Piemontesi* to be performed in a Symphonic Concert at the Vittorio Emanuele Theater in Turin, on the following program: Beethoven: Pastoral Symphony, Sinigaglia: *Danze Piemontesi*, Elgar: Variations, Wagner: *Prelude* and *Liebestod* from *Tristan und Isolde*. This was the Italian premiere of the *Danze Piemontesi*, and the first time a composer employed Piedmontese, perhaps even Italian, popular tunes in a symphonic work. It was a stormy night. The appearance of the graceful oboe theme in the first dance (*Spônta 'l sôl, l'è la luña* [The sun and the moon arise]) awakened murmurs that quickly grew into protests, invectives, shouts of "enough"! For a moment, it seemed as though the performance had to be suspended. Still, Toscanini continued to conduct unperturbed-the turmoil notwithstanding-signalling the loges, with his left hand, to quiet down and wait for the rest. The first dance ended amidst clamorous applause, in vain vociferously contrasted by a neglectable minority, who caused brawls, slaps, and even expulsions from the theatre. By the close of the second [dance], once the dissidents were removed, an imposing triumph was assured. The next day, however, the newspapers cried foul, with some critics violently excommunicating both conductor and composer, for their misconstrued audacity with which the sanctitude of an art temple had been profaned. The only honourable exception was E. A. Berta, whose article "A Phenomenon of Collective Ir-reflection" [thoughtlessness], in the

"Gazzetta del Popolo della Domenica", decisively argued in favor of the "Dances". Upon leaving Sinigaglia after the concert, Toscanini said to him: "These Dances will travel around the globe"! And he spoke the words of a good prophet, for in a few years they came to be so well liked as to surpass the famous ones, by Brahms and Dvořák.

After the *Danze Piemontesi*, the *Le Baruffe Chiozzotte* Overture succeeded it, which Toscanini conducted in 1907 at the Teatro alla Scala in Milan, and subsequently in various European and American cities, sensationally. But the opus that Toscanini preferred above all others-and of which he gave unforgettable renditions-is the *Piemonte Suite*, in four movements, inspired by Piedmontese folk songs and dances. Its Italian premiere occurred under Toscanini's baton (October 30, 1920) in the Milan Conservatory Great Hall, meeting with warm success, which was renewed the ensuing night at the *Teatro Regio* in Turin.

Characteristic was the performance in Fiume, taking place in November of that year when Gabriele D'Annunzio was the city governor. D'Annunzio hosted Sinigaglia and Toscanini, together with his orchestra composed ad hoc for the Italian tour. The Italian poet, prior to the onset of the *Piemonte Suite*, colourfully introduced to the public the "Italian Rhapsodist" [Sinigaglia], who was sitting in his box. Once the performance was over, a garibaldino in red shirt rose from his place to shout, amid ovations, a triple *evviva* [cheers] to *La Violetta*! Toscanini then toured with the *Suite Piemonte* performing it in great American cities, with his magnificent NBC Orchestra, beginning with the "Metropolitan Opera House" in New York.

ANTONIN DVOŘÁK

With this evolution, Dvořák²⁸³ perhaps hoped to victoriously cross the frontiers of his homeland within which his earlier operas had remained enclosed – save for some rare exceptions that managed to obtain moderate foreign dissemination. Unfortunately though, "Armida" is unquestionably inferior to "Rusalka": the numerous beauties scattered throughout the score fail to counterbalance the predominantly dull sections, and the opera, despite the noble and broad line of the whole, did not prosper in the way Dvořák had hoped for.²⁸⁴ Besides, the infelicitous premiere contributed to the opera's failure: Kovařovic, the finest conductor of the Bohemian National Theatre, had abandoned the preparation of the opera for mysterious reasons, and the poor staging exacerbated the deficiencies of the vocal and orchestral delivery. Dvořák, for all this, was much concerned at the rehearsals and, following the performance, deeply troubled for the outcome that failed to meet his expectations.²⁸⁵

A serious aggravation of uraemia-which had long impaired his robust constitution-ensued, complicated now by arteriosclerosis. Thus, during the Easter week of that year (1904), he regrettably could not attend a Bohemian music festival held in Prague, where many of his symphonic works had been programmed and where he was awaited with trepidation. After a seeming improvement, catastrophe befell at a stroke. Upon having supper with his family (that day, the doctor had granted it), the Master suddenly died of cerebral congestion on May 1, 1904. He was interred with great pomp, watched by a vast mourning crowd, in the Vyšehrad cemetery, where Smetana was already resting. There, two geniuses lay buried - the two musicians closest to the spirit and dearest to the heart of the Bohemians.

²⁸³ For more details on Dvořák's biographical information, see, among the most important biographies: Hans-Hubert Schönzeler, *Dvořák*, London: M. Boyers, 1984; John Clapham, *Dvořák*, London: David and Charles, 1979; and Otakar Šourek, *Antonín Dvořák: His Life and Works*, New York: Philosophical Library, 1954. Concerning historiography and critical reception, it is also important to mention the first serious biography of Dvořák, written by Czech piano pedagogue Karl Hoffmeister, who, like Sinigaglia, knew Dvořák personally: Karel Hoffmeister, *Antonín Dvořák*, trans. Rosa Newmarch, 1928; reprint, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1970. Sinigaglia had access to Hoffmeister's and Šourek's volumes, the latter in the German translation made by Paul Stefan-Grünfeld in 1935, Vienna: Verlag Dr. Rolf Passer, 1935.

²⁸⁴ Armida's premiere occurred on March 26, 1904. Hoffmeister goes so far as to suggest that the distress brought about by the fiasco was partially responsible for the premature demise of the great Master: The failure, coming at the climax of his career, was a mortal blow to Dvořák. He who had never known what sickness was, fell ill in the month of April. It was thought to be influenza, but it was something worse. The end came unexpectedly, after-as so often happens-an appearance of improvement. He died suddenly at the dinner-table on May 1. Karl Hoffmeister, *Antonín Dvořák*, John Lane the Bodley Head Limited, London, 1928, p. 54.

²⁸⁵ Eventually, missing success of his Armida contributed as much to his passing together with his illness. Three days after his death, arrived heavy criticism from Viennese music critic Robert Hirshfeld precisely because of such naturalness, which, from the perspective of some Austro-German authors, was equivalent with musical illiterateness. He wrote: "Dvořák's music had no profundity. He does not, as Bruckner, dig into depths of his soul to bring forth an Adagio."

xxx

With Dvořák's death in our opinion disappeared the foremost representative, after Brahms²⁸⁶, of pure contemporary music. If he lacked the wide horizons and the infinite humanity of Beethoven, he nevertheless inhabited an inner world in which the buoyant and elegiac attributes admirably alternated and complemented each other; his colour palette was ever varied, although always specifically Bohemian, both in the distinctive "pathos" of the *Adagios* and in the brisk fluency or the fiery impetus of the *Allegros*, the *Scherzos*, and the *Furiant*s.²⁸⁷

In the pure music, more than any other, he could liberally express his genius, listen to his soul, bring to life his people's sorrows and joys, just as in the memories of his childhood. Dvořák's array of shades is of inexhaustible profusion: to prove this, pointing at the vividness of contrasts between the first and last movements of his symphonies as well as of his chamber-music compositions²⁸⁸ would suffice: [the attainment of such balanced contrasts represents] a rock against which the intelligence and geniality of composition effects often slams. The respect for the form did not prevent Dvořák from gladly getting carried away by his vivacious fantasy; then, the episodes flourished on the path of his imagination, in which he occasionally indulges (without ever forgetting his way)-as in a hidden and scented trail of the Bohemian forest-at the risk of lengthening the route a little.

In music, Antonin Dvořák loved to speak the language of the people from whom he came, and to define himself as the true "Bohemian musician." The roots of his oeuvre lie in songs and folk dances, which cheered his childhood and youth. Yet, this [oeuvre] retain a character of universality, since Dvořák could enhance the classical forms he favoured with his own unique content, even when deriving his works from the spirit of the native folklore. In this way, he could provide his compositions with a distinctive imprint.

In Dvořák's music, everything is soul, life, colour, movement; his "pathos" is never sentimental, and his humour is without irony or bitterness, yet displaying a "good-natured" countrified heart that was genuinely Bohemian, as Schubert's was genuinely Viennese. Beethoven and Schubert were his spiritual fathers, through whom he revealed his Slavic essence: the combination of these components constitutes the significance and individuality of Dvořák. He was enamoured of the melody, which gushed from him inexhaustibly - whether he

²⁸⁶ Brahms is said to have remarked about Dvořák, "That chap has more ideas than any of us. Everyone else could glean together main subjects from out of his leftovers." Quoted in Schönzeler, Dvořák, 44.

²⁸⁷ The Furiant is a Bohemian rapid couple-dance, in triple time with hemiolas and syncopations. It is traditionally preceded by the Dumka, a melancholy Slavic lament.

²⁸⁸ Bagatellen, Op. 47, for two violins, viola, violoncello, and harmonium, of happy inspiration and exquisite craftsmanship was recorded in 2002 for the first CD of Ensemble *d'arco* produced for Dresdner Bank.

idealized the silhouettes of popular songs and dances or whether his inventiveness, often reminiscent of Schubert's, induced him to openly sing.

Above all, he benefitted from a brilliant technique, notably in treating the orchestra, which held no secrets from him. His splendid, vivid, limpid instrumentation-ideal dress of his ideas-still stands as a model of the kind; and particularly today, with the trends of the ultra-modern school, one could never study it enough.²⁸⁹

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Dvořák was not just a great composer. He was also an intelligent, high value educator from whom much could be learned, although being taught by him was not always easy. Strict in his judgments, often harsh (despite being in truth just goodhearted curmudgeon), he was adored by his pupils, and he commonly liked being walked home by them after the meetings. The lesson time should have been from 8 to 9 a.m., but he frequently extended it until noon. In teaching, he used to allude, rather than explain in detail and depth: he demanded from students a swift understanding, precisely because he knew, like few others, how to elucidate the logic of musical forms and the fundamentals of the art of orchestration (specifically as regards the doubling of the groups), and how to open new horizons with just a word. But even before this, he used to focus his young apprentices' attention on the selection of the [thematic] idea, a subject of capital importance, as such and for the genesis of development. And then, as with his compositions, he wanted all the parts to sing and shine in their own light, in the context of the musical discourse.

Occasionally, he happened to mistreat a pupil vehemently, almost to tears: but never unjustly, and in most cases, he knew how to mitigate the effects of his abrasiveness with a benevolent smile. He had "sorties" of his own. At one time, the writer of this lines heard him exclaiming, with a haughty frown: "But this is horrible, I have never seen anything like this in my life! " and then, after a short pause, adding with a smile: "Actually, it is fine, and it will also have an excellent effect. "

Otakar Šourek, in his fine biography on Dvořák, recounts that he [Dvořák] once told the students: "I love Chopin and Schumann very much, even though I cannot stand them": which must, of course, be taken *cum grano salis*. Among the greatest, he placed Beethoven on top;

²⁸⁹ Sinigaglia here may be alluding to the *Klangfarbenmelodie* technique, in vogue across the circles of dodecaphonic and serial orchestral music, especially after the Second Viennese School-mainly Schoenberg and Webern-made significant use of it in the 1930s and 1940s.

after a performance of one of the most stunning of Beethoven's sonatas, he asked the pupils: "Why don't you all get on your knees? "

At the [Prague] Conservatory, Dvořák inaugurated a "Meister-Klasse" [masterclass] in composition, from which excellent musicians emerged, and who subsequently rose to outstanding fame. Suffice it to mention Josef Suk, author of certainly valuable orchestral and chamber works; Oskar Nedbal, gifted composer just as he is first-class viola player and a supreme conductor; and Vítězslav Novak—who succeeded Dvořák as chair of composition at the Prague Conservatory—one of the most interesting figures among the young artists of that era. These three names are still held in high esteem today, and alone would be enough to honour the Master.

xxx

Despite the constant solicitations that were coming from all over to have composition and, most notably, orchestration lessons, Dvořák accepted private students only in exceptional cases. Rumour has it that a young American, who came unexpectedly from New York to be coached by him, had to repatriate *ipso facto* upon receiving a flat refusal.

I had met Dvořák in passing in Vienna, in 1897. Two years later, I could approach him more closely in Prague owing to my personal and artistic friendship with the "Bohemian Quartet", of which the second violin, Josef Suk, had married one of Dvořák's daughters.

Hence, I had the chance of being accepted into his studio, to study more about orchestration in his calm home in Žitná Ulice, which I visited numerous times a week for long lessons. Next, Dvořák also invited me to his dear country house in Vysoká for a while, where he used to move to every year in June and spend several months. He loved everything there, the meadows, the hills, the lovely forests, his doves which he adored, the peasants whose talks he enjoyed hearing, at the taverns of the village.

In Vysoká, I spent unforgettable hours with my beloved teacher. An indefatigable craftsman, he used to hit the hay very early; at dawn, he was up at work. After breakfast, he would walk alone to a remote corner of the garden and remain there for long, ecstatic, listening to the chirping of the birds. Woe to those who disturbed the absorption of that hour!

In fact Dvořák, a man with a heart of gold (if there ever was one), at times could throw sudden yet terrible fits, when the storm brewed upon his Beethovenian forehead: then, the gleam in his eyes, for those who did not know him well, was unsettling; but his compassionate smile reappeared promptly, most often to restore peace. Following this time devoted to the birds'

singing, he would typically get down to work: no wonder his output is pervaded to such an extent by nature's youthful poetry! Dvořák took delight in learning of my joy of living a simple life with him and his affectionate family; still, he proved to be sensitive to the unique and only sorrow that I caused him, by imperatively turning down a bizarre Bohemian dish, one for him to die for: gnocchi with prune sauce and grated cheese. Realizing that my aversion was invincible, he declared to me, with flaming eyes: "Whoever does not like this has no shred of talent!" and pouted for an hour.

In Prague, too, Dvořák led a simple life. He attended concerts rather than operas. After lunch, he usually dropped by the Little Café Umysliku, where he perused the newspapers of Vienna and Prague; he appeared to be quite interested in politics, although we never discussed it. Also in town, Dvořák was in the habit of rising early, and during the first hours he customarily would go to the railway station for one of his preferred pastimes, i.e., observing the trains' motions, noting the locomotives' names, and questioning the engine drivers on their devices.²⁹⁰ One of many, often peculiar, aspects of his psychology that was rather juvenile at times.

Over the last few years-aside from the indolent period that occurred upon his return from America²⁹¹-Dvořák composed tirelessly, in Prague just as in Vysoká, without ever minding the glowing receptions of his compositions, including the theatrical ones that yet were so special to him. I have never discerned in him, even at the premiere of a piece he had been working on for a year or more, the slightest sign of emotion; he looked nearly indifferent to success. "A libretto, a new libretto!" that was his cry, his first thought the very day after the triumphal appearance of "Rusalka." I recall how, one night, he stubbornly would not go to the theatre to attend one of his operas' premieres.²⁹² He said to me: "Why don't we go to a good Bohemian tavern instead?" Eventually, I dragged him to the opera house, after having managed to persuade him. When word got out of Dvořák's presence, he was jubilantly called to the

²⁹⁰ In fact, Kovářik recalls how Dvořák, while on the American continent, intensively craved for the hobbies he used to carry out when at home: birdwatching and train spotting. The composer felt compelled, then, to find valid surrogates; he would commonly visit the Central Park zoological garden, and-instead of locomotives-he would stare and tour, in awe, the massive trans-Atlantic liners. Clapham, Dvořák, 118.

²⁹¹ In Prague, Dvořák received the warmest welcome. Once there, he heard that the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* in Vienna had nominated him [on February 16, 1895] as an *Ehren-Mitglied* (Honorary Member), a rare and high distinction, once bestowed upon Beethoven and Schubert. Additionally, he was chosen by the government, alongside Brüll and Mandyczewski, to join the jury panel for the Austrian State Grant, the very same one that he had participated in, victoriously, in the early years of his career.

²⁹² The opera was most likely *Rusalka*, indeed, as evidenced by Sinigaglia's letter below, dated April 1, 1901: "I met Dvořák two or three times already, who greeted and welcomed me enthusiastically. I let him and the Bohemian Quartet hear my latest works. We will talk about their impression and several other beautiful things when I return to Turin. Yesterday, I attended here the premiere of Dvořák's brand new opera, "Rusalka", full of real beauties, and delightfully orchestrated. I extended my stay here for two days, because of this premiere and because of a session I have tomorrow with the Bohemian Quartet. "

proscenium again and again, and it cannot be said he did not appreciate that; anybody could see it in his eyes.

He loved Italian music. Upon visiting him one day for the habitual lesson, I walked in on him at the piano, with his head in his hands, so profoundly absorbed that he seemed not to notice my presence. He stayed put; then, he looked at me, touched, and exclaimed "Donizetti!" and fell back into a long silence. Donizetti and Bellini (even more than Verdi, whom yet he adored) were his favourites. One could easily find spiritual assonances of these two Masters in Dvořák's quartets (especially in the *Adagio*) and in the Piano Quintet [in A Major, No. 2, Op. 81]. Once, he told me: "I would love to go to Italy, only to kneel on Donizetti's grave. " And, more softly, he added: "but I am afraid of brigands. " Dear Dvořák, dear grown-up kid! He was exceedingly relieved when I reassured him, he could travel throughout Italy without peril.

One more trait, which characterizes him. Dvořák somehow disliked much French music. He made an exception for "Carmen, " but, while acknowledging its great beauties, he deplored it for coming from "Babylon," as he used to define Paris. Its subject nauseated his ingenuous and religious nature; by the same token, Charpentier's "Louise" (which he would call a "frivolous female picture") did not content him, just like Puccini's "Tosca, " because of the brutality of its subject. Besides, Dvořák could not bring himself to pardon Puccini's "consecutive fifths." One day, I asked him his opinion about them: the answer was such that it cannot be reported. He loathed them: he promised a well-known singer that, were they to play him those parallel consecutives at his funeral service, he would jump right out of the coffin. And the well-known singer: "Blessed be such fifths, then, for they will give us back the great Dvořák! "

I have seen him on the conducting podium only twice: in Vienna in 1896 [March 25], at the *Große Musikvereinssaal*, in collaboration with the *Glasbena Matice* Choral Society of Laibach [Ljubljana] – directing his "Die Geisterbraut" [The Spectre's Bride] for soloists, choir, and orchestra²⁹³-and a second time in 1899 [December 20], for a Festival in Budapest devoted to his compositions. We arrived there from Prague together. Other than Haydn's and Mendelssohn's music, he conducted his "Ein Heldenlied, " and the Cello Concerto, with Hanuš Wihan as soloist. He was enthusiastically greeted. It soon became apparent how he could hold the orchestra in his grasp by way of a secure, plastic, and expressive baton, and by avoiding simple affectations. The press defined him as the "Bohemian Schumann" (although the [Bohemian] "Schubert" would have been more fitting), and noticed how, when conducting, his face would get transfigured, turning so rough and savage that once a spectator in London, seeing him

²⁹³ On that occasion, the Ljubljana Choral Society appointed Dvořák as Honorary Member.

walking onto the stage, blurted: "But this is a wild man of the woods!" I recollect that, after the concert (Dvořák was so overjoyed and animated as I have never seen him before), we reached the Hotel Hungaria together, where he heard for the first time the authentic Hungarian gypsy folklore, which intrigued him tremendously. He turned in at around 1 a.m. that night, resisting his deep dwelling habits, for he would have stayed up even longer. Apropos the Tzigane musical tradition, word is that one day he quipped: "curious, it is like in modern counterpoint: everyone does what he pleases, yet it all comes out together and it sounds beautiful." Perhaps, had he listened to certain music of today, Dvořák would have changed his mind.

London and Vienna were the "great lovers" of his scores. Time and again, Dvořák gladly sojourned in Vienna, where his pieces had had a rapid and growing diffusion, owing to the fervent support of Brahms, Hans Richter, and the incomparable "Bohemian Quartet." The delightful, jolly musical, and highly sensitive Viennese public was very keen about the Bohemian Master's pristine, imaginative, and colourful vein, considering the whole series of mounting and excited ovations that it has bestowed on him.

Dvořák's premature passing caused much pain to every musician and genuine music lover. With him disappearing, an enchanting artistic figure-at times reminiscent of Schubert-vanished. Ensuing his death, new horizons were about to be revealed in the art of sounds; nonetheless, we will always look back nostalgically at Dvořák. Listening his melodies will always be a profound joy, as listening to the twitters of the birds, at the crack of dawn in Vysoká's gardens-shimmering with early dew-elated the Master.

January 24, 1940, Turin

Follows the copy of original manuscript in Italian.

anima, far rivivere le tristezze e la gioia della sua ^{giovane} vita, i ricordi della sua infanzia. La favolosa di Dvořák è d'una ricchezza inimitabile: Bortolotti, per provarlo, la vivezza del contrasto fra il primo e l'ultimo tempo nelle sue sinfonie come nelle musiche da camera: uno scoglio dove si urta così sovente l'intelligenza e la genialità di eletti compositori. Il ripetto della fantasia ^(coltura) di Dvořák di lasciarsi ^{libero} trascinarsi volentieri dalla ^{vivace} fantasia, e gli episodi fioriscono allora sulla via della sua ispirazione, ^{de quale} egli di tanto in tanto si abbandona (senza mai dimenticarsi troppo) come in un antro nascosto e profumato della foresta boema, a costo d'allungare un poco la via. Antonio Dvořák amava parlare, in musica, il linguaggio del popolo donde era nato, e gli piaceva definire se stesso "il vero musicante boemo". Nel canto e nella danza popolari, che gli rallegravano l'infanzia e giovinezza, sono le radici della sua creazione. Questa ha però carattere di universalità, perché Dvořák ^{non} se fece adottare quindi ~~sempre~~ le forme classiche, le ammirò - anche quando ispirava le sue musiche allo spirito del nativo folk-lore - d'un contenuto tutto suo proprio, che dava alle sue creazioni una caratteristica impronta.

Nella musica di Dvořák tutto è anima, vita, colore, movimento; ^{il suo pathos non è mai sentimentale} "humorismo senza ironia ^{né} amarezza, con un fondo rustico "bonapartista" schiettamente boemo", come schiettamente viennese era quello di Schubert. ^{Da se e Thoman} e Schubert furono i suoi padri spirituali, attraverso ai quali egli espresse la sua anima slava, e la fusione di questi elementi costituisce la grandezza e l'originalità di Dvořák. Innamorato della melodia che sgorgava da lui inesaustibilmente, ciò che idealizza ^{il suo} le morse del canto e delle danze del polso ^{che} si lasciano liberamente cantare ^{si giovava di} (una tecnica meravigliosa, specialmente nel trattare l'orchestra, che non aveva segreti per lui). Il suo strumentale splendido, colorito, limpido ^{che} come doveva essere la veste delle sue idee, resta un modello del genere, che specialmente oggi, colla tendenza della scuola ultra-moderna, non si studierà mai abbastanza.

Ma Dvořák non fu soltanto un grande compositore. Fu altresì un insegnante geniale, di alto valore, dal quale si poteva imparare molto, anche se l'imparare da lui non era sempre facile. Severo nei giudizi, spesso tagliente, ma in fondo burbero benefico, era amatissimo dai suoi allievi, e gli piaceva sovente farsi accompagnare da loro a casa, dopo le lezioni. L'orario delle lezioni sarebbe

... nato dalle 8 alle 9, ma molte volte lo prolungava fino a mezzogiorno. Insegnando, voleva accanite, piuttosto che dettargli e approfondire: seguiva ^{all'atto} una rapida comprensione, appunto perché egli sapeva, come pochi, rendersi evidenti ~~all'allievo~~ la logica delle forme musicali e i fondamenti dell'arte dell'orchestrazione (in particolare modo per ciò che riguarda i raddoppi dei gruppi) e ispirarli con una parola, nuovi orizzonti. Ma prima ancora di questo egli richiama tutta l'attenzione dei giovani sulla selezione dell'idea, argomento di capitale importanza in sé e per la genesi dello sviluppo. E voleva poi che, come nelle sue esecuzioni, tutte le parti cantassero e uturassero di vita propria nel contesto del discorso musicale.

Qualche volta gli avveniva di strapazzare energicamente un allievo, fin quasi a farlo piangere: mai però, ⁱⁿ angustiamamente; ⁱⁿ sapeva poi, quasi sempre, con un benivolo sorriso mitigare ^{la} severità. Aveva detto "sottile" tutte sue. Chi non l'aveva una volta esclamare con fiero cipiglio: "Ma questo è orribile, in vita mia non ho visto nulla di simile!", e aggiungere poi, dopo breve pausa, sorridendo: "Però va bene e avrà anche di ottimo effetto."

Racconta Stefan Sorek, nella sua bella biografia di Dvořák, che egli disse una volta ai suoi allievi: "Io amo molto Chopin e Schumann, anche se non li posso soffrire." = il che va naturalmente inteso "cum grano salis". In cima a tutti i grandi collocava Beethoven; dopo l'esecuzione di una fra le più belle sonate di Beethoven, chiese agli allievi: "Perché non vi mettete tutti in ginocchio?"

Dvořák era nel Conservatorio una "Meister-Klasse" per la composizione, da quale uscirono eccellenti musicisti, subito dipoi in chiara fama. Basti ricordare Josef Suk, autore di opere orchestrali e da camera di vero valore; Oskar Nedbal, compositore di talenti eccelsi eccellente violista e geniale direttore d'orchestra; e Vítězslav Novák - che successe a Dvořák nella cattedra di composizione del Conservatorio di Praga - una delle figure più interessanti fra i giovani musicisti di quell'epoca. Tre nomi ancora oggi tenuti in grande stima, e che da soli basterebbero a onorare un Maestro.

Malgrado le continue sollecitazioni che da ogni parte gli pervenivano, per esecuzioni di composizione e soprattutto di orchestrazione, Dvořák non accettava che esistessero allievi privati. Si sapeva di un giovane amico suo giunto all'improvviso da

Nuova-York per aver lezioni da lui, e che dovette ritornare in America con un natto rifiuto.

Io avevo conosciuto Dvořák di sfuggita a Vienna nel 1897. Potei avvicinarlo due anni dopo a Praga più intimamente grazie alla mia amicizia personale ed artistica col 'Quartetto Bosny' del quale il secondo violino, Josef Suk, aveva sposato una figlia di Dvořák. Ebbi presto la ventura d'essere accettato come allievo e di poter studiare l'istrumentazione con lui, nella sua tranquilla casa di Litna Ulice, dove andavo più volte alla settimana per lunghe lezioni. Dvořák mi volle poi con sé per qualche tempo anche nella sua prediletta dimora campestre di Vysoka, dove si recava ogni anno nel giugno per passarvi parecchi mesi. Là tutto gli piaceva, i prati, i colli, i bei boschi, le sue colombe che adorava, i contadini di cui amava sentir i discorsi nelle osterie del villaggio. A Vysoka ho vissuto accanto al caro Maestro un indimenticabile lavoratore indefesso, sì, cosìva prestissimo; all'alba era in piedi e al lavoro. Dopo colazione usava usarsi da solo in un angolo remoto del giardino e rimanervi a lungo, estatico, ascoltando il canto degli uccelli. Guai a chi turbasse il tranquillamento di quell'ora! Perché Dvořák, cuor d'oro se mai ve ne fu, aveva scatti brevissimi, ma terribili, quando sulla sua fronte beethoveniana si addensava la tempesta: i bagliori dei suoi occhi erano allora veramente impressionanti per chi non lo conosceva bene; ma il suo buon sorriso tornava presto, il più delle volte, a portarci il sereno. Passata quest'ora dedicata al canto degli uccellini, si metteva al lavoro: non c'è da meravigliarsi se l'opera sua sia pervasa in così alto grado dalla fiera gioia della natura! Dvořák godeva vedendo fu mia gioia di vivere una vita semplice con lui e con la sua diletta famiglia; però fu anche sensibile al primo e ultimo dolore che gli diedi, rifiutandomi energicamente di mangiare una bizzarra vivanda boema che egli prediligeva: i gnocchi con salsa di prune e formaggio tritato. Vedendo che la mia avversione era invincibile, mi disse con occhi fiammeggianti: "Chi non ama questo non ha ombra di talento!" e mi tenne il broncio per un'oretta.

Anche a Praga, del resto, Dvořák conduceva una vita semplice. Frequentava piuttosto i concerti che il teatro d'opera. Dopo pranzo andava al piccolo Caffè Umystiku, dove leggeva assiduamente i giornali di Vienna e di Praga;

sembrava interessarsi molto di politica, ma con me non ne parlò mai. Anche in città Dvořák si alzava presto, e quasi sempre nelle prime ore del mattino andava alla stazione a godersi uno dei suoi divertimenti preferiti: quello di osservare i movimenti dei treni, notare i nomi delle locomotive e interrogare i macchinisti sul loro congegno.

Era questo uno dei tanti aspetti, "sovante originali" della sua psicologia, nelle volte "giuocose" infantili.

Negli ultimi anni, dopo il suo arrivo dall'America, Dvořák cercava instancabilmente, sia a Praga che nella sua villa di Vysoka (salvo nel lungo periodo d'insonnia che seguì il suo ritorno), senza mai occuparsi dei successi delle sue musiche, comprese quelle per il teatro, che pure gli stavano tanto a cuore. Non ho mai visto in lui, neanche alla prima rappresentazione di un'opera alla quale lavorava da un anno o più, il minimo segno di emozione; pareva quasi gli fosse indifferente il successo.

"Un libretto, un nuovo libretto!", ecco il suo grido costante; il suo primo pensiero all'indomani della trionfale apparizione di "Rusalka". Aiaccio che una sera si rifiutava ostinatamente di andare a teatro ed assistere ad una prima rappresentazione. ^{l'una dopo l'altra} Mi diceva: "Ma perchè non andiamo invece a una buona taverna buona?". Riuscii a convincerlo, e a trascinarlo in teatro. Dvořák - appena si seppe che era presente - venne chiamato festosamente al proscenio più e più volte, e non è a dire che non gli facesse piacere, lo si leggeva negli occhi.

Amava molto la musica italiana. Un giorno che m'ero recato da lui per la lezione consueta, trovai il Maestro al pianoforte, colla testa fra le mani, così profondamente assorto che non parve accorgersi della mia presenza. Rimase a lungo immobile, poi mi guardò, commosso, esclamò: "Donizetti!" e ricadde in un lungo silenzio. Donizetti e Bellini (più ancora di Verdi, ch'egli tuttavia amava moltissimo) erano i suoi prediletti. Frequenti assonanze spirituali di questi due maestri si trovano nei Quartetti di Dvořák (specialmente negli "Adagi") e nel Quintetto per archi e pianoforte. Una volta mi disse: "Andrei tanto volentieri in Italia, solo per inginocchiarmi sulla tomba di Donizetti!"

E; un' propria piena, aggiunse: "Ma ho paura dei briganti".

Caro Dvořák, caro grande fanciullo! Egli si rallegrò di cuore quando gli assicurai che avrebbe potuto viaggiare senza nessunissimo pericolo in tutta Italia.

Ancora un giudizio, che lo caratterizza. Dvořák non piaceva molto la musica francese. Faceva un'eccezione per la "Carmen", ma mentre ne riconosceva le grandi bellezze, si rammaricava che quest'opera venisse da "Babilonia"; così egli definiva Parigi. Il soggetto di "Carmen" ripugnava alla sua natura ingenua e religiosa; per analoghe ragioni, "Louise" di Charpentier (che definiva "un fessolo quadro femminile") non trovò grazia presso di lui, come pure la "Tosca" di Puccini per la brutalità del soggetto. E poi, Dvořák non poteva perdonare a Puccini le "quinte di seguito". Chiesi un giorno a Dvořák che cosa ne pensasse; la risposta fu tale che non si può riferire. Lo detestava; disse a una celebre cantante che se, morto lui, gli avessero suonato di queste quinte, sarebbe saltato fuori dalla bara. È la cantante: "Siano allora benedette le quinte, che ci renderanno il grande Dvořák!"

Al podio direttoriale¹⁰ vidi Dvořák due sole volte: a Vienna nel 1896, quando diresse nella Gran Sala del Musik-Verein, col concorso della Società corale "Glasbena Matica" di Laibach, la sua "Jerusalem" per soli, coro e orchestra — e una seconda volta quando fu invitato a Budapest, nel 1897, per un Festival dedicato alle sue composizioni. Vi ci recammo insieme da Praga. Egli disse, oltre a musiche di Haydn e Mendelssohn, il suo "Heidentraut" e il "Concerto" per violoncello e orchestra, eseguito da Hans Wihan, il violoncellista del Quartetto Boemo. Venne accolto con entusiasmo. Si vide subito che teneva bene in pugno l'orchestra, con una bacchetta sicura, plastica, ed espressiva, schiva dei futili effetti. La stampa lo definì il "Schumann boemo" (meglio avrebbe detto "lo Schubert") e notò che, quando dirigeva, il suo viso — così rude e selvaggio che a Londra un uditore, nel pubblico, vedendolo apparire al podio, esclamò: "Ma quello è l'uomo dei boschi!" — era trasfigurato. Ricordo che dopo il concerto (Dvořák era così lieto e animato come non lo vidi mai) andammo insieme all'Hotel Hungaria dove egli udì per la prima volta l'autentica musica magara ungherese, che lo interessò moltissimo. Rimase alzato, quella sera, sin verso l'una dopo mezzanotte, contro ogni sua civiltà, e sarebbe rimasto anche più. A proposito degli ungheresi si racconta che egli disse un giorno scherzosamente: "Curioso, è come nel contrappunto moderno: ciascuno fa quello che vuole, ma c'è una bella conciliazione." Forse, se udissi certe

musiche d'oggi, il giudizio di Dvořák potrebbe farsi fresco.

Londra e Vienna furono le "grandi innamorate" della sua ^{musica} ~~musica~~.
A Vienna, dove questa aveva avuto una rapida, crescente diffusione soprattutto grazie
al fervido appoggio di Brahms, o quello di Hans Richter e dell'incapabile
Quartetto Boemo - Dvořák si recava sovente, e sempre assai volentieri. Il delizioso
pubblico viennese, musicalissimo, sensibilissimo, amava profondamente la vena
fresca, ispirata, colorita del Maestro boemo, e gli decretò tutta una serie di
crescenti, entusiastici successi.

La morte prematura di Dvořák fu un grande dolore per ogni musicista
per ogni amante di vera musica. Con lui scomparve un' affascinante figura
d'artista che talvolta ~~ricorda~~ ricorda quella di Schubert. Dopo la
sua dipartita nuove vie si aprirono all'arte dei suoni, ma si tornò sempre volentieri
a Dvořák; ascoltare le sue melodie sarà sempre una gioia profonda, come
era per il Maestro l'udire le voci degli uccellini, alle prime luci dell'alba,
nel giardino di Vysoka, scintillante di fresca rugiada.

Zolno 24 Gennaio 1940.

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About the author...



Darko Milowich, Luxemburg violinist and conductor, obtained his masters diploma in Belgrade and went on to study with E. Tschugaewa (Moscow) and Rudolf Koelman (Zürich). His conducting studies he completed with Y. Simonov and Y. Ahronovich. He was subsequently invited to appear with numerous orchestras both as soloist and conductor. His first concerts abroad took place in Austria, Czech Republic, Italy, Israel, and Great Britain. After playing with Belgrade Radio Orchestra, Belgrade Strings, and Innsbruck Symphony Orchestra, he made his home in Luxemburg in 1986, where he was a member of the Luxemburg Philharmonic until 2022 and Solistes Européens 1995-2010. British press hailed him as "...the violinist with a solid technique and a warm tone" (Daily Telegraph) and "...the competent artist" (The Times). The holder of important number of awards and guest at numerous summer festivals, including Evian, Prague, Dubrovnik, Riva, Catanzaro, and many others, Darko Milowich has taught at the Royal Conservatory of Mons (Belgium) and given masterclasses in Austria, Croatia and Italy and took part as the member of the jury of international competitions. As the founder and director of the ensemble "*d'arco*", he made his way to the worldwide audience collaborating with a discographic company "Naxos" and made his name with first ever recording of Haydn's *Concertini*.

Darko Milowich is one of founder members of the Orquestra Nacional de Cabo Verde.