

**The First Version of Serge Prokofiev's *The Fiery Angel*  
With a Critical Edition of the Composer's Compositional Sketch**

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**Volume I (Part 1)**

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the qualification of PhD

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## Declaration

I, Ondrej Gima, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: ....  Date: .....3.9.2020.....

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank The Serge Prokofiev Foundation and Christopher Mann for accepting my proposal, submitted in 2012, and awarding me with the Scholarship in memory of Noëlle Mann. Special thanks are due to The Serge Prokofiev Foundation, The Oleg Prokofiev Trust and members of Serge Prokofiev's family – namely Serge Prokofiev Jr. and Gabriel Prokofiev – whose tremendous support and assistance during my PhD research made this thesis and score possible.

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Thank you.

**Dedicated to the memory of Professor Alexander Ivashkin.**

## Abstract

This thesis investigates the journey of Serge Prokofiev's opera, *The Fiery Angel*, Op. 37, with the aim of presenting a critical edition of the composer's compositional sketch of the first version (VS 1923), accompanied by a critical commentary. Transformation of Valery Bryusov's *roman à clef* into opera was initiated by the composer on 20 January 1920 in New York, and completed on 9 June 1927 in Ettal. The complicated journey of *The Fiery Angel* (shaped by changes in Prokofiev's creative approach; changes in his perception of the subject matter; and various other obstacles, such as the inability to secure a performance of the opera) resulted in the creation of two discrete works – the first version of the opera, preserved as the composer's compositional sketch (1923); and a fully completed second version of the opera (1927).

Whilst the fully completed, revised version of the opera has been published and relatively widely performed, the first version of the opera never left the archival depositary. Despite the first version being (to a certain extent) superseded by the second, this thesis and accompanying critical edition explore Prokofiev's initial concept of *The Fiery Angel*, with its own artistic qualities and characteristics, and examine (in-depth) the factors shaping the opera's transformation. The critical edition is an accurate and authentic transcription of Prokofiev's compositional sketch of the first version of the opera, which improves the legibility of the condensed autograph manuscript with visual illustrations of the layers between the original and later texts. This in-turn improves the readability and performability of the score, and enables it to be more easily accessible to anyone with an interest in the opera.

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## Editorial Notes

### Transliteration

The transliteration system used for Russian scripts in this thesis, as outlined in Table 0.1, adopts the system used by the Grove Music Online.

**Table 0.1: Transliteration System**

<i>Cyrillic</i>	<i>Roman</i>	<i>Cyrillic</i>	<i>Roman</i>	<i>Cyrillic</i>	<i>Roman</i>
а	a	л	l	ч	ch
б	b	м	m	ш	sh
в	v	н	n	щ	shch
г	g	о	o	ъ	"
д	d	п	p	ы	ï
е	e	р	r	ь	'
ё	yo	с	s	э	é
ж	zh	т	t	ю	yu
з	z	у	u	я	ya
и	i	ф	f		
й	y	х	kh		
к	k	ц	ts		

### Translation

The translations provided in the Thesis (Volume I, Part 1), the Editorial Process and Critical Commentary (Volume I, Part 2), and the Critical Edition (Volume II), are by the author, unless otherwise stated.

### Dating (Old Style and New Style)

The Julian calendar, also called the Old Style calendar, was established by Julius Caesar and used until the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The New Style (Gregorian) calendar, as introduced in 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII, was adopted by most countries before the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; however, Russia only implemented the New Style calendar on 14 February 1918. To differentiate between the Old Style and the New Style calendars, dates given according to the Julian calendar will be inserted in square brackets: e.g. 5 [18] February 1915.

## Referencing

Primary and secondary sources (sketchbooks, orchestration manuals, draft piano and orchestral scores) used in this thesis are held in The Serge Prokofiev Archive at Columbia University, Butler Library (SPA); the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI); and the Glinka National Museum Consortium of Musical Culture (VMOMK). For the purpose of this thesis, the main source – i.e. the composer’s compositional sketch of the first version (available as a photocopy with catalogue number SPA\_190 at The Serge Prokofiev Archive) – will be referred to as the composer’s compositional sketch (VS 1923) or in its abbreviated form, VS 1923. The referencing format used for individual letters held at SPA is as follows: sender, optional translation note (e.g. ‘(OG)’), recipient, date, location of the source, folder number [Roman numerals], individual number of letter [Arabic numerals]. For example: Serge Prokofiev, (OG), letter to Fyodor Weber, 12 September 1927, SPA, XVI: 38.

**Table 0.2: Abbreviations in Source Identification**

Abbreviation	Full version
VS 1923	Autograph of composer’s compositional sketch of the first version
VS 1927	Autograph of composer’s published piano-vocal score of the second version
1927rev.	Published version of full score (Boosey & Hawkes, 1994)
SPK	Serge Prokofiev correspondence
SPD	Serge Prokofiev Diary Diaries 1915 – 1923 (SPD-1) Diaries 1924 – 1933 (SPD-2)
OG	Translation by the author
R	Rehearsal number First version of the opera, e.g. R152 Revised version of the opera, e.g. R152R
f.	<i>fond</i> - fond
op.	<i>opis'</i> - list
d., e.d.	delo or edinitsa khraneniia - file or depositary item

**Table 0.3: Primary Sources**

<p><i>Огненный ангел</i>, Валерий Брюсов  (<i>The Fiery Angel</i>, Valery Bryusov)</p>	<p>Archival collection: RGALI Catalogue number: f. 1929, op. 1, yed. khr. 8 Referencing: 'Personal copy of Bryusov's novel', abbreviated form: 'Bryusov – RGALI' Notes: Prokofiev's personal copy of Valery Bryusov's novel published by Scorpion edition, izd., 2-oe, 1909, with annotations of the libretto</p>
<p>Sketchbook (No. 1)</p>	<p>Archival collection: SPA Catalogue number: SPA_052 Referencing: 'Thematic notebook No. 1' Notes: Thematic notebook to preserve thematic material by Prokofiev, 32 sheets of manuscript paper, dimensions 130mm x 200mm, blue and black ink, pencil and red crayon, date 13 December 1919 in Prokofiev's hand found on the first folio in the top right corner above the first stave</p>
<p><i>Огненный ангел</i>, Оп. 37  (<i>The Fiery Angel</i>, Op. 37)</p>	<p>Archival collection: SPA Catalogue number: SPA_190 Dating: 20 January 1920 – 13 January 1923 Referencing: 'composer's compositional sketch (VS 1923)', abbreviated form: 'VS 1923' Notes: Composer's working piano-vocal score of the first version with Prokofiev's annotations for revision of the opera</p>
<p><i>Вокальная Сюита из оперы Огненный Ангел</i>  (Vocal Suite from the Fiery Angel opera, Op. 37bis)</p>	<p>Archival collection: SPA Catalogue number: SPA_193 Dating: Undated Referencing: f.1 – f.7: 'Vocal Suite' f.8 – f.60: 'rev. fragments.' Notes: f.1 – f.7: Fragments of planned Vocal Suite in full score f.8 – f.60: Revised material in short score (piano score with vocal parts) with annotations on orchestration by Prokofiev, partially illegible</p>
<p><i>L' Ange de feu</i>, Op. 37  (<i>The Fiery Angel</i>, Op. 37)</p>	<p>Archival collection: SPA Catalogue number: SPA_192 Dating: Act II – 19 August 1927 (2:15pm), Act III – 1 October 1926, Act IV - 23 November 1926, end date – 9 June 1927 Referencing: 'Short score' Notes: Draft of the revised parts in Short score and Full score, photocopy only, partially illegible</p>
<p><i>L' Ange de Feu / Der Feuige Engel</i>, Op. 37  (<i>The Fiery Angel</i>, Op. 37)</p>	<p>Archival collection: SPA Catalogue number: SPA_189 Dating: completion date - 9 June 1927 Referencing: 'Full score 1927' Notes: Fair draft of second version, full score + piano arrangement with instrumental annotations in Prokofiev's hand, the full score is in Gorchakov's hand, French translation of the text added by Mikhail Astrov, prepared for publication under plate number B&amp;H 19310, available in photocopy only</p>

<i>Der Feurige Engel</i> , Op. 37  ( <i>The Fiery Angel</i> , Op. 37)	Archival collection: SPA Catalogue number: SPA_009 Dating: Undated Referencing: ‘Vocal score (1927)’, abbreviated form: ‘VS 1927’ Notes: Vocal score of the revised version of the opera in German with annotations and corrections including 8 sheets of sketches, in copyist hand, red crayon annotations by Prokofiev
Symphony No. 3, Op. 44	Archival collection: SPA Catalogue number: SPA_233 Dating: 1 August 1928 – 25 September 1928 Referencing: ‘Symphony no 3 - draft’ Notes: Draft, Full score with references to the parts of the second version of <i>The Fiery Angel</i>
<i>The Fiery Angel</i> (1930)	Archival collection: RGALI Catalogue number: f. 1929, op. 1, yed. khr. 9 Dating: Undated Referencing: ‘RGALI Synopsis 1930’ Notes: Synopsis in English typed on leatherhead of the Great Northern Hotel in New York
Sketchbook	Archival collection: RGALI Catalogue number: f. 1929, op. 1, yed. khr. 7 Dating: Undated (1930?) Referencing: ‘RGALI Sketches 1930?’ Notes: Musical Sketches for 1930 version of <i>The Fiery Angel</i>

**Table 0.4: Serge Prokofiev Correspondence (SPA)**

Folder	Date	Folder	Date
I	1918 - 1924	XVI	September - December 1927
II	1924 - 1947	XVII	January - April 1928
III	July - December 1922	XVIII	May - August 1928
IV	January - June 1923	XIX	September - December 1928
IV	July - December 1923	XX	January - May 1929
V	January - March 1924	XXII	September - December 1929
V	April - June 1924	XXIII	January - March 1930
V	July - September 1924	XXIV	April - August 1930
VI	October - December 1924	XXVIII	September - December 1931
VII	January - April 1925	XXIX	January - April 1932
VIII	May - August 1925	XXX	May - August 1932
IX	September – December 1925	XXXI	September - December 1932
X	January - May 1926	XXXIX	January - February 1935
XI	June - July 1926	XXXIX	March - May 1935
XII	August - September 1926	XL	October - December 1935
XIII	October - December 1926	XLII	Various dates
XIV	January - April 1927	XLIII	Various dates
XV	May - August 1927		

## Editions

Unless otherwise stated, the following editions are used for the purposes of this thesis and critical commentary:

Prokofiev, Sergey. *The Fiery Angel: An Opera in 5 Acts*. London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1994, French-German-English language. (Full score)

Prokofiev, Sergei, *Der Feurige Engel*, Moscow: A. Gutheil, 1927, Russian language. (Vocal score)

Prokofiev, Sergey, and Christopher Hassall. *The Fiery Angel: An Opera in Five Acts: Op. 37*. London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1965, German language. (Vocal score)

Prokofiev, Sergei, *Огненный Ангел*, Moscow: Muzyka, 1981, Russian language. (Vocal score)

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## Introduction

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Prokofiev's ill-fated 'supernatural' opera, *The Fiery Angel*, ranks among the most ambitious and audacious works of the modern era. Composed in the West after Prokofiev left a revolutionary Russia in 1918, *The Fiery Angel* harkens back to the Silver Age, having as its source text a *roman à clef* by the Russian Symbolist writer, Valery Bryusov.<sup>1</sup> The plot (set in sixteenth-century Reformation Cologne) centres on the demonic possession of the main character, Renata – a fictional representation of the poetess, Nina Petrovskaya, who enslaves Ruprecht (Valery Bryusov) in her struggle to materialise the supernatural creature, Madiel (Andrey Bely). This insatiable obsession ends in a horrendous auto-da-fé that became Prokofiev's main inspiration (and an obsession of sorts) in his transformation of the novel into opera. Prokofiev's search for the faultless marriage of libretto and music is seen in his abandonment of the original concept of the opera, completed in 1923; his instigation of a thorough revision resulting in the first complete version of the opera in 1927; and a second unrealised attempt to revise the opera once again in 1930.

The opera's original concept, which is preserved as the composer's compositional sketch (VS 1923), sheds light on Prokofiev's initial impulse. A comparison of the first and second version, and an incomplete plan for a third, gives us a better understanding of the opera's evolution and complicated journey. Furthermore, the crucial but problematic source text (VS 1923), overlaid with numerous emendations and additions, is an extremely valuable source of information and illuminates Prokofiev's initial transformation of Bryusov's novel into opera. However, VS 1923, which he worked on between 20 January 1920 and 13 January 1923 (as marked in the autograph manuscript), did not initially satisfy his expectations enough to orchestrate the opera without a complex re-assessment of the libretto and music. Despite the majority of the first version being a compositional sketch, both the piano accompaniment and vocal parts were developed in great detail. However,

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<sup>1</sup> Valery Yakovlevich Bryusov, a symbolist poet born on 13 December 1873 in Moscow and died on 9 October 1924 in Moscow. Bryusov is considered to be a founder and leader of the Russian Symbolist movement, entering the world of poetry by his translation of symbolist poetry of Maurice Maeterlinck, Paul Verlaine, Edgar Allan Poe and Stéphane Mallarmé. During his short life, Bryusov published several publications, including *his The Fiery Angel*, first published in 1908 in the Symbolist journal, *Vesy* (The Scales), and a year later the complete novel was published with an extensive foreword by Bryusov. This thesis will refer to an English translation by Ivor Montagu and Sergei Nalbandov, published by Dedalus edition in 2005, the original version in Russian, published by Knizhnyy Klub Knigovek in 2010, and Prokofiev's personal copy.

a small number of parts – namely the Entr'acte of Act II (f.36r – f.37r) and a substantial portion of Act V (f.80r – f.93v) – only received cursory attention, with Prokofiev leaving some parts sketched and fragmentary, representing difficult and undecided issues left to be re-examined later.

In 1926, spurred on by Bruno Walter's promise of a performance at the State Opera in Berlin, Prokofiev undertook a full-length orchestration and thorough revision of the opera, which he completed in 1927. Sadly, because of time constraints and the incomplete state of the revised score, the performance in Berlin did not take place. However, Prokofiev's efforts to complete the opera are evident from the countless amendments made to meet the economic, political and performing requirements of the day – a fact further highlighted by his second attempt to revise the opera in 1930.

Despite Prokofiev's strong hopes for the opera, and his extensive revisions (completed in 1927), *The Fiery Angel* was never staged during his lifetime, with Prokofiev only hearing performed excerpts from the revised Act II at the Salle Pleyel in Paris on 14 June 1928, conducted by Serge Koussevitzky.<sup>2</sup> Twenty-six years later on 25 November 1954, *The Fiery Angel* had its concert premiere at the *Théâtre des Champs-Élysées* – conducted by Charles Bruck with Lucienne Marée in the role of Renata and Xavier Depraz in the role of Ruprecht. Two years later in 1956, Bruck (along with the Paris National Opera Orchestra and the French Radio and Television Chorus) released a recording with Jane Rhodes replacing Lucienne Marée in the role of Renata.<sup>3</sup> The first staged performance took place on 14 September 1955 during the International Festival of Contemporary Music (La Biennale di Venezia, XVIII) at Venice's Teatro La Fenice – Nino Sanzogno conducted the orchestra with Dorothy Dow in the role of Renata and Ronaldo Panerai as Ruprecht. Over the next decade, the opera was performed in Milan (La Scala) in 1956; at the Nuovo Theatre in Spoleto in February 1959; the Teatro Verdi in Trieste in December 1959; Cologne Opera in June 1960; and in June 1963, for the first time in the Eastern Bloc, at the State Theatre Brno in Czechoslovakia. The Russian premiere was at the Perm Opera and Ballet Theatre in the season of 1983/1984, which gained the

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<sup>2</sup> The programme of Koussevitzky's concert consisted of four compositions of Russian composers: a Suite from Rimsky-Korsakov's opera, *The Maid of Pskov*; followed by a premiere of Vladimir Dukelsky's (pseudonym - Vernon Duke) *First Symphony*; excerpts from Act II of Serge Prokofiev's *Fiery Angel* for *soprano, tenor, baryton and orchestra*; and Mussorgsky's *Pictures from an Exhibition*, orchestrated by Ravel.

<sup>3</sup> Serge Prokofiev, *L'Ange de feu*, Op. 37, Orchestre du Théâtre National de L'Opera de Paris, Charles Bruck, Studios Vega Val 10(F), 1956, LPs.

production team the Glinka Russian State award. In more recent years, *The Fiery Angel* began to attract more and more opera houses around the world – noteworthy performances are Valery Gergiev’s premiere at the Mariinsky Theatre on 29 December 1991, and Vladimir Jurowski’s premiere at the Bavarian State Opera on 29 November 2015.<sup>4</sup>

Whilst the revised version of *The Fiery Angel* has been performed more and more since its concert premiere at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées and first stage performance at Venice’s Teatro La Fenice, the first version has never been fully performed. However, in 2013, as part of this doctoral research, there were several performances of excerpts from the original version of Act 1, with the world premiere at Princeton University, New Jersey (U.S.A.); followed by the U.K. premiere at Goldsmiths College, University of London; and then at the Southbank Centre, London. The first version also remains unpublished and only survives in the form of the composer’s compositional sketch (VS 1923), which is accessible as a copy of the autograph manuscript in SPA. Although this can be accessed through SPA, its legibility is affected by Prokofiev’s excessive use of it during the preparation of the revised (published and performed) version of the opera.

The published research on Prokofiev’s music and in particular on Prokofiev’s operas, including *The Fiery Angel*, has also seen a welcome increase over the last sixty years. This includes significant studies carried out by numerous scholars, including the first comprehensive work by Rita McAllister; Harlow Robinson’s study on Prokofiev’s literary sources; and more recent studies by Simon Morrison, Vera Gavrilova and Natalia Savkina, which deal directly with *The Fiery Angel*. This Thesis (Volume I, Part 1), together with the accompanying Editorial Process and Critical Commentary (Volume I, Part 2) and Critical Edition of the Composer’s Compositional Sketch of the First Version (Volume II), will further contribute to existing scholarship in three ways:

1. By offering in the Thesis (Volume I, Part 1) an overview of the chronology of the opera’s genesis, through the compositional process and later revisions;
2. Through presentation in the Critical Edition (Volume II) of an accurate and authentic transcription of Prokofiev’s compositional sketch of the first version of the opera (as preserved within VS 1923), enhanced by visual illustrations of the layers between the original text and later additions, corrections, and emendations.

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<sup>4</sup> See Volume I, Part 1, Appendix I, Performance History of *The Fiery Angel*.

This will be supported by a discussion found in the Editorial Process and Critical Commentary (Volume I, Part 2);

3. By reconstruction and additional translation of all textual parts in the Critical Edition (Volume II) – i.e. libretto, stage directions and scene settings (as found in VS 1923) from the original language into English.

An understanding and evaluation of the circumstances surrounding the creation and transformation of *The Fiery Angel* into a complete work (full score) through the revision process, enables us to see and more importantly evaluate the initial intention of the composer – i.e. his ‘unspoiled’ perception of the subject (Bryusov’s novel) chosen for artistic transformation. Furthermore, what James Grier describes as ‘a social-historical approach that recognises a work of art as a social and historical artefact’ will be adopted as the main method used during the construction of the critical edition.<sup>5</sup> James Grier, in *The Critical Editing of Music*, states that ‘Every piece of music is created under a unique combination of cultural, social, historical and economic circumstances.’<sup>6</sup> The first version of the opera (VS 1923), whilst regarded as the initial perception of the composer, was not chosen by him to be finalised without modification. That said, it is the only version that truly and most closely reflects Prokofiev’s original idea, and one not disturbed by the various circumstances prompting him to make such extensive revisions to it in 1926. However, confronted with a complex history of transmission during the composer’s work on *The Fiery Angel*, Prokofiev’s compositional sketch of the first version (VS 1923), despite not being considered complete in a true sense, deserves to be re-examined, published and performed.<sup>7</sup> Although a copy of the autograph manuscript of VS 1923 is available in SPA, the legibility of the score is affected by Prokofiev’s revision activity, which (as stated previously) sometimes makes it extremely difficult to distinguish between the composer’s original text and his later additions.

The aim here is to preserve VS 1923 as historical evidence of Prokofiev’s original concept and perception of the opera, which will help scholar and performer alike make their own judgment on the aesthetic qualities of both versions of the opera. In line with

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<sup>5</sup> James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method and Practice* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 108.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>7</sup> James Grier states that confronted with a complex history of transmission during the composer’s lifetime, the editor might decide that more than one layer or version of a work is worthy of publication. Neither the theory of final authorial intentions nor the priority of first thoughts adequately accommodates all possible situations. In James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method and Practice*, 102.

this aim, the critical edition is presented with the original and subsequent layers (as found in VS 1923), which (as also stated previously) presents complications and potential impracticalities when studying and performing it. That being said, the critical edition is not intended in the first instance to be a performing score. However, to improve the legibility of the condensed autograph manuscript of the compositional sketch of the first version of the opera (VS 1923), which is overlaid with Prokofiev's annotations and emendations, the critical edition is presented as a more legible and performable version, and one that also showcases the initial concept and the changes the opera underwent during the revision process. This is achieved by presenting VS 1923 as a piano score with vocal lines supported by additional staves, with both the piano and vocal parts further enhanced by colour diversification and accompanied by a relevant critical appraisal (found in the Critical Commentary in Volume I, Part 2). This system also provides insight into the particular problematic passages or peculiarities of the score (such as the revised part, new additions, transposed material, original idea being crossed out, and other distinctive features), as present in VS 1923. Furthermore, scholars (and indeed anyone with an interest in the opera) will have a more informed source to help them re-assess both Prokofiev's compositional process and the impact his revisions had on the opera.

This doctoral research is presented in a portfolio consisting of Volume I, Part 1 (Thesis), Volume I, Part 2 (Editorial Process and Critical Commentary) and Volume II (Critical Edition of the Composer's Compositional Sketch of the First Version). Volume I, Part 1 (Thesis) provides an overview of the opera and the compositional process over three chapters. Chapter 1 begins with a discussion of the literature accessed during the research and a survey of existing scholarship on the opera. The second part of Chapter 1 explores the genesis of Prokofiev's opera, *The Fiery Angel*, and its development over four key periods. Chapter 2 discusses the principal differences between the first and the revised version of the opera. The final chapter, Chapter 3, provides the concluding remarks.

Volume I, Part 2 (Editorial Process and Critical Commentary), initially provides a discussion of the composer's compositional sketch of the first version (VS 1923) and an insight into the Critical Edition (Volume II), including a summary of the editorial methodology, principles, processes, and a reflection on the problems and editorial challenges faced during the work on it. This is then followed by a Critical Commentary, Synopsis, and a reconstructed Libretto of the opera reproduced in *extenso*. Volume II (Critical Edition), presents a transcription of Prokofiev's compositional sketch of the first

version of the opera (VS 1923), with visual illustrations of the layers between the original text and later additions.

# Chapter 1: Literature Review and Chronology of Composition

## Literature Review

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Prior to embarking on a discussion of the genesis and development of Prokofiev's opera, *The Fiery Angel*, over four key periods (as discussed later in this chapter), it is important to first acknowledge the importance of the previous scholarly research (of both direct and indirect relevance to the opera) and of Prokofiev's wider operatic career in general. Over the years, *The Fiery Angel* has attracted many scholars both in the West and in Russia, resulting in an increased number of published studies by scholars which directly address the opera – such as those by Israel Nestyev, Marina Sabina Dmitriyevna, Rita McAllister, Harlow Robinson, Simon Morrison, Natalia Savkina, and Vera Gavrilova. Therefore, in order to examine Prokofiev's approach to large-scale operatic composition, the creation of a critical edition of the composer's compositional sketch of the first version of *The Fiery Angel* also requires intensive consultation of both the primary and secondary sources: i.e. in terms of the illogical dramatic structure versus the logical musical organisation; the transformation of the source text; the semantic disconnect between the music and the libretto; and the other external factors that made Prokofiev abandon the original concept (as preserved in VS 1923) and undertake a complex revision of the opera in 1926-7. The following pages provide an overview of the significant works related to *The Fiery Angel* and to Prokofiev's operatic career, highlighting their contribution to Prokofiev scholarship over the last seventy-five years.

A number of secondary sources examine *The Fiery Angel* in reference to Prokofiev's other compositions, and directly investigate his life and career in the Soviet Union and the West. One of the first is Israel Nestyev's publication, *Serge Prokofiev: His Musical Life*, based on his doctoral thesis, defended on 1 June 1945 at the Faculty of Theoretical and Compositional Studies at the Moscow Conservatoire.<sup>8</sup> This biography explores the composer's early life (specifically his student years at the St. Petersburg Conservatoire), followed by his emigration to the West and return to the Soviet Union in 1936. The publication draws from Prokofiev's autobiography published in 1941 in the journal *Sovetskaya muzika* (Soviet Music), edited and published in 1956 by Shilfshtein in

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<sup>8</sup> Israel V. Nestyev, *Sergei Prokofiev: His Musical Life*, trans. Rose Prokofieva (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946).

Moscow as part of *S. S. Prokofiev: materialy, dokumenty, vospominania*.<sup>9</sup> Nestyev disproportionately discusses three key periods of Prokofiev's life (Early years, Years Abroad and Soviet Years), with an evident focus on his early years in Russia and later Soviet years, giving his Western period considerably less attention over two chapters. That said, it offers a useful chronicle of a major biographical sequence of Prokofiev's life, shaped to a certain extent by Nestyev's personal meetings with Prokofiev, as stated in the foreword.<sup>10</sup> These two publications, Nestyev's *Serge Prokofiev: His Musical Life*, and Shilfshtein's *S.S. Prokofiev: materialy, dokumenty, vospominania*, laid the foundation of Prokofiev scholarship both in the Soviet Union and in the West. In 1963, a monograph appeared by Marina Sabina, Dmitriyevna, *Semyon Kotko i problemy opernoy dramaturgii Prokof'yeva* – one of the first publications to focus directly on Prokofiev's operatic career.<sup>11</sup> In this publication, Sabina discusses Prokofiev's operas in great detail – in particular, the relationship between the literary sources and the librettos, individual characteristics of the operas, and the problems with their dramaturgy.

One of the most fundamental contributions to Prokofiev scholarship from the earlier years, and to scholarship on *The Fiery Angel* in particular, is a complex study by Rita McAllister. McAllister's doctoral thesis, 'The operas of Sergei Prokofiev',<sup>12</sup> defended in 1970 at the University of Cambridge, is one of the first in-depth studies produced in the West discussing Prokofiev's operatic career, including *The Fiery Angel*. In this publication, McAllister provides insight into the conception and development of the opera as a musico-dramatic art form, assessing the creative process of the composer and the final form of the individual work.<sup>13</sup> The first chapter provides a factual introduction to Prokofiev's life (including his first contact with the professional musical world and its impact on him), the beginning of his career at the St. Petersburg Conservatoire, and the first mature work of his emerging operatic career (*Maddalena*, Op. 13 and *The Gambler*, Op.24) prior to his relocation to the West. In her detailed discussion of Prokofiev's career in the West, McAllister pays particular attention to his successful introduction to the operatic world with *The Love for Three Oranges*, Op. 33; his less successful attempt with *The*

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<sup>9</sup> S. S. Prokofiev, *Materialy, dokumenty, vospominania*, edited by S. I. Shilfshtein (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe muzykal'noe izdatel'stvo, 1956).

<sup>10</sup> Nestyev, *Sergei Prokofiev: His Musical Life*, xxi.

<sup>11</sup> Marina Sabina, *Semyon Kotko i problemy opernoy dramaturgii Prokof'yeva* (Moscow: Sovetskiy Kompozitor, 1963).

<sup>12</sup> Rita McAllister, 'The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev' (PhD. diss., University of Cambridge, 1970).

<sup>13</sup> McAllister, 'The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev', V.

*Fiery Angel*, Op. 37; and his Soviet operas – *Semyon Kotko*, Op. 81; *Betrothal in Monastery*, Op. 86; and his triumphant opera, *War and Peace*, Op. 91.

In her second chapter, McAllister turns her attention to Prokofiev's choices for his musical transformation of the literary sources and problems that occurred as a result of (what some scholars call) his initial inexperience as a librettist, alongside his experimentation and attempts to find new realms of emotion and new means of dramatic expression.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, McAllister states that for Prokofiev the literary source is much more than an initial inspiration.<sup>15</sup> In the case of *The Fiery Angel*, this initial inspiration is Prokofiev's personal copy of Bryusov's novel, which not only served as a device to guide him during the dramatic construction of the opera, but also during the musical representation (transformation) of the literary source. McAllister's second chapter also provides a detailed discussion of Prokofiev's working methods, the transformation of the literary sources, and the revisions carried out by the composer in his attempt to reach the final form of his librettos. The most relevant part for this present thesis is where she discusses *The Fiery Angel* based on the outcomes of her archival work with the core primary source materials (such as Prokofiev's heavily annotated personal copy of Bryusov's novel), thus giving us an insight into the initial stage of Prokofiev's work on the libretto, the composer's compositional sketch (VS 1923), the revised version (1927), and the revision process itself.

In the third chapter, McAllister deals directly with Prokofiev's opera, *Maddalena* (a predecessor of *The Fiery Angel* which has a close relationship with the opera), dismissing the labelling of *Maddalena* as being 'youthful' and 'immature'.<sup>16</sup> According to McAllister, Prokofiev created in *Maddalena* one of the most tightly constructed operatic scores in existence, and (as she continues) it is the specific form and treatment of the thematic material in this opera that makes it unique.<sup>17</sup> Chapter four deals directly with the musical structure of *The Gambler*, *The Love for Three Oranges*, and *The Fiery Angel*, and also discusses the differences between the first and revised versions of each of these works. McAllister's detailed discussion based on her extensive research and use of the primary sources helps us to understand Prokofiev's compositional process and practice, the relationship between the musical form and librettos, and the changes instigated in the revision process

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<sup>14</sup> McAllister, 'The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev', 59.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 197.

whilst seeking the ideal representation of the literary sources. For *The Fiery Angel*, McAllister again provides a very detailed discussion, reflecting on the dramatic and musical structure of the first version, his dissatisfaction with the initial score, and subsequently the revision process. McAllister also outlines the development of the opera and examines its musical and dramatic structure in detail, both prior to and after the revision. To this day, McAllister's detailed analysis, which is supplemented by countless examples and extensive appendixes, remains a very important and fundamental study to Prokofiev scholars in both the English and Russian speaking worlds.

Prokofiev's adaptation of Valery Bryusov's novel (the literary source for *The Fiery Angel*) is extensively explored by Harlow Robinson in his PhD Thesis, 'The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev and Their Russian Literary Sources',<sup>18</sup> defended in 1980 at the University of California, Berkeley. Here, Robinson provides a detailed discussion and insight into Prokofiev's adaptation of the literary works for his seven operas (*The Gambler*, *Love for Three Oranges*, *The Fiery Angel*, *Semyon Kotko*, *Betrothal in a Monastery*, *War and Peace*, and *Story of Real Man*), with five of the seven (excluding *Love for Three Oranges* and *Betrothal in a Monastery*) taken from substantial literary works. Robinson emphasises the importance of the careful respect Prokofiev showed to the literary sources he uses for his librettos and also explains the disadvantages of this practice. Fortunately, Prokofiev's initial failure to consider the danger of his faithfulness to the literary sources for both his previous opera, *The Gambler*, and *The Fiery Angel*, was later acknowledged and addressed by the composer.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, Robinson sees this acknowledgement as part of the evolution of Prokofiev's career as an operatic composer and librettist. In Chapter III, Robinson discusses the various issues concerning the libretto for *The Fiery Angel* – upon which the composer worked himself, apart from where he consulted with Demchinsky during the revision process.

One of the first problems Robinson discusses is the first-person narration of Bryusov's novel – written in the first person and set in sixteenth-century Germany, the novel is an impressive imitation of the medieval period centred on three characters (two human and one supernatural). This issue was overcome by Prokofiev in his libretto by

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<sup>18</sup> Harlow Robinson, 'The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev and their Russian Literary Sources' (PhD diss., University of California, 1980).

<sup>19</sup> 'In *The Gambler* and in *The Fiery Angel* I was too dependent on the text. From now on I shall be guided exclusively by the idea of the subject and will develop it with much greater freedom, in accordance with the principles I enunciate today.' In SPD-2, 13, entry of 22 January 1924.

reducing Ruprecht's narrator characteristics, which are firmly embedded in Bryusov's novel through his long descriptive passages and meandering reflections on both his past and his relationship with Renata. Other problems Prokofiev faced as a librettist (for instance, the timeline of the events in Bryusov's novel, spread across a prolonged period of time and various locations, and Prokofiev's consequent attempts for its simplification in the libretto; the change of Ruprecht's position with Prokofiev's decision to place Renata in the central role from the beginning and through her predominance on the stage; the lack of the traditional vocal operatic conventions of aria, *arioso* and recitatives; and the conflict between the natural and supernatural) are all discussed and examined by Robinson in great detail. Furthermore, he explores the differences between Bryusov's novel and Prokofiev's libretto, providing us with a clear picture of Prokofiev's treatment of the novel and the reasons for the required revisions to the libretto.

Other valuable studies, either discussing the problems and specifics of the dramaturgical construction of the opera or providing a complex analysis of the libretto, have been produced both in the West and in Russia. In 1996, Mikhail Tarakanov published a monograph, *Ranniye opery Prokof'yeva: Issledovaniya*, containing a complex analysis and discussion of the dramatic features of *The Fiery Angel* and its vocal stylistic peculiarities.<sup>20</sup> Several other studies and articles which analyse and explore the source of the opera (Valery Bryusov's novel), and the process of adapting the text to create *The Fiery Angel's* libretto, have also appeared in the last two decades. Noteworthy articles on the subject include the article by L. Kirillina, 'Ognennyy angel: Roman Bryusova i opera Prokof'yeva' (1991),<sup>21</sup> providing a complex comparison of Valery Bryusov's novel and Prokofiev's opera; Simon Morrison's article, 'Prokofiev and Bryusov (2002)',<sup>22</sup> and his translation of Prokofiev's letter to Boris Demchinsky (2002),<sup>23</sup> published in the *Three Oranges*; and a more recent article by John Elsworth, 'Prokofiev and Bryusov: The libretto of *The Fiery Angel*',<sup>24</sup> published in *Slavonica* in 2014.

In recent years there has been a significant increase in publications (both in the West and in Russia) extending the biographical knowledge of Prokofiev's life and career,

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<sup>20</sup> Mikhail Tarakanov, *Ranniye opery Prokof'yeva* (Moscow: Gos. In-t Iskusstvoznaniya, Magnitorskiy Muz.-Ped. In-t, 1996).

<sup>21</sup> L. Kirillina, 'Ognennyy angel: Roman Bryusova i opera Prokof'yeva', *Moskovskiy muzikoved*, no. 2 (1991): 136-156.

<sup>22</sup> Simon Morrison, 'Prokofiev and Briusov', *Three Oranges*, no. 3 (May 2002): 13-15.

<sup>23</sup> Simon Morrison, 'Letter to Boris Demchinsky', *Three Oranges*, no. 3 (May 2002): 16-18.

<sup>24</sup> John Elsworth, 'Prokofiev and Bryusov: The libretto of *The Fiery Angel*', *Slavonica* 10, no. 1 (2004): 3-16.

both as a composer and as a pianist, which include Harlow Robinson's *Serge Prokofiev: A Biography*;<sup>25</sup> Neil Minturn's *The Music of Sergei Prokofiev*;<sup>26</sup> Daniel Jaffé's *Sergey Prokofiev*;<sup>27</sup> Simon Morrison's *Russian Opera and the Symbolist Movement*;<sup>28</sup> David Nice's biography, *Prokofiev: From Russia to the West 1891-1935*;<sup>29</sup> and Simon Morrison's *The People's Artist: Prokofiev's Soviet Years*.<sup>30</sup>

In his *Russian Opera and the Symbolist Movement*, Simon Morrison discusses four composers (Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky, Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, Alexander Scriabin and Serge Prokofiev) who (as he states) occupy different places in the history of Russian Symbolism. Here, Morrison offers an insight into the operas of the Russian Silver age in a context of literary symbolism and their musical contribution, through the examination of the individual works and their literary sources. In the fourth chapter (Prokofiev and Mimesis), which is of particular interest to this thesis, Morrison devotes equal attention to both versions of the opera, discussing the genesis, dramaturgic qualities and weaknesses of the individual versions, and supports his observations with detailed comparative analyses. Morrison also provides a very detailed discussion of the dramaturgic structure of *The Fiery Angel* and Prokofiev's second attempt to revise it in 1930. Furthermore, he offers an unusual and (as he describes it) quite provocative approach, viewing *The Fiery Angel* as a parody of Symbolist poetics.

In 2013, Natalia Savkina published an article, 'Ob Angele pervom, o Borise Nikolayeviche Demchinskom, o perepiske s nim Sergeya Sergeyevicha Prokof'yeva i o sotrudnichestve, kotoroye odnazhdy ne sostoyalos',<sup>31</sup> in which she discusses several specific issues, including the importance of Christian Science in Prokofiev's life and its role in the shaping of the opera, as well as the collaboration between Prokofiev and Demchinsky. Savkina's continued interest in *The Fiery Angel* resulted in the publication of

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<sup>25</sup> Harlow Robinson, *Sergei Prokofiev: A Biography* (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1987).

<sup>26</sup> Neil Minturn, *The Music of Sergei Prokofiev* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

<sup>27</sup> Daniel Jaffé, *Sergey Prokofiev* (London: Phaidon, 1998).

<sup>28</sup> Simon Morrison, *Russian Opera and the Symbolist Movement* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2002).

<sup>29</sup> David Nice, *Prokofiev: From Russia to the West 1891-1935* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003).

<sup>30</sup> Simon Morrison, *The People's Artist: Prokofiev's Soviet Years* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>31</sup> Natalia Savkina 'Ob Angele pervom, o Borise Nikolayeviche Demchinskom, o perepiske s nim Sergeya Sergeyevicha Prokof'yeva i o sotrudnichestve, kotoroye odnazhdy ne sostoyalos', *Russkiye muzykal'nyye arkhivy za rubezhom. Zarubezhnyye muzykal'nyye arkhivy v Rossii. Moskovskaya konservatoriya* 76, no. 6 (2013): 3-77.

the monograph, *Ognennyi Angel S. S. Prokof'yeva: K istorii sozdaniya*, in 2015.<sup>32</sup> Predominantly, Savkina conducted her research at The Serge Prokofiev Archive and Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, as did the author of this thesis.<sup>33</sup> Across six chapters, she discusses the first version, the revised version, as well as an unrealised third version of the opera, and Prokofiev's interest in Christian Science. Her exploration of the individual stages of *The Fiery Angel* and the events that have shaped the opera are well organised, allowing us to follow its evolution almost uninterruptedly. To strengthen and support her discussion, Savkina relies heavily on Prokofiev's correspondence, which she meticulously processes and employs in the main text of her monograph. It is thanks to this publication that Prokofiev's correspondence, especially his letters relating to *The Fiery Angel* (previously only accessible through archival institutions), was made more widely available.

In 2015, in her dissertation, 'Stilevyie i dramaturgicheskiye osobennosti opera S. S. Prokof'yeva 'Ognennyi angel'',<sup>34</sup> Vera Gavrilova discusses Prokofiev's revision process, including his treatment of Bryusov's novel and the vocal style of the opera, and also assesses the strengths and weaknesses of the 1927 libretto. In the first two chapters, Gavrilova focuses on Bryusov's novel and Prokofiev's restructuring of the narrative in his libretto, starting with a detailed analysis and discussion of Prokofiev's personal copy of Bryusov's novel (as preserved at RGALI in Moscow). Gavrilova provides a consistent and complex discussion of the novel's stylisation, its autobiographical aspects, and

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<sup>32</sup> Natalia Savkina, *Ognennyi Angel S. S. Prokof'yeva: K istorii sozdaniya*, (Moscow: Nauchno-izdatel'skiy tsentr Moskovskaya konservatoriya, 2015).

<sup>33</sup> In 2013, the Serge Prokofiev archival collections, which were housed at Goldsmiths, University of London, and the depositary at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, were relocated to a new depositary at the Rare Book & Manuscript library at Columbia University Special Collections (New York, USA). All materials used during the research for this thesis and production of the critical edition of composer's compositional sketch of the first version of the opera (VS 1923), which was previously stored at Goldsmiths, University of London, are now only available for consultation from its new depositary at the Rare Book & Manuscript library at Columbia University Special Collections (New York, USA). For more information about access and holdings, please contact Jennifer B. Lee (curator of the Performing Arts Collection): [jbl100@columbia.edu](mailto:jbl100@columbia.edu).

Whilst acknowledging the importance of Natalia Savkina's publication (*Ognennyi Angel S. S. Prokof'yeva: K istorii sozdaniya*), published in Moscow in 2015, which similarly deals with the genesis and evolution of *The Fiery Angel*, assurance is given that, for this thesis, all primary sources (e.g. Prokofiev's correspondence) were gained directly through archival work carried out by the author at The Serge Prokofiev Archive, RGALI and VMOMK, during the initial stage of his PhD research between 2012 and 2013. At no time did the author access, extract or duplicate the information (including Prokofiev's correspondence or diary entries) from Savkina's publication.

<sup>34</sup> Vera Sergeevna Gavrilova, 'Stilevyie i dramaturgicheskiye osobennosti opery S.S. Prokof'yeva Ognennyi angel' (PhD diss., Gosudarstvennyy institut iskusstvovedeniya, 2015).

Russian symbolist philosophy and aesthetics. However, whilst the first chapter is devoted fairly equally to the first version and the revised version, the following chapters are almost entirely focussed on the revised version of the opera.

Even more recently, two further publications, *Rethinking Prokofiev*<sup>35</sup> (edited by Rita McAllister and Christina Guillaumier) and *The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev*<sup>36</sup> (by Christina Guillaumier), have appeared, both making a very welcome further contribution to Prokofiev scholarship.<sup>37</sup>

In addition to the scholarly research published in the last 75 years, Prokofiev's diaries are another crucial source of the opera's complex compositional history. Prokofiev's diaries are mostly published in heavily redacted editions, with the exception of the publication (both in Russian and English) of his diaries from 1907 to 1933, annotated by Anthony Phillips.<sup>38</sup> The first volume of this indispensable publication covers Prokofiev's years at the St. Petersburg Conservatoire and the genesis of his earliest works – including his first two piano concertos, first violin concerto, and the Classical Symphony. The second volume covers Prokofiev's remaining years in Russia before his decision to head to the West, his long and exhausting journey to the U.S.A. followed by a difficult time there, and lastly his decision to relocate to Paris (Prokofiev's home for his final years in the West). It also contains many references directly related to the genesis of *The Fiery Angel* and on his day-to-day work on the opera – not only his battles, failures, and annoyances, but also his happiness and satisfaction with his work on the opera's first version.

Whilst volume three continues with Prokofiev's life in Paris, it also chronicles the growing number of his engagements in the Soviet Union. Alongside this complex insight into Prokofiev's life in Paris, revealing one of the most important and perhaps regrettable decisions in his life – his return to Soviet Union, it also provides the story of many other compositions composed in the West – most importantly *The Fiery Angel* and the Third Symphony. In addition to Prokofiev's regular and extensive updates on the revision of

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<sup>35</sup> Rita McAllister and Christina Guillaumier, *Rethinking Prokofiev* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

<sup>36</sup> Christina Guillaumier, *The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2020).

<sup>37</sup> However, these publications were not obtained in time for submission and were therefore not considered.

<sup>38</sup> Sergey Prokofiev, *Diaries 1907 – 1914: Prodigious Youth*, trans. Anthony Phillips (London: Faber & Faber, 2006).

Sergey Prokofiev, *Diaries 1915 – 1923: Behind the mask*, trans. Anthony Phillips (London: Faber & Faber, 2008).

Sergey Prokofiev, *Diaries 1924 – 1933: Prodigal Son*, trans. Anthony Phillips (London: Faber & Faber, 2012).

*The Fiery Angel*, his planned Vocal Suite, and the Third Symphony, the composer (through his notes) also provides us with an insight into his understanding of Christian Science and how this eventually might contribute to the shaping of his opera, *The Fiery Angel*.

This exceptionally meticulous, three-volume publication of Prokofiev's diaries (translated by Anthony Philips) is a valuable tool for researchers (with the volumes dealing with the years 1915 – 1923 and 1924 – 1933 being particularly pertinent to this thesis), and also provides useful referencing, including an extensive index of all the people Prokofiev mentions in his diaries. In addition to his published diaries, Prokofiev's correspondence also acts as another fundamental source for examination of both his life and career as a composer. SPA and RGALI each hold hundreds of unpublished letters, held alongside those that have been published in such collections as *S. Prokof'jev i N. Ya. Myaskovskij: Perepiska*,<sup>39</sup> from 1977; *Sergey Prokof'jev - Sergey Kusevitskiy: Perepiska, 1910-1953*,<sup>40</sup> published in 2011; and individual letters published in articles and issues of the journal, *The Three Oranges*.

The contributions of Soviet, post-Soviet and Western scholars, have had an enormous impact on our understanding of Prokofiev's life and career as a composer and pianist. Whilst several publications (as already mentioned) directly explore and analyse *The Fiery Angel* and its evolution, there is still a considerable amount of further work and exploration required to be done to fully understand its complicated journey. To complete the overview of the compositional process of *The Fiery Angel* opera, as examined by the previously mentioned scholars through the research in their work (such as the in depth musical analysis of the revised version of the opera, as presented in McAllister's 'The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev'; the discussion of Valery Bryusov's novel and Prokofiev's adaptation of it by Gavrilova in her 'Stilevyie i dramaturgicheskiye osobennosti opery S.S. Prokof'yeva Ognennyi angel'; and the adaptation of Bryusov's novel by Robinson in his 'The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev and their Russian Literary Sources'), a critical edition of the composer's compositional sketch of the first version (VS 1923) is indeed still needed to achieve a more informed re-evaluation of the first version of the opera. The present portfolio (through a critical edition, accompanied by a critical commentary, reconstructed and translated libretto, stage directions, and stage settings of the first version), aims to

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<sup>39</sup> D. B. Kabalevskiy, ed., *S. S. Prokof'jev i N. Ya. Myaskovskij: Perepiska* (Moscow: Sovetskij Kompozitor, 1977).

<sup>40</sup> Sergey, Kousevitskiy, *Perepiska 1910 – 1953*, ed. Viktor Yuzefovich (Moscow, Deka-VS, 2011).

more vividly highlight the initial conception of the opera and the composer's compositional process, by means of a more direct experience with it. This aim (which might not be perceived as vividly in the previous published research without such a direct insight into Prokofiev's compositional process, working methods, and habits) is achieved through the presentation of VS 1923 in the accompanying critical edition in a more readable and performable format, with a detailed analysis of all visible annotations (as recorded in VS 1923) referenced in the critical commentary.

Therefore, based on the outcomes of independent research, this thesis, along with the accompanying Critical Edition of VS 1923 (Volume II) and supported by the Critical Commentary (Volume I, Part 2), intends to contribute to existing scholarship. Additionally, the critical edition (embracing all relevant primary and secondary source materials, in addition to an evaluation of the musical text) also offers an evaluation of the composer's initial transformation of Bryusov's novel into a libretto, through a reconstructed libretto and stage directions of the initial concept (in both the original language and its English translation) – now made available to a wider audience for the first time.<sup>41</sup> By presenting the critical edition, scholars and students (indeed anyone with interest in the opera) will have access to a more complex picture, allowing for a more comprehensive evaluation of both versions, and a better appreciation of the discarded first version of the opera (currently only accessible by direct consultation with The Serge Prokofiev Archive).

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<sup>41</sup> The lyrics, as found in the Critical Edition (Volume II), are in the original Russian text. The stage directions, as found in the Critical Edition, are in Russian with English translation. The English translation of the libretto, and its detailed cross referencing with the revised version of the opera, is provided separately in the Critical Commentary (Volume I, Part 2).

## Chronology of Composition

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This section explores the genesis of Prokofiev's opera, *The Fiery Angel*, and its development over four key periods:

- Period 1 (1919 – 1923): the work on the first version, as preserved in VS 1923;
- Period 2 (1923 – 1925): the immediate work on the opera after the composer completed the first version, including the work on Vocal Suite Op. 37bis;
- Period 3 (1926 – 1927): the first revision of the opera;
- Period 4 (1928 – 1930): the second attempt to revise it, and the transformation of the opera into Symphony No. 3, Op. 44.

### Period 1 (1919 – 1923)

Prokofiev was first introduced to Bryusov's novel, *The Fiery Angel*, in around 1917 by Boris Bashkirov (Verin) – a close friend and minor poet. Two years later (in 1919) Prokofiev finally obtained a copy during his visit to New York.<sup>42</sup> The novel introduces *The Fiery Angel* as a true story in which the Devil 'not once but often' appears 'in the Image of a Spirit of Light to a Maiden', Renata, inciting her to various and many sinful deeds.<sup>43</sup> It is written (as Harlow Robinson describes) as an imitation of the sixteenth century style, where the narrator, Ruprecht, 'fills in his biography up to the point where the present time of the narrative begins in the first Chapter'.<sup>44</sup> From the outset, the story's autobiographical concept is delineated through the personification of the author. However, despite Bryusov drawing from real-life experience in the narrative's symbolic love triangle, evoking the historical and documentary character of the novel, the book has little in common with his autobiography.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> 'It is some time since I have had any Russian books in my hands, but Samoilenko has just given me one, and it is very good: Bryusov's *The Fiery Angel*, which Boris Verin mentioned to me about two years ago. We are plunged immediately and irretrievably into the heart of sixteenth-century superstitions. The hero of the story is a man of reason, who tries, with the understanding of his times, to shake them off.' In SPD-1, 442, entry of 30 November 1919.

<sup>43</sup> Valery Bryusov, *The Fiery Angel*, trans. Ivor Montagu and Sergei Nalbandov (Sawtry: Dedalus Ltd, 2005), ix.

<sup>44</sup> Harlow Robinson, 'Bryusov's *Ognennyj Angel*: Novel and Opera', manuscript LP5/1 (SPA), 20 September 1976, 4.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

Bryusov positioned himself in the role of the narrator (Ruprecht), whilst the role of the other two characters, Count Heinrich (Madiel) and Renata, were assigned to the ‘very real’ Andrey Bely and Nina Petrovskaya, respectively.<sup>46</sup> The Russian novelist, poet and literary critic, Andrey Bely (real name Boris Bugayev), was one of the most esteemed members of the Symbolist movement in Russia. Nina Petrovskaya met Bely in 1903 after she joined the prominent symbolist group called ‘Argonauts’, where she became madly enamoured with him.<sup>47</sup> However, Petrovskaya’s attraction and desire for Bely appears not to have been fulfilled – as revealed in Bely’s memoirs, where he describes his love for Nina as akin to that one experiences between brother and sister, not the love between two lovers.<sup>48</sup> Eventually, Bely concluded their affair as his personal failure; after their relationship ended, Petrovskaya turned her amorous attention to Valery Bryusov.

It was while Bryusov was living out the last relatively peaceful stage of his relationship with Petrovskaya that he decided to put this stormy love triangle to paper in a rather grandiose *roman à clef*.<sup>49</sup> Petrovskaya (described by Vladislav Khodasevich in his memoirs as a broken and disillusioned neurotic woman,<sup>50</sup> and by Richard Taruskin as ‘one of those writers who never wrote anything, without whom no literary movement is complete’<sup>51</sup>) played an important role in shaping the concept of Bryusov’s demonic novel, *The Fiery Angel*, through her direct personal involvement with him during the period he wrote it. After her relationship with Bryusov ended, Petrovskaya emigrated to Paris and became Prokofiev’s neighbour during the period when he was still revising the opera – a fact he was apparently unaware of.<sup>52</sup> Prokofiev actually never met Petrovskaya, and was only made aware of her close proximity in the form of unconfirmed gossip from Anna Petrovna (as noted in his diary on 16 June 1926<sup>53</sup>) two years before Petrovskaya committed suicide in Paris in 1928.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> The resemblance instigated by Bryusov, drawing from real life events of his fellow friend and novelist, Andrey Bely and Nina Petrovskaya, has been studied by numerous scholars, including Simon Morrison and Richard Taruskin.

<sup>47</sup> Richard Taruskin, *On Russian Music* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 19.

<sup>48</sup> Andrey Bely, *Nachalo veka* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaya literatura, 1990), 43.

<sup>49</sup> Taruskin, *On Russian Music*, 224.

<sup>50</sup> Vladislav Khodasevich, *Nekropol’: Vospominaniya* (Brussels: Les Editions Petropolis, 1939), 7.

<sup>51</sup> Richard Taruskin, *On Russian Music*, 19.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 230.

<sup>53</sup> ‘Anna Petrovna said that apparently “Renata” is still alive and living in Paris. When she goes back to Russia she will find out from Voloshin everything she can about this woman and write to me.’ In SPD-2, 338, entry of 16 June 1926.

<sup>54</sup> Vladislav Khodasevich, *Nekropol’: Vospominaniya*, 7.

Whilst starting to uncover the context of the novel (as noted in his diary on 30 November 1919), Prokofiev was overwhelmed by its subject and dramatic potential, being plunged irretrievably into the heart of sixteenth-century superstitions, and impatiently read the novel over the next couple of weeks. Eventually, during his visit to Chicago and whilst still working on *The Love for Three Oranges*, he resolved to compose a new opera on the subject. On 3 December 1919, Prokofiev noted in his diary that the postponement of the Chicago Opera's production of *The Love for Three Oranges* to the next season was more or less imminent. His distress and utter dissatisfaction with this decision climaxed in the middle of that month, when finally the answer to the question bothering him increasingly since reading the Bryusov novel became definitively clear – a new opera of fascinating subject and powerful potential would be made, despite *The Love for Three Oranges*' destiny still being unresolved.

In his diary on 13 December 1919, Prokofiev records that he had pondered the scenario of *The Fiery Angel* but was far from deciding to embark on writing this opera.<sup>55</sup> One possible reason for Prokofiev's hesitation was due to the careful respect of the literary sources he chose for his libretti.<sup>56</sup> Prokofiev wrote the libretto of the first version of *The Fiery Angel* entirely on his own, which (as Robinson suggests) gave him a degree of control over the literary aspects of his opera that few other composers (Wagner included) enjoyed.<sup>57</sup> The original libretto plan of the opera is preserved within Prokofiev's personal copy of the 1909 edition of Valery Bryusov's novel held at RGALI. This copy reveals the emerging concept of the libretto in an (as yet) undeveloped form, with the notes and inscriptions being inserted as Prokofiev read through the novel. Most of these inscriptions and marked text were later extracted to form the libretto of the opera, as preserved within VS 1923.

The libretto of Act I took only about a month to complete after Prokofiev had begun reading the novel, as noted in his diary entry from 2 January 1920.<sup>58</sup> Working progressively through it, he completed the libretto of Act II on 17 January 1920. On the same day, having discussed his original libretto plan with Boris Nikolayevich Samoilenko,

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<sup>55</sup> SPD-1, 446, entry of 13 December 1919.

<sup>56</sup> Robinson, 'The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev and their Russian Literary Sources', 10.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>58</sup> 'I started another read through of *Fiery Angel*, thinking out the first act, and managed to lose myself a little in it, worked until fatigue set in and all but finished the libretto for the whole of the first act. Now I need to go through it again line by line and fill in a few blanks.' In SPD-1, 457, entry of 2 January 1920.

Prokofiev decided not to develop the sixth scene with Count Adalbert von Wellen in the castle (originally planned to be a mini-diversion from the main story line) as he now found it superfluous. The work on the libretto of Act III began on 4 February 1920 and was completed only a few days later on 6 February 1920 whilst he was still making final adjustments to the Act I libretto.<sup>59</sup> The work on the remaining acts (Acts IV and V) began sometime after 29 April 1920, as noted in Prokofiev's diary.<sup>60</sup> Less than a month later, Prokofiev noted that he had arranged to read through three scenes from *The Fiery Angel* with Fyodorovich Stahl, and would also consult with him on the rest of the opera.<sup>61</sup> As also expressed in his diary, Prokofiev valued Stahl's excellent feeling for the stage and his incisive intelligence. This resulted in him receiving 'unexpected and very interesting' advice from Stahl concerning the psychology of Renata in the fourth scene (Act III, Scene 1 - episode where Renata incites Ruprecht to kill Heinrich), which was constructed from the text of Chapter VII, and the conclusion of the scene at the Inn with Dr Faust and Mephistopheles. Prokofiev's diary entry from 4 October 1922 reveals that he was still planning to devote much thought to the libretto and the structure of Act V – as he himself puts it, in a difficult and pivotally crucial matter that one could not simply undertake by sitting down to it with a clear head.<sup>62</sup> The final form of the original libretto was not fully completed until January 1923, with Prokofiev again re-examining the concept of Act IV and finding a solution to the inconclusiveness of both this episode and the final scene between Ruprecht and Mephistopheles, as found in the novel.<sup>63</sup>

After Prokofiev had completed the annotation and outlining of the plot in his personal copy of the novel (Bryusov – RGALI), he began writing out thematic ideas in his sketchbook. Prokofiev always carried sketchbooks with him in case a new melodic,

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<sup>59</sup> 'Spent the morning thinking out the libretto for the third act and wrote some of it out.' In SPD-1, 471, entry of 4 February 1920.

'Worked on the Act Three libretto.' In SPD-1, 472, entry of 5 February 1920.

'Later on I worked on the libretto and achieved a lot: finished Act Three, and tidied up and wrote out some of Act One.' In SPD-1, 472, entry of 6 February 1920.

<sup>60</sup> SPD-1., 502, entry of 29 April 1920.

<sup>61</sup> This diary entry reveals that Prokofiev had a rather interesting debate with Alexey Fyodorovich Stahl, a lawyer and former Public Prosecutor of the Provisional Government, whom Prokofiev first met in Yokohama in 1918, who then emigrated to the USA, and had taken a great liking to him. Stahl had initially expressed his reservation about the subject of the opera in a discussion with Prokofiev on 14 December 1919, and warned Prokofiev that he is going to create a scandal with the Church in Catholic countries. However, this time during their discussion, as noted on 20 May 1920 in his diary, Stahl gave what Prokofiev noted as 'unexpected and very interesting advice'. In SPD-1, 515, entry of 20 May 1920.

<sup>62</sup> SPD-1, 677, entry of 4 October 1922.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 699, entry of 13 January 1923.

harmonic or rhythm motif, complete melody, or even cluster of complete melodies, might suddenly crystallise in his imagination.<sup>64</sup> This practice enabled Prokofiev to extract when needed (what were in some cases) already refined thematic ideas, or even a complete set of melodies, without the need for extensive adaptation. Thanks to this precise way of working, we are able to track the genesis of *The Fiery Angel* from the initial sketches preserved in thematic notebook No. 1,<sup>65</sup> to the very last sketches preserved in sketchbook RGALI Sketches 1930, alongside the incomplete scenario from his second attempt to revise the opera in 1930.

The first themes for *The Fiery Angel* appeared in Prokofiev's thematic notebook No. 1 (SPA\_052) on 17 December 1919.<sup>66</sup> Further manipulation of the sketched material (preserved by Prokofiev from mid-December 1919) commenced on 20 January 1920. That day (as noted in his diary) Prokofiev wrote the scene between Ruprecht and the Hostess of the Inn (f.1r, VS 1923), which opens the opera.<sup>67</sup> Following on from the annotated plan for the libretto, Prokofiev began to compose material directly into VS 1923 (main source), frequently referring to the thematic notebook No. 1.

The work on Act I and Act II of the first version of the opera was completed in a remarkable speed of less than 3 months. On 22 January 1920, Prokofiev noted in his diary that a letter from Otto Kahn promised a talk with Giulio Gatti-Casazza, the manager of the Metropolitan Opera, who had shown an interest in seeing the libretto of *The Fiery Angel*. However, the opera was still in its early stages with Prokofiev only having

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<sup>64</sup> Mark Aranovsky, 'Observations on Prokofiev's Sketchbooks', trans. Jason Strudler in *Sergey Prokofiev and His World* ed. Simon Morrison (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008), 403.

<sup>65</sup> This sketchbook consists of 32 sheets of manuscript paper folded as 16 bifolia bound together by two sets of metal staples. The notebook is in landscape format measuring 170mm x 130 mm, and each folio is printed with nine staves. The date, *13 Dek 1919* (13 December 1919), appears in Prokofiev's hand on the first folio in the top right corner above the first staff, confirming that Prokofiev began to use this thematic notebook shortly after he drafted the scenario of *The Fiery Angel* as confirmed in his diary entry from 13 December 1919: 'Pondered the scenario of Fiery Angel, even though I am very far from deciding to embark on writing this opera.' Visual examination of the notebook reveals the use of three different types of ink – black, blue (initial layer), red crayon (annotated corrections) and pencil (additional material). Inspection of this source reveals that within the 32 sheets of manuscript paper, Prokofiev managed to preserve the most important thematic ideas used in the composition of *The Fiery Angel*. The ideas, preserved in this thematic notebook, vary in the level of their refinement. The ideas preserved in the thematic notebook range from fully developed ideas not requiring any special treatment in the process of extraction, to only partially developed ideas consisting of either very basic melodic material, rhythmic patterns or only partially outlined harmony.

<sup>66</sup> 'In the afternoon I pasted reviews into my scrapbook and jotted down some themes I have in mind for *Fiery Angel*.' In SPD-1, 448, entry of 17 December 1919.

<sup>67</sup> SPD-1, 465, entry of 20 January 1920.

composed several pages from Act I and the libretto of Act III still being thought through (finally completed on 5 February 1920). Four days before its completion, Prokofiev had learned that Gatti would not now even consider talking about the possible staging of the *Three Oranges* at the Metropolitan Opera, and as a rule would not accept a work (i.e. *The Fiery Angel*) that was not yet complete.

Despite this disappointing news, Prokofiev continued to work with almost unchanged speed and enthusiasm. Indeed, by 15 February 1920 he had completed the section of Renata's hysterical outcry (from R7), which takes place just before the beginning of Ruprecht's Latin prayer (R31). However, Prokofiev was forced to stop at this point due to being uncertain of the correct Latin Accentuation (i.e. Latin Syllable stress), further confirming the meticulousness, fine level of detail and precision he subjected his works to. Renata's revelation of the story (from R47) was completed on 22 February 1920, just one week after Prokofiev commenced work on it. Prokofiev's eagerness to move fast with the opera, and his effort to avoid any interruption to the flow of his work, are well documented in his diary on the same day.<sup>68</sup> His satisfaction with this section is also expressed one day later when he evaluated his previous work and started to work on the next scene with the Hostess of the Inn. Whilst working on this scene, Prokofiev decided to postpone his work on the Violin Sonata – sketches for the Sonata are also present in the thematic notebook (No. 1) alongside sketches for *The Fiery Angel*. The work on Act I was completed in New York on 17 March 1920, as noted in the right corner of f.22v (VS 1923).

Alongside other engagements and a busy schedule in the U.S.A., fitting in work on the opera was not always an easy task for Prokofiev, as expressed in his diary. However, he managed to somehow keep almost the same pace whilst working on Act II, composed between 21 March 1920 and mid-April 1920. Whilst engaged in this task, Prokofiev found time to attend (what he called) a full-scale audition set up by Gatti with six other conductors for the staging of *The Love for Three Oranges* at the Metropolitan Opera, and for a possible acceptance of *The Fiery Angel*. At the audition, Prokofiev played an excerpt from Act I; however, Gatti found the music very difficult and was not prepared to take the risk.<sup>69</sup> Despite this rejection, Prokofiev was not prepared to abandon the opera,

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<sup>68</sup> 'Did a lot of work on *Fiery Angel* and moved Renata's story forward to the very end, turning down lunch with Ingerman so as not to interrupt the flow of the work. But from Gatti there is not a word, although I think by now I really should have heard something.' In SPD-1, 478, entry of 22 February 1920.

<sup>69</sup> SPD-1, 492-3, entry of 1 April 1920.

instead only anticipating a temporary interruption. However, it did lead to a dip in Prokofiev's motivation (as documented in his diary entry from 13 April 1920), which is also evident in the scant attention to detail he paid to the Entr'acte of Act II – originally composed in a fragmentary, embryonic form, which Prokofiev would not develop fully until the revision process in 1926-7.<sup>70</sup> Indeed, what Prokofiev had anticipated would only be a short break from the opera turned out to last for almost two years. However, towards the end of this considerable rest period, Prokofiev appears to have re-found the impetus to complete the opera in his new surroundings at Ettal in the Bavarian Alps.<sup>71</sup>

On 6 July 1922, with an enthusiastic plan to finish the opera by the summer of 1922, Prokofiev finally sat down in Ettal to compose Act III. Absorbing himself deeply in composition, he made brisk progress completing Act III on 1 September 1922 still in Ettal.<sup>72</sup> During the rest of that month, Prokofiev worked on Act IV whilst also working on the Suite from *Chout* – completing Act IV on the 4 October 1922. Soon after this, he turned his attention to the final act of the opera. Prokofiev planned to devote much thought to the libretto and indeed to the whole structure of the final Act – a difficult and pivotally crucial matter, as noted in his diary prior to embarking on working on the music. The complexity of the compositional process of the final act is documented in Prokofiev's diary and (perhaps more importantly) in VS 1923. Prokofiev's aim was to move forward quickly with Act V, so the difficult sections were left in an embryonic form to be resolved later. However, these sections were not fully resolved until the revision of the opera in 1926.<sup>73</sup> The discarded Scene 2 of the final act was completed on 13 January 1923, thus completing the first version of the opera despite many sections of the final act being in fragments.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> 'I have put *Fiery Angel* to one side, as is only to be expected after the rejection by the Metropolitan, but I hope it is only a temporary interruption and that after a few days I will be motivated to press on with it. In the afternoon Mme Izvolskaya took me to tea with Mrs Otto Kahn, whose house is a quite remarkable edifice, something like an Italian palazzo. I had hoped to raise the question of the opera, since she is said to have an even greater influence than her husband, but the occasion was a reception with a large number of guests, so conversation was confined to courtesies and salutations. However, a French singer from the Metropolitan Opera, not knowing who I was, did tell me that recently some Russian composer or other...Proko...Proko...she could not quite remember his quite unpronounceable name, had played Gatti his opera, which had been completely crazy Futurist nonsense.' In SPD-1, 496, entry of 13 April 1920.

<sup>71</sup> Nice, *Prokofiev: From Russia to the West 1891-1935*, 167.

<sup>72</sup> SPD-1, 675, entries between 25 February to 23 November 1922.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 684, entry of 25 November 1922.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 699, entry of 13 January 1923.

Following the completion of the score (as noted in his diary from 16 to 18 January 1923), Prokofiev re-visited several sections needing further attention, especially the ending of Act IV, patchy sections of Act V, and the ending of Act II. However, from the end of January 1923 until at least the summer of 1923, work on the opera was postponed once again, with Prokofiev instead working on an opening (using Renata's aria from Act I) for a planned Vocal Suite from *The Fiery Angel*, Op. 37bis. This Vocal Suite is the first evidence of Prokofiev's desire for further development of the preserved material taken directly from VS 1923, and his determination to continue to work on the opera despite Giulio Gatti-Casazza's rejection of it.

## Period 2 (1923 – 1925)

The plan to write the Vocal Suite came to Prokofiev almost immediately after the first version of the opera was completed on 13 January 1923.<sup>75</sup> The Vocal Suite is preserved in SPA\_193 together with the sketches and fragments dated between 1923 and 1925.<sup>76</sup> The official title was to be *Вокальная сюита из оперы Огненный Ангел* (Vocal Suite from the *Fiery Angel* opera), with the first part to be called *Рассказы Ренаты* (Stories of Renata).<sup>77</sup> The title page also contains a date inscription (1923) found on the top right corner below Serge Prokofiev's name, which does not appear to be in Prokofiev's own hand – most likely having been added later by his secretary and musical assistant, Mikhail Astrov.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> By 1923 Prokofiev had already completed three Suites – Scythian Suite, Op. 20, Suite from Chout, Op. 21bis, and the famous Suite from *The Love for Three Oranges*, Op. 33bis. Later in his life the number of suites Prokofiev composed reached the respectable number of 21, plus two that remained unfinished – the Vocal Suite from *The Fiery Angel*, Op. 37bis and the last suite from the cycle of four derived from *The Tale of the Stone Flower*, to be called *The Mistress of Copper Mountain*, Op. 129.

<sup>76</sup> An autograph manuscript (SPA\_193) of full score fragments dated 1923 for a planned Vocal Suite from the opera, together with sketches, is held in the SPA, filed in a loose-leaf folder. The folder consists of 60 sheets of manuscript, photocopied from the original autograph manuscript. The autograph manuscript is in portrait format; however, the size of the manuscript paper cannot be measured, as the original autograph manuscript has not been available for further examination. The facsimile copies reveal several different manuscript papers, not bound but inserted in a loose-leaf folder. The folder contains manuscript printed with 16 staves (12), 18 staves (14), 20 staves (4), 22 staves (12), 24 staves (13), 25 staves (1) and nine blank pages with hand-written staves.

<sup>77</sup> Both of these titles contain a spelling error – *Огненный* instead of *Огненный*, and *Рассказы* instead of *Рассказы*, which indicates that Prokofiev was still using the Old Russian alphabet, as can be seen in VS 1923.

<sup>78</sup> McAllister, 'The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev', 296. Prokofiev's other assistants included Felix Labunsky and Gyorgy Popa-Gorchakov. Labunsky was a piano and composition student of Jazeps Vitol and Vasily Kalafati, who was appointed by Prokofiev in the summer of 1926 on recommendation of Alexander von Schubert, Nina Koshetz's husband. Gorchakov, as described by Anthony Phillips in Vol. 2 of Prokofiev's diaries, was a polyglot linguist and fellow Christian Scientist, who became a close friend of the family and

Similarly, the numbering of each surviving folio in the manuscript is likely a later addition by Astrov.

The Vocal Suite was to have consisted of a number of continuous excerpts from the opera with each to be given a concert beginning and ending.<sup>79</sup> The fully orchestrated fragment of Renata's long narrative from Act I (as preserved across the first seven folios of the facsimile from SPA\_193, with the piano part at the bottom of each one) is the first fully developed and orchestrated material of the opera, and also comprises the first movement of the Vocal Suite. When comparing this fragment with the corresponding part in VS 1923, it is found to be almost identical, including in its dynamic, articulation and tempo markings. Also, being derived directly from the first version of the opera prior to the revision process, it is probably the only material Prokofiev fully realised to be used in the Vocal Suite. The remaining part of this source (SPA\_193) contains material related to the revision process itself, thus confirming that any work carried out after the summer of 1923 (as preserved within SPA\_193) was done after Prokofiev's decision to revise the opera.<sup>80</sup>

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Prokofiev's assistant until 1929. Gorchakov's main contribution was the help he provided Prokofiev during the realisation of the short score of *The Fiery Angel* revised version (SPA\_192) into a full score. After Gorchakov left Prokofiev to work for Edition Russe de Musique, he was replaced in 1929 by Mikhail Astrov, whom Prokofiev met at the same publishing house.

<sup>79</sup> McAllister, 'The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev', 296.

<sup>80</sup> Material preserved between f.8r and f.16r is the first definite sign of Prokofiev's attempt to re-organise Act I, by introducing the new character of the Fortune-Teller and his consideration to move Ruprecht's attempt to violate Renata to Act II. Fragments found between f.16v and f.23v appear to be re-organised and re-composed fragments from Act II, in particular the opening of Act II without the scene with students, as at the beginning of the first version, and Ruprecht's and Agrippa's altered dialogue from the end of the first version. Both of these fragments, f.16 – f.23 and f.31 – f.37, were used by Prokofiev during the actual revision of the entire work commenced in 1926. F.29 – f.30 contain a fragment confirming Prokofiev's decision to include the new character of Glock in Act II. F.31 contains an indication of Scene II, Act II revision, later used in realisation of the overall revision of the first version in 1926. The above-mentioned fragments are preserved in piano-score format, with a single vocal line and only occasional indications of instrumentation or further development of the idea, as is the case with the remaining material found within this source. F.23 – f.28 preserve sketched fragments from Act I of the first version; in particular the scene with the sudden mysterious knocks towards the end of Act I (R157). No significant alterations appear to have been made to the material extracted from the first version of the opera, apart from minor changes to the vocal line and the libretto. The remaining f.37 – f.45 are fragments of Act II and Act III, preserved in piano-score format with only occasional occurrence of vocal lines and with the text in abbreviated form. F.45 reveals what appears to be a title page for Prokofiev's plan to edit some of Schubert's Waltzes. The folio is rotated anticlockwise and consists of the indication 'Schubert-Prokofiev' at the top left corner both in Cyrillic and Latin, with the title first in Russian followed by French – *Valses (pour deux pianos)*. Dating (1925) is found in the middle of the manuscript in what appears to be Prokofiev's handwriting. The empty space below the title is used to preserve a sketched fragment from Act IV started on previous folio. F.46 – f.60 preserve the first attempt to realise the incomplete fragmentary sketched ideas of the final act, as

On 2 July 1923, whilst the concept of the Vocal Suite was still on the table, Prokofiev sent a letter to Boris Demchinsky informing him of his five-act opera (*The Fiery Angel*) and expressing a wish to consult with him on the subject.<sup>81</sup> This was not the first time Prokofiev had asked for advice from Demchinsky, the philologist writer, whom he had met in St. Petersburg in 1908.<sup>82</sup> Prokofiev had developed a deep admiration for Demchinsky's intellect and literary skills, having put them to the test during his work on *Ala et Lolly* and the libretto for *The Gambler*.<sup>83</sup> In his letter, Prokofiev now expressed a desire to consult with Demchinsky on the scenic integrity and transformation of Bryusov's novel into a libretto even though the music had already been written, albeit not yet orchestrated. Despite this, Prokofiev knew that Demchinsky would critically appraise the libretto with the same level of 'infernal bitterness' he had shown for his first ballet for Diaghilev, *Ala et Lolly*.<sup>84</sup> Seeing huge potential in this collaboration, Prokofiev asked Demchinsky to make annotations directly to his libretto.<sup>85</sup> Demchinsky eventually agreed to help, but progress was very slow mainly due to Demchinsky's tardiness of response.<sup>86</sup>

On 20 February 1924, Prokofiev met Ernest Oeberg, Managing Director of the Russian Musical Editions, to discuss potential dates for a forthcoming recital. During this meeting, Prokofiev also learned of Oeberg's plan to support an opera company and (as a result) of his interest in Prokofiev's operas. *The Fiery Angel* instantly came to Prokofiev's mind, so he wrote to Demchinsky on the same day urging him to get on with the changes to the libretto and to provide annotations (specifically page numbers and paragraphs) so that Prokofiev could directly implement the changes to the libretto himself.<sup>87</sup> He also asked Demchinsky to reduce the wordiness of some of the scenes, especially Renata's long narrative in Act I (taken directly from Bryusov's novel), without any alteration or reduction. Prokofiev stressed to Demchinsky at the same time that the effectiveness of

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preserved in the first version of the score, alongside the first alteration to Act V of previously fully developed material.

<sup>81</sup> Serge Prokofiev, letter to Boris Demchinsky, 2 July 1923, SPA, IV.

<sup>82</sup> SPD-2, 21-22, footnote for entry of 17 February 1924.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 21-22, footnote for entry of 17 February 1924.

<sup>84</sup> Serge Prokofiev, letter to Boris Demchinsky, 2 July 1923, SPA, IV.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., IV.

<sup>86</sup> 'I will be delighted to help you with the libretto of *The Fiery Angel*. Already now, I have a presentiment that the sorceresses will give you a triumph with the opera.' In Boris Demchinsky, letter to Serge Prokofiev, 12 July 1923, SPA, IV.

<sup>87</sup> In SPD-2, 22-23, entry of 20 February 1924.

certain parts of the libretto, which might seem static and without dramatic impetus, would increase with musical setting.<sup>88</sup>

Between May and June of 1924, Prokofiev's hopes of finally securing a performance of *The Fiery Angel* were raised; however, sadly his expectations were unfulfilled and no contract was actually signed. At the end of July 1924, Prokofiev sent another letter to Demchinsky expressing his irritation at not hearing back from him.<sup>89</sup> On 19 August 1924, Prokofiev finally received an indication from Demchinsky that he would be prepared to make amendments to the libretto.<sup>90</sup> However, the letter also indicated that Demchinsky was not in the best of financial situations, and would therefore require monetary reward for his efforts.<sup>91</sup> Whilst the letter itself does not survive, as the negotiations between the two continued, we can assume Prokofiev initially agreed to Demchinsky's conditions. In early October 1924, upon hearing of the collapse of the Hébertot Opera Company, on which *The Fiery Angel's* fate depended, Prokofiev was left 'speechless with rage!'<sup>92</sup> Despite this disappointing news, Prokofiev did not give up, but the date of the revision process was once again postponed.

In April 1925, things started to look much brighter again for the opera. On 19 April that year, Prokofiev received a much-awaited further letter from Demchinsky finally accepting to work on the libretto for a fee.<sup>93</sup> Prokofiev's intense excitement on receiving Demchinsky's acceptance translated into a remarkably long letter in response.<sup>94</sup> In this lengthy reply (dated 25 April 1925), Prokofiev's genuine delight is expressed towards the end of the second paragraph – 'I consider you to be a surgeon, who is trying to correct the humpback by cutting out the hump. I tremble just with a thought that the music, on which I worked for three years will have to be completely rewritten again.'<sup>95</sup>

Despite this jubilation, the second half of 1925 saw no real improvement to this very slow collaboration with Demchinsky. On 31 October 1925, Prokofiev met the conductor Eugen Szenkár in Cologne, who had expressed an interest in staging *The Fiery*

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<sup>88</sup> Serge Prokofiev, letter to Boris Demchinsky, 20 February 1924, SPA, V.

<sup>89</sup> Serge Prokofiev, letter to Boris Demchinsky, 23 July 1924, SPA, V.

<sup>90</sup> SPD-2, 90, entry of 19 August 1924.

<sup>91</sup> 'A delicate hint that such work should be paid for, which is only reasonable. I wrote the answer.' In SPD-2, 90, entry of 19 August 1924.

<sup>92</sup> SPD-2, 101-2, entry of 8 October 1924.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 154, entry of 19 April 1925.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 157, entry of 25 April 1925.

<sup>95</sup> Serge Prokofiev, letter to Boris Demchinsky, 25 April 1925, SPA, VII.

*Angel*. However, Prokofiev was quite reluctant to make a firm commitment, as he was still hoping Berlin might stage it, and so did not (at first) accept Szenkár's provisional offer, and, in any case, the opera was far from completion.<sup>96</sup> On 1 December of the same year, Prokofiev noted in his diary that, in view of the reluctance of Demchinsky to move things on further, his hope of getting him to start the task now lay with his friend, Eleonora Damskaya (a fellow student of Prokofiev's from St. Petersburg Conservatoire), who had promised Prokofiev she would intervene.<sup>97</sup> However, *The Fiery Angel's* destiny was marked by another long period of silence between December 1925 and January 1926.

### **Period 3 (1926 – 1927)**

On 23 January 1926, Fyodor Weber, the Berlin-based director of the Russian Musical Editions, wrote to Prokofiev expressing a definite interest in staging the opera in Berlin. Prokofiev's diary entry on 5 February 1926 confirms this came by telegraph – 'A telegram from Weber saying that without benefit of any acquaintance with the music *The Fiery Angel* has been accepted by the Berlin Opera.'<sup>98</sup> For Prokofiev, this was the first good news concerning *The Fiery Angel* for several months, but unfortunately he had not yet received word from Demchinsky. So, on 15 March 1926, Prokofiev wrote to Demchinsky urging him to fulfil his promise.<sup>99</sup> In the letter, Prokofiev demanded that the libretto plan should be received no later than 1 May, the first two acts no later than 1 June, and the remaining acts by 1 July. Two weeks later, on 26 March 1926, Demchinsky's agreement was telegraphed to Prokofiev and acknowledged by him.<sup>100</sup> However, it was still a month later than agreed when Demchinsky finally sent Prokofiev his first plan for the libretto.<sup>101</sup>

This plan, sent on 30 May 1926 and received by Prokofiev on 7 June 1926, provides us with a close insight into both the start of Prokofiev's collaboration with Demchinsky and the early stage of the revisions to the libretto. Unfortunately, however,

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<sup>96</sup> SPD-2, 224, entry of 31 October 1925.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 224, entry of 1 December 1925.

<sup>98</sup> SPD-2, 264, entry of 5 February 1926.

<sup>99</sup> 'Dear Boris Nikolayevich do not be surprised if a dollar drop out of this letter. This is to pay for the telegram, as I urgently require your answer.' In Serge Prokofiev, letter to Boris Demchinsky, 15 March 1926, SPA, X.

<sup>100</sup> 'Thank you for your acceptance. Money sent.' In Serge Prokofiev, telegraph to Boris Demchinsky, 26 March 1926, SPA, X: 198.

<sup>101</sup> Boris Demchinsky, letter to Serge Prokofiev, 30 May 1926, SPA, XI: 1.

despite Prokofiev's repeated demands to fulfil the agreement on 4 July 1926,<sup>102</sup> 8 July 1926,<sup>103</sup> and again on 19 July 1926,<sup>104</sup> there was still no reply from Demchinsky. By 24 July 1926, as evidenced in a letter sent that day to Demchinsky, Prokofiev had started to lose his patience. In the letter, he was forced to remind Demchinsky that their relationship was now on a business footing, and, as both the publisher and Prokofiev had fulfilled their part of the contract, Demchinsky was now expected to do the same.<sup>105</sup> Despite this pressure, Demchinsky did not actually fulfil his contract and his revised and corrected libretto was never received by Prokofiev. However, the libretto plan and series of letters between the two men discussing the changes in the opera had an immense impact on Prokofiev in the shaping of its final form.

Four months after Weber had expressed an interest to accept *The Fiery Angel* at the Berlin Opera House, the opera was still far from complete. So, on 15 July 1926, Prokofiev decided not to waste any further time waiting for Demchinsky to respond and started a thorough revision of the score – noting in his diary on the same day that he had revised and cleaned up some of the harmonies and vocal parts of the scene with the Hostess and Ruprecht from Act I.<sup>106</sup> At the same time and with a great amount of detail, Prokofiev started to mark up the orchestration to enable his assistants to transcribe it later into a fully orchestrated score.

From around July 1926, Prokofiev concentrated on completing the previously incomplete sections and on the orchestration, which was inputted in the score (short score – SPA\_192) with clear instructions for Labunsky at first to follow, thus saving Prokofiev time.<sup>107</sup> His second assistant, Gorchakov, then undertook the actual orchestration of the complete score, eventually producing a fair-copy – SPA\_189. On 22 July 1926, Prokofiev sent Demchinsky an ultimatum to fulfil the contract. With a further lack of response, Prokofiev was forced to make a difficult decision – either to abandon

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<sup>102</sup> 'Have you received the letter dated 18 June? When will you send first act? Prokofiev' In Serge Prokofiev, telegraph to Boris Demchinsky, 4 July 1926, SPA, XI: 137.

<sup>103</sup> 'Please answer my question. When will you send the first act? Prokofiev.' In Serge Prokofiev, telegraph to Boris Demchinsky, 8 July 1926, SPA, XI: 144.

<sup>104</sup> 'Silence is unacceptable. Please answer. Prokofiev.' In Serge Prokofiev, telegraph to Boris Demchinsky, 19 July 1926, SPA, XI: 189.

<sup>105</sup> Serge Prokofiev, letter to Boris Demchinsky, 24 July 1926, SPA, XI.

<sup>106</sup> SPD-2, 348, entry of 15 July 1926.

<sup>107</sup> Despite the fact that Labunsky was not orchestrating but only following Prokofiev's precise instructions, the progress was, at the beginning, very slow. It took some time for Labunsky to get use to Prokofiev's system, but eventually he mastered the ins and outs, as Prokofiev noted in his diary. In SPD-2, 351, entry of 23 July 1926.

the collaboration with Demchinsky and complete the task himself, or risk materials not being orchestrated and ready for the planned production in Berlin at the end of the summer 1926. This tension finally came to a head on 24 July 1926, when Prokofiev wrote to Demchinsky advising him that (from now on) the revising of the opera was in his (Prokofiev's) hands only.<sup>108</sup>

The timeline of the revision process and orchestration of the opera stretched across the whole of 1926 and summer of 1927. The revision of Act III (completed on 1 October 1926) and Act IV (completed on 23 November 1926) were completed before Act I (completed on 29 July 1927). This was due to the less extensive interventions required in comparison to the more demanding Act V (completed on 9 June 1927) and Act II (completed on 19 August 1927). After the whole process was completed, Prokofiev's assistant, Gorchakov, transcribed his shorthanded notes into the full score, which Prokofiev called a purely mechanical exercise. On 19 August 1927, a nightmare hanging over Prokofiev for two years finally disappeared when he completed the orchestration of Act II.<sup>109</sup> On the following day, Prokofiev prepared a set of instructions for a copyist, in order to ensure the smooth preparation of the orchestral parts for publishing.<sup>110</sup> At the same time, Prokofiev commenced work on the vocal score (with preparation of the realised score from Prokofiev's short score still in the hands of Gorchakov) and began the extensive revision of *The Gambler*. The lithographed vocal-score (SPA\_009), completed at the end of summer 1927 with German text (published by A. Gutheil in the same year), was specifically prepared for rehearsals at the proposed (but not realised) premiere in Berlin.<sup>111</sup>

#### **Period 4 (1928 – 1930)**

Prokofiev's resolute unwillingness to abandon the idea of *The Fiery Angel* is apparent in his successful transformation of the opera into Symphony No. 3, Op. 44 (1928), and is also documented in his plan (never fully realised) to revise the opera once again in 1930. Following the completion of the first revision of the opera and the unfortunate refusal of

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<sup>108</sup> SPD-2, 352, entry of 24 July 1926.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 621, entry of 19 August 1927.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 621, entry of 20 August 1927.

<sup>111</sup> 'Spent all day at the publishers discussing various small matters and correcting mistakes in the lithograph of the *Fiery Angel* vocal score. I had another look at Lopatnikoff's Sonatina and still liked it, but once again did not think much of Fédorov's pieces.' In SPD-2, 636, entry of 16 September 1927.

Bruno Walter and others to stage it, Prokofiev seems to have returned to his previous idea of transforming it into a non-dramatic genre. It was during the time when Koussevitzky was preparing excerpts from *The Fiery Angel* for its premiere on 14 June 1928 that Prokofiev began to contemplate the idea of composing a symphony out of the opera.

Work on the Symphony (dedicated to Myaskovsky) began on 1 August 1928 and was completed on 5 November 1928. The Symphony, which draws directly and extensively from the *Fiery Angel*, is in fact a product of extraordinary condensation–compression of the five act opera into a four-movement symphony. However, although the opera greatly infiltrated the Symphony, Prokofiev disliked it being called ‘*The Fiery Angel* Symphony’. Following a successful premiere in Paris on 17 May 1929, conducted by Pierre Monteux, the Symphony was performed in Brussels on 5 April 1930 (alongside the *Divertimento* and Piano Concerto No. 3), conducted by Ernest Ansermet, at De Grote Zaal – Henry Le Boeuf’s newly opened Centre for Fine Arts. Three years later, during Prokofiev’s visit to the Soviet Union in 1933, the Symphony was again performed in St. Petersburg.

Despite the positive acceptance of the Third Symphony, Prokofiev’s perpetual dissatisfaction with the opera spurred another (incomplete) revision in 1930. Even after four major opera houses had turned down *The Fiery Angel* on the grounds of the music’s difficulty, the undramatic nature of the libretto, and the recycling of the music in the Symphony No. 3, Prokofiev could still not accept that his creation would never be staged.<sup>112</sup> So once again, whilst on tour in the U.S.A., he decided to tackle the problematic issues of the transformed prose into the libretto – coincidentally, in the same city and at the same hotel where the original idea for the opera was conceived.<sup>113</sup>

On 12 January 1930, Prokofiev received a call from Sergey Sudeikin, a designer at the Metropolitan Opera in New York, to come to a meeting with Tullio Serafin, a principal conductor at the same House, and the producer, Ernst Lert, to discuss *The Fiery Angel*.<sup>114</sup> During the meeting at Sudeikin’s house, Prokofiev outlined the subject of the opera. However, whilst Serafin was impressed, Sudeikin was not very convinced and

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<sup>112</sup> SPD-2, 848, entry of 26 June 1929.

<sup>113</sup> Prokofiev stayed in Great Northern Hotel in New York during his first visit to USA in 1919, during his second visit and his third visit in 1930.

<sup>114</sup> SPD-2, 901 – 902, entry of 12 January 1930.

complained about the lack of dramatic action – a negative response not helped by the fact that Prokofiev did not actually have the score with him at the time. After Prokofiev's return from Boston to New York on 3 February 1930, the score he had requested from a clerical assistant of the Éditions Russes de Musique in Paris, Gavriil Paichadze, on 17 January 1930 finally arrived. Upon its receipt, Prokofiev began to seriously consider changes to *The Fiery Angel* in order to improve the problematic sections.

The prospect of his opera never being staged almost ten years after he had set out on the task, made Prokofiev realise he would have to make sacrifices, compromises and amendments to his original ideas. Prokofiev remarked on the necessity of further revisions to the opera on 5 February 1930, after the play-through of selected passages from *The Fiery Angel* to Sudeikin. Whilst the music had made a good impression, Sudeikin also commented that, alongside the magnificent set pieces, there were unbearably long narratives.<sup>115</sup> Despite this, Sudeikin agreed to work with Prokofiev on the task; however, in the end (as noted by Prokofiev) he completed the abridged libretto himself.<sup>116</sup> Prokofiev's revised scenario was then read to Sudeikin, who approved it without any objections.<sup>117</sup> Following Sudeikin's concept, Prokofiev sketched out reconstructions of the second and third acts, combining them both in one continuous act of seven scenes.<sup>118</sup> This was not however the definitive version of the scenario plan.

In March 1930, Prokofiev learned that Sudeikin was engaged with designs for *The Flying Dutchman* and had put his work on *The Fiery Angel* to one side.<sup>119</sup> So the prospect of having the opera staged in the next season at the Metropolitan Opera was (once again) placed on hold. Despite this setback, Prokofiev set to work on making further corrections to (what he called) an amateurish translation of the abridged libretto,<sup>120</sup> which he then sent to Edward Ziegler – head of the Metropolitan Opera's finance department.<sup>121</sup> The day before this, Sudeikin sent a copy of the revised libretto to Serafin, also informing him

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<sup>115</sup> SPD-2, 916, entry of 5 February 1930.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 918, entry of 8 February 1930.

<sup>117</sup> On that the same day (8 February 1930), Prokofiev met in the Artist's room Vladimir Rosing, director of the American Opera Company, who proposed staging *The Fiery Angel*: 'should plans with the Metropolitan Opera fail to come to fruition'. In SPD-2, 918, entry of 8 February 1930.

<sup>118</sup> The work on the proposed changes to the libretto was completed, as noted in his diary, on 10 February 1930 and sent off to Sudeikin on the same day. In SPD-2, 919, entry of 10 February 1930.

<sup>119</sup> SPD-2, 929, entries between 4 - 7 March 1930.

<sup>120</sup> The original Russian text was first translated into 'bad English', then was turned into improved English, and thence, eventually, into French. In SPD-2., 929, entries between 4 - 7 March 1930.

<sup>121</sup> SPD-2, 929, entries between 4 - 7 March 1930.

that the vocal score still required further adjustments to the music. He proposed to organise a meeting between 16 - 17 March at the Metropolitan Opera (prior to Prokofiev's departure to Europe) to discuss the possible premiere of *The Fiery Angel* in either the 1930/31 season or the following season. However, the news that Prokofiev had been dreading ever since the rejection from Bruno Walter came again, and his hopes and plans for *The Fiery Angel* were dashed once more – 'Unwelcome news from Sudeikin: Gatti's opinion of the libretto of *Fiery Angel* is that it is "unacceptable", thus blackballing me for the second time, ten years after the first.'<sup>122</sup>

The attempt to secure a performance of the opera at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York, survives in the form of a short and incomplete scenario (RGALI Synopsis 1930) typed in English<sup>123</sup> and accompanied by thematic ideas with textual incipits – preserved on seven pages of thematic notebook (RGALI Sketches 1930). The front page of this scenario contains a short hand-written note found in the upper right-hand corner – 'The Fiery Angel Opera in 3 acts and ten scenes, words and music by Serge Prokofiev, adapted from Valery Bryusov. The approximate length of the opera being 2 hours of music.'<sup>124</sup> This short inscription, most likely entered by Prokofiev himself, suggests fundamental structural changes with the reduction by two acts to a three-act format. Whilst this modification (at first sight) would appear to be a fairly significant intervention, closer inspection of the scenario reveals no greater changes to the dramatic structure of the opera than found in the first completed revision process in 1927. The significance of this inscription at such an early stage in the second revision process, is Prokofiev's recognition of the need to find a definitive solution to the structural problems of the opera, which had been only partially rectified in the revision process. Prokofiev attempted to rectify this by means of a simple and effective conjunction of the most dramatically interconnected acts – i.e. Act I, Act III, Act IV and Act V.

The rejection from the Metropolitan Opera House did not stop Prokofiev trying one more time to have *The Fiery Angel* staged in the U.S.A., this time by Vladimir Rosing, director of a small American Opera Company.<sup>125</sup> Rosing came up with a suggestion that

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<sup>122</sup> SPD-2, 934, entry of 17 March 1930.

<sup>123</sup> RGALI, f. 1929, op. 1, yed. khr. 9

<sup>124</sup> RGALI, f. 1929, op. 1, yed. khr. 7

<sup>125</sup> A diary entry from the same day shows Prokofiev's worry and hesitation over Rosing's previous proposal, due to the fact that it was hard for him to imagine having the opera performed with an orchestra of 36 members.

Prokofiev should employ one of his students to create an alternative version of the opera by downscaling it to fit the proportions of a 36-piece orchestra.<sup>126</sup> Prokofiev rejected this idea and instead suggested that Rosing should raise some money to commission Prokofiev to write a new opera, which he would (in the first instance) write for a small orchestra.<sup>127</sup> However, as in the case of the Metropolitan Opera, this final attempt was never realised, thus concluding Prokofiev's decade-long struggle and active work on the opera on a note of unfortunate capitulation.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> SPD-2, 935, entry of 19 March 1930.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 935, entry of 19 March 1930.

<sup>128</sup> From the available sources accessible during the research, the last note by Prokofiev in relation to *The Fiery Angel* production comes in a letter from 12 December 1934. According to Natalia Savkina, Prokofiev sent the letter to his cousin Katya (Ignat'eva Ekaterina Aleksandrovna) mentioning a possible production of either *The Gambler* or *The Fiery Angel* at the Mariinsky Theatre in the autumn of the following year, which was, however, never realised. In *Ognennyy Angel S. S. Prokof'yeva: K istorii sozdaniya*, 70.

## Chapter 2: Summary of Principal Differences

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This chapter presents a summary of the principal differences between the first version of the opera (1923), as presented in the Critical Edition (Volume II), and the revised version (1927). Before embarking on an appraisal and comparison of the two, it is important to establish the main structural differences between them.

Both versions consist of five acts and seven scenes. However, the scenic division and chronology of the episodes in Acts II and V in the first version differs from the revised version, as illustrated in Table 2.1 on the following page. In the first version, Prokofiev composes Act II as a one-scene act, connecting it with the following act by an Entr'acte positioned at the end. However, in the revised version, Act II is divided into two scenes through the repositioning of the Entr'acte between the newly composed Scene 1 and revised Scene 2. Inversely, Act V of the first version is divided into two scenes; however, in the revision process, Scene 2 (Death of Renata) is discarded, so Act V of the revised version only consists of one scene.

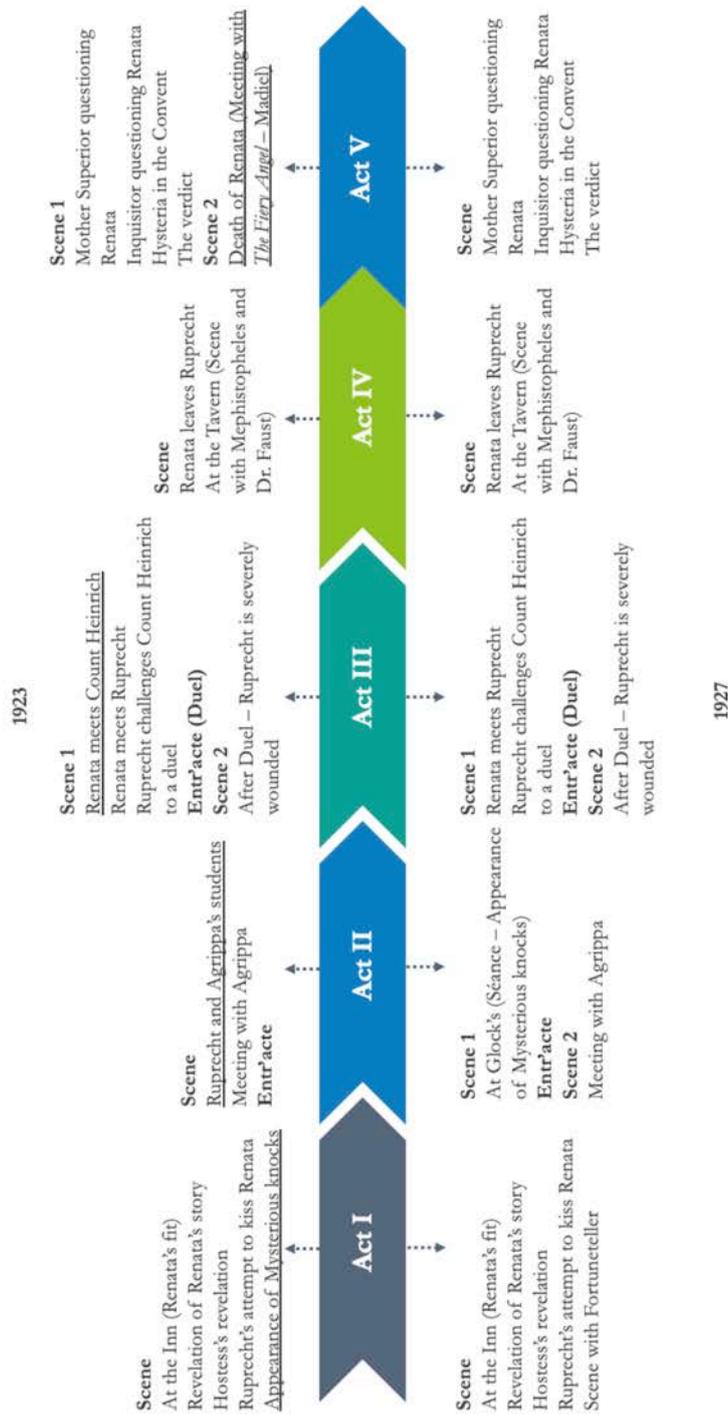
Table 2.1 also illustrates the chronology of the episodes and their inclusion or deletion in the revision process. Act I of the first version consists of five episodes, the same as its counterpart in the revised version. However, in the revision, the concluding episode ('Appearance of Mysterious Knocks') is significantly expanded and moved to the beginning (Scene 1) of Act II.<sup>129</sup> In its place as the concluding episode of Act I, Prokofiev inserts a completely new scene with the Fortune-Teller. Act II of the first version begins with Ruprecht and Agrippa's students. However, in the revision, this episode is entirely replaced by the new Scene 1 (At Glock's – Séance), consisting of the expanded episode (Appearance of Mysterious Knocks) and completely new episode of Renata's and Ruprecht's visit at Glock's. The Entr'acte is repositioned between Scene 1 and Scene 2 (Meeting with Agrippa), which also undergoes an extensive revision. Act III of both versions is constructed of two scenes with only one major intervention – namely, the removal of the opening episode of Renata meeting Count Heinrich in Scene 1 and the addition of the Doctor (a new character towards the end of the act). In both versions, Act IV consists of one scene with only minor modifications to music and libretto in the

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<sup>129</sup> Savkina in *Ognenny Angel S. S. Prokof'yeva: K istorii sozhdaniya* states that the expanded episode with Mysterious Knocks as part of Scene 1 of Act II (second version) became one of the central scenes in the opera. In Natalia Savkina, *Ognenny Angel S. S. Prokof'yeva: K istorii sozhdaniya*, 226.

revision. The final act (Act V) of the first version is constructed as a two-scene act with a short musical interlude connecting Scene 1. This is identical in the revised version but Scene 2 (Death of Renata) is not included.

Table 2.1: Comparison Table



In the revision process, Prokofiev focuses primarily on improving the sections of the score that require his further attention, either due to the aesthetics or the incompleteness of certain sections – specifically the Entr'acte of Act II and majority of Act V. As a result of this extensive revision, VS 1923 is overlaid by numerous emendations and annotations, which fall into two categories based on the level of their impact on the original text. The first category of emendations (Minor Corrections) consists of alterations to the original text not having a significant impact on the dramatic structure of the individual scene or act – namely, the correction of the individual pitch or accidentals; transposition of the material; rhythmical division and metrical changes; and smaller additions to the score (such as partial re-composition of the material or minor changes to the libretto). The second category of emendations (Major Corrections) consists of removal of a whole section or part of the score, either without substitution or replaced with newly composed material (new libretto, new musical material, additional characters), thus making the original text redundant and significantly changing the dramatic and musical structure of the individual act or scene.

The following section presents a summary of the principal differences between the first version of the opera (as preserved in VS 1923) and the revised version, by revealing the individual amendments having a major impact on both the musical and dramatic structure of the opera systematically act by act.

## **Act I**

Increasingly, up until the episode with the Hostess and Ruprecht, Prokofiev makes minor alterations to both the music and libretto falling under the first category of emendations (Minor Corrections). The first major amendment falling under the second category of emendations (Major Corrections) can be detected in the episode with the Hostess and Ruprecht from R100. Here, at the top right-hand corner above the first stave on f.12r of VS 1923, a stage instruction can be found written in pencil proposing the entrance of the Hostess with a new character – the Labourer.<sup>130</sup> Ironically, this episode is probably the

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<sup>130</sup> The vocal-parts of the Labourer, only fragmentary sketched, with accompanying text written in shorthand in VS 1923, were further developed in the SPA\_193, as preserved between f.8r and f.9v. The role of the Labourer is not significant, as he only echoes selected words from The Hostess' vocal line, and in the majority of cases the very last words of the Hostess' individual lines. McAllister states in 'The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev', 301, that, by the echoing of her words by the Labourer, Prokofiev emphasises the comic value of the Innkeeper's superstitious pronouncements. The comic character of this episode can,

most preserved scene with the fewest revisions to both musical material and libretto. However, the addition of a character to the dialogue between Ruprecht and the Hostess just before the scene with the Fortune-teller, and through his repetition of selected text from the Hostess' part, appears to lighten the tension. Also, as McAllister explains, the role of the Labourer is to offset the conversational nature of the drama of this episode.<sup>131</sup>

The second major change occurs in the episode where Ruprecht attempts to overcome Renata (from R128). In both versions, the dialogue between Renata and Ruprecht (R114 – R127/R108R – R120R) serves the function of controlled preparation for a dramatic and musical climax (achieved in R130 /R123R - at the point where Ruprecht tries to seize Renata). After Renata's sexualised vocal part, in which she sings to Ruprecht about pressing her bare breast on Madiel, Ruprecht misinterprets her intentions. The sexualisation of his part (commencing at R121R), where there is an evident change of mood in the orchestra, is preserved in both versions with identical Ruprecht vocal lines. However, in the revised version, the second response of Renata is halved, completely rewritten, and musically less dramatic than the original.

The musical interludes of both versions (beginning in R133/R125R, respectively) show significant differences – i.e. in the revised version, its size is significantly reduced (exactly by half) from forty-six measures (R133 - R141) to twenty-three (R125R - R128R); also, the first twenty-three measures of the first version (from R133) are not transferred.<sup>132</sup> However, the section (R125R to R126R) is replaced by newly composed material in the revised version, which is then connected in R127R with exactly the same material as in the first version.

The main significance of the revised version is in the different resolution of Ruprecht's violent behaviour towards Renata. Whilst in both versions the action is identical, the resolution of the conflict is approached differently. In the first version, we see a more proportionate division of Ruprecht's physical excitement and remorse for his actions towards Renata than we do in the revised version. The rapid progression of the action (portrayed through orchestral writing) culminates in both versions at the same point (R140/R127R, respectively), where a still overexcited Ruprecht suddenly feels

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therefore, be seen as an effort to lighten the atmosphere before the following scene in which Ruprecht tries to force himself on Renata, which is followed by another scene with the Fortune-Teller.

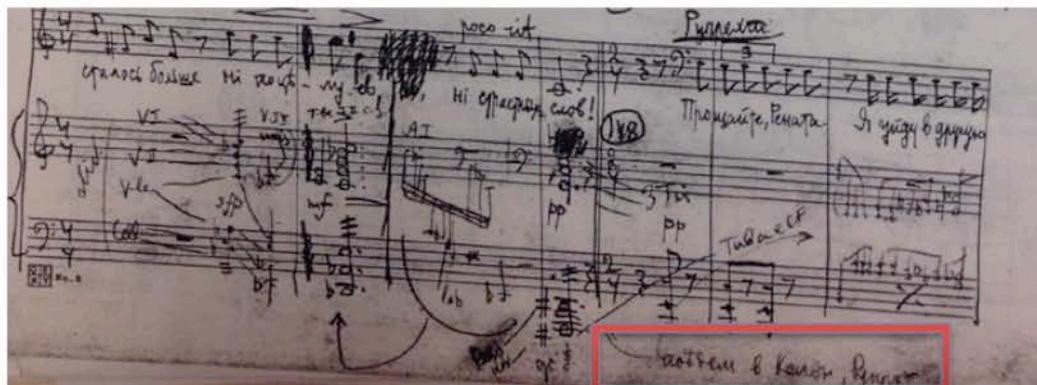
<sup>131</sup> McAllister, 'The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev', 301.

<sup>132</sup> See the score *The Fiery Angel* (1923), Volume II.

remorse for his actions. In both versions, Ruprecht's remorse and the process of 'calming down' is portrayed through arpeggio ostinato figures played by trumpets and strings. In the first version, this is stretched across 12 measures and ends at the point where Ruprecht is calm enough to apologise to Renata for his actions.<sup>133</sup> However, in the revised version, the arpeggio ostinato, which graphically depicts Ruprecht's racing heartbeat, only partially affects his feeling of remorse.<sup>134</sup> Also, the gradual decrease of tempo dictated by the ostinato comes much later at R131R and not, as in the first version, at R142. This is because the ostinato is merged with a new musical structure and continues to fade away as a secondary element of it.

Following Renata's response to Ruprecht, the section between R132R to R134R is preserved in the revision without any alteration. However, the following section (R148 - R158) is removed and the scene with the Fortune-Teller replaces the scene with mysterious knocks (Séance episode in the revised version), which concludes Act I in the first version. As shown in Figure 2.2 below, the indication for the change can be found at the bottom of R148 of VS 1923, where we find a note written in pencil – 'Let us go to Cologne, Ruprecht'.<sup>135</sup> Musical material for the scene with the Fortune-Teller (sketched on separate manuscript paper found between f.9v and f.15r of SPA\_193) is characterised by the syncopated ostinato, which enhances the supernatural atmosphere of the concluding scene of Act I.

Fig. 2.2: Indication of Change in VS 1923, Act I, R148, f.17r



<sup>133</sup> The 'calming down' affect is achieved by gradual changes in dynamics, a return to the previous tempo and multiplication of note values, creating the gradual decrease of the tempo.

<sup>134</sup> McAllister, 'The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev', 302.

<sup>135</sup> According to Prokofiev's diary, the libretto for the concluding episode of Act I was written out by the composer himself from Chapter II of Bryusov's novel. In SPD-2, 356, entry of 6 August 1926.

## Act II

Due to its poor theatrical efficiency, Prokofiev replaces the first half of Act II (the scene with Ruprecht and Agrippa's students) with a completely new scene, resulting in the division of the (previously continuous) act into two scenes – Scene 1, Renata's room in Cologne (Séance episode); and Scene 2, at Agrippa's house (Ruprecht meeting Agrippa), connected by the Entr'acte which was originally at the end of the act. The libretto of Scene 1 is adapted from Chapter III and Chapter V of the novel, adding a new character – the book seller, Jacob Glock. The first half of the scene before the appearance of mysterious knocks (based on Chapter V) is completely new.<sup>136</sup>

The Séance episode, which in both versions is characterised by the appearance of the mysterious knocks (performed by bass drum set off-stage), despite being completely rewritten, still contains some of the most important thematic ideas extracted from the first version – for example, the nine-measure phrase (Example 2.3) extracted from R153 and placed in the opening of Act II (Example 2.4). This short thematic idea represents the formation of the magic circle, which Prokofiev further develops and reintroduces still in its original place – i.e. before the first knock on the wall is heard at R209R. However, this time the idea no longer represents the magic and supernatural world but rather depicts Ruprecht's defeat and sadness, which is developed into the short contemplative interlude positioned between rehearsal numbers R204R – R209R (Example 2.5).

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<sup>136</sup> The mystical character of this new scene is represented by the magic circle, which Renata uses in her attempt to materialise her visions through the rituals mostly found in pagan folklore or even in the black mass. Simon Morrison stresses in *Prokofiev and Mimesis* that, in order to understand Prokofiev's revisions to this section of the opera, we need to consider the symbolism of the magic circle in Russian paganism. Morrison states that: 'Pagan Russia used the circle to create a barrier between the chaste space inhabitable by humans and the defiled space conceded to disease – and misfortune-bearing energies.' However, the circle Renata draws, with the bunch of roots and the various powders she was given by the Fortune-Teller at the end of Act I, has a different purpose. In contrast to the circle's primary role in Pagan folklore, its function in this scene is to instigate the supernatural action, rather than preventing it from happening. In Morrison, *Russian Opera and the Symbolist Movement*, 267.

Ex. 2.3: *The Fiery Angel*, Op. 37, (1923), Act I, Mm.867–875

867 **153** (Рупрехт повинуется и ложится на полу, положив голову на постель.)  
(Ruprecht obediently lies down on the floor, resting his head on the bed.)

Piano

871

Ex. 2.4: *The Fiery Angel*, Op. 37, (1927), Opening of Act II, Violin I

**Andante assai**

Violin I

*p molto espress.* *mf*

*p* *mf* *mf* *p*

Ex. 2.5: *The Fiery Angel*, Op. 37, (1927), Act II, Violin I, R204R

**Andante assai** **204**

Violin I

*mf molto espress.* *f*

*mf* *ff* *f* *mp* *pp* **ritenuto**

In the revised version, Scene 1 is extended by the presence of a new character (Jacob Glock), thus generating minor changes to Renata's and Ruprecht's vocal parts, and a newly formed dialogue between Ruprecht and Jacob Glock. The first noticeable structural change in the second act comes two measures before R213R, where Renata expresses her

reluctance to perceive the sudden appearance of the knocks – in the first version, they first appear during Renata’s resting, whereas they appear while she is fully conscious in the second version.<sup>137</sup>

The second change comes after Ruprecht starts questioning Renata about the knocks – Renata explains to Ruprecht that the knocks are produced by the ‘little demons’ and there is nothing to worry about. Ruprecht, however, continues questioning the knocks, making no connection to Count Heinrich until Renata asks (specifically at R173 / R218R) if whoever is making the knocks knows anything about her Count Heinrich? In the first version, this line is followed by Ruprecht’s, ‘Who are you? A household demon?’, to which they both respond in unison saying, ‘Yes’ – thus making a clear connection between the knocks and demonic power. However, the mystery around the knocks and their origin remains unresolved in the revised version, where, after their disappearance, Ruprecht’s promise (originally concluding Act I) is followed by a dialogue with Jacob Glock. Also, in the first version, there is no indication in Act I of the forthcoming scene with Agrippa. However, in Act II of the revised version, Glock suggests that Ruprecht should visit Agrippa of Nettesheim, indicating the forthcoming scene.

In the revised version, Scene 2 is introduced by the powerful Entr’acte previously positioned at the end of Act II. The cursory attention to detail in VS 1923 results in the Entr’acte being developed in more detail and in the usual piano format in SPA\_193.<sup>138</sup> In the first version, the Entr’acte does not form a structural bond with the previous scene with Agrippa, whereas it forms a detachable structural unit between the scene and Entr’acte in the revised version.<sup>139</sup> In the revision, the musical material from the Entr’acte carries forward and becomes the main element of Ruprecht and Agrippa’s dialogue, which does not happen in the first version.

The libretto of Scene 2 is completely restructured in the revised version, with most of the text from the first version either lost or significantly omitted, and a major change with the formation of the new dialogue between Ruprecht and Agrippa. Prokofiev also expands the questioning, thus creating a more balanced dialogue between Agrippa

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<sup>137</sup> Renata in first version: Ah, I am so tired! Let me sleep! and in the revised version: Oh, do not pester me.

<sup>138</sup> The completed revised Entr’acte is found in SPA\_192 between f.62r and f.66r, followed by Scene 2 preserved between f.66v and f.79r.

<sup>139</sup> McAllister, ‘The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev’, 307.

and Ruprecht. Ruprecht's questions are more formulated and specific, and at the same time Agrippa's responses are more proportionate to Ruprecht's questioning. Also, Agrippa's character and position are completely overturned in the revision process. According to Prokofiev, these structural changes to dialogue, the change to Agrippa's vocal range from baritone to (what McAlister calls) an asexual tenor, the inclusion of the Entr'acte in the musical structure of Scene 2, and the introduction of three human skeletons, all combine to create 'a both terrifying and compelling scene.'<sup>140</sup> Furthermore, in the revision process, Agrippa's answers are significantly reduced, and the flowery character of his speech removed completely in favour of aphorisms and enigmas – thus bringing him more in line with Bryusov's vision, in which (as Prokofiev said) the character portrays the empty and frightening deed to which magic leads.<sup>141</sup>

### Act III

The opening of Act III (Scene 1) remains in an almost unchanged form. However, the introductory theme – another ostinato figuration depicting Renata's excitement that opens the original concept (first version) of Act III (Scene 1), as shown in Example 2.6 – is extended by the denser eleven-measure idea, as shown in Example 2.7.

Ex. 2.6: *The Fiery Angel*, Op. 37, (1923), Act III, Scene 1, Mm.1–6

Перед домом Генриха. Улица. Вдали недостроенный Кельнский собор. Поздний вечер. Рената одна. Прохожих нет.

Outside of Heinrich's house. Cologne cathedral, under construction (uncompleted) is visible in the background. Late evening Renata alone and no passers-by on the street.

*Un poco Allegro*

<sup>140</sup> Serge Prokofiev, letter to Boris Demchinsky, trans. Simon Morrison, 18 June 1926, SPA, XI: 61 – 69.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

Ex. 2.7: *The Fiery Angel*, Op. 37, (1927), Act III, Opening of Scene 1, Violin I

The image shows a musical score for Violin I, titled "Allegro moderato". The score is written in 4/4 time and consists of three staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It starts with a rest, followed by a series of notes. Dynamics include *f espress.*, *ff*, *dim.*, and *mf*. The second staff continues the melody with dynamics *f* and *ff*. The third staff features a triplet of eighth notes, followed by a series of notes with dynamics *f* and *ff*. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings.

In the revision process, Prokofiev removes Renata's introductory monologue, which leads her towards Count Heinrich at R275. Furthermore, the whole dialogue involving an argument between Renata and Count Heinrich is removed. Silencing Count Heinrich and substituting his physical appearance with only his silhouette appearing in the window, was Demchinsky's contribution to the opera.

In the revised version, the opening of the scene, up to Ruprecht's entrance in R292R, is constructed from both revised and newly composed material. The main difference between the two versions is that, in the first version, Ruprecht does not recall his previous visit to Agrippa's house, whilst, in the revised version, Prokofiev makes a clear connection and links this episode with the previous scene through Ruprecht's vocal part at R293R. The following section, in which Renata tells Ruprecht about Count Heinrich's rejection, through to Ruprecht's expression of his love, followed by Renata's demand to kill Count Heinrich, Ruprecht challenging Count Heinrich to a duel, and lastly by Renata's demand not to kill Count Heinrich, is not significantly altered.

The Entr'acte between Scene 1 and Scene 2, depicting the duel between Ruprecht and Count Heinrich (described by McAllister as the most active scene in the plot), remains in almost unchanged form, with the exception of the middle section.<sup>142</sup> In the first version, Scene 2 commences with Renata's outburst concerning whether Count Heinrich is present in the room, which is interrupted by Matthew delivering news concerning the duel. In the revised version, Prokofiev removes the reference to Count Heinrich (sung by Renata at the very opening of the scene) and replaces it by the transposed and omitted

<sup>142</sup> McAllister, 'The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev', 311.

vocal part of Matthew; however, Renata’s response to Matthew between R381R and R382R is preserved. In the first version, the following section showing the disorientated Ruprecht not recognising Renata whilst gaining consciousness is removed, and Ruprecht’s response to Renata is omitted. According to Prokofiev, Ruprecht’s vocal part – ‘See Renata, here I am dying, in order that your Heinrich may live’, is replaced by the theatrically more effective – ‘You sent me to certain death’.<sup>143</sup> The second half of the scene, starting at the point of Renata’s declaration of her love to Ruprecht (one of the most lyrically emotional passages in the opera) is significantly altered, especially the concluding phrase – ‘I love you, Ruprecht’: as shown in the extract from the first version in Example 2.8, compared with its counterpart in the revised version, shown in Example 2.9, which is also echoed by the choir set off-stage.

Ex. 2.8: *The Fiery Angel*, Op. 37, (1923), Act III, Scene 2, Renata, R391/393<sup>144</sup>

**391/393** **Poco meno**  
*p dolcissimo*

Renata  
Я лю-блю те-бя, Руп-рехт! (Хор за кулисами)  
(Chorus off stage)

Chorus off stage  
Я люб-лю те-бя,

Ruprecht  
Ан-же-ли-ка! Сту-пай прочь!  
Ха-ха-ха-ха-ха-ха-ха-ха-ха, Ха!

<sup>143</sup> Serge Prokofiev, letter to Boris Demchinsky, trans. Simon Morrison, 18 June 1926, SPA, XI: 61 – 69

<sup>144</sup> Renata: I love you, Ruprecht! Chorus of Woman: I love you, Ha-ha-ha... Ruprecht: Angelica go away!

Ex. 2.9: *The Fiery Angel*, Op. 37, (1927), Act III, Scene 2, Renata, R393<sup>145</sup>

**Poco piu mosso**  
**393**

Renata  
Я лю-блю те-бя, Ру - прехт! Я лю-блю те-бя, Ру - прехт!

Ruprecht  
Ан

Chorus of Woman  
Я лю-блю те-бя Я лю-блю те-бя

Я лю-блю те-бя, Ру - прехт! Я лю-блю те-бя, Ру - прехт! Я же-ли-ка, крас-но - ко - жа-я... Сту-пай прочь!

бя Я лю - блю те - бя Я лю-блю те-бя

In the first version, the echoing commences on the second beat of the forthcoming measure, whilst in the revised version, it commences on the last beat of Renata's phrase 'I love you, Ruprecht' – thus creating a much closer structural bond between these two melodic lines. Also, the amended vocal line (as shown in Example 2.9), constructed of an ascending melodic line from d to f sharp and repeated three times by the choir on its third occurrence at R396R, contains the additional descending melodic line in reverse (f sharp to d natural), representing the demonic laughter mocking Renata's responses – in the case of the first version, this is part of Renata's declaration from the first appearance in R391. In the revised version, the concluding section in which Matthew arrives with the doctor, is enriched by the newly composed vocal part of the doctor that ends Scene 2 and Act III, rather than by Matthew as in the first version.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>145</sup> Renata: I love you, Ruprecht! I love you, Ruprecht! Chorus of Woman: I love, love you! I love, love you  
Ruprecht: Angelica, Redskin... go away!

<sup>146</sup> The text for this revised ending can be found on f.114r of VS 1923 and musical material on f.115r of SPA\_192. Neither in the first version's ending of Scene 2 nor in the revised ending, did Prokofiev indicate whether Ruprecht would die or not. However, by the added extra vocal line, in which the Doctor reveals that nothing is impossible for medicine in the sixteenth century, accompanied by a solo bassoon melody with a clear resemblance to Ruprecht's leitmotiv, he depicted even more uncertainty, leaving Ruprecht's destiny (whether he has died or not) in the air. According to Natalia Savkina, Fyodor Fyodorovich Komissarzhevsky suggested that Prokofiev should conclude the second scene of Act III with a Doctor rather than with Matthew, as in the first version of the opera. In Ognenny Angel S. S. Prokofyeva: K istorii sozdaniya, 228.

## Act IV

The libretto for the first half of Act IV (before the scene with Mephistopheles and Faust), is characterised by intense, condensed dramatic action, consisting of Renata's ultimate rejection of Ruprecht, which is preserved almost without any alteration in the revised version. Hardly any changes are made to the libretto, with the exception of several minor amendments to the syntax of Ruprecht's and Renata's vocal parts. The main change occurs in Renata's response to Ruprecht after his apology in R401/R403R, which is greatly altered and expanded.<sup>147</sup> The musical introduction (from three measures before R400R up to R401R) is recomposed; however, despite these modifications, it contains the core melodic and harmonic structures of the original material, as preserved in VS 1923.

In the second part of Act IV, the episode with Mephistopheles and Faust in the Tavern shows only small changes made to the libretto and its corresponding musical material. Thanks to changes in meter (from 4/4 to 6/8), the musical interlude leading to Mephistopheles's entrance is extended from 16 measures to 33 measures. As in the first part of Act IV, the changes to the libretto consist of changes in syntax, minor rephrasing of Faust's and the Innkeeper's parts, and the addition of the new text to expand Mephistopheles's part.<sup>148</sup> The expansion of Mephistopheles's part (at R464R), after the Innkeeper's boy reappears again on the scene and Ruprecht returns to his table, changes the way Ruprecht was introduced to the conversation. In the first version, Ruprecht is addressed directly by Mephistopheles (one measure before R463), whilst in the revised version, Mephistopheles initially engages with Ruprecht indirectly by pointing at Ruprecht and making a sarcastic comment about his unhappiness (R464R).<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> In the first version, Renata does not describe the events concerning Scene 2 of Act III, whilst in the revised version, she seems to be almost ticking the boxes on her list. In particular, in the extended part where she says to Ruprecht: 'You are well now, your wound has closed. I have proved that I love you. And now I must flee from you, from your tempting.' This extended passage, in comparison to the first version, shows that, from Renata's point of view, her relationship and journey with Ruprecht ended in the previous episode in Act III; whereas, in the first version, it seems that their relationship survived and was eventually broken up in Act IV.

<sup>148</sup> For more details on the changes made to the libretto of Act IV, see the Editorial Process and Critical Commentary, Volume I (Part 2), pages 125 – 139.

<sup>149</sup> According to Natalia Savkina, the suggestion for Mephistopheles to address Ruprecht indirectly by Mephistopheles pointing at Ruprecht (Доктор, смотрите, что за вытянутая рожа!) also came from Fyodor Fyodorovich Komissarzhevsky. In *Ognennyi Angel S. S. Prokof'yeva: K istorii sozdaniya*, 228.

## Act V

During the revision, Prokofiev follows the original plan for Act V very closely. As in the first version, he divides the final act into three parts – the meditative section (dialogue between Renata and Mother Superior); the semi-stormy part (the questioning by the Inquisitor, culminating with the expulsion of the spirits from the young nuns); and the conclusion (the breaking out of hysteria, which Prokofiev describes as a full-blown tempest with Renata and the others in the grip of devilish possession).<sup>150</sup> However, the alterations to the libretto of the first two parts are not as extensive as those made to the third. In the revised version, the vocal part of ‘One of the representatives of secular power’, who introduces the Inquisitor to the scene (as shown in Example 2.10), is removed, and the short musical interlude leading into the Inquisitor’s entrance is significantly reduced and recomposed.

Ex. 2.10: *The Fiery Angel*, Op. 37, (1923), Act V, Scene 1, R492<sup>151</sup>

492

One of the  
representatives  
of secular power

glorify her as a saint (R546R), with the number of vocal parts being increased from three to six. This then also contributed to the division of the Nuns' choir behind the scene into a six-part chorus, which, in the first version, is only scored for three voices with each assigned the same melodic material. In the revised version, Prokofiev assigned the six different melodic lines with their own rhythmic variant of Renata's leitmotif. The hysterical outcry or a dementia (as Morrison calls it), which reaches its climax at R545R, builds up in continuous waves until the final climax of the act at R588R, at which point Renata is sentenced to death.<sup>152</sup>

Whilst there is a clear resemblance to the original concept (first version) of Act V in the revised version, the large number of amendments make it the most divergent from the first version. However, whilst the changes in the music are obvious and extensive, it is the structural changes to the final climax that really distinguish it from the original concept. In the revision, after Mephistopheles points at Renata at R552/R571R, Prokofiev extends Renata's direct participation in the hysteria in the convent, as well as expanding the whole scene of possession. Unlike in the first version, Renata, no longer only observing her fate in total fear and terror, steps out from the shadow of her acceptance of her destiny (death sentence) and instead shows her willingness to fight until her very last breath. The power of her last outcry, echoed by six nuns and overpowered by the powerful orchestra and the Inquisitor delivering the Latin incantation, brings the story to its conclusion – she is sentenced to be tortured at once and then burned at the stake.

In the revised ending of the opera, by removing the second scene (Death of Renata - based on Chapter XVI of Bryusov's novel), Prokofiev leaves Renata's story more or less open. By instead ending at the point of the Inquisitor's death verdict (R588R), the opera ends at the highest point of dramatic tension – a hysteria similarly portrayed in the opening of Act I. This revision creates a closed cycle of hysteria, from the development of the story in Act I (Renata's fit) to its conclusion in Act V, at the point the Inquisitor announces the death verdict.

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<sup>152</sup> Morrison, *Russian Opera and the Symbolist Movement*, 280.

## Chapter 3: Concluding Remarks

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The exploration of *The Fiery Angel's* journey – from the original concept (first version), as preserved in VS 1923, through to a discussion of the principal differences between the original concept and the fully revised and published second version of the opera – enables us to evaluate Prokofiev's initial concept and to comprehend the changes the opera went through in the revision process, as well as their impact on it. Furthermore, the realisation of VS 1923 and assembly into the Critical Edition (Volume II) offers an opportunity for Prokofiev's creative conception of the first version of the opera to step off the archival depositary shelf and to also become a more vivid and personal statement of Prokofiev's initial translation of Valery Bryusov's novel into a dramatic genre. In addition, the availability of VS 1923 to a wider audience (through the Critical Edition) aims to reinforce a desire to not only see the first version of the opera as a palimpsest, but rather as a historical document of Prokofiev's initial concept, spared from extensive revision both of internal and external forces and worthy of further research.

The opera's difficult gestation is rather well documented, thanks to the preservation of the first version in the form of the composer's compositional sketch (VS 1923), alongside other primary and secondary sources related to the revised version of the opera (1927), and a planned but unrealised second revision (1930). These sources enable us to track *The Fiery Angel* chronologically from its embryonic form (sketch), through to the first version (VS 1923), then to the final revised version (1927). However, the initial concept of the opera did not satisfy the composer enough to develop it further without subjecting it to an extensive revision, which resulted in the first version being very distant from the second. Despite Prokofiev's rejection of the initial concept of the opera, VS 1923 is a significant source of information revealing numerous details, features and characteristics about Prokofiev's initial approach towards transforming Bryusov's novel.

Valery Bryusov's novel, *The Fiery Angel*, provided Prokofiev with an extremely flexible narrative, enabling him to explore its events with a great degree of stenographic plasticity, which Prokofiev immediately recognised after finishing his first reading of the text. Its dramatic qualities, flexible narrative, and intriguing plot, were the major impulses for Prokofiev's decision to do (what John Elsworth calls) 'inter-code translation from a

narrative to a dramatic form'.<sup>153</sup> The key features of the original concept lie in Prokofiev's approach to the source text; his dependency on the text and translation from the novel into his libretto; the specifics of the preservation technique of the emerging concept of the opera in Stage 1; the adaptation of the original text (VS 1923); and, lastly, his use of VS 1923 during the revision process in Stage 2.

As Prokofiev became more familiar with the text, the initial advantages of the novel were soon undermined by some disadvantages, perhaps not evident to Prokofiev at the beginning. One of these was the problem arising from the 'first-person narrative' characteristic of the novel. Bryusov's Ruprecht (the story narrator) relates the events chronologically. However, to paraphrase Stephen C. Hutchings, these are Ruprecht's own accounts of the past with a present-time perspective.<sup>154</sup> This meant that, in the process of transformation of the novel, Prokofiev had to move the events of the story into the present tense, which he achieved through a change of the narrator role from Ruprecht to Renata. Moreover, the first-person narrative character of the novel meant that, with the exception of several short direct quotes, Renata's and Ruprecht's vocal parts were principally constructed from Ruprecht's indirect narrative, resulting in unnecessarily elongated monologues – for instance, Renata's revelation of her story to Ruprecht in Act I, causing a decrease in the dramatic effectiveness of the action on the stage.

When reading the novel, Prokofiev began to extensively annotate Bryusov's text in his own personal copy (Bryusov – RGALI), making the libretto of *The Fiery Angel* emerge from the annotations and underlined text in the novel. Examination of Prokofiev's personal copy of Bryusov's novel and the libretto of the first version, clearly shows that during Stage 1 of the compositional process, Prokofiev approached the assembly of the libretto by selection and extraction of a large proportion of the text with very little or even no adaptation. This enabled Prokofiev to preserve the selected text in an almost unchanged form and length.<sup>155</sup> In the revised version of the opera, as confirmed in the correspondence exchanged with Demchinsky, Prokofiev evidently made more editorial interventions to transform the selected text and to form a more closer connection between the libretto and the music – for instance, by changes in syntax,

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<sup>153</sup> Elsworth, 'Prokofiev and Bryusov: The libretto of *The Fiery Angel*', 3.

<sup>154</sup> Stephen C. Hutchings, 'Framing, Time-Shifts and Mirrors in Bryusov's *Ognennyj Angel*', *The Slavic and East European Journal*, Vol. 34, no. 4 (Winter 1990): 478.

<sup>155</sup> Only a small number of modifications were made during the actual adaptation of the text extracted from the novel into the libretto during Stage 1, as preserved in VS 1923: the most common adaptations being the change of the third person to the first person, and the reduction or condensation of the selected text.

substitution of selected words or sentences, and by the addition of text written by the composer himself that had no direct foundation in the novel.

In the first version, due to Prokofiev's dependency on Bryusov's text, he struggled to retain both the dramatic interest and dramatic effectiveness of the action on the stage. One of several examples of this is Renata's long narrative in the first half of Act I, principally caused by the extraction of a large portion of the text into one continuous monologue without any contribution of the other protagonists present – in this case, Ruprecht. Furthermore, to imitate the inflection of speech, a large volume of the text was absorbed into the vocal style of Renata's part, with several sections resembling more the attributes of the *Arioso*. Later on, in Stage 2 of the compositional process, Prokofiev endeavoured to address these issues with the help of Demchinsky. In the revised version, to help increase Act I's dramatic action and effectivity on stage, Prokofiev added a new scene with a new character (the Fortune-teller), and changed the conclusion of the story and its progression in Act II. However, despite Prokofiev's lack of further treatment – for instance, the lack of reduction of the lengthiness of Renata's long monologue, putting enormous strain on the singer – he still managed to accomplish tonally intense structures and powerful culminations in both versions.<sup>156</sup>

Prokofiev's reluctance to subject the selected text from the novel to a more extensive adaptation actually helped to preserve the poetics and characteristics of Bryusov's novel in the libretto, along with his imitation of the literary manner of medieval literature. In both versions of the opera, Prokofiev closely follows Bryusov's detailed description of the events and their chronology, the heroes and their appearance, and a thorough description of the background surrounding the story, thus enhancing the sense of the factual trustworthiness of the novel.<sup>157</sup> In the first version of the opera, Prokofiev's strict adherence to the chronology of events confirms even more his dependency on the source text (Bryusov's novel) – for instance, the inclusion of the episode with Agrippa's students that opens Act II; the opening confrontation of Renata with Count Heinrich in Act III (Scene 1); and the closing episode of Renata's death in the Convent cell in Act V (Scene 2), eventually discarded by the composer.

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<sup>156</sup> Natalia Savkina, *Prokofiev His Life and Times*, trans. Catherine Young (Neptune City: Paganiniana Publications, 1984), 81.

<sup>157</sup> Gavrilova, 'Stilevyie i dramaturgicheskiye osobennosti opery S.S. Prokof'yeva Ognennyi angel', 21.

Detailed observation of Prokofiev's original libretto reveals other characteristic features in comparison to the revised version – namely, a very different approach to the unveiling of the story and the supernatural forces that move the storyline forward, and a very different portrayal of Ruprecht. In the novel, Bryusov introduces Ruprecht as an independent human being with a thirst for adventure and a knowledge of medieval times, who, as he becomes more entangled with the obsessive Renata, goes through a metamorphosis of character, losing his independence, critical judgment and thinking. Prokofiev very closely follows Bryusov's development of Ruprecht's character as the story progresses. However, those characteristics, especially his ability to retain more of his independent desire, thinking and actions, and the level of inclusion of the supernatural or magic associations, differs in the first version compared to the second.

In the first version, the Ruprecht of the first two acts is still presented as a human being who is able to think and act based on his own judgment, even though all his action is moderated by Renata's presence – a portrayal clearly seen in the libretto through Prokofiev's conclusion of Act I and progression through to Act II. Prokofiev originally concludes Act I with Ruprecht's promise to Renata (R205) to pursue the secrets of magic and to master magic itself.<sup>158</sup> This theme is then developed in the first half of Act II through the scene of Ruprecht's visit to Agrippa's house and his meeting with Agrippa's students. Here, Ruprecht expresses his desire to consult with Agrippa on the subject of magic, emphasised in the second half of the scene through the formation of his dialogue with Agrippa. Ruprecht expresses clearly that it is he who has studied magic and read Agrippa's book (R251), and it is he who came to ask Agrippa to explain all that he does not understand. McAllister asserts that it is this very ability of the Ruprecht of the first version to exist as a thinking person, presented through the questions and answers from episodic sections in the musical structure, that is the essential difference in the presentation of his character in the revised version, where he is totally overwhelmed by the presence and personality of Agrippa.<sup>159</sup> What is also different in the original concept of the opera, is that Prokofiev does not connect either Ruprecht or Agrippa directly with black magic. By contrast, in his extensive revision, Prokofiev not only shows Ruprecht's desire to study magic but also reveals and confirms his practical experience of it. Agrippa's

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<sup>158</sup> Ruprecht: Изучал я магию, я прочел вашу книгу, и теперь пришел просить вас разъяснить все то, что мне не ясно. (I have studied magic, I have read your book, and now I have come to ask you to explain all that I do not understand.)

<sup>159</sup> McAllister, 'The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev', 308.

direct link to black magic is also made evident, as confirmed in Ruprecht's revised part (R261R).<sup>160</sup>

Another difference in relation to Ruprecht's character and his part within the story, lies in the different position of his relationship with the main heroine, Renata, which is achieved from near the very start of the opera by revising the ending of Acts I and II. In the revised version, Prokofiev removes even more of Ruprecht's individuality, independent thinking and action, by visibly positioning him in the role of servant to Renata. It is Renata who now drives the need and thirst for knowledge of black magic, and it is she who is now the driving force in understanding and using magic to her own advantage – as seen in the revised and expanded scene with mysterious knocks, now positioned in Act II as part of the Séance episode.

In addition to the changes that impact on Ruprecht's character and his position within the opera, the original concept also shows a much more controlled and careful inclusion, and eventual elimination, of the magic and supernatural in the opera. In the first version, Prokofiev prefers a more delicate and settled way of introducing the supernatural and black magic – achieved, principally, through the decision to retain Ruprecht's desire to study and to master magic; the revelation of the supernatural, as in Bryusov's novel, in the ending of the original Act I and following Act II; and through the opening of the scene with Count Heinrich in Act III, in which Renata's desire is materialised in the physical appearance of Count Heinrich, which reduces his supernatural characteristics. Through this more gradual and delicate revelation of the supernatural forces in the first version, Prokofiev effectively avoids over supernaturalisation and demonisation, which are mainly projected in the episodes of Renata's fit (R7); Mysterious Knocks (R157); and, mostly, in Act V during the outbreak of the hysteria in the convent. In contrast, in the revised version, Prokofiev adds a completely new scene with the Fortune-Teller, replacing the original ending of Act I; followed by the Séance episode, opening Act II, which enlarges the original scene with mysterious knocks; the amplification of the hysteria in Act V, achieved by an increase in the number of characters on the stage; and, lastly, the restructuring of the ending of the opera by the complete removal of the second scene in Act V. So, in comparison, the first version of the opera

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<sup>160</sup> Ruprecht: Когда со мною говорили духи, они подчинялись вашим формулам. (When the demons spoke to me, they obeyed your formulae.)

evokes the supernatural and demonisation on a much smaller scale, and this evocation is spaced out more evenly than in the revised version.

Other differences can be perceived through the inclusion of sarcasm, the addition of new characters, and the different conclusion of the story. In the first version, the sense of sarcasm can only truly be found in Act III (Scene 2) in the episode of Renata's declaration of her love for Ruprecht, which at the same time is being ridiculed by a mixed chorus behind the scene, evoking a sense of sarcasm and contradiction to Renata's amorous avowal. In the revised version, Prokofiev also includes a further instance of sarcasm in the revised ending of Act II, adding three new characters (three skeletons) to the episode with Ruprecht and Agrippa, thus concluding the Act by ridiculing Agrippa's responses to Ruprecht.

In the original concept, the absence of the additional characters found in the revised version – namely, the Fortune-teller in Act I, Jacob Glock in Act II (Scene 1), three skeletons in Act II (Scene 2), and the Doctor in Act III (Scene 2) – helped to create the dominance of Renata over Ruprecht on the stage. This dominance, alongside the original conclusion of the story (i.e. the death of Renata in the presence of Ruprecht) confirms Prokofiev's initial vision to create a more intimate 'inter-code translation' of the novel rather than a dramatic spectacle, and not one where dramatic strength is predominantly and ubiquitously supported by supernaturalisation and demonisation from the very beginning until the very end.

However, the original concept did not satisfy Prokofiev enough to fully realise the score without a need for a thorough re-thinking and revision, particularly the Entr'acte of Act II and most of Act V. This dissatisfaction as John Elsworth explains, 'based upon the dramatic effectiveness of the action on stage and psychological credibility of the characters', is due to Prokofiev's initial impulse when transforming Bryusov's novel into the operatic genre.<sup>161</sup> Therefore, the first version, despite Prokofiev's dissatisfaction with it, should be seen as Prokofiev's first vision, sparked by his fascination with the novel's subject, allowing us to more accurately judge and better appreciate his initial concept of the opera, which McAllister calls – 'the work that is simply the Gothic novel transferred to the opera theatre, with the natural and the supernatural on an equal plane, presented

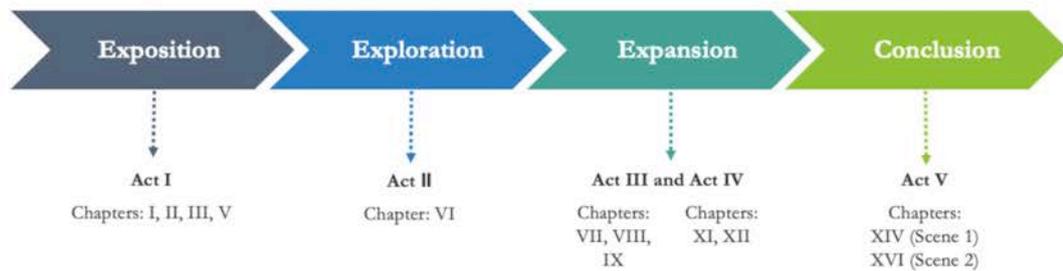
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<sup>161</sup> Elsworth, 'Prokofiev and Bryusov: The libretto of *The Fiery Angel*', 5.

in a dramatically self-enclosed form, less removed from time and experience, less mysterious, less supernatural, and a less stylised and unrealistic spectacle'.<sup>162</sup>

Comparison of the two main elements of Prokofiev's initial concept of the opera (i.e. its dramatic structure and musical structure) reveals a structural disproportion between the two. The libretto of the first version indicates a four-part structure, as shown in Figure 3.1. This fits very well with the typical structure for most novels – i.e. introduction to the story; character sketches, which could well be part of the introduction; highlighting of the plot; core conflict; and the conclusion. This contrasts with the three-part musical structure, which has a close resemblance to Sonata form, with its usual three-part division – i.e. exposition, development and recapitulation, as illustrated in Figure 3.2 on the following page.<sup>163</sup>

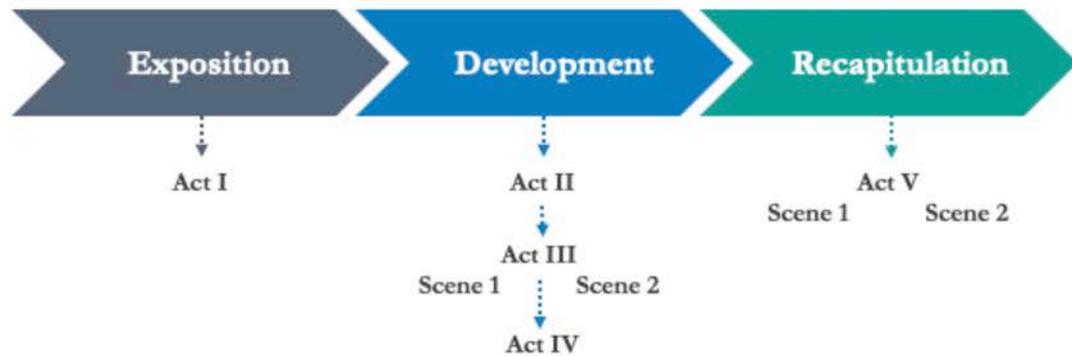
Fig. 3.1: Four Part Structure of *The Fiery Angel* Libretto



<sup>162</sup> McAllister, 'The Operas of Sergei Prokofiev', 114.

<sup>163</sup> As indicated in Figure 3.1, Act I would act as an Exposition section. It is here, in the first half of Act I, where Prokofiev introduces the crucial material – leading motifs (*Leitmotifs*). The individual leitmotifs portraying Ruprecht, Renata and Madiel, only incorporated in orchestral parts, are clear signs of the fact that the 'tour de force' of the whole composition is in the orchestra, not in the libretto. The development section runs across Act II (including Entr'acte), Act III (Scene 1, Entr'acte and Scene 2) and Act IV. The circulation of the leitmotifs continues throughout the whole opera, but it is in Act V where the recapitulation of the main motifs is most visible, evoking the feeling of the recapitulation section of a Sonata form.

Fig. 3.2: Comparison of Sonata Form and Musical Structure of *The Fiery Angel*



The exposition of the conflict (introduction to the story and character sketches) occurs in Act I on three occasions – firstly, Ruprecht, by witnessing Renata’s fit, is introduced to supernatural forces (R1 – R46); secondly, Renata’s long narrative introduces Ruprecht to her story (R47 – R97), which also acts as a character sketch for both Renata and Madiel; and finally, further exposition of the supernatural forces in the scene with Mysterious Knocks (R157 – R202), which is expanded in the revised version in the scene with the Fortune-Teller (R138R – R165R), where the constant conflict between the supernatural and the natural world is being portrayed.

In both versions, the exploration of the conflict (highlighting of the plot) happens in Act II – in the first version, in the scene with Agrippa’s students followed by Ruprecht meeting with Agrippa; in the revised version, in the Séance episode (Scene 1) and the visit to Agrippa’s house (Scene 2). The expansion of the conflict (core conflict) is situated in Acts III and IV in both versions, from the point where Renata meets with Count Heinrich (beginning of Act III), followed by him rejecting her, through to Renata’s expressed desire that Ruprecht should defend her honour by killing Count Heinrich. This expansion is stretched out to its limits through the musical representation of the Duel (Entr’acte) and Scene 2 – where Renata, seeing a severely wounded Ruprecht, driven and forced by her own guilt rather than by true love, proclaims her love to Ruprecht. Inevitably, having made this false promise, Renata decides to leave Ruprecht in Act IV, so further expanding the conflict.

Following the structural norm, Act V would be expected to represent the awaited conclusion of the story. However, this is not the case in the original concept. Instead, we find the Mother Superior’s questioning followed by that of the Inquisitor, strongly

indicating that, rather than being the story's conclusion, the story is being scrutinised and explored even more. Similarly, in the revised version, after the outbreak of hysteria in the Convent and the Inquisitor's verdict to torture Renata, the opera ends suddenly without any expected resolution, which could still indicate the expansion of the conflict. However, the story does not conclude here in the first version but continues as in the novel. Here, in Scene 2 of Act V, Ruprecht makes his last attempt to save Renata, fails, and witnesses her peaceful death, which concludes the story as in Chapter XVI of the novel. In the novel, Ruprecht then heads back to Count Wellen's castle where he meets Count Heinrich. Here, Bryusov ends Ruprecht's ordeal through the mutual forgiveness of these two enemies, before finally concluding the story with Ruprecht's decision to start a new life in the New World. However, in the opera (VS 1923) this does not happen, and Ruprecht is only given advice by Mephistopheles to leave the region before it is too late.

Dramatically, by ending the opera as originally intended with the Death of Renata, Prokofiev would achieve a more gradual and well-prepared conclusion of the story (as written by Bryusov), with the circle of life reaching the metaphysical resolution of the conflict. Indeed, in the first version of the opera, Prokofiev was more in favour of a metaphysical resolution of the story rather than a theatrical one. Also, the fact that Ruprecht lost his central position as the narrator (by transferring the narration role to the orchestra and placing Renata in the centre of all the action), Prokofiev would end the first version of the opera with a dual resolution – firstly, the conclusion of Renata's story through her death in the cell; and secondly, the conclusion of Ruprecht's transformation of the modest knight in Act I to his exit from the story as a broken man.

Demchinsky argued that by removing Scene 2 of Act V, the opera would lack resolution and therefore could not be concluded with any sort of effect. Prokofiev, on the other hand, did not see anything dissonant about ending the opera with a general attack of hysteria, especially since (in his view) the Inquisitor's sentence on Renata does not resolve any metaphysical questions. Whilst it is a perfectly understandable approach to finish the opera with this marvellous firework display (revealed through the orchestra at the point of the Inquisitor's verdict on Renata), by doing so, we lose a clearer dramatic resolution of the story. Here lies part of this thesis's main criticism of the revised version – if the opera had ended as originally intended in Scene 2 of Act V, both the dramatic and musical structure of the opera would have reached a mutual resolution at the same time, thus avoiding a sense of disunion between music and libretto.

The Critical Edition (Volume II) of the composer's compositional sketch of the first version of the opera (VS 1923), presents Prokofiev's initial creative conception prior to the more extensive editorial interventions made by the composer in the revision process of the opera. This reconstruction has therefore been a very different undertaking in comparison to (for example) the one for the first version of *War and Peace*, as completed by Katya Ermolaeva in 2018.<sup>164</sup> Firstly, *The Fiery Angel's* revision was based on Prokofiev's own decision to improve the stage-worthiness of the opera by enhancing its dramatic effectiveness, based on his own artistic judgment and merits. Whereas, *War and Peace* underwent a forced revision to meet the political requirements of the Soviet officials, which Prokofiev most likely considered unavoidable corrections forced on him. Secondly, the first version of *War and Peace* survives in the form of a piano score with vocal parts (completed on 13 April 1942), which Prokofiev had nearly finished fully orchestrating before he received the Committee's assessment results in early July 1942, and is therefore defined as a complete score.<sup>165</sup> By contrast, VS 1923 has incomplete sections (piano part and vocal part) left in fragments, as is the case of the Entr'acte of Act II and the majority of Act V, which would require completion before orchestration could be initiated by the composer. Therefore, any attempt to reconstruct the first version of *The Fiery Angel* into a fully orchestrated and performable edition reflecting Prokofiev's initial intentions, would require much more extensive editorial intervention, not possible to achieve entirely either from the information recorded in VS 1923 or from the revised version of the opera.

As previously explained, indication of orchestration in the first layer is only occasionally recorded in VS 1923. Furthermore, as not all the sections of the score contain a sufficient amount or (as in case of Act II and Act V) almost none of such orchestration annotations, it would not be possible to re-construct VS 1923 into a fully orchestrated version without extensive editorial input. Whilst those sections of the score that have been preserved in the revised version more or less intact, or that show similarities with parallel revised parts, could be developed further from the orchestration annotations found in the revised version of the opera, the sections exempted in the revised version (such as the entire first half of Act II) would have to be orchestrated entirely by the editor,

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<sup>164</sup> Katya Ermolaeva, 'Prokofiev's First Version of War and Peace: Lyrico-dramatic scenes on the novel by L. N. Tolstoy, Op. 91 (1942)', (PhD. diss., Royal Conservatoire of Scotland & University of St. Andrews, 2018).

<sup>165</sup> Malcolm H. Brown, 'Prokofiev's War and Peace: A Chronicle,' *The Musical Quarterly* Vol. 63, no. 3 (July 1977): 302–303.

requiring a deep understanding of Prokofiev's harmonic language, his style, and orchestration technique.

Another problematic factor in any reconstruction is the incompleteness of the individual parts. As previously explored, some parts of the score were left in fragments by the composer to be completed later. The completion of these parts was eventually done by the composer during Stage 2 – i.e. the complex revision of the opera. This means that the sections only preserved in fragments would have to first be completely reconstructed, realised and recorded in piano score format before orchestration could be initiated. So, any attempt to fully orchestrate VS 1923 based purely on the material preserved within it, would result in a realisation of the first version formed (in large part) by individual editorial decisions.

The Critical Edition was therefore assembled (in the first instance) with a view to provide students and scholars with a supplementary insight into Prokofiev's original concept – i.e. one that can be used to evaluate the opera and its evolution from more angles, rather than just by an evaluation of the artistic qualities and characteristics of the revised and fully complete creative conception of the composer. Therefore, the second part of this research project, achieved by presentation of a critical edition of VS 1923, has led to the main conclusion that the first version of the opera should not be considered only as an unrealised or failed attempt, but should instead be seen as an independently viable work. The Critical Edition of VS 1923 (which forms Volume II of the thesis) resurrects the unparalleled places in the original concept of the opera – such as the scene with Agrippa's students opening the Act II, Count Heinrich's direct involvement in the story in Act III, and the metaphysical rather than theatrical conclusion of the opera through the peaceful death of Renata in scene 2 of the final act. It also enhances our understanding and appreciation of those specific musical and dramatic qualities only found in the first version of the opera, which can only be fully appreciated through their musical realisation.

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## Appendix I (Performance History)

The table below provides performance history of *The Fiery Angel* from 1928 – 2019.

Year	Date	City	Venue	Opera Company/ Orchestra	Notes
1928	14 June	Paris	Salle Pleyel		Serge Koussevitzky's abridged concert performance of Act II, with Nina Koshetz in role of Renata
1954	25 November	Paris	Théâtre des Champs-Élysées	ORTF - The Office de Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française	Concert Performance, Conducted by Charles Bruck
1955	14, 15 September	Venice	Internazionale di Musica Contemporanea	Teatro La Fenice	The stage premiere, Conducted by Nino Sanzogno, Dorothy Dow in the role of Renata and Rolando Panerai in the role of Ruprecht
1956	13, 19, 24, 28 September 9 October	Basel	Stadttheater	Stadttheater	First performance in German
1956	22, 27, 29 December	Milan	Teatro alla Scala	Teatro alla Scala	Conducted by Nino Sanzogno, Christel Goltz in the role of Renata and Rolando Panerai in the role of Ruprecht
1957	5 January	Milan	Teatro alla Scala	Teatro alla Scala	Conducted by Nino Sanzogno, Christel Goltz in the role of Renata and Rolando Panerai in the role of Ruprecht
1959	2 February	London	Royal Albert Hall	BBC Philharmonic	BBC-Promenade Concert performance

Year	Date	City	Venue	Opera Company/ Orchestra	Notes
1959	26 June 5, 7, 9, 11 July	Spoleto	III Festival of Two Worlds at Teatro Comunale	Teatro Verdi di Trieste	Sung in Italian, Conducted by István Kertész, Leyla Gencer in the role of Renata and Rolando Panerai in the role of Ruprecht
1959	12, 15, 18, 20 December	Trieste	Teatro Verdi di Trieste	Teatro Verdi di Trieste	Sung in Italian, Conducted by István Kertész, Leyla Gencer in the role of Renata and Rolando Panerai in the role of Ruprecht
1960	10, 16, 18 June	Cologne	Opernhaus von Köln	Opernhaus von Köln	Conducted by Siegfried Köhler, Helga Pilarczyk in the role of Renata and Carlos Alexander in the role of Ruprecht
1960	9, 13 September 27 October 6 November	Cologne	Opernhaus von Köln	Opernhaus von Köln	
1961	19 November	Turin	RAI - Radiotelevisione Italiana (Turin Studios)	Orchestra di Torino della Radiotelevisione Italiana	Concert and Radio broadcast performance
1963	2 June	Prague	Pražské Jaro - Smetanovo Divadlo	Janáčkovo divadlo	
1963	20, 23 April 7, 26 May 5, 17 September 1, 15, 24 November	Brno	Státní Divadlo Brno (Janáčkovo divadlo)	Orchestr Janáčkovy opery	Conducted by František Jílek, Naděžda Kniplová in the role of Renata and Václav Halíř in the role of Ruprecht
1963	28 September, 2, 13 October, 27 November 10 December	Graz	Vereinigten Bühnen Stadt Graz	Vereinigten Bühnen Stadt Graz	Sung in German, Conducted by Berislav Klobučar, Gertraud Hopf in the role of Renata and Hubert Hofmann in the role of Ruprecht

Year	Date	City	Venue	Opera Company/ Orchestra	Notes
1964	25, 28, 30 January	Florence	Teatro Comunale di Firenze	Teatro Comunale di Firenze	Sung in Italian, Conducted by Bruno Bartoletti, Floriana Cavalli in the role of Renata and Renato Cesari in the role of Ruprecht
1964	14, 16, 19 April	Turin	Teatro Reggio di Torino	Teatro Reggio di Torino	Sung in Italian, Floriana Cavalli in the role of Renata and Julien Haas in the role of Ruprecht
1964	24, 28 May 1964, 2 June 1964	Graz	Vereinigten Bühnen Stadt Graz	Vereinigten Bühnen Stadt Graz	Sung in German, Conducted by Berislav Klobučar, Gertraud Hopf in the role of Renata and Hubert Hofmann in the role of Ruprecht
1964	24, 27, 30 November 6, 12, 15, 18 December	Paris	Opéra-Comique	Opéra-Comique	Sung in French, Conducted by Georges Sébastien, Floriana Cavalli in the role of Renata and Julien Haas in the role of Ruprecht
1965	19 June	Vienna	Volksoper	Vereinigten Bühnen Stadt Graz	
1965	27, 29, 31 July	London	Sadler's Wells Theatre	New Opera Company at Saddler Wells	Sung in English, English translation by Christopher Hassall, Conducted by Leon Lovett, Marie Collier in the role of Renata and John Shaw in the role of Ruprecht
1965	22, 26, September 20, 28 October	New York	New York City Opera	New York City Opera	Sung in English
1965	6, 19 November 7, 29 December	Berlin	Staatsoper Berlin (Unter der Linden)	Staatsoper Berlin (Unter der Linden)	Conducted by Heinz Fricke, Ruth Asmus in the role of Renata and Rudolf Jedlicka in the role of Ruprecht

Year	Date	City	Venue	Opera Company/ Orchestra	Notes
1966	19, 26 January 17 March	Berlin	Staatsoper Berlin (Unter der Linden)	Staatsoper Berlin (Unter der Linden)	Conducted by Heinz Fricke, Ruth Asmus in the role of Renata and Rudolf Jedlicka in the role of Ruprecht
1966	21, 24, 27, 30 April	Rome	Teatro dell'Opera	Teatro dell'Opera	Sung in Italian, Conducted by Bruno Bartoletti
1966	12, 14, 16, 18 June	Buenos Aires	Teatro Colón	Teatro Colón	Sung in Italian, Conducted by Bruno Bartoletti, Marie Collier in the role of Renata and Renato Cesari in the role of Ruprecht
1966	2 June	Lausanne	Théâtre Municipal de Lausanne	Staatsoper Berlin (Unter der Linden)	
1966	3, 6, 9, 12, 14 December	Chicago	Chicago Lyric Opera	Chicago Lyric Opera	Conducted by Bruno Bartoletti, Felicia Weathers in the role of Renata and Norman Mittelmann in the role of Ruprecht
1967	4 February	Dresden	Semperoper Sächsische Staatsoper	Staatsoper Berlin (Unter der Linden)	
1967	8, 12, 14, 22 April 12, 26 May	Paris	Opéra Comique	Opéra Comique	
1969	10, 12, 18, 23 May 22, 27 June	Frankfurt am Main	Oper Frankfurt	Städtische Bühnen Frankfurt am Main	Conducted by Christoph von Dohnányi, Anja Silja in the role of Renata and Rudolf Constantini in the role of Ruprecht
1969	18 June	Zurich	Opernhaus Zurich	Opernhaus (Frankfurt am Main)	
1969	1, 8, September 22 October 1, 23 November	Frankfurt am Main	Oper Frankfurt	Opernhaus (Frankfurt am Main)	

Year	Date	City	Venue	Opera Company/ Orchestra	Notes
1970	10 January, 3, 15, 28 February 21 March, 14, 24, 31 May 7, 23, 24 June 1 July	Frankfurt am Main	Oper Frankfurt	Opernhaus (Frankfurt am Main)	
1970	2 April	Höchst		Opernhaus (Frankfurt am Main)	
1970	6, 9, 11, 15, 18, 22 April	Milan	Teatro alla Scala	Teatro alla Scala	Conducted by Zoltán Peskó, Floriana Cavalli in the role of Renata and Renato Cesari in the role of Ruprecht
1970	24, 26 August	Edinburg	King's Theatre	Opernhaus (Frankfurt am Main)	Conducted by Christoph von Dohnányi, Anja Silja in the role of Renata and Rudolf Constantin in the role of Ruprecht
1971	14 June, 1 September	Leverkussen		Opernhaus (Frankfurt am Main)	
1971	29 August	Buenos Aires	Teatro Colón	Teatro Colón	Conducted by Bruno Bartoletti, Floriana Cavalli in the role of Renata and Renato Cesari in the role of Ruprecht
1972	10 September	Ghent	Festival of Flanders	Opernhaus (Frankfurt am Main)	
1973	5, 7, 10, 12 June	Genoa	Teatro Comunale dell'Opera	Teatro Comunale dell'Opera	
1973	15, 18, 21, 23, 26 December	Bologna	Teatro Duse	Teatro Duse	
1973	15 November	Rome	Rome Studios	RAI Radio Italiana	Concert and Radio broadcast performance

Year	Date	City	Venue	Opera Company/ Orchestra	Notes
1974	31 January 2, 5, 7, 9 February	Naples	Teatro di San Carlo	Teatro di San Carlo	
1975	7, 9 March	Bologna	Teatro Duse	Teatro Duse	
1975	14, 16 March	Reggio Emilia	Teatro Municipale	Bologna Opera	
1975	21 March	Ferrara	Teatro Comunale	Bologna Opera	
1975	25 March	Ravenna	Teatro Alighieri	Bologna Opera	
1978	18, 21, 23, 26, 28 February 2, 4, 5 March	Palermo	Teatro Massimo	Teatro Massimo	
1981	21, 25 May 10 June	Prague	Národní Divadlo ve Smetanově divadle	Orchestr Národního Divadla	Conducted by Josef Chaloupka, Marie Křemmerová / Alena Žaloudková in the role of Renata and Jaroslav Souček / Antonín Švorc in the role of Ruprecht
1981	5, 7 September 7 October 7 December	Prague	Národní Divadlo ve Smetanově divadle	Orchestr Národního Divadla	Conducted by Josef Chaloupka, Marie Křemmerová / Alena Žaloudková in the role of Renata and Jaroslav Souček / Antonín Švorc in the role of Ruprecht
1982	15 February 22 March 26 April	Prague	Národní Divadlo ve Smetanově divadle	Orchestr Národního Divadla	Conducted by Josef Chaloupka, Marie Křemmerová / Alena Žaloudková in the role of Renata and Jaroslav Souček / Antonín Švorc in the role of Ruprecht
1982	22 September 25 October 29 November	Prague	Národní Divadlo ve Smetanově divadle	Orchestr Národního Divadla	Conducted by Josef Chaloupka, Marie Křemmerová / Alena Žaloudková in the role of Renata and Jaroslav Souček / Antonín Švorc in the role of Ruprecht

Year	Date	City	Venue	Opera Company/ Orchestra	Notes
1983	12, 16 June	Poznan	Teatr Wielki im. Stanisława Moniuszki	Teatr Wielki im. Stanisława Moniuszki	Conducted by Dondajewski Mieczysław
1983	11 September 4, 9 October 24 November	Poznan	Teatr Wielki im. Stanisława Moniuszki	Teatr Wielki im. Stanisława Moniuszki	
1984	21 January 21 March 20, 24 September 5 December	Poznan	Teatr Wielki im. Stanisława Moniuszki	Teatr Wielki im. Stanisława Moniuszki	
1984	25, 28, 31 March 4, 6, 10, 14, 21, 27 April 4, 9, 15, 18, 27 May 2, 10, 13 June	Bonn	Opera der Stadt Bonn	Opera der Stadt Bonn	Conducted by Siegfried Kurz, Ute Trekel-Burckhardt in the role of Renata and Siegmund Nimsgerm in the role of Ruprecht
1984	22, 28, 31 January 21, 28 February 22 March 1, 26 April 15 May 30 October 18 November 15 December	Perm	Perm Tchaikovsky Opera and Ballet Theatre	Perm Tchaikovsky Opera and Ballet Theatre	Opera's Premiere in the USSR* (some publications incorrectly state the date of the opera's premiere to be in 1983; however, archival records of the Perm Opera and Ballet theatre confirm the date of the premiere to be in January 1984).
1984	6, 27, 30 September 12, 30 October 17 November	Tashkent	Navoi Opera Theater		
1985	25, 28, 30 May	Helsinki	Finnish National Opera (Suomen Kansallisooppera)	Finnish National Opera (Suomen Kansallisooppera)	Conducted by Peeter Lilje, Ritva Auvinen in the role of Renata and Sauli Tiilikainen in the role of Ruprecht

Year	Date	City	Venue	Opera Company/ Orchestra	Notes
1985	26 May	Poznan	Teatr Wielki im. Stanisława Moniuszki	Teatr Wielki-Stanislaw Moniuszo	
1985	31 January 17 February 14 March 20 April 19 May 19 September 17 October 23 November	Perm	Perm Tchaikovsky Opera and Ballet Theatre	Perm Tchaikovsky Opera and Ballet Theatre	
1985	15 January 28 February 16 March 25 April 16 May 21 June 29 August 12 September 5 October 28 November 22 December	Tashkent	Navoi Opera Theater	Navoi Opera Theater	
1986	16, 31, 28 September 4, 11, 19, 23, 25 October 2 November	Helsinki	Finnish National Opera (Suomen Kansallisooppera)	Finnish National Opera (Suomen Kansallisooppera)	

Year	Date	City	Venue	Opera Company/ Orchestra	Notes
1986	3, 5 November	Paris	Opéra national de Paris - Palais Garnier	Opéra national de Paris	Sung in French, Concert performance, Conducted by Myung-Whun Chung, Livia Budai in the role of Renata and Franz Grundheber in the role of Ruprecht
1986	30 January 15 February 5 April 23 September 24 October 20 December	Perm	Perm Tchaikovsky Opera and Ballet Theatre	Perm Tchaikovsky Opera and Ballet Theatre	
1986	23 January 15 March 17 April 12 June 3 July 16 August 5 September 4, 6, 8 October 18 November 6, 14 December	Tashkent	Navoi Opera Theater	Navoi Opera Theater	
1986	29 May 9, 23 June	St. Petersburg	Kirov Theatre	Perm Tchaikovsky Opera and Ballet Theatre	
1987	24 January 18 April 22 October	Perm	Perm Tchaikovsky Opera and Ballet Theatre	Perm Tchaikovsky Opera and Ballet Theatre	

<b>Year</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>Venue</b>	<b>Opera Company/ Orchestra</b>	<b>Notes</b>
1987	28 May 6, 11, 18, 30 June	Hannover	Niedersächsische Staatstheater Hannover	Niedersächsische Staatstheater Hannover	
1987	2 September 30 October 3, 17 November 11 December	Hannover		Niedersächsische Staatstheater	
1987	16, 19, 22, 25 September	Los Angeles	Los Angeles Opera at Dorothy Chandler Pavilion	Los Angeles Opera at Dorothy Chandler Pavilion	The Los Angeles Opera co-production with the Geneva Opera and the English National Opera, Conducted by Lawrence Foster, Marilyn Zschau in the role of Renata and Roger Roloff in the role of Ruprecht
1987	25 March 11 April 19 May 27 August 27 September 6, 13 October 3, 12 November	Tashkent	Navoi Opera Theater	Navoi Opera Theater	
1987	9 June	Vladivostok		Perm Tchaikovsky Opera and Ballet Theatre	
1987	10 June	Khabarovsk		Perm Tchaikovsky Opera and Ballet Theatre	

<b>Year</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>Venue</b>	<b>Opera Company/ Orchestra</b>	<b>Notes</b>
1988	31 January 4, 17, 20, 25, 27 February 18, 26 March	Bonn		Opera der Stadt Bonn	
1988	5, 8, 11, 14 March	Adelaide	Adelaide Festival Theatre	State Opera of South Australia	Conducted by Stuart Challender, Josephine Barstow in the role of Renata and Rodney Macann in the role of Ruprecht
1988	28 April 2, 6, 9, 13, 16 May	Geneva	Grand Théâtre	Orchestre de la Suisse Romande	The Los Angeles Opera co-production with the Geneva Opera and the English National Opera Conducted by Bruno Bartoletti, Sung in French, Larson Sophia in the role of Renata and Franz Grundheber in the role of Ruprecht
1988	3, 7, 10, 16 September	Hannover	Niedersächsische Staatstheater Hannover	Niedersächsische Staatstheater Hannover	
1988	8 January 18 February 8, 21 March 8 April 8 May 27 June 5, 13 July 22 September 8 October	Tashkent	Navoi Opera Theater	Navoi Opera Theater	
1989	28 January	Amsterdam		VARA concerts at Consertgebouw	Concert performance sung in French

Year	Date	City	Venue	Opera Company/ Orchestra	Notes
1989	2 February 12 March 25 April 21 May	Tashkent	Navoi Opera Theater	Navoi Opera Theater	
1989	7, 17 November	Moscow	Bolshoi Opera	Perm Tchaikovsky Opera and Ballet Theatre	
1990	1, 5, 8, 11, 14, 18, 21, 24, 27, 30 June	Amsterdam	Muziektheater (The Dutch National Opera and Ballet)	Muziektheater (The Dutch National Opera and Ballet)	Sung in French, Conducted by Riccardo Chailly
1990	20 September	Duisburg	Deutsche Oper am Rhein	Tbilisi Opera	
1990	28, 29 September	Essen	Aalto Theater	Tbilisi Opera	
1990	2 October	Leverkussen		Tbilisi Opera	
1991	12 February	Tbilisi	Tbilisi Opera	Tbilisi Opera	
1991	22 August	London	Royal Albert Hall	BBC Philharmonic Orchestra	Conducted by Edward Downes, Galina Gorchakova in the role of Renata and Sergei Leiferkus in the role of Ruprecht
1991	6, 9, 12, 14, 16, 19, 22, 25 November	Paris	L'Opéra at the Salle Garnier – L'Opera at the Bastille	L'Opéra at the Salle Garnier – L'Opera at the Bastille	Conducted by Lawrence Foster, Marilyn Zschau in the role of Renata and Philippe Rouillon in the role of Ruprecht
1991	29 December	St. Petersburg	Mariinsky (Kirov) Theatre	Mariinsky (Kirov) Opera	Conducted by Valery Gergiev, Galina Gorchakova in the role of Renata and Sergei Leiferkus in the role of Ruprecht

<b>Year</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>Venue</b>	<b>Opera Company/ Orchestra</b>	<b>Notes</b>
1992	3, 9, 10 January 14 February 10 November 22 December	St. Petersburg	Mariinsky (Kirov) Theatre	Mariinsky (Kirov) Opera	Conducted by Valery Gergiev, Galina Gorchakova in the role of Renata and Sergei Leiferkus in the role of Ruprecht
1992	14, 15, 18, 21, 24, 29 April 2 May	London	Covent Garden-Royal Opera House	Covent Garden-Royal Opera House, co- production with St. Petersburg's Kirov Opera	Sung in Russian, Conducted by Edward Downes, Galina Gorchakova in the role of Renata and Sergei Leiferkus in the role of Ruprecht
1992	6, 17, 18 July	New York	Metropolitan Opera	Mariinsky (Kirov) Opera	Conducted by Valery Gergiev, Galina Gorchakova in the role of Renata and Sergei Leiferkus in the role of Ruprecht
1992	19, 23, 29 September 2, 10, 14, 15, 23 October 22 November	Freiburg	Theater Freiburg	Theater Freiburg	Junko Nishi in the role of Renata
1993	18 March 6, 28 May	St. Petersburg	Mariinsky (Kirov) Theatre	Mariinsky (Kirov) Opera	Conducted by Valery Gergiev, Galina Gorchakova in the role of Renata and Sergei Leiferkus in the role of Ruprecht
1993	10, 12, 14 September	St. Petersburg	Mariinsky (Kirov) Theatre	Mariinsky (Kirov) Opera	Conducted by Valery Gergiev, Galina Gorchakova in the role of Renata and Sergei Leiferkus in the role of Ruprecht
1993	17, 18 November	Tokyo	Bunka Kaikan Theater	Mariinsky (Kirov) Opera	
1994	14, 16, 18, 20, 23, 25, 26, 28 January	Milan	Teatro alla Scala	Teatro alla Scala	Conducted by Riccardo Chailly, Galina Gorchakova in the role of Renata and Sergei Leiferkus in the role of Ruprecht

<b>Year</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>Venue</b>	<b>Opera Company/ Orchestra</b>	<b>Notes</b>
1994	19, 25 March 2, 6, 9, 19, 21, 24, 26, 28 April 11, 15 May	Nürnberg	Staatstheater Nürnberg	Staatstheater Nürnberg	Conducted by Eberhard Kloke
1994	14, 21, 23, 28, 30 April 3, 13, 20, 31 May	Bremen	Theater am Goetheplatz	Oper Bremen	Conducted by Ira Levin, Katherine Stone in the role of Renata and Ron Peo in the role of Ruprecht
1994	19, 21, 27, 31 October 1, 5, 9 November	San Francisco	San Francisco Opera at the War Memorial Opera House	Co-production with St. Petersburg's Kirov Opera and Covent Garden-Royal Opera House	Conducted by Valery Gergiev, Galina Gorchakova in the role of Renata and Sergei Leiferkus in the role of Ruprecht
1995	13, 16, 19, 22, 26 February 4 March	Vienna	Volksoper	Volksoper	Anja Silja in the role of Renata
1995	7, 9, 11, 13 April	Nancy		Opéra national de Lorraine	
1995	10 March 27 October	St. Petersburg	Mariinsky (Kirov) Theatre	Mariinsky (Kirov) Opera	
1995	14, 21 May	Bremen	Theater am Goetheplatz	Theater am Goetheplatz	
1996	1 February 4 April 5 September	St. Petersburg	Mariinsky (Kirov) Theatre	Mariinsky (Kirov) Opera	
1996	19, 21 March 10, 15 April	Vienna	Volksoper	Volksoper	

Year	Date	City	Venue	Opera Company/ Orchestra	Notes
1997	22 April 21 October	St. Petersburg	Mariinsky (Kirov) Theatre	Mariinsky (Kirov) Opera	
1997	23 November	Montpellier	Theatre Berlioz	Mariinsky (Kirov) Opera	
1997	29, 30 November	Cannes		Mariinsky (Kirov) Opera	
1998	27 March 27 November	St. Petersburg	Mariinsky (Kirov) Theatre	Mariinsky (Kirov) Opera	
1998	12 April	Moscow	Bolshoi Opera	Mariinsky (Kirov) Opera	
1999	14, 16, 20, 23, 24, 26, 31 January	Milan	Teatro alla Scala	Teatro alla Scala	Conducted by Bruno Bartoletti, Elmira Veda in the role of Renata and Sergej Leiferkus in the role of Ruprecht
2000	15 January 22 March 22 June 14 December	St. Petersburg	Mariinsky (Kirov) Theatre	Mariinsky (Kirov) Opera	
2000	28 July	Baden- Baden	Festspielhaus	Mariinsky (Kirov) Opera	
2002	9, 13, 16, 19, 24 February 1, 7, 9, 16 March 16, 23, 26 April	Münster	Großen Haus der Städtischen Bühnen Münster	Städtischen Bühnen Münster	Conducted by Will Humburg, Ruth-Maria Nicolay in the role of Renata and Stefan Adam in the role of Ruprecht
2002	16, 20, 23, 28 March 6, 12, 16, 24 April 8, 15 May	Stockholm	Royal Swedish Opera (Kungliga Operan)	Royal Swedish Opera (Kungliga Operan)	

Year	Date	City	Venue	Opera Company/ Orchestra	Notes
2003	12, 22, 26 April 7, 13 May	Stockholm	Royal Swedish Opera (Kungliga Operan)	Royal Swedish Opera (Kungliga Operan)	
2003	1 November	Berlin	Deutsche Oper	Mariinsky (Kirov) Opera	
2004	23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29 February 1 March	Tel Aviv	New Israel Opera	Mariinsky (Kirov) Opera	
2004	24, 25, 29, 30 April 4, 5 May 7, 8, 11 June	Moscow	Bolshoi Opera	Bolshoi Opera	Conducted by Alexander Vademnikov
2005	4, 5, 6 July	Ljubljana	Summer Festival	Bolshoi Opera	
2006	25 July	London	Covent Garden-Royal Opera House	Bolshoi Opera	
2007	23, 25, 26, 28 January	Brussel	The Théâtre Royal de la Monnaie		Svetlana Sozdateleva in the role of Renata and Igor Tarasov in the role of Ruprecht
2010	21, 25, 28 April 1, 4, 6, 9, 12, 15 May	Wien	Odeon Theater	Wiener Kammerchor and Serapions Ensemble	Chamber version of the opera's 1927 version realised by Wolfgang Suppan, Conducted by Marino Formenti, Elena Suvorova in the role of Renata and Ludovic Kendi in the role of Ruprecht
2010	5 November	Szeged	Csokonai Theater Debrecen	Debrecen Philharmonic Orchestra (Armel Opera Festival)	Sung in French, Conducted by Kocsar Balazs, Cristina Baggio in the role of Renata and Tamás Busa in the role of Ruprecht

Year	Date	City	Venue	Opera Company/ Orchestra	Notes
2010	4, 9, 22 December	Weimar	Deutsches Nationaltheater Weimar	Deutsches Nationaltheater Weimar	Conducted by Martin Hoff, Kirsten Blanck in the role of Renata and Renatus Mészár in the role of Ruprecht
2011	14 January 4 March	Weimar	Deutsches Nationaltheater Weimar	Deutsches Nationaltheater Weimar	Conducted by Martin Hoff, Kirsten Blanck in the role of Renata and Renatus Mészár in the role of Ruprecht
2012	1, 4, 7, 9, 11 February	Turin	Teatro Regio	Mariinsky (Kirov) Opera and Chorus and Orchestra of Teatro Regio	Conducted by Valery Gergiev
2015	26, 28 February	Ostrava	Divadlo Antonína Dvořáka	Národní divadlo moravskoslezské	Conducted by Robert Jindra, Morenike Fayayomi in the role of Renata and Ulf Paulsen in the role of Ruprecht
2015	13 June	Düsseldorf	Deutsche Oper am Rhein	Deutsche Oper am Rhein	Conducted by Wen-Pin Chien, Svetlana Sozdateleva in the role of Renata and Boris Statsenko in the role of Ruprecht
2015	3, 6, 8, 10 November	Buenos Aires	Teatro Colon	Teatro Colon	Conducted by Ira Levin, Elena Popovskaya in the role of Renata and Vladimir Bayakov in the role of Ruprecht
2015	29 November 3, 6, 9, 12 December	Munich	Bayrische Staatsoper München	Bayrische Staatsoper München	Conducted by Vladimir Jurowski, Svetlana Sozdateleva in the role of Renata and Evgeny Nikitin in the role of Ruprecht
2015	8 November	Prague	Státní opera Praha	Národní divadlo moravskoslezské	Jordanka Derilova in the role of Renata and Martin Bárta in the role of Ruprecht
2016	29 May	Bratislava	Slovenské Národné Divadlo	Národní divadlo moravskoslezské	Jordanka Derilova in the role of Renata and Martin Bárta in the role of Ruprecht

<b>Year</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>Venue</b>	<b>Opera Company/ Orchestra</b>	<b>Notes</b>
2016	16 June	Munich	Bayrische Staatsoper München	Bayrische Staatsoper München	Conducted by Vladimir Jurowski, Svetlana Sozdateleva in the role of Renata and Evgeny Nikitin in the role of Ruprecht
2016	11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23 October	Lyon	Opera de Lyon		Conducted by Kazushi Ono, Ausrine Stundyte in the role of Renata and Laurent Naouri in the role of Ruprecht
2017	19, 22, 25 February	Munich	Bayrische Staatsoper München	Bayrische Staatsoper München	Conducted by Michail Jurowski Austrine Stundyte in the role of Renata and Evgeny Nikitin in the role of Ruprecht
2017	7, 11, 14, 25, 28, 31 May 2, 5 June	Zurich	Opernhaus Zurich	Philharmonia Zurich	Conducted by Gianandrea Noseda, Ausrine Stundyte in the role of Renata and Leigh Melrose in the role of Ruprecht
2017	3 December	Glasgow	City Halls Glasgow	Scottish Opera and The Royal Conservatoire of Scotland	Concert performance, Conducted by Mikhail Agrest, Svetlana Sozdateleva in the role of Renata and Evez Abdulla in the role of Ruprecht
2018	13 May	Warsaw	Teatr Wielki-Opera Narodowa	Teatr Wielki-Opera Narodowa	Conducted by Kazushi Ono, Aušrinė Stundyte in the role of Renata and Scott Hendricks in the role of Ruprecht
2018	5, 7, 13, 15 July	Aix-en- Provence	Grand Théâtre de Provence	Festival d'Aix-en-Provence et de l'Opéra national de Varsovie-Teatr Wielki in co- production with Norwegian National Opera and Ballet	Conducted by Kazushi Ono, Aušrinė Stundyte in the role of Renata and Scott Hendricks in the role of Ruprecht
2019	23, 26, 28 May 1 June	Rome	Teatro Dell'Opera Di Roma	Teatro Dell'Opera Di Roma	Conducted by Alejo Pérez, Ewa Vesin in the role of Renata and Leigh Melrose in the role of Ruprecht

## Appendix II (Timeline)

The table below provides excerpts relevant to the composition of *The Fiery Angel*, and the events surrounding this work, extracted from Serge Prokofiev's published diaries (SPA-1<sup>1</sup> and SPA-2<sup>2</sup>).

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
30	November	1919	New York	SPD-1, 442	Prokofiev writes in his diary: 'It is some time since I have had any Russian books in my hands, but Samoilenko has just given me one, and it is very good: Bryusov's <i>The Fiery Angel</i> , which Boris Verin mentioned to me about two years ago. The reader is plunged immediately and irretrievably into the heart of sixteenth-century superstitions. The hero of the story is a man of reason, who tries, with the understanding of his times, to shake them off.'
2	December	1919	New York		'I am reading <i>Fiery Angel</i> with the greatest interest'
12	December	1919	New York	SPD-1, 446	'The collapse of <i>Three Oranges</i> has set me thinking about composing a new opera on <i>Fiery Angel</i> . I have read it through once again and am thinking about it. It could be a fascinating and powerful opera: it must express high drama and terror but avoid bringing any devils or apparitions on the stage, otherwise it risks toppling over and collapsing into pure theatrical sham. Another difficulty is that the entire opera is centred around two main characters, and if they are never off stage all evening we will never find anyone prepared to undertake the roles. The scenario demands a great deal of very careful thinking.'
13	December	1919	New York	SPD-1, 446	'Pondered the scenario of <i>Fiery Angel</i> , even though I am very far from deciding to embark on writing this opera.'
14	December	1919	New York	SPD-1, 446-7	'Stahl said: "Look, with your <i>Fiery Angel</i> you are going to create a scandal with the Church in Catholic countries." I objected that <i>Fiery Angel</i> contains nothing impious, either in the concept or in the actions that will be seen on stage. I gave him the book to read so that he could study it in detail, and then give me his opinion.'
17	December	1919	New York	SPD-1, 448	'In the afternoon I pasted reviews into my scrapbook and jotted down some themes I have in mind for <i>Fiery Angel</i> .'
19	December	1919	New York	SPD-1, 448	'Little by little I am composing themes for various elements in <i>Fiery Angel</i> .'
21	December	1919	New York	SPD-1, 449	'This evening Stahl and I discussed <i>Fiery Angel</i> . He proffered several fruitful thoughts, and we successfully planned out the opera I seven short acts. The concept of the opera is becoming more definite and tangible.'

<sup>1</sup> Sergey Prokofiev, *Diaries 1915 – 1923: Behind the mask*, trans. Anthony Phillips (London: Faber & Faber, 2008).

<sup>2</sup> Sergey Prokofiev, *Diaries 1924 – 1933: Prodigal Son*, trans. Anthony Phillips (London: Faber & Faber, 2012).

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
31	December	1919	New York	SPD-1, 454	'I spent the day quietly at home, composing themes for <i>Fiery Angel</i> and playing some Scriabin pieces I found at the Volkovs.'
2	January	1920	New York	SPD-1, 457	'I started another read through of <i>Fiery Angel</i> , thinking out the first act, and managed to lose myself a little in it, worked until fatigue set in and all but finished the libretto for the whole of the first act. Now I need to go through it again line by line and fill in a few blanks.'
4	January	1920	New York	SPD-1, 458	'I thought out and made some notes for the libretto of Act Two, and made a start on composing themes.'
8	January	1920	New York	SPD-1, 460	'Composed some themes, played the piano, wrote my diary, stayed at home.' (Themes for <i>Fiery Angel</i> ?)
11	January	1920	New York	SPD-1, 461	'I worked on the libretto for Act Two.'
17	January	1920	New York	SPD-1, 464	'Finished the libretto of Act Two... That evening I discussed with Samoilenko an outline for <i>Fiery Angel</i> . We came to an important conclusion: the sixth scene (with Count Wellen in the castle) is superfluous. I decided to eliminate it, leaving an opera of six scenes rather than seven.'
20	January	1920	New York	SPD-1, 465	'Began composing <i>Fiery Angel</i> and wrote a page of the scene between Ruprecht and the Landlady. A rough outline of the scene had been in my head since Chicago.'
21	January	1920	New York	SPD-1, 465	'Continued <i>Fiery Angel</i> and learned the Rimsky-Korsakov Concerto.'
22	January	1920	New York	SPD-1, 465	'A letter from Otto Kahn in response to mine. He would be happy for my opera to be at the Metropolitan Opera. Unfortunately, he is leavening for Europe, but he has had a talk with Gatti and Gatti would like to see the libretto of <i>Fiery Angel</i> . It is the kind of letter that is too strong to be merely the form of politesse for which Kahn is famous. Naturally, if it were left to Gatti to take a decision independently my opera would be strangled at birth, but if before he leaves Kahn were to tell them to put it on, it would be in the bag. For all that at the present time I am resisting the temptation to build too many seductive castles in the air, it is still a pleasant feeling.'
29	January	1920	Quebec	SPD-1, 468	'Thought out Renata's lamentation scene while Ruprecht sleeps.'
4	February	1920	New York	SPD-1, 471	'Spent the morning thinking out the libretto for the third act and wrote some of it out.'
5	February	1920	On the way to New York	SPD-1, 472	'Worked on the Act Three libretto.'
6	February	1920	On the way to New York	SPD-1, 472	'Later on I worked on the libretto and achieved a lot: finished Act Three, and tidied up and wrote out some of Act One.'
9	February	1920	New York	SPD-1, 474	'Gatti said that it would be inappropriate to talk about Three Oranges, since tis was already linked to the Chicago Opera, while regarding <i>Fiery Angel</i> , as a rule he did not accept a work he knew nothing about, moreover one for which the music had not yet been composed. A Libretto on its own was not sufficient. 'I am reluctant to believe it,' he added, 'but I hear that when the Chicago Opera accepted a work before you had written it, you provided them with something they are quite unable to perform.' My response to this was: 'Perhaps if I were to acquaint you with <i>Three Oranges</i> , and then with the subject of <i>Fiery Angel</i> , do you think you would then be able to form an opinion as to the kind of music I would compose for such a subject?' Gatti agreed readily to this suggestion, and said he would grant me a longer interview after the 19th, when they would have disposed of <i>Parzifal</i> .'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
12	February	1920	New York	SPD-1, 476	'Composed some of <i>Fiery Angel</i> and played the Medtner, trying not to go out as I was still feeling not very well and a bit depressed.'
15	February	1920	New York	SPD-1, 477	'Carried on with <i>Fiery Angel</i> . Renata's hysterical scene. I expected this to be very difficult, but it developed with ease and clarity, and today I got as far as Ruprecht's Latin prayer, where I had to stop as I do not know where the stress fall in Latin.'
17	February	1920	New York	SPD-1, 477	'Am composing Renata's account of her story and am deeply absorbed in it, especially my lyrical 'Pacific Ocean' theme.' (What does Prokofiev mean by Pacific Ocean theme?)
18	February	1920	New York	SPD-1, 478	'Renata's story.'
22	February	1920	New York	SPD-1, 478	'Did a lot of work on <i>Fiery Angel</i> and moved Renata's story forward to the very end, turning down lunch with Ingerman so as not to interrupt the flow of the work. But from Gatti there is not a word, although I think by now I really should have heard something.'
					...
					'The lesson lasted a quarter of an hour, after which Stella stayed a further two hours with me. I read her the first act of <i>Fiery Angel</i> , translating it into English, and I think the libretto impressed her.'
23	February	1920	New York	SPD-1, 479	'Finished Renata's story. It is very good.'
24	February	1920	New York	SPD-1, 480	'Worked on the Landlady.'
25	February	1920	New York	SPD-1, 480	'Anisfeld came in to listen to what I have composed so far of <i>Fiery Angel</i> .'
26	February	1920	New York	SPD-1, 480	'Finished the Landlady.' Decided to call a halt to my Violin Sonata, the sketched for which date back to when I was in Japan. One theme from it I took for <i>Fiery Angel</i> .'
29	February	1920	New York	SPD-1, 481	'Composed a great deal.' ( <i>Fiery Angel</i> )
01	March	1920	New York	SPD-1, 482	'I then played him Renata's hysterical scene, which sent him into ecstasy.'
04	March	1920	New York	SPD-1, 483	'Composed the 'rape scene'.'
05	March	1920	New York	SPD-1, 483	'Had a bit of headache, and therefore did not compose much.'
07	March	1920	New York	SPD-1, 484	'Composed a great deal. Renata sleeps, and Ruprecht alongside her. The 'knocks' begin to be heard.'
09	March	1920	New York	SPD-1, 485	'Composed the 'knocks'. The pace of composition seems to be slackening. Either I should take a break for a while, or something must happen to enervise me, for example a meeting with Gatti, but the liar has still not been in touch to ask me to see him.'
11	March	1920	New York	SPD-1, 485	'Composes, but not much.' ( <i>Fiery Angel</i> )
14	March	1920	New York	SPD-1, 487	'Wend on composing, but in the morning I encountered a block and could make no progress. By evening, however, my muse had returned and I could even sense the end of the act looming up in the distance.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
15	March	1920	New York	SPD-1, 487	'Did not compose.' ( <i>Fiery Angel</i> ).
16	March	1920	New York	SPD-1, 487-8	'Got on well today and almost finished the first act, all but a few bars. I played it through from beginning to end – thirty-five minutes! – and only now did I realise why it had taken me so long to compose this act: it is equivalent to very nearly two acts of <i>Three Oranges</i> .'
17	March	1920	New York	SPD-1, 488	'Finished Act I. The final twenty bars are very good.'
18	March	1920	New York	SPD-1, 488	'Was all set to start on Act Two, but there was not manuscript paper. I went out to buy some and then worked on the Myaskovsky Sonata and other piano pieces, putting aside for the time being composition work on Act Two.'
21	March	1920	New York	SPD-1, 489	'I had managed to do some work in the mornings, before our trip. I made a start on the second act, up to the entrance of Merchant. The dreamy mystical atmosphere with which the act begins is hardly in tune with today's smiling weather.'
22	March	1920	New York	SPD-1, 490	'The scene with the Merchant.'
23	March	1920	New York	SPD-1, 490	'The entrance of the Students. Something after the manner of a German folk song, although it does not necessarily have to be German, since in Bryusov some of the students are Italian and some are from the south.'
24	March	1920	New York	SPD-1, 490	'Composed the quarrel with the Students.'
26	March	1920	New York	SPD-1, 491	'Finished Ruprecht's quarrel with the Students.'
30	March	1920	New York	SPD-1, 492	'Composed some of <i>Fiery Angel</i> ad went <i>Three Oranges</i> in anticipation of playing it to Gatti.'
01	April	1920	New York	SPD-1, 492-493	'In the morning I played through my operas, including <i>The Gambler</i> . This definitely needs major revisions: the vocal parts have too many unnecessarily rough and awkward passages. I then packed into my suitcase <i>The Gambler</i> , <i>Fiery Angel</i> and <i>Three Oranges</i> (full score and vocal score). Impressive, I thought for a composer to need a whole suitcase for his scores. Gatti had set up a full-scale audition consisting of himself and six conductors, but essentially this was just for show: the decision would be made by Gatti and Bodanzky and the others would sit quietly by minding their own business. After giving them a preliminary outline of the action I played the scene with the Prince, followed by some experts from the first act of <i>Fiery Angel</i> . So far as I could judge the effect created was not very favourable. Gatti found all the music very difficult, with not enough the voice to get hold of. Had it been a once-act opera they might have taken the risk, but five acts... Summing up. Gatti said I would naturally understand that they could not give an immediate answer to such a significant proposition. This is tantamount to a rejection. I find it upsetting, both on my account and for the Metropolitan, that a fine institution cannot put on a real opera, opting instead to suffocate under an agglomeration of rubbish.'
02	April	1920	New York	SPD-1, 493	'In the morning I continued with the composition of <i>Fiery Angel</i> – Agrippina. Even if it has not been accepted, that is no reason for abandoning work on a good opera.'
06	April	1920	New York	SPD-1, 494	'An unexpected manifestation during the afternoon: as I was sitting at home working on Act Two, Blanche and Stella suddenly appeared at the door.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
13	April	1920	New York	SPD-1, 496	'I have put <i>Fiery Angel</i> to one side, as is only to be expected after the rejection by the Metropolitan, but I hope it is only a temporary interruption and that after a few days I will be motivated to press on with it. In the afternoon Mme Izvolskaya took me to tea with Mrs Otto Kahn, whose house is a quite remarkable edifice, something like an Italian palazzo. I had hoped to raise the question of the opera, since she is said to have an even greater influence than her husband, but the occasion was a reception with a large number of guests, so conversation was confined to courtesies and salutations. However, a French singer from the Metropolitan Opera, not knowing who I was, did tell me that recently some Russian composer or other...Proko...she could not quite remember his quite unpronounceable name, had played Gatti his opera, which had been completely crazy Futurist nonsense.'
24	April	1920	New York	SPD-1, 499	'Composed a little of <i>Fiery Angel</i> .'
29	April	1920	on a liner from New York to Europe	SPD-1, 502	'I caught up on my diary and tomorrow may do some work on the <i>Fiery Angel</i> libretto.'
30	April	1920	on a liner from New York to Europe	SPD-1, 502	'I take my meals in the dining-room, but have put <i>Fiery Angel</i> aside for now as I cannot find a quiet corner to work in: the cabin is awful and it is very draughty on deck.'
20	May	1920	Paris	SPD-1, 515	'After a very late night I had to get up early because at ten o'clock I had arranged to read three scenes from <i>Fiery Angel</i> through to Stahl and consult with him on the rest. Stahl has an incisive intelligence and an excellent feeling for stage. I would trust Demchinsky even more, but Stahl too gave me unexpected and very interesting advice. I am not clear in my mind about the psychology of Renata in the fourth scene, about which Bryusov says little, nor about the conclusion of the inn scene with Mephistopheles. I also wanted to see what Stahl would have to say about the liberties I was taking with Bryusov in the last act. Our discussion was extremely interesting, only it was a pity it could not be longer, because the Diva (Vera Janacopulos, Stahl's wife) was rushing to go out somewhere and was all the time interrupting and disturbing us. I was very angry, and said to her that discussion of the outline of an opera was once for all time, but a petticoat could be purchased any day of the week.'
30	October	1920	New York	SPD-1, 545	'I played Nona the first act of <i>Fiery Angel</i> , it made a tremendous impression on her and I may say on me too, not having set eyes on it for many months.'
16	January	1921	New York	SPD-1, 580	'Baranovskaya came to see me in the afternoon and I played and narrated to her the third and fourth acts of <i>Three Oranges</i> , as well as some excerpts from <i>Fiery Angel</i> .'
25 to 23	February to November	1922	Etta	SPD-1, 675	'As soon as I had dealt with the proofs, on 6 <sup>th</sup> July I got down to the third act of <i>Fiery Angel</i> , my plan being to finish the opera this summer. It had been in abeyance for two years, and after all, the music was not bad! Act Three made brisk progress and I was deeply absorbed in composition.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
25 to 23	February November	1922	Ettal	SPD-1, 677	'During September I composed the fourth act of <i>Fiery Angel</i> and pondered a Suite to be drawn from <i>Chout</i> .'
4	October	1922	Ettal	SPD-1, 677	'On 4 <sup>th</sup> of October I completed Act Four, taking particular pleasure in the scene between Mephistopheles and Faust. <i>Angel</i> then faltered, as I needed to devote much thought to the libretto, and indeed the whole structure, of Act Five – a difficult and pivotally crucial matter. This was not work one could simply undertake by sitting down to it with a clear head: it demanded long cogitation and the patience to wait for the moment when inspiration might in its own good time suddenly strike.'
25	November	1922	Ettal	SPD-1, 684	'Pressing on with Act Five. Decide to leave out for the time being the passages that are sticking, and move forward.'
26	November	1922	Ettal	SPD-1, 684	'Recast the Inquisitor and moved to the knocks. Sometimes it seems to me that the whole of the beginning of Act Five is good, but at other times it seems boring.'
27	November	1922	Ettal	SPD-1, 685	'Composed some of the start or the knocking section in Act Five.'
02	December	1922	Ettal	SPD-1, 687	'I made progress with the "exorcism", and did some proof-reading.'
06	December	1922	Ettal	SPD-1, 689	' <i>Fiery Angel</i> is under way again.'
21	December	1922	Ettal	SPD-1, 696	'Now that I have finished the Suite from <i>Chout</i> , I got back to <i>Fiery Angel</i> and got bogged down in the mayhem, which is even more difficult to conceive than it is to compose. It will mean a lot of work: a schematic plan (as I did for <i>Seven, They Are Seven</i> , and filling out the text, which involved much rooting around in Bryusov.'
13	January	1923	Ettal	SPD-1, 699	'Composed the whole of the final scene between Mephistopheles and Ruprecht, thus completing <i>Fiery Angel</i> . Of course, many places are so far not properly integrated, and the joins in Act Five are yet plain for all to see, 'the battleship has been launched upon the waves.'
16	January	1923	Ettal	SPD-1, 700	'Revised the end of Act Four.'
17	January	1923	Ettal	SPD-1, 700	'Revised and filled in some gaps in Act Five, and made a plan for the conclusion of Act Two, which so far does not exist.'
18	January	1923	Ettal	SPD-1, 700	'Did some cleaning up of <i>Fiery Angel</i> and pathed here and there.'
25	January	1923	Ettal	SPD-1, 700	'Zederbaum writes that Koussevitzky may engage a chorus in the spring, and therefore it may be possible to perform <i>Seven, They Are Seven</i> . If this is the case, I shall need to prepare a piano score, and since I am taking a break from <i>Angel</i> (I have been doing a lot over the last few days and have had enough of it for the time being) now is the time to get on with it. I started work on it.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
3	March	1923	Brussels	SPD-1, 710	'In the morning one of the Society's directors took me to see the Plantin House Museum, which had belonged to one of the founders of the printing business in the sixteenth century. This is a real living museum of old books, manuscripts and drawings, all housed in an environment created at exactly the time when Ruprecht lived, and since on account of Renata he spent so much time rummaging through books this house is a perfect illustration of the ambience in which the story of <i>Fiery Angel</i> unfolds. When someone comes to stage my opera, I recommend him to pay a visit to this house. It has been meticulously preserved from the sixteenth century, and almost certainly it would have been in such a setting that Faust and Agrippa of Nettesheim worked.'
3	March	1923	Brussels	SPD-1, 710	'In the morning one of the Society's directors took me to see the Plantin House Museum, which had belonged to one of the founders of the printing business in the sixteenth century. This is a real living museum of old books, manuscripts and drawings, all housed in an environment created at exactly the time when Ruprecht lived, and since on account of Renata he spent so much time rummaging through books this house is a perfect illustration of the ambience in which the story of <i>Fiery Angel</i> unfolds. When someone comes to stage my opera, I recommend him to pay a visit to this house. It has been meticulously preserved from the sixteenth century, and almost certainly it would have been in such a setting that Faust and Agrippa of Nettesheim worked.'
12	January	1924	Paris	SPD-2, 7	'Got on with Sheherazade, also a voice-and-piano version of Renata's aria which I had orchestrated in the summer.'
15	January	1924	Paris	SPD-2, 9	'Carried on transcribing Renata's aria.'
22	January	1924	Paris	SPD-2, 13	'In <i>The Gambler</i> and in <i>The Fiery Angel</i> I was too dependent on the text. From now on I shall be guided exclusively by the idea of the subject and will develop it with much greater freedom, in accordance with the principles I enunciate today.'
17	February	1924	Paris	SPD-2, 21-2	'A letter from Demchinsky critical of the <i>Fiery Angel</i> libretto for its turgidness, and promising to send some suggested alterations. These could be of the greatest interest.'
20	February	1924	Paris	SPD-2, 22-3	'Oeberg, whom I went to see in order to discuss dates for my forthcoming recital, told me that next season he is planning to support an opera company, and in that connection is interested in my operas. <i>Fiery Angel</i> !'
17	May	1924	Paris	SPD-2, 54	'Met Hébertot. Next season he is presenting opera, and has it in mind to audition <i>The Fiery Angel</i> . The conductor would be Wolff, the producer Komissarzhevsky, whom I knew slightly (he had introduced himself to me the previous autumn). As the audition is to take place in a week's time, I wrote to Komissarzhevsky suggesting that I read the libretto to him.'
31	May	1924	Paris	SPD-2, 61	'Komissarzhevsky has at last answered my letter about <i>Fiery Angel</i> and requested a meeting. Reviews of <i>Seven, They Are Seven</i> have begun to appear, on the whole favourable although their content is hardly profound.'
3	June	1924	Paris	SPD-2, 64	'Komissarzhevsky came: having promised to be here at two o'clock, he came at three. He looked tired, indolent, his face clean-shaven and very intelligent, his head bald. His whole demeanour was somehow strange, but behind this strangeness I felt a certain rapport with him. I read him the libretto of <i>Fiery Angel</i> , remembering Demchinsky's strictures and asking him to point out any lacunae he noticed. However, he found the libretto entirely cogent dramatically, and only in three places suggested minor interpolations with the object of better stitching together the separate acts. These suggestions I immediately adopted. He asked me to let him know when I was proposing to play the score through to Wolff, so that he would be able to exert influence on him in my favour.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
7	June	1924	Paris	SPD-2, 65	'Hébertot, whom I had alerted to the fact that I would be leaving Paris on the 10th and who had promised that before that time there would be an audition of <i>Fiery Angel</i> , sent a letter saying that Wolff was terribly busy and it would not be possible to arrange a time to hear it. However, if an opportunity to present my opera should present itself, he would get in touch with me during the summer. I inferred from this letter the obvious conclusion that <i>Fiery Angel</i> was not going to get a production in the immediate future. It is a pity, but it may be for the best: I shall compose a Symphony, because it is some time since I wrote any new music, if you do not count the Fifth Sonata.'
13	June	1924	Paris	SPD-2, 70	'A letter from Hébertot: Wolff has made some free time and will listen to <i>Fiery Angel</i> . It is extraordinary how all this is panning out: I should have left Paris this morning, but delayed my departure because Mama had not arrived and various matters needing attention had not been resolved. The train on which I had intended to travel left at 8.40 a.m., and Hébertot's letter was delivered at nine o'clock. Are Wolff's intentions serious, or is this merely a tactic? Whatever the true situation, I shall treat the invitation as a serious one and put faith in Wolff and in Komissarzhevsky. I set off to call on Wolff, who was genial and friendly, showing me a long and already printed list of operas that they are announcing for the forthcoming year, but adding, 'Don't be alarmed, we are not going to present all of them, and some of those that have been announced will be replaced by others.' <i>Fiery Angel</i> audition is set for the day after tomorrow.'
14	June	1924	Paris	SPD-2, 71	'Was at Wolff's. I went through the libretto with him, which he judged to be somewhat confused, but interesting. I then played him Renata's hysterical scene and her narrative; as the latter has already been orchestrated he followed it with the score, and expressed his approval. His wife then appeared, a very interesting woman but whose intrusive intervention into the matter in hand I did not appreciate. But she soon took off her husband to lunch, and the audition will be continued tomorrow.'
16	June	1924	Paris	SPD-2, 72	'Played Wolff more of <i>Fiery Angel</i> , not straight through but those parts I judged most suitable for his attention, approximately half. Wolff then took me to lunch, after which I played him the rest. Wolff was impressed. 'Well,' he said, 'we must certainly put it on. I will speak to Hébertot.' I asked him to do this before my departure.'
17	June	1924	Paris	SPD-2, 72-3	'I don't know what will happen with <i>Fiery Angel</i> , but as far as Romanov is concerned things are working out. The next move is up to me, since I do not want to commit myself before the situation with Angel becomes clearer. Romanov is prepared to pay me 10,000 francs. I think it will take me about six weeks to complete the work.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
21	June	1924	Paris	SPD-2, 74-5	<p>Hébertot categorically refused to pay me any money at all for <i>Fiery Angel</i>, even as an advance on future performance fees. He agreed that the opera would be presented next season, but stopped short of giving any guarantee. In short, it was all looking very shaky. He was very keen that next season Koussevitzky should be at the Champs-Élysées rather than at the Opéra. I proposed an introduction to Koussevitzky, hinting that Koussevitzky might come up with some money to pay me to orchestrate <i>Fiery Angel</i> if Hébertot would guarantee a production. We therefore went together to see Koussevitzky and Hébertot immediately undertook to present <i>Fiery Angel</i> in the autumn of 1925 (i.e. the season after next). Koussevitzky in turn promised to provide him with the orchestral material and a vocal score with a French translation of the libretto. Both sides agreed a forfeit of 10,000 francs should the agreement fail to be honoured. The discussion then turned to the possibility of Koussevitzky giving concerts at the Champs-Élysées Theatre. Koussevitzky said he would consider the possibility, and Hébertot then left, after proposing that Oeberg call on him to draw up an agreement on what had been discussed. The deal thus seems to be in the bag, and I am very grateful to Koussevitzky. Concerning the money, Koussevitzky confided to me, away from Hébertot's hearings, that he would simply subsidise me to the extent of the 10,000 francs independently of the <i>Fiery Angel</i> agreement. This money would be a loan, which I should repay when it was convenient to do so. Koussevitzky's action demonstrated not only what a gentleman but what a friend he is. The flowering of our friendly relations was no doubt helped by the fact that some days previously I had told him that were I to write a Symphony it would be for him, and I would dedicate it to him.</p>
22	June	1924	Paris	SPD-2, 75-6	<p>I signed a contract with Romanov: 10,000 francs, and an easy and pleasant job to fulfil. After that, since <i>Fiery Angel</i> is evidently well on track, I asked Komarov to visit me with a view to his making a French translation (he is translating Kitezh very well), and a copyist.</p> <p>...</p> <p>A whole group of people arrived at the same time: B.N., Dr Polack, Oeberg. The last named had been to see Hébertot, but he was away from his office. This seemed strange to me, and when the last of the guests had gone we went together to find Hébertot, upon which I was told that he was unwell and had not been seen in the theatre that day. This struck me as a bad sign. I very much wanted to have the terms of the contract signed before I left Paris, because I was not confident either of Hébertot's real commitment or of Oeberg's competence in the matter, he is such a dilatory and at the same time rapacious individual. In the evening I once again telephoned the theatre while the performance was in progress, and asked Oeberg to go there as well. I enquired from the managers and staff on duty what the situation was with Hébertot, but they confirmed the story. It was clear that I would have to put further matters in the hands of Oeberg, as I could not put off my departure any more: the tickets were booked, our things virtually all packed, our lease of the apartment would be up the following morning, in short we already had one foot beyond the perimeter of Paris.</p>
5	July	1924	St Gilles	SPD-2, 79	<p>'A disappointing letter from Oeberg: Hébertot continues to drag his heels and has not concluded the agreement for <i>Fiery Angel</i>.'</p>
7	July	1924	St Gilles	SPD-2, 80	<p>Thought through the first movement of the Suite from <i>Three Oranges</i>. I have been turning this suite over in my mind for a long time, but never quite got into the right mood to realise it. Of course, it will be a poor relation compared to the Suites from <i>Chout</i> and <i>The Fiery Angel</i>.</p>

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
9	July	1924	St Gilles	SPD-2, 80	'In the afternoon a dramatic letter arrived from Oeberg: Hébertot has not moved a muscle about <i>Fiery Angel</i> and has not signed the contract; but not only that, they have sent from America \$272, that is to say 5,000 francs, for the production of <i>Chout</i> , and I was not expecting more than 1,000.'
19	August	1924	St Gilles	SPD-2, 90	'Yesterday I received a letter from Boris Demchinsky which I interpreted as meaning that, as far as he himself is concerned, he is ready to work on revising the libretto of <i>Fiery Angel</i> . The only problem is that life is hard for them at the moment: a delicate hint that such work should be paid for, which is only reasonable. I wrote my answer.'
8	October	1924	Bellevue	SPD-2, 101-2	'I then went in search of Blois, to ask him to send an instrument out to Bellevue. Blois was full of all kinds of news, among which was the story of the collapse of Hébertot's operatic enterprise.' ... Since the compensation appeared more important than the supplementary contractual detail, the artists willingly complied, handing back their contracts. Hébertot promptly threw the lot on the fire, and in this manner was liquidated the enterprise on which depended the fate of my <i>Fiery Angel</i> . And I – I was speechless with rage!
25	April	1925	Paris	SPD-2, 157	'Continued writing an exceptionally long letter to Demchinsky, on which I 5have spent four days now.'
31	October	1925	On way to Stockholm	SPD-2, 224	'Met, and were invited to dinner with, Szenkár in Cologne. The opera company will produce Chout this year. They definitely want to produce <i>The Fiery Angel</i> , and whereas when I had raised it with him during the Oranges run Szenkár's response had been provisional, he now wanted to make it a firm commitment. I did not say either yes or no, putting the blame for my indecision on the publishers, as if to say I was dependent on them. But should I in fact not let Berlin have it?'
1	December	1925	Paris	SPD-2, 231	'All this fuss I'm having with Demchinsky and his equivocations over <i>Fiery Angel</i> . My best hope is now Eleonora, and I can see I shall have to woo her, a real marriage of convenience. I have another letter from her: she needs strings, a handbag, gloves, a scarf, all these must be offerings on the altar of <i>Fiery Angel</i> , since she promised to 'arrange matters' with Demchinsky.'
5	February	1926	New York	SPD-2, 263-4	'A telegram from Weber saying that without benefit of any acquaintance with the music <i>The Fiery Angel</i> has been accepted by the Berlin Opera.'
5	March	1926	New York	SPD-2, 277	'Mrs Kahn was interested to know whether <i>Fiery Angel</i> was going to be produced in Berlin. If it was, and the production was to be this spring, she would send Gatti-Casazza over to hear it (a fat lot of good that would do!). I answered that the score still needed finishing off and orchestrating, and therefore if it were to be produced, it would be next season.'
2	April	1926	Italy	SPD-2, 282	'Then I orchestrated some more of Ursinot, which I have been neglecting since my spirit-lowering conversation with Diaghilev. But whatever happens, whether he puts it on this season or next, the score needs to be finished, and only when it is can I get down to <i>Fiery Angel</i> !'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
30	May	1926	Paris	SPD-2, 325	<p>Third sitting for A.P. This time she had many colourful stories to tell about Valery Bryusov. He has an evil, tigerish mouth and exceptionally long eyelashes which even at the age of fifty-five he still enjoyed fluttering, and whenever he had his portrait painted something always befell the pictures: some malign fate always lay in wait for them. Several were destroyed by their authors before completion. Renata was based on a real woman who is apparently still alive and living in Paris. Bryusov (Ruprecht) was in love with her while she in turn was in love with her Heinrich. The most piquant aspect of it all was that this Heinrich was none other than . . . Andrey Bely, whom Bryusov went so far as to challenge to a duel. The duel never took place, but I recall its being mentioned in Bely's reminiscences of Blok, although the duel itself has always been shrouded in a dense fog of literary disputes. When Bryusov was asked if it was true that he dabbled in magic and if so had he done so for <i>Fierce Angel</i>, or that <i>Fierce Angel</i> itself was the result of magical practices, he replied that his practice of magic was for its own sake but that <i>Fierce Angel</i> was indeed to some extent the result of his activities. Not long before his death Bryusov took up with a woman and lived with her. When he fell ill, she was not allowed to go to see him. She sat on a bench near the house and wept. Someone asked the dying Bryusov if he wished to see her. 'She can go to the devil' was Bryusov's reply. When he died, his body was subjected to a post-mortem examination, and his skull was also trepanned. The brain was removed, but when it was time to close up the skull again it was necessary to fill the space with something, and nothing else could be found to hand except some sheets of Pravda which were torn into scraps and stuffed into the head cavity. Thus he was buried with a Bolshevik newspaper instead of his own brains – fate's revenge for his defection to Communism, undertaken not out of conviction but out of calculated advantage. Bryusov's memory is encrusted with macabre legends of this sort – just like Agrippa of Nettesheim!</p>
1	June	1926	Paris	SPD-2, 327	<p>'A telegram from Demchinsky: 'Plan despatched.' Well, well! Can it really be that I have at least succeeded in winking out of him a coup de main with <i>Fierce Angel</i>? At quite some cost, however.'</p>
7	June	1926	Paris	SPD-2, 334	<p>'I have received Demchinsky's scenario for <i>The Fierce Angel</i>. Well, well, at long last! I dived into it straight away, although at first it was hard to grasp. There are some interesting details in it, but I had been expecting something more.'</p>
11	June	1926	Paris	SPD-2, 336-7	<p>'I spent all day thinking about the libretto for <i>Fierce Angel</i>. I sat in my room surrounded by Demchinsky's plan, my old libretto and Bryusov's novel. I thought the whole thing out from end to end and seem to have had some good ideas: the new libretto will be a modest construction, neither Demchinsky's nor my original one, but something new. My conception covers not just alterations, combinations and additions but answers to Demchinsky's objections: why this way and not another? It had been a very useful exercise, for with an unseen devil's advocate to joust with I had continually to subject my invention to criticism. Demchinsky had not in essence provided me with much material, but there is no doubt that he had injected a new vitality into the first two acts. The thing I had been most in need of was a push to jolt me out of my stone-like inertia over the text. The actual quality of Demchinsky's suggestions did not matter: if it was good, so much the better, but if not (as was in fact the case) at least criticising it gave me ideas.'</p>
13	June	1926	Paris	SPD-2, 338	<p>'Spent all day writing to Demchinsky, commenting on his <i>Fierce Angel</i> scenario.'</p>

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
17	June	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 339	In the afternoon I continued writing my response to Demchinsky, which I had begun in Paris, getting up to sixteen fairly densely written pages. All in all Demchinsky had not contributed much, but he had contributed something, and I needed in my letter to engage in all kinds of diplomatic and obsequious circumlocutions in order that he would not be tempted to remove anything that was good nor, indeed, to abandon the project altogether.
18	June	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 339	'Spent the afternoon typing out my letter to Demchinsky, but from being out of practice typing and its being so many pages my fingers were all thumbs and I did not finish it. Our quiet little corner is ideal for working, and I have a lot of plans: over the summer I want to finish composing <i>Fiery Angel</i> and orchestrate two acts; I must finish orchestrating Ursignol (there is not much to do) and make a piano score of it. I have already completed about a quarter of this.'
19	June	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 340	'Finished typing out the letter to Demchinsky and posted it.'
28	June	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 343	'I am ready to get down to serious work, but Demchinsky is dragging his feet with <i>Fiery Angel</i> ...'
8	July	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 345	'A telegram in reply from Demchinsky, or rather from his wife: 'Lettre reçu. Barbe Demitchinsky.' No doubt 'himself is away and Varya is answering on his behalf. But anyone familiar with French argot could read it like this: 'Letter received, what a pain' – on account of my having once again completely altered the scenario. In any case it is really monstrously, unforgivably inconsiderate behaviour when the fellow gave me his word I would have the first and second acts by the first of June. It is all to the good that I am smoothing out the awkward places in the Symphony but what I really need to be getting on with is <i>Fiery Angel</i> – the Symphony can always be fixed up in the gaps.'
9	July	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 346	'I opened up <i>Fiery Angel</i> , corrected a few passages in the vocal parts, made some notes about orchestration and other things I am not happy with in preparation for the revision. But it is impossible to get down to serious work on it until I have a final text, at least for one act. To be honest I am not expecting much more from Demchinsky . . . but somewhere buried deep inside I still hear a voice saying: but what if?! Demchinsky may be a barren vine, but he is still capable of producing the occasional shoot and I need to catch hold of any that do appear. ... Sent a second telegram to Demchinsky (in fact, counting from the beginning, the sixth or seventh) asking him whatever happens to let me know when I could expect Act One. To think of how much money is being squandered on all these quite unnecessary telegrams – what a strange man he is.'
15	July	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 348	'What am I to do with Demchinsky? I really must get to work on <i>Fiery Angel</i> . Today I looked through all the music I have written and found that that Demchinsky's new version will not work in the scene between the Hostess, the Workman and Ruprecht, so I revised it and cleaned it up (changed some of the harmonies and a few things in the vocal parts), and since it was now scribbled all over with my alterations, gave it to Labunsky to make a new fair copy. I then set about marking up the orchestration. I do this with as much detail as possible, from the ground up so to speak, in order that Labunsky can copy it into the staves of the full score. This is my new system and the principal reason why I engaged Labunsky. If it is successful, I shall be relieved of the chore of transcribing five hundred pages of <i>Fiery Angel</i> score.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
16	July	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 348	'The experiment has proved more or less a success: Labunsky spent about three hours on one page, but he did transcribe into it all the instrumentation as I had indicated it. True, there were dozens of mistakes, but this is because in the first place it was the first attempt, and in the second either he is temperamentally unable to concentrate his attention or is simply not used to having to do so. Today I put aside the Overture, Op. 42, and bent all my attention to <i>Fiery Angel</i> , continuing the work I had begun yesterday. The music for the rape scene was frankly bad, but I had some ideas of how to do it differently, and better.'
19	July	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 350	'The work went well. I revised a good part of Act One, as I feel in its present form it is well suited to the changes Demchinsky has made. This strange gentleman is staying mum and not replying to my telegram. I sent another one. Labunsky is transcribing my orchestration into the score, working slowly and of course omitting the sharps.'
20	July	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 350	'Worked a great deal on <i>Fiery Angel</i> . It is going well. I worked out orchestration and noted down detailed instructions for specific passages for Labunsky to copy. Of course while working like this I can get through ten pages of the eventual score in a day, but this is a joke as Labunsky, when he gets to it, will manage only two or three! After all, it is not he who is orchestrating, but if one put it like that, merely taking orchestral dictation.'
21	July	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 350	'As <i>Fiery Angel</i> has made such good progress in the last few days, Labunsky will need a week to catch up, so I decided to revert to the 'Overture for Seventeen Instruments' and today concentrated on it. However, it was not very successful and I did not achieve much. In the afternoon I thought more about the <i>Fiery Angel</i> orchestration.'
22	July	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 351	'Meanwhile from Demchinsky there is still no reply to the telegram I sent him three days ago. I decided to wait a further couple of days and then to send him an ultimatum. But before taking this step and risking a final break with Demchinsky, I thought carefully about whether I would myself be able to finish the work from my own resources. The result of this cogitation was that, yes, if necessary I could. Demchinsky was admirable as a critic, but when it came to producing material himself, the scenario he had provided was inferior to mine. Certainly he had given me a much-needed prod, I had emerged from a state of paralysis, had reshaped the libretto, and now, so far as I could see, the opera has a coherent form, which is the most important thing. What more has he to offer me? A few elegant conceits, the sort of thing I always expected from him? These, perhaps, he could and would provide. But he might not, given that he is a spent force. It is important to me to make use of the summer in order that the music I compose should be what is needed, and in particular so that the opera should be ready for production in Berlin. There is no time to lose. These thoughts impelled me to send my ultimatum, the more so as his attitude to the work was clearly not a responsible one.'
23	July	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 351-2	'Worked on the Overture, which despite everything is making progress, and in the afternoon on <i>Fiery Angel</i> . At the very least I do not need to wait for Demchinsky to revise the beginning of Act One. Today Labunsky managed five pages and is working better: he is gaining experience.'
24	July	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 352	'Wrote to Demchinsky along the lines I had determined the day before yesterday. I tried to be firm without being unnecessarily harsh. I am gearing myself up to finish the libretto without his help: sending the letter I must guard against being taken completely unawares by a final rift.'
29	July	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 353	'In addition I worked on <i>Fiery Angel</i> , and in the evening caught up on my diary.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
30	July	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 353	'Revised Renata's hysterical scene in Act One but could not get deeply involved in it. Christian Science has completely alienated me from this subject, and I no longer feel drawn to manifestations of delirium or demonic possession. Earlier I had thoughts of how much easier it would be to abandon altogether a subject from which I had so far distanced myself . . . but it would a pity to lose the music. And now the time is approaching when I shall be concentrating on the music rather than the scenario, and perhaps this is all to the good.'
31	July	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 353	'Put <i>Fiery Angel</i> , which has taken a great leap forward, to one side and worked on refinements to the B flat episodes in the Overture.'
1	August	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 353	'Work went well today: I revised the whole of Renata's hysteria scene and recomposed Ruprecht's prayer.'
6	August	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 356	'In the afternoon turned to <i>Fiery Angel</i> and thought about the libretto for the conclusion of the act: the scene with the fortune-teller. I shall have to write it myself. There is not much hope of anything from the prophet of invention – Demchinsky.'
8	August	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 357	'The tortoise-like Labunsky has nevertheless managed to catch me up in the orchestration of <i>Fiery Angel</i> . I will have to take another chunk that I am not likely to change much even if Demchinsky does send me his revised libretto, a prospect that now seems very unlikely. I accordingly took the first scene of Act Three, and spent the morning burnishing it, making a few minor changes and thinking about the orchestration. Generally ploughed more than a full furrow.'
9	August	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 357	'In the afternoon, went on thinking about and correcting Act Three of <i>Fiery Angel</i> . There is so much to do.'
10	August	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 357	'Did two more pages of orchestration in the morning, and felt very tired afterwards. However, I did manage more work in the afternoon and made some corrections to Renata's narrative.'
11	August	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 358	'After lunch Dukelsky took himself back to Paris and I settled down to polishing Act Three of <i>Fiery Angel</i> and thinking about its orchestration.'
18	August	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 359	'Also I had to finish orchestrating the section of <i>Fiery Angel</i> I must give to the copyist, who had set aside time for this purpose.'
19	August	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 359	'We sprayed with fixative the pages of <i>Fiery Angel</i> score written out by Labunsky in pencil to send to Jasmine, the copyist: sixty-nine pages. But there are almost as many again in which only a few corrections remain to be made (in Renata's narrative, which I orchestrated as long ago as when we were in Ettal), and once that is done they can also go to Jasmine.'
21	August	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 360	'I did no work on the Overture, all I managed was a few changes to <i>Fiery Angel</i> .'
26	August	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 362	'Today I got to the end of Renata's narrative, while Labunsky transcribed the score according to my notes from yesterday.'
27	August	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 362	'Thought a great deal about the orchestration of <i>Fiery Angel</i> , and composed a little of the end of Act Three. I also gave some thought to the second scene of this act, since there is no point in counting on anything more from Demchinsky.'
3	September	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 365	'Recomposed the end of the first scene of Act Three. This went well.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
7	September	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 367	'During the night my headache passed off and today I finished the first scene of Act Three, and began to revise and orchestrate the entr'acte.'
8	September	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 367	'In the morning, orchestrated the entr'acte. It was not really working, but I forced myself to go as far as the point where I had begun to revise the music.'
10	September	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 369	'Composed a quantity of revised material in the entr'acte, a part of the score that was previously not good (the transition to the lyrical theme).'
11	September	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 369	'Corrected Labunsky's work and started orchestrating the revised passage from yesterday.'
12	September	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 369	'Orchestrated the whole passage I produced the day before yesterday.'
22	September	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 372	'After two days' absence I had a lot of work to do: I finished orchestrating the entr'acte (which has begun to bore me) and moved the second scene forward, changing a few things and recomposing some passages. This took up most of the day. In this new version of the scene, which I thought out walking in the fields round Samoreau, there are considerable divergences from Bryusov; on the other hand it is stronger and more dramatic than the first version and in this respect conforms more closely to Bryusov.'
24	September	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 373	'Did more work on the second scene of Act Three.'
25	September	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 373	'Worked on the second scene, wrote and dictated letters.'
27	September	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 374	'Some interesting letters. Popa agrees. Ostroumova has come up with information about the personalities about whom <i>Fiery Angel</i> , the novel, was written. 'Renata' apparently is still living in Paris. But the most intriguing detail of all is that 'Madiel' is none other than Andrey Bely. How marvellous!'
28	September	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 374-5	'Out for a walk today I posed myself a direct question: given that the subject of <i>Fiery Angel</i> is in direct opposition to Christian Science, why am I still working on it? Either I have not fully thought this through, or I am not being honest with myself. If I seriously accept Christian Science then I should not be devoting day after day to its adversary. I tried to think out this conundrum from its root, succeeding only in overheating my brain. The solution can only be that <i>Fiery Angel</i> must be consigned to the flames. Was it not a mark of greatness in Gogol to take this step with the second part of <i>Dead Souls</i> ? That is, is it not the case that so radiant are his other works, and so strong and finely tuned his own critical awareness, that he was right not to shrink from destroying anything, however precious, that fell below his standards? At home I told Ptashka what had been going through my mind, although stopping short of actually announcing my intention of burning the work. In this I had the advantage over Gogol: I would be able to recast the musical material into a symphonic work. It was the subject from which I felt I must disentangle myself. Ptashka, however, advised me not to take any irrevocable decisions: for better or worse I had chosen the subject some time ago, since when to all intents and purposes I had finished with it and was now concentrating on the music, having comparatively little to do with the subject. Such a quantity of music should not be squandered. The task now is to complete it while giving a wide berth to such material in the future. Needless to say this was a much less painful resolution than rising to Gogolian heights of madness, and I adopted it.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
1	October	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 376	'Worked very hard and finished orchestrating Act Three. I then composed the unfinished beginning of the act, up to the words 'Ruprecht, he is here', partly revising the old version and partly recomposing it afresh. The most successful bit was the short episode in which Ruprecht sings: 'Forget the knockings and the ghosts: they are all fraudulent manifestations of delirium.' Could this success be a sign that I am justified in continuing to compose <i>Fiery Angel</i> ?' 'Again worked hard and orchestrated everything that I had composed yesterday.'
2	October	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 376	'Carried on revising Act Three. Put right Labunsky's mistakes in the score.'
4	October	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 377	
10	October	1926	Berlin	SPD-2, 382	'With Weber went to the Städtische Oper for a meeting with Bruno Walter about the forthcoming production of <i>Fiery Angel</i> . Weber explained that this theatre was much less afflicted with red tape than the Staatsoper, and there was no doubt that their staging of <i>Fiery Angel</i> would be superior to that of Oranges. Walter is a most impressive gentleman. The Intendant of the theatre was also present, by name something like Titian, and he is destined in a short time to take up the post of overall head of all the theatres in Prussia. We talked about casting, about the decor, and I played some excerpts from Act One. It made very little sense to them, not surprisingly as there is as yet no German version of the libretto. For this reason we confined ourselves mainly to technical questions. When they asked in what style I envisaged the production, I told them that when I had been in Antwerp the Plantin House Museum had made a great impression on me, and this was the kind of setting in which I saw <i>Fiery Angel</i> being staged. Titian put in: 'I know this museum.' In general he said little, and in a quiet tone of voice, but with authority. As we parted, Bruno Walter said that if I come up in time with the score and material the premiere could be expected to take place around the 1st April.'
11	October	1926	On train to Paris	SPD-2, 383	'Thinking of the crude and loveless Berlin production of Oranges, I recalled how they had done it in Cologne and was seized by a desire to write some warm words to Szenkár, which I did. Relations with him have, however, cooled: it seems he was offended that I did not react to the idea of <i>Fiery Angel</i> being produced in Cologne, even though that is the city in which the action of the opera takes place and in that respect it would have been an appropriate location for the world-premiere production. But the Cologne public had had enough trouble digesting Oranges – what on earth would they have made of <i>Angel</i> ?' 'I reclothed Act Three in piano dress <sup>1</sup> while Ptashka did the packing. My heart is worrying me again.'
13	October	1926	Samoreau	SPD-2, 384	
16 to 25	October November	1926	Paris	SPD-2, 385-6	'I set about revising Act Four, and this went easily because this particular act had been better done than the others so the revisions were not so major. Having finished this I turned to the orchestration, preparing the ground for Gorchakov, whose arrival from Kishinyov we were awaiting, by means of the abbreviation technique I had developed in the summer.'
					... 'As soon as we were settled in rue Troyon work on Act Four rushed ahead at a great pace: there were several days when I succeeded in orchestrating no fewer than fifteen pages of score. Gorchakov put up at a hotel but came every morning to get to work on the Act Four score. He works slowly but makes few mistakes when compared with the half-witted Labunsky. I completed the orchestration of the act on the 25th November, but Gorchakov lagged behind on account of my arrow-like progress.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
27	November	1926	Paris	SPD-2, 389	'Set to work on Act Five. There is much more to do than there was in Act Four. Much of it had been only very approximately sketched, and now it was in need of virtually comprehensive recomposition. It is beginning to look as though the opera will not be finished by January and therefore the production scheduled for March must be postponed until next autumn.'
5	December	1926	Paris	SPD-2, 391	'I went walking in the Bois, and then worked hard until four o'clock, making real progress with Act Five. To a great extent I am recomposing it. Some scraps of material survive from the old version, and the general plan of the act. Essentially it falls into three parts: the first calm, until the entry of the Grand Inquisitor; the second semi-stormy, culminating in the expulsion of the spirits from the young nuns; and the third a full-blown tempest with Renata and the others in the grip of devilish possession. Today I completed the second part. Before me lies the third, the most difficult and demanding.'
12	December	1926	Paris	SPD-2, 391	'Once Act Five had been, if not finally composed, at least firmly set within its frame, its orchestration proceeded quickly and easily. I am only afraid that I have not much time to devote to it, since I must extend my piano practice in the light of Russia, and even before that my performance in two weeks' time of the Second Piano Concerto with the Pasdeloup orchestra.'
28	December	1926	Paris	SPD-2, 398	'With our departure growing ever closer there is a host of new matters to deal with, and I also have to step up my piano practice. Work on <i>Fiery Angel</i> has therefore begun to dry up. I shall not succeed in finishing the orchestration of the now fully composed fifth act.'
18	February	1927	Moscow	SPD-2, 512-3	'He (Malko) then turned to other topics and in connection with <i>Fiery Angel</i> told me a story about Bryusov. It seems that when he died, the authorities asked his widow for his unpublished manuscripts. Either there weren't any, or not enough, so the widow suggested his diary, which he, proud of his great learning, had recently taken to writing in Ancient Greek.'
12 to 5	April to May	1927	Paris	SPD-2, 581	'I worked until lunchtime, in the space of four days orchestrated an additional number for Diaghilev and then buckled down to finishing off Act Five. By the 5th May it had made real progress and I could see the end in sight. In general I was plunging wholesale into <i>Fiery Angel</i> .'
25	May	1927	Paris	SPD-2, 588	'I still managed to do some work on <i>Fiery Angel</i> in the afternoon, squeezing the last drops out of Act Five.'
27	May	1927	Paris	SPD-2, 589	'In the afternoon, worked on <i>Fiery Angel</i> and really got the fifth act by the throat.'
29	May	1927	Paris	SPD-2, 590	'Managed to do a little more orchestration. Christian Science Church, then to Bassiano in Falla's car along with Mompou. Ehrhardt was there also, and we talked about the possibility of <i>Fiery Angel</i> or <i>The Gambler</i> for Dresden.'
31	May	1927	Paris	SPD-2, 591	'Ploughed on with orchestrating <i>Fiery Angel</i> and almost finished Act Five: all that remains is the final six bars, about which I am not sure.'
9	June	1927	Paris	SPD-2, 595	'Finished orchestrating Act Five [of <i>Fiery Angel</i> ].'
12	June	1927	Paris	SPD-2, 597	'Touched up Act Five.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
29	June	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 601	'In the morning we unpacked our belongings, after which Grogy settled down to washing the car and I to <i>Fievy Angel</i> . What remains to be done on <i>Fievy Angel</i> is the final scene of the first act and all of the second act, libretto and music. Today I transcribed from Bryusov the material I need for the scene with the fortune-teller with which Act One ends.'
30	June	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 601	'Worked all morning on the libretto for the scene with the fortune-teller. In this connection I dug out the correspondence I had had with Demchinsky the previous summer and his proposal for the libretto. Mentally got angry with him for having taken so long over it and let me down by producing such a small and inadequate result. It could have been so much better, I think. And although when I wrote back to him I told him that I had adopted many valuable suggestions from him, this was because I was still hoping for more to come, because the fact is that all I derived from him were a few trifling things, at the most a spur towards more independent work on my own.'
1	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 602	'Worked intensively on the libretto for Act Two, almost all day with breaks, and on the whole enjoyed it. I now feel distant from <i>Fievy Angel</i> and the effort to continue working on it is purely to have it over and done with. Even so, I succeeded in sketching out almost the whole of the first scene of the second act. I do not yet know if it is good, or whether it will need changes.'
2	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 602	'Again settled down to the libretto in the morning. Until the piano comes from Paris it is important to use the time to get on with the libretto for Act Two Scene Two. Selected a few extracts from Bryusov's scene with Agrippa with a view to fashioning a new scene (departing from Bryusov) between Ruprecht and Agrippa. By eleven o'clock I was tired, stopped work and took Grogy out for a drive into the forest.'
3	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 602-3	'Worked intensively and completed the libretto of Scene Two.'
4	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 603	'Looked through and ironed out the Act Two libretto. I think now it may do.'
5	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 604	'Made a start on composing the music for the end of Act One. Got as far as the fortune-teller – a passage of no great significance. The composition, however, went without difficulty, although I shall have to go through again very thoroughly what I have composed. I played through the whole of the first act, and it pleased me. All the same, it really is time I finished with this work.'
6	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 604	'Worked for two hours in the morning. The music is well under way, but I am still not sure whether it is good or only all right.'
7	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 604	'Continued composing Act One, the fortune-teller.'
9	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 604-5	'Worked energetically; finished the first act and made a start on the second. It then transpired that the opening is pitched too low for the voice, and so I assigned to Gorchakov the task of transposing it.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
10	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 606	'I continued with Act Two. Paichadze has written that Bruno Walter's position in Berlin has become uncertain, and furthermore that the general climate of opinion in Germany is turning against foreign operas, so I must prepare myself for more uncertainty over <i>Fiery Angel</i> . His advice is to press on as fast as possible, but news like this is hardly an incentive. Nevertheless, despite everything I am driving the second act forward. <i>Angel</i> must be liquidated, and only after this has been done can I turn my attention to musical sonnets, the new form I have been pondering in fits and starts since last summer.'
11	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 606	'In the morning I composed, getting as far as the entry of Glock.'
12	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 606	'Today is the first day I have done no composition, but even so I managed something in Glock's part.' ...
13	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 606-7	'I am worried that the second act is turning out to be boring. Or is it simply that I am bored, composing it?' 'Finished Glock, but did no more after that as my head was beginning to hurt, so spent the afternoon walking and resting. Then, engrossed to the point of intoxication, read Dostoevsky's 'The Eternal Husband' until my headache, which had begun to pass off, redoubled its effect. Read through again the draft of the libretto Demchinsky had sent me and which I had rejected. And rightly so, ponderous and dramatically tedious as it is. I simply cannot understand how the same man who earlier had given me such stimulating suggestions for the roulette scene in <i>The Gambler</i> , and in the presence of the author and Meyerhold had delivered such a brilliant critique of Remizov's Alaley and Leila, could suddenly have sent me such a clumsy attempt!'
14	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 607	'Moved on beyond Glock's exit from the stage. I have been making use of old material and it is turning out well. In any event, Act Two today made real.'
15	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 607	'My composing was not such as to make me think it good, and I made use of material from other acts of the opera. Generally out of sorts and not much use for anything.'
16	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 608	'Did not compose for very long, but the time I spent was fruitful. The second act is progressing, not exactly slowly, but not as fast as I had insouciantly calculated.'
17	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 608	'Composed, getting as far as the spiritualist séance. I must hurry up, it is really time to finish.'
19	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 608	Yesterday I composed none of the spiritualist séance, but thought about how to tackle it. Not merely the character of the scene, the movement, the orchestration, but also the bar-by-bar dispositions, in a word everything except the music itself. Today I began to compose the music. I worked a great deal, in the morning and the afternoon, and in the early evening. While I was working out movements and harmonies, Prashka said, 'That sounds a bit like Feinberg,' but of course at a slow tempo it is one thing, while at speed, and especially in the orchestral colours I have in mind, it will be quite another.'
20	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 609	'Sat all morning going over yesterday's work. It is an awful nuisance to do this, but I think the spiritualist séance is going to turn out a marvellous scene, and it is one I have always been nervous of.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
21	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 610	'Toiled further at the second segment and finished it. From the German publishers came the translation of the Act Five libretto with a request to check the translation immediately and return it, which I settled down to in the afternoon.'
22	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 610	'Completed the spiritualist séance, because I had stopped just before the end, and then finished the whole first scene. Hoorah! Scene Two and the transition thereto will be material from the original version and therefore I expect to be able to deal with it quickly. Composed more after lunch, and then played through Act Three from the lithographed copy sent to me by the publishers. I was pleased with it. It contains a great deal of music and is well done.'
23	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 610	'No composing, but much thought about the entr'acte and the second scene. There will be virtually no new music here, so today I fitted the old material to the text which had been deliberately written to take account of the existing music.'
24	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 611	'Worked a great deal; almost completed the entr'acte and the second scene in one breath. But then my brain became so fogged that I stopped work and did very little for the rest of the day.'
25	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 611	'Thank God, the composition of Angel is at last finished.'
27	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 612	'Got down to orchestrating the music I had composed while I have been at St Palais. I worked hard and completed about twenty-five pages of score. Grogy is now transcribing my shorthand notes into full score, but so far he has done only six pages.'
28	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 612-3	'Following yesterday's intensive work I have a heavy head today, and it is raining to boot, which means I cannot go out to take the air. All the same, I completed thirteen pages of score. If I carry on working at this rate, tomorrow I shall finish the first act.'
29	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 613	'Again sat down with a will to orchestrating, finished Act One and made a start on Act Two. This amounts to forty-six pages in three days, i.e. an average of more than fifteen pages a day. Played through Act Two, and was pleased with it.'
30	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 613	'Got on well with the orchestration, but achieved only eleven pages as in the afternoon we went into Royan for a minor repair to the car and to do a bit of shopping.'
31	July	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 613	'A successful orchestration session, but did not achieve as many pages as they were more complex.'
1	August	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 614	'Twelve pages today, up to Glock leaving the stage.'
2	August	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 614	'Eleven pages, although my head was far from clear and towards the end I was not making much sense.'
3	August	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 615	'Another eleven pages, again to the point of stupefaction.'
4	August	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 615	'Only eight pages, as after lunch we went into Royan to have the car repaired and dawdled about all day.'
5	August	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 615	'A good jump forward, about fifteen pages.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
6	August	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 615	'Am now orchestrating the spiritualist séance. This is to all intents and purposes a purely mechanical exercise; in any case there is no creative work at all in the orchestration of this section. The imaginative process all took place during the composition of the music; now all that remains is the writing out of a million notes, with which activity I busied myself until my head was ready to fall off my shoulders.'
7	August	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 616	'Continued orchestrating the spiritualist séance. The sheer number of notes is quite appalling! And what torment it will be to the orchestra, the conductor and the singer to have to learn them – worst of all to the répétiteur. Of course, I really should not have begotten such an indigestible monster, but despite everything I remain convinced that one day, once learnt, it will be seen to be splendid music.'
8	August	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 616	'Have almost finished the séance scene. The proof of the Second Symphony is lying here, the printing of which had so surprised me, but I want to devote all my efforts to completing the orchestration of <i>Fiery Angel</i> .'
9	August	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 616-7	'The spiritualist séance is finally disposed of, and I am approaching the end of the first scene. It is a large corpus of stunningly good music on a subject with which I would not now engage for anything you might care to mention. Nor would I embark on <i>The Gambler</i> . A few days ago Prashka was reading <i>The Gambler</i> , which she did not know, and I leafed through its pages. The year it was written coincided with the birth of Christian Science; to think that at the very moment when in America this great doctrine was in process of being created our Russian genius was lurching between a mad woman and the gaming table, and then dashed off at white heat his autobiographical novella about both of them! Whatever the case, <i>The Gambler</i> and <i>Fiery Angel</i> both belong to that period of my life from which I have moved away. My plan is to bring both works to state of completion and then to finish with this dark world. First I will fashion a light-hearted comedy as a new point of departure, then move on to some sonnets, then a luminous symphony, and after that, perhaps, to more substantial conceptions.'
10	August	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 617	'Completed the first scene. Understandably work on the entr'acte proceeded more slowly, as this is a purely orchestral number and the texture is more complex, not to mention the fact that my sketches were fairly superficial and require quite a lot of work.'
11	August	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 617	'The entr'acte is moving along, but not very fast, as I have to add in all the polyphony and these are in any case hard pages.'
12	August	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 618	'Continues with the entr'acte.'
13	August	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 618	'On to Scene Two, but I worked only in the morning.'
14	August	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 619	'Rained all day and I did a lot of work.'
16	August	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 619	'After yesterday's day off I buckled down to work with unprecedented energy. Hoorah, the end is in sight. It might even be finished altogether the day after tomorrow. Hard to believe that I shall finally be able to dispatch my <i>Fiery Angel</i> . True, even then a lot of work will still remain to be done: the piano score, proof corrections to the full score, checking Grogy's transcription, but all of this is supplementary to the main job. I am longing to compose a luminous symphony – indeed, I have a mass of plans.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
19	August	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 620	'Worked all morning and after lunch, and finished Act Two at 2.15, thus completing the entire opera. It is hard to believe, the more so because getting to the end of the second act of a five-act opera hardly gives the illusion of completing the whole work. Of course, I still have to make the vocal score of the second act, nevertheless the opera is finished, finished, finished!
20	August	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 620	Hah! The burden of orchestrating <i>Fiery Angel</i> is finally lifted – a nightmare that has been hanging over me for two years! However, it will not dissipate altogether overnight. Today I wrote out the instructions to the copyist to ensure accurate preparation of the orchestral parts, and then turned to the task of making a vocal score of the end of the first act, and to checking Groggy's work.'
22	August	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 621	'We discussed a possible motor trip to Biarritz; the Borovskys are very keen on this plan. As <i>Fiery Angel</i> is finally out of the way, I am not against it either.'
3	September	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 628	'I expected that after yesterday's proof-reading and blindfold chess I would have a leaden head, but no, therefore I plunged into <i>Gambler</i> and after lunch continued with the <i>Fiery Angel</i> piano score – those pages in the second act that Groggy had transcribed.'
3	September	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 629	' <i>Gambler</i> in the morning, vocal score and symphony proofing in the afternoon.'
7	September	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 630	'On my return got on with proof-reading and with the <i>Fiery Angel</i> vocal score, and spent the evening in my accustomed pursuits of reading Christian Science, my diary, and playing through chess games.'
12	September	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 634	'Groggy and I made a calculation of the total number of pages of full score needed for <i>Fiery Angel</i> ; it amounted to more than 800, as against 450 for Oranges. Quite an opera!'
14	September	1927	St-Palais-sur-Mer	SPD-2, 634	'In the morning I took Ptashka to the railway station to catch the train, then worked all day on the vocal score of <i>Fiery Angel</i> and checked Gorchakov's transcription, which has now reached the end of Act Two. Once this had been done the penciled notation was inked in, and the last 100 pages of <i>Fiery Angel</i> were ready for dispatch.'
16	September	1927	Paris	SPD-2, 636	'Spent all day at the publishers discussing various small matters and correcting mistakes in the lithograph of the <i>Fiery Angel</i> vocal score. I had another look at Lopatnikoff's Sonatina and still liked it, but once again did not think much of Fédorov's pieces.'
25	February	1928	Paris	SPD-2, 692-3	'In the evening I played through the whole of the third act of <i>Fiery Angel</i> and was genuinely pleased, even moved, by it. When I had finished, Ptashka came into the room and said, 'Well, thank God you've finished.' I felt as if I had been doused with a bucket of cold water, but seeing how offended I was Ptashka hastened to explain that she had herself been listening in a state of unprecedented emotional tension, and her nerves had been so strongly affected that she was glad when it had ended.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
13	March	1928	Paris	SPD-2, 699	<p>I decided a long time ago that I must compose in a quite different style, and that I would set about it as soon as I had extricated myself from the revisions of <i>Fiery Angel</i> and <i>The Gambler</i>.</p> <p>...</p> <p>'Today, thinking about this, I managed to compose something: material for some piano pieces I want to write as an interlude before settling to the Third Symphony. I might perhaps call them 'Things in Themselves.'</p> <p>'Because of the quandary I am in over <i>Fiery Angel</i> I worked on my piano pieces, and composed well all morning. Schubert came, very happy that Koshetz will sing in <i>Fiery Angel</i>, although there is not much for her in it.'</p> <p>'A very nice letter from Myaskovsky containing incredible praise for <i>Fiery Angel</i>. But <i>Fiery Angel</i> has met with little success.'</p>
25	May	1928	Paris	SPD-2, 701	
4	June	1928	Paris	SPD-2, 707	<p>Letter from Myaskovsky as in SPD-2, 707:</p> <p>30 May 1928, Moscow: 'In my last letter to you I launched into hysterical ecstasy over Act 5, which stunned me with its overall power and the amazing vividness of certain moments, such as Renata's final cry of anguish at the appearance of the sun. But at the time I had only an intuitive foreshadowing of the rest of it, the result of a feeling rather than a thoroughgoing absorption. Now, going through this music a second time, I have been overwhelmed by how appropriate and convincing it is. Do you know what particularly impresses me? It is the incredible, if I may put it this way, humanity of your music, and the images it conjures up. The characters of Ruprecht and Renata are no longer from the theatre, still less opera – they are absolutely living people, so profound and true are the intonations with which you have delineated them. Their first conversation in the room, Renata's telling of her story: these are so full of character in content as well as being so perfectly realised as to pure musical structure and subtlety of texture, the vocal line so expressive, so supple and withal so practical. I was equally enthralled, if not more so, by the whole of the third act, so powerful in its inner conviction... I believe I am not mistaken in regarding <i>Fiery Angel</i> as the composition in which you have achieved your full stature as a musician and as an artist, for the creation of characters such as Ruprecht and Renata in all their depth and unimaginable human complexity could only have come from a genius who has plumbed the full reach of his powers.'</p>
11	June	1928	Paris	SPD-2, 710	<p>First rehearsal of program that consisted of Dukelsky's Symphony, a Suite from Rimsky-Korsakov's <i>The Fair Maid of Prague</i> and excerpt from the <i>Fiery Angel</i>. 'First rehearsal, for strings alone, a few places sound peculiar – 'my poor mother' even funny, enough to make Dukelsky and me laugh. A sour taste, Dukelsky said, like putting his teeth on edge. I inveigh against the 30s.'</p>
12	June	1928	Paris	SPD-2, 710-1	<p>'Second rehearsal, winds and strings. Dukelsky's Symphony is uneven, much of it does not come off but Dukelsky is enraptured by all of it. After the second movement he remarked, 'And now for the third, in which nobody has messed up the orchestration,' but in fact the first page of it, which I orchestrated, is the best. Despite this, I believe the Symphony is a step forward. <i>Fiery Angel</i> went well from the start because it is written in broad lines in contrast to Dukelsky's short-breathed phrases. It sounded good, as I expected it to. The rehearsal over, I drove an exhausted Koussevitzky home.'</p>

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
13	June	1928	Paris	SPD-2, 712	... Third rehearsal. Then <i>Fiery Angel</i> , the first time with the singers. They were hard to hear, even though in the second scene they were singing at the top of their voices. The problem is down to the acoustic of the hall, all the same it is upsetting. Borovsky and Prunières are greatly impressed, as of course was Koussevitzky. Suvchinsky and Nabokov left without saying a word. Altogether Apollon and <i>Fiery Angel</i> have aroused in musical circles very strong partisan feelings, mute responses, bewilderment and the like. But Apollon is Stravinsky's latest creation whereas <i>Fiery Angel</i> is not new, at least in conception, and the appearance I am now making is with a work from which in many ways I have moved on.'
14	June	1928	Paris	SPD-2, 712-3	'Koussevitzky had the brilliant notion of taking the second scene pianissimo (playing the preceding orchestral entr'acte forte throughout). The singers now projected excellently, until just before the end a slow crescendo in the orchestra naturally covered them all. Roussel and Poulenc extolled its virtues. The concert in the evening drew quite a large audience. In the box were Natalya Konstantinovna, ourselves, and the Zakharovs. Many conductors were present: Stokowski, Hertz, Beecham and others. A very enjoyable Suite from The Fair Maid of Pskov.'
					... ' <i>Fiery Angel</i> went well too and was greeted with very enthusiastic applause. I had asked Koussevitzky not to bring me out straight away; he complied, nevertheless, I had to come back three times, which for the composer of a symphonic work is quite a lot. During the interval there was a frightful crush in the box, everyone congratulating me with genuine warmth. Altogether, the occasion was a real success. Sabaneyev (in response to my disbelief): 'No, truly, I liked it very much indeed.' I: 'But how hard you will find it to convince yourself of that!'
16	June	1928	Paris	SPD-2, 714	'I bought all the newspapers because it would be interesting to see how <i>Fiery Angel</i> had been reviewed following its successful performance. But there was nothing in any of them.'
17	June	1928	Paris	SPD-2, 715	'Suvchinsky is somewhat shamefaced: he stupidly sold our tickets for <i>Fiery Angel</i> having 'not understood' the music when he came to the rehearsal. I said: 'That is extraordinary; after all it's not a new piece ... Suvchinsky: 'There is no one writing sensibly about music at the moment. Come the autumn I shall set the ball rolling with an article about you.' I: 'That won't worry anyone: you write in such a convoluted way that no one will understand anything you say.'
5	November	1928	Paris	SPD-2, 731-2	'Nikolay Nikolayevich greeted me affectionately. This is because in Monte Carlo in the spring I walked arm in arm with Sasha for two minutes, and thus have been forgiven for my lapse in Berlin. <i>Fiery Angel</i> (in the performance by Koussevitzky) was extravagantly praised, and I was invited to call on Tcherepnin for him to play me his new opera.'
28	November	1928	Paris	SPD-2, 741	'... In general, NEP – Suvchinsky's New Esthetic Policy – is continuing and Stravinsky came in for vituperative abuse. But it is also a fact that my other recent works – the Second Symphony, <i>Le Pas d'acier</i> , <i>Fiery Angel</i> – were all met with complete silence from Suvchinsky.'...
6	December	1928	Paris	SPD-2, 748	'It progressed easily, but it is amazing how necessary it is to get into training: after six or seven pages today my brain was too tired to do any more. But when I was orchestrating <i>Fiery Angel</i> I could get up to twenty pages a day.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
16	January	1929	Paris	SPD-2, 766	...I already have the sonata-allegro, and what a beautiful Andante I could make from the theme with which the whole ballet now ends! But is there a danger in pursuing this idea? All very well to try it once with <i>Fiery Angel</i> , but every time I come up with a piece for the stage...
26	June	1929	Paris	SPD-2, 848	'Matters are less good with <i>Fiery Angel</i> . Four major German theatres have turned it down on grounds of the difficulty of the music and the undramatic nature of the libretto. I know that there are parts of it that dramatically speaking are problematical, but there are also parts that are exceptionally dramatic. It is inevitable that the first time the opera is produced some passages will be subjected to cuts and chops and changes. I am less upset than I was that <i>Fiery Angel</i> is not going to be produced, as the music has already been heard in the Third Symphony.'
12	January	1930	New York	SPD-2, 901-2	'But it was not long before I had a call from Sudeikin, who has been designing for some years now at the Metropolitan Opera. He asked me if I could come to a meeting with Serafin the Met's Principal Conductor, and with Dr Lert, a producer, to discuss <i>Fiery Angel</i> . It appears that all three are admirers of my music, and even Gatti has vouchsafed the occasional strangled expression of interest in my music. In short, there are signs of a change of heart at the Metropolitan. I still have uncomfortable memories of the awful atmosphere in which ten years ago my three operas had been auditioned. Yes, they were all in existence even then, although not in their final finished forms. At six o'clock in the evening, therefore, I was at Sudeikin's where we were joined by Serafin. I outlined the subject. Serafin was delighted by it, until Sudeikin suddenly began to complain that it was not dramatically convincing. This was rich coming from Sudeikin, who had cooked up the whole idea – or had it all been a clever chess ploy? The vocal score is in Paris, and I accordingly cabled Paichadze asking him to send it quickly, since the Met is at present busy with a production of <i>Sadko</i> and today's discussions are preliminary in nature. After Serafin left I repeated the entire synopsis of the opera to Sudeikin, and this time it appeared to him more theatrically credible. Dr Lert came in the evening, announcing that it had been his dream to produce <i>Three Oranges</i> in Frankfurt when he was stage director there. A genuine change of heart! Indeed! Better late than never.'
18	January	1930	New York	SPD-2, 907	'In the evening I saw Sudeikin, who has already done some pencil sketches for three of the settings for <i>Fiery Angel</i> . They were very expressive. We talked long, developing staging possibilities for <i>Angel</i> .'
26	January	1930	New York	SPD-2, 911-2	'From five to seven I was with Mrs Kahn. After preliminary courtesies I outlined the plot of <i>Fiery Angel</i> . She made some comments as to the need for a chorus. 'We have such a large theatre that the audience sitting in the boxes opposite the stage are on 7th Avenue while the action on stage is on Broadway. So you see, operas that are delicate and intimate are a failure; the only successful ones are those conceived on a broad-brush scale.' The upshot was that she would like to stage <i>Fiery Angel</i> , but would have to discuss it with Serafin and Gatti. Serafin I know to be on my side, but Gatti is a sphinx. We decided to postpone future discussion until the beginning of February: I shall be back from Boston and the vocal score should by then have arrived from Paris. In the evening I went to Sudeikin to report on the interview. He thought the Empress's comments were interesting: might it not be a good idea to introduce a chorus to enliven the uniform tenor of the second act? In his opinion Gatti would be interested, but for the season after next, not the next one. The main obstacle to fear was the clique lobbying to commission a Gershwin opera. Gershwin may be known for operetta or musicals, but no matter, he is an American.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
3	February	1930	New York	SPD-2, 915	'When I telephoned Sudeikin, his feeling was that <i>Angel</i> would get a production, although perhaps not until the season after next. The vocal score has arrived – for once Paichadze has not let me down. Sudeikin wanted to know if I had thought more about revising the opera and including a chorus, but in the excitement of the Boston concerts I had completely forgotten about this suggestion. I tortured myself all evening thinking about how I might brighten up the second act.'
4	February	1930	New York	SPD-2, 915-6	'During the night an idea came to me for a crowd scene: peasants clustering round a dead horse and accusing Renata of witchcraft. Renata then appears on a horse led by Ruprecht, hidden up to her waist behind bushes. Went over to Sudeikin, uncertain how he would take to having a horse on stage. But he liked the idea, and it gave him the thought that the entire middle section of the opera might be captioned 'The Journey of Ruprecht and Renata', consisting of a series of miniature scenes. He immediately came up with concepts for the other scenes: Renata shows Ruprecht a fresco of the Fiery Angel ('if the plot needs words to be understood then the libretto is a bad one; the action ought to make everything clear without the need for words, and therefore it is a good plan for Renata to show the Fiery Angel'); then Ruprecht would buy secret folios from the black magic practitioner; a victim accompanied by the chorus would be led to be burnt at the stake; manifestations from the spirit world would occur in the soothsayer's house. All these ideas fitted so well to the music that with the exception of the episode with the horse I would hardly need to compose any more music. After five hours' work we had sketched out reconstructions of the second and third acts: in Sudeikin's conception this would be one continuous act of seven scenes. Even if <i>Fiery Angel</i> does not in the event suit the Metropolitan's plans, it will still have been worth while to have had all these discussions in order to achieve the kind of revision I had so earnestly sought from Demchinsky.'
5	February	1930	New York	SPD-2, 916	'Went back to Sudeikin to refine the alterations we had worked on yesterday. Suddenly Sudeikin asked me, 'Do you consider yourself to be a genius?' As I hesitated, he said, 'I, for instance, do consider myself to be one.' Not wishing to see my own distinctions crumble to dust, I replied that probably I did too, while being uncomfortably aware that another answer would have been possible. Then together we went back to my hotel, where I played him passages from <i>Fiery Angel</i> . The music made a tremendous impression on him, although he made the comment that alongside magnificent set pieces there were unbearably long recitatives. I explained diffidently that I had begun composition of the opera ten years ago, at which time my views on the way to compose operas had not yet crystallised, whereas now I am steadily developing my operatic style. In the evening we met with Mrs Kahn, who had unfortunately not been able to get hold of Serafin as she had hoped. I nevertheless played; she listened attentively and expressed her pleasure although I do not think she understood the music as Sudeikin had done, even selecting the passages he thought I ought to demonstrate to her. We decided that the best course of action would be to give a shortened libretto to Gatti and the vocal score to Serafin, and to arrange a meeting for when I should return from California.'
7	February	1930	New York	SPD-2, 917	'So it goes: in the morning I have to put together an abridged libretto with Sudeikin, in the evening my most vital concert engagement – and I have a bad headache.'

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
8	February	1930	New York	SPD-2, 918-9	<p>I went round to Sudeikin's to compose the abridged libretto, but he was still asleep. I apologised for being late, since our appointment had in fact been for earlier. In the end I wrote it myself, and he approved it when I read it to him. Sudeikin attempted to start up another conversation about interesting matters and reminiscences, but today I had come to work. Having completed more than half I left to dress for the concert, promising to send the ending from the train.'</p> <p>...</p> <p>In the Artists' Room Rosing, now Director of the American Opera Company, proposed staging <i>Fiery Angel</i> should plans with the Metropolitan Opera fail to come to fruition. I suggested <i>The Gambler</i> or <i>Three Oranges</i> instead of <i>Fiery Angel</i>.'</p> <p>I finished the libretto and sent it off to Sudeikin.'</p>
10	February	1930	on train to Los Angeles	SPD-2, 919-20	
4 - 7	March	1930	New York	SPD-2, 929	<p>We stayed three and a half days in New York before setting off again for Havana. I had intended to use this period to work on <i>Fiery Angel</i>, but Sudeikin, I discovered, was busy with designs for <i>The Flying Dutchman</i> and had put thoughts of <i>Fiery Angel</i> to one side. It was clear that Flying Dutchman was in the plan for next season, and <i>Fiery Angel</i> probably for the season after next. The (abridged) libretto that Sudeikin had undertaken to have translated into French and passed to Gatti had been completed only yesterday and not yet typed out. It was rather amateurish: the original Russian had first been converted into bad English, the bad English then turned into better English, and thence eventually into French. The resulting version had nothing whatsoever remaining of my text: not only was any hint of clarity or vivacity conspicuous by its absence, a good quarter of it was plain wrong. There was nothing for it but for me to sit down and correct it myself, pecking away at the typewriter for two whole mornings and giving myself a bad headache into the bargain. I did this work at Sudeikin's house, cursing continually at both him and the translator, and sorely trying his patience. The situation with Serafin was little better: he had just left the city for a week, although he had at least taken the vocal score with him. After consulting Mrs Kahn it was decided that the best way forward would be to give the revised libretto to Ziegler, head of the theatre's finance department, asking him to pass it on to Gatti in anticipation of further discussions on my return from Havana.'</p>
16	March	1930	New York	SPD-2, 933-4	<p>I rang up Sudeikin, who told me that Serafin had returned, and that he had perused the vocal score of <i>Fiery Angel</i> which, with the exception of a few places where he had reservations, had much impressed him. Gatti, apparently, has also read through the libretto. Gatti, Serafin and Sudeikin are due to meet tomorrow, after which Gatti's decision will be made known.'</p>
17	March	1930	New York	SPD-2, 934-5	<p>'Unwelcome news from Sudeikin: Gatti's opinion of the libretto of <i>Fiery Angel</i> is that it is 'unacceptable', thus blackballing me for the second time, ten years after the first. On the other hand, The Gambler had been put forward at the same time, and Gatti's response was that such a subject might be more suitable.'</p>

Day	Month	Year	Place	Bibliography	Remarks
18	March	1930	New York	SPD-2, 935	'I also went to see Rosings, who was indisposed and therefore asked me to call on him to discuss a production of <i>Fiery Angel</i> . People are very much in two minds about his company: some say they have attracted the necessary sponsorship for next season, others that they have not two cents to rub together. Their productions are also criticised, but on the other hand they tour to every city in America. Rosing likes the subject of <i>Fiery Angel</i> , but with an orchestra of thirty-six, which is all they have, how are they going to put it on?'
19	March	1930	New York	SPD-2, 935	'Rosing has come up with a suggestion that one of my 'students' should, under my direction but at their expense, create an alternative version of <i>Fiery Angel</i> for a thirty-six-piece orchestra. My response was that they would do better to raise some money and commission a new opera from me, which I would write in the first instance for a small orchestra.'
17	November	1930	Berlin	SPD-2, 977	'Lunched with the Borovskys, who were in a sour mood. In the evening, went to a Bruno Walter concert, just as I had done on my last visit. There has for several years been a mutual grumble between me and Bruno Walter, on account of his failure to produce <i>Fiery Angel</i> as he had promised to do (although he regarded that it was I who had let him down by not providing the material quickly enough).'