

International Symposium in Two Acts
OTTOMAN EMPIRE & EUROPEAN THEATRE

III

SERAGLIOS AND HAREMS

in Theatre, Opera, and Poetry
from the Early Seventeenth Century to Lord Byron's
***Don Juan* (1819-1824)**

A Commemoration of the Bicentenary of Lord Byron's
Sojourn in the Ottoman Capital (1810)

Organized by

Don Juan Archiv Wien

In cooperation with

The UNESCO International Theatre Institute in Vienna

and

The Austrian Cultural Forum in Istanbul

Vienna / Istanbul

2010

Vienna

Dates: April 23 – 24, 2010
Venue: UNESCO – ITI
Palais Khevenhüller
Türkenstraße 19
A-1090 Wien

Istanbul

Dates: May 27 – 28, 2010
Venue: Austrian Cultural Forum
Palais Yeniköy
Köybaşı Caddesi 44, Yeniköy
TR-34464 Istanbul

VIENNA (Act I)

Friday, April 23rd, 2010

10.00-10.30

Opening Ceremony

Helga Dostal
Exc. K. Ecved Tezcan (Ambassador of the Turkish Republic)
(inquired)
Michael Hüttler

11:00-13:00

Session I

“Harem Represented”

Chair:

Markus Köhbach (Vienna)

1. Hans Peter Kellner (Copenhagen) Aaron Hill (1685-1750): *The Capturing of the Seraglio*

“I will not only trace the *Sultan* to his amorous Pastimes with the *Virgins* of his *Pleasure*, but admit the Reader to the close Apartments of the fair *SERAGLIO LADIES*, nay and into the retir’d Magnificence of their *Bedchambers*, but shew him all the various Scenes of Love and Courtship, which are practis’d daily by *their Lord* and *them*, even to the Consummation of their utmost Wishes.” Nothing less does the young Aaron Hill unabashedly promise in his *A Full and Just Account of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* in 1709.

Only fifteen years old, Hill set out in 1700 on a journey to Constantinople to visit his distant relative, William, 6th Lord Paget (1637-1713), the highly esteemed British ambassador to the Porte between 1693 and 1702. On this journey Hill “...snatch’d the Lucky Opportunity of Seeing, with some other English Travellers, in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Two, the Great Seraglio at Constantinople, so much farther than had been before permitted”.

But why, only a few years later, was the honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762) in her *Turkish Letters* (1763) scathing about Hill’s writings? Was it the explicitness of his style, her own envy, or because Hill’s descriptions were more the fodder of a young man’s fantasy than the serious account of an eyewitness?

The second part of this paper will focus on Aaron Hill’s colourful career as publisher, playwright and poet, as reformer of the English opera, and as the manager of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane and the Queen’s Theatre in Haymarket, where he staged Georg Friedrich Händel’s (1685-1759) first English opera *Rinaldo* in 1711. Particular emphasis will be placed on his life-long fascination for the exotic and for “Enchanted Palaces”, which is reflected in his several contributions to “Seraglio-plays” and in his highly successful English adaption of Voltaire’s *Zaire*.

2. Emre Aracı (London)

“But if the Sultan has a taste for song, We will revive our fortunes before long”: Seeking Operatic Fortunes in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Harem

In Canto IV of *Don Juan*, Lord Byron (1788-1824) depicts his hero among a group of seasoned operatic singers sold off by their Machiavellian impresario “at no high rate” and “without a single scudo of salario” destined for the slave market in Constantinople. But showing a much more reconciled demeanor than the prima donna and the tenor, he lets the

buffo of the party explain how “if the Sultan had a taste for song”, they all would revive their fortunes before long. The nineteenth century was indeed to become a time in Ottoman history when a number of operatic singers--some eminent, some lesser known--came to Constantinople to seek their fortunes not in the slave markets, but in the inner sanctuaries of the seraglio of the sultans and the harems of the pashas. While fairytale depictions relating to these visits were not late in beginning to circulate in the world press, this paper endeavors to separate fact from fiction by attempting to establish the true level of appreciation for opera among the ladies of the harem and beyond, and in doing so highlights the experiences of singers, including Henriette Carl (1805-1890), Adelina Murio-Celli (1825?-1900) and Giuseppina Vilmot-Medori (1827-1906), in the Turkish capital. It further exposes what appears to be a real nineteenth-century “Entführung” (‘abduction’) from the seraglio, involving Guatelli Pasha (1818-1900) as the suspect, the sultan’s much-admired Italian master of music.

3. Caroline Herfert (Vienna)

Between ‘Romantic Reverie’ and Critical Account: the Representation of the Harem in Murad Efendi’s Work (1872-1876)

This paper deals with the nowadays almost forgotten playwright Murad Efendi (1836-1881), and specifically with one particular aspect of his literary work: his occupation with the harem.

Murad Efendi, alias Franz von Werner, a native Viennese, took part in the Crimean War, migrated to the Ottoman Empire in 1854, and at last started a diplomatic career. As Ottoman consul and later consul general, he was sent to various European cities and began to write for a German speaking public, mainly penning plays and poetry. Although only part of his work deals with the “Orient”, he was received by his contemporaries as “westöstlicher Poet” (‘West-Eastern poet’) or “Märchendichter” (‘fairy tale writer’) who still in the twentieth century was remembered for his “Kalifendramen” (‘Caliph dramas’). Nevertheless, due to his own experiences and long sojourns in the Ottoman Empire, he was also recognized as an expert with well-grounded knowledge of the so-called Orient.

Focusing on two works, this paper explores the contrasting treatments of the subject of the harem in Murad Efendi’s writings: in the historical tragedy *Selim der Dritte* (‘Selim the Third’, 1872), the sultan’s seraglio and the seraglio’s harem are an important part of the setting, providing representations of an highly imaginative and sensual “Orient”. The depictions of the harem will be presented with reference to the probably most prestigious and opulent staging of this drama at the Vienna Burgtheater in 1872.

A very different approach to the harem is encountered in Murad Efendi’s essay collection *Türkische Skizzen* (‘Turkish Sketches’, 1876). These sketches--a mix of travelogue, informative texts on history and culture, as well as critical analysis of both the Ottoman Empire and Europe--also contain a text which is particularly dedicated to the harem and the role or status of women in the Ottoman Empire. Here, Murad Efendi thematizes Western fantasies of the harem and critically contrasts stereotypes of the sensual “Orient” with more realistic descriptions, trying to correct Western misconceptions and bring closer the “strange” East.

13:00-14:30
Lunchbreak

14:30-16:00

Session II

“Das Serail”

Chair:

Michael Walter (Graz)

1. Michael Hüttler (Vienna)

Joseph Friebert’s *Das Serail* (‘The Seraglio’, Passavia, 1779)
in the Don Juan Archiv Wien: Provenance of the Manuscript
and State of Research

Don Juan Archiv Wien holds the only known copy of the musical score of *Das Serail – Eine Teutsche Operette* (‘The Seraglio – A German Operetta’) by “Giuseppe Friebert” (Joseph Friebert, 1725-1799; from 1763 to 1795 music director of the prince-bishop of Passau’s court). This manuscript, stemming from eighteenth-century Passau (Passavia, Bavaria), dated “1779” and including the vocal (“Zaide”, “Gomaz” and “Renegat”) and instrumental parts, only came to light in 2005 and is therefore mostly uninvestigated.

Friebert set to music *Das Serail oder Die unvermuthete Zusammenkunft in der Slavery zwischen Vater, Tochter und Sohn* (‘The Seraglio or The Unexpected Encounter of Father, Daughter and Son in Slavery’; the only known copy of the complete text was printed in Bozen, 1779), attributed to Franz Joseph Sebastiani (1722-1772 or later), a theater impresario. In turn, the text served as model for Johann Andreas Schachtner (1731-1795) and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart’s unfinished Singspiel *Zaide (Das Serail)* KV 344 (1780).

This paper will try to reconstruct the provenance of the manuscript and give an overview of the status of recent research concerning the text and music.

2. Tatjana Marković (Belgrade/Graz) *Das Serail* (1779) by Joseph Friebert: Introductory Notes

Eighteenth-century stage works were not written for aesthetical, but for social and cultural reasons. They were part of different social events, and were determined by performing practice and the abilities of certain singers. This was also the case of Joseph Friebert’s “Teutsche Operette” (‘German Operetta’) *Das Serail* (1779). Previously known and recently newly discovered data related to the provenance of the Singspiel shed light on the circumstances of its performing history, including possible dates when the stage work was held and information about singers who performed it. There are also certain facts about the sources of the libretto as well as suggestions about music materials. Starting from known departure points, further steps in the research will introduce new facts about the text (e.g. about different versions of the libretto, handwriting) and music of the Singspiel. Since the vocal and instrumental parts of *Das Serail* are now available at the Don Juan Archiv Wien, insight into the manuscript provides new conclusions. Stylistic coordinates in the context of the contemporary stage music conventions would be the next step in this study.

16:15-18:15

Session III

“Harem & Seraglio in the Fine Arts”

Chair:

Claudia Römer (Vienna)

1. Darja Koter (Ljubljana)

The Traces of Seraglio in the Artworks in Slovenia:
Depictions of Dance, Music and Theatre from Seventeenth-

Century Turqueries to Johann Josef Karl Henrici's Paintings in the Late Eighteenth Century

Oriental images were especially in vogue during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Some reflections of Oriental symbols are also preserved in the territory of Slovenia. Among others are about fifty oil pictures, so-called Turqueries, kept at the Regional Museum Ptuj. They were created by unknown Styrian painters after the diplomatic mission to Istanbul led by Count Walter Leslie (1606-1667) in 1665-66. The painted portraits of Turks, generals and ministers, princes, the sultan, the spachi, the janissary and women from the Ottoman Empire were commissioned by the counts of Herberstein and the counts of Leslie as part of the decor of the Vurberg/Wurmburg Castle near Ptuj in Slovenian Styria at the beginning of the 1680s. The artworks undoubtedly express the spiritual horizons of a nobleman and his experiences in the Orient. Among the paintings, the only one that features musical symbols presents a *Turkish Dancer* which represents the European view on exotic dance as a derivation of Georges de La Chappelle's (active 1638-1648) graphic model ("Schinguene / Mussulman", Paris 1648). The Academy of Music in Ljubljana holds the two works of the Central European painter Johann Josef Karl Henrici (1737-1823), *The Concert on the Oriental Court* (1786) and *The Lute Concert* (ar. 1786). Both paintings depict the musical life of European aristocratic society of the second half of the eighteenth century, but in their details they are tuned upon the exotic and the seraglio. Their motifs accord with some pictures from the Museo Civico in Bolzano/Bozen (Italy). Through its iconography, the first painting presents the allegory of music, while the second can be understood as the allegory of the sense of hearing or even as the allegory of the five senses. On the other hand, they could both be a reflection of the European theatre scene and/or scene painting of the eighteenth century. As far as we know, Henrici was working on scene paintings in Prague after he left Silesia. We must also take into consideration the painter's cultural atmosphere in Bozen which was undoubtedly in harmony with Turqueries and *Das Serail* ('The Seraglio') with music by Joseph Friebert (1725-1799).

2. Luca Scarlini (Florence/ Milan) Italian Seraglios: Images of Harems between the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, from Chronicles to Karl Henrici's Paintings

The imagery of the harem was well known as an erotic tool in the Western imagination, but it was Venice, Italy, with its tradition of representatives in Constantinople, that spread the fame of the mixture of sex, lust and power associated with the harem, the reality of which was usually misunderstood. The most interesting town from this point of view may have been Livorno (Leghorn), which the Medicis gave special status with the *Leggi Livornine* ('Leghorn Laws', 1590-1603), that allowed Protestants, Jews and Arabs to live in town. The town itself has as a symbol the statue of *Four Moors* by sculptor Ferdinando Tacca (1619-1686) and its figures are faithful representations of the slaves who built the town; for those people a mosque was built in town. The emire Fakr.ad Din (1593-1633), sovereign of Lebanon and rebel to the Ottoman authority, was in Tuscany. He had all of his wives with him and Livorno was his home for several years, before he returned to Beirut where he was executed for his rebellion. Later, the very famous Chery Bey (in Italian Ciribì, ca. 1620-1682 ca.), an Armenian who had been with the ministry of Treasury in Constantinople, arrived in Livorno and built for himself a Turkish bath. The people thought it was a harem.

If the court of Naples had an Orientalist passion and often played with harem imagery (particularly nurturing an obsession for Persian myths and thinking of the Throne of the Peacock as the symbol of any possible luxury), Venice remained until the end of the

Serenissima in 1797 the perfect Italian spot for representations of the East in theatre, opera, the crowded carnivals, and others of the most loved attractions in Europe.

Among these attractions are the wonderful paintings by the Guardi brothers Antonio (1699-1760) and Francesco (1712-1793) that rework images from Jean-Baptiste van Mour's (1671-1737) paintings; and there are Karl Henrici's (1737-1823) Turkish scenes in Bozen (then belonging to the Holy Roman Empire and today known as Bolzano), thereby linking German and Italian attitudes towards the subject, and the influence of both Viennese and Venetian attitudes. The remarkable series of seraglio images, painted by the Swevian painter Karl Henrici who had studied in Verona, is directly linked to *Das Serail* ('The Seraglio') with music by Joseph Friebert (1725-1799), produced in Bozen in 1779, a work that had great success in the German world and inspired Mozart's *Zaide*. As elsewhere in Europe, the local gentry adored being portrayed as Turkish sultans and odalisques.

The same happened in the most direct model for this production, the famous works of Charles-André (Carle) van Loo, master of French rococo, who did wonderful paintings of Madame de Pompadour (1721-1764) as Valide Sultana, queen of the harem of King Louis XV (1710-1774, r.1715-1774). Harem imagery in Italian culture builds itself through theatrical imagery, from Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793) to Pietro Chiari (1712-1785), from opera buffas to paintings, from popular prints to perfumes and recipes for aphrodisiacs, evoking a well loved ghost at a time when the Turks were no longer a danger and could be used as tools of the imagination, being perceived at the same time so near in space, and so far away in culture and way of life.

3. Günsel Renda (Istanbul)

Harem Women in Ottoman painting

Seraglios and harems have been popular themes in European literature and orientalist art, as well as in music and theater. The mysterious world of women, especially the imperial harem, intrigued travelers and artists for centuries, often resulting in exotic harem representations.

Were harem women represented in Ottoman painting, and if so, where, when and how? The answers to such questions will be discussed in the paper. Ottoman painting, dominated for centuries by illustrated histories, has not been a source for pictures of the harem, although the harem was an imperial institution with a specific hierarchial organization in which certain women played significant roles in power and patronage. Only in the 1600s do images of harem women appear in albums produced for imperial patrons and European commissioners of artworks. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the gradual modernization of the empire, women in the imperial harem and in the upper classes were able to engage in several branches of art and music, as well as commission art works. Images of women in late Ottoman painting will be discussed in light of political and social transformations in the empire.

Dinner

Saturday, April 24th, 2010

10:30-12:30

Session IV

“Round Italy”

Chair:

Michael Hüttler (Vienna)

- 1. Vassilis Vavoulis (Nottingham/London)** The Barbarian ‘Other’: Seraglio Themes in Seventeenth-Century Venetian Opera and Public Consciousness

Seventeenth-century Venice presents one of the most fertile grounds for understanding the significance of the Turkish/Ottoman theme in early modern Europe. Because of its long association and fascination with the Turks, the *Serenissima* was a major source for the infiltration of Turkish/Oriental/barbarian *topoi* into central Europe.

What is being assessed here is the transition of fact and legend into theatrical and operatic representations, and the ways theatre mirrored life. The period under investigation is the 1670s due to a lucky set of historiographical circumstances. First of all, the period is extremely significant in Veneto-Ottoman relations as it follows right after the loss of Candia (Crete) in 1669, a powerful shock not only to Venetians but to all European monarchies. We are lucky that from the decade following the loss of Candia, 1669-1679, there survives a significant corpus of diplomatic correspondence reporting on the moves and decisions of the Turks and the ways these affected the Venetian public. The information concerns Ottoman rulers (sultan and vizier) and their characters as well as descriptions of the Divan, palace, and other local seraglios/harems in their dominions. What is revealing here is the terms of the discourse as well as the actual intelligence contained in the reports.

These letters were sent to the duke of Hanover, Johann Friedrich of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1625-1679, reigned 1665–1679), by his Venetian agents. Johann Friedrich and his brothers (known collectively as the Guelph dukes) were Venice’s primary foreign ally, having provided considerable mercenary troops for the Candia war. Furthermore, they were keen patrons of the city with frequent trips, cultural dealings and ownership of property in the lagoon. Because of these relations, the Hanoverians not only kept a diplomatic resident (‘ministro’; Francesco Maria Massi, 1617–1676) in Venice and a firm of local bankers (Breul-Vanaxel), but also numerous other agents and local contacts.

Another factor was that Johann Friedrich was a great aficionado of opera and, by luck or design, his closest agents who wrote these letters included two librettists, Pietro Dolfin (1636–1709) and Nicola Beregan (1627–1713), and an opera composer, Antonio Sartorio (1630-1680). The result is that this correspondence (soon to be published in “*Nel teatro di tutta l’Europa*”: *Venetian-Hanoverian patronage in the 17th century*, Libreria Musicale Italiana) contains significant amounts of information on the yearly opera productions of the carnival season.

The intelligence on the Turkish court found in the letters is confronted against opera librettos of the 1670s to establish how the *topos* of the Turk/barbarian/Oriental “Other” translated between real life and theatrical representation. Did “real life” hold up to a rational understanding, leaving legend and folklore to the theatre, or is this a case of theatre mirroring life and public belief?

- 2. Polona Vidmar (Maribor)**

Count Stefano Carli’s *La Erizia* (1765) in the Harem of Sultan Mehmed II

Count Stefano Carli’s *La Erizia. Tragedia nuova del conte Stefano Carli, dedicata alli signori Voltaire e Rousseau* was printed in Venice in 1765 and performed at the Teatro di S. Pietro (‘St. Peter Theatre’) in Trieste (1771) and at the private theatre in Palazzo Carli in Capodistria (today Koper in Slovenia). The story took place around 1469, when king Erizzo

was killed in the battle with the Turks and his young daughter Erizia was kidnapped and taken to the harem of the Sultan Mehmed II (1432-1481; first reign 1444-1446, second reign 1451-1481). The sultan tried to persuade her to marry him, but as she did not want to consent, he killed her. The tragedy drew various critics, but the favorable as well as unfavorable critics agreed that the author was familiar with Turkish customs and that the Turkish costumes were intensively and vividly depicted. This is no coincidence considering that Stefano Carli (born 1726 in Koper, died 1813), in accordance with the family tradition, was sent to Constantinople at the age of nineteen in order to learn Oriental languages and become an interpreter in the service of the Venetian Republic on the Ottoman Porte. He spent approximately eight years in Constantinople as “giovine di lingua” (‘language boy’) living in the Palazzo Venezia, the Venetian ambassadors’ palace in Pera. His sojourn in Constantinople is not researched yet, but we may assume that he could have visited the seraglio and was probably able to visit the sultan, but he was certainly not permitted to visit the harem. Around 1753 Stefano returned to Venice and regularly visited the performances at the St. Angelo and St. Samuel theatres. He experienced the dispute between Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793) and Pietro Chiari (1712-1785) inflamed by their comedies *La sposa persiana* (Goldoni, 1753) and *La schiava cinese* (Chiari, 1753). Although Stefano declared himself a “Chiarist” he also admired the works by Goldoni. He wrote the tragedy *La Erizia* on the initiative of his elder brother Gian Rinaldo Carli (1720-1795), an important scientist and writer of the Enlightenment.

The vividly described costumes in the tragedy are not only the consequence of Stefano’s knowledge about life in the Ottoman capital, but can also be connected with the Ottoman costumes depicted on the portraits of the members of the Carli family in Palazzo Carli in Koper. Around 1700 the family wanted to celebrate and commemorate its members who worked as official *dragomans* (‘interpreters’) in the service of the Venetian Republic on the Ottoman Porte. The still preserved series of portraits includes six *dragomans* and two of their wives in the Ottoman attire. The female portraits are most important for Stefano Carli’s *La Erizia*, since they make visible the invisible: the uncovered Ottoman ladies as they appear at their private apartments.

3. Alexandre Lhâa (Aix-en-Provence) Harems and Politics on La Scala’s Stage (Milan, 1792-1815)

On La Scala’s stage the Orient and the harem are intrinsically associated. Commonly, Oriental rulers are associated with a harem, whatever the historical period or wherever the plot takes place. Between 1792 and 1815 were staged six works, the plots of which were based on the story of a young woman successively abducted, held captive in the harem and then happily released. The corpus consists of five operas and one ballet. Four of these works were inspired by James Kenneth Ridley’s tale *Sadak and Kalasrad*, published in his Oriental pastiche, *Tales of the Genii* (1764), beginning with Antonio Salieri’s (1750-1825) two versions of *Axur re d’Ormus*, the 1792 adaptation of the 1788 opera in Vienna with text by Lorenzo da Ponte (1749-1836) and the 1797 version of an opera presented in Paris in 1787 with text by Caron de Beaumarchais (1732-1799); the ballet *Sadak e Kalasrad* (1801) by Giovanni Monticini (??-??), music by Ferdinando Pontelibero (1770-1835); and *Atar, ossia il seraglio d’Ormus* (1815) by Felice Romani (1788-1865) with music by Giovanni Simone Mayr (1763-1845). Apart from this group, the abduction/harem plays also include the dramma giocoso *Sofi trippone ossia I desiderii* (1804) by an unknown librettist with music by Francesco Ruggi (1767-1845), and *L’Italiana in Algeri* (1808) by Angelo Anelli (1761-

1820) with music by Luigi Mosca (1775-1824).

All these representations are stereotypical. Moreover, geographical marks are confused. For example, Salieri, writing about *Axur re d'Ormus*, indicated that Axur could be “vestito alla turca” (‘dressed *alla turca*’), even if the action takes place in Persia. But the version of 1801 indicates that the action takes place in the “Serraglio di Costantinopoli” which is also the setting of Ridley’s tale. In the six works mentioned above, the Oriental potentate orders an abduction of a young woman in order to place her in his harem. The pattern of the “harem”, which librettists frequently mix up with the “seraglio”, belongs to these “agreed-upon codes of understanding for their effects” which “make the Orient visible, clear, ‘there’ in discourse about it”, as stated by Edward Said (1935-2003). If scholars emphasize the harem as a place that ensures the sultan will produce an heir, the *libretti* represents it as a place where the sultan would fulfil his fantasies.

These representations of the harem are also linked with politics, as demonstrated by the analysis of the *libretti* in their original contexts and contexts, to borrow a concept from sociocriticism. This paper will discuss the political dimension in these works. For example, the Napoleonic government uses *L’Italiana in Algeri* as a medium for its propaganda. Isabella’s famous aria in which she exhorts the Italian people as they are planning to escape from the harem appears to be a means to stimulate the ardour of the soldiers at a time when “theatre is a department of the Ministry of Glory” (Jean Paul-Bertaud). But, according to Stendhal, the opera also includes a critique of the Senate of the Kingdom of Italia, recently created by Napoleon. As far as the adaptations of *Sadak and Kalasrad* are concerned, the librettists always modified the final scene in order to celebrate the new political institutions in a period of frequent political changes. *Axur re d’Ormus*, performed for the *Festa Federativa* of the Cisalpine Republic, extolled the French Revolution, whereas *Atar ossia il seraglio d’Ormus* was a tribute to the Austrian rulers restored after the fall of the Kingdom of Italy.

12:30-14:30

Lunchbreak

14:30-16:30

Session V

“On the Road”

Chair:

Helga Dostal (Vienna)

1. Käthe Springer-Dissmann (Vienna)

“Now at length we’re off for Turkey, Lord knows when we shall come back!”: Byron’s Grand Tour to the Bosphorus, 1809-1811

On July 2, 1809, George Gordon Lord Byron (1788-1824) set out on one of the last grand tours of the nineteenth century. Accompanied by his friend John Cam Hobhouse (1786-1869), the poet travelled from London to Constantinople via Portugal, Spain, Gibraltar, Malta, Albania, and Greece where in 1810 he crossed the Hellespont, swimming like the mythic Leander from Sestos to Abydos. The crossing, precisely a century ago, brings to mind a “rite de passage” (‘rite of passage’; Arnold van Gennep, 1873-1954), a departure to new spiritual horizons, just as *Childe Harold* expected from his *Pilgrimage*. The poem’s first two cantos are the record of Byron’s own pilgrimage to the East that indeed served its purpose; it

marked a decisive turn in Byron's life, opened a new world of thinking and feeling, and made him a poet: Cantos I and II of *Childe Harold*, drafted on the road, were published in London in 1812 with sensational success and established Byron's literary fame. The "clime of the East" had affected him.

This lecture will unfold Byron's fateful Oriental journey--and literary pilgrimage--in three acts. A *prologue* shall discuss how travel ideas changed from the era of Enlightenment to the Romantic epoch in the aftermath of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. After that we'll follow Byron from London to the southern Balkans (*Act 1*). Special emphasis will be laid on Byron's visit to Albania, a wild, remote and unusual destination that left its marks in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* as well as in *Don Juan*. Byron was a guest at the Seraglio of the Ottoman vizier Ali Pasha (1741-1822) (*Act 2*) in Tepelene, flattered and fascinated by the tyrant's exotic court and wicked power. After a month in Albania he continued on his tour via Greece to Constantinople (*Act 3*). In the *epilogue* we'll refer to his journey back to London, where he arrived again in July 1811, after two years of travels in the eastern Mediterranean, a lover henceforth of freedom and Greek independence. But his destiny would ultimately lie in the Mediterranean: Byron died in Missolonghi, Greece, a romantic hero of liberty in a war instigated, in fact, by his Albanian protector Ali Pasha.

2. Walter Puchner (Athens)

Childe Harold and *Manfred*: The Reception of Lord Byron in Nineteenth-Century Greek Drama and Theatre

Lord Byron's Romantic poetry, particularly *Child Harold's Pilgrimage* (publ. 1812-1818) and some of his dramas, was especially admired by the Greek literati of the "Athens School" of poetry in the Romantic period (1830-1880) due to two factors: Byron's active participation in the Greek uprising against the Ottoman Empire in 1821 and his death 1824 in Missoloungi, the town known all over Europe for its heroic exodus of 1826; and the European philhellenic movement which made him, together with Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822; *Hellas*, 1821), an idol for the ideals of freedom and independence. Euphorion in the second part of Johann Wolfgang Goethe's (1749-1832) *Faust* (1808), the child born of the union of Faust with Helena, is a poetic chiffre for Byron's eccentric and short life. At the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century, the poet Kostis Palamas (1859-1943), who had grown up in post-revolutionary Missoloungi, saw in Byron a national symbol for Greece in the nineteenth century.

The importance of Byron for Greek theatre and drama lies in his mono-drama *Manfred* (1817), a typical product of what he called his "mental theatre", originally not intended for theatre performance, but only for reading and imagining. The first drama of Greek Romanticism, Panagiotis Soutsos' (1806-1868) *The Wanderer* (1831), inaugurated Romantic drama and theatre production in the Bavarian-ruled small kingdom and was heavily influenced by *Manfred*. The drama was rewritten three times (1842, 1851, 1864) in different language styles and with significant changes in dramaturgy. But the first version was the most popular and overnight made its author the leading figure of Greek Romanticism. The tragic love story on Mount Athos was played several times in the nineteenth century, mostly by dilettanti in province towns. But it was an overwhelming publication success with more than ten editions, and cultivated ladies in the mid-war period of the twentieth century knew by heart parts of Soutsos' moving verses, at a time when theatre critics condemned the play as antitheatrical and unprofessional. But this holds for a good part of European Romantic dramaturgy. In the twentieth century, Byron is celebrated almost exclusively as a poet and

much less as a writer of theatre plays.

3. Hans Ernst Weidinger (Vienna/Florence) From Tabarca to Topkapı, or “the Sultan self shan’t carry me, Unless his highness promises to marry me”: Don Juan Crossing the Ottoman World II

The first part of this paper, “In Turchia novant’ una” (‘In Turkey ninety-one [i.e. ladies]’), read at the Don Juan Archiv’s first Istanbul Symposium in 2008, explored the question of whether the allusions to Don Juan’s ‘Turkish’ aspects by the authors of the subject’s best known version, Lorenzo da Ponte (1749-1838) and W. A. Mozart (1756-1791), were haphazardly introduced or based on genuine knowledge. That paper concentrated on the printed Don Juan plays from the beginning in the Comedia *El burlador de Sevilla y Combidado de piedra*, mostly attributed to Tirso de Molina (1579-1648) and first published in “Barcelona 1630” (although the print’s place and date are fictitious). The investigation concluded that Da Ponte and Mozart were two of the best informed connoisseurs of the story and its versions: the hint of “Turkey” was not a mere coincidence as, from Tirso and Molière (1622-1673) to Lord Byron (1788-1824), the Ottoman world figures as a component of the story and Don Juan may justifiably be called a ‘Turkish’ character. It further seems that Da Ponte imagined the hero of his play (1787) as an adventurer in the sultan’s harem, much as Byron shows in Cantos V and VI of his poem (1821).

This second part of the study will focus on the ‘Turkish’ aspects of the hero of the Don Juan plays passed down only in manuscript sources. Unlike the printed plays, these manuscript sources (primarily commedia dell’arte scenarios) were not known to Da Ponte and Mozart, and even today some are not known to a significant proportion of Don Juan scholars. Such knowledge has only become possible since the publication of a major part of the Italian seventeenth-century scenarios. Three of these scenarios settle Don Juan on a tiny island kingdom off the coast of Tunis. There, on Tabarca, the hero rises in rank: no longer is he, as Tirso’s Juan Tenorio had been, a state minister’s son and Castilian ambassador’s nephew, but now Don Giovanni becomes a prince, son to the ruling king and heir to the throne. One of these three scenarios, *Rinegato per amore* (‘Renegade for Love’; in the *Gibaldone comico* codex, compiled in Naples 1700, vol. II n. 74), conserves the hero’s name and the kingdom he will inherit; the other two, identical but for a few details (in the codex *Ciro Monarca. Dell’ Opere Regie*, compiled before 1642, nn. 25 and 46), cancel both, yet bear in their title links to be explored in future: *Lo specchio* (‘The Mirror’) [resp. *La forza d’Amore* (‘Love’s Force’)] *con la Turca costante* (‘with The constant Turkish Maid’). Such a faithful Turkish maiden will follow Byron’s Don Juan as well.

Like Molière’s Dom Juan, the Tabarcan prince once had abducted a noble girl from a place closed for men: unlike Molière’s version, this is not a damsel (Elvire) from a nunnery in Burgos (Castile), but a royal princess from a seraglio or, even better, a harem; she is Arlacca, the sister of the king of Tunis. Later, banished for other reasons from his native island, the prince turns to Tunis, confesses himself a renegade, calls the king his brother-in-law-to-be, obtains a “flotta turca” (‘Turkish fleet’), and on the head of his “Soldati turchi” (‘Turkish soldiers’), victoriously conquers the home island kingdom, condemning his father and stepmother to execution. The very end shows the Tabarca scenario belonging to the numerous Don Juan versions that change the final Stone Guest’s handshake to lightning from the heavens. Unlike those many (en)lightened Dons, Don Giovanni di Tabarca is not finally struck by such superior force, but is brought to his senses, and all ends well with royal

weddings.

In the context of Don Juan research these findings have implications for the odd question regarding the ancestry of this modern European stage myth, which scholars and the erudite public believe had been answered and long ago abandoned. This shall be called into question.

Evening Program

Concert at Bibliotheca Theresiana

“Lord Byron’s Pilgrimage”

Matthew Head (London) (Presentation), **Anna Pangalou (Athens)** (Mezzo-soprano), **Stefano Cavallerin (Perugia)** (Piano)