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ФИЛОСОФИЯ РОМАНТИЧЕСКОЙ ОПЕРЫ, ЖЕНСКИЙ ВОПРОС И ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ ЕВРОПЕЙСКИХ НАЦИЙ В XIX в.

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Романтическая опера – оперный жанр, появление и развитие которого совпало с процессами выстраивания национальной картины Европы. Связь между творчеством оперных композиторов и деятельностью национальных политических элит в зарождающихся молодых европейских нациях, в первую очередь немецкой и итальянской, не вызывает сомнения. Устанавливается место и роль романтической оперной традиции в формировании гендерных национальных нарративов XIX в., актуальных для создания итальянской и немецкой наций. Впервые исследованы гендерные механизмы социополитического воздействия романтической оперы на европейское общество XIX в. и показано, что невероятный успех романтической оперы как механизма нациостроительства главным образом обусловлен тем обстоятельством, что музыка и истории романтических опер, в отличие от предшествующих жанров, активно использовали гендерную тему и по этой причине были успешно приняты женщинами. Это позволило теоретикам национальных программ и политическим элитам в Италии и Германии, используя романтическую оперу как один из инструментов создания молодых национальных сообществ, активно включать гендерную составляющую в свои программы и таким образом заручаться поддержкой женской части общества наравне с мужской.

Ключевые слова: философия музыки; нация; национализм; гендерный вопрос; символизм.

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PHILOSOPHY OF ROMANTIC OPERA, WOMEN PROBLEM AND EUROPEAN NATION FORMATION IN THE XIX CENTURY

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Romantic opera is an operatic genre whose emergence and development coincided with the active processes of building a national picture of Europe. The connection between the work of operatic composers and activities of national political elites in the emerging European nations, primarily German and Italian, is known. The purpose of this paper is to find out the role of the Romantic opera tradition in the formation of gender national narratives of the XIX century, specific for the creation of Italian and German nations. In this article, for the first time, the gender mechanisms of socio-political influence of Romantic opera on the European society of the XIX century, is examined. It is showed that the incredible success of Romantic opera as a mechanism of national building can be explained mainly by the fact that music and narrations of Romantic operas, unlike previous genres, significantly utilised the gender theme. For this reason, they were successfully accepted by women. This fact enabled national theoreticians and political elites in Italy and Germany to incorporate the gender dimension into their national programmes using the romantic Opera as a tool for the creation of emerging national communities. The support of the female part of their societies was secured on an equal basis with the male part by the direct influence of Romantic opera on the Italian and German cultures.

Key words: philosophy of music; nation; nationalism; gender problem; symbolism.

Introduction

Romantic opera is an operatic genre whose emergence and development coincided with the active processes of building a national picture of Europe [1, p. 45–46]. A very well known example of nationalist usage of Romantic opera genre is the performance of D. F. E. Auber's opera «The dumb lady from Portici» [2, p. 46]. On the other hand, German conductor and scholar Hermann Dechant emphasises that Romantic operas began to exploit the gender theme [3, p. 103].

Theodor Adorno points out that Giuseppe Verdi composed his *Attila*, *Nabucco* and *Ernani* as symbols of the freedom so necessary to the Italian people, but he could not foresee that his operatic works would become the cultural basis of the whole programme of Italian national identification of the mid-XIX century [4, p. 35].

Adorno demonstrates the correspondence of Romanticism with national ideology demands: «The music of Romanticism has turned into a political ideology since the mid-XIX century due to the fact that it brought national features to the fore scene, acted as a representative of a nation and affirmed the *national* <my stress> principle everywhere» [5, p. 143]. At the first glance, the surprising and inexplicable coincidence of the abrupt change in the periods of Classicism and Romanticism in all arts, including music, with the beginning of the era of national construction and the surge of European nationalist programmes, has been attracting the attention of public thought for a long time. Romantic philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder was inclined to attribute some sacred meaning to this «supernatural» circumstance [6], and Italian intellectual Mazzini saw it as a very timely and useful social coincidence [7, p. 39–40]. However, both of them seem

to agree with each other that the transition from the Classical to the Romantic era in culture, made it possible to carry out and theoretically justify the struggle for national independence. Otto Bauer noted that thinkers of the Romantic period were generally inclined to see a possibility of the origin of «national spirit» in the global cultural paradigms change; and this «spirit» later allegedly began to control all of the rights, actions and destinies of the people [8, p. 56–58].

The purpose of my paper is to find out the possibilities of musical genre of grand Romantic opera and the peculiarities of its use by Romanticist composers for the creation of national gender narratives; we shall make it on the basis of musicological analysis of a set of Italian and German Romantic operas.

Since human societies began to show tendencies to principal (kinship, national, ethnic, etc.) self-identification in the differentiating world, the representation of position of women, and also the rituals connected with marriage, birth and death, began to occupy a special place in scenic music performances in the first half of the XIX century [9, p. 105].

The processes of national identification and constructing national world are no exception, despite the fact that early gender studies seemed to have little interest in the problems of ethnic and national identification [10, p. 373]. None the less, even in a book of classical pioneer of gender studies Simon de Beauvoir, it is noted that the role of women as intermediaries between nature and culture and, accordingly, as objects of desire and fear, aspiration and repulsion, is very important; and the importance of the gender aspect in the formation of ethnic and national identities, should be recognised [11, p. 306–314]. The field of

«gender-nation» affects a huge number of socio-cultural factors, thereby becoming one of the most attractive, appealing and persistent narratives of cultural national identification and, at the same time, one of the most effective means of influencing the social consciousness designed to become national [12, p. 62].

The main reason for this was indicated by Claude Lévi-Strauss in his «Elementary structures of kinship»: «The female sex... is a cultural-symbolic “board” on which a society writes a set of principles of their moral code» [13, p. 388]. The national concept as a direct social embodiment of such principles, is thus becoming inseparably connected with gender issues.

Musical works whose creation had a social goal of building national communities, very often (e. g., in the tradition of Wagnerism) actively involved:

- 1) the gender factor;
- 2) use of the philosophical principles of gender theories.

Various eras of music development, reflecting the respective periods in the development of national identities, influenced the development of gender themes using the apparatus of musical expression. Classicism (the era before active national construction) pays almost no attention to gender issues, except Gluck's operas *Orphée et Eurydice*, *Iphigénie en Aulide* and Mozart's *Così fan tutte* – but in these operas the female moment and national idea are connected very

loosely and indirectly [14, p. 204]. Romanticism superseded Classicism; coinciding with the period of building a national picture of Europe and the two Americas, it demonstrates a significant shift in the global paradigm of gender relations. From the periphery of the ethnic musical culture, in the era of Romanticism, gender is becoming one of the main topics of discourse within the national culture [15, p. 30].

Romanticism, first of all, put the musical culture of those national groups to the first plan that were remaining in a lagging position in relation to the nations already formed by the beginning of the XIX century, namely the nations of the Italians and Germans [16, p. 58–60]. The first example of using a Romantic opera for national construction was creating Belgian nation in 1830 with the strong cultural support created by Auber's opera *La muette de Portici* («The dumb lady from Portici»)¹. Therefore, the main musical traditions that assisted in the national construction, were the Romantic Italian and German operas [17, p. 84]. These musical trends (Italian and German Romantic operas) represent a frame of reference in which other Romantic operatic traditions find their place in the mid-XIX century, and which has the creation of a nation as its immediate objective. Each of these music schools important for national identification, has created its own vision of the dialogue «gender-nation»; now we shall discuss them in details.

Methodology / theoretical foundations

The methodology used in the work includes the musicological method, technique of historical reconstruction, psychoanalytic approach, structuralist procedure of analysis of historical narrative and communication, semiotic means of cultural symbols analysis, method of abstraction, philosophical method of analysis and synthesis.

The great romantic opera is a bright example of musical genres which were instruments of the implementation of national identification strategies. One of the main approaches was the creation of gender national narratives, and their coining in the mass consciousness as cultural stereotypes. Italian and German romantic operas of the XIX century analysed in the article, are cultural means of narrating national gender stories that delimited one national community from another.

The field of gender which includes narratives of love, intimacy, family, home life, household things,

childhood and motherhood, allowed many romantic composers, first of all, Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, Verdi, Weber, Wagner to include women along with men into their social and political programmes of national identification, and to speak in a verbal and musical language understandable to women sometimes even to a larger extent than men.

The paper fixes and examines three distinct types of creating gender national narratives within large romantic operatic genre of the XIX century, and emphasises that the programmes of national identification in Germany and Italy in the XIX century were elaborated as feminine social and cultural projects as well as masculine ones and thus provided an extremely broad public support for those national elites who led the process of national construction in these countries.

Results and discussion

Italian model of gender national space created within Romantic opera. The traditional development of the national ideology of home, family, and marriage, is reflected in the tradition of Italian Romantic opera in detail. However, this trend of musical art does not usually go beyond the idealisation of the female ab-

stract image as some ethnosymbolic primordial thing frozen in its unattainable greatness, and acting not as a direct participant in the creation of a nation but rather as an invaluable reward to a male patriot. A woman in operatic works of Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti and early Verdi is drawn, first, as a biological reproducer of the

¹Auber D.-F.-E. *La muette de Portici*. Leipzig : H. A. Probst, n. d. 208 p.

members of the national community, second, as a re-producer of national borders, and third, as a symbolic Keeper of identity and honour of the national community. The Romantic Italian operatic interpretation of gender is consistent with the basic nationalist idea of «house». According to it, in a household, gender relations represent the fundamental ideological «essence» of the national culture; this essence should be considered as an intergenerational way of life including such moments as private (family) and public (inter-family) but not as an aggregate of legal, economic, political, and other social relations [18, p. 43].

American researcher Peter Stamatov calls the creation of the national communicative space in Verdi's operas «interpretive activism» [19, p. 345–346]. However, we are to clarify that the Italian opera depicts hegemonic nationalist symbols and narratives that proclaim a *man* a true Creator of the Italian nation, and a woman just a carrier of national «purity». Italian female characters of operas persuade men to sacrifice themselves for these women and their children so that these women could pronounce worthy eulogies in honour of the dead. Moreover, the destinies of women themselves as a part of the national narrative, are coloured by very dark and pessimistic tinctures.

Almost always in a tragic Italian opera, the main heroines go crazy or die, which should emphasise the «sublime» national gender qualities: vulnerability, fragility, frailty and general weakness of women. Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* and *Lucia di Lammermoor*² main female characters and Imogena from Bellini's *Il pirata*³, all become mad within operatic timeline due to their grief and sufferings, hence they must cause compassion as gentle and loving women, meek mothers, fallen victims of jealousy and abuse [20]. In *Lucia*, the solo clarinet melody is a symbol of a mad operatic heroine that is an innocent victim of the whole opera's narration. In *Il pirata*, Imogena's aria is by far regarded as a symbol of meek, mild, gentle, frail and tractable Italian women got mad due to their tremendous sufferings. The solo part is performed by an English horn.

The initial national identity of an heroine of an Italian opera was always overwritten by new Italian identity acquired by this heroine via her new Italian name. Thus, Lucy of Lammermoor became Lucia di Lammermoor; Anne Boleyn transformed to Anna Bolena; Mary Stuart changed to Maria Stuarda. In a similar way, Gaul druid priestess received traditional Italian name Norma in the renowned Bellini's opera *Norma*. Moreover, Gioacchino Rossini tended to give Italian names to Oriental heroes, e. g. Mustafa in *L'Italiana in Algeri* receives «honourable» title *pappataci* which initially had no linguistic meaning but sounded quite Italian; later in the opera, this word was given a meaning of an utmost dolt.

Although the Italian opera often portrays an Italian woman as a really weak creature not inclined to participation in politics, this creature is greatly idolised in the Romantic opera. The symbolic amount of feminine power remains the same: what a woman loses in the social space, she acquires in the psychological scope.

The pinnacle of the gender interpretation in the national Italian concept is equalising a woman with a deity that can (and very often must) completely substitute the faith in God in the heart of a man, and replace it with an idolatrous symbolic worship of an eternal womanhood. This is confirmed by the finales of many Italian operas where the main character finds himself in a situation of moral duty to commit suicide after the death of his beloved/bride/wife. The suicide in the name of the beloved woman, either as a response to her death, or as a reluctance to belong to another, is considered as a truly laudable act when it is understood as a national feature. The suicidal actions of Romeo (*I Capuletti ed I Montecchi*), Edgardo (*Lucia di Lammermoor*) and Manrico (*Il trovatore*) that at all times were considered as the utmost sin, in the narratives of these operas became a monument erected in honour of the Italian nation; these actions drown in the glitter and radiance of the eternal greatness and forgiveness in the name of passionate feelings for a woman and love for the nation.

The Romantic Italian opera gives us an example of an «idealising» gender tradition in music. Despite the serious ideological successes of such national approach compared to the pre-national era of national Italian political movements, it is still an extensive path of evolution of gender relations in national programmes. In the Italian tradition, a woman does not become a symbol of a national leader nor an individual with an access to the creation of national political programmes or cultural strategies.

In the name of the proper social order, in the musical culture of Italy, male national designers sent women out from public life where these women had previously partly entered during Napoleonic wars, back to the private sphere as the wives of patriots and mothers of citizens, as advised J.-J. Rousseau [21, p. 93]. The main nationalist theorist of Italian *Risorgimento* Giuseppe Mazzini fully approved such gender structure of the emerging national musical art [22, p. 128]. Joan Landes notes that Mazzini used the image of a patriarchal family with a severe father as its head, as a natural unit to maintain the legitimacy of a fraternal nation state, and gave a clear preference to a male citizen as an active and militant patriot. Having admired the operatic masterpieces of Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti and Verdi, Mazzini recognised that their main function in relation to women was to draw the symbolic boundaries

²Donizetti G. Lucia di Lammermoor. Dramma tragico in tre atti di Salvatore Cammarano. Milano : G. Ricordi, n. d. p. 141.

³Bellini V. Il pirata. A melodrama in 2 acts with Italian text. Calmus Vocal Scores 9401. Melville : Belwin Mills, n. d. p. 212.

between the public and private spheres, which should remain insurmountable for women [23, p. 89].

«Gender – nation» concept in C. M. von Weber's German Romantic operas. A completely different approach is built in the German Romantic opera and, namely, works of one of its main representatives, Baron Carl Maria von Weber. His first major operatic chef d'œuvre *Der Freischütz* has already incorporated the gender ideas that would later lead Richard Wagner to create a true full-fledged gender national space in the Romantic opera.

The main female character Agathe not only does not require any worship or death in her honour but she is desirous to sacrifice her own social position, peace of mind and, perhaps, even her life for the sake of the main male character of the opera, her beloved and betrothed Max. Agathe is a transitional link between the Italian women clothed in an halo of weakness, and Wagnerian women unattainable in their strength and courage. Agathe has not yet challenged the social order of the nation being formed, the order which is subject to the principles of male hegemony, but has already expressed public condemnation of this state of affairs. It is Agathe who acts as a logical female antipode to the absurd cultural tradition depicted in the opera, that forced a woman to marry a winner of a shooting competition, a custom that really existed in many German lands for more than seven centuries, as noted by Friedrich Kind, the author of *Der Freischütz* libretto⁴.

In the grand aria of his heroine from the second act *Leise, leise, fromme Weise* («Peaceful, peaceful saint melody»)⁵, Weber stresses the urgent need for a gender consensus, equality and dialogue in the German national state. The tranquility and stability heard in the melody are opposed by Weber to Max's aria from act 1. Listening to this aria, we can guess why Agathe has some suspicion in Max behaviour; it is a symbolic reply to Max's aria *Durch die Wälder, durch die Auen* («Through the woods, through the fields») from the first act⁶. In Max's aria, we can see how evil spirit Samiel's diminished seventh chord with timpani in A strokes leitmotif is intruding the musical fabric of the aria during Max's words *Hat den der Himmel mich verlassen?* («But did not Heaven abandon me?»). But at the beginning of *Andante con moto*, the light major melody of the aria is returning with the staccato of flutes and oboes.

In the new German national state, according to the composer, unlike the dispersed German ethnic groups of the former centuries, the principles of national equality should be fully distributed between the two sexes; and the formation of national culture is entrusted to the women to the equal extent as to the men. Agathe's aria

is calm and bright at the beginning, whilst it expresses true and strong happiness at its *E-dur* ending. Max's aria is quite opposite: it is fragmentary, with different changes of mood and gloomy insertions of Samiel's appearances with his renowned leitmotif of several timpani's strokes on the background of diminished seventh chord. The narration of female strength is opposed in the opera to the story of male indistinctness; in the new national project, according to Weber, the female narrative should be heard and got used of [5].

The fact that Agathe is expressed in the opera as a dramatic and serious heroine of a future national narrative, is additionally stressed by the presence her young friend Ännchen. In Ännchen's operatic cues, there are incessant signals of playfulness and comic elements, behind which there is an hidden idea of women's leadership in the establishment of a national matrimonial programmes. It is so skillfully masked by Weber in a cheerful arietta *Komm ein schlanker Bursch gegangen*⁷, as well as a number of other numbers of the opera, that, of course, none of the Saxon Royal censors understood the implicit meaning of the Ännchen's song: it was an acquaintance of a city boy and village girl that transformed into a gender national dialogue urgently needed in the German society. Moreover, the very name of Ännchen, the diminutive version of Anne, is an obvious Weber's gender defiance to the old German cultural traditions; earlier it was impossible to name an operatic heroine by her diminutive name, especially in the operatic agenda [5, p. 55]. The national cultural programme of *Der Freischütz* is thus largely expressed by means of the refractive prism of the social role of women in the new German national world.

Weber's last opera *Euryanthe* provides one of the most outstanding examples of musical gender narrative of the Romantic era. *Euryanthe* is one of the best German Romantic operas, it is an opera with the most subtle and elegant elaboration of the musical fabric [5]. However, just after the premiere it immediately ceased to attract the affection of the German and Austrian public and was soon excluded from the repertoire. One of the reasons of this was the general public's reluctance to recognise the legal rights of women in the new German national state being formed. As a result, the fate of *Euryanthe* remained pretty sad up to the open recognition of its undeniable merits by Wagner and Liszt, who gave it a clear preference to *Der Freischütz*, and *Oberon*; it was because of the Weber's development of the gender problem [24, p. 253]. Under the Weber's hand, heroine Euryanthe not only acquires the features of a female German patriot herself, although she is called «of the Savoy» (it would have been really absurd to place the opera's action in Germany and

⁴Kind F. *Der Freischütz und andere Werke*. Leipzig : Göschen'sche Verlagshandlung, 1843. S. 24.

⁵Weber C. M. *Der Freischütz*. Romantische Oper in drei Aufzügen. Dichtung von Fr. Kind. Wolfenbüttel : Verlag von Döle, n. d. S. 37.

⁶Ibid. S. 23.

⁷Ibid. S. 33–36.

name the character, for example, «of the Saxon», given the utmost patriarchal ethnic specificity of the German States in the post-Napoléonic era). Through her sufferings, humiliation, and deprivation of civil rights caused by men, the main heroine is portrayed as a pure and decent embodiment of the construction of national legal relations, the legitimation of women's rights in the social institutions of family and marriage.

In this context, her husband count Adolar, a «positive hero», represents no less social injustice than «villainous» seducer and wanton count Lysiart. Through the prism of gender relations, the image of Lysiart becomes even more positively coloured than that of Adolar: starting with the desire to seduce and thereby permanently discredit Euryanthe, the former ends in love for her, while the latter, despite his ardent romantic feelings, condemns Euryanthe to death. With this play of operatic images in *Euryanthe*, Weber and his librettist female counterparty Wilhelmine von Chézy embody the idea of the urgent need to understand the inequality of the gender roles and possibilities in German national culture; and, consequently, to review the role of women in a purely masculine nationalist project: what was a rule for different dispersed German ethnic groups, should have been re-considered in the new unified German national project.

Euryanthe's kind and forgiving attitude towards her husband crowns the gender theme of the opera; and this theme was so successfully implemented as a cultural programme not only thanks to Weber, but also thanks to the librettist, German poet Wilhelmine Christiane von Chézy who was the first woman in German poetry to develop the «women's question». It was she who insisted on including the aria *Zu ihm!*⁸ in the opera, the symbol of female forgiveness, which was the direct source for Wagner's *Zu ihr!* in his *Tannhäuser*⁹. Euryanthe's aria is a cultural symbol of female forgiveness granted to any male's injustice on her part. Here Euryanthe is eager to forgive her husband Adolar completely who condemned her to a solitary death of starvation and wild animals in the wilderness. The phrase of *Tannhäuser Zu ihr!* («To her [Elisabeth]!») from the dialogue of *Tannhäuser* with the minstrels from the 1st act of Wagner's *Tannhäuser* is an illustration of male passionate feeling for home, nation and Fatherland. Wagner recognised that his musical phrase *Zu ihr!* was inspired by Weber's idea of *Zu ihm!*

In addition, Mme von Chézy clearly articulated a comprehensive gender principle in the first verses of *Euryanthe* (in No. 1, the words of women are «long live peace and order!»; they are almost completely identical to the words of the male knights «long live the women!»); thus the librettist summarised the development of gender themes in German Romantic opera of the first quarter of the XIX century.

Semantics of Wagner's representation of gender in the German national context. Finally, in his national concept, Richard Wagner created a new, complete and the most convincing version of the gender national narrative within Romantic operatic tradition.

All Wagner's great works from *Der Fliegende Holländer* to *Der Ring* tetralogy are building a mosaic in the gender field of fragments exactly matching each other, forming a gender cultural structure, encompassing almost all the arts and areas of socio-cultural activities. Wagner drew our attention to the key idea: a nation cannot be created at all without the equal participation of women along with men; and the very nature of cultural national projects should be directly connected with the gender equality.

Before Wagner, in many cultures, there was a symbolic relationship between the figure of mother and the concept of ethnic Fatherland which gave rise to such cultural symbols as «Mother Russia», «Mother Ireland», etc. Wagner created a different gender symbolic construction, namely «nation – wife», most often manifested in his own works in the form of a symbolic pair «Germany – lover». Here, the composer drew a brilliant parallel between the essence of marriage and the transformation of the ethnic group into a nation: when a man is leaving his parents, his entire new nature connects with his wife, and when a citizen is leaving dispersed ethnoses, he must fully bind himself to the ideology of the nation being formed [25, p. 331].

Thus, even the external features of national development receive gender symbolisation on Wagner's part. Therefore, the female images in his operas are created within the narrative of the unconditional superiority of women over men in almost all social spheres, including in the sphere of national identification. The disclosure of the theme of gender national space occupies an important place in almost every Wagner's opera.

Now we shall investigate the development of gender national topic in Wagner's operas on the basis of opera *Der Fliegende Holländer* («The Flying Dutchman»).

Senta, the main opera's heroine, is inseparable from the Dutchman's 400-year old dream of *Heimatland*, the concept used by Wagner in *Der Fliegende Holländer* in the sense of (1) national Fatherland as well; (2) national citizenship.

The *ethnicity* of the Hollander may be analytically derived from his name, but the captain could not belong to any *nation* by virtue of his plight. It reveals the deep implicit meaning of the opera: a person cannot exist without voluntary national self-identification so as not to condemn himself to the eternal suffering similar to the suffering of the Dutchman. Cosmopolitanism is an obvious evil for Wagner. This national identification, in turn, becomes possible only through the

⁸Weber C. M. *Euryanthe*. Leipzig : C. F. Peters, 1871. S. 129–130.

⁹Wagner R. *Tannhäuser*. Romantische Oper in drei Akten. Dresden : C. F. Meser, 1846. S. 69–70.

involvement of men in the system of women's symbolic power and through this power in national cultural strategies.

The torments of the Dutchman are beyond any description; Wagner created the image an eternal wanderer (seafarer) who is doomed not to be socialised until the end of the time because of the absence of a woman who would love him and give him the home, nation and Fatherland.

Let us remember the musical passage, when after another seven years of wandering in the seas, the Dutchman is descending to the land from his ship, the passage at the beginning of the famous Hollander's aria, where two French horns with two bassoons perform Hollander wanderings' leitmotif: only two notes on the background of decreasing harmonies of trombones and strings. The scene where the Hollander is descending to the land from his ship after another seven years of torments in the seas. We may see the Hollander wanderings' leitmotif performed by two French horns and two bassoons and consisting of two notes *g – fis* on the background of trombones and strings harmonies¹⁰. Do not you hear in these two notes the incredible sadness and melancholy, reproducing the constancy of the Dutchman grievous wanderings? Just two notes, but what hopelessness we are facing!¹¹

For the Dutchman, Senta's love for him is no longer just the satisfaction of his egoism, but an urgent need; without her love, he would not be able to live. In a symbolic way, Wagner describes this as the Dutchman's decision to go to the sea forever after Senta's unfaithfulness disclosure; and forget about God's forgiveness forever, never meet death and thus repulse any possibility of liberation from his acute sufferings. It is important that in the opera dissimilar with the legend, the Captain's meeting Senta is his last chance. Wagner argues that in a broader sense, for the nation to be healthy, for every man there should be only one woman as well as for every woman only one man; the mere question is whether they will meet and understand each other, join their lives or will have to suffer far from each other [25].

Senta's character symbolises the female willingness to help a man to socialise and fully self-identify as a member of a national community. Her feeling for the Dutchman is extremely symbolic and does not look like an ordinary love or passion. How can she love a Dutchman if she saw him a few minutes ago for the first time in her life? It is no coincidence that Wagner says about the fact that Senta «loved» the Dutchman during all her life on the basis of a sooted picture of the legendary Seafarer hanging on a wall. Thus, Wag-

ner reproduces Lacanian triple psychological structure [26, p. 132–135]:

1) a portrait of the Dutchman as the Lacanian Symbolic awakens Senta's truly female nature;

2) Senta's and Dutchman's first meeting occurred as the Lacanian Imaginary of the Dutchman; it conveys his willingness to obey Senta, to receive her gift of an ordinary earthly life and death, to get rid of the hell of immortality in the ocean;

3) the dramatic opera's ending as the Lacanian Real speaks of a paradoxical resolution of the conflict between Senta and the Dutchman; Senta's suicide emphasises her loyalty to the Dutchman *zum Tod*, «to the end», the loyalty which she swore to him at their betrothal. This makes the Dutchman's salvation possible.

Senta has her own fiancé before meeting the Dutchman, hunter Eric, whose figure is important in the opera. Eric reproduces the object of egoistic female love: Senta knows that he does not seek to submit to her power and love her to the oblivion of himself, in life and death, as it would do the Hollander. This notwithstanding, Wagner does not reduce Senta's choice just to flirtation and play with the hearts of men, as well as to any mercantile considerations. If she cared just for material welfare, she would be obviously guided not by thoughts of sacrifice to the suffering man, but would follow her father's advice, agreeing to «make love» for the Dutchman as disguise, but really to take possession of his immense treasures. Senta's choice was clearly predetermined in advance; in this regard, it was not a real choice, but it a priori contained death as a willingness to sacrifice herself for the man. Senta wanted to be for a beloved man nothing but a guide, a governor; in her love and offering of woman's power she manifests her desire to sacrifice her life stability, but to achieve full self-identification of the Dutchman.

When Senta points Erik to the portrait of the Dutchman in Act 2, she says:

*Fühlst du den Schmerz, den tiefen Gram,
mit dem herab auf mich er sieht?
Ach, was die Ruhe für ewig ihm nahm,
wie schneidend Weh' durch's Herz mir zieht!*¹²

*(Do you feel the grief, the deep sorrow,
with which he looks down at me?
Ah, how that which deprived him of peace for ever
sends a pang of woe through my heart!)*¹³

So, we face Senta's desire to be understood by the man whom she has not known yet but meeting with whom she is anticipating.

¹⁰Wagner R. Tannhäuser. Romantische Oper in drei Akten. Dresden : C. F. Meser, 1846. S. 76.

¹¹Ibid. S. 76.

¹²Wagner R. Der Fliegende Holländer [Electronic resource]. URL: http://www.impresario.ch/libretto/libwagfli_e.htm (date of access: 12.06.2018).

¹³Wagner R. The Flying Dutchman [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.opera-guide.ch/opera.php?id=409&uilang=de> (date of access: 14.06.2018).

The Dutchman is the cultural image of a man who gives himself into the hands of his beloved who, by including him in the system of her symbolic power, would make him a full participant in the symbolic exchange of national narrative. His submission to Senta is absolute; watching her with Erik, the Hollander finds himself before a choice: to leave Senta, i. e. to abandon his last hope of salvation in the name of absolute passionate attachment to her, or to inflict curse and death upon her, giving himself another opportunity of salvation which may be realised in the next seven years.

If he is saved, she will inevitably be cursed: all the women who swore allegiance to him and violated their oath, died in torments and were condemned to hell; and he has no doubt that the one for whom he was going to live, would also die. The Dutchman makes his choice:

*Wohl hast du Treue mir gelobt, doch vor dem Ewigen noch nicht; dies rettet dich!
Denn wiss', Unsel'ge, welches das Geschick,
das jene trifft, die mir die Treue brechen:
ew'ge Verdammnis ist ihr Los!
Zahllose Opfer fielen diesem Spruch durch mich!
du aber sollst gerettet sein!
Leb' wohl! Bahr' him, mein Heil, in Ewigkeit!*¹⁴

*(You plighted your troth to me, but not before Almighty God: this saves you!
For know, unhappy maid, what is the fate awaiting those who break their vow to me:
eternal damnation is their lot!
Countless victims have suffered this sentence through me; but you shall escape.
Farewell! All hope be lost for ever!)*¹⁵

So, despite Senta swore allegiance to the Hollander, he releases her oath. With the loss of his betrothed bride, he loses his national identification in project and new Fatherland. This is the ideal of man's love, love-in-obedience to the beloved, love for which one can agree to refuse his national identification; a sign of complete subordination of man, the willingness to give up his Ego in the name of the Super-Ego to be built by a woman within his project.

Wagner told Liszt and his other friends about the figure of the Dutchman that the characteristic of a man in its very general meaning is a passionate desire for peace, peace of the national determination given by a woman, his mother or wife, covering the soul among everyday adversities. But at the same time, a part of the man disappears, and maybe all the man, the willing-

ness to connect himself with the woman gives nation and home, but takes away his freedom, and changes his psychics [27, p. 87]. Wagner finds the expression of this male desire for national identification and home in the legend of Odysseus who for many years wandered through the seas, sighing at his people, his homeland and his faithful Penelope [27, p. 88]. In this context, it is significant to recall the words of the Dutchman at the end of his famous aria in the first act: *Ihr Welten, endet eure Lauf! Ew'ge Vernichtung, nimm mich auf!*¹⁶ I am specifically citing the words in German because of the ambiguity of an English translation. We may say: «Society (you people), leave your laughter! Eternal Nothing, devour me, take me away from here!» But it can also be translated as «You, the worlds», «You, the planets», «You, all the things», «You, being», «You, life», etc. The Dutchman wants to meet his death, his life without the end is much worse; but he understands that death is impossible without dedication to a woman and new home, new Fatherland, new nation.

The music of the finale of the Dutchman aria from the first act conveys the described meaning even better than the words.

With the words *Ihr Welten, endet eure Lauf*, i.e. in the exposition of the phrase which carries only the horror of aimless wandering through life, life without end (in *stringendo*), chromatically increasing in each measure sharp passages of the strings say that the denouement is close: either the final defeat of the man as a social being without nation, or the final victory and receiving a national identity. At the word *nimm* that precedes the resolution of a musical phrase, we see the diminished seventh chord *h-d-f-as*, which as any diminished seventh chord sounds ominous in itself, regardless of the melody. Finally, we face the resolved finale that is clear and positive: the *c-moll* aria ends in *C-dur* chord: *E flat* turns into *E*.

Let us pay attention, in the vocal part of the Dutchman, the last note is not *C*, i.e. the basis of the tonic chord, but this *E*, the third step of the new *C* major tonality! So, the dark aria ends with a light chord: this is a prototype of the fact that the possibility of a dark life of a cosmopolite man without nation should give way to the reality of a light new national existence received with the aid of a woman and family.

After the last chord of the aria itself, the leitmotif of the ship (flute, piccolo, trumpet in F and cello) sounds for the last time very loudly in the subdominant *F-dur*, it hints that the wandering terrible past of the Dutchman will not come back again¹⁷; and in this case, the Dutchman will lose a part of his Ego (symbolic death of the Hollander at the land with new nation and family

¹⁴Wagner R. Der Fliegende Holländer [Electronic resource]. URL: http://www.impresario.ch/libretto/libwagfli_e.htm (date of access: 12.06.2018).

¹⁵Wagner R. The Flying Dutchman [Electronic resource]. URL: <http://www.opera-guide.ch/opera.php?id=409&uilang=de> (date of access: 14.06.2018).

¹⁶Wagner R. Tannhäuser. Romantische Oper in drei Akten. Dresden : C. F. Meser, 1846. S. 96.

¹⁷Ibid. S. 97.

instead of his symbolic immortality at the sea, i. e. in the situation of his cosmopolitism) due to his national super motivation. And then, once again we hear the ship leitmotif resolution into the *C-dur* chord of the full orchestra.

Then the Hollander's phrase is repeated *piano* in *E-dur* by all of his men-sailors; this reflects the transition from the reality of the individual psychics to the social national reality. In four bars, the passages of the violins again turn into *c-moll*, the main tonality of Hollander's aria; this reflects some sadness over lost opportunities of a man without family and national iden-

tification. At least, there are the final barely audible timpani tremolo at the first step of the tonic and the leitmotif of the ship (*ritenuto*) performed by a natural trumpet in *C*, but, which is very significant, without the third step *E flat*. So, the ending of the whole operatic number is light and positive.

In a series of Wagner's works, Senta is the first woman to sacrifice herself to the man and the nation that the Dutchman receives only with Senta's death: when Senta plunges into the sea, she clearly sees that his salvation is in obtaining his new national identity by him, and this salvation is impossible without her sacrifice.

Conclusion

The female question began to be seriously regarded and practically addressed only in the 1920-1930s when the Romantic and Postromantic musical traditions that led to the development of European national communities, had been basically formed. However, this problem first became extremely important and actual in the middle of the XIX century, at the time of the greatest rise of national consciousness of the Italians and Germans.

The classic example of the ultimate success of the use of Romantic opera for the national identity programme is Auber's *La muette de Portici* that on 25 August 1830 led to the formation of the new Belgian nation. While recognising this example as indisputable and relevant, this article focuses on the less obvious traditions of Romantic opera which demonstrated no less impressive results: Italian Romantic opera (Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, Verdi) and German Romantic

opera in the traditions of C. M. von Weber and R. Wagner. In the article, the close attention is paid to the analysis of operas *I Capuletti ed I Montecchi*, *Il pirata*, *Anna Bolena*, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Maria Stuarda*, *Attila*, *Nabucco*, *Ernani*, *Il trovatore*, *Tannhäuser* and especially, *Der Freischütz*, *Euryanthe*, and *Der Fliegende Holländer*.

Romantic operas addressed emotional sphere much more than rational; for this reason they were greatly accepted and understood by women. These women became active in the processes of nation building inspired by political elites. Using Romantic operas as one of the cultural mechanisms of national construction, politicians and national theoreticians of emerging nations in the mid-XIX century, namely German and Italian nations, were able to include women in the processes of nation formation along with men, thus making their political strategies more effective in the society.

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