

EDUARD TUBIN

COMPLETE WORKS

Series VII

Volume XXIX

Barbara von Tisenhusen  
Opera in three acts and  
nine scenes

Score

Edited by  
Mart Humal & Reet Marttila

Supported by the Estonian Ministry of Culture, The Cultural Endowment of Estonia

Editorial Board:

Kerri Kotta (editor in chief), Margus Pärtlas, Toomas Velmet, Reet Marttila, Urmas Vulp,  
Paul Mägi ja Sigrid Kuulmann-Martin

The present volume has two editors, Mart Humal and Reet Marttila, whose tasks have been different in the preparation of the volume. Mart Humal has worked out the editorial principles for the published work and realised them in the course of editing it. He has also written the preface and the commentary. Reet Marttila has edited notation of the published work to ensure its visual and logical consistency.

Corrections: Lauri Sirp

Music engraving: Valdo Preema, Edition 49

Layout: Tiina Sildre

English language editor: Avo Sõmer

General editor: Kerri Kotta

Publisher: International Eduard Tubin Society / Gehrmans Musikförlag

Printed in: Tallinna Raamatutrükikoda

Tallinn / Stockholm 2016

© International Eduard Tubin Society / Gehrmans Musikförlag

Edition number GE 12924

ISMN 979-0-54002-308-9

# CONTENTS

Introduction	4
List of Characters	17
Critical Commentary	18

# INTRODUCTION

*Barbara von Tisenhusen* (ETW 112, 1967–68) is the first completed opera by Eduard Tubin.<sup>1</sup> It is based on a short story (with the same title) by the Finnish-Estonian writer Aino Kallas,<sup>2</sup> published originally in Finnish in 1923.<sup>3</sup> In the following year it appeared in Estonian, translated by the Estonian writer Friedebert Tuglas (1886–1971).<sup>4</sup> An English translation was published in 1927 in a book entitled *Eros the Slayer*,<sup>5</sup> containing *Barbara von Tisenhusen* and the writer's next short story, *The Parson of Reigi* (later used by Tubin in his second opera).

*Barbara von Tisenhusen* is based on historical events taking place in sixteenth-century Livonia, during the last decade before the war between Russia and Livonia (1558–1561). Aino Kallas herself has recollected:

The story about Barbara von Tisenhusen has been told in two sixteenth-century Livonian chronicles, those by Balthar Russow and by [Johannes] Renner, in both of them in only a few lines. Describing the execution, I used Renner's version. In the 1880ies, the Baltic-German writer H. Pantenius had published a large two-volume novel *Die von Kelles* based on the same subject. I received the main impetus to write the story about Barbara in the autumn of 1922 when reading the yearbook *Sitzungsbericht* of the *Gelehrte Esthnische Gesellschaft* [Reports of Sessions of the Learned Estonian Society] (I don't remember the year) where, among others, persons belonging to the kin of Tisenhausens and their fates were discussed, especially the fate of Barbara. When writing the story, I received much assistance from descriptions of the age contained in Russow's chronicle. The story of Barbara is also mentioned in the seventeenth-century chronicle of Kelch.<sup>6</sup>

The short story is written in an archaic style characterised by the writer as follows: 'I wrote it in the style of old chronicles, approximately in the rhythm of Russow. I am afraid that it will be very difficult to translate because I have deliberately used an old and defective language.'<sup>7</sup>

## I

The first notation about Barbara von Tisenhusen's unhappy fate is to be found in the *Livonian Chronicle* by Balthasar Russow (c. 1536–1600). Describing the death of Jürgen von Tisenhusen and his squadron in the battle of Ubbegal,<sup>8</sup> Russow notes: 'Thus was Jürgen Tisenhusen paid back for what he and his horsemen had perpetrated against his fatherland and for killing his own sister in defiance of all brotherly love and affection. He had drowned her in a sack because she had fallen in love with a clerk, sinned with him and desired to marry him.'<sup>9</sup>

The chronicle by Johann Renner (c. 1525–1583 or 1584) contains the same basic information, as well as some important additional facts:

Thus was this Jürgen Tisenhusen of Randen [Rannu] paid back for what he had perpetrated against his fatherland and Christianity and for drawing his own sister. The maiden had become engaged to an honourable travelling merchant, a scribe who wanted to marry her. She informed her brothers about her wish, but they did not want to permit the marriage, insisting that she should marry her equal. When they threatened to deprive the maiden of her portion of the dowry, she answered that she had

<sup>1</sup> During World War II, the composer worked on two operas. But, owing to the war conditions, these remain unfinished. In 1941, Tubin completed the piano score of the first two scenes of the historical opera *Pühajärv* 'The Lake Pühajärv' (ETW 127) with the libretto written by the Estonian poet Juhan Sütiste (1899–1945) and telling about the peasant riots in 1841. In 1944, Tubin completed the piano score of the first three scenes of the opera *Libahunt* 'Werewolf' (ETW 128), after a play of the Estonian writer August Kitzberg (1855–1927) (see Vardo Rumessen, *The Works of Eduard Tubin: Thematic-Bibliographical Catalogue of Works*. Tallinn & Stockholm: International Eduard Tubin Society, 2003, pp. 400–402).

<sup>2</sup> Aino Kallas (1878–1956), daughter of the Finnish scholar of folklore Julius Krohn (1835–1888), was married to the Estonian diplomat and scholar of folklore Oskar Kallas (1868–1946). She wrote one novel, short stories, plays, poems, memoirs etc., mostly inspired by Estonian history and nature. Almost all of her works are originally written in Finnish. Like Eduard Tubin, Aino and Oskar Kallas fled to Sweden in 1944 when Estonia was for the second time occupied by Soviet forces.

<sup>3</sup> Aino Kallas, *Barbara von Tisenhusen, Liivinmaalainen tarina*. Helsinki: Otava, 1923, 96 pp.

<sup>4</sup> Aino Kallas, *Barbara von Tisenhusen*, Üks jutt Liivimaalt. Maakeele tõlkinud Friedebert Tuglas. Tartu: Warrak, 1924, 82 pp.

<sup>5</sup> Aino Kallas, *Eros the Slayer: Two Estonian Tales*. Trans. from the Finnish by Alex Matson. Frome & London: Jonathan Cape, 1927, 224 pp.

<sup>6</sup> 'Barbara von Tisenhusenin tarina on kerrottu kahdessa 1500-luvun liivinmaalaisessa kronikassa, Balthasar Russow'in ja Renner'in,

kummassakin muutamalla rivillä; kuolintapaan nähden olen käyttänyt Renner'in toisintoa. Balttilais-saks. kirjailija H. Pantenius on julkaissut 1880-luvulla kaksiosaisen laajan romaanin *Die von Kelles* samasta aiheesta. Varsinaisen sysäyksen Barbaran tarinan kirjoittamiseen sain syks. 1922 lukiessani die Gelehrte Esthnische Gesellschaftin Sitzungsbericht vuosijulkaisua (en muista miltä vuodelta), jossa mm. käsitellään Tisenhusen'in suvun jäseniä ja vaiheita, erityisesti Barbaraa. Tarinaa kirjoittaessani oli minulla paljon apua Russow'in kronikan ajankuvauksista. Myös Kelch'in kronikka 1600-luvulta mainitsee Barbaran tarinan.' (Letter from Aino Kallas to Martti Haavio, Morocco, 25.12.1929; see Kai Laitinen, *Aino Kallaksen mestarivuodet. Tutkimus hänen tuotantonsa päälinjoista ja taustasta 1922–1956*. Helsinki: Otava, 1995, p. 84.)

<sup>7</sup> Letter from Aino Kallas to Friedebert Tuglas. Helsinki, 30.08.1923. 'Kirjad kõnelevad,' *Kultuur ja Elu*, 1969, No. 11, p. 30.

<sup>8</sup> Actually, Jürgen von Tisenhusen was killed in October of the same year during an attempt to attack Tartu, occupied by Russians at that time (Andres Adamson, *Hertsog Magnus 1540–1583*. Tallinn: Argo, 2005, p. 131).

<sup>9</sup> 'Do wordt dem Jürgen Tysenhusen wedder vorgulden und betalet wat he mit sinen Haelüden wedder syn Vaderlandt begaen hadde und dat he syne Lyfflike Süster wedder alle bröderlicke leue unde affect hadde im Sacke vorsöpen laten Darümme dat se einen Schryuer leeff gewonnen sick mit eme vorsehen unde en tho der Ehe begeret hadde.' (Kai Laitinen, *Op. cit.*, p. 85; English translation: *The Chronicle of Balthasar Russow*. Tran. Jerry C. Smith and Juergen Eichhoff. Madison, Wisconsin: Baltic Studies Series, 1988, p. 139.)

been honourably joined with this travelling merchant and wanted nobody else, without caring for her dowry. Then Jürgen Tisenhusen and his brothers seized her and took her on the ice. They made a hole in the ice, pushed her into it and drowned her in such a way. The scribe fled to Lithuania, received a letter of free passage, became an enemy of Livonia and caused great damage, until the Tisenhusens were obliged to come to an agreement with him.<sup>10</sup>

The footnotes added by the editors of the chronicle provide both the names of the story's protagonists and the information about the further course of events.<sup>11</sup> This information, along with many additional details, is also contained in a lecture read at Tartu University in the 1860s (before the publication of Renner's Chronicle) and published in 1881 by the Baltic-German historian Carl Schirren:

About this time, a young travelling merchant by the name of Franz Bonnius took a job in Ringen [Rõngu], near Dorpat [Tartu]; he was also known by the nickname The Little Franz. One of the noble maidens, by the name of Barbara, dwelling in this house at that time and belonging to the kin of Tisenhusens, fell in love with him. They became secretly betrothed and fled from the dangerous vicinity of the kin. In the autumn of 1553 they were pursued and the Master of the Order issued a warrant of arrest. Since they were supposedly seeking refuge in Riga, an edict was issued to the Council of Riga demanding that no letter of free passage should be given to them (or if given, it should be cancelled) because the travelling merchant had enticed the young lady to go with him against the will of her friends and to their shame. And the same edict was sent to the vassals of the Order and to summoners in the country, for the Tisenhusens demanded revenge, referring to the Pact of Pernau [Pärnu]. Only one of the refugees succeeded in escaping. It is not known where the young lady was seized – on the side of her companion, violently, or through cunning. Her kinsmen sat in judgement in the name of the injured family's honour, and with the aid of her brother was Barbara Tisenhusen

drawn. Then the travelling merchant swore to revenge, declared war against all the Tisenhusens' kin: he wanted to persecute them with fire and sword, either by his own hand or with the aid of accomplices.<sup>12</sup>

The story of Barbara von Tisenhusen and Franz Bonnius makes up one of the central thematic lines in the novel *Die von Kelles* by the Baltic-German writer Theodor Hermann Pantenius (1843–1915), mentioned by Aino Kallas (see note 6). It is the novel of Pantenius that motivated the study cited by Aino Kallas as the principal impetus for her writing of the short story about Barbara. This study – August von Dehn's article about historical persons in Pantenius's novel<sup>13</sup> – contains, in addition to the passages quoted above (from the chronicles of Russow and Renner, as well as from the article by Carl Schirren), much information about Tisenhusens' kin and the geography of Barbara's story. The main events of this story took place in castles of Rannu (Randen) and Rõngu (Ringen), situated about fifteen kilometres from each other near the eastern shore of Lake Võrtsjärv in southern Estonia, not far from Tartu (Dorpat).

It becomes clear from the study of A. v. Dehn that nearly all the main characters both in Kallas's short story and in Tubin's opera are historical individuals. In all cases, together with Barbara, their destinies were tragic. Reinhold, one of the two brothers of Jürgen von Tisenhusen (Master of Rannu), was killed in 1561 (by the Russians). The other, Bartholomeus, died even earlier.<sup>14</sup> Johann von Tödwen (Master of Rõngu) was brutally killed by the Russians in 1560; his wife Anna died in poverty in 1576.<sup>15</sup> The only person without

<sup>10</sup> 'Hir wort dem sulven Jorgen Tisenhusen van Randen wedder tho hus gebracht, wat he jegen den christlichen geloven und sin vaderlandt gehandelt, ock sine suster vorsoepen laten. De sulve junfer hedde sich vortruwet mit einem erlichen gesellen einem schriver, de se thor ee nemen wolde, welches se ohren broderen tho erkennen gaf. Als de idt ohr nicht gestaden wolden, sondern dat se sich mit ohres geliken scholde vorheiraden edder ohr keinen bruthschatt geven wolden, se averst antworde, dat se sich mit dussem gesellen thon ehren in gelaten, ock anders nemant hebben wolde und se hart nicht dar na fragede, oft se ohr neinen bruthschatt geven wolden, do nam se dusse Jorgen Tisenhusen mit andern sinen brodern, fueren upt ihs, huwen eine wake, steken se dar in und vorsoepeden se also. De schriver averst toch in Littouwen, krech geleide, wort fient jegen Liflandt und dede groten schaden, beth de van Tisenhusen sich mit em vordragen mosten.' (*Johann Renner's Livländische Historien*. Herausgegeben von Richard Hausmann und Konstantin Höhlbaum, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht's Verlag, 1876, p. 363.)

<sup>11</sup> *Johann Renner's Livländische Historien*, pp. 363–64.

<sup>12</sup> 'Um jene Zeit nun stand zu Ringen, in der Nähe von Dorpat, ein junger Kaufgesell, Namens Franz Bonnius, in Diensten: man nannte ihn auch den kleinen Franz. Unter den Jungfrauen von Adel, welche sich derzeit auf dem Hause aufhielten, gewann eine aus dem Geschlecht der Tisenhusen, Barbara mit Namen, ihn lieb. Heimlich verlobten sie sich und flohen aus der gefährlichen Nähe der Verwandten. Im Herbst 1553 wurde ihnen nachgejagt; der Ordensmeister liess Fangbriefe ausgehen. Da man vermuthete, sie würden in Riga Zuflucht suchen, wurde der Rath zu Riga angewiesen, ihnen ein Geleit nicht zu gewähren oder wieder aufzusagen, weil der Gesell das Fräulein ihrer ehrlichen Freundschaft zu Wider und Spott entführt habe. An Ordensgebietiger, Cumpane und Landknechte erging ein gleicher Befehl, denn die Tisenhusen hatten sich auf die Pernauische Einigung berufen und Ahndung gefordert. Nur einem der Flüchtlinge gelang es, zu entkommen. Wo das Fräulein ergriffen wurde, ob an der Seite ihres Gefährten, ob gewaltsam oder mit List, wird nicht gemeldet. Die Freunde sassen im Namen der gekränkten Familienehre zu Gericht und mit Hilfe des eigenen Bruders wurde Barbara Tisenhusen ertränkt. Da schwor der Kaufgesell Rache; dem ganzen Geschlecht der Tisenhusen liess er die Fehde ansagen: mit Feuer und Schwert wolle er sie verfolgen, mit eigener Hand und durch Helfershelfer.' (Carl Schirren, 'Bischof Johann von Münchhausen.' *Baltische Monatsschrift*, Band 28, 1881, p. 7.)

<sup>13</sup> A. v. Dehn, 'Ueber die historischen Personen des Pantenius'schen Romans "Die von Kelles"'. *Sitzungsberichte der gelehrten estonischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat 1885*. Dorpat, 1866, pp. 48–90.

<sup>14</sup> See also F. Amelung, 'Franz Bonnius und Barbara von Tisenhusen.' *Nordische Rundschau*, Band III, Heft 3, Reval, 1885, p. 325.

<sup>15</sup> According to A. v. Dehn (*Op. cit.*, pp. 73–74), Anna Tödwen, though distantly related with Barbara, was not her aunt, and she

historical prototype is the parson Friesner, although a person by this name, Doctor Matthäus Friesner from Tallinn (Reval), is mentioned in A. v. Dehn's study in connection with the activities of Franz Bonnius after Barbara's death.<sup>16</sup>

The text quoted in the opera by Friesner as the 'Pact of Pärnu' originates in 'the Epistle of Wolter von Plettenberg, the former Master of our Order, which he sent regarding this same matter to the Land Council at Wolmar'.<sup>17</sup> This Epistle, dated St. James day (July 25), 1507, contained the orders which, according to A. v. Dehn, 'in essence constituted the content of the decision of the Land Council at Wolmar [Valmiera] of 1545 and probably were reaffirmed (without being recorded in the protocol) at the Land Council at Pernau [Pärnu] of 1552'.<sup>18</sup> The relevant passages in Wolter von Plettenberg's Epistle follow:

Likewise, if a widowed woman changes her mind, contrary to the teaching and wisdom of her friends, to wed unworthily, she is to be deprived of her wifely property and is to be held in contempt by all honourable wives, and all that is hers shall fall to her nearest friends and inheritors. [...] Likewise, if a gentle-born man or knight deceives a maiden by promise or word [...], he is to marry her. If he does not want to do this, they are both to be judged, and the goods of both of them shall fall to their nearest of kin. And if it happens through the fault of an unworthy man, they are both to die of hunger.<sup>19</sup>

## II

The opera's genesis is well recorded in Eduard Tubin's correspondence and interviews. The composer has recollected:

In 1966, in connection with the performance of *Kratt*, I visited Tallinn where Arne Mikk, director of music and literature at the opera house *Estonia*, asked me to write an opera for them. We discussed the possible

---

had a daughter of her own. In fact, it was her daughter rather than Barbara who wore the famous golden dress.

<sup>16</sup> A. v. Dehn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 76–77; Kai Laitinen, *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

<sup>17</sup> Aino Kallas, *Eros the Slayer*, p. 35.

<sup>18</sup> A. v. Dehn, *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

<sup>19</sup> 'Item die Wittben die sich verendern außerhalb Raths und mitwißen ihrer Freundte und nehmen schlechte Knechte, die sollen nicht gebrauchen ihrer frawlichen Gerechtigkeit und sollen verschmehet werden von andern ehrlichen Frawen und ihre frawliche Gerechtigkeit soll verfallen seyn an ihre nechsten Freundte und Erben. [...] Item ob ein gut Mann oder ein Wohlgebohren Knecht eine Jungfraw betrüge mit gelöbte und Zusage [...], der das thut, soll sie ehelichen; Will er das nicht thun, so soll man sie beide richten und ihrer beiden Güter sollen verfallen seyn an ihre nechsten Freundte, und ob es geschehe von schlechten Knechten, so soll man sie beyde verschmächtigen.' (August Wilhelm Hupel, *Neue Nordische Miscellaneen*. Elftes und zwölftes Stück. Riga: Hartknock, 1795, pp. 298–99; A. v. Dehn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 79–80.)

subjects, and Mikk mentioned [the national epic] *Kalevipoeg* – [the stage director] Voldemar Panso is said to have written a suitable text. It would be something like oratorio or a series of scenes. I was not interested in it.<sup>20</sup>

The idea to create an opera based on the short story of Aino Kallas also belonged to the stage director Arne Mikk (b. 1934), who wrote to Tubin: 'While waiting for the libretto of *Kalevipoeg*, I would like to know your opinion about the creation of an opera on the subject of *Barbara von Tisenhusen* by Aino Kallas.'<sup>21</sup> Tubin was immediately intrigued by this idea: '*Barbara von Tisenhusen?* At the moment, I don't remember the plot, but the very title sounds wonderful.'<sup>22</sup>

On May 12, 1967, Tubin's ballet *Kratt* was performed in Helsinki. The composer noted that: 'In May 1967, when I travelled to Helsinki to attend performances of the [Estonian] National Opera on tour, the question of an opera was discussed again, and then Arne Mikk talked to me about Aino Kallas's short story *Barbara von Tisenhusen*; later he sent to me the book.'<sup>23</sup> A few days later, the composer wrote:

During these few days at home, considering once again (in fact, several times) the *Barbara* we were talking about, it became perfectly clear to me: there is no better subject for an opera. I have even invented a musical ground plan, inasmuch as this is necessary, in order to begin the work and to see how it would end. Indeed, it was so easy, in our conversation, to fix the starting point – the ball – and an almost straightforward path to the hole in the ice. The inevitability of this path requires a kind of musical form in which, in my opinion, I am quite skilled – a *chaconne*, an old dance, very often used during balls at that time. It would acquire great significance in the opera, returning at certain moments – for example, in the court scene and on the ice. In this way, it creates a unity, and this is exactly what is needed for me in order to impart a certain direction to the work. At the same time (in fact, parallel with it), there arises another idea – humanity, the ideal of the humane, developing along with the first one. The first culminates at the hole in the ice, the second – in an open act of resistance.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> *Vestlused Eduard Tubinaga*. Koostanud ja kommenteerinud Vardo Rumessen. Tallinn: Rahvusvaheline Eduard Tubina Ühing, 2015, p. 107.

<sup>21</sup> Letter from Arne Mikk to Eduard Tubin. Tallinn, 20.04.1967.

<sup>22</sup> Lehti Metsaalt, 'Barbara von Tisenhusen.' *Noorte Hääl*, 23.11.1969.

<sup>23</sup> *Vestlused Eduard Tubinaga*, p. 107.

<sup>24</sup> Letter from Eduard Tubin to Arne Mikk. Handen, 25.05.1967 (Eduard Tubin, *Kirjad II*. Koostanud ja kommenteerinud Vardo Rumessen. Tallinn: Rahvusvaheline Eduard Tubina Ühing, 2006, p. 269).

After reading the short story, Tubin wrote:

Yesterday, reading the book, I found a kind of framework for the course of events in the opera. Some scenes [...] emerge as if spontaneously, others are vaguer and need some consideration. What is certain for me is the beginning with the ball in Tallinn – pompous dancing and an exalted mood from the outset. It is followed by the exit of the people accompanied by drums; we see country folk and townspeople admiring the procession and we hear these fateful words: “With the gold of that dress one could clothe a thousand poor”. What next, I don’t know, maybe Barbara among the village folk (?), a scene in Rõngu castle, Barbara playing a folk melody on the harp, a little quarrel because of the golden skirt; arrival of guests, included this Bonnius etc. Later there will be a conflict with the brothers because of the beating of the peasants, and love for Bonnius flames up; then maybe a scene in the church – Barbara and the parson (this person fits well into the plot because he tells Barbara in church that ‘an earthly law is not the same as God’s law’, thus giving confirmation to the lovers, but then, in the court scene, he says that ‘God does not join people in marriage but the Church’, thus depriving the lovers of any justification) – ending with Barbara’s departure and escape. Then maybe a scene during the flight in Sigulda, where Bonnius goes to explore how to flee further, and meanwhile the knights of the Order catch Barbara. Finally, there will be of course the court scene and the end at the hole in the ice.

I think, the whole story must be build up of shorter or longer scenes fused together into a succession of events so consistently and logically as possible. There should not be any narration of events belonging to the plot but not actually seen by the audience. Therefore, for example, such a cinematic scene as bear-baiting would not fit because one cannot show bears or dogs on the stage.<sup>25</sup>

Arne Mikk proposed Jaan Kross<sup>26</sup> as the librettist: ‘I consulted several people and even visited the revered Friedebert Tuglas (who had translated the short story), and we arrived at the conclusion that the most suitable librettist for *Barbara* would be Jaan Kross. He has studied this epoch quite thoroughly, he is author of several collections of poems, he has made translations, written texts for oratorios etc.’<sup>27</sup>

In the next letter, Arne Mikk wrote: ‘We discussed with Jaan Kross your ideas and points of view, and he

seemed to accepted them. He promised to complete an outline of the opera, along with the projected characters, by the last week of July.’<sup>28</sup>

Jaan Kross completed the first version of libretto at the end of July 1967. After receiving it, the composer wrote:

Yesterday I received the libretto and red it through once or twice. It seems that, during the short time, you have well penetrated into this subject and beautifully transformed it to fit the stage. The further towards the end, the better becomes your work.

Of course, I could begin at once to work with this libretto and to write the whole opera. But with my inclination towards reflection, I would like to receive a little more material for the beginning of the opera. In the wedding ball, there might be more choruses, much dancing and bustle. I would like to put in some of the obligatory wedding dances typical of that time, such as the *Branle de la torche* (torch dance) in the transition to Scene 2 (the departing people on the stairs), the *Carola* – soloist + refrain (rondo), – maybe also a *Chaconne*. Instead of servants opening the opera, as in your version, there might be a festive dance filling at once the hall with voices and noise. [...] In addition, the libretto does not show the growth of love between the two young people (and its cause). They become acquainted, and tension arises because there was no kissing. But in the next scene, they are at once embracing: there is nothing left to talk about except the marriage. In the meantime, there should be an entire scene (as it is in every opera) where the burgeoning love becomes so great that it cannot be hidden any more and where, as always, a courteous declaration of love will be made in the middle of the stage. By no means need this be sentimental. I have given much thought to the scene of bear-baiting accompanied by great rejoicing. Could this not take place behind the stage ‘in the courtyard’, while, against that background, the lovers, who do not want to look at the blood, enter a room (that is, the stage) where they will find each other – a love duet accompanied by wild screaming. What do you think?<sup>29</sup>

After some days, Tubin outlined his proposals with regard to the extension of the libretto as follows: ‘At last, I arrived at the following scheme which I will send to you for your consideration and opinion.’<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Letter from Eduard Tubin to Arne Mikk. Handen, 27.06.1967. *Ibid.*, 272–273.

<sup>26</sup> Jaan Kross (1920–2007), Estonian poet and novelist. In 1946–1954 he was imprisoned and deported by the Soviet occupying forces. He has written many historical novels, including the four-volume biographical novel *Kolme katku vabel* ‘Between Three Plagues’ (1970–79) about the life of the chronicler Balthasar Russow.

<sup>27</sup> Letter from Arne Mikk to Eduard Tubin. Tallinn, 22.06.1967.

<sup>28</sup> Letter from Arne Mikk to Eduard Tubin. Tallinn, 17.07.1967.

<sup>29</sup> Letter from Eduard Tubin to Jaan Kross. Handen, 9.08.1967. (Eduard Tubin, *Kirjad II*. p. 279–280).

<sup>30</sup> Letter from Eduard Tubin to Jaan Kross. Handen, 12.08.1967 (Eduard Tubin, *Kirjad II*. p. 282).

## [Act 1]

**Scene 1.** The wedding ball in the Guildhall. After a few introductory bars, the scene opens with dancing on the stage – it is a Galliard (a dance with foot-swinging and great leaps containing certain pantomimic elements which may tend towards obscenity, as was typical of that time). In the background, there is great eating and drinking, the chorus is singing along with the dances, while drinkers make loud comments. [...]

The dancing is followed by conversation between groups of guests. Young men mill like ants around Barbara, the drinking bout continues as before [...]. The next dance is a *Carola* – a roundelay with the soloist and refrain (rondo). What do you think about a jester – an almost obligatory figure at feasts of this time? Couldn't he begin the couplets as a soloist? The continuation will be as you have it: a dialog between Friesner and Anna, Tödwen and others, as well as the Herald arranging and leading the *Branle de la torche* (torch dance). The torch dance itself develops slowly and with dignity, without singing (?), accompanied by loud music and a drum roll; the music continues during the stage turn and **Scene 2** follows, as you already have it.

**Scene 3.** An afternoon in August in the garden of the castle (!) (At the edge of the stage, the door of the castle is seen.) On the whole, the text may remain as it is; the harp will be omitted as unnecessary. Thus the whole company goes outdoors where the kissing takes place. Certain uneasiness remains as well. After that, the gentlemen may enter the castle, for example, to play dice, while bagpipes and singing around a village swing will be heard somewhere in the distance. Barbara (who has not yet overcome her uneasiness) comes to listen to this. Bonnius follows her, and they begin a brief conversation about this music, which pleases both of them. Love flames up as well, but there will be no embraces. Maybe some joint activities with regard to the country-folk might be planned. Barbara enters the castle (perhaps being called in) and Bonnius, who remains alone, expresses vocally the love in his heart (a little *arioso*). End of Act 1.

(Scene 1 – ca. 12', Scene 2 – ca. 3–4', Scene 3 – ca. 22')

## Act 2

**Scene 4.** Bear-baiting in the courtyard below (in winter). When the curtain opens, the cruel action progresses at full speed, with shouts, interjected exclamations, baiting and howling. Maybe some of the servants bring wine to the noblemen (the stage is

empty, the choir and nobles being behind the stage). Barbara (in furs), disgusted by the bloody scene, enters the stage, followed by Bonnius. And now the love scene proper begins, feelings explode, there is great happiness, but it is painful [...]. What to do next? Maybe the drunken knights are coming away as well, and the scene ends. Thus there will be great contrasts.

**Scene 5.** A part of the church (still in the same winter, soon after Scene 4); the service is over. Barbara is praying at the grave of her mother, as if asking for her advice (?). The parson notices her, and then follows the conversation you already have in Scenes 5 and 6. **Scene 6** will be identical with your Scene 7.

(Scene 4 – 15–20', Scene 5 – 10–12', Scene 6 – 7')

## Act 3

At the beginning, there might be an orchestral introduction, helping the audience to enter into the spirit of action. Then follows **Scene 7** (identical with your Scene 9). Here one could discuss whether Reinhold is right in saying "We'll wait, sister, until your fiancé comes back". Perhaps it would be better if he commands some men to search out Bonnius, while he starts himself, as soon as possible, the homeward journey together with Barbara.

**Scene 8** = Scene 10; **Scene 9** = Scene 10.

(Introduction – 2', Scene 7 – 8', Scene 8 – 15', Scene 9 – 8')<sup>31</sup>

In the aforementioned letter, the composer continued:

I like to interpret the subject musically at several levels simultaneously, as in Scene 3, where the falling in love on the proscenium is accompanied by bagpipes and singing around a village swing behind the stage; or in Scene 4, where the passionate love scene is accompanied by shouts of the audience attending to the bear-baiting; or in the lovers' little scene of farewell in the cave... The chronology of events of the short story will be changed, but perhaps this is better from the opera's standpoint. What do you think? If your answer will be affirmative, we will certainly manage all the details in one week during my visit to Tallinn.

The main point is that you can freely write much more text. I can cross out everything that does not suit me, but I cannot add a single word. In this sense, the first scenes in your version seemed to me very short, and, as I mentioned in the previous letter, the further towards the end, the better the libretto becomes. The last scenes are almost sufficiently long.

<sup>31</sup> Manuscript in the *Gehrmans Musikförlag*, Stockholm.



But at the ball, for example, the text can be much longer: there can be many interjected exclamations and comments; the action is progressing quickly, almost like in a spoken performance. Arias and duets will take more time.<sup>32</sup>

The final version of libretto (dated 10.10.1967) was completed after Tubin's meeting with Jaan Kross in Tallinn at the end of September, 1967. Tubin has said: 'During one week, Jaan Kross wrote the opera's first two scenes, which I will already take along. Later he will send to me the rest.'<sup>33</sup> After receiving the libretto, the composer wrote to Jaan Kross:

I received your letter and then the libretto. Heartfelt thanks for them! Now I have a LIBRETTO with which one works with pleasure. Meanwhile, I have already completed Scene 1, or in fact, Scenes 1 and 2. [...] At the moment, there is nothing I could add to or take away from your libretto. It seems altogether right and logical. Also, the playing with dice and the entire process of falling in love are well conceived.<sup>34</sup>

'The table on p. 9 demonstrates the distribution of scenes between acts in the two versions of the libretto and in the opera itself. The scenes having the same content are placed horizontally. The initial version of libretto contains a prologue and three acts, in the final version of the libretto, there are four acts; in the opera itself, there are three acts. In both versions of the libretto, the chorus of pursuers (which corresponds to the Introduction of Act 3 in the opera) makes up a separate scene, and the opera's first scene (wedding ball) is divided into two scenes. In the initial version of the libretto, the opera's fifth scene (the church scene) is also divided into two scenes. Entirely missing from the first version of the libretto is the opera's fourth scene, the bear-baiting – one of the dramatic high-points of the work.

In the final version of the libretto, compared to the initial version, the first two scenes have been most extended: in scene 1, it is made through the addition of choral passages (missing in the initial version), and in scene 2, it is fulfilled through the addition of Barbara's dialog with the Boy and the episode of playing dice. In view of the absence of the bear-baiting scene in the first version of the libretto (having thus only one choral passage – the chorus of pursuers), it seems that the initial version of the libretto would be more suitable for a chamber opera, rather than an opera with a extensive symphonic development, as it is in fact.

### III

In the libretto, according to Merike Vaitmaa, 'almost all direct speech contained in the short story is used, with some changes of wording here and there.'<sup>35</sup>

The material originating in Aino Kallas's work is used in three ways: 1) as scenes entirely based on it; 2) in the form of single remarks or short dialogs, 3) in the form of remarks and dialogs derived from description.

The first way in its pure form is represented in Scene 8, from bar 34: 'Why do you need me here?' (cf. p. 48: 'Why didst thou send for me?')<sup>36</sup> to the end of the scene, and in Scene 9, from bar 293: 'Jürgen! I say to you' (p. 58: 'Hear me, Jürgen von Tisenhusen') to bars 388–91: '...nobody but she has been kind to our wives and our children' (cf. p. 62: '...for she has been kind to our wives and our children').

In the same way, Aino Kallas's text is used in Scenes 5 and 6 of the initial version of the libretto and in Scene 5 of its final version. In the first version, Scene 5 begins with the words: 'Can you tell me what is the Pact of Pärnu?' (cf. p. 35: 'Canst thou tell me, Father, how the Pact of Pärnu runs and what is its meaning?') and it ends with the words: 'But I'll not leave Bonnius even if I were to die the death of hunger!' (cf. p. 38: 'I will not be divided from Franz Bonnius, though I were to die the death of hunger for his sake'). In the same version, Scene 6 begins with the words: 'Barbara! What has happened?' (cf. p. 43: 'Barbara, what has befallen?') and it ends with the words: 'I go now' (cf. p. 43).

In the final version of the libretto, these two scenes are combined into one single scene (Scene 5), its main body – from bars 38–39: 'Can you tell me what is the Pact of Pärnu?' to bars: 108–11 'But I'll not leave Bonnius even if I were to die the death of hunger!' – being preceded by bars 30–33: 'Barbara! What is the matter with her, Barbara!' – 'I spoke with my blessed mother' (cf. p. 43: 'Barbara, what has befallen?' – 'I spake with my blessed mother') and followed by the two short passages: 1) from bars 125–26: 'Father, bless me' (cf. p. 43: 'Read a blessing over me, Father') to bar 132: 'I go now' (cf. p. 43), and 2) from bar 133: 'I'll talk once more with my brothers' (cf. p. 39: 'It may be that I shall tell all to my well-loved brothers') to bars 135–36: '...do not condemn me...' (cf. p. 39: '...do not marvel nor judge me harshly [...]').

As an example of a single remark taken from the short story, one can cite bars 329–341 of Scene 1: 'Oh, what a sweet beehive! The smell of honey makes my old mouth water... Let's hide it in my garden – when the bees swarm, I'll get perhaps some honey too!' (cf. p. 21: 'There is a pretty hive for thee, take it to thy garden – when the bees swarm there will perhaps be something

<sup>32</sup> Letter from Eduard Tubin to Jaan Kross. Handen, 12.08.1967 (Eduard Tubin, *Kirjad II*. p. 282–283).

<sup>33</sup> Marika Oja, 'Uus eesti ooper – seekord Eduard Tubinalt.' *Kodumaa*, 4.10.1967.

<sup>34</sup> Letter from Eduard Tubin to Jaan Kross. Handen, 20.10.1967 (Eduard Tubin, *Kirjad II*. p. 288).

<sup>35</sup> Merike Vaitmaa, 'Barbara von Tisenhusen.' *Sirp ja Vasar*, 19.12.1969.

<sup>36</sup> References are made to Aino Kallas, *Eros the Slayer: Two Estonian Tales* (see Note 5).

Initial version of libretto		Final version of libretto		Opera	
Prologue	Scenes 1–2	Act 1	Scenes 1–2	Act 1	Scene 1
Act 1	Scene 3		Scene 3		Scene 2
	Scene 4		Scene 4		Scene 3
		Act 2	Scene 5	Act 2	Scene 4
Act 2	Scenes 5–6	Act 3	Scene 6		Scene 5
	Scene 7		Scene 7		Scene 6
Act 3	Scene 8		Scene 8	Act 3	Introduction
	Scene 9		Scene 9		Scene 7
	Scene 10	Act 4	Scene 10		Scene 8
	Scene 11		Scene 11		Scene 9

for me too’),<sup>37</sup> and, as an example of a short dialog, bars 420–31 of Scene 1: ‘Look at her, in the middle of the procession! Does she not shine like an angel at the altar, golden and young! [...]’ – ‘She is the harlot of Babylon herself! [...] With the gold of her dress one could clothe a thousand poor!’ (cf. p. 22: ‘Look at the one in the dress of gold; doth she not shine like an angel at the altar?’ – ‘Is not that the harlot of Babylon herself from the book of Revelations? With the gold of that dress one could clothe a thousand poor’).<sup>38</sup>

Remarks derived from Aino Kallas’s descriptions are sung not only by Friesner functioning as the narrator in the short story – as in Scene 1, bars 192–95: FRIESNER: ‘This exaggerated glitter spoils her soul!’ (cf. p. 22: ‘I feared for the future of her undying soul’)<sup>39</sup> – but also by other persons, as in Scene 1, bars 178–81: NOBLE LADY: ‘[...] They talk about it even in Germany!’ (cf. p.

18 ‘And the dress became the talk of all Livland, aye, and of the States of Lithuania and Poland’).<sup>40</sup> As an example of a dialogue derived from Aino Kallas’s description, one can cite bars 153–55 and 165–66 of Scene 2: BARBARA: ‘I think they should not be beaten [...]’ – JOHANN: ‘And it’s not a matter for women’ (cf. p. 25: ‘And once in the hearing of the Master of Rõngu himself, Johann von Tödwen, dared she to say that these non-Germans, or, in other words, non-humans, should not be whipped nor otherwise chastised. Then, however, Master Johann made it clear enough to her [...] that it was unfitting for a woman to meddle in matters which her Creator had placed above her understanding’).<sup>41</sup>

The short story contains the following remark about Barbara: ‘She also began to spend her time in such vain, not to say sinful, ways as to listen to the pagan incantations and songs of these same non-Germans [...]’ (p. 24). This remark urged the librettist to quote an

<sup>37</sup> See also Scene 6, bars 205–21: ‘They may hide with the devil or with God himself, we have to find them!’ (cf. p. 45: ‘And though they were to hide in Hell itself, I will overtake them’).

<sup>38</sup> See also Scene 2, bars 191–207: ‘And you, noble knight? You will not kiss me? Why not *you* if it is customary in this country?’ – ‘Because it is customary only for the nobility. [...] Franz Bonnius, the new scribe’ (cf. pp. 27–28: ‘Honoured and worthy knight, hast thou no mind to use the privilege allowed thee by the custom of the land? – ‘The gracious damsel mistaketh me, for I am in sooth no knight, but the new scrivener of Rõngu Castle’); Scene 4, bars 105–15: ‘Gentlemen! Aren’t you ashamed to be torturing a poor animal for your delight?! [...] I will look upon it no longer!’ – ‘The plague may strike me if I cannot tame her!’ (cf. pp. 31–32: ‘Are you not ashamed so to be torturing animals for your delight? I will look upon it no longer.’ – ‘May all the plague of the world fall on me. This damsel will I yet crush’).

<sup>39</sup> See also Scene 2, bars 139–42: ‘And their songs, dear daughter, these have neither rhyme nor reason’ (cf. p. 24: ‘[...] which have neither rhyme nor reason’); Scene 9, bars 402–25: ‘My God, if Thou art Love, why hast Thou forsaken us?!’ (cf. p. 66: ‘...and turn also the light of Thy countenance on this heavy-laden and bleeding Livland, for Thou art Love’).

<sup>40</sup> See also Scene 2, bars 124–27: TÖDWEN: ‘Haven’t you noticed Barbara’s sudden change of mind’ (cf. p. 24: ‘And in other ways, too, great *mutatio*, or change of mind, had occurred in this young damsel, so that others also had marked it’); Scene 3, bars 14–15: TÖDWEN: ‘Doesn’t chase girls [in the first version: ‘Doesn’t play dice’], doesn’t booze...’ (cf. p. 32–33: ‘And to mine ears came divers reports of the new scrivener of Rõngu Castle, Franz Bonnius, how that he [...] neither emptied the ale tankard nor loved making wagers and the casting of dice’).

<sup>41</sup> See also Scene 4, bars 30–36: BARHOLOMEUS: ‘Today’s bear is very strong and mean.’ – FIRST NOBLEMAN: ‘But the dogs are mean too, very mean! Especially Sultan and Muri.’ – SECOND NOBLEMAN: ‘They’ll fly upon the bear and tear the ears off!’ (cf. p. 30: ‘When now the said bear, which was a young and exceeding powerful male, had been brought in chains to the centre of the open space, it was let loose by its keeper [...]. But the Knight Jürgen, whip in hand, urged “Sultan,” and at once [...] the dog sped like a flash [...] at the bear and flew straight at its ear. [...] But then the Knight Jürgen urged “Muri,” and Muri flew at the bear’s other ear’).

authentic Estonian folk song in the beginning of Scene 2. Originally this song had been written down as follows:

The young maiden, the farmer's daughter, hears the holiday coming, the beloved time, Easter and Whitsunday arriving. The month she washes the gold, the month she washes the pearls, the year the silver, the week the kerchiefs. Then she goes to the village swing. Boys peeped from the shadow, watched from behind trees. I, poor child of a slave, I hear the holiday coming, the beloved time, Easter and Whitsunday arriving. I go to an alder wood, to a golden spruce wood. There I bind the bast and twine the willows together, gather flowers from the meadow, the violets of spring. Then I go to the village swing. Boys peeped from the shadow, watched from behind trees: "Oh, if I had this maiden, this sweet wreath bearer who is coming to the swing! She's better without beads, prettier without gold, fancier without silver!"<sup>42</sup>

A number of verses are taken also from another folk song belonging to the same type: 'The month she treaded on the [little] beads, the day she treaded on the pearls, still more time she treaded the [big] beads. I, lonely orphan,' etc.<sup>43</sup>

Characterising the intertextual aspects of Aino Kallas's works, the Finnish literary scholar Kai Laitinen writes: 'Examination of Aino Kallas's style and the history of genesis of her short stories makes it clear that there were two background factors modelling her work of the twenties: biblical phraseology and the way of narration typical of the chronicles.'<sup>44</sup>

According to Laitinen, 'the influence of the Bible text is seen also in direct references and quotations.'<sup>45</sup> The latter include, in addition to quotations, 'comments characterising the persons of stories by means of biblical names.'<sup>46</sup> As an example of such a comment, one can cite

<sup>42</sup> 'Peretütär neitsikene! / Kuuleb ta pühad tulema, / ajad kallimad asuma, / lihavedet liugemaie, / nelipühid nõudelema – / kuu ta peseb kuldasida, / päeva peseb pärlisida, / aasta hõbehelmesida, / nädala jo rätikuida. / Siis läheb küla kiige alle. / Peiud varjulta vaatsid, / kuuse takka kummardasid. / Mina vaene orjalapsi, / kuulsin ma pühad tulema, / ajad kallimad asuma, / lihavedet liugemaie, / nelipühid nõudelema – / seal lään leina lepikusse, / kuldaleeri kuusikusse: / seal mina niun niinesida / palmin pajukoosesida, / võtan nurmelt noored lilled, / kevadised kannikesed. / Siis lään küla kiige alle. / Peiud varjulta vaatsid, / kuuse takka kummardasid: / 'Oleks see neidu minulla, / pärgapea minu päralta, / mis siin kõnnib kiige alle, / astub armas alle laua! / See on helmita ilusam, / ilma kullata kenasem, / hõbedata kõige uhkem.' (*Eesti rahvalaulud*. Antoloogia, II köide, 2. vihk. Koostanud Ülo Tedre. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1970, p. 643, No. 3464.)

<sup>43</sup> 'kuu sie lükkis kudruksida, / päeva lükkis pärle'eida, / enamb aega helme'eida. / Mina üksi vaenelapsi' etc. (*Ibid.*, p. 642, No. 3461).

<sup>44</sup> 'Aino Kallaksen tyyliä tarkasteltaessa ja hänen novellinsa syntävaiheita selvitetäessä on käynyt selväksi, että koko hänen 1920-luvun tuotantooan on ollut muovaamassa kaksi taustatekijää: raamatullinen kielenparsi ja kronikoiden kertomatapa' (Kai Laitinen, *Op. cit.*, p. 128).

<sup>45</sup> 'Sen [Raamatun] jättämiä jälkiä voi seurata myös suoranaisten viitteiden ja sitaattien kautta' (*Ibid.*, p. 133).

<sup>46</sup> "mainintoja, joissa raamatullisten nimien kautta rinnastetaan teoksen henkilöitä heihin" (*Ibid.*).

the aforementioned remark of the Tanner calling Barbara 'the harlot of Babylon' (Scene 1, bars 430–31; cf. Revelation 17:1).<sup>47</sup>

Whereas most of the quotations from and references to the Bible in Aino Kallas's work take place in descriptions, the librettist has added some new quotations from the Bible into dialogs. Two of these are contained in the Boy's spoken texts in Scene 2 – in bar 121: 'Let every soul be in subjection to the higher authorities, for there is no authority except from God.' (Romans 13:1) and in bar 123: 'Masters, give to your servants that which is just and equal and give up threatening, knowing that he who is both their Master and yours is in heaven, and there is no partiality with him.' (a combination of Ephesians 6:9 and Colossians 4:1). Scene 9 contains two such quotations in Friesner's part – in bars 310–11: 'Do not judge, so that you will not be judged' (Matthew 7:1) and in bars 402–05: 'My God, if Thou art Love, why hast Thou forsaken us?!' (Matthew 27:46, Mark 15:34).

Speaking about other intertextual aspects of Aino Kallas, Kai Laitinen continues: 'In addition to the Bible and collections of sermons, the chronicles make up a natural treasury of themes and a source of inspiration, consciously used by her.'<sup>48</sup> Thus according to Kai Laitinen, the aforementioned comment about Barbara's golden dress – 'They talk about it even in Germany!' (Scene 1, bars 179–80) – is actually based on Aino Kallas's quotation from the text of Balthasar Russow's chronicle.<sup>49</sup>

The librettist has included the following words in the part of Bonnius (Scene 2, bars 280–84): 'For the nobility this is paradise but for peasants it is hell!' This statement, well known in Estonia since the nineteenth century, originates in the *Liefländische Historia* (1695) of Cristian Kelch (1657–1710). According to *The History of Estonian literature*, this chronicle 'uses for the general characterisation of the peasantry's situation an expression wide-spread in Poland at this time characterising the situation there: 'For the landlords this is heaven, for the priests it is paradise, for the foreigners it is a gold-mine, for peasants it is hell.'<sup>50</sup>

After finishing the opera, the composer said: 'I read Kallas's short story as a beautiful imaginary tale, but later I was struck dumb when learning from Russow's chronicle that it was a true story.'<sup>51</sup> Obviously, this discovery urged the composer to add, at the end of the piano score, a postscript quoting the corresponding passage from Balthasar Russow's chronicle<sup>52</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>48</sup> 'Hänelle kronikat olivat Raamatun ja postillojen ohella luonteva aihevarasto ja innoituslähde, joihin hän nojautui tietoisesti' (Kai Laitinen, *Op. cit.*, p. 136).

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>50</sup> *Eesti kirjanduse ajalugu*. Toimetanud A. Vinkel. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1965, p. 102.

<sup>51</sup> *Vestlused Eduard Tubinaga*, p. 109.

<sup>52</sup> See Note 9.

## IV

The composer described the initial stages of work on the opera as follows:

I write out the piano score as well – for me, it seems to be more practical: when the piano score is ready, the theatre can decide whether the opera is suitable to be included in the repertoire or not. In addition, now the soloists and the stage director can already begin to prepare the performance, because the completion of the orchestral score certainly requires several months. [...] Of course, with the details of orchestration not yet elaborated, the piano score will be somewhat schematic but the main points are nevertheless present.<sup>53</sup>

The first two versions of the piano score, as well as the orchestral score, are written on the basis of the initial short score dated 23.01.1968 and located in the National Music Library of Sweden (*Statens Musikbibliotek*) in Stockholm. During work on the short score, the composer made an important decision. Until the 1960ies it was customary in Estonia to pronounce the name ‘Barbara’ with the accent on the second syllable. In this way it is pronounced also in the first seven scenes of the short score. Then the composer changed his mind: ‘One thing I found out with the aid of some experts is that the name of the protagonist should be Bárbara rather than Barbára, according to German and other languages using this name. Thus now all the characters in the opera will sing Bárbara, with the accent on the first syllable. It’s true that the Russians have Varvára, but in 1550 this name had certainly come from Germany.’<sup>54</sup> It seems that it is Tubin’s opera that caused the change in this custom of pronunciation in Estonia.

After the completion of the first version of the piano score dated 26.01.1968 (written on onionskin sheets),<sup>55</sup> the composer began to write the orchestral score (also on onionskin sheets), dated 18.03.1968 (Act 1), 30.04.1968 (Act 2) and 1.06.1968 (Act 3).<sup>56</sup> After the completion of Act 1, the composer wrote: ‘Today, I finished the score of Act 1. [...] Up to now, I have had to introduce several small changes not foreseen in the piano score – for me, the orchestral score is more natural; there it is easier to see what is right and what is too brief...’<sup>57</sup> Later the composer expressed the same idea in another letter: ‘Simultaneously, I have made changes in

the piano score, and in some places there are quite a lot of them; thus the piano scores sent initially are not very usable for study, because many details and dynamics have been changed, some bars added etc.’<sup>58</sup>

Not later than in October 1968, the composer completed the second version of the piano score.<sup>59</sup> He said: ‘On June 1, I finished the score. During its completion, I found some shortcomings in the piano score. Now I adapted it to the orchestral score, thus giving it the final form. Therefore the initial piano score does not match the orchestral score.’<sup>60</sup> It should be mentioned that in the process of completing the second version of the piano score, the composer used the same onionskin sheets on which the first version had been written. He made the correction on these sheets without entirely rewriting them, except for two sheets.

The composer described the opera’s musical structure as follows:

In fact, the whole opera is based on one single theme. This nine-note *passacaglia* is stated at the beginning in its basic form, then in retrograde, in inversion, in retrograde inversion etc. All the musical material is based on this main theme. At first, I was anxious merely to see what one can do with a theme. But then it also seemed to me that in the short story by Aino Kallas, there is a ceaseless progression – from the wedding to the hole in the ice. This progression is carried out very consistently; therefore I tried to find a corresponding musical structure. The question also arose, how to vary this theme so that it would characterise each situation.<sup>61</sup>

A more detailed description of the opera’s musical structure is contained in an appendix (*Anmärkning*) to the summary of the opera’s plot written in Swedish probably by the composer:

The opera’s musical structure is built up in the free form of a *chaconne*. The main theme is stated in Scene 1 in its basic form as a *Passacaglia*, in Scene 2 in retrograde, in Scene 4 again as a *Passacaglia* (inversion) and in Scene 5 in retrograde inversion. Phrases and motives of the same theme occur in other scenes, now in an episodic form, now as a more developed *Chaconne*.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Letter from Eduard Tubin to Arne Mikk. Handen, 26. 11. 1967 (Eduard Tubin, *Kirjad II*, p. 290).

<sup>54</sup> Letter from Eduard Tubin to Arne Mikk. Handen, 28.01.1968 (*Ibid.*, p. 295–296).

<sup>55</sup> A copy of this piano score (with the composer’s corrections) is located in the *Gehrmans Musikförlag*, Stockholm.

<sup>56</sup> The score written on onionskin sheets is located in the *Gehrmans Musikförlag*, Stockholm.

<sup>57</sup> Letter from Eduard Tubin to Arne Mikk. Handen, 18. 03. 1968 (Eduard Tubin, *Kirjad II*, lk 306).

<sup>58</sup> Letter from Eduard Tubin to Arne Mikk. Handen, 25. 05. 1968 (*Ibid.*, p. 321).

<sup>59</sup> A copy of this version (now located in the Theatre and Music Museum in Tallinn) which belonged to Tubin’s friend, choir conductor and journalist Harri Kiisk (1922–2001), bears the composer’s dedication dated 14.10.1968.

<sup>60</sup> *Vestlused Eduard Tubinaga*, p. 108.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> ‘Musikaliskt är operan uppbyggd i en fri Chaconne-form. Grundtemat förekommer i första scenen, i grundformen som en Passacaglia, baklänges (“retrograd”) i andra scenen, i fjärde scenen åter som Passacaglia (“inversion”) och baklänges med omvända intervaller (“retrograd inversion”) i femte scenen. I de andra scenerna förekommer fraser och motiv ur samma tema – en gång i

In Scene 2, Tubin used not only the text of a folk song but also an authentic folk melody: the corresponding music is based on the beginning of the well-known melody ‘Kui ma alles noor veel olin’ (‘When I was young’; Example 1<sup>63</sup>), which was, for the first time, arranged for the mixed choir in 1890 by Karl August Hermann (1851–1909).

#### Example 1

Kui mi-na al - les noor veel o - lin, noor veel o - lin,  
lap - se - põl - ves män - gi - sin, män - gi - sin.

In Scene 3 Tubin used another authentic folk melody played on a bagpipe (Example 2).<sup>64</sup>

#### Example 2

form av episodisk, en gång i form av mer utvidgad Chaconne-form' (*Barbara von Tisenhusen. Sammandrag av handlingen*. Typescript in the *Gehrmans Musikförlag*, Stockholm).

<sup>63</sup> In such a form this melody is published in the Preface (“Eeskõne seletuseks”) of K. A. Hermann’s collection of folksong arrangements *Eesti rahvalaulud segakoorige* I vihik. Tartu, 1890, p. VI.

<sup>64</sup> Juhan Aavik, *Eesti muusika ajalugu I*. Stockholm: Eesti Lauljaskond Rootsis, p. 158. First published in T. Allikas, *Eesti rahva mängutükid II*. Viljandi: H. Leokese kirjastus, 1905, p. 13 (No. 1). See also Herbert Tampere, *Eesti rahvapillid ja rahvatantsud*, Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1975, p. 90 (No. 52). In Aavik, the second note of bars 1 and 3 is *a*1 instead of *g*1, and this version is also used by Tubin (see Hans-Gunter Lock, *Eduard Tubina kasutatud rahvaviisid*. Master’s thesis in musicology. Tallinn: Eesti Muusikaakadeemia, 2002, pp. 66, 126, 132–33.).

## V

The opera was first performed at the *Estonia* opera house on December 4, 1969. The stage director was Udo Väljaots, the conductor Kirill Raudsepp; the soloists were Maarja Haamer or Haili Sammelselg (Barbara), Kalju Karask (Bonnius), Teo Maiste or Voldemar Kuslap (Friesner), Valdo Truve or Georg Taleš (Jürgen), Enno Eesmaa (Reinhold), Ervin Kärvet or Uno Kreen (Bartholomeus), Mati Palm (Johann von Tödwen), Aino Külvand, Lidia Panova or Urve Tauts (Anna von Tödwen).

In the programme booklet, the librettist Jaan Kross characterised the content of the opera as follows:

Everybody is involved in a potential drama, being situated between contradicting systems of norms. Where characters and situations mutually amplify each other, these potential dramas become actual ones – in life as well as on stage. All the characters – Bonnius, a minor person of the epoch, to whom the distant glow of the spirit of the Renaissance has granted a premonition of the dignity of man; Barbara, a God-created integral person who rebels, in the name of love, against the spirit of caste of the sclerotic Livonian Order, and whose thirst for integral totality urges her to accept the evangelical morality more resolutely than was customary; the trio of Barbara’s brothers defending this spirit of caste with a brutal ruthlessness recalling the heraldic bull of their family (although their eyes were “wet with pain”); and the parson Friesner, who even because of his profession stands between the truth of love and the truth of power – all of them, with a fatality recalling ancient tragedies, are acting out the drama unfolding around Barbara.<sup>65</sup>

The reviewers judged the musical and scenic qualities of the work very highly:

*Barbara von Tisenhusen* is simultaneously a drama of personality and a concentrated portrait of its epoch. Both features are present in Eduard Tubin’s music [...]. His layered musical texture, the heightened expressiveness of his melodic lines and his suggestive use of kettledrums evoke a tense atmosphere, recreating an epoch full of sharp conflicts.<sup>66</sup>

Up till now, the composer has written relatively little vocal music. Nevertheless, the opera’s vocal aspect has been accomplished very successfully. As always in twentieth-century musical dramas, there are neither large solo numbers nor ensembles apart from the action. The vocal parts are basically made

<sup>65</sup> See Merike Vaitmaa, ‘*Barbara von Tisenhusen*.’

<sup>66</sup> Marika Oja, ‘Eduard Tubinast ja tema esikooperist.’ *Kodumaa*, 10.12.1969.

up of recitative, yet their design is very melodic and expressive [...].

The opera's musical dramaturgy is based on the principles of the composer's symphonies. Characteristically, an entire work is developed out of a single musical idea. There are few details not connected with it. The basic idea itself is developing and changing, sometimes connected with its prime form only through rhythm or a characteristic interval progression; it may be stated both in fragments and vertically.

In the opera *Barbara von Tisenhusen*, such a basic idea has the form of a nine-note theme of a *chaconne* or *passacaglia*. In the most important episodes, it is stated completely in the bass [...], in various transpositions and timbres or with changes of rhythm. In the church scene, the whole texture is based on a single complete form of the *passacaglia* theme; in the remaining scenes, three- or four-note fragments of the basic idea are repeated in the form of a *basso ostinato*. The main elements of the upper voices of the orchestra and of the vocal parts are also derived from the same theme, therefore practically all the opera's musical material has been connected with it in some way or another.

Within these seemingly narrow constructive limits, the composer is moving with great inner freedom. He is continuously creating new and expressive images and characters. The intensive process of development knows no interruptions; the opera's most profound and effective pages belong to the last scene, whose conception is similar to that of the elegiac and philosophical conclusions of Tubin's symphonies.<sup>67</sup>

Tubin's music is exceptionally suggestive. This work, profound and emotional, strong and condensed, with the characters shown as if in floodlights and with an emphasis on the orchestral aspect, fascinates with its dramatic tension between conflicting poles, an expressive melodic style, rhythmic intensity and polyphonic richness of texture. The musical-dramatic aspect of this opera reveals the composer's brilliant knowledge of style, form and the stage, features an intensively rising line of development, full of contrasts and proceeding simultaneously on several levels both in the structure of the whole opera and within its individual scenes.<sup>68</sup>

The general impression produced by the work is that of integrity, as if being cut from a single granite rock. The music reveals its diversity from scene to scene, with continuously intensifying contrasts.<sup>69</sup>

To some extent, the opera also gained the attention of

the press outside Estonia. In 1971, A. Nikolayev, the correspondent of the journal *Sovetskaya Muzyka* (Moscow), wrote: 'Tubin's work is a great opera (both in terms of scope and character), with developed mass scenes, processions and choruses. In terms of genre, it may be characterised as lyric-dramatic, with a historical-epic background.'<sup>70</sup>

In 1972 Lajos H. Bárta, the Moscow correspondent of the Hungarian newspaper *Magyar Nemzet*, wrote: '*Barbara von Tisenhusen* differs from all previous operas. The libretto by the poet Jaan Kross [...] and the music by Eduard Tubin allow not a single moment of repose, requiring an exceptionally intense tempo, avoiding lengthy preparation of situations and interruption of action by large arias, obligatory in all classical and traditional opera. This results in a strong drama, with a rising line of development without any gaps.'<sup>71</sup>

In 1970 the opera was highly praised by the Russian composer Dmitry Shostakovich during his visit in Tallinn. He said: 'It is in this way that one must write a modern opera'<sup>72</sup>. As a symphonist, Shostakovich was fascinated by the opera's 'continuous symphonic development and the strong logic of its inner dramaturgy.'<sup>73</sup>

On July 15, 1972, during the tour of *Estonia*, the opera was performed in Moscow. The reviewer of the journal *Sovetskaya Muzyka* wrote:

In Tubin's opera, it is not only the subject but also the musical expression that determines the character of the social-psychological drama. The music is based on Wagnerian traditions but one can also clearly perceive the influence of the psychological realism of Russian classical opera. This reveals itself in the clear melodic language, in the role of mass scenes, and in the generic connections with the folklore.<sup>74</sup>

Tubin's opera was especially highly rated by Yuri Fortunatov, Professor at the Moscow Conservatory:

Although the opera's subject has its origin in the remote past, it is connected with many contemporary problems: the opera's leading idea – condemnation of evil and injustice – has persisted throughout time and resonates also in the present. The score of this work creates an epoch in its own right in the development of contemporary music. Despite the complicated musical language, the opera is very melodic and, at the same time, supported by extensive symphonic development.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Merike Vaitmaa, '*Barbara von Tisenhusen*.'

<sup>68</sup> Helga Tõnson, 'Veel kord *Barbara von Tisenhusenist*.' *Noorte Hääl*, 1.02.1970.

<sup>69</sup> Vidrik Kivilo, '*Barbara von Tisenhusen*.' *Õhtuleht*, 6.01.1970.

<sup>70</sup> А. Николаев, 'Искусство разнообразное и многожанровое.' *Советская музыка*, 1971, № 4, p. 12.

<sup>71</sup> 'Teised meist.' *Sirp ja Vasar*, 25.02.1972.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> H. Soo, 'Dmitri Šostakovič Tallinnas.' *Kodumaa*, 9.12.1970.

<sup>74</sup> Д. Дараган, 'Радость открытий.' *Советская музыка*, 1973, № 2, p. 35.

<sup>75</sup> Vilma Paalma, '*Estonia Moskvast*.' *Sirp ja Vasar*, 21.07.1972.

Altogether the opera was performed 57 times in the first production of *Estonia*.

After its production at the *Estonia* theatre, also the Tartu opera house *Vanemuine* (whose conductor had been Tubin, in 1930–1944) also included the opera in its repertoire. The first performance took place on February 14, 1971. The stage director was Ida Urbel, the conductor Erich Kõlar. The main soloists were Lehte Mark (Barbara), Ivo Kuusk (Bonnius) and Teo Maiste or Evald Tordik (Friesner). On the whole, the opera was performed 18 times at the *Vanemuine*.

The opera was produced for the second time at the *Estonia* in the early 1990ies. The first performance took place on June 22, 1990. The stage director was Arne Mikk (who had given the composer the idea for this opera), the conductor Peeter Lilje, the principal soloists were Helvi Raamat (Barbara), Ivo Kuusk (Bonnius), Tarmo Sild (Friesner) etc. In the following year, a CD was issued on the basis of this performance.<sup>76</sup>

During the tour of *Estonia* in 1991, the opera was performed in Tampere (January 24), in Copenhagen (February 26) and in Gothenburg (March 2). On February 17, 1992, it was performed in Stockholm. Håkan Dahl, the reviewer of the newspaper *Göteborgs-Posten*, wrote in 1991 about the opera:

The action develops with a terrible inevitability towards the culmination. There is no possibility to refute its ruthless logic. It is this inevitability that becomes a special form-building factor in Tubin's music. The music is not used to characterise persons. It underlines space and ideas rather than persons.<sup>77</sup>

The opera was produced for the third time at the *Estonia* at the end of 2004. The stage director was Ago-Endrik Kerge, the conductors were Arvo Volmer or Aivo Välja, the principal soloists were Heli Veskus (Barbara), Roland Liiv (Bonnius), Teo Maiste (Friesner) etc.

## VI

Until now, the opera has been produced only in two Estonian theatres. When asked, whether it might be possible to stage *Barbara* at the Stockholm Opera, Tubin answered: 'First of all, there is the question of a qualified translation. I have neither the resources for it, nor knowledge about persons who could do this translation – maybe only Ilmar Laaban?'<sup>78</sup>

Ilmar Laaban<sup>79</sup> agreed to undertake this work: 'I

heard [...] that you are possibly interested in a translation of *Barbara von Tisenhusen* into the Swedish. In principle, I would gladly undertake this work. In the present circumstances, I could start it sometime during November, so that it would be ready for the beginning of the next year [...].'<sup>80</sup> At the end of the same year, the composer wrote: 'Now I am having *Barbara* translated into Swedish, and then I'll try my luck...'<sup>81</sup>

The time of completion of the translation it is not known exactly. According to the existing material, it is obvious that first of all, Ilmar Laaban wrote the Swedish text into his copy of the second version of the piano score, making the necessary adjustments in the vocal parts.<sup>82</sup> On the basis of this piano score, he compiled the Swedish libretto.<sup>83</sup> Then the composer wrote the Swedish text on the same onionskin sheets where previously he had written the first and second versions of the piano score. With some exceptions, he accepted Ilmar Laaban's version. In 1977, the composer wrote: 'Now I am doing a rather dirty job, writing in the Swedish text into *Barbara's* piano score. Since the rhythm of this language is very different from that of Estonian, it is necessary to change notes, to scratch them out and to add new ones. It is a long and tedious work, but I hope that the Swedish version gets launched.'<sup>84</sup> In this third and final version of the piano score, the Estonian text and scenario were partly removed but, for the most part, remained. Nevertheless, this piano score does not contain the full Estonian version of the vocal parts. The piano part remained practically unchanged.<sup>85</sup>

However, the composer had bad luck: According to Tubin, the director of the Stockholm Opera Bertil Bokstedt 'did not have much time'.<sup>86</sup> Obviously, he was not interested in Tubin's work. The composer's son Eino Tubin recalls about his father:

We insisted that he should show the score of *Barbara von Tisenhusen* to the director of the Stockholm Opera. The gifted poet Ilmar Laaban, at father's own expense, had then translated the text into Swedish. But the secretary apologized, the director was out at the appointed time, he had to go somewhere. Father refused to wait and went to the shore of Strömmen next to the opera house to feed the ducks. He never went back to see the director.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Ondine ODE 776-2D (1991).

<sup>77</sup> Karin Saarsen, 'Ed. Tubinale vastukäivad arvustused.' *Eesti Päevaleht*, 27.03.1991.

<sup>78</sup> *Vestlused Eduard Tubinaga*, p. 118.

<sup>79</sup> Ilmar Laaban (1921–2000), Estonian poet, essayist and translator, author of surrealist poems. Studied in the Tallinn Conservatory and in the Faculty of Philosophy of the Tartu University. In 1943 fled to Sweden.

<sup>80</sup> Letter from Ilmar Laaban to Eduard Tubin. Täby, 29.09.1971.

<sup>81</sup> Letter from Eduard Tubin to Arne Mikk. Handen, Nov. (?), 1971 (Eduard Tubin, *Kirjad II*, p. 447).

<sup>82</sup> At present this copy is located in Ilmar Laaban's collection in the Estonian Cultural History Archive (*Eesti Kultuurilooline Arhiiv*) at the Literary Museum (*Kirjandusmuuseum*) in Tartu.

<sup>83</sup> Typewritten copy in the *Gehrmans Musikförlag*, Stockholm.

<sup>84</sup> Letter from Eduard Tubin to Raimund Sepp. Handen, 2. 12. 1977 (Eduard Tubin, *Kirjad II*, p. 544).

<sup>85</sup> At present the third version of the piano score on onionskin sheets is located in the *Gehrmans Musikförlag*, Stockholm.

<sup>86</sup> *Vestlused Eduard Tubinaga*, p. 169.

<sup>87</sup> Eino Tubin, 'Tubin in Sweden,' *Yearbook of the International Eduard Tubin Society III*. Tallinn: International Eduard Tubin

\* \* \*

In the present edition, *Barbara von Tisenhusen* is published both with the Estonian and Swedish texts. The Estonian version of the vocal parts is based on the orchestral score, the Swedish version of the vocal parts is based on the final version of the piano score. More detailed information about the differences between these basic sources and the other sources used is contained in the *Critical Commentary*.



# LIST OF CHARACTERS

**Barbara von Tisenhusen** – *soprano*

His three brothers **Jürgen**, master of Rannu castle – *baritone*

**Reinhold** – *tenor*

**Bartholomeus** – *bass*

**Johann von Tödwen**, master of Rõngu castle – *bass*

His wife **Anna**, Barbara's aunt – *mezzo-soprano*

**Matthias Jeremias Friesner**, Parson of Rannu – *baritone*

**Franz Bonnius**, scribe of Rõngu castle – *tenor*

**Reinhold von Tisenhusen** of Konguta – *bass*

**Egbert von Yksküll**

His father

His mother

**Alleth von Risebitter**

Her father

Her mother

Wedding guests in the Guild Hall

Townpeople on in the streets

**Old caanon** – *bass-baritone*

The **von Tisenhusens**

Two peasant girls and the Boy

Two serfs

**Jester** – *tenor*

Herold

Servants, noblemen, armed men

# CRITICAL COMMENTARY

## ABBREVIATIONS

A	alto
B	bass
S	soprano
T	tenor
ETCW	Eduard Tubin Complete Works
TMM	Etonian Theatre and Music Museum ( <i>Teatri- ja Muusikamuuseum</i> ) in Tallinn
SMB	The State Music Library of Sweden ( <i>Statens Musikbibliotek</i> ) in Stockholm
ECHA	Estonian Cultural History Archive ( <i>Eesti Kultuurilooline Arhiiv</i> ) at Literary Museum ( <i>Kirjandusmuuseum</i> ) in Tartu
GMF	<i>Gehrmans Musikförlag AB</i> in Stockholm

## GUIDE TO CRITICAL COMMENTARY SOURCES

<b>Music:</b>	contains information on manuscripts used in the editorial work.
A, B, C, etc.	Source symbols.
<b>Text:</b>	contains information on the original Estonian and Swedish librettos, as well as the chronicle used by the composer for the postscript.
<b>Description:</b>	gives physical characteristics of sources used in the editorial work.
<b>Source evaluation:</b>	contains information about the relationships among the sources used and evaluations of these materials.

## CRITICAL REMARKS

<b>Music:</b>	shows how the principal sources differ from the ETCW version. Alterations resulting from adherence to current music printing practice as well as minor differences of no musical importance are not listed.
<i>c-d-e</i>	Simultaneous pitches
<i>c-d-e</i>	Successive pitches
$\frac{1}{1}$ , $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ , $\frac{1}{8}$ etc.	Placement of notes, rests, slurs (etc.) in a bar: e.g., $\frac{2}{4}$ = second quarter beat of the bar.

Cautionary accidentals are given mainly in accordance with the main sources.

**Text** and **Scenario** show how the original Estonian and Swedish librettos, as well as other sources, differ from the ETCW version. As a rule, Estonian and Swedish texts are provided with an English translation. In the case of synonymous words or expressions, only the ETCW version is translated into English.

## SOURCES

### Text

#### Principal sources

1. Final version of Original Estonian Libretto (L<sub>2</sub>): Typewritten copy in GMF
2. Original Swedish Libretto (L<sub>s</sub>): Typewritten copy in GMF

#### Secondary sources

1. I version of Original Estonian Libretto (L<sub>1</sub>). Typewritten copy in GMF
2. Balthasar Rüssow, *Liivimaa provintsi kroonika*. Alamsaksa keelest tõlkinud Dagmar ja Hermann Stock. Stockholm: Vaba Eesti, 1967 (LK).

### Music

#### Principal sources

1. Original orchestral score in GMF (A)
2. Original piano score in GMF (B<sub>T</sub>). With the Swedish text written in by the composer.
3. Copy of the original piano score in TMM (C)

#### Secondary sources

1. Copy of the original piano score in ECHA (B<sub>L</sub>). With the Swedish text written in by Ilmar Laaban

## DESCRIPTION

### Text

#### Principal sources

- L<sub>2</sub> Typewritten copy in GMF (Fund 218). Initially entitled (in typescript) *BARBARA VON TISENHUSEN / Ooperilibreto* 'BARBARA VON TISENHUSEN Libretto for an opera'. Then the composer has made the following corrections in black ink: above the title *BARBARA VON TISENHUSEN* has been written *Eduard Tubin*; *Ooperilibreto* has been crossed out and below it has been written: *Ooper 3 vaatuses 9 pildis, / Libretto Aino Kallase novelli järele / Jaan Kross* 'Opera in 3 acts and 9 scenes. Libretto by Jaan Kross after a short story by Aino Kallas.' 59 pages. Contains Jaan Kross's signature and date: *Tallinnas, 10.10 67* 'In Tallinn, 10.10.67' at the end. Typed only on the recto pages. Text typed in verses. Contains some corrections made by Jaan Kross in lead pencil and many markings made by Tubin in red pencil.
- L<sub>s</sub> Typewritten copy in GMF (Fund 218), entitled (in typescript) *EDUARD TUBIN / BARBARA VON TISENHUSEN / Opera i 3 akter 9 scener / Libretto efter en novell av Aino Kallas / JAAN KROSS* 'EDUARD TUBIN, BARBARA VON TISENHUSEN. Opera in 3 acts and 9 scenes. Libretto by Jaan Kross after a short story by Aino Kallas'. Below it has been written in pencil: *svensk översättning Ilmar Laaban* 'Swedish translation by Ilmar Laaban.' 39 pages, including the title page. No date. Text typed in verses. Contains some corrections made by Ilmar Laaban in typescript or in pencil, as well as some corrections made by the composer in black ink.

#### Secondary sources

- L<sub>1</sub> Typewritten copy in GMF (Fund 218), entitled *BARBARA VON TISENHUSEN / Libreto ooperile / kolmes vaatuses proloogiga* 'BARBARA VON TISENHUSEN. Libretto for an opera in three acts with a prologue.' 42 pages. No date. Typed only on the recto pages. Text typed in verses. Contains many markings made by the composer in red pencil.

## Music

### Principal sources

- A** Original orchestral score in GMF (Fund 218). Title: *EDUARD TUBIN, BARBARA VON TISENHUSEN, Ooper 3 vaatuses 9 pildis, Libretto Aino Kallase novelli järele* JAAN KROSS 'Opera in 3 acts and 9 scenes. Libretto by Jaan Kross after a short story by Aino Kallas.' Dated 18.3.68 (Act 1), 30.4.68 (Act 2), Handen, 1.6.1968 (Act 3). Title-page, list of characters, list of instruments and 349 pp. Written on recto pages of onionskin bifolios. Unbound. Text in Estonian.
- B<sub>T</sub>** Original piano score in GMF (Fund 218). Title: *EDUARD TUBIN, BARBARA VON TISENHUSEN, Oopera i 3 akter 9 scener, Libretto efter en novell av Aino Kallas* JAAN KROSS, *Svensk översättning* ILMAR LAABAN. Dated *Handen*, 26.1.1968. Title-page, list of characters and 162 pp. Written on recto pages of onionskin bifolios. Unbound. With the Swedish text written in by the composer. This piano score is on the same onionskin sheets from which previously had been copied **C**.
- C** Copy of the original piano score in Harri Kiisk's music collection in TMM (Fund 483, List 1, Item 165). Title: *EDUARD TUBIN, BARBARA VON TISENHUSEN, Ooper 3 vaatuses 9 pildis. Libretto Aino Kallase novelli järele* JAAN KROSS 'Opera in 3 acts and 9 scenes. Libretto by Jaan Kross after a short story by Aino Kallas.' Dated *Handen*, 26.1.1968. Recto and verso 81 pages numbered 1 to 162. Text in Estonian. Red pasteboard binding. At the title-page there is the composer's dedication: *Harri Kiiskile / Sõbralike tervitustega / E. Tubin / Handen, 14.10.68* 'To Harri Kiisk with friendly greetings. E. Tubin, Handen, 14.10.68,' and a signature of Jaan Kross.

### Secondary sources

- B<sub>L</sub>** Copy of the original piano score in Ilmar Laaban's collection (Fund 352) in ECHA. Initially has been identical with **C** but without title-page and list of characters. Title: *BARBARA VON TISENHUSEN / Eduard Tubin* and the bookplate *EX LIBRIS ILMAR LAABAN* on p. 1. Dated *Handen*, 26.1.1968. Recto and verso 81 pages numbered 1 to 162. Red pasteboard binding. With the Swedish text written in by Ilmar Laaban in pencil. On an empty page after p. 162 there is the translation of the postscript (recto) and some markings made by the composer (verso).

## SOURCE EVALUATION

**C**, **B<sub>L</sub>** and **B<sub>T</sub>** represent the second version of the piano score containing corrections made after the completion of **A**. However, some of the changes in the Estonian version of vocal parts made in **A** are missing in **C**.

**B<sub>L</sub>** and **B<sub>T</sub>** (having the piano part practically identical with that of **C**) are the only sources containing vocal parts adjusted to the Swedish text by Ilmar Laaban, those in **B<sub>T</sub>** accepted by Tubin.

Therefore, **A** is the main source for the Estonian version of vocal parts and for the orchestra part. **B<sub>T</sub>** is the main source for the Swedish version of vocal parts. The readings of Laaban different from those of Tubin will not be commented. All tempo markings and the placement of the text of scenario are in accordance with **A**.

## CRITICAL REMARKS

## Act 1, Scene 1

## Music

Bar	Part	Source: Remark
10–11	Choir	B <sub>T</sub> and C: normal notes instead of $\times$ and $\times$ from bar 10 ( $1/8$ ) to bar 11 ( $9/16$ )
16	S, A	B <sub>T</sub> and C: $\downarrow b^1-e^b2$ instead of $c^b2-e^b2$ at $1/4$ ([Pul]mad / [Bröl]lop)
28	Ob. I, Cor. ing.	A: $\sharp$ missing before the last note; ETCW is based on B <sub>1</sub> and C
34	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C: $(\downarrow) a^1$ instead of $g^b1$ ( $\downarrow \gamma$ ) at $3/4$ ([pei]gu / [ho]nom)
56	Choir	B <sub>T</sub> and C: $\downarrow b^1-d^{\sharp2}$ instead of $c^b2-e^b2$ (S, A) and $b-d^{\sharp1}$ instead of $c^b1-e^b1$ (B, T) at $1/2$ ([lei]gu / [sval]nar)
59	T, B	B <sub>T</sub> and C: $\downarrow a^{\sharp}-c^{\sharp1}$ instead of $c^{\sharp1}-e^{\sharp1}$ at $5/8$ ([lei]gu / [ådror]na)
116	Vle.	A: $\downarrow a-c^b1$ erroneously instead of $c^1-e^b1$ at $2/4$ ; ETCW is based on B <sub>1</sub> and C
135	Vle.	A: $\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow e, f$ and $g^b$ erroneously instead of $f, g$ and $a^b$ at $2/16-4/16$ ; ETCW is based on B <sub>1</sub> and C
137	Choir/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>Allegretto, poco agitato</i> instead of <i>Allegretto (come prima, ma poco agitato)</i> at $1/4$
152–53	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: no metronome marking
168	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>Un poco meno</i> instead of <i>Meno</i> at $1/4$
180	Voice	C: $\downarrow \downarrow g^1-g^1$ instead of $b^b1-b^b1$ at $2/4$ (kleidist). B <sub>T</sub> (Swedish version): repeated $g^1$ ( $\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$ ) instead of $b^b1$ in triplet at $2/4$ (sprida sig). In ETCW, the Swedish version altered in accordance with A.
196	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>Pochissimo meno</i> $\downarrow = 72$ missing
262	Voice	C: $\downarrow \downarrow a^b1-a^b1$ instead of $g^{\sharp1}-g^{\sharp1}$ (rüütel)
308–09	T, B	B <sub>T</sub> and C: B doubles the notes of T an octave lower
359	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: no metronome marking
436	Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>colla parte</i> missing
450	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>poco f</i> instead of <i>mf [dim.]</i> at $2/4$
454	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C: repeated $a^b1$ instead of $g^{\sharp1}$ (mu südame / i en bur stänger de)
469	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>Allegro</i> instead of <i>Poco agitato</i> at $1/4$
473	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>rit.</i> missing
474	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>Allegro molto</i> instead of <i>Allegro</i> at $1/4$
486–87	Choir	B <sub>T</sub> and C: an octave lower from bar 486 ( $15/16$ ) to bar 487 ( $2/16$ )

## Estonian Text

Bar	Source: Remark
10–11	L <sub>2</sub> , A and C: exclamation mark (in L <sub>2</sub> ) or comma (in A and C) after each <i>Pulmad</i> ‘Wedding’; in ETCW exclamation mark after the last <i>Pulmad</i> according to the orthography
35–36	A: no comma after <i>Kandkem siis hoolt</i> ‘Take care’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub> and C
60–61	A and C: no comma after <i>Kandkem siis hoolt</i> ‘Take care’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
85, 90	A and C: no comma after <i>Oh</i> ‘Oh’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
110	A: no punctuation mark after <i>lobisen välja</i> ‘I tell you’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub> and C
114	A: no punctuation mark after <i>Kuu</i> ‘the Moon’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub> and C
117–18	A and C: no punctuation mark after <i>sõjaharjutust</i> ‘war games’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
128–30	A and C: no punctuation mark after <i>mure seal on väikene</i> ‘nothing to worry about’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
175	A and C: no comma after <i>ütle</i> ‘say’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
179	A and C: no comma after <i>Oh</i> ‘Oh’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
193	A and C: no comma after <i>sära</i> ‘glitter’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
202	A: no comma after <i>Ehin</i> ‘I dress’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub> and C
213	A and C: no commas after <i>Tulge</i> ‘Come’ and <i>pastor</i> ‘parson’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
215–17	A and C: no comma after <i>See narrus on sellest tal</i> ‘She is somewhat foolish’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
237	A: period instead of exclamation mark after <i>haarata</i> ‘ask’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub> and C



288–89	A and C: no comma after <i>igalt poolt</i> ‘everywhere’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
318–19	A and C: no comma after <i>Kandkem siis hoolt</i> ‘Take care’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
324–25	A: no comma after <i>Kandkem siis hoolt</i> ‘Take care’; ETCW is based on C
424	A and C: no punctuation mark after <i>noor</i> ‘young’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
431	A and C: <i>Baabeli Hoor</i> instead of <i>Paabeli Hoor</i> ‘the harlot of Babylon’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
433	L <sub>2</sub> , A and C: no punctuation mark after <i>kullast</i> ‘golden’; comma added in ETCW according to the orthography
458	A and C: no comma after <i>Mu süda aimas</i> ‘I thought’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>

### Swedish Text

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Source: Remark</u>
10–11	Ls and B <sub>T</sub> : comma after each <i>Bröllop</i> ‘Wedding’; in ETCW exclamation mark after the last <i>Bröllop</i> by analogy with the Estonian text
15	B <sub>T</sub> : no punctuation mark after <i>mörker</i> ‘darkness’; ETCW is based on Ls
34	B <sub>T</sub> : no punctuation mark after <i>honom</i> ‘him’; ETCW is based on Ls
77	Ls and B <sub>T</sub> : colon (in Ls) or no punctuation mark (in B <sub>T</sub> ) instead of semicolon after <i>är den</i> ‘is it’; ETCW is based on B <sub>L</sub>
81	Ls and B <sub>T</sub> : colon (in Ls) or no punctuation mark (in B <sub>T</sub> ) after <i>är den</i> ‘is it’; semicolon added in ETCW by analogy with bar 77
89	B <sub>T</sub> : period instead of dots after <i>en karl</i> ‘a man’; ETCW is based on Ls
110	Ls and B <sub>T</sub> : no punctuation mark after <i>sladdertaska</i> ‘blabbermouth’; ETCW is based on A
118	Ls and B <sub>T</sub> : no punctuation mark after <i>manöver</i> ‘war games’; ETCW is based on A
119	Ls and B <sub>T</sub> : <i>Det</i> ‘It’ written with a lower case letter; no punctuation mark after <i>ett dygn framöver</i> ‘the next day’; ETCW is based on A
129–30	B <sub>T</sub> : no punctuation mark after <i>tiden fördriva</i> ‘spend our time’; ETCW is based on Ls
133	Ls and B <sub>T</sub> : period (in Ls) or no punctuation mark (in B <sub>T</sub> ) instead of dots after <i>solens skiva</i> ‘sun disc’; ETCW is based on A
175	B <sub>T</sub> : comma instead of period after <i>ungtupps kam</i> ‘young cock’s comb’; ETCW is based on Ls
256	B <sub>T</sub> : no punctuation mark after <i>honom</i> ‘him’; ETCW is based on Ls
337, 351	B <sub>T</sub> : the old form <i>bien</i> instead of <i>bina</i> ‘bees’; in ETCW altered to <i>bina</i>
338	B <sub>T</sub> no punctuation mark after <i>svärma</i> ‘swarm’; ETCW is based on Ls
350	Ls and B <sub>T</sub> : no punctuation mark after <i>bigård</i> ‘apiary’; comma added in ETCW by analogy with bar 336
352	Ls and B <sub>T</sub> : no punctuation mark after <i>svärma</i> ‘swarm’; comma added in ETCW by analogy with bar 338
431	B <sub>T</sub> : no punctuation mark after <i>skökan</i> ‘the harlot’; ETCW is based on Ls

### Act 1, Scene 2

#### Music

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Source: Remark</u>
90	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>Tempo andante</i> ♩ = 66 instead of <i>Andante</i> ♩ = 63 at <sup>2</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
91	Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>colla parte</i> missing
95	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: no metronome marking
119	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> (Swedish version): no rest at 4/4. In ETCW, the rest added according to B <sub>L</sub>
125–145	Fg./Vc./Cb.	A:  instead of  in Fg. I and Cb. in bars 125, 127 and 129, as well as in Fg. II, Vc. and Cb. in bars 137, 139, 141, 143 and 145; in ETCW changed according to the location of ♪ in A
132	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>più mosso</i> at <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
170	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>Andante</i> ♩ = 60 instead of ♩ = 60 at <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
207	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C: speech instead of ♯ ♯ etc. ( <i>Uus lossikirjutaja</i> ). In ETCW, the Swedish version ( <i>Nye skrivare på slottet</i> ) is altered in accordance with A
248	Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>poco mosso</i> ♩ = 69 instead of <i>Subito poco mosso</i> ♩ = 69 at <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
256	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C: ♩. (a <sup>1</sup> ) and ♪ instead of ♩ ♯ at <sup>2</sup> / <sub>2</sub> ([ <i>tei</i> ])
293	Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>colla parte</i> missing
296	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>string</i> at <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>

- 301 Voice B<sub>T</sub> (Swedish version): ♩ (*f*) erroneously (?) instead of ♩ at <sup>8</sup>/<sub>8</sub> (*vid[underlig]*); ETCW is based on B<sub>L</sub>

### Estonian Text

- | Bar    | Source: Remark  |
|--------|---|
| 56     | A and C: no punctuation mark after <i>lugeda</i> ‘to read’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>   |
| 61     | A and C: no punctuation mark after <i>rebe</i> ‘mansion’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>   |
| 86     | A and C: <i>just kui</i> instead of <i>justkui</i> ‘like’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>  |
| 121    | L <sub>2</sub> , A and C: no punctuation mark after <i>ülemuste alla</i> ‘to the higher authorities’; comma added in ETCW according to the orthography                              |
| 123    | A and C: no punctuation mark at the end of speaking; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>  |
| 187    | A and C: no comma after <i>No tere</i> ‘Good day’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>  |
| 204–05 | A and C: no comma after <i>ei maad</i> ‘the land’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>  |
| 237    | L <sub>2</sub> , A and C: no comma after <i>pole vaja</i> ‘unnecessary’; comma added in ETCW according to orthography   |
| 266    | A: no comma after <i>et see</i> ‘that for anyone’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub> and C  |
| 271    | L <sub>2</sub> , A and C: – <i>ka minul viis!</i> – ‘five for me too’ (in L <sub>2</sub> ) or <i>Ka minul viis</i> – (in A and C); comma added in ETCW according to the orthography |
| 310–11 | A and C: no punctuation mark after <i>ainult üht</i> ‘but this’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>  |

### Swedish Text

- | Bar    | Source: Remark   |
|--------|--|
| 35     | B <sub>T</sub> : comma instead of period after <i>gungan</i> ‘the swing’; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>  |
| 70     | B <sub>T</sub> : no dots before <i>helgen</i> ‘the holiday’; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>   |
| 81     | B <sub>T</sub> : <i>God dag</i> instead of <i>Goddag</i> ‘Good day’; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>   |
| 123    | L <sub>s</sub> and B <sub>T</sub> : period (in L <sub>s</sub> ) or no punctuation mark (in B <sub>T</sub> and B <sub>L</sub> ) at the end of speaking; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub> |
| 132    | B <sub>T</sub> : <i>Åter igen</i> instead of <i>Återigen</i> ‘again’; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>  |
| 165    | L <sub>s</sub> and B <sub>T</sub> : period (in L <sub>s</sub> ) or period and dash (in B <sub>T</sub> ) instead of dash after <i>jord</i> ‘earth’; ETCW is based on A                  |
| 264    | L <sub>s</sub> and B <sub>T</sub> : dash instead of period after <i>poäng</i> ‘points’; ETCW is based on A   |
| 281–82 | L <sub>s</sub> and B <sub>T</sub> : no punctuation mark after <i>paradis</i> ‘paradise’; comma added in ETCW according to the orthography  |

### Act 1, Scene 3

#### Music

- | Bar    | Part        | Source: Remark   |
|--------|-------------|--|
| 28     | Voice/Orch. | B <sub>T</sub> and C: ♩ = 63 (♩ = 128) instead of (♩ = 128) at <sup>2</sup> / <sub>2</sub>   |
| 77     | Voice       | B <sub>T</sub> and C: ♩ (in C) or ♩ (in B <sub>T</sub> ) <i>c</i> <sup>#</sup> instead of <i>d</i> <sup>b2</sup> at <sup>2</sup> / <sub>2</sub> ( <i>kõik / både</i> )   |
| 100–02 | Voice       | B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>e</i> <sup>b2</sup> – <i>e</i> <sup>b2</sup> – <i>e</i> <sup>b2</sup> – <i>g</i> <sup>b2</sup> – <i>a</i> <sup>b1</sup> instead of <i>d</i> <sup>#2</sup> – <i>d</i> <sup>#2</sup> – <i>d</i> <sup>#2</sup> – <i>f</i> <sup>#2</sup> – <i>g</i> <sup>#1</sup> ( <i>siin minu süles / jag här omfamnar</i> ) |

### Estonian Text

- | Bar | Source: Remark  |
|-----|---|
| 16  | A and C: no comma after <i>otsaesine</i> ‘forehead’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>  |
| 25  | A and C: <i>natur</i> instead of <i>natuur</i> ‘nature’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>  |
| 42  | A: no comma after <i>öeldakse</i> ‘is it said’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub> and C   |
| 44  | L <sub>2</sub> , A and C: no punctuation mark after <i>tunne</i> ‘feeling’; comma added in ETCW according to the orthography  |
| 52  | L <sub>2</sub> , and C: in L <sub>2</sub> , <i>ärkvelolekut</i> ‘feeling of wakefulness’ crossed out by Tubin and replaced by <i>elutunnetust</i> ‘feeling of life’; in C: <i>elutunnetust</i> instead of <i>ärkvelolekut</i> |
| 73  | A and C: no comma after <i>kõik</i> ‘all’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>  |

- 114 A: no comma after *mis* ‘which’; ETCW is based on L<sub>2</sub> and C  
 127 A and C: no punctuation mark after *keegi* ‘nobody’; ETCW is based on L<sub>2</sub>  
 139 A and C: no punctuation mark after *Mitte keegi* ‘Nobody’; ETCW is based on L<sub>2</sub>

### Swedish Text

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Source: Remark</u>
17	B <sub>T</sub> : no punctuation mark after <i>vilken krans som helst</i> ‘any wreath’; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>
76	L <sub>s</sub> and B <sub>T</sub> : no punctuation mark after <i>sjuder</i> ‘boils’; ETCW is based on A
125–26	L <sub>s</sub> and B <sub>T</sub> : dash (in L <sub>s</sub> ) or no punctuation mark (in B <sub>T</sub> ) after <i>skilja oss åt</i> ‘separate us’; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
134–36	L <sub>s</sub> and B <sub>T</sub> : no punctuation mark after <i>skilja oss åt</i> ‘separate us’; exclamation mark added in ETCW by analogy with bars 125–26
138–39	L <sub>s</sub> and B <sub>T</sub> : no punctuation mark after <i>mäktar</i> ‘can’; comma added in ETCW according to orthography

### Act 2, Scene 4

#### Music

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Source: Remark</u>
26, 27	Choir	C: ♩. ♩. ♩ instead of ♩. ♩. ♩ in triplet at <sup>4</sup> / <sub>4</sub> (B in bar 26; B, T in bar 27) ( <i>känge ja</i> )
115	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: no metronome marking
129–30	Vle.	A: <i>e</i> erroneously instead of <i>f</i> in bar 129 and <i>e</i> <sup>#</sup> erroneously instead of <i>f</i> <sup>#</sup> in bar 130. In ETCW corrected according to B <sub>T</sub>
145	T	B <sub>T</sub> and C: ♩ <i>d</i> <sup>b1</sup> - <i>f</i> <sup>1</sup> instead of <i>c</i> <sup>#1</sup> - <i>f</i> <sup>1</sup> at <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> ( <i>ham[bad] / i</i> )
154	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>ff</i> instead of <i>f</i> at <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
157	Choir	A, B <sub>T</sub> and C: probably erroneously ■ in T and ■ in B
192	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: ♩ = 72–76 instead of ♩ = 72 at <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
195–96	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C (BARBARA): ♩. ♩. ♩ <i>d</i> <sup>b2</sup> - <i>d</i> <sup>b2</sup> - <i>g</i> <sup>b2</sup> (in C) or ♩. ♩. ♩ <i>d</i> <sup>b2</sup> - <i>g</i> <sup>b2</sup> - <i>g</i> <sup>b2</sup> (in B <sub>T</sub> ) instead of <i>c</i> <sup>#2</sup> - <i>c</i> <sup>#2</sup> - <i>f</i> <sup>#2</sup> or <i>c</i> <sup>#2</sup> - <i>f</i> <sup>#2</sup> - <i>f</i> <sup>#2</sup> (in B <sub>T</sub> ), respectively ( <i>Mul on külm / Jag fryser</i> )
202	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>poco allargando e molto espressivo</i> instead of <i>Poco allargando</i> at <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
205	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>string.</i> instead of <i>poco string.</i> at <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
208	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>cresc.</i> at <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
211	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>cresc.</i> at <sup>2</sup> / <sub>2</sub> missing
217	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>subito meno</i> instead of <i>Subito poco meno</i> at <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
270	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>a tempo</i> instead of <i>in tempo</i> at <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
309–10	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C: ■ ♩ ( <i>f</i> <sup>2</sup> )   ■ instead of ■ ♩. ♩. ♩ ■ ( <i>ei! / nej!</i> )
330	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C: ♩ <i>e</i> <sup>#2</sup> instead of <i>f</i> <sup>2</sup> at <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub> ( <i>hä[bi] / al[la]</i> )
341	Vle.	A: <i>c</i> erroneously instead of <i>d</i> <sup>b</sup> as the last note of triplet at <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ; in ETCW changed according to the harmonic context
352	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>colla parte</i> missing

### Estonian Text

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Source: Remark</u>
27	A, and C: no punctuation mark after <i>kuri</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
29	A and C: comma instead of exclamation mark after <i>ka</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
33	A: no punctuation mark after <i>Muri</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub> and C
53	L <sub>2</sub> and A: period (in L <sub>2</sub> ) or dash (in A) instead of exclamation mark after <i>nii</i> ; ETCW is based on C
142, 146	A, and C: no punctuation mark after <i>Muri</i> ; comma added in ETCW according to the orthography
146	A, and C: no punctuation mark after <i>turjas</i> ; comma added in ETCW according to the orthography
184	A, and C: no punctuation mark after <i>sind</i> ; comma added in ETCW according to the orthography
332	A, and C: no comma after <i>tead</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>



## Swedish Text
















<u>Bar</u>	<u>Source: Remark</u>
27	L <sub>s</sub> and B <sub>T</sub> : period (in L <sub>s</sub> ) or no punctuation mark (B <sub>T</sub> ) after <i>bjässe</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
28	B <sub>T</sub> : no punctuation mark after <i>med</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>
93–94	B <sub>T</sub> : no comma after <i>mörka</i> ‘the dark thing’; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>
133	B <sub>T</sub> : no comma after <i>mig</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>
142, 146	B <sub>T</sub> : no comma after <i>i</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>
165	B <sub>T</sub> : dots before <i>jag</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>
210	B <sub>T</sub> : no comma after <i>dig</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>
329–30	B <sub>T</sub> : dots and exclamation mark after <i>för oss alla</i> ‘for all of us’; ETCW is based on A
354	L <sub>s</sub> and B <sub>T</sub> : no comma after <i>timglaset</i> ‘the hourglass’; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>

## Scenario

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Source: Remark</u>
79	A: from <i>Rõdul hüüded</i> ‘voices on the balcony’, to <i>BARBARA vaatab liikumatult õue</i> ‘Barbara looks motionless into the yard’ missing; ETCW is based on B <sub>r</sub>

## Act 2, Scene 5

## Music

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Source: Remark</u>
55	Voice	C:  (repeated <i>b<sub>b</sub></i> ) instead of triplet  at <sup>6</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ( <i>põlguse</i> )
71	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C:  = 80 instead of <i>Poco mosso</i>  = 80 at <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
74	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C:  <i>c<sup>#2</sup>–c<sup>#2</sup></i> instead of <i>d<sup>b2</sup>–d<sup>b2</sup></i> at <sup>2</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ( <i>nõnda / lika[dant]</i> )
86	Cor. I	A: <i>b</i> before the <i>b<sup>1</sup></i> at <sup>4</sup> / <sub>4</sub> instead of that at <sup>4</sup> / <sub>16</sub> ; ETCW is based on B <sub>T</sub> and C
93	Vc.	A:  <i>d<sup>#</sup>–B–G–B–d<sup>#</sup></i> erroneously instead of <i>c<sup>#</sup>–A–F–A–c<sup>#</sup></i> at <sup>5</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ; in ETCW corrected according to the viola part
96	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>calando</i> missing
103	Voice/Orch.	A, B <sub>T</sub> and C:  at <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> . Since  will be repeated in bar 111, in ETCW, this first  is omitted
103	Voice	C:  (repeated <i>b</i> ) instead of  in triplet at <sup>4</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ( <i>pöörand end</i> )
104	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>ff</i> instead of <i>f</i> at <sup>4</sup> / <sub>8</sub> ; <i>mp</i> instead of <i>mf</i> at <sup>10</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
106	Voice	C:  ( <i>c<sup>#1</sup>–c<sup>#1</sup></i> ) instead of  at <sup>4</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ( <i>iial</i> )
107–08	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> (Swedish version):  (repeated <i>c<sup>#1</sup></i> ) instead of triplet  at <sup>6</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ( <i>honom</i> ). Altered in ETCW due to the text correction ( <i>honom på</i> instead of <i>henne på</i> ) in ETCW (see Swedish Text below).

## Estonian Text

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Source: Remark</u>
33	L <sub>2</sub> , A, and C: no punctuation mark after <i>ema</i> ; dots added in ETCW according to the orthography
39	A and C: no comma after <i>õelda</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
43	L <sub>2</sub> , A and C: no punctuation mark after <i>Seadus</i> ‘A law’; ETCW is based on L <sub>1</sub>
70	A: no punctuation mark after <i>kõik</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub> and C
74	A and C: dots instead of question mark after <i>Kuidas</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
83	L <sub>2</sub> , A and C: no punctuation mark after the first <i>selle</i> ; dots added in ETCW according to L <sub>s</sub>
85	A and C: no comma after <i>tõsi</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
98	A and C: no comma after <i>saa</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
100	L <sub>2</sub> , A and C: no punctuation mark after <i>veinikallaja</i> ; comma added in ETCW according to the orthography
102	L <sub>2</sub> ja C <i>looda</i> ‘hope’ instead of <i>oota</i> ‘wait’. ETCW is based on A
104	A and C: no comma after <i>Võib-olla</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
105	A and C: <i>neist</i> instead of <i>neilt</i> . ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub> where initially is typed <i>neist</i> and then altered to <i>neilt</i> (cf. also L <sub>1</sub> : <i>nendelt</i> )





- 109 L<sub>2</sub>, A and C: no punctuation mark after *ka*; comma added in ETCW according to the orthography

### Swedish Text

- | <u>Bar</u> | <u>Source: Remark</u>  |
|------------|--|
| 33         | L <sub>s</sub> and B <sub>T</sub> : no dots before <i>Och</i> ; ETCW is based on B <sub>L</sub>  |
| 37         | B <sub>T</sub> : no comma after <i>Ja</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>  |
| 76         | B <sub>T</sub> : no dots before <i>Det</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>   |
| 98         | B <sub>T</sub> : no comma after <i>efter</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>   |
| 107, 108   | L <sub>s</sub> and B <sub>T</sub> : <i>henne</i> 'her' instead of <i>honom</i> 'him' by mistake (Friesner is speaking about Franz Bonnius) |

### Act 2, Scene 6

#### Music

- | <u>Bar</u> | <u>Part</u> | <u>Source: Remark</u>   |
|------------|-------------|---|
| 61         | Voice       | C:  instead of triplet  at <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ( <i>nähtama</i> ) |
| 63         | Voice       | C:  instead of  at <sup>2</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ( <i>mõõga</i> )           |
| 76         | Voice/Orch. | B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>in tempo</i> and <i>colla parte</i> missing  |
| 218–21     | Voice       | B <sub>T</sub> and C: little notes ( <i>f#–f#</i> ) missing   |

### Estonian Text

- | <u>Bar</u> | <u>Source: Remark</u>  |
|------------|--|
| 54         | L <sub>2</sub> , A and C: no punctuation mark after <i>Meie</i> ; comma added in ETCW according to the orthography         |
| 57         | L <sub>2</sub> , A and C: no punctuation mark after <i>Tisenhusenid</i> ; comma added in ETCW according to the orthography |
| 59         | L <sub>2</sub> , A and C: no punctuation mark after <i>nõuame</i> ; comma added in ETCW according to the orthography       |
| 61         | L <sub>2</sub> , A and C: no punctuation mark after <i>nähtama</i> ; comma added in ETCW according to the orthography      |
| 66         | L <sub>2</sub> , and C: dash (in L <sub>2</sub> ) or no punctuation mark (in C) after <i>Franz</i>                         |

### Swedish Text

- | <u>Bar</u> | <u>Source: Remark</u>   |
|------------|---|
| 66         | L <sub>s</sub> and B <sub>T</sub> : no punctuation mark (in L <sub>s</sub> ) or dash (in B <sub>T</sub> ) instead of dots after <i>Franz</i> ; ETCW is based on A |
| 78–79      | B <sub>T</sub> : <i>Sen då</i> instead of <i>Har du</i> by mistake; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>   |
| 177        | L <sub>s</sub> and B <sub>T</sub> : comma after <i>Tisenhusen</i> ; no comma in ETCW according to orthography   |

### Scenario

- | <u>Bar</u> | <u>Source: Remark</u>   |
|------------|---|
| 69         | A: <i>teeb seda</i> 'Scribe does it' missing; ETCW is based on B <sub>T</sub> and C |

### Act 3, Introduction

#### Estonian Text

- | <u>Bar</u> | <u>Source: Remark</u>  |
|------------|--|
| 10         | L <sub>2</sub> , A and C: no punctuation mark after <i>ära</i> ; comma added in ETCW according to the orthography      |
| 12         | L <sub>2</sub> , A and C: colon instead of comma after <i>jahipeni</i> ; comma in ETCW by analogy with bars 35 and 127 |
| 36         | A and C: no comma after <i>seni</i> ; comma added in ETCW by analogy with bar 13                                       |

## Swedish Text

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Source: Remark</u>
12	Ls and BT: colon after <i>vässat</i> ; comma in ETCW by analogy with bars 35 and 127
37	Br: period after <i>sprattlar</i> ; ETCW is based on A

## Act 3, Scene 7

## Music

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Source: Remark</u>
58	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>in tempo</i> missing
65–66	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>colla parte</i> and <i>in tempo</i> missing
87	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>calando</i> at $\frac{2}{4}$ instead of <i>poco calando</i> at $\frac{1}{4}$
92	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>animato</i> ♩ = 63 at $\frac{2}{4}$ instead of <i>sempre animato</i> ♩ = 63 at $\frac{1}{4}$
93	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C: the alternative version <i>ja sinu</i> at $\frac{2}{4}$ written on a separate stave
98	Voice	C: triplet ♩ ♩ ♩ ( $f^1-f^1$ ) instead of ♩ ♩ at $\frac{3}{4}$ ( <i>[kindra]teras</i> )
110	Voice	C: ♩ ♩ ( $b^1-b^1$ ) ♩ = instead of ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ( <i>linna</i> )
116	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: no metronome marking
186	Voice	C: ♩ ♩ ♩ (repeated $b^1$ ) instead of triplet ♩ ♩ ♩ at $\frac{2}{2}$ ( <i>et teid on</i> )

## Estonian Text

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Source: Remark</u>
61	L <sub>2</sub> and C: <i>on alles tärkvel</i> (in L <sub>2</sub> ) or <i>on alles ärkvel</i> (in C) instead of <i>alles on [t]ärkvel</i>
108	L <sub>2</sub> and A: no punctuation mark after <i>maale</i> ; ETCW is based on C
129	A: no punctuation mark after <i>pibus</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub> and C
186	A: no punctuation mark after <i>jälgedest</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub> and C
193	L <sub>2</sub> , A and C: no punctuation mark after <i>küll</i> ; comma added in ETCW according to the orthography

## Swedish Text

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Source: Remark</u>
61	B <sub>T</sub> : no punctuation mark after <i>hoppet</i> ; ETCW is based on Ls
65	Ls and BT: no comma after <i>häst</i> ; ETCW is based on A
78	B <sub>T</sub> : no comma after <i>mig</i> ; ETCW is based on Ls
108	B <sub>T</sub> : no comma after <i>främmande</i> ; ETCW is based on Ls
108	Ls and BT: no comma after <i>land</i> ; comma in ETCW by analogy with the Estonian text (in B <sub>T</sub> and C)



## Scenario

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Source: Remark</u>
90	L <sub>2</sub> and C: <i>BARBARA suudleb teda</i> ‘BARBARA kisses him’ (in L <sub>2</sub> ) or <i>BARBARA sulgeb ta suu käega</i> ‘Barbara’s hand shuts his mouth’ (in C) instead of <i>BARBARA suleb Bonniuse suu käega</i> ‘Barbara’s hand shuts Bonnius’s mouth’
209	Ls and B <sub>T</sub> : erroneously <i>4 åt andra hållet</i> instead of <i>resten åt andra hållet</i> ; ETCW is based on B <sub>T</sub>

## Act 3, Scene 8

## Music

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Part</u>	<u>Source: Remark</u>
34	Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>colla parte</i> missing
36	Voice	A: erroneously ♩ (g <sup>#</sup> ) instead of ♩ as the second note of triplets ♩ ♩ ♩ at $\frac{2}{4}$ ; and $\frac{3}{4}$ ; ETCW is based on C
78	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C: ♩ ♩ ( $a^1-a^1$ ) instead of ♩ ♩ at $\frac{3}{4}$ ( <i>tahtnud / ingen[ting]</i> )
84	Voice	C: ♩ ♩ ( $b^1-b^1$ ) instead of triplet ♩ ♩ ♩ at $\frac{2}{4}$ ( <i>vennad</i> )

102	Voice	C:  (repeated <i>c</i> ) instead of triplet  at $3/4$ ( <i>siis meie</i> )
104	Voice/Orch.	C: <i>accelerando</i> at $4/16$
107	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: $\text{♩} = 58$ instead of <i>Tempo flessibile</i> $\text{♩} = 58$ at $1/4$
113	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>agitato</i> $\text{♩} = 58$ instead of <i>agitato</i> at $2/2$
127	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: $\text{♩} = 56$ instead of <i>subito</i> $\text{♩} = 56$ at $1/4$
129	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: $\text{♩} = 69$ at $3/4$ instead of <i>agitato</i> $\text{♩} = 69$ at $2/4$
137–8	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>in tempo</i> at $3/4$ of bar 137, and <i>poco pesante</i> $\text{♩} = 58$ at $1/4$ of bar 138 instead of <i>in tempo ma poco pesante</i> $\text{♩} = 69$ at $3/4$ of bar 137
168	Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>colla parte</i> missing
189	Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>colla parte</i> missing
189	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>Tempo I (largo, solenne)</i> $\text{♩} = 46$ instead of <i>Largo, festoso</i> $\text{♩} = 46$ at $3/4$
199–200	Voice	C: initially as in Example 1, then altered to final version

## Example 1



207	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: no metronome marking
237	Picc.	A: octaves (!) $b^1$ - $b^2$ , $a^{\#1}$ - $a^{\#2}$ , $b^1$ - $b^2$ , instead of single notes $b^2$ , $a^{\#2}$ , $b^2$ in triplet at $12/16$ ; in ETCW, the lower notes deleted according to the context

## Estonian Text

Bar	Source: Remark
13	A and C: no comma after <i>nuta</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
15	A: no comma after <i>sellest</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub> , and C
22	A and C: no comma after <i>Oh</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
48	A: no punctuation mark after <i>sisse</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub> and C
132	A: no punctuation mark after <i>lastama</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub> and C
137	L <sub>2</sub> and A: question and exclamation marks (in L <sub>2</sub> ) or exclamation mark (in A) instead of question mark after <i>kõneled</i> ; ETCW is based on C
186	A and C: no comma after <i>väära</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
188	A and C: no comma after <i>teinud</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>
200	A and C: no punctuation mark after <i>häbi</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>


## Swedish Text

Bar	Source: Remark
93	L <sub>s</sub> and B <sub>T</sub> : comma (in L <sub>s</sub> and B <sub>T</sub> ) or no punctuation mark (in L <sub>s</sub> ) after <i>tillåta</i> ; period in ETCW by analogy with the Estonian text
108	B <sub>T</sub> : no punctuation mark after <i>er</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>

## Act 3, Scene 9

In A, the title of Scene 9 is placed before bar 277; in B<sub>T</sub> and C, it is placed before bar 276. In ETCW it is placed before bar 275 owing to the change of texture

## Music

Bar	Part	Source: Remark
304	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C: repeated $d^{\flat 1}$ (triplet  and $\ddot{\text{z}}$ or $\text{♩}$ ) instead of $c^{\# 1}$ at $1/2$ ( <i>hüljanud / övergav oss</i> )
307	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>in tempo</i> missing
334	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C: $\text{♩}$ $a^{\flat 1}$ - $a^{\flat 1}$ (in C) or $\text{♩}$ $a^{\flat 1}$ (in B <sub>T</sub> ) instead of $g^{\# 1}$ or $g^{\# 1}$ - $g^{\# 1}$ at $1/4$ ( <i>näinud / [lycksalig]het</i> )

352–53	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C: repeated $f^{\#1}$ instead of $g^{\flat1}$ ( <i>palveta minu eest, et ma / Bed för mig, fader, så att</i> )
369–70	Voice	B <sub>T</sub> and C: initially normal notes – triplet $\text{♪♪♪}$ (repeated $d^1$ ) at $\frac{4}{4}$ of bar 369 and $\text{♪}$ ( $f^1$ ) at $\frac{1}{4}$ of bar 370 – instead of $\text{♪♪♪}$ and $\text{♪}$ , respectively, then altered to final version
396	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: <i>molto pesante</i> at $\frac{1}{4}$ missing
407	Voice/Orch.	B <sub>T</sub> and C: $\text{♪} = 54$ instead of $\text{♪} = 56$ at $\frac{1}{4}$

### Estonian Text

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Source: Remarks</u>
316	A: no comma after <i>tead</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub> , and C
388	A and C: no comma after <i>ainus</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>2</sub>

### Swedish Text

<u>Bar</u>	<u>Source: Remark</u>
324	B <sub>r</sub> : no comma after <i>dotter</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>
333	B <sub>r</sub> : no comma after <i>lycksalighet</i> ; ETCW is based on L <sub>s</sub>
405	L <sub>s</sub> and B <sub>r</sub> : question mark after <i>oss</i> ; question and exclamation marks in ETCW by analogy with A

\* \* \*

409	L <sub>2</sub> , A: Postscript (– 1571 – etc.) missing
409	LK (p. 206) <i>ja langes ootamatul öösel Jürgen Tisenhuseni lipkonnale</i> , ‘and surprised Juergen Tiesenhausen of Rander’s squadron, [...] during the night’ instead of <i>ja langes ootamatul Jürgen Tisenhuseni lipkonnale</i> , ‘and surprised Juergen Tiesenhausen of Rander’s squadron,’