Nota Bene: Canadian Undergraduate Journal of Musicology

Volume 5 | Issue 1 Article 4

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Recommended Citation

Paré-Morin, Tristan (2012) "Finding Harmony in Times of Hardship: Prokofiev's *War and Peace*," *Nota Bene: Canadian Undergraduate Journal of Musicology*: Vol. 5: Iss. 1, Article 4.

Available at: http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/notabene/vol5/iss1/4

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Finding Harmony in Times of Hardship: Prokofiev's War and Peace

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Before the publication of his first opus, Sergei Prokofiev had already worked on four different operas, his first, *The Giant* (1900), when he was only nine years old.¹ These juvenilia works, though of minor importance in his output, show that he was interested in theatre and drama early in his career. A glance at the composer's catalogue of works reveals that throughout his career there are only a few years during which he did not work on some sort of theatre music including opera, ballet, incidental music, and film music. In all these genres, Prokofiev succeeded in creating enduring works that are still regularly performed today. His operas, however, were not instantly accepted into the repertoire. Of his seven mature ones, three were not premiered until after his death.

The problems that Prokofiev faced regarding the performance and reception of his operas was both of an artistic and political nature. While the three pre-Soviet operas met critical opposition due to their radical, dissonant, and declamatory musical language, the four operas written after his return to the Soviet Union in 1936 faced strict political

^{1.} David Nice, *Prokofier: From Russia to the West 1891-1935* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 11-13.

regulation. This article will investigate how artistic and political criticism influenced Prokofiev's career as an opera composer. After an overview of the composer's operatic output, his opera *War and Peace* (1941-52) will be explored in more detail to show how Soviet criticism affected its dramatic and expressive layout. This analysis will demonstrate that strict regulation of *War and Peace* was not necessarily an obstacle for Prokofiev, but rather was an important source of inspiration and provided greater philosophical depth to his work.

The earliest part of Prokofiev's career was free from Soviet regulation as he left Russia in 1918 at the age of 27 and did not return until 1936. This allowed him to develop a musical style independent of Soviet ideals. The three operas he completed before he returned to the USSR—The Gambler (1915-16), The Love for Three Oranges (1919), and The Fiery Angel (1919-27)—are thus more experimental both in style and in subject matter than those of his later operas. Prokofiev composed The Gambler, his first mature opera, less than twenty-five years after Tchaikovsky's lyrical last opera, *Iolanta* (1892), and only a few years after Rimsky-Korsakov's colourful fairy tale, The Golden Cockerel (premiered in 1909). In comparison to these works by Tchaikovsky and Rimsky-Korsakov, the music in The Gambler seems unorthodox and did not meet the expectations of the Russian public who were accustomed to nationalist epics and romances. The Gambler was originally cancelled from the Mariinsky Theatre because the musicians refused to play the over-modernist and complicated score.2

58.

^{2.} George Martin, "Prokofiev's Operas: Bad Luck and Politics,"

Following his departure from Russia to the United States in early 1918, soon after the 1917 February Revolution, Prokofiev put The Gambler aside and started anew on his second opera The Love for Three Oranges.3 Of all Prokofiev's operas, The Love for Three Oranges is the only one that received its first production rather rapidly. It was first produced in Chicago (1921), and then in Leningrad and Moscow (1926 and 1927 respectively). It has since achieved an essential, if not iconic, place in the operatic repertoire. While the opera is still in the modernist style that Prokofiev had developed in Russia, its lighter lyricism, impressionist colour, and sophisticated orchestration resulted in it being a more accessible work despite its absurd drama. In contrast with the farcical tone of The Love for Three Oranges, The Fiery Angel is devoted to supernatural fantasy and is aesthetically similar to the symbolist movement in vogue in Russia at that time.⁵ Plans for a production, however, were abandoned and the opera was not performed until 1955.

^{3.} In 1928, Prokofiev revised the score of *The Gambler* for another aborted Russian production. It was finally premiered in 1929 in French in Brussels, and never performed again during Prokofiev's life. See *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "The Gambler" (by Richard Taruskin), http://www.grovemusic.com/ (accessed March 25, 2013).

^{4.} The increasing popularity of *The Love for Three Oranges* in America is reflected by a photo feature in the *Life* magazine of October 2, 1950: "The Love for Three Oranges: A Slaphappy Fairy Tale Makes a Smash-Hit Opera," *Life*, 29, no. 14 (October 2, 1950): 79-81, http://books.google.ca/books?id=9ksEAAAAMBAJ (accessed March 25, 2013).

^{5.} About *The Fiery Angel*, see Simon Morrison, "Prokofiev and Mimesis," in *Russian Opera and the Symbolist Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 242-307.

There are several aspects of these operas that demonstrate Prokofiev's more experimental style as is characteristic of his pre-Soviet period. The composer described the vocal style of his pre-Soviet operas as "declamatory," a type of text-setting focusing on a naturalistic reproduction of speech rather than on lyricism and melody. It is therefore closer to spoken drama than to traditional opera forms. In these works, contrary to Prokofiev's later operas, well-defined arias are absent as are clear-cut divisions within the scenes. Richard Taruskin describes these types of operas as "sung plays," referring to a tradition of dramatic realism in opera (one may think of Mussorgsky, Italian verismo or German expressionism).⁶ Although the declamatory vocal lines are purposely unmelodic, Prokofiev's orchestral accompaniment is filled with expressive melodies, rich instrumental colours, and an extensive use of ostinato figures that contrast with the irregularity of the free-flowing lines. Thus, even though Prokofiev preferred setting texts in prose rather than using verse texts that he designated as "an utterly absurd convention," his dynamic orchestral writing brings forth much of the melodic material and rhythmic stability that are absent from the vocal lines.7

^{6.} Richard Taruskin, "Tone, Style, and Form in Prokofieff's Soviet Operas," in *On Russian Music* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 247.

^{7.} Sergei Prokofiev in Taruskin, "Tone, Style, and Form in Prokofieff's Soviet Operas," 248. Thus, Prokofiev could extract a complete symphony (No. 3) from the material of *The Fiery Angel*, and orchestral suites from all other operas until *War and Peace*. Many orchestral passages in his operas—particularly in *The Love for Three Oranges*—have balletic qualities similar to those found in the composer's ballets *Chout* (1915-21) and *The Prodigal Son* (1929).

The absence of political regulation when Prokofiev composed his first three operas enabled him to experiment more freely with drama and style as described above. Musicians and directors, however, were hesitant to perform these more unconventional works, a reaction that led to the postponement of the premiere of all the pre-Soviet operas. The Gambler was postponed by almost fifteen years and The Fiery Angel was not premiered until after his death. While most of his operas composed in the Soviet Union would meet the same fate due to their political content, Prokofiev considered himself more constrained in the West than he would have been in Russia at this time. Even if he could compose freely in America or Europe, without political or social constraints, few institutions would buy his works or perform them. Shortly before his return to the Soviet Union, he wrote: "Here I have to kowtow to publishers, managers, all sorts of committees, sponsors of productions, patronesses of art, and conductors each time I wish my work to be performed. A composer doesn't have to do that in Russia. And as for 'politics,' they don't concern me. It is none of my business."8 In many ways, the challenges that Prokofiev faced when in the United States prepared him for the greater challenge of Soviet regulation awaiting him at his return to his homeland. Hence, the political problems arising in the Soviet Union might not have been perceived by Prokofiev as an overwhelming obstacle in comparison to the artistic complications that he had experienced with The Gambler and The Fiery Angel.

The reasons for Prokofiev's return to the Soviet Union in 1936 are still ambiguous, as is its effect on his

^{8.} Sergei Prokofiev in George Martin, "Prokofiev's Operas," 62.

musical style. In the introduction to his detailed study of the composer's Soviet years, Simon Morrison notes that officials and colleagues lured Prokofiev with promises of commissions, financial security, and political independence. Unfortunately, Prokofiev never received what he was promised and found himself trapped into what Morrison understood to be a "Faustian bargain." In contrast, musicologists Harlow Robinson and Francis Maes have each presented different ideas on what led Prokofiev back to the Soviet Union. Robinson states that "it was [Prokofiev's] desire to compose in a more simple style that led him to return to the USSR,"10 whereas Maes claims that it was "a combination of several factors, the foremost of these [being] the great success his music enjoyed in the Soviet Union."¹¹ Regardless of the reason, it is evident that Prokofiev's music moved rapidly towards a "new simplicity" starting in the mid-1930s. 12 Not only did his music become more accessible, but the subjects of his operas also became more conventional. After his return, he never again used a fairy-tale or a fantasy story as he had done in his two previous operas, The Love for Three Oranges and The Fiery Angel.

^{9.} Simon Morrison, *The People's Artist: Prokofiev's Soviet Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 6.

^{10.} Harlow Robinson in Samuel Lipman, "A New Look at Prokofiev," in *Music and More* (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1992), 90.

^{11.} Francis Maes, "Prokofiev Must Return to Us," in A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 319.

^{12.} Deborah Rifkin, "The Quiet Revolution of a B Natural: Prokofiev's 'New Simplicity' in the Second Violin Concerto," *Twentieth-Century Music* 6, no. 2 (2009), 183–184.

Prokofiev's first Soviet opera, Semyon Kotko (1939), exemplifies this new aesthetic. Based on a 1937 novella by Valentin Katayev titled I, Son of the Working People, the libretto tells the story of the invasion of Ukraine by the Germans during World War I. This was the first time Prokofiev worked with a near-contemporary subject that was still vivid in the public's memory. As it is an opera composed during the outbreak of World War II, it also reflected events that were then of current significance: the increasing tension between the Germans and Russians would soon lead to another invasion in June 1941.

The story of Semyon Kotko was a radical change of subjects for Prokofiev and was received with mixed reactions. While some saw it as an "unsuccessful experiment," others praised its dramatic qualities. 13 For example, the pianist Sviatoslav Richter later compared Semyon Kotko with Boris Godunov, stating that "while listening to it, one begins to experience the life, the period of history which is depicted."¹⁴ The harsh reality depicted in the opera, however, failed to please the government, and, as a result, the opera was removed from the stage after six months and not performed again during Prokofiev's lifetime. As in the case of Shostakovich's opera Lady Macbeth, authorities only banned Semyon Kotko after a relatively extended run without explicitly stating why. Yet, some political events might have elicited this ban. Apart from the arrest of the director Vsevolod Meyerhold, the 1939 treaty of non-aggression between the

64.

^{13.} George Martin, "Prokofiev's Operas," 64.

^{14.} Sviatoslav Richter in George Martin, "Prokofiev's Operas,"

Nazis and the Soviets rendered an operatic depiction of the Germans as enemies a perilous, if not impossible, subject.¹⁵

In contrast, Prokofiev's next opera, *Betrothal in a Monastery* (1940), subtitled a "lyric-comic opera," is described by George Martin as his most "conventional," "lyrical," and "lighthearted" opera. ¹⁶ Although its original production was delayed due to the war, it soon entered the operatic repertoire of the Soviet Union after the war was over. Prokofiev's two final operas, *War and Peace* (1941-52) and *The Story of a Real Man* (1947-48), both deal again with war (the Napoleonic War of 1812 and World War II respectively), and again, were both cancelled (and posthumously premiered) because of their politically charged themes.

Stylistically, although the declamatory style is still employed, there is a greater prominence of lyrical singing in Prokofiev's later operas. Culminating in *War and Peace* and *The Story of a Real Man*, Prokofiev's operas progressively incorporate more well-defined arias, duets, ensembles, and choruses, set in a nationalist, if not propagandist manner (the hero of *The Story of a Real Man* must become a "true Soviet man"). Soviet policy required music that was appealing to the masses, tonal, and nearer to the concept of "song operas." Even though Prokofiev gradually adopted a more lyrical style, it seems it was never quite sufficient for the Soviet juries. Prokofiev may have adapted to please Soviet critics in many instances, but he never lost sight of his dramatic ideals or artistic integrity. In 1937, Prokofiev stated that "clarity must be new, not old," suggesting that his new style emerged from

^{15.} Francis Maes, "Prokofiev Must Return to Us," 334.

^{16.} George Martin, "Prokofiev's Operas," 64.

his early modernist vain instead of at the expense of it.¹⁷ In addition, Simon Morrison states that for Prokofiev, "[serving the State was] a stimulus for the creation of works that sought to elevate and ennoble the listener from a patriotic and spiritual standpoint." This view supports the idea that working in the Soviet Union was a catalyst for Prokofiev's creativity rather than an obstacle. During the years of severe artistic regulation under Soviet authorities, style was as important as ideology.

The artistic and ideological regulations enforced by the Soviet authorities applied to all works that appeared on the Soviet stage. Neither classic operas such as those by Glinka, nor new stage adaptations of Tolstoy's famous novels were exempt from these cautious examinations, a complex situation that Prokofiev himself could not avoid.¹⁹ In the case of *War and Peace*, the revisions took colossal proportions: although the first version of the vocal score was completed in April 1942, Prokofiev continued to work on what he intended to be his operatic masterpiece until shortly before his death in

^{17.} George Martin, "Prokofiev's Operas," 64.

^{18.} Simon Morrison, The People's Artist: Prokofiev's Soviet Years, 6.

^{19.} See Marina Frolova-Walker, "The Soviet Opera Project: Ivan Dzerzhinsky vs. Ivan Susanin," Cambridge Opera Journal 18, no. 2 (2006): 181–216. In fact, Prokofiev is the only Soviet composer to have created an opera from one of Tolstoy's epic novels. The only other prominent composer who tried to adapt Tolstoy for the stage, Janáček, never completed his attempt at Anna Karenina. For a detailed list of Tolstoy's works set to music, see Grove Music Online, s.v. "Tolstoy, Lev Nikolayevich" (by April Fitzlyon), http://www.grovemusic.com/(accessed March 25, 2013). For an example of complications arising from the transposition of Tolstoy to the Soviet stage, see Anna Berman, "Scripting Katyusha: On the Way to an Operatic Adaptation of Resurrection," Slavic and East European Journal 55, no. 3 (2011).

1953.²⁰ The first complete performance did not take place until 1959. As discussed further below, the opera took its structural and musical shape gradually through a series of revisions. While some of the revisions were in direct response to Soviet committees, others were simply attempts to improve the quality of the score and to make it more appealing to opera houses. The decade-long process of revision did not turn the composer away from his colossal project, as he came back year after year to refine his work.

As soon as the first version of *War and Peace* was completed, the Soviet Committee on Art Affairs, whose role was to sanction or condemn works, asked for revisions that had major ramifications for the layout and length of the opera. Prokofiev did not simply amend his work by altering previously composed material, but also expanded it through many additions. For example, when asked to emphasize the role of the Russian people in the opera, Prokofiev gave more material to the chorus, such as the *Epigraph* or a new final apotheosis. The same process occurred with Kutuzov's arias (scenes 8 and 10). In these examples, even if it could be argued that the changes were not part of Prokofiev's original intentions, the censorship served to provide some of the most remarkable music in the entire opera.

In addition to the amendments to the score, Prokofiev faced other complications related to the political turmoil of the war. After the completion of the opera in 1943, theatres that were originally interested in the work—including the Bolshoi Theatre, the Kirov Theatre, and the Metropolitan

^{20.} The revision process of *War and Peace* is described in length in Nathan Seinen, "Kutuzov's Victory, Prokofiev's Defeat: The Revisions of 'War and Peace," *Music & Letters* 90, no. 3 (2009): 399–431.

Opera—finally decided to abandon their plans. It was not until June of 1945 that the Bolshoi Theatre presented a concert performance of nine of the eleven scenes. Soon after, the conductor Samuil Samosud, who was as eager as Prokofiev to see a stage production, suggested dividing the opera into two parts, each to be performed on a different evening. He also recommended adding one scene to each part. The resulting revised first part, Peace, was successfully performed an outstanding 105 times during the 1946-47 season. The second part, War, would unfortunately not be shown to the public because of fears of reprisals, even though the dress rehearsals had already begun. Paralleling the reactions to Semyon Kotko, the producers may have sensed that a similar topic would bring the same negative reaction from the authorities even if the war was then over. No one could have missed the strong parallels between the 1812 Napoleonic invasion of Russia and the 1942 Nazi invasion, or the similitudes of portrayal between Kutuzov and Stalin. As Taruskin states, "no one dared take responsibility for approving a work dealing with a historical subject that had so many sensitive parallels with the uncertain present."²¹ Consequently, War and Peace was in some ways more provocative than Semyon Kotko. Despite the substantial—and artistically disputable—cuts that Prokofiev authorized in 1949 to fit the opera into a single evening (see Appendix), a first production of the complete opera did not occur before 1957, four years after the composer's death.²²

^{21.} Grove Music Online, s.v. "War and Peace" (by Richard Taruskin), http://www.grovemusic.com/ (accessed March 25, 2013).

^{22.} Prokofiev's revision process is not without interest. On a much larger scale than Mussorgsky's revisions of *Boris Godunov* or Shostakovich's late revisions of *Lady Macbeth* into *Katerina Izmaylora*, it has

One of the chief requirements of Soviet ideology was that music must be simple and clear enough to be directly accessible and meaningful to the Russian people. Even though Prokofiev's War and Peace was a much more ambitious and complex project than Betrothal in a Monastery and The Story of a Real Man, respecting the Soviet ideology did not prevent Prokofiev from composing a philosophically thoughtful work. Furthermore, despite its length and complexity—there are 65 different roles—the opera never lacks dramatic clarity. This dramatic clarity is partly due to the extremely lively theatrical layout of the opera, which moves from scene to scene with a remarkable quickness, driving both music and drama forward. Despite its imposing four hours, all thirteen scenes are relatively short (see Appendix), as Prokofiev took from Tolstoy's novel only its more significant moments. Part of the cultural memory, Tolstoy's storyline was already well known by the opera-going public and therefore each scene did not need to be thoroughly detailed. In fact, according to Caryl Emerson, "prompted by a single episode or even by a passing glimpse into this familiar Tolstoyan world, a Russian audience would immediately fill in the context."²³ Consequently, superfluous details are deliberately absent from the libretto.

been the focus of many analysis of the work. Regarding *War and Peace*, Prokofiev's original thoughts of 1942 are starting to gather some attention. The original version of the opera was premiered by the Scottish Opera in January 2010. It lasted approximately 3 hours, thus longer than the shortened 1949 version. On page 25 of the programme notes, we can see the famous picture of Soviet soldiers holding the Soviet Union flag on top of the Reichstag in April 1945, a reinterpretation of the fact that *War and Peace* remains a dramatically provocative opera.

23. Caryl Emerson, "Leo Tolstoy and the Rights of Music under Stalin (Another Look at Prokofiev's Party-Minded Masterpiece, *War and Peace*)," *Tolstoy Studies Journal*, 14 (2002): 2.

André Lischke has commented that the abundance of scenes "multiplies the volume of musical and dramatic information, but also allows more variety and renewed interest than could have a work of the same length divided in three, four or five conventional acts."²⁴

In addition to the conciseness, contrasts between each scene also contribute to sustaining the audience's interest: action is not only always renewed, but is always varied. The main settings and musical character of each scene are laid out in the Appendix. It can be observed that in a short time, the action passes from a ballroom scene filled with waltzes and polonaises to intimate duets or from intimate to grandiose choral music. Furthermore, the opera often consecutively presents different angles of a same thing, such as the two councils of war (scenes 9 and 10), or juxtaposes strikingly different settings, such as, in scene 4, the opposition between the elegant ballroom and the intimate sitting-room. This panoramic technique, very different from the cyclical or linear stories of Prokofiev's earlier operas, is particularly flexible when revisions or cuts are expected, as the suppression of some scenes, even if it diminishes the overall depth of the work, does not weaken its intelligibility.²⁵ Therefore, even in its longest form, War and Peace remains a fairly concise opera, focusing on the essential dramatic events in order to inspire an immediate emotional response from the audience.

^{24.} André Lischke, ed., *Guerre et Paix* (Paris: L'Avant-Scène Opéra, 2000), 13 (translations from Lischke are mine).

^{25.} For example, in *The Love for Three Oranges*, the action starts and ends in the palace (cyclical), whereas in *The Fiery Angel*, the drama goes through several scenes without ever coming back (linear). *War and Peace* could be seen as linear (two parts, strict notion of time) and cyclical (each part has a kaleidoscopic feeling).

Contrasts and juxtapositions are also found in the music. At a large scale, the first part, which is mostly set in elegant rooms, uses a more lyrical and graceful music. It is in this part that we hear the purely orchestral dance numbers as well as the lyrical melodies associated with Natasha (Ex. 1). In contrast, the second part is much more akin to the patriotic and majestic film music of Ivan the Terrible, which also shares a melody with Kutuzov's aria of scene 10 (Ex. 2). In this part, there is substantial use of the chorus, militaristic music, and dramatic means such as canons, guns, and various military percussions. The more populist melodic style of the second part ensured that the audience could easily identify with the heroic character of Kutuzov. As Frolova-Walker has pointed out, "even when an opera's scenario was not drawn from Soviet history, demands for accessibility directed composers towards folksong and popular styles – the ideal melody could be remembered and sung by the opera-goer, or by radio audiences."26 Kutuzov's aria, using exclusively diatonic intervals in a narrow register, meets these criteria and is later gloriously reprised in the opera's final choral apotheosis, a hallmark of the Russian nationalist opera since Glinka's A Life for the Tsar.²⁷

Due to the contrast between romantic chromaticism and plain diatonicism, the use of melodic material from the

^{26.} Marina Frolova-Walker, "The Soviet Opera Project," 214.
27. Here, it is significant to note that Prokofiev's original intentions for the final chorus were very different. The first version included another text set to a different music of a less unequivocally patriotic character. (This first version is printed in an appendix in the published score.) A similar late incorporation of the melody of Kutuzov's aria is found in scene 12, when Andrey sings: "Moscow, city of golden domes."

first part as reminiscences in the second part has a nostalgic effect. For example, when we hear the waltz of scene 2, just before Andrey's death in the penultimate scene, it recalls a piece heard about three hours earlier, conveying a memory of the blissful times that preceded the war. The sheer scope of the journey we have been through since the beginning of the opera then becomes fully apparent. We realize the contrast between the ballroom dances and the intense execution of the prisoners in scene 11. In light of what surrounds it, the return of the waltz as a remembrance brings emotions completely different from those associated with its first appearance and it urges us to reconsider the horrors and absurdities of the war. André Lischke describes it as a kind of "dance macabre," 28 since it is only seconds later that the Prince dies in delirium. Though the opera ends happily (in the Soviet perspective) with Russia's victory over Napoleon, the result is still tragic: Pierre survives, but he is alone, having lost everything he had fought for. Therefore, even though Prokofiev recomposed the final chorus with another text in order to strengthen the optimistic ending and mass celebration of victory, the opera is not unequivocally charged with Soviet ideology. At the end of the opera, Pierre seems to tell us that life was better and happier during the days of bourgeois society, a fact supported by the nostalgic return of the waltz in the previous scene. It is as if those remembrances comfort him more than the actual victory of the people: he is unable to detach his thoughts from the past and suffering. This dual ending, in celebration and mourning, shows Prokofiev's desire and ability to convey a deeper philosophical layer in his opera as well as subtle

^{28.} Lischke, Guerre et Paix, 88.

emotions, despite the pressure from Soviet regulations to write simple, appealing melodies, and patriotic choruses.

The strict Soviet regulations, political complications, and unsuccessful reception of his operas were not sufficient to turn Prokofiev away from the genre. Even the political failure of Semyon Kotko did not impede him from dealing with hazardous war subjects in his subsequent works. In his Soviet era operas, Prokofiev always emphasizes the struggle of a small group of individuals with a powerful society, a struggle similar to Prokofiev's pursuit of operatic success despite Soviet criticism. Peter G. Davis calls this trait Prokofiev's "humanistic credo," saying that "in the end history is not made by illustrious, important people but by millions of individuals."29 Even though Prokofiev's fondness for war subjects follows a Russian tradition exemplified in works such as Glinka's A Life for the Tsar (1836), Rimsky-Korsakov's The Maid of Pskov (1873), Mussorgsky's Boris Godunov (1874) and Borodin's Prince Igor (1890), his operas differ in that they deal with the experience of contemporary wars rather than wars of historical importance. By retelling the 1812 Napoleonic war in the context of the Nazi invasion of Russia, Prokofiev's War and Peace becomes a war story of universal and timeless significance.

Although *War and Peace* was not Prokofiev's only work to be censored by art committees, it occupies a special place in Prokofiev's biography and in the history of Soviet opera in general. It is the work in which his modernist action-driven view of opera was at most in confrontation with the Soviet requirements to integrate traditional means and populist

^{29.} Peter G. Davis, "Glorious Quest," Opera News 72, no. 6 (December 2007): 29.

melodies and choruses. The project of adapting Tolstoy's War and Peace to the stage was certainly overwhelming, but the composer never stopped believing in its potential. He never sacrificed the psychological depth of what he considered his magnum opus. While War and Peace has since been rehabilitated as a classic in its own right, some recent performances have attempted to restore the composer's original intentions. Although these approaches give an understanding of Prokofiev's initial conception, they dismiss the revisions as simply unnecessary residues of Soviet censorship. A complete appraisal of War and Peace, however, must take into account the final state of the work as more than just a censored version. War and Peace should not be viewed as simply a culmination of reluctant corrections made to appease the authorities, but rather as an opera perfectly balanced between personal convictions and State ideologies resulting from years of dedication.

Appendix

Scene	Length ³⁰	1949 cuts ³¹	Setting	Character
		Part	One: Peace	
Overture	5'	May be cut	_	"Love caught up in war" ³²
I	11'	Ι	Private: Rostov's garden at night	Lyrical, tender
II	20'	II	Public: magnificent ballroom	Dance, majestic
III	11'	III	Private: Natasha's visit to the Prince	Tense meeting
IV	10'	Scene IV or V may be cut	Public vs. private: elegant ballroom vs. sitting-room	Tense ball
V	10'		Private: Dolokhov's study room	Sarcastic, frivolous
VI	21'	VI	Private: town house, winter	Dramatic climax
VII	11'	Cut	Semi-private: Pierre Bezukhov's study	Formal

^{30.} Timings refer to Valery Gergiev's complete recording (see bibliography). Minor cuts in the final scenes affect the timing by just a few minutes.

^{31.} According to Lischke, Guerre et Paix, 11.

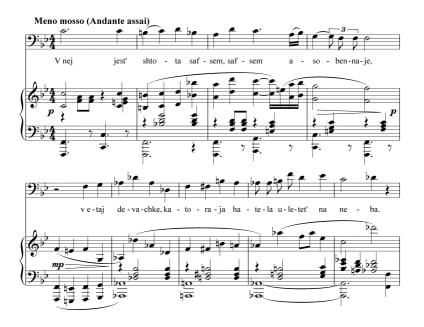
^{32.} Lischke, Guerre et Paix, 14.

Scene	Length	1949 cuts	Setting	Character	
Part Two: War					
Epigraph ³³	5'	Cut	_	Austere, grandiose	
VIII	32'	VIII (shortened)	Public: Russian bulwarks	Military, patriotic	
IX	10'	Cut	Private: redoubt (French council of war)	Political, agitated	
X	18'	May be cut	Private: hut (Russian council of war)	Political, calm	
XI	32'	Cut	Public: Moscow street in flames	Military, hostilities	
XII	13'	XII (shortened)	Private: hut at night	Intimate, sombre	
XIII	20'	XIII (shortened)	Public: Smolensk road, snow storm (French retreat)	Military → grandiose victory	
230 min		140 min		_	

^{33.} Prokofiev never precisely decided where the *Epigraph* should be played. In the 1958 published score, it precedes the *Overture*. Most performances and recordings, however, place it before the second part, which is more logical dramatically and musically.

Example 1: War and Peace, Scene 1, mm. 176-184

(Andrey: "There's something special about this girl who wanted to fly away into the sky."). The lyrical theme associated with Prince Andrey's love for Natasha has chromatic inflexions and wide intervals.



Example 2: War and Peace, Scene 10, mm. 194-208

(Kutuzov: "You look majestic in the sunlight, the mother of all Russian towns. Moscow, you lie before us. As your hour of peril and trouble approaches, must our Russian troops really retreat from your sacred walls without a fight?"). The beginning of Kutuzov's aria uses a spacious diatonic melody in a stable G major.



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