

**THE CHRONOLOGY OF ISTVAN ANHALT'S OPERA *LA TOURANGELLE*: GENESIS,
PRODUCTION, AND RECEPTION**

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Thesis submitted to the University of Ottawa
in partial Fulfillment of the requirements for the
Master of Arts Degree in Music

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Abstract

Canadian composer Istvan Anhalt (1919-2012) wrote four operas: *La Tourangelle* (1975), *Winthrop* (1986), *Traces (Tikkun)* (1996), and *Millennial Mall* (1999). The overarching thematic structure of these works represents the composer's historical and personal exploration of identity construction and the immigrant experience. This thesis focuses on the first opera in the cycle, *La Tourangelle*, which premiered at the MacMillan Theatre in Toronto in 1975. Specifically, it builds a chronology of the opera's history from a study of previously unpublished primary source documents (mainly folder E,32 from Library and Archives Canada, containing personal correspondences and professional correspondences, with the addition of other folders containing source materials, and libretto manuscripts) dated 1970 to 1975. In addition to revealing budding friendships and professional respect, the documents provide invaluable insights into the various phases of Anhalt's creative process. The thesis chronicles each phase of the process, from both personal and musical points of view, from contract negotiations, monastery visits, lending of resources, humble requests for feedback, recording of multimedia components, and rehearsals, to the premiere and its initial reception. The chronicle reveals Anhalt's non-linear creative process for *La Tourangelle* which involves multiple collaborations and reciprocal influences.

Key words: archival study, genesis, opera, libretto, composer-librettist, Canadian history, music history, Marie de l'Incarnation, Istvan Anhalt, Ursuline nuns, CBC, networks, compositional process

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not be here today without the consistent support of family, friends and colleagues. Thank you for your tireless feedback and patience as I went through this journey with Istvan Anhalt. I do hope that you enjoyed getting to know him as much as I did. This has been an incredibly enjoyable journey with all of you and I am indebted to your kindness and generosity.

Thank you to:

Library and Archives staff for answering my phone calls and emails, assisting with the navigation of acquiring materials in the middle of the Covid-19 Pandemic.

The Canadian Music Centre for granting me the rights to include images from the opera score in this thesis.

Anhalt's children for permitting me to include images of materials from his archive in the thesis.

Sophie Bisson and Robin Elliott for conversing with a stranger and making me feel welcomed and encouraged by established scholars.

Marja Losier, Kelly Gardiner and Nikol Fawcett for your feedback and editing.

Nicolas de Groot for the thought-provoking thesis discussions, knowledge sharing and empathy as we worked side-by-side and from afar on our own thesis projects.

Professor Geneviève Bazinet for your consistent support in my development as a researcher. Your passion and attentiveness continue to inspire me.

Professor Dillon Parmer for helping me develop my voice as a writer and for giving me the freedom to explore Anhalt in a manner fitting my personality.

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I merely say this: that we have produced [in Canada] a musical climate as interesting and vital as, and in some ways distinct from, those found elsewhere, and that it is time both we and the world at large knew more about it...this repertoire—the repertoire made up of the best works of our best composers—deserves a stronger and more central emphasis from all writers on music.¹
-John Beckwith

In its original stylistic dimensions and historical subject matter, *La Tourangelle* is considered a major contribution to the small but significant repertory of musical works that combine a Canadian point of view with artistic modernism.²
-Gordon E. Smith

1. Introduction

This research project answers the call of John Beckwith (b. 1927), the prominent Canadian composer, to give Canadian music “a stronger and more central emphasis from all writers on music.”³ Although there are many who are deserving of such emphasis, one composer arguably stands out: the Hungarian-born, Canadian composer, Istvan Anhalt (1919-2012). Literature on Anhalt’s life and works identifies him to be a multifaceted artist and thinker: he was “Canada’s first major composer of electroacoustic music,”⁴ he was the founder of the

¹ John Beckwith, “About Canadian Music,” in *Music Papers: Articles and Talks by a Canadian Composer* (Ottawa: Golden Dog Press, 1997), 48.

² Gordon E. Smith, “From New France to a “Millennial Mall”: Identity Paradigms in Istvan Anhalt’s Operas,” *American Music* 24, no. 2 (2006): 172–93, <https://doi.org/10.2307/25046012>.

³ Beckwith, “Canadian Music,” 48.

⁴ David Keane, “Electroacoustic Music,” in *Istvan Anhalt: Pathways and Memory*, eds. Robin Elliott and Gordon E. Smith (Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), 134.

Electronic Music Studio at McGill University, and he was a published author, an educator, a deep thinker, even a philosopher, and poet.⁵ Considering his long life and constant output of works, there are many compositions for a researcher to consider. One could turn to the 2005 Juno award-winning orchestral work *The Tents of Abraham* (2004), or the chamber work *Foci* (1969) performed by Mezzo-soprano Phyllis Mailing, or the choral work *Cento* (1967), commissioned by the British Columbia Chamber Singers. I chose *La Tourangelle* (1975).⁶ This opera is significant in Anhalt's catalogue for many reasons: 1) it is the composer's first opera and little is published on its creation phase and premiere; 2) the opera recounts Canadian history, telling the story of the Catholic Ursuline nun Mother Marie of the Incarnation; 3) it is a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) commission; 4) it is the composer's last multimedia work, and 5) the composer doubled as the librettist. The last two reasons became the most important foci of this thesis.

This opera marks the last time Anhalt incorporated electronic music into his compositions and sets the stage for his continued interest in text assembly and creation. Working on *La Tourangelle* provided Anhalt with the opportunity to hone his skills as a librettist. Although he did not consider what he was doing as writing a libretto, one could argue that text assembly is synonymous with libretto writing. Writers adapting stage plays or books for operas are still listed

⁵ Carl Morey, "Words for Music: The Composer as Poet," in *Istvan Anhalt: Pathways and Memory*, eds. Robin Elliott and Gordon E. Smith (Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 312–23.

⁶ István Anhalt, *La Tourangelle: Marie de l'Incarnation, Ursuline of Tours, First Superior of the Ursuline Monastery in New France; A Musical Tableau*. (Toronto: Berandol, 1982).

as librettists. Anhalt is the librettist for *La Tourangelle*, despite not calling himself one. It was not until 1985 when Anhalt wrote *Thisness*, a duo-drama that he took credit for *writing* a libretto.⁷ The significance of a librettist-composer should not be lost on the reader. This unique dual-role of Anhalt makes consideration of the construction of the libretto a key component to understanding the composer's compositional process of writing the opera. (Indeed, Anhalt's work on the text was not cordoned off from the composing process.) Since the construction of the libretto makes up a large portion of the 5-year history of the opera's compositional process, the reciprocity between the creative elements of his researching, writing, composing and producing phases becomes evident.

This archival research study seeks to understand the process of creating the opera and libretto. This is because previous research provided enough information on its compositional genesis to warrant recognition of further questioning. Articles mention that the opera is a commission of the CBC, which causes one to wonder, who was involved, when events occurred, why certain choices were made; scholarship mentions the opera is about Marie de l'Incarnation and written by a librettist who doubles as the composer, causing one to wonder about the process the composer went through as he compiled the original content for the narrative from historical documents; scholarship mentions the use of pre-recorded audio tapes, which makes this researcher wonder how, when or by whom they were created. The information mentioned in past

⁷ Anhalt assembled the libretto for his 1983 opera *Winthrop*, wrote the libretto for his 1985 duo-drama *Thisness*, wrote the libretto for his 1995 opera *Traces (Tikkun)*, and wrote the libretto for his 1999 opera *Millennial Mall (Lady Diotima's Walk)*.

scholarship offers an overview of the opera's general history and forms the starting-off-point from which this thesis emerges.

1.1 Significance and Research Questions

Through the examination of previous scholarship and selected correspondences, manuscripts, reference materials and private journals, this thesis answers five key research questions:

1. What activities influenced the commissioning of the opera and formulation of the libretto?
2. How were the writing and compositional processes connected? Was there reciprocal influence?
3. What was the process of recording the pre-recorded materials which Anhalt produced for the premiere?
4. Who participated in organizing and presenting the production of the premiere, and how involved were they with the event itself?
5. How did Anhalt, his friends and colleagues, and the media react to the premiere performance?

The answers to these questions offer general knowledge of Canadian classical music and musical dramas, adding to the study of Canadian opera, librettist-composers, Canadian music, Canadian composers, and Canadian commissions. By establishing a chronology and history of the opera's genesis, production, and reception based on previously unpublished primary source documents (personal correspondences, professional correspondences, source materials, and libretto manuscripts), the chapters reveal the collaborative efforts of many people, the non-linear creative development of text and music of the opera, and the hopes and expectations held by stakeholders.

Chapter 1 gives an overview of general information regarding the structure of this thesis, literature reviews and methodology. It poses the research questions, rather than answering them.

Chapter 2 is an entirely contextual chapter, including biographies of Anhalt and Marie de l'Incarnation, an outline of the tableau structure of the opera, of the orchestration, of the languages included in the libretto, and an explanation of the opera's historical narrative. **Chapter 3** answers research question 1 through an investigation of the commissioning body of the opera, the commission phase of *La Tourangelle*, choosing a topic and subject, and the contract. The importance of the CBC is considered before moving on to the commission and details of the contract and subject matter. An important conflict in dates is discussed and many other changes to the project's duration, deadline, language, number of performers and fees are brought to light. **Chapter 4** investigates the research and creation of the libretto, relationships with the CBC and the Ursuline nuns, and the creation of multimedia components, answering research questions 2 and 3. This is achieved by discussing the different drafts of the libretto, the source materials, the fidelity to those materials, friendships with correspondents and letters with performers on the topic of the multimedia pre-recorded materials. **Chapter 5** investigates production activities related to the premiere performance of the opera, and the reception of the opera. This includes: a new consultation contract, partitioning of the score, work with the conductor, work with the performers, rehearsal scheduling, hopes for the opera and reviews of the premiere. Consideration of these topics answers research questions 4 and 5. **Chapter 6** concludes the thesis with a discussion of the findings and next steps. Together, the five chapters tell the story of *La Tourangelle*, from the opera's CBC commission in 1970 to its premiere in 1975. Between these dates, Anhalt researched Marie de l'Incarnation (1599-1672), compiled the libretto from historical documents, composed the music, recorded taped sections of the score, built friendships with key stakeholders of the opera, participated in the rehearsal process, edited the score, helped

produce the premiere and participated in the premiere. The breadth of the work undertaken by the composer was significant.

1.2 Review of Literature - Genesis Study

Literature on the compositional genesis of an individual opera is vast. Each guide to an opera, for instance, always begins with the story of its making, and each story is unique because it is tied to the distinctive lives of those involved in the creative process, and the situations in which that process is embedded. Despite such uniqueness, one commonality between the telling of different compositional stories is a reliance on first-person accounts, primary-source documentation, and secondary-source material.⁸ Such resources are the keystone to historical research. The methodological framework for this thesis borrows from four previously completed studies on *Lulu*, *Carmen*, *Pelléas et Mélisande*, and *Louis Riel*. *Lulu* (first premiered as incomplete in 1935 and later performed completed in 1979) is composed by Alban Berg (1885-1935) with text adapted by Berg from the play of the same title by Frank Wedekind. *Carmen* (premiered in 1875) is composed by George Bizet (1838-1875) with the libretto text written by Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy adapted from the novella by the same title by Prosper Mérimée. *Pelléas et Mélisande* (premiered in 1902) is composed by Claude Debussy (1862-1918) with text adapted by Debussy from the play of the same title by Maurice Maeterlinck (1862-1949) *Louis Riel* (premiered in 1967) is composed by Harry Somers (1925-1999) with libretto text by Mavor Moore with ties to the play *Riel* by John Coulter. Within each study,

⁸ In the case of Anhalt research, letter correspondences are the main primary source, whereas articles and books discussing the letters or other aspects of Anhalt's work are secondary.

subject matter and delivery are diverse and include focuses such as sketch studies, reception studies, and chronological historiographic analysis. While all studies set out to accomplish the same goal, i.e. to share the available facts on the opera, each study builds its story from the documentation available and ultimately that guides the final presentation of the information.

Both Patricia Hall and Susan McClary depend on autographed manuscripts for their research on *Lulu* and *Carmen* respectively. Hall uses the sources to piece together the chronology of *Lulu*. In many instances, she establishes the chronology through a study of paper types, as Berg did not date scores. Recognizing which type of paper Berg used during certain periods of his life becomes a critical deciphering tool for the researcher. She then analyzes form and role with the chronological knowledge in hand.⁹ McClary finds herself in a similar situation. It is not always easy to narrate the story of the events surrounding the commissioning and production of Bizet's *Carmen* through analyses of letter correspondences and diaries, because, at certain periods in its history, few documents remain. Whether pages are "thoroughly obliterated,"¹⁰ or merely do not exist because of the close daily contact of the artists, she is led to speculate based on the available documentation. In her case, those documents are mainly "rehearsal logbooks and recollections from participants in the original production."¹¹ These documents are used to piece together the genesis of Bizet's *Carmen*. The examples of Hall and

⁹ Patricia Hall, *A View of Berg's Lulu through the Autograph Sources* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

¹⁰ Susan McClary, *Georges Bizet: Carmen*, in *Cambridge Opera Books* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 19.

¹¹ McClary, *Carmen*, 79.

McClary influence my use of chronology and inspired the method of deduction used to suggest the dating of source materials.

David Alan Grayson's dissertation on Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* is an example of a genesis study. Section two of the dissertation, titled "A Documentary History of the Circumstances Surroundings the Composition of *Pelléas et Mélisande* and of its early Performance and Publication," separates the history of the opera into five chapters—the adaptation of the play, the search for a venue, the playwright and composer conflict, rehearsals and performances and the publishing of the score—thereby covering the entire journey of the opera from page to stage.¹² This breakdown is very useful as a structural framework for this thesis.

Robin Elliott's "The Genesis and First Production of *Louis Riel*" offers another good example of a narrative framework used to tell the story of the creation of an opera. He takes the reader back to the source play *Riel* by John Coulter (1962) by piecing together a background history of the source text and its influences on the librettist's adaptation of *Louis Riel*'s libretto for the operatic stage. Using previously published statements from both playwright and librettist, Elliott can establish a point of tension interesting to the reader: Moore, the opera's librettist, denies the importance of the Coulter play in his libretto, whereas Coulter, the playwright, says one need only look at the two texts to see the similarities. Elliott then describes the Canadian centennial influence, the assembly of the creative team, the cost of the production, the rehearsals,

¹² David Alan Grayson, "The Genesis of Debussy's 'Pelleas et Melisande': A Documentary History of the Opera, a Study of Its Sources, and 'Wagnerian' Aspects of Its Thematic Revisions" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1983), <http://search.proquest.com/docview/303162119/abstract/6D54E20253B84D04PQ/1>.

and feedback from both the public and performers, all to give an account of the genesis of *Louis Riel*. Making use of the media coverage surrounding the opera, Elliott utilizes various published sources to create the narrative genesis history.¹³

Each of these examples showcases methodologies inspiring this thesis. Although all authors rely on chronology to retell history, each work uniquely inspired this thesis. Hall and McClary's use of deduction to establish a chronology of manuscript documents is noticeable in chapter 4 as I seek to date Anhalt libretto drafts. Grayson's structural framework is evidenced in the descriptiveness and division seen in the table of contents. Elliott's style of narrative influenced my storytelling and extended my focus on the libretto. These approaches will be adopted to tell the story of Istvan Anhalt's *La Tourangelle*.

1.3 Review of Literature - Anhalt and *La Tourangelle*

Anhalt scholarship, while not exhaustive, is plentiful for a Canadian composer. A quick online search hits biographies in both *Oxford Music Online-Grove Music* and *The Canadian Encyclopedia*.¹⁴ Publications centring on musical works written by Anhalt—and more precisely *La Tourangelle*—have also received attention. Materials representing the entirety of published scholarship with a subject matter related to Anhalt's first opera are two books, a published proceeding of a 2008 symposium, a dissertation and its derivative article, and multiple stand-

¹³ Robin Elliott, "The Genesis and First Production of Louis Riel," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 87, no. 4 (Fall 2018): 10–21, <https://doi.org/10.3138/utq.87.4.02>.

¹⁴ John Beckwith, "Anhalt, István," Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, 2001, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.00947>.; Elaine Keillor and Barclay McMillan, "István Anhalt," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historica Canada, March 4, 2015, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/istvan-anhalt>.

alone articles.¹⁵ The majority of this scholarship, however, addresses the meaning of the work rather than the documentary history of its creation and production, a lacuna this thesis seeks to fill.

Research to date on *La Tourangelle* does not establish a thorough chronological history. In the case of *La Tourangelle*, there was no need for scholars of the time to consider its history when the man who created the opera could provide commentary. Even Anhalt's thoughts on the opera focus almost exclusively on its meaning while glossing over the compositional process and compositional timelines. Anhalt wrote extensively about his music which he saw as embodying in its complexity the complexity of modern life. Although on a sacred subject, this opera remains consistently in line with a theme about which Anhalt often composed, that of the "contemporary human condition."¹⁶ This opera speaks to any person experiencing an inner struggle, or who is seeking to answer the age-old question, "What is the meaning of life?" While the composer was alive, it was only natural to dig into this question within his music without having to search through historical documentation. Put another way, past research utilized mainly ethnographic

¹⁵ Friedemann Sallis, Robin Elliott, and Kenneth DeLong, eds., *Centre and Periphery, Roots and Exile: Interpreting the Music of István Anhalt, György Kurtág, and Sándor Veress* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2011).; Colleen Renihan, "The Search for the Past: Postmodern Historical Consciousness in the Operas of Istvan Anhalt," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 7, no. 4 (2013): 421–44, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1752196313000370>.; Colleen Renihan, "Sounding the Past: Canadian Opera as Historical Narrative," PhD diss., (University of Toronto, 2012), <https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/handle/1807/31915>.; Robin Elliott and Gordon Ernest Smith, eds., *Istvan Anhalt: Pathways and Memory*, (Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001). A list of articles is included as an appendix in the book.

¹⁶ Robin Elliott, "Neglected Canadian Orchestra Music," *Intersections: Canadian Journal of Music/ Revue Canadienne de Musique* 33, no. 2 (2013): 127.

interviews centring on questions of human identity and the power of memory.

In “An Operatic Triptych in Multiple texts” and “A Continuing Thread? Perhaps,” Anhalt describes the importance of transit to an immigrant-emigrant and the search for deeper meaning in life. Opera, he explains, is a medium to showcase a human’s inner journey: the operas “create context and situation that inform about the mind and the heart as engaged in the ongoing process of coping, making judgments, and decisions based on them, or to reflect a more modest yet no less difficult objective of persisting in the world with as much integrity as possible.”¹⁷ The depiction of the human identity and identity construction is the central focus of Anhalt’s works. Anhalt’s complex subject matter is set to equally intricate and complex music that parallels the complex relationships he sees in the human experience. A colleague once wrote “his music was difficult because that was the way he thought. His thoughts were complex and the only way he could express them was in complex terms.”¹⁸ Anhalt probes complex inner dialogues and meaning in his dramatic works.

Both Gordon E. Smith and Colleen Renihan adopt Anhalt’s view that identifies the complexity of identity construction within *La Tourangelle*, but they differ in their approach: Smith focuses on the parallels between the composer’s life experiences and the protagonist’s experiences, whereas Renihan elaborates on how memory functions in the story in a manner that overlaps past consciousness with present experience. According to Smith, Anhalt “has touched

¹⁷ Istvan Anhalt, “A Continuing Thread? Perhaps,” in *Istvan Anhalt: Pathways and Memory*, eds. Robin Elliott and Gordon Ernest Smith, (Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), 443.

¹⁸ Robin Elliott and Gordon E. Smith, *Music Traditions, Cultures, and Contexts* (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2010). Chapter Two, E-book.

(and continues to touch) Canadian music in ways that have been intimately connected to our changing collective self-understanding.”¹⁹ *La Tourangelle* specifically embodies Anhalt’s internal search for self in the character Marie de l’Incarnation.²⁰ The protagonist’s transit to Canada can be seen as paralleling the composer’s own journey. Both protagonist and composer made cross-Atlantic journeys and it is interesting that 30 years after he immigrated to Canada, the composer found himself, once again, in transit, at the exact time he was writing an opera about Marie’s transatlantic journey. In a 2006 continuation of that idea, Smith traces Anhalt’s migrant journey of self-discovery across all four of his operas: *La Tourangelle*, *Winthrop*, *Traces*, and *Millennial Mall*. The progression of the subject matter parallels Anhalt’s life journey. This merger of Anhalt’s life and professional work represents one life-long “voyage of self-discovery.”²¹

Renihan also recognizes identity as a topic in her research, in the context of audience reception. She focuses on what the audience witnesses and experiences about the journey of identity during the presentation of the opera, and how it encourages a participation in history unique in the performing arts. Renihan sees *La Tourangelle* as an example of the complexity of sounding identity in a historical context. The creation of memory through musical tools allows

¹⁹ Gordon E. Smith, “‘Deep Themes, Not So Hidden’ in the Music of Istvan Anhalt,” *Queen’s Quarterly* 98, no. 1 (Spring, 1991): 99-119.

²⁰ Smith, “Deep Themes,” 99-119.

²¹ Smith, “From New France,” 116. Smith references the voyages of discovery again in a later article. Gordon E. Smith, “Roots and Routes: Travel and Translation in Istvan Anhalt’s Operas,” in *Centre and Periphery, Roots and Exile: Interpreting the Music of István Anhalt, György Kurtág, and Sándor Veress*, eds. Friedemann Sallis, Robin Elliott, and Kenneth DeLong (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012). Kindle.

listeners to experience remembrance alongside Marie yet does not simplify history. Her historical voice is represented in a “complicated, multi-layered, dynamic state.”²² Three of Renihan’s musical examples highlighting the representation of historical experience are: 1) Marie’s inner conflict depicted in Tableau 1, “Panegyric;” 2) Marie’s dream of the New World becoming a reality in Tableau 5, “Mission,” and 3) Marie’s transitional experience between her past and future in the quoted Palestrina music of Tableau 6, “Interlude (Voyage).” She argues that historically-based opera has the ability “to affect significant experiential returns to the past.”²³ The music creates a temporal convergence merging past and present into peaceful coexistence. Through this merging, she advocates for the importance of the postmodern historical narrative presented in opera. She argues that it offers “unique insights into Canada’s past.”²⁴

The themes of transit, identity, and search for self within Anhalt’s work parallel his life and remain the focus of scholarship on *La Tourangelle*. Anhalt divulges his interest in the transitioning identity of Marie. Elliott introduces a life/art parallel between the composer and protagonist. Renihan explores the unique ability of opera to bring the audience into a participatory environment in which music bridges a historical experience, giving the audience an opportunity to feel and witness alongside the historical characters in the opera. With ample research focusing on the meaning and subject matter of the opera, the compositional genesis of

²² Renihan, “Sounding the Past,” 310.

²³ Renihan, 298.

²⁴ Renihan, 9.

the opera is naturally the next area in need of investigation.

This is not to say that research on the genesis of the opera does not exist. Two books, *Eagle Minds* and *Pathways and Memory*, both house historical information on the opera, without focusing on its history.²⁵ *Eagle Minds* is a compendium of selected letters between George Rochberg and Anhalt, edited by Alan Gillmor. The letters cover the span of 44 years (1961 to 2005) and touch upon various topics including that of the opera. Commentary on the opera is dispersed between discussions of other personal and professional matters. In *Eagle Minds*, there are 16 letters that reference the work *La Tourangelle*.²⁶ *Pathways and Memory* contains articles written by Anhalt and others about Anhalt's life and works, and offers the most comprehensive information to date on the genesis of *La Tourangelle*. In *Pathways and Memory*, Chapter 12 - An Operatic Triptych- and 16 - A Continuing Thread- (both discussed above) Anhalt briefly explains the genesis of his *La Tourangelle* and connects it to his first two operas through the tale of an emigrant-immigrant who seeks admittance into a new community. In Chapter 3, Smith recounts anecdotal information on the opera as part of the biographical background of the composer.²⁷ In Chapter 6, Keane touches on the electroacoustic music of the composer, including

²⁵ I do not mention *Centre and Periphery*, *Roots and Exile* as a source for this because its focus is on context and meaning.

²⁶ The dates of the 16 letters are as follows: April 12 1971, June 10 1971, August 7 1972, December 4 1974, July 16 1975, July 22 1975, February 19 1976, February 7, 1982, January 7 1985, June 12 1985, February 9 1988, April 13 1989, June 22 1989, January 27 1990, April 19 1999 and May 22 1999.

²⁷ Gordon E. Smith, "The Kingston Years," in *Istvan Anhalt: Pathways and Memory*, eds. Robin Elliott and Gordon Ernest Smith, (Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 66-69.

La Tourangelle.²⁸ In Chapter 8, Morey touches on the lingual aspects of the composer's work, including *La Tourangelle*.²⁹ I combine information from both books and cross-referenced them with primary sources from Library and Archives Canada to build the chronological history of the opera.

1.4 Covid-19 and Archival Research

Covid-19 changed the expected process for the research. The method of in-person, archival research within the Library and Archives building was no longer an option in the summer and fall of 2020 because of the Covid-19 pandemic. In a pre-Covid world, a researcher had the freedom to peruse an entire fonds and had unfettered access to all public documents. There was ultimately no time limit, and it was a simple process. The researcher sent in a request and when the documents were ready, the researcher was notified and could enter the viewing room at their leisure. The researcher could spend many days browsing large volumes of documents, narrowing down documents of interest. This sort of perusal made it straightforward to pinpoint exact folders containing the most pertinent information for the research. After that crucial step, the researcher decided which files to include, which files to exclude and ultimately which were necessary to the research. In a COVID reality, a researcher's initial request was the only request.

²⁸ David Keane, "Electroacoustic Music," in *Istvan Anhalt: Pathways and Memory*, eds. Robin Elliott and Gordon Ernest Smith, (Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 153-154.

²⁹ Carl Morey, "Words for Music," 318-319.

The only available option to view items during the archival phase of this thesis project was through document scanning. Normally, Anhalt's archives are accessible for public viewing, with only certain items (such as personal letters and his last will and testament) being private. However, the current COVID-19 pandemic which began in the spring of 2020 and is still currently ongoing in the summer of 2021 caused mass shutdowns, which made it difficult to do a full archival study of the opera in the LAC archive in Ottawa. The LAC building, at 395 Wellington where the Anhalt fonds is housed, was closed to the public, with only reproduction services open. However, this too was eventually closed because of government-mandated lockdowns. Reproduction services were shut down completely in December of 2020 and reopened at the end of February 2021. Fortunately, I received 645 pages of scanned archival materials through the LAC reproduction services from two batch requests. The first, I made in August 2020, and received in October of 2020. After receiving the August request in October, I immediately made a second request, which was received in February of 2021. Unfortunately, the physical reopening of the archives in August of 2021 coincided with the completion of this thesis.

Ordering from reproduction services means the researcher asks for specific documents to be scanned by the library. When they are ready, the researcher is prompted to pay by the page to see the PDF or printed copy. Without prior access to the documents, choosing which documents to order is very difficult. It was very unrealistic to request and pay for full scans of all *La Tourangelle* documents with a date range from 1968-1976. This is a massive amount of documents. However, it was not easy to only choose a few folders. To order one folder and not another was a lose-lose situation, and ordering documents blindly is never recommended. But,

with no in-person consultation of documents, it was the only choice. I took a shot in the dark. I chose wisely and received files that aided in answering the research questions of the project.

1.4.1 The István Anhalt Fonds

Anhalt's fonds, housed at the LAC in Ottawa, is among the largest of the music collections in the archive. There are more than 20 meters of archival documentation with paper documents equating to 12 linear meters of shelf space, which is roughly 12,000 pieces of paper. There are published and unpublished materials for viewing. The library has produced a 175-page PDF document called a finding aid, which lays out the contents of the fonds: it outlines the organization of all the items in the archive into specified categories alphabetized for easy use. The primary source documents are separated into 9 sections:

- A) *Personal and Biographical Records,*
- B) *Personal and Professional Correspondence,*
- C) *Teaching and Administration,*
- D) *Musical Works,*
- E) *Files Pertaining to Musical Works,*
- F) *Writings,*
- G) *Other Activities and Interests,*
- H) *Photographs,*
- I) *Sound Recordings.*

Most of the documentation specific to *La Tourangelle* is housed in section D) *Musical Works*.

With a thorough understanding of what is housed in the archives and how they are organized, I was able to determine that there is sufficient material to conduct research on *La Tourangelle*. I gained familiarity with the Anhalt fonds through the work of Helmut Kallman and Rachelle Chiasson-Taylor.³⁰ Knowledge from the chapters written by each of these scholars, as well as biographies on the composer, published letter correspondences in *Eagle Minds* by Gillmor and help from the 175-page finding aid of the LAC fonds (a collection under an individual), allowed me to pinpoint materials of interest in the archives. I realized an archival investigation of primary source documents housed in the Istvan Anhalt Fonds at Libraries and Archives Canada (LAC) could answer my research questions about the genesis, production, and reception of the *La Tourangelle*.

1.4.2 La Tourangelle Archival Materials

Many primary sources connected to the creation of *La Tourangelle* are found in section MUS 164 D1,9-26. The István Anhalt Fonds finding aid page 68-72 has a description of Series D, subseries 1, files 9-26. “The series contains, among other items, research material, sketches, drafts, manuscripts of István Anhalt’s musical works, notes, librettos and sound recordings made

³⁰ Helmut Kallman, “The Istvan Anhalt Fonds at the National Library,” in *Istvan Anhalt: Pathways and Memory*, eds. Robin Elliot and Gordon E. Smith (Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), 342-354.; Rachelle Chiasson-Taylor, “Le fonds Istvan-Anhalt (MUS 164) à Bibliothèque et Archives Canada: auto-construction du compositeur et rôle du lieu dans son oeuvre,” in *Centre and Periphery, Roots and Exile: Interpreting the Music of István Anhalt, György Kurtág, and Sándor Veress*, eds. Friedemann Sallis, Robert Elliott, and Kenneth DeLong (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2011), Kindle.

for the electronic parts of various works.”³¹ Supplementary primary sources about *La Tourangelle* are also found in diaries included in *Personal and Biographical Records* (MUS 164/A,13 – 1974-1983 includes 2 textual records containing Anhalt’s journals of his trips to France), *Files Pertaining to Musical Works* (MUS164 E,32-34 includes 3.5 cm of textual records), *Photographs* (MUS164 H 16 includes rehearsal photographs) and *Sound Recordings* (MUS 164 I 1, 1-3 includes the sound recordings). These files combined, make up the bulk of the *La Tourangelle* documentation that is categorized as such in the fonds.

Information about *La Tourangelle* can also be gleaned from correspondence housed elsewhere in the fonds. It is without a doubt that Anhalt wrote to his many colleagues and friends about his life experiences. Furthermore, it is known that he could be long-winded, regardless of the medium.³² The contents of his letters to friends and colleagues could therefore include developments associated with his compositions. Alan Gillmor’s book containing letters between Anhalt and Rochberg validates this supposition. Letters to Rochberg are not categorized in *Musical Works*, despite containing anecdotal information on *La Tourangelle*. Instead, they are housed in section B) *Personal and Professional Correspondence*. This section of the fonds holds key resources to build the chronological history of the opera. However, the specific content of individual correspondence letters held at the LAC are not outlined in the fonds descriptions,

³¹Stéphane Jean, “The István Anhalt Fonds (MUS 164) Numerical List,” *Music Division*, (Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2004): 67.

³² John Beckwith, “A Character Sketch,” in *Centre and Periphery, Roots and Exile: Interpreting the Music of István Anhalt, György Kurtág, and Sándor Veress*, eds. Friedemann Sallis, Robert Elliott, and Kenneth DeLong (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2011), Kindle.

therefore, making it difficult to find items of interest. Letters are categorized only by the name of the correspondent and the year of correspondence. For example, letters to John Beckwith between the years of 1955-1974 are found in MUS 164 B2, 7 and between the years 1974-1978 are found in MUS 164 B2, 8. The explanation given in the finding aid describing the contents is “Beckwith, John. – 1955-1974. – 2 cm of textual records. Originals and copies.”³³

Correspondences, including Beckwith (MUS 164 B2, 7-8), Rochberg (MUS 164 B2, 131-2), the CBC producer John Roberts (B2, 129), conductor Marius Constant (B2, 37), Mezzo-Soprano Phyllis Mailing (B2, 102), and the publishing company Berandol Music Limited (B2,15) between 1970 and 1975 are of significant interest to the topic *La Tourangelle*. Although the documents are normally available to the public, the Covid-19 pandemic made them more difficult to access and only a small portion of those mentioned above were ordered.

1.4.3 Ordered LAC Materials

The materials ordered from the LAC fonds MUS164 are as follows: file 32 (2 cm) from series E, file 7 (2cm) from series B2 and files 10 (1.5 cm), 12 (1.5 cm) and 13 (1 cm) from Series D1. These total 8 cm of paper documents, totalling 645 pages. Series E, file 32, contains a diverse grouping of letter documents from various people to various people, yet all connected to *La Tourangelle*. These letters quickly became the most important sources to help answer timeline related research questions precisely because they are dated and can thereby be used to establish a clear chronology. File 7 from B2 are letters to and from John Beckwith. These are dated and

³³Stéphane Jean, “The István Anhalt Fonds (MUS 164) Numerical List,” *Music Division*, (Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2004): 23.

used as supplementary materials to support the timeline created from the letters in E,32. Files 10, 12 and 13 held in series D are various libretto drafts, sources, and a workbook, which unfortunately are not always dated. This makes it difficult to organize the information held in these files. The nature of the access to the materials being only virtual and not accessible in person, also lends to an increased difficulty with discernment of dates. Assessing a book in person is much different than seeing scans of a book. One misses the physical qualities of the object which are a helpful determinant in dating. The letter files in E,32 are the main primary resources of this project. All the documents in series D and B and information from the literature review are used as supplementary materials to cross-reference information learned from the letter archive E,32 to create the timeline.

1.4.4 One Hundred Seventeen letters in File E,32

File E,32 contains 117 letters written between October 6th, 1970 and July 31st, 1975 pertaining to the opera *La Tourangelle*.³⁴ There are 7 letters from 1970, 14 letters from 1971, 8 letters from 1972, 28 letters from 1973, 9 letters from 1974 and 51 letters from 1975.³⁵ The letters are all written to Anhalt or written by Anhalt, with the exception of five documents. These five include 4 English-language documents and one French-language letter. The English documents are two invoices dated July 21st, 1975 from Richard Bronskill for copying to the

³⁴ By letters, I mean, sent presumably from one group, person or entity to another. In some cases the documents may have an attachment or extra pages after the initial letter. In these cases the additional pages are considered to be a part of the preceding letter. Invoices are considered letters as they meet the criteria of being sent from one group to another.

³⁵ See Table 1.

CBC, one scheduling letter dated July 8th, 1975 written to Conductor, Marius Constant from CBC Music Producer Richard Coulter regarding rehearsal and performance dates, and one contract dated July 13th, 1975 to Peter Schenkman from the CBC for orchestral services rendered the week of July 17th, 1975. The French letter is a planning letter dated March 21st, 1975 to Coulter from Maurice Werner, the artistic representative of Constant regarding general planning for the opera. The letter folder offers insight into the composer's involvement with the creation and production of the opera. Section "E" in the archive is dedicated to "files pertaining to musical works" and specifically states that the documents contained in the files enable "us to trace the progress of the works through the years."³⁶ This file is 2 cm in width, carrying correspondences dated 1970-1975. The finding aid states that E,32 contains original and copied "correspondence with, among others, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Marie-Emmanuel Chabot, George Whalley, George Maybee, Charles Dupuis, L. Mousseau, T. Sullivan, Maurice Werner, Marius Constant, the Archives des Ursulines de Québec, Harry Freedman and Louis Applebaum." These letters are the main focus of this thesis and although they are not a complete archive of all the documents available on the topic of *La Tourangelle*, as an incomplete data pool, they offer great insight into the progress of the work from 1970-1975.

³⁶Stéphane Jean, "The István Anhalt Fonds (MUS 164) Numerical List," *Music Division*, (Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2004): 98.

Table 1. Segmentation of letters in E,32 by year

Year	Number of Letters
1970	7
1971	14
1972	8
1973	28
1974	9
1975	51
Total	117

1.4.5 Data Collection Method

The archival research upon which this project is based establishes a detailed timeline of the opera's genesis, production, and reception, cross-referencing information from secondary sources and newly examined primary sources. This timeline begins with two key occurrences: Laurier La Pierre gives Anhalt the idea to use Marie de l'Incarnation as a subject matter for a work, and John Roberts of the CBC commissions Anhalt to write a musical work on an unspecified subject. The timeline continues with the opera creation phase. This includes the research and creation of the libretto, the composition of the music, and the recorded multi-media tapes. The recordings are English and French texts, both spoken and sung, which are to be played in tandem with live music in the performance. The timeline ends with the production phase and premiere of the opera in 1975. This includes the preparations for the premiere and public reviews. The timeline is given in Figure 1 and should be referenced on occasion as one reads

through this thesis document.

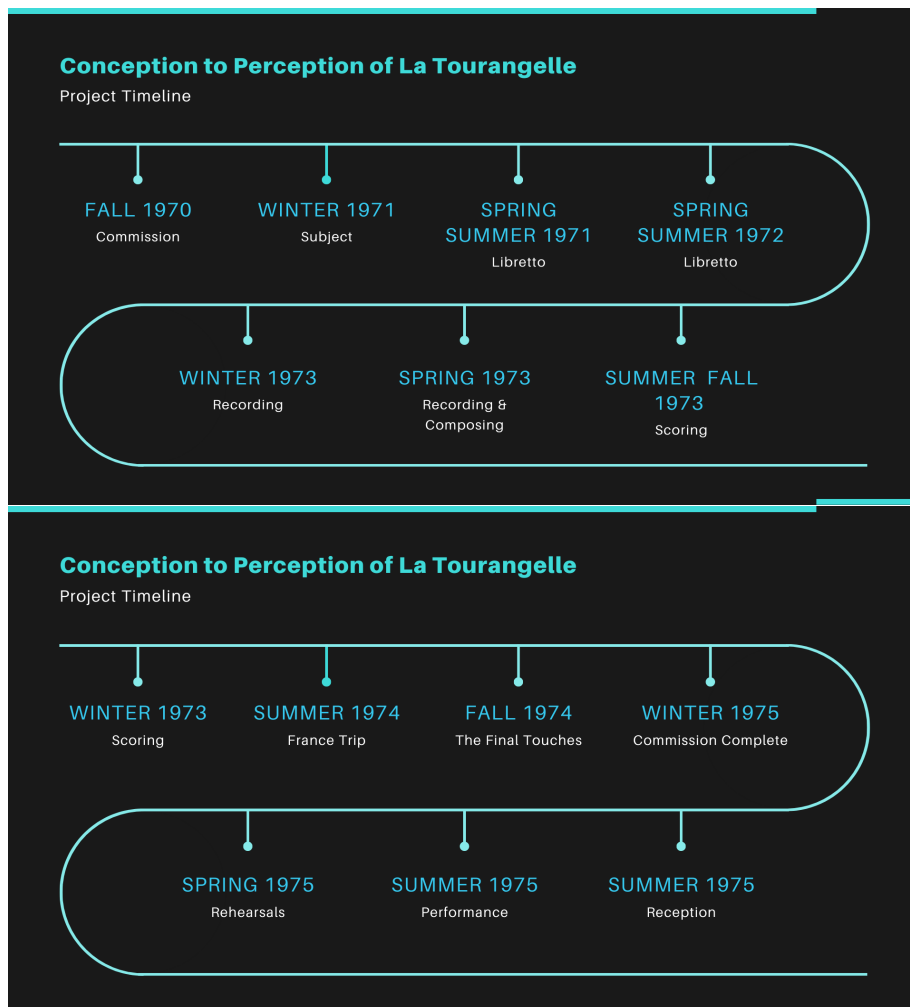


Figure 1. Two line drawing images including a timeline of dates between 1970 and 1975.

To help create the timeline, I catalogued the information in all the letters of E,32 and created a table including segmentation by date, sender, receiver, page number in archive, letter number in file, language, and type of letter. See Appendix A for the table. To facilitate an understanding of what is included in the folder, the tables are in five formats: 1) numerically from the first to last page in the archive; 2) alphabetically by recipient's first name; 3)

alphabetically by sender's first name; 4) chronologically by date; 5) grouped by language of the letter; and 6) grouped by method of writing tool. With this method of data segmentation, it is possible to locate information based on key search criteria and gain a clear impression of the letter folder at a glance. In another spreadsheet, the main themes present in the letters were broken down into five columns, each representing a research question. Each column corresponded to activities associated with the opera creation process: 1) commission, topic and research, 2) libretto and music, 3) electronics and recording, 4) performance, and 5) reception. In these 5 columns, I input either a "yes" or "no", depending on the significance of the information in the letter to the activity. For example, a letter from early on might have a "yes" designation in the column "commission & subject" with "no" in the rest of the 4 columns, followed by the keywords most pertinent to the letter. Some letters have a single purpose which might be "text", "travel", or "finances", while others have multiple keyword topics. For this reason, some letters required further breakdown into sentence fragments. This allowed for the categorization of specific information in each letter in respect to each research question. Using this method, I was able to filter the data and seek out themes according to the research questions, drawing out conclusions based on letter evidence compounded throughout the various years of the operatic project.

Because of the use of scanned documents, I trusted the order of the documents and hoped that any document proceeding a letter would be an original attachment to the letter. There is an occasion when this is not clear: when supplemental documents are included with no indication that they belong to the preceding letter. In this case, documents are categorized as being part of the preceding letter. There are some cases where it is evident that the date of the letter does not

correspond with the correct chronological letter ordering of the archive. The chronology of the letters is viewable in Appendix A.

1.4.6 Transcription and Translation

The *La Tourangelle* letter file folder E,32 includes letters that require transcription and translation. A quick viewing of Appendix A reveals there are many handwritten letters and French-language letters. All the handwritten letters were transcribed. All French-language letters were transcribed and then translated. All transcriptions and translations were done by me, with additional editing done by two French speakers (Professor Geneviève Bazinet and Dominique Mac Conaill). All transcribed letters and translations are available for viewing in Appendix C.

In total there are 39 hand-written pages of documents, 25 of which are in French and 14 in English. In addition to the 25 French hand-written documents are 19 type-written pages of French language documents. This is a total of 44 pages of French text in need of transcription and translation. In the case of pamphlets from the Ursuline Monastery, translation was not needed when there was an equivalent English pamphlet. All the above-mentioned documents are provided for viewing in an original language transcription. When a translation is necessary, the translation is viewable side by side, with the original French transcription. There is a hope that these translations will help future researchers. Each transcription tries to adhere to the original formatting and use of punctuation. The breakdown of the number of letters requiring transcription and/or translation is shown in Table 2.

The process of transcribing and translating is as follows: the first transcription of the letters is a rough transcribing of the text without thought of spelling, or correct words.

Handwritten letters can often be difficult to decipher on first look in any language and so this first pass was an opportunity to gauge the topic of the letter and quickly build the format of the letter into an A4 page with 1 or 2 columns. The next step was to return to each letter, reread the letter in combination with looking at the transcriptions for errors, and adjust the text. The translations are meant to be literal and not poetic representations of the French text. Final editing was done with the help of Professor Bazinet of the University of Ottawa.

Table 2. Breakdown of Documents Requiring Transcription and Translation

	French Handwritten Pages	French Typed Pages	English Handwritten Pages	Total Pages
Transcription	25	19	14	58
Translation	25	19	0	44
Translation and/or Transcription	25	19	14	58

2. Istvan Anhalt, Marie de l'Incarnation, and an Overview of *La Tourangelle*

Before delving into known facts about the opera (which one can learn from reading the notes Anhalt provides in musical score *La Tourangelle*), this chapter introduces the reader to Anhalt and to Marie of the Incarnation, the real-life protagonist of the opera. The chapter includes brief biographies, outlines the tableau structure of the opera, and explains the orchestration and use of vocalists, languages, lack of staging and electronics.

2.1 Istvan Anhalt

2.1.1 Before World War II 1919 - 1942

Anhalt was born in a turbulent political time, on April 12th 1919, in Budapest, Hungary. Despite the turbulence, there was an appreciation for music throughout the entire family. On the maternal, Jewish side of the family, his mother was familiar with opera and even had a piano at her flat. On the paternal, Catholic side of the family, his father was a self-taught violin player with a good ear and love for music. Anhalt took piano lessons from the age of 6-12 but stopped because of lack of money and interest. At the age of 16 (1935), he began private harmony lessons after being inspired by his school friend, László Gyopár (1918-1944). During his graduation year from secondary school (1936-1937), he audited Zoltán Kodály (1882-1967) classes and applied to the Franz Liszt Academy of Music. He passed the entrance exam and became a pupil of Kodály in the fall of 1937 until 1940 when Kodály retired from his teaching position. Anhalt spent his last year at the academy studying

with Albert Siklős. He received his diploma on June 14th, 1941, with first-class marks in all subjects. He decided to study for an additional year and a half, but his studies were abruptly stopped when he received a letter of conscription to the Hungarian Labour Service Duty on December 1st, 1942.

2.1.2 The War Years 1943 - 1946

Anhalt tried to abandon labour service multiple times before eventually fleeing to the Salesian Monastery of the order of St John Bosco where he received the help he needed to go into hiding until the end of the war. Pater Janos Antal, the superior of the order, set Istvan up with a fake identity as a Salesian priest as well as offering accommodation until he was ready to move on. Anhalt found a home in Budapest, through the sympathy of the de Kerpely family (the parents of a former girlfriend). He lived in their household until the end of the war. The experience in that haven is outlined in the fiction novel *A Crown for Ashes*, and in the autobiography *Of Love and Wars* by Theresa de Kerpely (1898-1993).³⁷ At the end of the war in 1945, Anhalt returned to his family home to live with his grandmother. Anhalt knew that his future was no longer in Hungary, but he lacked the means to leave; he had no money, passport, or connections outside of Hungary. When an opportunity finally arose, he took it, and on January 22nd, 1946 he left Budapest on a train, posing as a staff

³⁷ In the book, *A Crown for Ashes*, András, a young music student, is sent to a labour camp, escapes and finds refuge in the house of an old music teacher in Budapest. It is obvious that the character takes much inspiration from Anhalt. See Theresa de Kerpely, *A Crown for Ashes* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1952); and Theresa de Kerpely, *Of Love and Wars* (New York: Stein and Day, 1984).

member accompanying orphaned children to Vienna. He was then taken by truck to a U.S. occupied part of Germany and settled into a refugee camp. After giving a piano recital, he connected with a French officer who drove him out of Germany and gave him a train ticket to Paris.

2.1.3 From Paris to Canada 1946 - 1949

When Anhalt landed in Paris he quickly began composition lessons with Nadia Boulanger. He worked with her for three years (for free) meanwhile taking piano lessons from Soulima Stravinski, and orchestral conducting from Louis Fourestier.³⁸ In 1948, he received the Lady Davis Fellowship to emigrate to Canada. By the end of the year, he had a Visa, and on January 23rd 1949 he began a new chapter in his life, having landed in Halifax via the ship *Scythia*.

2.1.4 In Canada 1949 - 1971

Canada supported the immigration of 165, 000 refugees and displaced peoples, as a post-war emergency measure after World War I. In total, Pier 21 in Halifax processed one million people between 1928-1971.³⁹ In 1949, at the age of 29, Anhalt was processed through Pier 21 and travelled by train to Montreal where he began a Fellowship at McGill University. He remembered his first days in Montreal well, stating that he “immediately felt very good here...

³⁸ Stéphane Jean, “István Anhalt Fonds (MUS 164) Numerical List,” *Music Division*, (Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2004): 12.

³⁹ Steve Schwinghamer, “Historic Pier 1,” Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, 2021, <https://pier21.ca/research/pier21/historic-pier-21>.

there was no flag, no national anthem that everybody could sing... people made fun of nationalism in those days.”⁴⁰ During his Fellowship years at McGill, he taught a weekly one-hour composition class. He found extra income in teaching piano and sought artistic expression in self-produced concerts at Moyse Hall. He also joined the League of Composers in the 1950s. When the head of the department at McGill stepped down in 1955, the music department at McGill began reorganization and Anhalt received the position of assistant professor. It was around this time when Anhalt was becoming well-known for his twelve-tone technique that his interest in electronic music began. He found out that Ottawa had its own electronic music lab funded by the National Research Council (NRC) and run by Hugh Le Cain. He visited the lab in 1958 in preparation for a visit later that summer to Pierre Schaeffer’s lab in Paris and Karlheinz Stockhausen’s lab in Cologne. One year after his initial visit to Ottawa, he became the “visiting Scientist” of the Ottawa NRC Elmus Lab, with a small salary and full access to the Lab. With the premiere of *Symphony* on November 5th, 1959, Anhalt fully established himself as a composer of the times. He became a full professor in the year 1967, but, despite good results and productive years in Montreal, he began seriously seeking positions outside Quebec and found one in Kingston, Ontario in 1971. Leaving Montreal was no easy feat after 22 years setting down roots. He met his wife and had his children in Montreal and had many friends and colleagues, but he was eager to leave Montreal, as there was growing political tension which reminded him all too

⁴⁰ Elliott and Smith, *Istvan Anhalt*, 34.

well of Budapest and the War.⁴¹ He moved to Kingston to begin a new chapter of his life as head of the music department in Queen's University. After putting so many years between him and the war, Anhalt would finally find "inner peace and productive tranquility in the small city of Kingston."⁴² He spent his first years in Kingston finishing the work. Kingston is where Anhalt lived the rest of his days. He passed away in 2012 just shy of his 93rd birthday.

2.2 Marie de l'Incarnation

La Tourangelle explores some of the roots of French-Canadian history through the story of the Catholic Mystic and Founder of the Ursuline Monastery, Marie de l'Incarnation, the seventeenth-century Ursuline nun who was a pioneer of early Canada. The biography of Marie de l'Incarnation, born Marie Guyard or Guyart (1599-1672), is complex. She is a woman "radically transgressing [the] traditional gender roles" of her time, choosing her walk with God, yet finding it necessary to plead with the male religious advisors to allow it.⁴³ The tale is inspiring, yet troubling, touching, yet painful. Born in Tours, France, in 1599, Marie had her first spiritual vision at 7 years of age. Despite her desire to lead a holy life, her parents urged her to marry, and, out of familial obligation, she did as she was told. She had a child with her husband, but her husband died soon after, leaving her a widowed, single mother. She brought her son up

⁴¹ Anhalt to Rochberg, 12 April 1971, in *Eagle Minds: Selected Correspondence of Istvan Anhalt and George Rochberg, 1961-2005*, ed Alan M. Gillmor (Waterloo, CA: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), 89.

⁴² Elliott and Smith, *Istvan Anhalt*, 66.

⁴³ Patricia Smart, *Writing herself into being: Quebec women's autobiographical writings from Marie de l'Incarnation to Nelly Arcan*, (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017): 25.

for 10 years while continuing to run the family business but eventually decided it was time to follow her calling to become a nun. She gave up her son to join the Ursuline convent where she was named Marie de l'Incarnation. Her spiritual visions continued, and God compelled her to go to Canada. She left France in 1639, by boat, full of hope, to bring Christianity to the New World. In Quebec, the nuns instructed young native and French girls and taught all who came to them, offering warm meals with their Christian teachings. After the physical "abandonment of her son" (described in the opera tableau section "Isaac"), she was never fully able to sever ties with her child.⁴⁴ The two reconciled their relationship through the exchange of thousands of hand-written letters. Her son, Dom Claude Martin (1619-1696), became a Benedictine monk, and it is he we have to thank for the seminal biography on the life of Marie Guyard. Their correspondence over the years were made available through him, despite her consistent requests to destroy it and throw it in the fire.⁴⁵

On December 30th, 1650 when the convent burned to the ground, Marie experienced great compassion from those around her. People offered her and the other nuns towels, food and clothing. Even the very poor offered the nuns charity, thus reflecting positively on the nuns' position in society. Although Marie's life is steeped in the topics of religion, colonialism, and gender and sexuality, this paper is not. The paper's focus is on the genesis and production of the opera rather than on the content and meaning of the opera. For this reason femininity and

⁴⁴ It is recommended to watch the documentary film "Madwoman" through the Canadian Film Board to learn more about Marie.

⁴⁵ This text is used in the opera. One can see it in the score on page 21. It is a translation of a portion of a letter dated Sept 27th, 1654, written by Marie to her son, telling him to throw her correspondence into the fire if he falls ill and there is a possibility they will be seen by others.

religion are not key discussion points. In addition to this the opera itself does not touch upon her life *in* Canada, but rather focuses on her choice to follow a spiritual calling. I will go no further into the history of her religious work, the femininity in which she conducted her work, or the colonial context of her mission in Canada.⁴⁶

2.3 The Opera - La Tourangelle

Istvan Anhalt wrote *La Tourangelle* between 1970 and 1975. He chose the female, Canadian pioneer, Marie de l'Incarnation as the subject of the opera. When he received the commission (1970), his family was living in Montreal, and, by its completion in 1975, he was settled in Kingston, away from the quiet revolution which had been brewing in Quebec. Around the time Anhalt moved to Kingston, the government of Quebec passed Bill 63, forcing schoolchildren to learn French in the schools, and the Front de liberation du Québec were coordinating bombs throughout Montreal and kidnapping government officials. Anhalt was uncomfortable with the situation and the parallels to Hungary during WWII. Anhalt's family moved to Kingston, Ontario and he began his new job there in 1971.

As Anhalt settled into his new home in Kingston and into his new job (as head of the Music Department at Queen's University) he wove together an opera that brought the past into the present. Combining French and English source materials with Anhalt's musical ability to invoke memory, the opera tells the historical tale of a female pioneer from Canada's past, a Catholic nun on a spiritual and physical journey: spiritually she develops both her relationship

⁴⁶ For more on Marie's life and spirituality read Patricia Smart, *Writing herself into being: Quebec women's autobiographical writings from Marie de l'Incarnation to Nelly Arcan*, (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017): 46-79.

with God and her own self-identity, and physically she travels from Tours, France, across the Atlantic Ocean, to New France, what is now called Canada. This journey is portrayed in seven tableaux, supported by a chamber orchestra and a cast of three sopranos, a tenor, a bass, and many pre-recorded voices.

On July 17th 1975, *La Tourangelle* premiered in concert with Mary Morrison and Roxolana Roslak, sopranos, Phyllis Mailing, mezzo-soprano, Albert Greer, tenor, Gary Relyea, baritone, and Marius Constant, conductor, at the MacMillan Theatre, Faculty of Music, University of Toronto. There was a chamber orchestra and the recorded material was coordinated in the premiere by Anhalt himself.

2.3.1 An Examination of the Score

This section explores what can be learned about the opera from the published score. An examination of the score reveals that the majority of facts scholars share about the opera are drawn from the score itself. The front matter of the opera score offers key facts on the makeup of the opera, production team, and tableau structure. The front matter states that the opera is a CBC commission, that it is dedicated to Father Janos Antal, and that it was published through the support of the Canada Council. The seven tableaux are outlined in a 2-page synopsis. A diagram of the stage set up, and a list of the musicians needed to produce the work familiarize the reader with the tools necessary to perform the opera. The information from the musical score was synthesized through a segmentation of the vocal lines in each tableau. This segmentation is included in Appendix B. This table segments the text throughout the opera, by page and vocal

line. Appendix B can be used to cross-reference the opera text with sources, to gain familiarity with the narrative of each tableau, or to assess the layout of roles and language in the opera. I condensed Appendix B into a table that outlines main descriptors of each tableau. Table 3 charts the seven tableaux. The table includes: the title, the synopsis, the use of vocal parts, the language and the page numbers. An investigation of the score through the front matter and segmentation of libretto reveals the tableau structure and narrative of the opera, the orchestration of the work, the use of electronics, use of three languages and the concert style staging.

The Tableaus and The Narrative

The opera is split into seven distinct, roughly chronological segments, which Anhalt called *tableaus*, each of which is separated by pauses in the musical setting. These seven tableaux are stand-alone scenes, representing significant moments in Marie's life. Each scene is presented in a logical order, leading to Marie's arrival, by boat, in the New World: tableau one, "Panegyric," which is a public speech or published text in praise of someone, is an overview of the story of Marie, heard through multiple voices. It educates the listener on her birth and marriage, her son and her walk with God; tableau two, "Disciple," is an account of her difficult spiritual apprenticeship; tableau three, "Communion," recollects Marie's relationship with God and spiritual visions; tableau four, "Isaac," depicts the story of Marie abandoning her son; tableau five, "Mission," shares some of the circumstances which influenced and guided Marie's voyage to Canada; tableau six, "Voyage," invokes the mood of her voyage across the Atlantic; and tableau seven, "Destination," describes the ship's arrival in Canada. Anhalt includes a synopsis of each tableau in the published score. These descriptions are based on the libretto text

of each scene with the knowledge of those synopsis. While early libretto sketches show there was thought around depicting Marie's life in Canada, the final version of the work does not include events after the initial experience of arrival. Anhalt gathered what is believed to be factual historical information, intricately threading together quoted and paraphrased texts to represent important events, conversations, thoughts, and memories from her life.

Orchestration

This opera is written for a soprano trio (Soprano, Soprano, Mezzo-Soprano) Tenor, Bass, chamber orchestra and electronics. The Soprano Trio sings in each tableau, always representing the character of Marie. The Tenor and Bass join at the end of the opera, as travel companions, singing in only the last two tableaux (*Agnus Dei* and *Te Deum*). All other voices and characters are covered through pre-recorded materials on Tapes 1, 2, and 3 and Recordings 1 and 2. The instruments making up the chamber orchestra are single seated. These include Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon, Trumpet, Horn Tuba, Violin, Viola, Cello, Double Bass, Percussion, Piano, Celeste, Harp, Ondes Martenot and Hammond Organ. The electronics are run by 4 operators of the pre-recorded material, with a fifth sitting in the audience mixing everything. See Figure 2 for a visual. All musicians, vocalists, and operators follow the conductor.

Electronics and Language

La Tourangelle uses amplification devices for pre-recorded vocal lines and minimal electronics. The budding use of electronics in contemporary music during the 1960s and 1970s influenced its use in *La Tourangelle*. One can see from Figure 2 that there are 13 speakers in the stage set up. Eleven set up facing the audience and two set up facing the conductor. Three of the speakers

facing the audience are connected to orchestral instruments and are not included in the mixing with the other amplified voices. Six of the speakers facing the audience are connected to the pre-recorded materials and two are amplifying the live singing of the Sopranos, Tenor and Bass. The two speakers facing the conductor are mixes of the pre-recorded materials.

Table 3. Seven Tableaus

Tableau	Title	Synopsis	Voice Line	Language	Page
1	Panegyric	An overview of the story of Marie; a montage of her life	Tape 1, 2 Soprano 1, 2, 3	French English	1-39
2	Discipline/ Disciple	An overview of Marie's values and beliefs regarding spiritual discipleship	Tape 1, 2 Rec 1, 2 Soprano 1, 2, 3	French English	40-76
3	Communion	Marie tells the story of her visions of God	Tape 2 Rec 1, 2 Soprano 1, 2, 3	French English	77-108
4	Isaac	The abandonment of Marie's son Isaac and the response of the people.	Tape 1, 2 Soprano 1, 2, 3	French English	109-173
5	Mission	Describes events influencing Marie's trip to Canada and departure	Tape 1, 2 Soprano 1, 2, 3	English French	174-207
6	Voyage	Utilizes a Latin text "Agnus Dei" to depict the mood of the passengers on their voyage to Canada	Soprano 1, 2, 3 Tenor Bass	Latin	208-212
7	Destination	It is the arrival in New France	Tape 1, 2, 3 Rec 1, 2 Soprano 1, 2, 3 Tenor Bass	French English Latin	213-256

The opera uses three languages: English and French in all tableaux except number six, and Latin in tableau six and seven (in the form of liturgical texts *Agnus Dei* and *Te Deum*).⁴⁷ All the tableaux, except number six, disperse the English and French texts among the pre-recorded tapes and recordings. Only one small section in Latin is pre-recorded in tableau seven. The three sopranos sing live almost exclusively in French. When they are not singing in French, they are singing in a language that Marie would have also sung in, Latin. In both tableau six and seven the three sopranos sing the Latin *Agnus Dei* and *Te Deum*. Additionally, a section in tableau seven has the sopranos reciting the names of others who took the transatlantic journey.⁴⁸ The Tenor and Bass sing live only in Latin, and only in tableaux six and seven. When they are heard in English, it is pre-recorded material designated to Recording 1 and 2. In Tableau one, Tapes 1 and 2 are responsible for English and French texts. Recordings 1 and 2 are not used. In Tableau two, Tapes 1 and 2, and Recordings 1 and 2 are responsible for English texts only. All the French language heard in this Tableau is uttered live from the three sopranos. In Tableau three, Tape 1 is responsible for an electronic crashing sound, Tape 2 is responsible for English texts and Recording 2 is responsible for English texts. Recording 1 is unused. In Tableau four, Tape 1 is responsible for English, French and laughing, Tape 2 is responsible for English and French texts, and Recording 1 and 2 are responsible for English text. In Tableau five, Tape 1 is responsible for

⁴⁷ See Table 4.

⁴⁸ The names of these nuns recited in the opera are Mère Marie Guenet de Saint-Ignace, Madeleine de Chauvigny de la Peltrie, Mère Marie de Savonnières de Saint-Joseph, Mère Marie Cecile de Saint-Croix, Mère Anne le Countre de Saint-Bernard, Mère Forestier de Saint-Bonaventure, Mère Marie Guyart de l'Incarnation.

English and French texts, Tape 2 is responsible for English texts and Recordings 1 and 2 are unused. In Tableau 6, no pre-recorded materials are used. Each soloist sings the Agnus Dei based on the “Missa Ad fugam” by Palestrina. In Tableau seven, Tape 1 is responsible for Latin and French text and Tape 2 is a direct copy played one minute after. Recording 1 and 2 are responsible for Tenor and Bass English texts and a new Tape 3 is introduced to present additional French text.

Table 4. Language distribution across tableaus and vocal parts

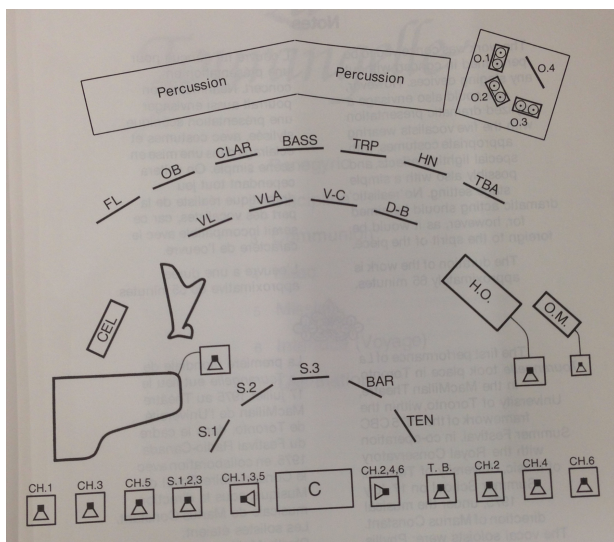
Tableau	Tape 1	Tape 2	Tape 3	Rec 1	Rec 2	Sopranos	Tenor & Bass
1	English French	English French	-	-	-	French Latin	-
2	English	English	-	English	English	French	-
3	Electronics	English	-	-	English	French	-
4	English French	English French	-	English	English	French	-
5	English French	English	-	-	-	French	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	Latin	Latin
7	French Latin	French Latin	French	English	English	Latin	Latin

No Staging, Set or Costumes

Operas are generally staged with costumes, but this opera is a radio opera, meant to be imagined through the music alone. Although Anhalt considers the use of minimal costuming acceptable, this opera was unstaged at its premiere. Operas performed in this manner are called

“concert operas.” However, such a thing as a “radio opera” does exist. It can be categorized as either or neither. It is a dramatic work which can be performed with or without staging. The layout shown in Figure 2 is taken from the orchestral score as dictated by the composer. The five vocalists sit closest to the conductor in front of the orchestra and tape operators. The three sopranos represent Marie. The tenor, bass and other voices through the tape materials represent all other possible characters, including the inner thoughts and memories of Marie. Anhalt stated, because his four operas received their premieres on CBC radio, their nature was influenced in that the works were expressed in sound alone, with the visual component left to the listener's imagination. He “came to call these four works *mind-operas*.”⁴⁹

Figure 2. Line drawing of performance stage setup. Anhalt, *La Tourangelle*. István Anhalt, *La Tourangelle: Marie de l'Incarnation, Ursuline of Tours, First Superior of the Ursuline Monastery in New France; a musical tableau*. (Toronto: Berandol, 1982).



⁴⁹ Istvan Anhalt, “Of the Centre, Periphery; Exile, Liberation; Home and the Self,” in *Centre and Periphery, Roots and Exile: Interpreting the Music of István Anhalt, György Kurtág, and Sándor Veress*, eds. Friedemann Sallis, Robin Elliott, and Kenneth DeLong (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012). Kindle.

3. CBC Commissioning, Searching for a Subject, and Negotiating the Contract for *La Tourangelle*

Chapter 3 investigates the history of CBC commissions, the significance of Roberts commissioning of *La Tourangelle*, conflicts in historical knowledge of the commission, and the contract. This includes an overview of many changes to the project's duration, deadline, language use, number of performers, and cost throughout a five-year period.

3.1 CBC Commissions

Broadcasting music made by Canadians was an interest early on in CBC history, when it was still the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC).⁵⁰ One of the first tasks completed by E. Austin Weir in the first year of the Commission (1932) was to plan an alternating broadcast series with the Montreal and Toronto Symphonies and “a series of band concerts from several cities.”⁵¹ When the CBC replaced the CRBC in November 1936 and continued to establish a national radio network for Canadian listeners and creators of music, its emphasis was on performers rather than composers of music.⁵² From 1936 to 1940, the CBC had

⁵⁰ Austin Weir, *The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965.

⁵¹ Weir, *The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada*, 146.

⁵² John P.L. Roberts, “Concert Music in Canada and the Development of CBC Commissions until 1979,” Lecture transcript. Courtesy of Libraries and Cultural Resources

no intention of developing a program to commission new concert music. The CBC supported compositions through contracted commissions, employee creation, and CBC broadcasts, but “there was no official policy concerning the commissioning of composers and the first commissions came into being in an ad hoc manner.”⁵³ Healey Willan (1880-1968), Joseph Vermandere (1901-1971), John Wiezweg (1913-2006), and John Adaskin (1908-1964) represent different examples of the CBC supporting composers in their creation of contemporary works: Willan and Vermandere were offered contracted commissions, Weinzwieg was an employee, and Adaskin was responsible for showcasing composers through a CBC broadcast.

The first Canadian commission, offered to Willan, was the radio opera, *Transit Through Fire: An Odyssey of 1942*, which premiered March 8, 1942. The libretto was written by the playwright John Coulter—well-known for the play *Riel*—who also worked with Willan on other projects. Willan composed four works for the CBC between 1942-1946. In 1945, Vermandere became the first Québec composer to receive a commission: his *Te Deum* premiered on May 13, 1945, in celebration of the allied victory ending World War II. These two composers were the first English and French language composers officially commissioned for works by the CBC. Weinzwieg, an employee creating music for weekly CBC broadcasts, was one of the main composers hired by the CBC to write original music for radio dramas. This means he would write the music mid-week for airing that very weekend. One such work, entitled *New Homes or Old*, gained far reaching public recognition. Concurrently with this work, he was teaching the

Digital Collections, CU15056337, (University of Calgary, 1979): 6.
<https://digitalcollections.ucalgary.ca/asset-management/2R3BF1F7W0XFR>

⁵³ Roberts, “Concert Music” 8. The first official commission set up through John Adaskin was of Benjamin Britten’s (1913-1976) *The Young Apollo*.

next generation of composers: R. Murray Schafer (1933-2021), Murray Adaskin (1906-2002), Harry Somers (1925-1999), and Norma Beecroft (b.1934) are amongst his more prominent students. Although his radio drama compositions are unique creations presented by the CBC, they are not considered *commissions* per se because he was a regular employee hired to create music for the radio dramas.

In 1947, John Adaskin produced the series *Opportunity Knocks*, offering composers an outlet for the creation of musical works. This series initiated an interesting development: in 1950, the CBC began officially commissioning works for the program, with a maximum length of 4 minutes, in exchange for \$50 and airtime on the series. By doing so, it introduced Canadians to the idea that a composer who writes a composition for performance is a present-day reality. One hundred and one commissions were produced on this series from 1950-1957, all were aired on CBC radio. Yet these, like Weinzweig's compositions, are not included in CBC statistics on commissioned serious works.⁵⁴

Between the 1940s and end of the 1970s the CBC commissioned a total of 375 serious works,⁵⁵ and these encompassed chamber music, chamber orchestra, opera, radio variety, chorus a-cappella, full orchestra, concerto, small ensemble, solo voice and orchestra and unfinished works of these types. This means Weinzweig's commercial works are not included in the total commissions, whereas Willan's and Vermandere's are. Similarly, this is the reason the short works presented in *Opportunity Knocks* are omitted from statistics.

⁵⁴ Patricia Kellogg, "Sounds in the Wilderness: Fifty Years of CBC Commissions," in *Musical Canada*, eds. John Beckwith and Frederick A. Hall (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 239-261. <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442656772-021>

⁵⁵ Kellogg, "Sounds in the Wilderness."

Larger commissions did not receive much support from the CBC before the 1960s. In 1953, the CBC commissioned the most works it had ever commissioned in a single year, and the number was only 10. The next time commissioned works reached the double digits in a single year was in 1967. The 1960s saw a large increase in commissions with a total of 81 commissioned works compared to 52 commissions in the 1950s.⁵⁶ The increase in commissions was in large part due to John Roberts, who succeeded Geoffrey Waddington as Supervisor of Music in 1965. The first half of the 1960s saw the production of 29 commissions, while the second half of the decade produced 52. Roberts was “determined to expand the presentation of new music and CBC commissions,”⁵⁷ and his determination resulted in a continued increase in commissions of Canadian works: the 1970s saw more than a 200% increase in commissions, producing a massive 228 commissions in the 1970s compared to 81 commissions produced in the 1960s.⁵⁸ Despite this remarkable increase, dramatic works only make up a small portion of CBC commissions. According to its records, the CBC produced 11 operas and large choral and radio variety commissions in the 1950s, 10 in the 1960s, and 23 in the 1970s.⁵⁹ *La Tourangelle* was

⁵⁶ Thanks to the direction of Geoffrey Waddington, Director of Music at the CBC in 1959, a document was created to list all commissioned works. This work continued throughout the years and was published for public knowledge.

⁵⁷ Roberts, “Concert Music,” 32.

⁵⁸ Roberts, “Concert Music,” 49. Roberts writes that while 29 commissions were produced in the first half of the 1960s, 52 commissions were completed in the second half of the 1960s once he took over supervision of CBC music.

⁵⁹ Kellogg, “Sounds in the Wilderness.”

one of those 23 commissions. The 65-minute work makes up 5% of the total 1190 minutes produced by the CBC for the entire decade of the 1970s.

It is easy to believe that a large portion of those commissions originated directly from Roberts and his passion for Canadian music. Roberts was an advocate for Canadian music, and he strove to offer Canadian composers and musicians the opportunity to produce and perform new works. Despite holding a position as Head of Radio Music, he personally took over the commissions program, and it was during this time of 200% fold increase that he produced Anhalt's *La Tourangelle*. The CBC, however, was not solely responsible for all creation of classical concert music. Ingraham writes that Canada produced 10 and 12 musical dramatic works in the 1940s and 1950s respectively. In the 1960s, Canada produced 41 and in the 1970s it produced 67.⁶⁰ This leads one to believe that, of the 12 musical dramatic works produced in the 1950s, 11 were produced by the CBC, of the 41 musical dramatic works produced in the 1960s, 10 were produced by the CBC and, of the 67 musical dramatic works produced in Canada in the 1970s, 23 were produced by the CBC. Both the CBC and especially Roberts are important to the development of opera in Canada. Roberts himself had great influence over the creation of *La Tourangelle*.

⁶⁰ Mary I. Ingraham, "Something to Sing About: A Preliminary List of Canadian Staged Dramatic Music Since 1867," *Intersections* 28, no. 1 (2007): 23. <https://doi.org/10.7202/019291ar>. A colleague, Sophie Bisson, who is currently working on the creation of the online Encyclopedia of Canadian Operas, also agreed with the statistic for operas composed in the 40s, 50s and 60s at the time of writing. However, Bisson's count for the 1970s is 73, rather than 67. This difference can result from the inclusion of newly counted operas, or the inclusion of operas that are written but not yet performed.

Table 5. Number of CBC Commissions, CBC Operatic Works and All Operas Produced in Canada Between 1940-1980

<i>Years</i>	<i>CBC Commissions</i>	<i>All Operatic Works produced</i>	<i>CBC Operas and Radio Variety</i>
<i>1940</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>1950</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>1960</i>	<i>81</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>1970</i>	<i>228</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>Total</i>	<i>375</i>	<i>130</i>	<i>47</i>

3.2 An Opera is Commissioned

In the fall of 1970, Anhalt and Roberts discussed the parameters of the commission that would eventually become *La Touragelle*. The correspondence indicates that the initial conversation was a telephone call at some time prior to a letter from October 1970 in which Roberts paraphrases that telephone discussion. He states:

You will recall the idea we discussed was the search for order and meaning in life through the focus of religion—the search for God in other words. In saying this I did not intend that the work should reflect exclusively one religion in a narrow sense whether it be Christian, Jewish or any other although these could figure prominently in the total design. Figure, that is in a way which illuminates order, purpose and meaning for “everyman”. The text should be fairly simple and in French and English. (It could of course be complex if you are conjuring up chaos from which order emerges.) I imagine

you will want to structure the time period into a number of events and even though I have a few ideas on this I am sure you have many more.⁶¹ In this same letter, he writes “further to our conversation the other day this is to say the CBC would like to commission you to write a multi-media work.”⁶² On October 9th, Anhalt replied to Roberts with an acceptance of the offer. He also refers to the telephone conversation prior to Roberts’ October 6th letter, writing that “the nature of the work, as described by you on the telephone, and in your letter, is very close to me.”⁶³ He likes the general concept of the work and agrees to the commission. Eleven days later, the official contract was written and sent to Anhalt by the CBC. One day after that, Roberts writes to Anhalt expressing his delight over the acceptance of Anhalt taking on the project.

3.3 The Search for a Subject

The thematic focus of the work, the search for order through religion, eventually solidified to become an opera about Marie. There is conflicting evidence as to when precisely this decision was made. Anhalt recalls that the commission and consequent stipulation inspired him to use a historical figure. In “An Operatic Triptych,” Anhalt explains how the commission inspired the search for subject matter, saying,

... in response, I immediately thought of centering the work on a historical figure whose life could be seen as embodying this objective. Living in Montreal at the time and

⁶¹ Roberts to Anhalt, 6 October 1970, Toronto (Canada), E,32, p. 1, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, Music Division Library and Archives Canada (here after LAC), Ontario, Ottawa.

⁶² Roberts to Anhalt, 6 October 1970, E,32, p. 1, LAC.

⁶³ Anhalt to Roberts, 9 October 1970, E,32, p. 3, LAC.

needing advice in the identification of a suitable persona, I turn to the historian Laurier La Pierre, who was then a colleague at McGill University.⁶⁴

The quotation reflects on a cause and its effect: first, the commission, and second, the idea of a historical figure, third the need to reach out to a historian to find a suitable figure. He said the theme of the topic is what led him to reach out to a historian for leads. He told his friend Rochberg that this is why “I ‘wrapped’ it around a person.”⁶⁵ This is where a timeline discrepancy enters the picture: that Anhalt gives credit to La Pierre for suggesting the topic of Marie de l’Incarnation is not at issue; it is the date that is at issue. Earlier in the same book, another author states “the idea of writing a piece on the subject of Marie de l’Incarnation... was suggested to Anhalt by the well-known Québécois writer and commentator Laurier La Pierre in 1969.”⁶⁶ If we are to believe published timeline materials on the matter, the two main events that follow this story do not line up with the date of commission: 1970 commission and 1969 topic suggestions from La Pierre. To believe Anhalt’s commission story, we must believe that John Roberts approached Anhalt to write an opera (1970), at which time Anhalt got an idea to use a historical figure, and knowing a historian (Laurier La Pierre), reached out for possible subject matter. If the commission came in 1970, then Laurier La Pierre must have also been approached in 1970 or later. However, in chapter three of the book *Istvan Anhalt*, Smith states that Anhalt

⁶⁴ Istvan Anhalt, “An Operatic Tryptich,” in *Istvan Anhalt: Pathways and Memory*, eds. Robin Elliott and Gordon E. Smith (Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), 371.

⁶⁵ Anhalt to Rochberg, 7 February 1972, in *Eagle Minds: Selected Correspondence of Istvan Anhalt and George Rochberg, 1961-2005*, ed Alan M. Gillmor (Waterloo, CA: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), 122.

⁶⁶ Elliott and Smith, *Istvan Anhalt*, 66.

approached La Pierre in 1969. Smith knew Anhalt, and it is believed that he interviewed the composer for the book *Istvan Anhalt* and was verbally told the date of the correspondence with La Pierre. When remembering past events, it is easy for any individual to err. The easiest solution is to assume the dated information about La Pierre is inaccurate. Anhalt must have given the researcher the wrong date.

It is easy to assume the date might be inaccurate, but first we should explore other possible explanations. Is it still possible that Anhalt spoke to La Pierre in 1969 about historical topics for a Canadian opera before he received the commission? There are three plausible answers to the question: 1) no, because the dated meeting with La Pierre in 1969 is incorrect, 2) yes, because Anhalt previously dreamed of creating a work based on Canadian history and reached out to his colleague previous to the commission, and then later revisited the topic of the historical figure because of the inspiration of the commission, or 3) yes, because the commission was unofficially discussed between Anhalt and Roberts at an earlier date, prior to 1970, which in turn led to an earlier discussion with La Pierre regarding subject matter.

Anhalt could have considered Canada's history as subject matter for a future work earlier and then reached out to his historian friend La Pierre for possible content in 1969. Following these events Roberts may have approached him to write a commission, which is why Anhalt applied this idea to the commission. However, in the previously quotation, Anhalt uses the words "a historical figure" and "a suitable person" to describe the possible protagonist. If he had known about Marie, he would not refer to her as "a historical figure" in his letters, but rather, he would refer to her by name, as he does in other correspondences when discussing why Marie was a good choice for the opera. In addition, according to archival letters, it is not until August 5th,

1971 that Anhalt describes to Roberts his intention to use Marie and that the opera will be titled *La Tourangelle*.⁶⁷ In addition, his first contact with the Ursuline Monastery was in the spring/summer of 1971. If he had already considered Marie in 1969, one would expect to see some reference to her in earlier archival materials and earlier correspondence with the Monastery. The hypothesis that Anhalt reached out to La Pierre and knew of Marie prior to the commission does not have enough evidence to support the claim.

The other alternative would be that Roberts and Anhalt spoke “off the record” about a possible commission prior to the 1970 correspondences. This putative conversation inspired Anhalt to ask a historian friend, La Pierre, for subject matter in 1969. While this process was ongoing the official commission came in. Many musicians will know that opportunities are often discussed “off the record” informally before any official discussion happens. Sometimes these informal discussions produce official offers and sometimes they do not. Consider how this set of circumstances could fit with the timeline. It is plausible that Roberts planted the seed in Anhalt’s mind before the official commission. Perhaps he told Anhalt about the possible commission and the topic stipulation in 1969, which led Anhalt to seek La Pierre. Then, in later years when Anhalt was retelling the story, for simplicity's sake, he never mentions the previous “off the record” discussions, which were the initial impetus to seek out the historical persona. This would explain the backwards nature of the dates. Yet, this turn of events, while remaining faithful to the idea that the commission inspired the subject matter, would not explain why Anhalt withheld mention of the topic idea of Marie until August of 1971. He was very open with his ideas and discussion with Roberts in letters. This most likely means that the topic of Marie was unknown

⁶⁷ Anhalt to Roberts, 5 August 1971, E,32, p. 18-19, LAC.

in 1970 when he was offered the commission, and this means he had not yet spoken with La Pierre. This hypothesis does not have enough evidence to support the claim.

I am led to believe the simple answer, that the 1969 date referenced in the book *Istvan Anhalt Pathways and Memory* is an error. It is the simplest solution to this discrepancy. In remembering past events, it is often easy for an individual to make a mistake as to the exact year without other written references on hand to corroborate the claim. Without knowledge of Smith's exact source for the date, there is no way to conclude the truth of the matter. However, contrary to the published date of 1969, I believe that Anhalt approached La Pierre in late 1970, or early 1971, after receiving the commission, and his move to Kingston in 1971. Following this he spent time in the library researching the topic and getting to know the historical figure before committing to it and presenting the first draft libretto in a letter to Roberts on August 3rd, 1971. Letters between Roberts and Anhalt in the fall of 1970 illustrate the brainstorming process the topic went through before the composer searched for a subject to base the opera around. Although the letters show that they believed the topic important as a work in the Canadian context, there is no mention of Marie until the summer of 1971. There is no evidence in any of the letters that the subject of Marie was known prior to 1971, and, therefore, I am led to conclude the date of 1969 referenced in *Istvan Anhalt Pathways and Memories* must be incorrect, and the correct date should be 1971.

During the summer months of 1971, Anhalt finds a subject for this opera: he is researching in the library, settles on Marie, visits the Monastery she founded, finishes the first draft of the libretto, and sends the draft to Roberts. The delivery of the draft to Roberts happened in August. For reasons already mentioned, it is easy to speculate that the subject of Marie was

introduced to the composer in the Winter semester (January to April) of 1971. Furthermore, when considering the events of 1971 and a lack of mention of Marie prior to this summer, it becomes clear that Anhalt's research on the subject of Marie is closely coupled to the libretto writing phase of the summer of 1971, and more likely to have happened close to the end of the winter semester and start of the Spring/Summer semester of the university cycle. Coupled with no mention of Marie in a letter to a friend (Rochberg) in April, the resulting conclusion is that the subject and intense study of Marie became Anhalt's focus in late April to early June 1971.

3.4 The Contract

The terms set out in the original contract (dated and signed in October 1970) change multiple times as work on the commission progresses. For the most part, these amendments are negotiated by Anhalt and Roberts during the first year of the commission. In the contract, the CBC outlines the expectations of both the composer and the CBC. It specifies the expectations for the composer regarding the type of work, the duration, the language, the number of performers, the finances, the deadline, and the thematic focus. The contract also sets out the expectation of the CBC with respect to remuneration, reproduction, broadcasting, visuals, premiere and payment of performers. During the creation of the work, its duration changed, the concept of bilingualism was further defined, the number of performers increased, the payment for services rendered by Anhalt was raised, and the deadline was extended.

3.4.1 Duration

The length of the work, although stipulated at twenty-five minutes in the original contract, changed fluidly as Anhalt progressed through the artistic process. To do justice to the subject, Anhalt estimated that the work may grow to about 50 minutes, and, in August of 1971, requested clemency to write this length of a work. Roberts replied by stating that the “work would come off better if it were more tightly organized.”⁶⁸ Fast forward 8 months, to the summer of 1972, and Anhalt writes to Roberts that “the work should last between 25-30 minutes.”⁶⁹ Roberts’ reply is “I can imagine the tensions and the contrasts that you will establish during the course of the work and the larger contrasts that will exist when it is part of an 80 minute framework.”⁷⁰ It would seem that the CBC no longer required a 20-25 minutes work and gave Anhalt the freedom to create a longer piece. Anhalt continues to estimate the length of the work as he progresses with the project, stating different lengths in letter updates. On May 28th, 1973, he stated it would be 40 minutes, whereas on February 1st, 1974, he stated it would be 45-50 minutes. The performance schedule leading up to the premiere indicated the time allotment for the premiere in MacMillan theatre to be one hour long, and the subsequent archival recordings

⁶⁸ Roberts to Anhalt, 14 October 1971, Toronto (Canada), E,32, p. 30, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

⁶⁹ Anhalt to Roberts, 2 June 1972, Kingston (Canada), E,32, p. 37, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

⁷⁰ Roberts to Anhalt, 5 June 1972, Toronto (Canada), E,32, p. 39, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

range from 60-66 minutes with, and without introductory discussion. The work's final duration is just over 60 minutes in length, three times longer than the originally agreed upon length.

3.4.2 Language

The language of the commission was important from the very beginning of the commission. It was stipulated that it must be bilingual and that the text be fairly simple. The significance of bilingualism is often mentioned in the early stages of the work. Discussion around how it will function in different areas of the musical score are also discussed early in the process. However, language does not come up as much later in the process once the libretto is written. It is evident in letters between October 1970 and October 1971 that language plays a critical role in the composer's hope to communicate with the Canadian audience. On October 6, 1970, Roberts wrote that "the text should be fairly simple and in French and English... (It could of course be complex if you are conjuring up chaos from which order emerges.)"⁷¹ On October 9, 1970, Anhalt replies,

to express the work in English and in French suits my way of thinking. I may use various dialects, as well as historical variants of these languages. I may also wish to use, in a small measure, languages from which these two developed. On the tapes I plan to employ many individual vocal timbres. These I plan to find and record in, or around Montreal, and in the Quebec countryside, as well as elsewhere in Eastern Canada. And should I be going to Europe next summer, you could be sure that I shall travel with a portable tape recorder.⁷²

⁷¹ Roberts to Anhalt, 6 October 1970, E,32, p. 1, LAC.

⁷² Anhalt to Roberts, 9 October 1970, Montreal (Canada), E,32, p. 3-4, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

On April 12th, 1971, Anhalt wrote to his friend George Rochberg that “they (CBC) want it [*La Tourangelle*] to combine French and English. Poor me; we are expected to contribute to the bridge-building between Canada’s two warring linguistic communities.”⁷³ On August 3rd, 1971,

Anhalt wrote to the Mother Superior stating “the aspect of bilingualism, you will recall, is one of the conditions of the commission that I accepted with pleasure, but also without ignorance of the unique difficulties which come from it.”⁷⁴ On August 5th, 1971, Anhalt wrote to Roberts,

some of the sources of her spiritual and religious background also found their way in the text. Almost all the quotes from the writings of M.de L'I. are in French. In choosing the language for the rest of the text I was aiming at comprehension of the progress of the story, throughout the piece, by English and French speaking audiences alike. I may or may not have succeeded in this. Much will depend on the manner of composition.⁷⁵

On October 21st, 1971, Roberts replies,

I am glad you are prepared to express the text in English and French. Please don't misunderstand me when I say I hope this work will communicate with—that is reach out, touch and move—human beings who still retain their sensitivity in this world in which so many have been numbed by horror and violence. Because of this I feel concerned about the use of dialects and variants of the two languages. I am afraid that such subtleties will not get through to the audience. In fact, I feel this is a very special chance for you to say something very vital to mankind and for this reason you can't afford to lose sight of your audience and the average perception for a moment. . . .⁷⁶

⁷³ Anhalt to Rochberg, 12 April 1971, in *Eagle Minds: Selected Correspondence of István Anhalt and George Rochberg, 1961-2005*, ed Alan M. Gillmor (Waterloo, CA: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), 88-89.

⁷⁴ Anhalt to Chabot (Mother Superior of the Ursuline Order and author of *Marie de l'Incarnation, d'après ses lettres*), 3 August 1971, Montreal (Canada), E,32, p. 17, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

⁷⁵ Anhalt to Roberts, 5 August 1971, Montreal (Canada), E,32, p. 18-19, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

⁷⁶ Roberts to Anhalt, 21 October 1970, Toronto (Canada), E,32, p. 7, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

On October 23rd, 1971, Anhalt replied “I shall try to speak and sing in an idiom which is meaningful to a sensitive person. Living in our corner of the world at this critical time.”⁷⁷ The use of both French and English are no longer discussed in the letters after the fall of 1971. However, these few texts from the letters show that most of the discussion around the text regards the libretto being clear and concise irrespective of language. Anything that would get in the way of clarity should be excluded. Roberts goes as far as to tell the composer not to use dialects and variants of either language. The focus of the bilingualism in the opera is to facilitate communication to two of Canada’s majority populations. For this reason, the colleagues continue to direct Anhalt towards simplicity as he writes the libretto.

3.4.3 Performers

The correspondence shows that the number of performers increases from a total of 16 to 25. The original 16 performers were made up of “musicians (not to exceed 10), readers (not to exceed 4), and singers (not to exceed 2).”⁷⁸ The final 25-person cohort was made up of 16 musicians, 4 technicians and 5 singers. The conductor adds an additional participant. Throughout

⁷⁷ Anhalt to Roberts, 23 October 1970, Montreal (Canada), E,32, p. 8, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

⁷⁸ Duncan Sandison (CBC Supervisor of Copyright Clearance), contract dated October 20, 1970, signed by Istvan Anhalt and witnessed by Beate Anhalt, E,32, p. 5-6, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

the compositional process, Anhalt informed the CBC of his desire to increase the number of performers on multiple occasions as he developed the opera.

On August 5th, 1971, Anhalt updated Roberts writing the opera “would need only one live voice, instead of the six contemplated. However, I am beginning to think in terms of a larger instrumental ensemble than the one we thought of, and agreed to earlier. I shall definitely not need more than 15 players, and the conductor.”⁷⁹ Anhalt also wrote an almost identical description of his ideas to the Mother Superior in French. On August 18th, 1971, Roberts replied to Anhalt agreeing with the increase in musicians. He wrote: “I agree to the 15 musicians you require on the understanding that there is one speaker/singer.”⁸⁰ The following year on June 2nd, 1972, Anhalt updated Roberts again with hopes for certain changes. He explains:

The forces used will be as follows: a mime, and 2 hidden mezzo - sopranos. (These three will represent M. de l'I.) 2 male narrators - singers “monks”), and twelve instrumentalists. I shall need a choir too, in sections IV and VI. At present I am thinking of a tape-recorded choir. However my thinking in this regard may change to a live choir of 16 -20 voices, should there be money for this, or perhaps a combination of the two. Could you please advise me how union regulations affect these various alternatives.⁸¹

There is no letter response to this. Either it is elsewhere in the fonds, or there is an undocumented phone call. There is reason to believe that the CBC did not accommodate Anhalt in the request for the live choir because he moved on to create the live recordings of the choirs. Otherwise, the organization was very flexible with the composer, letting him be creative and giving him the

⁷⁹ Anhalt to Roberts, 5 August 1971, E,32, p. 18-19, LAC.

⁸⁰ Roberts to Anhalt, 18 August 1971, Toronto (Canada), E,32, p. 26-27, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

⁸¹ Anhalt to Roberts, 2 June 1972, E,32, p. 37-38, LAC.

freedom to change his mind. On May 28, 1973, Anhalt updated Roberts with the need to increase the musicians again. He states that “I have begun scoring the work yesterday. It stubbornly wishes to have 13 musicians. The contract allows for up to 10 musicians, 2 singers and 4 speakers. I shall need 3 singers and 2 speakers, thus there is a gain of 1 person here. Can you authorize 18 performers instead of 16?”⁸² The previous year, Anhalt was given clemency to use 15 musicians and 1 singer and now he is asking for another increase. But the increases do not end here. Again, January 28th, 1974, Roberts wrote to Anhalt as follows: “further to our discussion about your commission last week, we have no objection to the addition of one more instrument bringing the total number to fourteen.”⁸³

The contracted number of musicians increased from 10 to an eventual 16.⁸⁴ Anhalt increased the use of singers from one to five meanwhile eliminating completely his use of speakers in the live show by replacing them with pre-recorded materials.⁸⁵ These two groups combined equals 21 performers. Considering the technical needs of the pre-recorded tape

⁸² Anhalt to Roberts, 28 May 1973, (no place on letter), E,32, p. 87, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

⁸³ Carl Little (Network Supervisor, Radio Music CBC) to Anhalt, 28 January 1974, Toronto (Canada), E,32, p. 95, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

⁸⁴ The names of all the performers in the pit are as follows: Peter Schenkman (local leader, cello), Paul Helmer (piano), Monica Gaylord (organ), Erica Goodman (harp), Victoria Richards (violin), Paul Armin (viola), Peter Madgett St. (bass), Douglas Stewart crossed out replaced by Chris Little (flute), Howard Knopf (clarinet), Melvin Berman (oboe), James McKay (trombone), James MacDonald (horn), John Tickner (trumpet), Douglas Purvis (tuba), Allen Beard (percussion 2) and Marty Frankel (percussion 1).

⁸⁵ The names of the five soloists are well documented. They are as follows: Mary Morrison (soprano), Roxolana Roslak (soprano); Phyllis Mailing (mezzo-soprano); Albert Greer (tenor); Gary Relyea (baritone).

operators increases the total by 4. The 4 technicians running the recordings for the premiere were trained by Anhalt prior to the premiere.⁸⁶ In total 25 people, not including the conductor and Anhalt himself, participated in the premiere performance of *La Tourangelle*.

3.4.4 Staging

In the beginning there was speculation about the visual element of the opera, and Roberts brings up the possibility of projections and slide shows as well as religious props on the stage. As the project progresses, these elements are removed from the production, and Anhalt decides against all stagecraft, opting for a concert-style performance. In August of 1971, Anhalt wrote to Roberts about his visual ideas for the opera. He explained it

may become a mono- drama, with a single female singer/speaker in nun's attire. . . The ensemble would have to be quite distant from the vocalist, preferably in a pit and if such if not available, then, in one of the corners of a fairly large stage. In either case the singer/speaker will have to sit at a higher level than that of the musicians. Lighting will be of great importance. The 'nun' would be, at times, in a 'shadow', at times only her face would be illuminated as if by a flickering candle and at times she would be bathed in all her figure in a strong light. The musicians will always be in a 'shadow', as little conspicuous as possible. Other light effects may also be possible, but I don't think that a slideshow would be suitable here.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Agreement to play in the CBC Summer Festival, American Federation of Musicians of the United States and Canada, signed by Peter Schenkman, July 13, 1975, E, 32, p 148, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa. A scrap piece of paper following the contract to Peter Schenkman for the orchestra shows the names of the five technicians to be Ray Sona, Jim Reed, John Tobison, and Josh Jasey and John Hollinger.

⁸⁷ Anhalt to Roberts, 5 August 1971, E,32, p. 18-19, LAC.

Roberts freely wrote back to Anhalt giving ideas about projecting images and crosses. On August 18th, 1971, he wrote “certain visual aids might be employed. For example a cross . . . Either that or slides of different crosses could be used. Also . . . slides of a nun might be projected.”⁸⁸ One year later, Anhalt has yet to give up the idea of staging. He wrote to Roberts on June 2, 1972 describing a mime as Marie, elevated on centre stage with a desk. The backdrop would be a screen with projected colours like the aurora borealis and abstract images of nature, including stones and trees.⁸⁹ At this stage in the evolution of the work, he is leaning towards the interior opera it ended up being. He stated in the same letter “there would be a minimum of movement on stage, and consequently every small one would ‘count’. Most of the action, of course, would take place ‘inside’, the people involved, and in the music.”⁹⁰ Considering that the CBC would be responsible for the cost of the staging, the removal of all staging and costumes equated to savings for the corporation. Ultimately, the composer decided the opera was to be experienced in the mind and no staging was used in the premiere.

3.4.5 Payment to Anhalt

Although \$2500 was the initial contracted commission fee for the opera, Anhalt and Roberts made further agreements for an additional \$1500 to be paid to Anhalt. In accordance with the commission contract, Anhalt received \$2500 for producing *La Tournagelle* in January 1975. This amount was in line with the Canadian League of Composers recommended fee

⁸⁸ Roberts to Anhalt, 18 August 1971, E,32, p. 26-27, LAC

⁸⁹ Anhalt to Roberts, 2 June 1972, E,32, p. 37-38, LAC.

⁹⁰ Anhalt to Roberts, 2 June 1972, E,32, p. 37-38, LAC.

schedule of the time for a work 15-20 minutes with more than 15 instruments.⁹¹ However, Anhalt produced a work more than three times longer than 15-20 minutes. This explains why he wrote to Roberts on September 26th, 1971 explaining that “should the CBC agree to a longer work than originally commissioned, one which may go to 50-55 minutes, I do not expect a higher commission fee than that which appears in the contract.”⁹² He did not receive a higher fee, but took on other jobs and negotiated an expense account totaling \$1500. This extra income is made up on an \$800 expense account and a \$700 contract as a summer festival program consultant. The additional financial agreements were offered at different times. The expense account was negotiated in 1970 and the position as consultant in 1975. The former, the expense account, focused on the work needed to complete the commission. The latter, the program consultant contract, focused on the work needed to coordinate the premiere.

Roberts and Anhalt discussed the expense account in person during the month of November in 1970. The two set an in-person meeting for November 9th 1970 because Roberts was in Montreal. Following the proposed November 9th meeting, Roberts writes to Anhalt (Nov 16th, 1970) referencing lunch—which leads one to assume the November 9th meeting in fact did take place. In this post-lunch letter Roberts writes of a budget of \$800 for expenditures, which was discussed at the meeting. It is an expense account for opera related travel and other expenditures. The CBC solidified this expense account on December 10th, 1970, in a letter

⁹¹ Samuel Dolin (Canadian League of Composers) to Anhalt, 6 February 1971, Toronto (Canada), E,32, p. 12-13, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

⁹² Anhalt to Roberts, 26 September 1971, Kingston (Canada), E,32, p. 29, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

stating the “corporation has agreed to reimburse you for any travel and other incidental expenses incurred by you.”⁹³ It paid for things like recording services, organist, Les Petits Chanteurs de Mont Royal, trips to Montreal and a side trip to meet conductor Marius Constant in Paris during Anhalt’s European travels. On July 21st, 1975, Anhalt wrote to the CBC asking for any remaining funds in this \$800 account if there was any left. He lists over \$900 of expenses in addition to \$300 which he has already received compensation for. It would be interesting to see the financial statements of the CBC from this time if only to corroborate which amounts were indeed paid to Anhalt. I am unable to determine the exact items Anhalt received money for, based on the archived letters alone. However, I do believe that Anhalt received all \$800 associated with the expense account.

On July 9th, 1975, the CBC sent another contract to Anhalt, enlisting his services as “Program Consultant for a period of five weeks, commencing June 13, 1975 and ending July 17, 1975, for the Corporation's program series SUMMER FESTIVAL... on the program ISTVAN ANHALT CBC COMMISSION - LA TOURANGELLE.”⁹⁴ He was paid \$700 for this task. Although there is no further outline of the tasks involved with this position, it is easy to imagine that the composer was intimately involved in the organization and implementation of the production. An evaluation of the letters shows that Anhalt oversaw rehearsals with the

⁹³ Sandison to Anhalt, 10 December 1970, Toronto (Canada), E,32, p. 10, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

⁹⁴ Sharon Fenton (CBC Talent Booking Officer), 9 July 1975, Toronto (Canada), E,32, p. 142-43, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

performers in June and the production schedule of all the rehearsals during the week of the premiere.⁹⁵

3.4.6 Cost of the Opera

Finances are often mentioned in the LAC letter correspondences, and it makes the reader wonder about the full cost of an operatic commission to both the composer and the organization commissioning the work. In addition to the commission itself, there are many other expenses attached to researching, preparing, and premiering a multi-media work. One can gain a good idea of the overall costs of the project through a compilation of the amounts referenced in the letters. Amounts include those for the commission, expense account, festival consultant, travel and accommodations, performance fees of the orchestra, materials, and assistance at the premiere, copying, and organ rental. The travel grant of \$1200 includes living expenses and all transportation costs between Montreal (Canada), Paris (France), and Stockholm (Sweden) between June 24 - July 15, 1973. The orchestra expenses include payment for all rehearsals and performance of the orchestra led by Schenkman.⁹⁶ The Queen's University Grant of \$1700 was awarded to Anhalt to assist with the production of the premiere. However, the \$90 for the organ was not covered by this money, as Anhalt asks for reimbursement from the CBC in his letter dated July 22nd, 1975. Payment for the copying of the scores, including all corrections totals

⁹⁵ See chapter 5

⁹⁶ Agreement to play, AFM, signed by Peter Schenkman, July 13, 1975. The contract shows the sum of \$6459.85 for the following rehearsals: 1900-2300 Room 0019, July 15th 1900 - 2400 MacMillan Theatre, July 16th 1300-1700 MacMillan Theatre, July 16th 1900 - 2300 MacMillan Theatre, July 17th 1300 - 1600 MacMillan Theatre, July 17th 2030-2130 MacMillan Theatre.

\$1916.75. See Table 6 for a breakdown of these amounts. The cost listed in the archival documents of fonds folder E,32 do not include costs for all travel and accommodation, rental of the venue, recording costs at the premiere, program printing, broadcasting, postage, nor contract fees for the operators, technicians, staff during the performance, rehearsal pianists, conductor, or soloists. It is easy to believe that there is at least an additional \$10,000 in expenditures attached to this production that is undeterminable through this archival research. The total of all known expenses based on the archival letters in E,32 of the LAC archives is \$15,367.60 and with the missing expenses, one can imagine the production cost could rise to at least \$25,000.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Further financial details pertaining to the commissioning, publishing, and production of an opera in Canada in the 1970s might be found in the CBC archives.

Table 6. Expenses listed in E,32 Archival Letter Material

Cost	Activity
\$2,500.00	Commission Contract
\$800.00	Expense Account - Travel and Accommodation
\$700.00	Consultancy Contract
\$1,200.00	European Trip
\$6,459.85	Orchestra
\$1,700	Queen's Grant - Materials and Assistance
\$1,719.25	Copying - 659 pages of <i>La Tourangelle</i>
\$197.50	Pre-paid for copying
\$30.00	Organ Rental
\$60.00	Organ Transportation
\$15,367.60	Total

3.4.7 Multimedia Work

The idea that the opera would be a multi-media work remained unchanged during the compositional process. From the start of the commission, it was recognized that the work would include recorded parts which Anhalt himself would supply. Roberts references this in the first letter dated October 6 1970 by stating “the electronic tapes *which you will supply* as part of the commission.” Anhalt originally thought he would use a handheld portable recording device to record different dialects of English and French in his travels to Europe and Eastern Canada. On

October 9th, 1970, Anhalt explained to Roberts what his ideas are surrounding the recording of voices, writing “on the tapes I plan to employ many individual vocal timbres. These I plan to find and record in, or around Montreal, and in the Quebec countryside, as well as elsewhere in Eastern Canada. And should I be going to Europe next summer, you could be sure that I shall travel with a portable tape-recorder.” The letters, however, indicate that most of the recording was done in the studio. When Anhalt moved to Kingston in 1971, there was no worry that the electronic portion of the work would be hindered. He tells Roberts “as far as access to an electronic music studio is concerned I am not worried, since Queen's will have one within a half a year, or so, and I have assurances from McGill and from the University of Toronto that I would be welcome to work in their studios.”⁹⁸ These recording sessions required organization and there are letters indicating specific dates, times, studios and people involved with the sessions. As Anhalt continues work on the opera, the needs of the recorded sections develop in his mind and he passes off an idea to Roberts about a choir “I shall need a choir too, in sections IV and VI. At present I am thinking of a tape-recorded choir. However, my thinking in this regard may change to a live choir of 16-20 voices, should there be money for this, or perhaps a combination of the two. Could you please advise me how union regulations affect these various alternatives.”⁹⁹ The choirs end up being completely recorded material, and he uses two choirs, not one. The recordings commenced in February of 1973 and were finished in July.

⁹⁸ Anhalt to Roberts, 5 August 1971, E,32, p. 18-19, LAC.

⁹⁹ Anhalt to Roberts, 2 June 1972, E,32, p. 37-38, LAC.

4. Crafting the Opera: Libretto, Multimedia Components, and Networks

This chapter explores the history of the composer's process as he progressed through the creation of the commission. It sheds light on his research into the topic, the creation of the libretto, the timeline for the composition of the musical components, the people he worked with, and the creation of the multimedia aspects of the work. Anhalt considered his topic with the utmost care, dedicating much time to intertwining source materials for the opera's seven tableau structure, and it is known that Anhalt assembled the text for the libretto from diverse sources.¹⁰⁰ However, *La Tourangelle* scholarship has yet to detail the sources used for the opera's libretto, the multimedia phase of the process, and the collaboration of individuals, such as the Ursulines. Further examination of various drafts of the libretto, letters to performers on the topic of the multi-media pre-recorded materials, source materials, and friendships with correspondents illuminates Anhalt's creative process and the reciprocal nature of opera creation.

4.1 Writing the Libretto

4.1.1 Working Months

Letters indicate that Anhalt ramped up work on the project during low intensity academic periods, such as the summer months when there is a break from teaching in the academic calendar. He stated in August 1971 that "it is not possible for me to start working on the music

¹⁰⁰ István Anhalt, *La Tourangelle: Marie de l'Incarnation, Ursuline of Tours, First Superior of the Ursuline Monastery in New France; a musical tableau*. (Toronto: Berandol, 1982), i.; Elliott and Smith, *Istvan Anhalt*, 318.

with full force right away...I also foresee that the coming academic year at Queen's will leave me somewhat less time for composing than what I would have had should I have remained at McGill."¹⁰¹ In this instance, Anhalt explicitly states when he will not be able to work on the opera. This is one indication of his working schedule. Another indication is noticeable through the regularity of letters. The 117 letters in E,32 imply which months he used as working months for the commission.¹⁰² There are 7 letters in the archive dated with the year 1970. In 1971, between the months of May and October there are 12 letters in the archive. There are no letters between October 1971 and May 1972. Anhalt's focus was elsewhere, on his work as an educator and administrator. In 1972, between May and September, there are 8 letters in the archive. Following this, the rest of the Fall and Winter are again void of letters, although as recordings begin in February of 1973, Anhalt sends letters organizing the recruitment of singers and speakers for the recording process. The absence of letters in the fall of both 1971 and 1972 and the abundance of letters pertaining to the work between the months of May through October highlight the summer months as time dedicated to this work. In 1973, between the months of February and July there are 28 letters in the archive. Although the composer began work in February of 1973, the letters do stop in July, which would seem to indicate that the academic school year starting in the fall took precedence over the composer's artistic work. In 1974, between the months of January to March and from June to July, there are only 9 letters in the archive. Although there is work again in the early months of the year, the pattern, however,

¹⁰¹ Anhalt to Roberts, 5 August 1971, E,32, p. 18-19, LAC.

¹⁰² See Appendix A. Table 4. Letter documents in LAC folder MUS 164 E,32 arranged chronologically by date.

remains the same. There is no work in the fall. In 1975, between the months of January to July there were 51 letters in the archive. The opera premiered in 1975, and it is only natural, with the composer's involvement as a consultant at the premiere, that he would have a high volume of letters written between himself and others working on the opera, leading up to the production.

4.1.2 The First and Second Librettos

The first draft of the opera, completed in 1971, came one year before the second draft, which was completed and sent to Roberts in the summer of 1972. In April 1971, Anhalt presumably alluded to the opera when he wrote to Rochberg “when the dust settles I shall start thinking on a new multimedia piece commissioned by the CBC. The topic is rather forbidding: A man's search for God.”¹⁰³ One might wonder what proverbial dust is settling? His work *Foci* premiered in Canada on April 2nd, 1971, and again on May 21st in the CBC Festival Series in Toronto.¹⁰⁴ At this time, Anhalt has also applied for a position at Queen's which he accepts before the middle of May 1971, and in late May on the 31st, attends a dinner celebrating Anhalt and Hugh Le Caine at McGill. At the time of this letter, it is also the end of the school year. As one can read, many activities are going on. There is much dust to settle. Two months later, on June 10th, 1971, Anhalt wrote again to his friend Rochberg. The dust must have settled, because this time Anhalt tells his friend “I am in the reading phase now spending a great deal of time in the library. I feel that I am getting to sense the character of the piece. It will be at places

¹⁰³ Anhalt to Rochberg, 12 April 1971, 88. However, the American premiere occurred in 1969 at Albright-Knox Art Gallery Auditorium in Buffalo, New York.

¹⁰⁴ Anhalt to Rochberg, 12 April 1971, 88. The American premiere was in late 1969.

terrifically passionate, at places icily calm."¹⁰⁵ He follows this up with a visit to the Ursuline Monastery in Quebec on July 7th. During this visit he openly tells the nuns of his plan to fold the opera around Marie.¹⁰⁶ Anhalt completed his first draft of the libretto in July, which we know because there is a dated draft libretto in the LAC archive.¹⁰⁷ He sent the libretto to both the Mother Superior and Roberts in August of 1971, and there are subsequent letters which follow the initial draft libretto letters.

4.1.3 First Libretto Feedback

Letters in the summer of 1971 between both Roberts and the Mother Superior, and Anhalt show that they were both solicited for feedback regarding the libretto and both gave feedback freely. Anhalt's letter with enclosed libretto to Mother Marie-Emmanuel states "I am sending you, included here, the first version of text for the work that I am planning to compose concerning the life and time of Marie de l'Incarnation. I would be very happy if you consent to send me your comments."¹⁰⁸ Anhalt's letter with enclosed libretto to Roberts states "I am

¹⁰⁵ Anhalt to Rochberg, 10 June 1971, in *Eagle Minds: Selected Correspondence of Istvan Anhalt and George Rochberg, 1961-2005*, ed Alan M. Gillmor (Waterloo, CA: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), 90.

¹⁰⁶ Anhalt to Chabot, 16 July 1971, Montreal (Canada), E,32, p. 15, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

¹⁰⁷ Istvan Anhalt, "La Tourangelle, Marie de l'Incarnation Ursuline of Tours, Founder of the Ursuline Monastery in La Nouvelle-France," István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164 D,12, LAC.

¹⁰⁸ "Je vous envoie, ici inclus, la première version du text de l'œuvre que je projette à composer concernant la vie et de temps Marie de l'Incarnation. Je serai très reconnaissant si vous en consentiez me faire parvenir vos commentaires." [all letters translated by Emili Losier unless otherwise noted] Anhalt to Chabot, 3 August 1971, E,32, p. 17, LAC.

sending, here enclosed, a draft of the text of 'our work'. Please let me know what you think of it... I shall be awaiting your comments on these matters and once again many thanks for bearing with me in this project.”¹⁰⁹ Anhalt openly seeks approval and feedback from those around him with stakes in the project. Anhalt accepts and discusses feedback from both Roberts and the Mother Superior.

The responses from both Roberts and the Mother Superior to Anhalt on his first draft of the libretto are varied. Roberts states the text is “impressive” but “too long” and “needs to be tightened.”¹¹⁰ He suggests Anhalt put it aside for a while, to gain clarity in the future when he returns to it. The response from the Mother Superior is more editorial in fashion. She gives detailed feedback stating “the english text gets ahead of the french citations, Your copy does not always separate well the French Syllables. I have underlined the syllables which are wrong. In summary, as you wished, these are the issues.”¹¹¹

It appears that Anhalt takes their feedback to heart. Anhalt does take time away from the libretto, as Roberts suggests. Anhalt wrote to Roberts in September, stating “I am presently giving all my time to my new job at Queen's. I like to think that I shall be able to start doing other important work as well in the not too distant future.”¹¹² Understanding Anhalt’s response to

¹⁰⁹ Anhalt to Roberts, 5 August 1971, E,32, p. 18-19, LAC.

¹¹⁰ Roberts to Anhalt, 18 August 1971, E,32, p. 26-27, LAC.

¹¹¹ “le text anglais me semble devancer les citations français, votre copiste se sépare pas toujours bien les syllabes françaises... J’ai souligné au plomb les syllabes en défaut. En somme, comme vous voulez, ce sont des bagatelles.” Chabot to Anhalt, 9 August 1971, Quebec City (Canada), E,32, p. 20-21, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

¹¹² Anhalt to Roberts, 26 September 1971, E,32, p. 29, LAC.

the Mother Superior's feedback is more difficult. Without having access to the exact libretto sent to the Mother Superior, or the edited copy they refer to, which she sent back, there is no way to check and see if her edits were accepted by Anhalt. Based on Anhalt's response, one would think they were accepted. Anhalt's response to her on August 11th, 1971 says "All your observations concerning the text are on point and applicable, and I thank you for also having remarked on mistakes in the separations of french syllables."¹¹³ After receiving feedback from both Roberts and the Mother Superior, Anhalt takes a break from the opera during the academic school year before returning to it the following summer and producing the second libretto. The Mother Superior and Anhalt then continue a summer correspondence. Unfortunately, the letters contained in E,32 do not contain the libretto that was sent with the letters to Roberts and the Mother Superior, in the summer of 1971. Drafts of the librettos can be found in the fonds in a separate folder. It is possible that the dated version (number three) is the draft sent in August. In a response letter to Mother Superior addressing her feedback on the libretto, Anhalt references section IX needing to be reworked. The only libretto in D1,12 with a section titled IX is the third libretto. This information supported by the date, earlier portrait orientation of the libretto and lack of segmentation along with the date indicates it (the third libretto in the folder) as the libretto Anhalt sent to both Roberts and the Mother Superior. It is drastically cut down in the next version of the libretto.

¹¹³ "Tous vos observation concernant le texte sont au point et valables, et je vous remercie aussi pour avoir remarque les fautes dans les séparations de syllabes françaises." Anhalt to Chabot, 11 August 1971, Montreal (Canada), E,32, p. 22-23, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

One year later, Anhalt completed his second draft of the libretto. We know this because he mentions attaching a second draft of the text in a letter to Roberts on June 2nd, 1972.

Unfortunately, the libretto in this letter is also not included in the letter archive E,32. However, the fonds carries multiple versions of the libretto, and there is a second libretto text dated 1971-1972 in D1,13. This could be the second official version which he sent to Roberts. In just one year, Anhalt completed two official drafts of the libretto both of which he sent to the CBC, the first on August 5th, 1971, the second, on June 2nd, 1972.

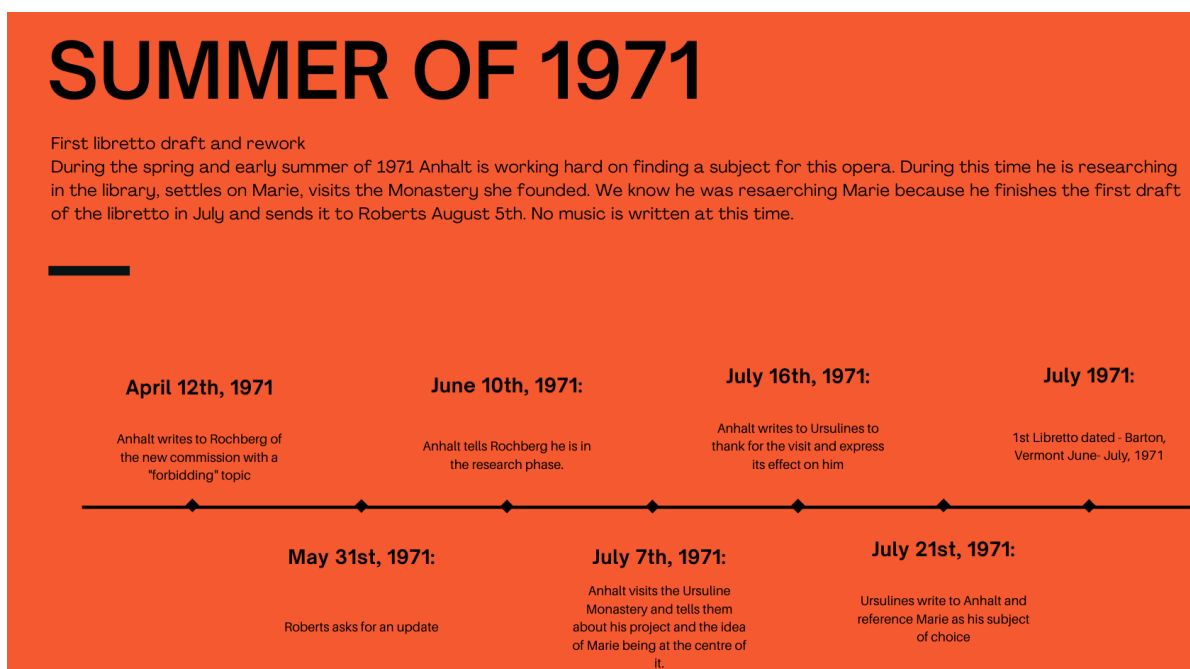


Figure 3. Timeline of activities based on correspondence during the early summer of 1971.

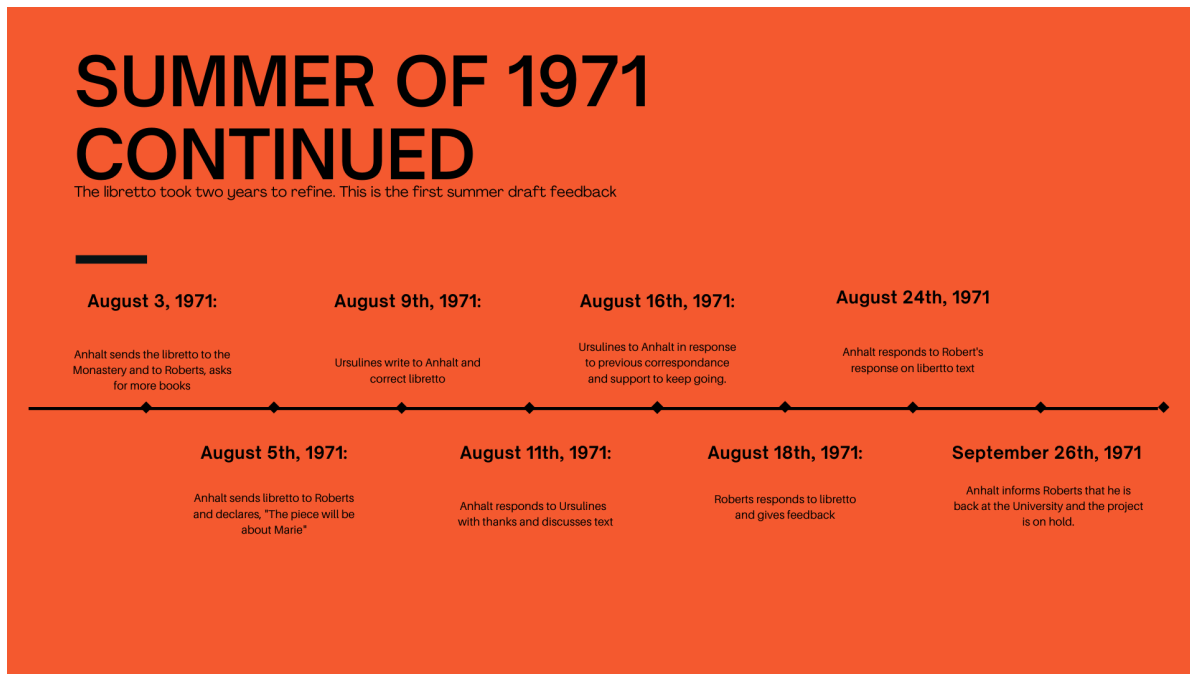


Figure 4. Timeline of activities based on correspondence during the later summer of 1971

4.1.4 Different Drafts of the Libretto

There are two official drafts of the libretto, if one considers that Anhalt sent copies of the libretto to Roberts at the CBC in 1971 and 1972, and a copy to the Mother Superior in 1971. These drafts are referenced in the letter correspondences but not included with the letters in Series E, file 32. Files D1,11-13, which contain multiple drafts of the libretto, give no indication as to which draft might have been included in the letters to Roberts and the Mother Superior. One must seek out clues in the letters to help determine which libretto draft was sent with which letters. Because of Covid 19 restrictions, only a portion of the documents in files D1,11-13 were referenced. The entire folder of D1,11 is a file "containing notes and fragments from the libretto." This file might be helpful when researching content within the libretto but is not as

helpful when comparing the multiple versions of whole librettos. For this reason, it was not consulted. The folder D1,12 is a “file containing annotated copies of several versions of the libretto.” This was of interest and consulted. It contains 5 draft copies of the libretto. The folder D1,13 is a “file containing an autograph manuscript and a typescript of the libretto.” The first half of D1,13 was consulted to see the final autograph manuscript of the libretto.

Series D1, file 12 contains five full versions of the libretto, each with a title page. They are not numbered, but they are ordered in what seems like chronological order. If we consider them in numerical order, the oldest is number one, being the first libretto in the file, and the newest is number five, being the last libretto in the file. Libretto number three is the only dated libretto, June-July 1971. Numbers one, two and three are in portrait orientation, and numbers four and five are in landscape orientation. See Appendix D. Numbers one, two and three have little to no column segmentation, whereas numbers four and five have progressively more segmentation of vocal parts. It is apparent how the complexity of the text grows from document to document. There is an increase in page length between documents and this increase may be the reason the archivist chose to order the librettos in this way. With the switch from portrait to landscape, the composer began dividing the texts between performers, producing columns for each of the different types of performers: some of the texts are for singers, some of the texts are for reciters; some of the texts are to be sung live; some of the texts are to be presented through speaker amplification from pre-recordings. This increase in segmentation offers another clue to chronology.

The libretto drafts are most likely not ordered chronologically as one would at first assume. Libretto three shows itself to be the earliest draft because it is in portrait orientation, is

the densest textually, and is the least segmented text of all the drafts. It also contains 12 sections from “I. Preamble” to “XII. Epilogue.” It would be logical for one to consider that libretto drafts one and two are precursors to this dense libretto because they are not as dense and could be understood as starting points, which were built upon to create libretto three. However, this is not how Anhalt works. Anhalt is known to work from a dense outpouring, which he then prunes back. Libretto three is also the least segmented text of the five librettos in this folder. Librettos one, two, four and five all have a commonality of the same section titles and minor to major segmentation. The five images in Appendix D are of the first pages of “preamble”—later titled “Panegyric”—from all five librettos within D1,12. They depict the progression of the libretto as it began to have more segmentation. They went through a culling as Anhalt refined the text and began segmentation. The portrait versions of the preamble are taken from D1,12 libretto number one, two and three. The landscape versions of the preamble are taken from D1,12 libretto number four and five. Note how libretto three has no segmentation. Libretto one and two condense the text and begin the segmentation process on portrait paper. With libretto four and five, the orientation is changed and the segmentation increases. The change in orientation in libretto four and five offered the composer more space to visualize and realize the segmentation of the text between the various vocal parts. The final libretto text showcases the separation of text between the singers, reciters, individual voices, Boys' choirs and electronics. Thus, indicating that libretto three is the outlier. The dense outpouring of information, the XII sections and portrait orientation lead me to believe it is the first libretto. It should be the first libretto in the archive, followed by one and two. Libretto four and five are also reversed in order. This is noticeable based on the handwriting in libretto draft five, that later shows up in libretto draft four as segmented

typescript. Using the same logic, segmentation increased between libretto drafts five and four. Therefore, the chronology of the librettos in the archive are three, one, two, five and then four. Further complexity of segmenting the libretto between the live and pre-recorded parts could be one of the reasons why the text took Anhalt longer than expected to assemble. Anhalt told Roberts that this libretto was more difficult than anticipated. On August 5, 1971, he wrote “assembling this text took me more time than I ever spent on any other text of my works.”¹¹⁴ No more detail is given. In addition to segmentation, the detailed research of sources consulted by Anhalt to create his libretto could be the other reason it took longer than anticipated.

4.1.5 Sources

Anhalt wrote *La Tourangelle* based on the consultation of at least 29 different documents during his research and writing phase of the libretto. Anhalt treated his works like research projects and *La Tourangelle* is no exception.¹¹⁵ He stated that “work on this project was for me an extended lesson in the history of French Canada. Through this, I also began to see in a fresh light certain contemporary issues and attitudes.”¹¹⁶ Similarly to a research project, Anhalt kept notes of the sources he referenced. At first glance within the archives, one might believe that there is a seminal document listing the sources Anhalt used for the creation and assembly of the

¹¹⁴ Anhalt to Roberts, 5 August 1971, E,32, p. 18-19, LAC

¹¹⁵ Alan M. Gillmor, *Eagle Minds: Selected Correspondence of Istvan Anhalt and George Rochberg, 1961-2005* (Waterloo, CA: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), xxxiii.

¹¹⁶ Istvan Anhalt, “What Tack to Take? An Autobiographical Sketch (Life in Progress...)” *Queen's Quarterly* 92, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 105–6.

libretto text. This is because Anhalt left, attached to the libretto three, dated June-July 1971, a one-page list of sources. The source list cites 14 sources, including the Holy Bible. No other libretto draft updates this source list. However, assuming these are the only sources he used to compile the libretto would be wrong. Evidence shows more sources were consulted after this list was compiled. There are lists of additional sources and photocopies of sources in the archives which are not included in the original 1971 source list. As there is no seminal document to consult regarding the main sources of Anhalt's work on the opera libretto, it is necessary to piece together the list of sources from the various archival documents.

Anhalt's intensive research on Marie included looking into the background of her life story, milieu, and that of the church and Nouvelle France. In addition to the 14 sources listed in the June-July 1971 libretto, other sources were consulted between 1971 and 1973 including: seven sources found in a letter to Dr. Crowder,¹¹⁷ eight sources handwritten in a workbook,¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Anhalt to Dr. C. Crowder (History Department, Queen's University), 27 February 1973, Kingston (Canada), E,32, p. 46, 48-60, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa. The sources are texts listed by Anhalt: 1) pere La Jeune's "relations" from Quebec (1939) http://moses.creighton.edu/kripke/jesuitrelations/relations_16.html; 2) Canon 15 by The Council of Gangra A.D 325-381; 3) a text attributed to Abba Pambo, although, the text Anhalts attributes to Abba Pambo "sit in thy cell and thy cell shall teach thee all things" is in fact attributed to Abba Moses in Benedicta Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian, 1975), 139. It states "A brother came to Scetis to visit Abba Moses and asked him for a word. The old man said to him, 'Go, sit in your cell, and your cell will teach you everything.'" This is an oversight on Anhalt's part because he originally included in the 14 sources a source on the topic written by Thomas Merton "The Spiritual Father in the Dessert Tradition" which includes fragments from Abba Moses in Scete and not Abba Pambo; 4) a letter authorizing the publication of a book on Marie de l'Incarnation by Dr. Camus; 5) Marie de l'Incarnation (1599 -1672): *Ecrits Spirituels et Historiques* (Publ. par Dome Claude Martin; rééd- par Dom Albert Jamet); 6) Henry Bertram Hill, *The Political Testament of Cardinal Richelieu* U. of Wisc. Press, 1961; and 7) one unknown source.

eight photocopied sources,¹¹⁹ and a copy of the book *Marie de l'Incarnation, d'après ses lettres* written by Sister Marie-Emmanuel Chabot with a handwritten dedication to Anhalt dated 1971. These make up the entirety of known textual sources used for the libretto all of which are viewable from sources procured at the LAC.

¹¹⁸ Istvan Anhalt, “La Tourangelle” (workbook, D1, 10, p. 1-47, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa). Anhalt wrote out references in his notebook. The documents listed on page 18 of D1,10 are: Segard, Histoire du Canada <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.47348/5?r=0&s=1>; and C Champlain Society Publication (which publication is unknown) <https://champlainsociety.utpjournals.press/series/330-cso>. The documents listed on page 19 of D1,10 are: Peter McNally collection. No more information on this was found. However, his research area is history <https://www.mcgill.ca/sis/people/emeriti/mcnally>; The documents listed on page 20 of D1,10 are: Les voyages de Champlain -possibly Oeuvres de Champlain- edited by Abby C. H. Laverdiere in 1870 <https://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/2022100>; The documents listed on page 46 are: Ordonnances, commissions, etc., etc., des gouverneurs et intendants de la Nouvelle-France, 1639-1706, by Pierre-Georges Roy, volume 1, Archives, Province of Quebec, Beauceville, L’“Eclaireur” Limitée, 1924, the first 1 - 2 pages https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_08084/2?r=0&s=1; Henry Bertram Hill, The Political Testament of Cardinal Richelieu U. of Wisc. Press, 1961 pages 3 and 11 https://ocul-uo.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01OCUL_UO/11m0b9c/alma991013901789705161; The Jesuits Relations Volume 16 1639 pages 9-27. This is a duplicate of the 4 sources mentioned on the sources page of the first libretto; and Song of Solomon Chapter 6 , 1-2.

¹¹⁹ Istvan Anhalt, “La Tourangelle” (photocopies, D1, 10, p. 48-99, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa). The documents photocopied in the archive are as follows: Dictionnaire biographique du Canada Volume Premiere p 361- 368, Statement of the Rights, as to Territory, Trade, Taxation and Government claimed and exercised by the Hudson's Bay Company on the Continent of North America (included in original source document), The Political Testament of Cardinal Richelieu page 3 and 11(included in hand written sources), Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu pages 406-417, Histoire de France par les chansons p 104 - 108 and 131-133, Ordonnances, commissions, etc., etc., des gouverneurs et intendants de la Nouvelle-France, 1639-1706 / by Pierre-Georges Roy, volume 1, Archives, Province of Quebec, Beauceville, L’“Eclaireur” Limitée, 1924,the first 1 - 2 pages (included in hand written sources), The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents Volume 16, pages 9 - 25 missing even numbers, The Mapp and Description of New England.

We know Anhalt continued to do research while refining the libretto between 1971 and 1972 because of a letter, dated August 3, 1971, written to the Mother Superior. Anhalt writes “I return to you with my thanks the three volumes that you have lent me. Is it possible to ask you for another favour? I would like to borrow from your library the 4 volumes By Dom A. Jamet, and the 2 volumes of letters published by the Abbey Richaudeau for a year.”¹²⁰ The gesture of asking for more time with the books shows the use of them was not complete, and so the research phase continued. During this continued research, he consulted source documents not referenced in the earlier bibliography. Otherwise, why were at least 14 sources left out of the original reference list?

There are many duplicate sources among the various archival documents used to compile the list of sources used by Anhalt to assemble the libretto. Four of the 8 handwritten sources are duplicated as photocopies in the archive.¹²¹ Two of three sources mentioned in a letter to Mother Superior are duplicates. Five of the seven sources in the letter to Dr. Crowder are duplicates. In total, after the removal of duplicates, 29 unique sources remain. This is made up of the 14 sources listed in the June-July source list, the 7 handwritten sources, 4 of the 8 photocopied sources, 2 of the 7 sources listed in the letter to Crowder, 1 unknown source from the letter to Crowder and the gifted book from Mother Superior. It is possible the unknown source is one of the other 28 sources. In this case, the total is 28 unique sources.

¹²⁰ Anhalt to Chabot, 3 August 1971, Montreal (Canada), E,32, p. 17, LAC.

¹²¹ The three sources found in both places are The Jesuits Relations, Richelieu's Political Testament, Ordonnances, commissions, etc., etc., des gouverneurs et intendants de la Nouvelle-France and the biblical source.

4.1.6 Fidelity to Source Material

This opera is a complex amalgamation of source texts compiled by Anhalt. In all writing on the opera, it is always mentioned that he “assembled” the text. He never takes credit for “writing” the libretto. In a letter dated April 7th, 1975 he wrote “I have assembled the text from numerous sources, including the writings of Marie de l'Incarnation, Richelieu, the Jesuit Relations, etc.”¹²² For this reason, it is important to note the multiple textual sources of the opera, as done in the previous section. From those sources, one can begin to research how much of the libretto text is direct quotation of historical accounts and recreated as faithfully as possible. Anhalt writes to Roberts “some of the sources of her spiritual and religious background also found their way in the text... Almost all the quotes from the writings of M.de L'I. are in French.”¹²³ Anhalt says some and not all. This leads the reader to believe that not all the texts are direct quotations. It is possible that some of the texts are translated, paraphrased, or original texts created by Anhalt based on his understanding of his protagonist.

One instance of a translated and paraphrased text is in the tableau “Panegyric.” On page 21 of the published score, the text reads as “in danger of death... have someone... throw this in the fire.”¹²⁴ The 1654 letter from which this text is derived has an English translation written by Mary Dunn in 2014 as “if you happen to fall ill and are in danger of death, throw them into the

¹²² Anhalt to Marius Constant (Composer and Conductor), 7 April 1975, E,32, p. 121, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

¹²³ Anhalt to Roberts, 5 August 1971, E,32, p. 18-19, LAC.

¹²⁴ István Anhalt, *La Tourangelle*, 21.

fire.”¹²⁵ Although Anhalt considered this *assembling* the text, the translation and shortening of the sentence is an example of the composer working as a librettist, creating the text for the work. It is creative work to paraphrase and translate a text from an original work to build it into a narrative within a dramatic work.

Another example of how Anhalt used his sources is seen in his use of seven sources listed beside texts sent to Dr. Crowder. Five of the sources were in the original bibliography and two are additional new sources. The exact sources are written beside the quotable text in the letter, and some of the direct quotes and paraphrases from these texts are viewable in the final libretto. There are 12 texts with sources listed beside them in the letter to Crowder, followed by three pages of text with no reference to a source, but which are taken directly from Jesuit Relations XVII. Of the seven sources used to create the 12 texts and three pages of various texts, one is unknown, two are included in the June-July source document, two are photocopied in the archive and two are unique. The original source listed as “from Richelieu’s Political Testament” is crossed off and something else indecipherable is written above it. This is the unknown source. Of the 12 texts, 7 can be traced to the final libretto in the operatic score.¹²⁶ Although 7 different sources were used for the 12 texts, only direct quotations from five of the sources are included in the final libretto. These are: Jesuit Relations, Dr. Camus, Abba Moses, the Synod of Gangra, and

¹²⁵ “Si vous veniez à tomber malade, et que vous fussiez en danger de mort, faites-les jeter au feu.” Translation of letter text by Mary Dunn. Marie de l’Incarnation, *Lettre CLXII, Marie de l’Incarnation: Correspondances*, ed. Guy Oury (Solesmes, 1971): 548, as seen in Mary Dunn, “‘But an Echo’? Claude Martin, Marie de l’Incarnation, and Female Religious Identity in Seventeenth Century New France,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 100, no. 3 (Summer 2014): 459.

¹²⁶ The texts that can be traced to the score are # 2, 4, 5 6, 7, 8, 9.

the unknown source. The remaining sources found in the archives have yet to be connected to specific texts in the libretto. It is possible some were used for direct quotation and others paraphrased or translated. It is a surety they were used for plot points and background historical information.

Anhalt adhered to a historically accurate retelling of facts. Morey states "Verdi, Meyerbeer, Donizetti, among many others, wrote historical operas which history modified to serve musical and dramatic ends. In *La Tourangelle* factual accounts and personal reflection run parallel."¹²⁷ Beckwith says that it is "an elaborate documentary cantata."¹²⁸ With knowledge of the sources on which the opera is based, one can more accurately research which events and texts from historical documents made their way into the opera. One example of historical fidelity is the use of a *Te Deum* near the end of the opera when the boat arrives in La Nouvelle France. In *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN NEW FRANCE 1610-1791*, there is mention of the *Te Deum* being sung upon the group's arrival in New France. This is an example of how Anhalt took a piece of factual history and worked it into the opera. Another is the list of names recited in the tableau titled "Destination". The recited names are of the people who travelled with Marie to Canada. These two examples further establish an argument to support the historical verisimilitude of the opera, yet also speak to the lexical problem posed by the following question: what constitutes a librettist? It is apparent that the rubric *librettist* can be stretched to encompass many creative processes which lead to the creation of a libretto for an opera. Although Anhalt did not consider

¹²⁷ Carl Morey, "Words for Music," 319.

¹²⁸ John Beckwith, "About Canadian Music," 82.

that he *wrote* the libretto for *La Tourangelle*, his work translating, paraphrasing, and weaving together texts into the narrative does constitute that he *wrote* the libretto, and therefore, was both the composer and librettist of this opera.

4.1.7 Musical Sources

In addition to the 29 possible textual archival sources are five musical excerpts. Three of the five excerpts are photocopied in the archive. These pieces are as follows: Jean-Phillippe Rameau (1683-1764), *Pièces de Clavecin*; Giovanni Perluigi da Palestrina (c. 1525-1594), *Missa Ad Fugam*; and Alexander Goedicke (1877-1957), *Concert Etude Opus 49*. Anhalt openly shared his quotation of the *Missa Ad Fugam* within the tableau “Interlude Voyage,” as the score reads “On the Agnus Dei from the “Missa Ad Fugam” by Palestrina.”¹²⁹ There is also one very distinct quotation, “Quand ce beau Printemps je Voy,” by Pierre de Ronsard (1524-1585), which appears in the tableau section “Mission” on page 191, sung by boys’ choir with the text “quand ce dur printemps je voy.”¹³⁰ Anhalt also mentions in the letter dated March 28, 1973 to Abbot Charles Dupuis that the boys’ choir sings variations on the street song “Mon Dieu, la belle entrée...”

¹²⁹ István Anhalt, *La Tourangelle: Marie de l’Incarnation, Ursuline of Tours, First Superior of the Ursuline Monastery in New France; A Musical Tableau*. (Toronto: Berandol, 1982): 208.

¹³⁰ “The song appeared in 1564 in Recueil des Nouvelles Poësies and was soon set to music by the lutenist Adrian le Roy. In 1586, the text was changed to reflect one of the worst years in the history of religious wars that France had yet seen. See M. Leroux de Lincy, *Chants historiques du XVIe siècle* (Paris: Aubry, 1857).” Colleen Renihan, “Sounding the Past,” 288.

during their recording session with Anhalt.¹³¹ MUS 164 D1,14 -16 contains musical sketches of the opera which were not consulted for this thesis for reasons already mentioned. Further consultation of those documents would likely yield more information on quoted and researched musical materials. The inclusion of these musical works seems to indicate that the composer used not only textual documents in his research for the opera, but also musical artifacts for inspiration and quotation.

4.2 Networks of Influence

Anhalt's dealings with Marie-Emmanuel Chabot (the Mother Superior of the Ursuline Monastery in Quebec City, Quebec) and Roberts stand out in the correspondence. Each person is asked for feedback, and each is intimately involved with the initial stages of the creative process, both being kept in the loop throughout. One could go as far as to say that Anhalt was friends with both Roberts and with the Mother Superior.¹³² A close look at the correspondences of each reveals their friendships as well as Anhalt's deep respect and dependency on both people, as key supporters of, and influencers to his artistic work.

¹³¹ Anhalt to Dupuis, 23 March 1973, Kingston (Canada), E,32, p.80, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS164, LAC, Ontario, Canada.

¹³² The Mother Superior of the Ursuline Order. She wrote three French language books on the philosophy, theology, and history of the order, one being a book on Marie de l'incarnation which was gifted to Anhalt.

4.2.1 John Roberts

Correspondence between Roberts and Anhalt is interesting to follow. Roberts also goes far beyond being a regular commissioner of a piece as Anhalt looks to him for guidance and feedback on the project, going as far as to calling the work “our” work. And Roberts goes beyond mere support by making extensive suggestions on text and staging, although reminding Anhalt afterwards that they are “just suggestions.”¹³³ As the work shifts from the formative stage into production, Anhalt’s correspondence with Roberts decreases whereas other CBC correspondences pick up. There are multiple letters with other CBC employees such as Carl Little, Richard Coulter, Irving Glick, Kathleen Ellis, Anne Coy and C.A Kinnaird. These letters touch on recordings, rehearsals, printing, and the premiere and will be discussed in chapter 5, as they pertain to the production of the premiere. In total, series E, file 32, holds 18 letters between Anhalt and Roberts: 8 letters from Roberts to Anhalt and 10 letters to Roberts from Anhalt.

There is no way to confirm correspondences missing from the archive. This means that the number of letters in the archive are, at the least, the minimum amount of correspondences between Roberts and Anhalt. As well, the national archives house an entire folder of correspondences between the two. It is titled MUS 164/B2,129 Roberts, John. – 1972-1994. – including 0.5 cm of textual records. It would seem that the letters from 1972 onwards were not filed in the *La Tourangelle* section of the LAC archives. It would lead one to assume they do not include information on *La Tourangelle*, or that their main subject matter is not related to the opera. One would need access to them to ensure there is no mention of the opera. It is possible

¹³³ Roberts to Anhalt, 18 August 1971, E, 32, p. 18, LAC.

the content of those letters is more personal, hence they are listed in a different area of the fonds. Section B in the archive is for personal and professional letters. In addition to the letters, phone calls and in-person meetings are often mentioned in their correspondences. The very first letter referencing the commission mentions a prior phone call conversation. The two also arrange in-person meetings such as the November 9th meeting in Montreal referenced in the letters dated October 21st, 1971, October 23rd, 1971 and November 16th 1971. There is a possibility for more research into their correspondences and working relationship.

From the letters, one notes that Anhalt and Roberts speak openly about the topic of the commission, both are willing to brainstorm, and both are enthusiastic to speak more on the matter. Both are passionate about the topic although Roberts is aware to not overstep his role and makes open statements leaving the choice up to Anhalt. Statements such as “I am sure you have many more ... if you think it will be useful we can talk further... you wanted me to put down my thoughts and the basic one outlined is simply meant to trigger your own.”¹³⁴ Roberts is very supportive of Anhalt, and Anhalt seems to appreciate and openly accept this support. Roberts wrote comments such as “I would love to *talk* to you,”¹³⁵ and “ I found our telephone meeting most rewarding,”¹³⁶ and Anhalt agrees, telling Roberts “I was most pleased that we had the

¹³⁴ Roberts to Anhalt, 6 October 1970, E,32, p. 1, LAC.

¹³⁵ Roberts to Anhalt, 31 May 1971, Toronto (Canada), E,32, p. 14, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

¹³⁶ Roberts to Anhalt, 5 June 1972, E,32, p. 37, LAC.

opportunity to talk at some length this morning on the phone.”¹³⁷ Anhalt thanks Roberts for his seminal role in the project, as Roberts seems to have been there for Anhalt when asked.

Roberts was strangely and heavily involved with the direction of the work guiding and supporting Anhalt through discussion and brainstorming. Roberts gives constructive feedback, positive reinforcement, and suggestions. Roberts is polite, yet blunt in his feedback to Anhalt, making constructive comments such as “I feel concerned... I am afraid...,”¹³⁸ and “it is too long... it needs to be tightened... the work would come off better if...”¹³⁹ This feedback is constructive and meant to help guide the composer in a particular direction. He gives positive affirmations such as “the text is impressive... all that she stood for comes through...”¹⁴⁰ and “the text looks to me to be much tighter and moves well.”¹⁴¹ These affirmations encourage the composer to continue down the path he is on. Anhalt is actively seeking feedback and positive affirmation. He writes to Roberts “please let me know what you think... I shall be awaiting your comments.”¹⁴² He looks forward to opportunities to discuss with Roberts, writing “it would cause me a great pleasure to meet you,”¹⁴³ “I would be happy if we could talk about this at some

¹³⁷ Anhalt to Roberts, 2 June 1972, E,32, p. 36, LAC.

¹³⁸ Roberts to Anhalt, 21 October 1970, E,32, p. 7, LAC.

¹³⁹ Roberts to Anhalt, 18 August 1971, E,32, p. 26, LAC.

¹⁴⁰ Roberts to Anhalt, 18 August 1971, E,32, p. 26, LAC.

¹⁴¹ Roberts to Anhalt, 5 June 1972, E,32, p. 37, LAC.

¹⁴² Anhalt to Roberts, 5 August 1971, E,32, p. 18, LAC.

¹⁴³ Anhalt to Roberts, 23 October 1970, E,32, p 8, LAC.

length,”¹⁴⁴ and “I was most pleased that we had the opportunity to talk at some length.”¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, Anhalt tells Roberts “I am grateful that you are continuing to give moral and other kinds of support to *La Tourangelle*.”¹⁴⁶ Anhalt asked for this support from Roberts and he received it. Lastly, Roberts also makes suggestions such as “certain visual aids might be employed for example a cross... or slides.”¹⁴⁷ These suggestions go beyond the work of a producer guiding and supporting. These suggestions pierce the artistic fabric of the work which is intriguing. One can imagine that any in-person meeting or phone call conversations would include similar threads of discussions. What other suggestions could Roberts have had for the composer? Perhaps a leafing through of the personal letters of Roberts and Anhalt can shed more light in this area. The letters that were available for this research show Roberts offering constructive feedback, moral support, and creative ideas to Anhalt during the creation phase of *La Tourangelle*.

4.2.2 Ursuline Monastery

Anhalt built a warm relationship with the Mother Superior of the Monastery throughout the process of writing and producing *La Tourangelle*. The way he speaks of his visits gives the reader the impression that he was deeply affected by his experience with the nuns and with his

¹⁴⁴ Anhalt to Roberts, 24 August 1971, Montreal (Canada), E,32, p. 28, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

¹⁴⁵ Anhalt to Roberts, 2 June 1972, E,32, p. 37, LAC.

¹⁴⁶ Anhalt to Roberts, 2 June 1972, E,32, p. 37, LAC.

¹⁴⁷ Roberts to Anhalt, 18 August 1971, E,32, p. 26, LAC.

introduction to the current Marie of the Incarnation.¹⁴⁸ In total fonds folder E,32 holds 16 letters between Anhalt and Ursulines. There are 6 French-language letters and one English-language letter typed by Anhalt, addressed to women at the monastery: six of the letters are addressed to the Mother Superior of the Ursuline Monastery and are written between 1971 and 1972, and the one English language letter, dated 1975, is addressed to Mother Marie de l'Incarnation. Nine French-language letters are written from the nuns of the Ursuline Monastery to Anhalt: six letters are written between 1971 and 1972, and 3 letters are dated 1974 and 1975. Fourteen of the letters are between Anhalt and the Mother Superior, Marie-Emmanuel. This includes one written by her secretary. The other two letters are between Anhalt and Mother Marie of the Incarnation and Sister Marcelle Boucher.¹⁴⁹ Unfortunately, the Mother Superior was unable to attend the premiere, and this may be the reasons for the correspondences with Sister Marcelle Boucher and Mother Marie of the Incarnation around the time of the premiere. The letter correspondence with the Mother Superior covers topics such as borrowed and returned books, proofreading, feedback on text, discussion, invitations to events, and sharing of experiences, and gives good insight into the relationship that Anhalt built with the Monastery.

On July 16th, 1971 Anhalt wrote to Marie-Emmanuel Chabot to thank her for the previous Wednesday visit to the Monastery in Quebec.

I am writing to you to thank you, the most warm that I am capable of, for the welcome that you have well given me the Wednesday of last on the occasion of my visit to the

¹⁴⁸ There is not a lot of information in the letters about the current Marie of the Incarnation. However, Anhalt talks of the nun in a letter and writes to her on July 21st, 1975.

¹⁴⁹ The letter dated 4 July 1972 was written by secretary Andree Trudel on behalf of the Mother Superior to Anhalt and is included in the count of those written by the Mother Superior.

Monastery. Regrettably it is beyond my knowledge of French to be able to express, in a just manner, my gratitude, and for you to indicate the expression of sincerity appreciation of your generous hospitality. Permit me to tell you again one time how the ambiance of the Monastery has touched me. As a consequence, I returned home with the souvenir of a profound memory, that helped me certainly in my reflections concerning the project of the composition that I have spoken about with you.¹⁵⁰

This letter indicates the exact day which Anhalt visited the Monastery. In 1971, July 16th was a Friday. The Wednesday “of last” could be the two days before or the week before, suggesting that Anhalt either visited the Monastery on Wednesday July 14th or July 7th. The language “of last” suggests the week previous, rather than the mention of “this” which could indicate the two days previous. Anhalt also articulates his profound experience and states that he discussed the commission project with the nuns. It is safe to assume that this visit directly influenced the June-July libretto he was in the midst of finalizing for the end of the month. The Mother Superior responded within days with a letter dated July 21st, 1971.

I received your letter and your book on the “Musics of Quebec.” Now I am better informed on you and your person and your work method which combines synthetic sounds and living sounds in a complex manner. It is interesting to think that Marie de l’Incarnation will participate in future music. Her character as a woman was genial and universally lends itself well to this experience. She must have had a superb voice. Too bad that name cannot find her in the wave response by the world. We have tried in vain to capture your program on the radio. It seems that the post is inaccessible to us. You are always the most welcome at the old Monastery. Would you keep me informed of your research and of your work. Thank you for your book and kind greetings.¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ Anhalt to Chabot, 16 July 1971, E,32, p. 15, LAC.

¹⁵¹ Chabot to Anhalt, 21 July 1971, Quebec City (Canada), E,32, p. 16, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa. See Appendic C for all translations of letters.

This cordial letter corroborates the visit, but, more importantly, shows the interest of stakeholders within the community closest to the subject. If the nuns were not interested in Anhalt's topic, would he have continued? They were supportive of his venture, and he forged on.

Anhalt responds with a letter dated August 3rd, 1971. Included with the letter are thanks for library lending of books on the topic of Marie, a request for further material, and the first draft of the libretto manuscript. Anhalt writes

Dear Mother Marie-Emmanuel: I received your letter from the 21 of July with much pleasure. I am sending you, included here, the first version of text for the work that I am planning to compose concerning the life and time of Marie de l'Incarnation. I would be very happy if you consent to send me your comments. In the text I have tried to present a geographic and historical framework in a multidimensional way. Some fragments, which I believe represent some sources of her spiritual foundation are also included. The aspect of bilingualism, you will recall, is one of the conditions of the commission that I accepted with pleasure, but also without ignorance of the unique difficulties which come from it. Separately, I return to you with my thanks the three volumes that you have lent me. Is it possible to ask you for another favour? I would like to borrow from your library the 4 volumes By Dom A. Jamet, and the 2 volumes of letters published by the Abbey Richaudeau for a year. I would very much appreciate it if you can help me in this way. I am awaiting your response, yours Istvan Anhalt.¹⁵²

Anhalt includes the first version of the libretto and states he would be happy if she consented to send him comments. This can be seen as an indication of how important it was to him that the community closest to Marie accept and support the project. With their involvement, he could be sure that he was representing her in a way acceptable to those who cherished her memory. This letter is also important because it references library lending from the Monastery Archives.

Mother Marie-Emmanuel Chabot replies on August 9th, 1971:

Thank you for your letter and for the volumes we received in perfect order. Those that you would like to borrow will come to you this week. I read your text with great interest,

¹⁵² Anhalt to Chabot, 3 August 1971, E,32, p. 17, LAC. See Appendix C for all translations of letters.

trying to imagine the music which will accompany it. Permit me to communicate to you a few impressions.

1. In the Préambule, the english text seems to me to get ahead of the french citations. Do you think that one will understand “I do not want anyone to share this communication...?” In my opinion, it would need one more explanation/repetition
2. Your copist does not always separate well the French syllables. Examples: page 2 “servante” “lost” p5 monastery; p7 listening, ready
3. Page 2. A sea- page 3 a pair
4. “You have made them see the bad.” I do not see the link between this phrase and the preceding ones.
5. At page 10. One would wish for more unity
6. I have underlined in pencil the syllables which are wrong

In summary, as you wished, these are minor issues. Your method seems excellent to me and will produce excellent effects, under the condition that you add a few bridges, a few little lights to render the text more intelligible. It would without doubt be good to tell what she wrote before speaking of the defence of all indiscretion: “No one should touch it” I know that one has to leave some mystery, but for the listeners who are uninitiated on the topic of Marie of the Incarnation, it will be difficult to grasp. There you have it, a few reflections that I offer in all their simplicity, as if you were chatting with me.

Good bye and well wishes. You are on the right path.¹⁵³

This letter references another visit to the Monastery by Anhalt, a visit not referenced elsewhere in the letter archives, and offers some very precise feedback regarding the texts. Anhalt asked for feedback, but there is no telling what he expected in return. The Mother Superior asks Anhalt very pointed questions about the distribution of the text and explanation of certain phrases, asking if they will be understood by his audience without further explanation. She also focuses on editing and says she underlines syllable errors which would indicate that she wrote on the libretto and sent it back with her letter. These pages are unfortunately not included in the letter folder. In the end, she says her feedback is minor yet still questions the composer’s

¹⁵³ Chabot to Anhalt, 9 August 1971, Quebec City (Canada), E,32, p. 20-21, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

choice to not explain the phrase “no one should touch it” quoted from Marie’s private letters to her son. Anhalt responded immediately 2 days later on August 11th, 1971 with a letter expressing his thanks, his agreement with her observations and some explanation on why certain matters are not yet crucial to fix.

Dear Mother Marie-Emmanuel: Thank you for your letter on the 9th of August. All your observations concerning the text are on point and applicable, and I thank you for also having remarked on mistakes in the separations of french syllables. I have also a concern emanating from the elliptical character of the text. How to conserve the trait that I like and to reconcile that with the imperative of being intelligible? If, when composing, I find that the music lacks to produce the necessary bridges that you speak of then I will change the text. But already now I myself find as a result of your commentary that section IX needs to be redone. Presently I am of the opinion that LA TOURANGELLE will become a monodrama, with a solo singer / speaker in the clothing of a sister, sitting behind a desk recounting her history, accompanied by other complementary sounds from two hidden speakers, also, on the stage. She would be lit in a simple fashion: some on the face alone, sometimes her entire body, and occasionally she would be in darkness. The chamber orchestra of 10-15 musicians would be placed in a pit, in the corner of the stage, well away from her on a level far below that of her. The recorded parts, coming from speakers containing mostly speaking voices, and also the feel of a female choir. What do you think of the plan? Thank you also for lending the books.¹⁵⁴

She responds on August 16th, 1971

Dear Sir, Now, I understand better the role that you reserved for the musique. I really want that it serves as a bridge and makes the text more intelligible. It will remain a part of the indispensable mystery. The monodrama that you spoke of to me made me smile. There is an ensemble of sounds, the lights are very interesting. In advance, I imagine the effect that is produced by La Tourangelle. It will be touching like a space of presence. Onwards. It will be magnificent.¹⁵⁵

After this letter there is a one-year break between letter correspondences in the archive. In conclusion, April to July in 1971 were busy months for Anhalt. April 12th 1971 Anhalt tells his

¹⁵⁴ Anhalt to Chabot, 11 August 1971, E,32, p. 22-23, LAC.

¹⁵⁵ Chabot to Anhalt, 16 August 1971, Quebec City (Canada), E,32, p. 24-25, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

friend George of the commission. May 31st Roberts inquires “I would love to talk to you some time to find out how you are making out with your plans for the CBC commission.” On June 10th Anhalt mentions to his friend George that he is ' in the reading phase now spending a great deal of time in the library.” It is easy to assume that between June 10th and July 10th, 1971, Anhalt coordinated his first visit to the Ursuline Monastery in Quebec City, Quebec. Anhalt first visited the monastery the Wednesday before July 16th, 1971. Whether this was the 7th or the 14th, there was necessary planning done prior to the visit. It would take Anhalt only 17 days after this visit to the Monastery to send a first draft of the libretto text along with his letter on August 3rd, 1971, to the Mother Superior for feedback. On August 9th he receives very detailed feedback and then responds to the Mother Superior before the correspondence is put on hold until the next summer.

The following June, Anhalt organized another trip to the Monastery, this time a 3-day stay. The coordination of this trip is discussed in the letter from the Mother Superior on May 30th, 1972, and a quick note from Anhalt to the Mother on June 2nd, 1972. A schedule of his visit can be found in LAC Series D1, file 10, p 30-31. After this trip, on June 16th, 1972, he writes

Dear Mother Marie-Emmanuel: I write you very briefly to tell you a very dear thank you for an extraordinary welcome. I feel that you have opened doors for me to help me better understand the secret of Marie of the Incarnation. I will remember this always. At the same time as this letter I send you the disc that I talked to you about (the only copy in my possession is “open”) with some comments. My wife thanks you a lot for your kind gesture of the gift. She finds it very nice. It seems to us that it will be a little complicated to come back to Quebec on the 30th. We must leave our home that day, when the people who we rented it to arrive from California. But we will try to go there for the 1st of July, at the least. Would you transmit my amicable wishes to Mother Marie of the Incarnation and to the other mothers that I had the pleasure of seeing. I will keep you current of the progress of my work.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ Anhalt to Chabot, 16 June 1972, E,32, p. 15, LAC.

The Mother does not respond. Her next letter is written by her secretary to say that she is busy with her duties and will respond accordingly when she has the time. Unfortunately, there is missing correspondence. There must have been at least one letter or other correspondence in between the response from the secretary and the next letter dated August 27, 1972 because it references a visit to Anhalt's home in Montreal. They must have organized the trip via telephone because the letter from the Mother Superior states,

our dear friends, we came back enchanted by our short trip to Montreal. How kind you were to receive us at the house at the time of your next departure for Kingston. Now, we are looking forward to your show on Radio Canada. That Marie of the Incarnation inspires you and guides you in the artistic work. She herself wished to paint and write of marvels. Have a good trip and happy acclimatization to your new domicile/home. Greetings to the family and our gratitude.¹⁵⁷

Before the next hiatus in correspondence within the archive, Anhalt replies with a heartfelt thank you letter for the contributions the monastery has made to this project. On September 20th, 1972, Anhalt writes,

Dear Mother Marie-Emmanuel: I am very late with the response to your charming letter of August 27th, 1972. My wife and I were very happy to receive you in our home in the company of Mother Marie of the Incarnation. You brought to our home a special ambiance, and it is well felt and appreciated by the entire family. I had to start to tell you how grateful I am that you two, you have helped me reach my goal with my work concerning *La Tourangelle*. Between the 1st of July and the end of August, the work has made good progress. It slept since our move to Kingston. I hope to be able to resume the work of composition in October, but, I foresee it, at half speed. With a lot of friendliness and gratitude for your kindness and understanding, Istan Anhalt ps. Beate asked me to send you her greetings.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Chabot to Anhalt, 27 August 1972, Quebec City (Canada), E,32, p. 42-44, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

¹⁵⁸ Anhalt to Chabot, 20 September 1971, E,32, p. 45, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

This correspondence raises more questions than it answers. Who is the Mother Marie of the Incarnation? When and how did he arrange the visit? When did the family officially make their move to Kingston? The first two questions are left unanswered. The third question can be answered. One would believe the family moved in 1971 when Anhalt's position began. However, in a letter dated April 12th, 1971 Anhalt tells his friend George that the plan is to keep the house for 1971-72 with Anhalt commuting to Kingston from Montreal. Furthermore, on June 16th, 1972, he tells the Nuns that his Montreal home is being rented to people from California. In addition to this, his family entertains the nuns sometime in August 1972 in their Montreal Home. This would indicate that the Anhalt family kept possession of their Montreal home for at least one year as the family transitioned to their new life in Kingston. In other correspondence with Rochberg, Anhalt says it took two years for Beate to settle in and it only happened fully when they moved into their now home in Kingston. It is possible they had a home which they lived in for the first year while transitioning and then settled into a more permanent home the following year. The visit with the nuns could possibly be the last visit to their Montreal home before they permanently moved to Kingston in September of 1972. This, again, indicates that the end of August or beginning of September was the family's official move. Anhalt also says the work "slept" since the move to Kingston. The work rested for 2-4 weeks, and he hoped to start working on it again in October. Although he states he hopes to work on it in October, there is no indication in the letter archive that he was able to work on the piece in October, or at all until the next year.

The fonds letter correspondence continued in 1974 with a reply from the Mother to a letter Anhalt sent which is not included in the archive. Although the Anhalt letter is not included

in the archive, according to the Mother Superior's reply, one can assume it is a personal and professional update as to the status of the work and his life. On January 4th, 1974 she writes

Dear Friend, Your letter gave me great pleasure because it brought to me great news of your health and your work on Marie of the Incarnation. We can't wait to hear it on Radio Canada. If it airs on the english channel, we want you to let us know for it would be our pleasure to listen to you many times. Happiness friend in 1974 to you. Also to Mrs. Anhalt and to your dear children. Your family is getting used to the town of Kingston? Mother Marie of the Incarnation works hard in the archives despite being 78 years old. She holds still to the long term project. I am still superior of 80 nuns/ religious women. You must see that my hobbies are quite rare. In the meantime I find it for my friends and reserve for you on your next visit to Quebec. After the completion of our work, you must return to visit Marie of the Incarnation and her daughters.
Good bye, in faithful memory, Marie-Emmanuel Chabot¹⁵⁹

This concludes the correspondences with Marie-Emmanuel Chabot and Istvan Anhalt within the series E, file 32 of the LAC István Anhalt Fonds.

These letters speak to the genuine interest of Anhalt in his topic and the respect he had for those that held Marie as an important part of their lives. Anhalt built friendships with those at the monastery and was able to ask for feedback and advice regarding how he was depicting their beloved Marie. It was an important reconnaissance on the part of the artistic creator. Anhalt intended to recreate Marie on the stage, as a close representation of the woman who was known and loved by the Ursuline nuns. It appears Anhalt engaged with the topic sincerely through his visits and correspondences with individuals who felt connected to Marie, asking them for input along the way.

¹⁵⁹ Chabot to Anhalt, 4 January 1974, Quebec City (Canada), E,32, p. 92-94, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

4.3 Recording Process: Readers and Performers

Composition of the opera commenced in the summer of 1972 after Anhalt finished the second libretto. We know this because he wrote to his friend George Rochberg in August referencing how he started composing immediately in July when he arrived in Montreal from Kingston. By the time he writes the letter, he has been composing for one month's time and tells his friend that the work is half sketched. As the end of summer of 1972 approaches, it is highly likely that Anhalt's production once again decreases. The following summer, on May 28th, Anhalt wrote to Roberts that the composition of the music will be finished by the end of the recording sessions which are scheduled to end in June 1973. He says "most of the music is sketched." It took roughly one year (1972-1973) for Anhalt to sketch the entire opera.

In the winter semester of 1973 Anhalt was very active on *La Tourangelle*. This is different from the past two winters when there was little progress on the opera during the school semester. This winter, however, Anhalt organized recording sessions for the electronic spoken and sung texts to be played on the tapes during the performance. The recording sessions ran from February to June 1973 in both Kingston and Montreal. Anhalt employed multiple people to record texts, including two children's choirs and two recording studios. The recordings were completely his responsibility, although he received help from the CBC in certain cases as well as financial support in the form of the \$800 expense account.

SUMMER OF 1972

As the school year comes to a close, Anhalt returns to his project and continues with a second draft of the libretto. He has become more clear about the exact subject matter of the opera and the layout of the libretto



Figure 5. Timeline of activities based on correspondence during the summer of 1972

SPRING SUMMER 1973

The libretto took two years to refine. The second year refining occurred during the composition and recording phases.

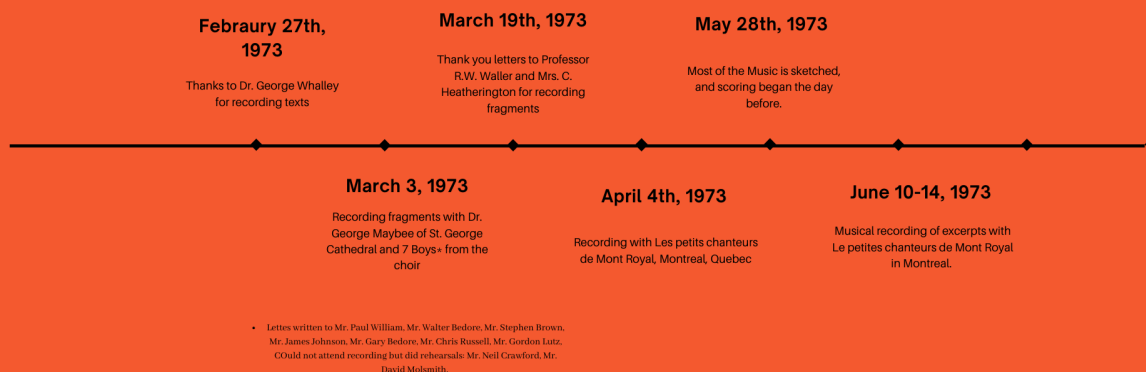


Figure 6. Timeline of activities based on correspondence during the 1973

4.3.1 Recording Sessions

Anhalt enlists multiple people to help with the recorded portions of the opera. February 27th, 1973, is the first date listed in the letter archive regarding the rehearsals and recording of the taped portions. The letters indicate the main participants in the recording sessions to be Abby Clement Morin, Dr. George Whalley, Dr. Crowder, George Maybee (director of St. George boys choir in Kingston), the Abbey Depuis (Les Petits Choeur De Mont Royal in Montreal) for the French boys choir, R.W. Waller and Carolyne Hetherington; the letters also indicate Anhalt received support from CBC and coordinated with C.A Kinnaird for the recordings in Montreal with the boys choir, as well as Marjorie Driscoll at CFRC Studios and technician services of Andrew K. Marshall for the Kingston recordings. Other archival documentation (D1,10) indicates other possible readers. The recordings took place between February and June 1973, with most of the work being completed by the end of March.

Other than the letters, the Anhalt fonds mentions names of people who were recorded for the taped portions of the scores. It states “included are readings of various fragments from the libretto (Jacques Languirand, André Bédard, Françoise Riopelle, Clément Morin, Denise Grenier, Maurice Levasseur, George Whalley, R.W. Waller, C. Crowder, C. Hetherington, etc.), as well as songs performed by Les Petits Chanteurs du Mont-Royal and the St. George’s Boys Choir (Kingston).”¹⁶⁰ In D1,10, there are also names written beside portions of libretto text. Some of the names coincide with the names listed above. The names of the individuals written down in Anhalt’s documents (D1,10) include Marie de l’Incarnation, Morin, Bedard,

¹⁶⁰ Stéphane Jean, “István Anhalt Fonds (MUS 164) Numerical List,” Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, (2004): 69.

Languirand, Paradis, and La Pierre. This means that Riopelle, Grenier, and Levasseur are not mentioned in the archival documents for this project. There is no way to tell at this time which voices are indeed included in the taped portions of the opera. More access to the archives is necessary.

Table 7. List of Possible Readers Based on Archival Document

Name	Letters E,32	Fonds Statement	File D,10
André Bédard		Yes	Yes
C. Crowder	Yes	Yes	
C. Hetherington	Yes	Yes	
Clément Morin	Yes	Yes	Yes
Denise Grenier		Yes	
Françoise Riopelle		Yes	
George Whalley	Yes	Yes	
Jacques Languirand		Yes	Yes
La Pierre			Yes
Les Petits chanteurs du Mont-Royal	Yes	Yes	
Marie de l'Incarnation			Yes
Maurice Levasseur		Yes	
Paradis			Yes
R.W. Waller	Yes	Yes	
St. George's Boys Choir		Yes	

Possible Other Readers

Archival documentation (D1,10) indicates other possible readers to be the current Marie de l'Incarnation, Morin, Bedard, Languirand, Paradis, and La Pierre. It is unclear when Anhalt would have recorded with these people. If he did record with them, one might wonder where the thank you letter or other correspondences might be. Anhalt visited the Monastery on occasion and there are multiple letters to the monastery but no indication of any recording. More documents would need to come to light to assume the current Marie de l'Incarnation indeed recorded her voice as Marie for the opera. There is no indication of who Jacque Languirand is or when his recording would have taken place. There is no indication of who Paradis is, not even a first name. We know La Pierre is a historian colleague of Anhalt's from Montreal and specifically from McGill University. However, this name is completely absent from any archival documentation other than the lists of names referencing recordings. His name is also absent from the finding aid of the LAC. La Pierre's connection to the opera is only known due to Anhalt's mention of his name to Smith for the book *Pathways and Memory* -which is discussed elsewhere in these pages. There is no indication when recording with La Pierre would have taken place. There is also no indication of who Francioise Riopelle, Denise Grenier, Andre Bedard and Maurice Levasseur are, or when recording their voices would have taken place. To know the entire list of readers one would need full access to the archive to search all documentation. Even then it may not be possible to determine the actual list of all readers.

4.3.2 The Performers

Anhalt wrote to each of the choristers to thank them for their participation in the recordings. On March 7th Anhalt sent identical letters to Mr. Paul William, Mr. Walter Bedore, Mr. Stephen Brown, Mr. James Johnson, Mr. Gary Bedore, Mr. Chris Russell, Mr. Gordon Lutz, as well as to two members who could not attend recording but did rehearsals: Mr. Neil Crawford, Mr. David Molsmith. On March 19th, 1973, he wrote to R.W. Waller and Carolyne Hetherington to thank them for their voices. On March 27th, 1973, Anhalt wrote to Abby Clement Morin (in French) to thank him for his voice and for his aid in connecting Le petites Chanteurs to the project. The thank you letters are the main source of verification to validate who recorded with Anhalt for this project. Unfortunately, names are missing from the letters. Names mentioned in the fonds, as well as names listed in Anhalt's notes do not have source material to support that they in fact did record for the project.

Abby Clément Morin

It is unclear when Anhalt would have recorded with Abby Clément Morin, but it is clear that he did record his voice. He is responsible for helping Anhalt secure Les petites chanteurs. In a letter dated March 27th, 1973, Anhalt wrote “Just a word to thank you so much for your intervention that had me procure the collaboration with the Abby Depuis, Director of Little Singers of Mont Royal.” He continues by saying “with regrettable lateness, I would like you to know how enchanted I am with your personal collaboration concerning *La Tourangelle*. It is wonderful, an extraordinary experience to have the privilege of working with you. Your understanding of the project, your sympathy, virtuous voice and generosity are an inspiration for

me.”¹⁶¹ The phrase “with regrettable lateness” highlights the fact that the recording most likely took place at least one week or two earlier than the letter date. This dates the recording at the end of February or early March. The indication of Morin having a virtuous voice assures the reader that his voice was indeed used for the recordings.

St. George Boys' Choir Recordings

The correspondence on March 6th, 1973, with George Maybee of the Kingston boys' choir gives no evidence of scheduling rehearsals, but the letters to the individual boys who attended the recording do mention the rehearsals. Anhalt's individual letters to 7 boy participants (Mr. Paul William, Mr. Walter Bedore, Mr. Stephen Brown, Mr. James Johnson, Mr. Gary Bedore, Mr. Chris Russell, Mr. Gordon Lutz), dated March 7th, wrote “I am writing to thank you for your participation in the rehearsals and tape -recording connected with a new work of mine.”¹⁶² As well, to the two boys (Mr. Neil Crawford, Mr. David Molsmith) who could only attend rehearsals and not the recording he writes

¹⁶¹ “Just un mot pour vous remercier tres chaleureusement de votre intervention que m'a procure la collaboration de l' Abbe Dupuis, Directeur de Petits Chanteurs de Mont Royal.... Avec un retard assez regrettable je voudrais vous faire connaître comment j'ai ete enchante avec votre collaboration personnelle concernant LA TOURANGELLE. C'etait, veritablement, une experience extraordinaire d'avoir eu le privilege de travailler avec vous. Votre comprehension du projet, votre sympathie, virtuosité vocale et votre generosite sont une inspiration pour moi.” Anhalt to Clement Morin (Choir Director and Theologian residing and working in Montreal and internationally) 27 March 1973, E,32, p. 77, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

¹⁶² Anhalt to Choristers (St. George's Cathedral Boys' Choir Choristers), 7 March 1973, E,32, p. 64-70, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa. There are 7 identical letters to each of the choristers who recorded. Their names are Paul Williams, Walter Bedore, Stephen Brown, James Johnson, Gary Bedore, Chris Russell, Gordon Lutz.

I am writing to thank you for your participation in some of the rehearsals connected with a new work of mine, based on the life of a great early Canadian, Marie de l'incarnation. It is a pity that you were unable to participate in the tape -recording session on Saturday, March 3, 1973, since you have shown a good understanding of the tasks involved, as well as imagination. I was pleased with your co-operation, and I hope that you had fun in participating.¹⁶³

The letters thanking the boys do not mention the date of the recording session, so it is beneficial to see reference to that actual date of the recording (March 3rd, 1973) in the letters to the boys who missed the recording session. It is most plausible that the rehearsals for the boys choir took place at the end of February, followed by the recording session on March 3rd, with follow up letters going out on March 7th.

Les Petites Chanteurs Recordings

In letters to Charles Dupuis, the conductor of Les petites chanteurs du Mont Royal, one finds evidence of rehearsals being scheduled with the composer prior to the recording session. March 19th, 1973 Anhalt gives many tips to the director of music Abby Dupuis in regards to the fragments he has sent the group. Along with this information, he tells the director “I will return to 4300 Queen Mary Road on the 4th of April, for 4 hours. Permit me, sir, to add that I am in profound recognition of having the privilege of working with you and with the Little Singers of Mont Royal.”¹⁶⁴ Anhalt was very pleased to be working with this well-known and renowned

¹⁶³Anhalt to Choristers, 7 March 1973, E,32, p. 71-72, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa. There are two identical letters to the two choristers who could attend practice but missed the recording day. Their names are Neil Crawford and David Molsmith.

¹⁶⁴ Anhalt to Abby Charles Dupuis (Conductor of the Little Singers of Mont Royal), 19 March 1973, E,32, p. 73-74, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

choir. We know this is the first time Anhalt has worked with the group because he was given an introduction through Abby Clermont and mentions in his letter to Abby Dupuis on March 28th, 1973 “We will talk on April 4th at 1pm when we meet for the first time.”¹⁶⁵ This could be a colloquialism to refer to meeting for the first time during this project. However, that is most likely not the case. As the two had previously not met, it is believed that this was the first encounter. After this initial meeting he returns for further rehearsals around the recording date in June. Anhalt enlists the help of C.A Kinnaird from the CBC to help with recording the choir in Montreal and tells Kinnaird on April 9th, 1973 “I shall have 2 or 3 rehearsals, depending on need, with the boys and the organist on June 10, 11, and /or 12.”¹⁶⁶ The recordings themselves were to take place between the 13-15th of June. However, this shifts to June 11-14th. Anhalt tells John Roberts “I plan to be in Montreal during June 11 -14 for a recording session with the Les Petit Chanteurs, organized by Miss C. Kinnard. I would be grateful if you would authorize funds for the expenses.”¹⁶⁷ Anhalt’s expenses are covered for the days of the 11th to the 14th. Anhalt is pleased with the result of the recordings and the professionalism of the boys.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Anhalt to Abby Charles Dupuis, 28 March 1973, E,32, p. 80, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

¹⁶⁶ Anhalt to C. A. Kinnaird (Senior Producer, Serious Music CBC), 9 April 1973, E,32, p. 84-85, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

¹⁶⁷ Anhalt to Roberts, 28 May 1973, E,32, p. 87, LAC.

¹⁶⁸ Anhalt to Dupuis, 21 June 1973, E,32, p. 87, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

4.3.3 Dr. Crowder Recordings

Anhalt's letters to Dr. Crowder suggest they rehearsed the text prior to recording. His letter to Dr. Crowder on February 27th, 1973, states "please find enclosed the excerpts from the text of *La Tourangelle* which I would like you to read. I shall call you around March 10 about rehearsal and recording dates."¹⁶⁹ The letter to Dr. Crowder also includes libretto texts that he is to read. These texts whose source material are indicated beside them in the letter are discussed in 4.3.1 Sources. The next letter to Dr. Crowder is dated March 30, 1973, and it thanks the Doctor by saying "in reciting these text fragments you have shown a deep understanding of the ideas and contexts involved, and consequently, have infused the words with life."¹⁷⁰ We know that Anhalt never lets many days pass before sending a follow up letter. For this reason, it is reasonable to assume the recording happened around the 28th of March. While there is no indication that he rehearsed with other readers, this evidence suggests that he probably did meet with them or go over the text prior to or during their recording sessions. And it is clear that he rehearsed with the choirs.

4.3.4 Recording Technicians

Anhalt enlisted the work of professionals to help compile the recorded materials for the opera. Marjorie Driscoll at CFRC Studios with technician services of Andrew K. Marshall for the Kingston recordings and C.A Kinnaird from the CBC for the Montreal recordings and final

¹⁶⁹ Anhalt to Crowder, 27 February 1973, E,32, p. 46, LAC.

¹⁷⁰ Anhalt to Crowder, 30 March 1973, Kingston (Canada), E,32, p. 81, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

compilation of tracks. Not much is known at this time about CFRC Studios involvement. However, being Canada's oldest campus community radio station in Kingston Ontario, it is likely that Anhalt used the services on campus to do Kingston recordings. Their prices were very modest at \$5.00 per hour for recording services at the studio and \$10.00 per hour for specified services of an individual named Andrew K. Marshall.¹⁷¹ There is additional correspondence with Kinnaird around the CBC involvement in the recordings of Les Petites Chanteurs in Montreal in June 1973. Anhalt's letters to Kinnaird show what equipment was necessary for the recording. He writes "we shall need the following: 1. An organ (it need not be a large one, and if absolutely inevitable, it could be an electrical instrument.) 2. A two- channel stereo tape system (half-track); reverberation device, if at all possible, but not indispensable."¹⁷² From this same letter we learn of his preferences for the space where the recordings will occur. He writes "I would prefer to do the recording in a studio where I could obtain a range between 'small enclosure' sounds, and (with the simultaneous or subsequent addition of reverberation) 'large enclosure', or 'open - air' sounds."¹⁷³ He concluded the recording correspondences with Kinnaird on June 22nd and July 20th, 1973, when asking her to reimburse his travel and printing expenses associated with the recording sessions.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Marjorie Driscoll (CFRC Studios) to Anhalt, 6 April 1973, Kingston (Canada), E,32, p. 82-83, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

¹⁷² Anhalt to Kinnaird, 9 April 1973, E,32, p. 84-85, LAC.

¹⁷³ Anhalt to Kinnaird, 9 April 1973, E,32, p. 84-85, LAC.

¹⁷⁴ Anhalt to Kinnaird, 22 June 1973, E,32, p. 89, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.; Anhalt to Kinnaird, 20 July 1973, E,32, p. 91, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

4.4 Libretto Writing and Multimedia Recordings: Reciprocal Influence

Through the investigation of the creation of the libretto and the recording of the multimedia musical and textual elements, the reciprocity between text, music, and working with artists within Anhalt's creative process is revealed. In the early stages of writing Anhalt mentions that he will know more about his needs for the text once the music is written. Anhalt tells the Mother Superior, "if, when composing, I find that the music lacks to produce the necessary bridges ... then I will change the text."¹⁷⁵ He also states to Roberts, in regards to the libretto, that "only in the process of composing the music shall I know for sure what is superfluous, what is enough, where is a 'hole', requiring transition, etc."¹⁷⁶ These two quotes speak to the need of the music to refine the libretto. However, to Dr. Whalley, Anhalt writes "the understanding you have shown, furthermore, put certain thoughts in motion and as a result I started to sketch the music for the dream sequence during this past weekend."¹⁷⁷ This letter, written in February of 1973, indicates that the process of recording the libretto texts and working with a live artist influenced Anhalt's musical composition. This is akin to workshopping a piece to gain more clarity in the compositional process. There is reciprocity if the text influenced the music, as noticed in the quote to Walley, and the music influenced the final texts, as noticed in the quote to Roberts. Therefore, in the case of this opera, it is fair to assume that the compositional process is non-

¹⁷⁵ Anhalt to Chabot, 11 August 1971, E,32, p. 22-23, LAC.

¹⁷⁶ Anhalt to Roberts, 26 September 1971, E,32, p. 29, LAC.

¹⁷⁷ Anhalt to Dr. George Whalley (Department of English, Queen's University), 27 February 27 1973, E,32, p. 47, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

linear, and that music reciprocally influences and is influenced by text, as well as other processes within the compositional creation phase. Furthermore, there is a letter addressed to the CBC clarifying additional corrections being made by the copyist because revisions to the score were made during the rehearsal process in June and July -again showing fluidity of influence between different areas of creating and bringing an opera to the stage.

We can see such reciprocity by examining the libretto drafts and final libretto once their chronology has been established. Texts changes from one draft to the next. For example, the texts given to Crowder during the recording phase in 1973 reveal the absence of certain of these texts in the final score. This evidences Anhalt's commentary on how the music will influence the final libretto; it influenced cutting of some texts despite the inspiration the reading of those texts offered the composer. The recording phase required all possible texts to be recorded, long before completion of the entire work. This means not all recorded texts were used in the final version of the opera libretto. In the case of Dr. Crowder, we have access to an exact list of texts sent for recording. A comparison of the texts sent to Crowder with the text of the final score verifies that some of the texts of an earlier libretto which were recorded did not make it into the final score.¹⁷⁸ The reciprocity within the creative process of writing an opera is cyclical and continuous until it is put to a stop and the score is handed in as complete at the end of the production in 1975.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ It is rare to have attachments included with the original letter in the Anhalt archive, Series E,32. I believe it is because Anhalt did not include them in his own archival process.

¹⁷⁹ However, as the score itself was not published until 1982, there would have been another opportunity to make revisions and clarifications during that process.

5. Preparing the Premiere: Anhalt's Involvement with the Production Process

This chapter discusses the activities leading to the premiere of the opera and the reception of the performance. Between the months of January and July 1975, Anhalt worked with the CBC editing the score, liaising with the conductor, working with the performers, technicians and orchestra, and managing the premiere itself. On January 15th, 1975, Anhalt received a cheque for \$2,500 from the CBC, marking the finalization of the commission contract for the operatic score of *La Tourangelle* and the beginning of the production phase. The next step of the process was largely the responsibility of the CBC, that of mounting the opera itself. However, Anhalt was instrumental in this part of the process. Between January and March 1975, letters between the CBC and Anhalt focus mainly on the copying of the score, except for a few correspondences with the conductor, Marius Constant. From the end of March onwards, the letters focus mainly on rehearsal scheduling. Therefore, the letters indicate a shifting focus from the physical score to the scheduling of live rehearsals in preparation for the performance. The totality of the letters reveals Anhalt's unending passion to see his work brought to the stage. In the days post-premiere, three reviews were published and multiple letters written between Anhalt and stakeholders regarding their views of the opera. These letters showcase the commitment of the composer to his vision for the opera and his satisfaction in the final result.

5.1 The Consultancy Contract

Although the composer's commission contract was complete, he continued working with the CBC to bring the opera to a live audience. As noted in chapter two, on July 9th, 1975 the CBC sent a contract to Anhalt, enlisting his services as "Program Consultant for a period of five weeks, commencing June 13, 1975 and ending July 17, 1975."¹⁸⁰ This contract hired Anhalt under the umbrella of the CBC Summer Festival program series.¹⁸¹ Although the contract, viewable in the archive, does not state the duties this position involved, Anhalt's letters during the time present a clear narrative of his participation between January to July of 1975.

It is interesting that the contract mentions nothing of tasks involved with the consultancy position. The contract states that "you agree to provide your services, as described herein" and "for your services, as covered herein," but there is no *herein*, describing said services.¹⁸² The best explanation given in the contract is that Anhalt, as a consultant, performs duties "under the direction of and to the satisfaction of the Head of Radio Music Department, or his delegate."¹⁸³ Anhalt worked, for the duration of the contract, under and with the delegates, Irving Glick, Anne Coy, Richard Coulter, and Kathleen Ellis.¹⁸⁴ The first letter of 1975, Anhalt wrote to Glick. However, starting in March, Anhalt began his correspondence with Coulter. The first letter

¹⁸⁰ Fenton to Anhalt, 9 July 1975, E,32, p. 142-43, LAC.

¹⁸¹ Fenton to Anhalt, 9 July 1975, E,32, p. 142-43, LAC.

¹⁸² Fenton to Anhalt, 9 July 1975, E,32, p. 142-43, LAC.

¹⁸³ Fenton to Anhalt, 9 July 1975, E,32, p. 142-43, LAC.

¹⁸⁴ Irving Glick was the Producer of Serious Music; Anne Coy was the Supervisor of Library Services; Richard Coulter was an audio and TV technician, announcer, and music producer; and Kathleen Ellis was a music librarian.

including Coulter's name is dated March 21, 1975 and the last is July 22nd, 1975. Coulter corresponded with the artists and artists' managers, and some of these letters were forwarded to Anhalt. For example, on April 3rd, he received a forwarded copy of Coulter's March 21st 1975 letter from Constant's manager. This happened long before the consultancy contract officially began. Although the dates of the consultancy contract are listed as June 13th – July 17, we know Anhalt worked continuously from January onward in preparation of the premiere. One can assume the contract was a means to compensate and recognize this extra work.

5.1.1 The Score

One of Anhalt's large tasks during the months leading to the premiere in 1975 was to prepare the score for the performers and for publishing. Because the score was handwritten, it needed to be copied into a more readable format for musicians, vocalists, and the conductor. He coordinated with the CBC music library through Anne Coy and Kathleen Ellis, and he worked with a copyist to complete the score. Exchanges on this topic are covered in 12 documents between January and July 1975. Unfortunately, the letters offer an incomplete narrative.¹⁸⁵ The exact extent of the work of the copyist and the work of Anhalt in the process of editing and copying are not entirely clear from the letters, which outline only a small portion of the copying process. However, they do establish a timeline for workflow and bring to light an important conflict: a dissatisfaction in the original copyist.

The timeline of the copying of the score takes place between January and July 1975. One

¹⁸⁵ Letters in 1975 connected to copying the score, invoices for copying, review of the score, etc... include January 27th, February 4th, March 14th, March 27th, April 6th, June 19th, July 21st, July 21st, July 21st, July 22nd, July 25th, July 31st.

of the first items dated 1975 is a shipping label dated January 27th, 1975. It simply reads “ANHALT, Istvan - LA TOURANGELLE - 2 scores (in 2 volumes each).”¹⁸⁶ The last item in folder E32 is marked to Anne Coy, July 31st, 1975, and is an invoice for copying expenses. We can establish that the process of copying and revising the score happened between these two dates.

On February 4th, 1975, Anne Coy of the CBC wrote a letter to Anhalt. There is no direct response to this letter in the archive, but there is an indication that Anhalt followed her advice.

She writes,

Mr. Glick has asked us to consult you regarding the copying of the vocal parts of your commissioned work La Tourangelle. His questions are should the 3 sopranos be copied on 1 part and should the 2 narrators be included? Our experience has proven that it is more satisfactory to have copying done in the vicinity of the composer for purposes of easier communication. Do you know of a good copyist near you who is prepared to accept the assignment keeping in mind that the due date is about mid-June? The rate we are paying, in keeping with our Agreement with the A. F. of M. is \$2.50 per page and double that for the parts required to be done on transparents. We can supply the paper or pay the copyist on submission of his account or Union Contract.¹⁸⁷

This letter suggests four things: 1) the copying work had already started at the CBC; 2) the CBC preferred composers to work with copyists in their general vicinity; 3) the copying of the opera score was expected to be completed in roughly 5 months; and 4) the copyist would be paid

¹⁸⁶ At first glance this shipping label and an identical second shipping label dated June 19th 195 can be mistaken as documents sent from the CBC to Anhalt. However, they are from the CMC, the Canadian Music Centre to Anhalt, and not the CBC. This introduces an entirely new stakeholder in the opera. They hold the published score on their website as well as host the recordings for free listening in their digital archives. The connection with the composer and the CMC is not surprising, yet discussion as to how they fit into the structure of the classical music industry in the 1970s is a discussion meant for another day.

¹⁸⁷ Anne Coy (CBC Music Librarian) to Anhalt, 4 February 1975, Toronto (Canada), E,32, p. 110, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

according to an American Federation of Musicians (A. F. of M) agreement. Anhalt did find his local copyist, and this is confirmed in a letter dated March 14th, 1975 when Anhalt wrote to Mr. Sullivan, a copyist. Anhalt gave various instructions to the copyist on how he should transcribe the score and then waited to see the corrections. In the letter he explains the reasoning behind certain choices in assignment of parts. For example, the celesta part became possible only through the addition of another instrumentalist. Anhalt also addresses notational errors made on the part of the copyist. This includes specifying “in movement seven, bar 180, the first note is C, not Ab.”¹⁸⁸ Anhalt concludes his letter by stating he will send more notes of changes as he notices them. All seems to be working out well, until Anhalt sees succeeding copies of Sullivan’s work.

On March 26th, Anhalt received multiple pages of music to proofread. The shipping bill, dated March 26th, states the contents to be “Istvan Anhalt: La Tourangelle, Violin – 22 pages, Viola – 23 pages, Cello – 27 pages, Bass – 23 pages, and 1 sheet of corrections” with the “reason for shipment” being “for proof-reading.”¹⁸⁹ Between March 26th and April 6th Anhalt proofreads the pages, but stops, finding the work unusable. He writes to Ellis and mentions needing a new copyist. The score should be ready by mid June and it is now early April. His letter, dated April 6th, is as follows:

Enclosed please find all the material you have sent me. (Re: La Tourangelle)
I have done the following: I have read through this material and found it unusable in its original state. I have corrected all the material sent wherever possible, a major flaw: The

¹⁸⁸ Anhalt to Mr. T. Sullivan, 14 March 1975, E,32, p. 111, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

¹⁸⁹ Kathleen Ellis to Anhalt, 26 March 1975, Toronto (Canada), E,32, p. 114, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

lack of proper page-turning opportunity. A few places remain to be corrected from the page turning point of view. These are indicated in the score, with the suggestion of how it is to be done. I began correcting other errors and omissions, but completed only pages 1 - 16 in the VIOLIN part. After having realized the extent of the corrections to be done (27 corrections on the first page of the violin part alone) I have decided to send the material back to you with the recommendation that it be returned to the copyist with the enclosed 4 pages of comments. I have also spoken today on the telephone with Mr. Sullivan who himself suggested that the material should go back to him for correction before it is sent back to me for proof reading. Mr. Sullivan also agreed to check very carefully the wind parts for movements 1, 2, 3 that he has completed before sending it to you I would like to say that one of the problems in the copy: Finding a suitable page turning place is not entirely Mr. Sullivan's short coming as a copyist. The score itself is rather densely written and this created problems in this respect. However, on repeated occasions, I have asked Mr. Sullivan to contact me for advice should he encounter difficulty. In this regard. He did not contact me. I find this attitude difficult to understand on the part of a competent copyist. Tomorrow I shall telephone to Mrs Coy and discuss with her the advisability of finding another copyist to complete this job.¹⁹⁰

With only two months before the premiere, it is urgent that a good copyist is found to complete the work. Anhalt's concern is evident in his need to discuss finding a new copyist with Coy. He stops correcting the errors because he cannot waste time. He criticizes the copyist for not reaching out for help and finds this highly unprofessional. He also criticizes the copyist's inability to find proper page-turning opportunities,¹⁹¹ although he does retract this criticism slightly by taking some of the blame for a densely written score. This letter leaves the issue in the middle of a conflict, with the question looming; Was the copyist fired? The mid-June deadline is moving up quickly. What are they to do?

¹⁹⁰ Anhalt to Ellis, 6 April 1975, Toronto (Canada), E,32, p. 114, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

¹⁹¹ When instrumentalists play a musical line, and their instrument requires them to use two hands, it is crucial that there are good page turning opportunities in the score. The musical notation needs to allow space and time for the instrumentalist to turn the page and to not disrupt the musical line. This is not an issue in a large orchestra with two seats. However, with a chamber orchestra of single seated instrumentalists, it is very important. Otherwise, page turners would be required for each musician.

The next document referencing the score was written on July 21st, 1975. This is two and a half months after the April 6th letter, and four days after the premiere. It is dated. It is an invoice for Mr. Richard Bronskill, for copying services. There is no further mention of Sullivan. It appears that Anhalt did indeed switch copyists. The invoice from Bronskill is for copying 659 pages of *La Tourangelle* and for 9.5 hours of corrections. There is no invoice for Sullivan or mention of the name after the letter citing Anhalt's displeasure and consideration of switching copyists. Anhalt sent the invoice of Bronskill to Coy and there is an additional letter clarifying the sums in which Anhalt attests to additional corrections being made by the copyist because revisions were made during the rehearsal process. He states the corrections were "revisions I made during the vocal and ensemble rehearsals."¹⁹² These rehearsals happened in April, June, and July and are discussed in section 5.6 Rehearsals. Although there was a mid-June deadline, changes were made during the rehearsal process, which consequently made the rehearsals into workshops. The composer used the experience of working with the conductor and performers to refine his work. Revisions were made as late as July.¹⁹³

Anhalt also did copying work himself. He explains to Coulter on July 22nd that "I should add that I did copying work myself, also. Accordingly Mrs. Coy advised me not to include this in Bronskill's bill that went eventually to her."¹⁹⁴ What copying work did the composer do? Was

¹⁹² Anhalt to Coy, 21 July 1975, Kingston (Canada), E,32, p. 166, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

¹⁹³ Anhalt's final letter to Constant thanks him for his help in making pertinent suggestions for changes in the score during rehearsals. This is how we know changes occurred in July.

¹⁹⁴ Anhalt to Coulter, 22 July 1975, Toronto (Canada), E,32, p. 167-68, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

this work in addition to the correction work mentioned in earlier letters? Was this work because of the change of copyists? Did the composer take it upon himself to do copy work through the transition to a new copyist? Did Anhalt get paid for this work? There is no other reference to this topic in the correspondence letters, which unfortunately leaves these questions unanswered.

What *is* known is that Anhalt participated in the editing and copying of the score, that the process utilized two copyists, and that the score received revisions throughout the rehearsal process.

5.1.2 The Performers

Anhalt and the CBC collaborated in acquiring the five vocal soloists to participate in the production. There is an indication in the letters that Anhalt himself approached Mary Morrison and Phyllis Mailing while the CBC approached Gary Relyea, Albert Greer, and Roxolana Roslak. On January 27th, 1975 Anhalt wrote to Glick, “Mary Morrison is visiting here with the Canadian Opera Company. I have spoken with her about the work and showed her the score.”¹⁹⁵ This seems to indicate he was closely involved in bringing Morrison on board. On March 25th, 1975 Anhalt wrote a letter to Coulter, giving his blessing regarding Relyea as Bass soloist, writing “Mr. Relyea called. I like his voice, he will be fine for the part.” This indicates the CBC took the initiative when hiring Relyea and Anhalt approved the choice. On April 4, 1975 Anhalt asked to meet with three of the five soloists. He wrote to Coulter “should it be possible to meet Miss Roslak, and the two male vocalists, also for a brief preliminary talk, I would be delighted with the opportunity.” One might wonder why Anhalt wanted to only meet these three

¹⁹⁵ Anhalt to Glick, 27 January 1975, E,32, p. 108-09, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

performers. It seems he had little to no relationship with the three artists, hence, the need for a preliminary meeting. These are the three soloists brought in by the CBC and Anhalt wanted to meet them to discuss the work before moving forward with the process. The other two soloists, however, needed no introduction. Anhalt knew both Mailing and Morrison.¹⁹⁶ Asking to meet with Morrison was unnecessary as he already spoke with Morrison when he invited her to join the project in January 1975. What is curious is that there is no mention of Mailing, or how she entered the project. The letters do not mention her at all in the early months of 1975. Her name appears for the first time only when Anhalt writes to all five soloists on May 9th, 1975. Mailing was the soloist for Anhalt's previous work *Foci*, which received its American premiere in 1969 and Canadian premiere during the compositional process of *La Tourangelle*. He appreciated her as an artist and friend and it is highly likely he asked her to join the production during a phone call or in-person meeting. This would explain the lack of her being mentioned in the correspondence. Both Morrison and Mailing joined the production through their relationship with Anhalt, and Greer, Relyea and Roslak joined through their connection solely as soloists with the CBC.

5.1.3 The Technical Crew

Anhalt was involved with both stage management and technical work at the premiere. During the time Anhalt coordinated with Coulter about meeting the performers, he was also coordinating the opportunity to meet with the technicians and stage manager. On March 25th,

¹⁹⁶ They both had substantial experience with contemporary music through their own performance history of contemporary works and both were married to composers.

1975 Anhalt asked Coulter to set up a meeting with the “person who will be responsible for the audio part of the performance on July 17th.”¹⁹⁷ He suggests mid-April and the meeting happened on April 22nd at 1400 hours in room #403, 354 Jarvis Street in the CBC building. Anhalt meets Coulter and an unnamed “radio technician.” Coulter was many things for the CBC. For this meeting, he was likely present, in part, as Anhalt’s handler and as a technical adviser. Anhalt later meets William Pyke at the MacMillan theatre at 1500 hours. Pyke is set to be the stage manager for the production. There is no indication that Coulter attended that meeting. Further meetings were not scheduled by letter, but by phone call, as indicated by Coulter who wrote “with luck there will be further meetings and I will phone you about these.”¹⁹⁸

Anhalt and multiple other technicians coordinated the electronic recordings during the opera. According to the operatic score, five operators were needed. According to Renihan there were “five tape recorded manipulators, which were manned by the composer himself at the performance.”¹⁹⁹ The letters indicate there were multiple technicians involved and so, the idea that Anhalt manned the tapes alone is highly implausible. What Renihan likely meant in this quote is that there were five tape manipulators and Anhalt, as one of them, was one of them. From other accounts of the premiere one can deduce that Anhalt was the main operator in the front of house, mixing the house sound. One review, from William Littler (see 5.7.2) states that it was “the composer himself sitting mid-audience before an open score and electronic

¹⁹⁷ Anhalt to Coulter, 25 March 1975, E,32, p. 113, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

¹⁹⁸ Coulter to Anhalt, 16 April 1975, Toronto (Canada), E,32, p. 122-23, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

¹⁹⁹ Colleen Renihan, “Sounding the Past,” 278.

console.”²⁰⁰ A second review (see also 5.7.2) by John Kraglund stated there was a “mess of electronic equipment, with the composer at the master console.”²⁰¹ The third review stated the production required “two tape machines, and sundry assistant conductors, page turners, tape starters and volume controllers.”²⁰² The culmination of these observations suggest Anhalt was involved with the tapes at the premiere, and that there were other technicians involved.

Technicians for the opera possibly included a radio technician, one cue operator and three technicians. The score states it takes five people to coordinate the tape consoles and Anhalt penned five names under the title of *technicians* on a scrap piece of paper. The names were Ray Sora, Jim Reid, John Johnson, John Jessey and John Hollinger.²⁰³ The first two of these names are included on Anhalt’s rehearsal schedule, with Sora written down as being present for the entire day which could make him the radio technician which Anhalt met in April, and Reid being the other named technician in the schedule. The schedule indicates that on July 15th from 1400-1600 hours, Reid had a set up time. As both these individuals are signaled out by name in

²⁰⁰William Littler, “Musical canvas spotlights a heroine,” *Toronto Star*, July 18, 1975, E4.

²⁰¹John Kraglund, “Memorable Moments in Uneven Tourangelle,” *The Globe and Mail*, July 18, 1975, Music, <https://login.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/historical-newspapers/music/docview/1313969661/se-2?accountid=14701>.

²⁰²Louis Applebaum, “Premiere of a Major Anhalt Work,” *The Whig Standard*, July 19, 1975, as seen in *Eagle Minds: Selected Correspondence of Istvan Anhalt and George Rochberg, 1961-2005*, ed Alan M. Gillmor (Waterloo, CA: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), 112.

²⁰³The last name of Ray is not legible on the archival documents. It is unclear if the name is Sosa, Sora or Sona.

Anhalt's schedule, it prioritizes them as people of more significance to the production. This would leave the three Johns as the operators. With little other documentation currently available mid-pandemic, there is no conclusive evidence of who did what, other than Anhalt manning the mixing in the center of the audience.

We know Anhalt was intimately involved with the premiere and the technical aspect of it, but what exactly was he doing in that mid-audience seat and where were the other technicians? For this we need to refer to the score and Figure 2, which shows a line drawing of the operators and offer textual explanation of where the fifth operator was to sit. The fifth operator was Anhalt's role. We now know that far beyond his role as a composer, Anhalt worked closely with the technicians, followed the technical schedule during the performance week and participated as a technician during the premiere.

5.1.4 The Conductor

Marius Constant (1925-2004), a well-known conductor and composer, was brought over by the CBC from Europe, to conduct the premiere of *La Tourangelle*. The majority of correspondences are filtered through his manager, Maurice Werner.²⁰⁴ Negotiations with CBC occurred throughout early 1975. According to the letter correspondences, the offer to Constant was made on March 6th, terms were sent back from Werner, and a further response to the terms

²⁰⁴ To the general public he would be known for composing the theme music for "The Twilight Zone." To a classical audience, he would be more well known for his work as a conductor, introducing many contemporary works to audiences across the world. See his biography for more information. "Marius Constant," Composers, Centre de documentation de la musique contemporaine, updated November 2009, <http://www.cdmc.asso.fr/en/ressources/compositeurs/biographies/constant-marius-1925-2004> .

sent from the CBC, all prior to March 21st. In the March 21st letter Constant's manager is concerned with pinning down two conflicts; Constant was unable to be in Toronto for the first days of production because of an engagement in Japan; and Constant had yet to receive the score.²⁰⁵

Prior to the production rehearsal schedule, Anhalt had opportunities to consult with Constant. On March 25th, Anhalt wrote a letter to Coulter with no knowledge of the letter from Werner. He is arranging schedules to meet technicians and see the MacMillan theatre and briefly touches on approval for the side trip to Paris to meet Constant. On April 7th, Anhalt wrote to Constant. He references the rehearsals but more importantly focuses on setting up the meeting

²⁰⁵ “Nous avons bien reçu, par l'intermédiaire de Radio-Canada à Paris, votre câble du 6 mars et nous en avons tout de suite transmis les termes à Monsieur Marius CONSTANT. Celui-ci vient de nous répondre. Monsieur Marius CONSTANT ne pourra quitter Paris que le 13 juillet 1975. En effet, il rentrera juste d'une tournée au Japon. En ce qui concerne la partition 'd' Istvan ANHALT que vous avez envoyée à Monsieur Marius CONSTANT le 21 janvier dernier, cet artiste nous informe qu'il ne l'a toujours pas reçue. Cette partition a dû se perdre au moment de la grève des Postes au Canada. Pouvez -vous envoyer une nouvelle partition de l' oeuvre, par l'intermédiaire de Radio -Canada à Paris, et cela dans les meilleurs délais ? Veuillez bien nous tenir au courant dès que possible de ce qui aura pu être fait Monsieur Marius CONSTANT sera à Paris entre le 16 et le 31 mai et il pourra donc, à ce moment -là, rencontrer Monsieur ANHALT. Pouvez -vous maintenant nous faire parvenir le contrat d'engagement?” English Translation, “We have received, through the intermediary Radio Canada in Paris, your cable from March 6th and we have immediately sent the terms for Mr Marius Constant. This - to which we received a response. Mr. Marius Constant cannot leave Paris before the 13th of July 1975. In effect, he is just returning from a tour in Japan. Regarding the score of Istvan Anhalt which you have sent to Mr Marius Constant on the 21st of January, this artist informs us that he has not yet received it. The score must be lost at the moment in the grave of Canada Post. Can you send a new score of the work through the intermediary of Radio-Canada in Paris, and do this in a quick turnaround? Would you keep us up to date of the possibilities of that which can be done. Mr Marius Constant will be in Paris between the 16th and the 31st of May and he could therefore, at that moment, then, meet Mr. Anhalt. Can you now make available to us the contact of the engagement.” Maurice Werner to Coulter, 21 March 1975, Paris (France), E,32, p. 112, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa. For more letters see Appendix C.

with the conductor while he is in Europe. He states “I would be able to come to Paris from London on May 27th, and could stay there through May 30th, for the purpose of meeting with you. It may be advisable to plan for two meetings, if at all possible.”²⁰⁶ May 9th, 1975 is the next correspondence in this thread. Anhalt writes to Marius of “our meeting taking place during the day of May 29th.” He tells him of his estimated time of arrival and that he will call immediately, stating “I will arrive in Paris from London the 27th or 28th and I will call you the same day.” He also goes into detail about the score and electronics, writing “I will bring with me a tape with all the parts compressed in two tracks. I will have a stereo version with me in ¼ tracks and another in 1/2 track, with a speed of 7 1/2 Frames per second.”²⁰⁷ The last correspondence referencing this side trip is addressed to Coulter on July 21st, in which Anhalt is asking for reimbursement. This would indicate the trip indeed did occur. In the same letter, Anhalt tells Coulter of a future reimbursement request related to long distance telephone charges for his Bell telephone bill. He had “one call to Constant in Paris.”²⁰⁸ This clarifies the telephone correspondence with Constant. In conclusion, Anhalt found the means to speak with Constant over the telephone, through letters, and in person in France before the rehearsals commenced on July 12th, 1975.

²⁰⁶Anhalt to Constant, 7 April 1975, E,32, p. 121, LAC.

²⁰⁷Anhalt to Constant, 9 May 1975, Kingston (Canada), E,32, p. 126, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa. The track sizing are the widths of the tapes.

²⁰⁸ Anhalt to Coulter, 21 July 1975, Kingston (Canada), E,32, p. 164-65, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

5.1.5 Rehearsals

Coulter and I are planning rehearsals with the five vocalists, to take place before your arrival. I shall work with them, and I expect that they will be well prepared for your first rehearsal.²⁰⁹

Anhalt to Constant April 7, 1975

The above quotation indicates Anhalt's intention to meet and work with all the soloists in preparation for the arrival of the conductor. Anhalt did meet with the performers in April and June prior to the production schedule beginning in July, but not for nearly as many hours as he had hoped. Before the start of Anhalt's consultancy contract Anhalt planned to meet and rehearse with each artist. He did this with the help of his CBC liaison, Coulter. The meetings with the performers began in April when he made a trip to Toronto meeting Greer and Roslak. Two rehearsal days were booked in June with Greer, Roslak, Morrison, and Relyea. There is no indication when he met with Mailing. She was available on July 1st and 2nd, but there is no confirmation that they met to work or discuss the piece at this time. After the June rehearsals, all the soloists attended July rehearsals with the conductor and orchestra during the week of the premiere. This is nowhere close to what the composer had hoped.

On April 4th, Anhalt wrote to Coulter insistent about rehearsals with performers before Constant arrived. He wrote

I received the copy of the March 21st, 1975 letter from Constant's manager.... As Constant will only arrive on July 13th, there is now an even greater need for preparatory rehearsals. Enclosed please find a requested schedule for these. I do hope that you will find it both reasonable and feasible. I drew this up on the assumption that the five

²⁰⁹ Anhalt to Constant, 7 April 1975, E,32, p. 121, LAC.

vocalists will know their parts well by the time they'll meet with me the first time. Should it be feasible financially, and also acceptable to Constant, I would think a longish first reading-rehearsal for the 17 instrumentalists (about 4 hours, with breaks) would be very useful. If so, this should optimally take place sometime between July 11-13. I would conduct it, and we would not need the vocalists, nor the electronic set-up for it. I would like it to be in addition to the 20 hours you have allocated to Constant. If this is not possible financially, then we may have to abandon the idea, since Constant should have all of the 20 hours planned for.²¹⁰

The schedule Anhalt refers to is not attached to this letter, and there is no mention of a rehearsal with the conductor and orchestra elsewhere in the letters. According to the invoice of the orchestra, their rehearsals began on July 14th at 19:00 hours. This indicates that Anhalt's request for a first reading prior to the arrival of the conductor was denied. In total, the conductor had 20 hours of rehearsal with the orchestra and no additional time was allowed.

In early May, Anhalt spoke with Coulter and the two devised a rehearsal plan for the pre-production rehearsals. Anhalt wrote a follow up letter on May 8th attaching a "pre-July 13th rehearsal schedule."²¹¹ In this schedule Anhalt requests rehearsals in June and July with all five soloists, alone, and in groups (3 sopranos, 2 men, all together, solo). The composer requests: two 2-hour rehearsals "with each one of the 5 vocalists alone;" three 2.5 hour rehearsals with the female vocalists together; two 2.5 hour rehearsals with the male vocalists together; and two or three 2 to 2.5 hour rehearsals with the five vocalists.²¹² His preliminary schedule includes a total of 36.5 to 40 hours of rehearsal time. See Table 8.

²¹⁰ Anhalt to Coulter, 4 April 1975, E,32, p. 115-16, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

²¹¹ Anhalt to Coulter, 8 May 1975, E,32, p. 124-25, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

²¹² Anhalt to Coulter, 8 May 1975, E,32, p. 124-25, LAC.

Total rehearsal hours confirmed by telegram are only 12.5 hours (3 in April and 9.5 in June). This is one third of the requested 36.5 to 40 hours. In April, Anhalt arranged with the CBC to meet the performers and technicians. On April 16th Coulter set up the first of 5 rehearsals between Anhalt and the soloists. On April 21st, 1975, Anhalt met Albert Greer in Toronto for a preliminary talk. They met in Studio 23, in a satellite CBC building, a couple of miles away from the Jarvis Street location. The room was on the 6th Floor, of 90 Sumach Street. Anhalt spent the night in Toronto and the next day he met Roxolana Roslak. There is no mention of a meeting with Gary Relyea before June. The singer lived in Sudbury, so it is assumed the meeting could only take place in person when he was close to the city on other matters. These rehearsals are estimated at 1.5 hours each, bringing the April total rehearsal time to 3 hours.

During the month of May, scheduling rather than rehearsals took place. On May 9th all five soloists were sent identical letters from Anhalt, addressing the rehearsal schedule and the flexibility to make changes. Relyea wrote back with regrets that his schedule would not allow certain rehearsal dates and included suggestions based on his current performance calendar. Relyea had conflicts on June 6th but could attend on June 7th and had further conflicts on 19th and 20th but could attend June 18th or 21st. July 7th also remained open for him. There are no other return letters from the other soloists regarding the schedule. In May, the soloists did not rehearse with Anhalt.

In June, 9.5 hours of rehearsals took place over a two-day period. Two telegrams from Coulter confirm the rehearsal schedules: the first, dated June 10th, confirms a booking of Studio 25 at 90 Sumach Street for June 18th and suggests a possible rehearsal with Mailing on July 1 and 2; the second, dated June 16th, confirms a rehearsal with Morrison booked for 19:00 - 22:00

hours on June 17th, as well as rehearsals with Roslak, Relyea and Greer on June 18th followed by a solo rehearsal with Morrison in the evening. June 17th and 18th were busy days for Anhalt as he met with four of the five soloists. Based on these rehearsals, there is no evidence of a rehearsal with only the three females or only the two men, and there is no evidence of a solo rehearsal with Mailing or Relyea. The April and June rehearsals concluded the pre-rehearsals requested by Anhalt while the next rehearsal with all the singers occurred July 14th in the Edward Johnson Building with the conductor and composer. We can determine that Anhalt's request to meet the soloists for group and solo rehearsals prior to the July production schedule was approved. However, the number of rehearsals requested by the composer were far greater than the number of rehearsals referenced in the letters. This may simply be a result of busy schedules. There is no indication in the letters that the request for rehearsals was denied by the CBC or soloists.

Table 8. Requested pre-July 13th Rehearsal schedule proposed by Anhalt

Item	No. of Rehearsals	People Involved	Duration	Date
1	1	Preliminary meeting with the person(s) responsible for the audio set up (reproduction of tapes, amplification, as well as the recording)	Ca. 2 hrs.	Between April 21-30
2&3	2	Preliminary meetings with the principal percussionist, responsible for the set up, and the pianist. (Separate meetings)	Ca. 1 hr. each	Between April 21-30
4	10	2 rehearsals with each one of the 5 vocalists alone	2 hrs., each	in June, as far as possible
5	2	The pianist alone	1 1/2 to 2 hrs., each	These should be completed by July 1.
6	3	The 3 lady vocalists together	2 1/2 hrs., each	These should be completed by July 5.
7	2	The 2 male vocalists together	2 1/2 hrs., each	These should be completed by July 5.
8	2 or 3	The 5 vocalists together The pianist should also participate in the second one, or in the second and third one.)	2 to 2 1/2 hrs., each	Between July 9 and 12
9	2	The organist alone (the second one in the MacMillan Theatre)	1 1/2 to 2 hrs. each	Between July 1 and 10
10	1	Both percussionists with all equipment in place.	3 hrs.	Between July 7 and 10
11	2 or 3	All persons in the audio part with all equipment functions, (At least 1, but preferably 2 sessions in the MacMillan Theatre)	2 1/2 hrs. each	Between July 1 and 12

5.1.6 Performance Week Scheduling

The music rehearsal schedule included 20 hours of rehearsals with the conductor, composer, singers, and orchestra, with an additional 8 hours shared between the soloists and the composer. Constant's schedule ran from July 12th to the performance on the 17th, and gives a clear indication of the expectations of the artistic timetable and what can musically be accomplished in 20 hours when there is no staging involved. See Table 9. The technical schedule included 42 hours of tech rehearsals across all the technicians. Anhalt hand wrote the schedule for July 14th to July 17th. See table 10. A third schedule is viewable from the contract written to the instrumentalists and signed by Schenkman, the local leader. See Table 11. The combination of Constant's schedule and Anhalt's schedule give a clear picture of the rehearsals held during the premiere week.

There are a few key differences between Constant and Anhalt's schedules. Although there is nothing contradictory in the schedules, there are items in each schedule that expand our knowledge of the entire production schedule. Constant's schedule includes two additional days and additional rehearsals between the conductor, composer and singers on Saturday, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday. The two additional days of rehearsals on Saturday and Sunday July 12th and 13th are private meetings for the composer and conductor. The two additional rehearsals with artists are held between 16:00-18:00 hours in Room 078 in the Edward Johnson Building on Monday and Tuesday July 14th and 15th. These rehearsals include the vocalists, composer, and conductor, and are held prior to each of the first two orchestra rehearsals. Anhalt's schedule on those days also includes information on the technical side of the production. This reinforces that the handwritten schedule focuses on the technical side of the production rather than the artistic

side. On July 15th the technical schedule starts at 10:00 hours in the morning and ends at midnight, whereas Constant's July 15th schedule includes two musical rehearsals. Additionally, a contract signed on July 13th, 1975, confirms that the instrumentalists were present for one of those rehearsal times.²¹³ Looking at both schedules, one can identify that Anhalt shares his time between working with the conductor, vocalists, and technicians. The various artistic and technical rehearsals with the composer reinforce his participation in all aspects of the production.

Anhalt worked hard to ensure that each member of the artistic and technical staff of the production were brought into the production fully understanding his vision for the work. He took care to communicate with each group of people or individuals accordingly. With the conductor he had multiple opportunities to communicate: they wrote letters, spoke on the phone, met in person in Paris, and worked together for two days when the conductor arrived in Toronto. With the performers, Anhalt made efforts to meet with each of them and made the effort to rehearse with them as much as possible prior to the conductor's arrival. With the technicians, Anhalt reached out to the technicians before the premiere week and worked closely with them during the week of the premiere. Anhalt was extremely busy putting the final touches on this opera between January to July 1975. His focus was on copying the score, scheduling, meeting with performers, meeting with technicians, and coordinating the premiere. This consultancy work spanned many more weeks than the five-week contract indicated.

²¹³ American Federation of Musicians of the United States and Canada to Peter Schenkman, 13 July 1975, Contract, E,32, p. 146, LAC.

Table 9. Constant Rehearsal Schedule

Saturday, July 12th/75	Studio H 1600-1800 hrs. CBC Radio Building 354 Jarvis Street	Rehearsal with Istvan Anhalt
Sunday, July 13th	Studio H 1530-1730 hrs. (address as above)	Rehearsal with Istvan Anhalt
Monday, July 14th	Room 078 Edward Johnson Bldg. 1600-1800 hrs.	Rehearsals with singers and composer
	Room 0119 Edward Johnson Bldg. 1900-2300 hrs.	First orchestral rehearsal with singers
Tuesday, July 15th	Room 078 Edward Johnson Bldg. 1600-1800 hrs.	Rehearsals with singers and composer
	MacMillan Theatre Edward Johnson Bldg. 1900-2400 hrs.	Orchestral rehearsal with singers
Wednesday, July 16	MacMillan Theatre Edward Johnson Bldg. 1300-1600 hrs.	Full rehearsal
	MacMillan Theatre E.J.B. 1900-2300 hrs.	Full rehearsal
Thursday, July 17th	MacMillan Theatre E.J.B. 1300-1600 hrs.	Full rehearsal and preliminary recording
	MacMillan Theatre E.J.B. 2030 hrs.	PUBLIC PERFORMANCE AND RECORDING

Table 10. Anhalt's Rehearsal Schedule

Monday - July 14th	STUDIO "L" 12:00 noon- 2:00 pm	3 tape operators & cue person
	Room 0119 1900-2300 hours	<u>NO TECHNICIANS</u>
Tuesday - July 15th	MACMILLAN 1900-2400 hours	1000-2400 - RAY SORA 1400-1600 - JIM REID-SET UP 1500-1900 - ALL TECHNICIANS TO SET UP 1900-2400 - Rehearsal MEAL: 1730-1830 hours
Wednesday - July 16th	MACMILLAN 1300-1600 hours 1900-2400 hours	1200-1700 Tech 1730-1830 Supper 1830-2300 Tech
Thursday - July 17th	MACMILLAN 1300-1600 hours - recording 2030-2200 hours - pfmc	1200-1700 - tech 1700-1800 - supper 1800-2200 - show 2200-2300 - strike

Table 11. Orchestral Rehearsal Schedule

Monday - July 14th	Room 0019 1900-2300 hours
Tuesday - July 15th	MacMillan Theatre 1900-2400 hours
Wednesday - July 16th	MacMillan Theatre 1300-1700 hours 1900-2300 hours
Thursday - July 17th	MacMillan Theatre 1300-1600 hours 2030-2130

5.2 Expectations of the Premiere: Hopes and Reviews

This section seeks to answer the question, Did Anhalt succeed in what he set out to do? To answer this question, I will outline Roberts' and Anhalt's hope for the work, followed by examples of opinions of the opera. Through an evaluation of three public reviews of the opera, two personal letters from Anhalt's friends, various letters from the Ursuline Convent, and thank you letters from Anhalt to colleagues of the production, I can determine that Anhalt believed he succeeded in his mission. The three reviews are not included in the specific archival documentation I had access to for this thesis. However, they are digitally available through newspaper archives, and I was able to obtain two in full and one, partially. The reviews were written by two music critics, William Littler (b. 1940) and John Kraglund (1922-2013), and the composer, Louis Applebaum (1918-2000). After the premiere, two personal letters arrived from Anhalt's friends, the composers, Beckwith and Harry Freedman (1922-2005).²¹⁴ Letters from the Ursulines include those sent from 1971 to 1975 prior to the premiere.²¹⁵ Numerous letters from Anhalt were written to the vocalists, the conductor, and CBC employees after the premiere. These texts illuminate individual hopes and opinions for and of the opera and describe the opera in mostly positive terms.

²¹⁴ Freedman is the husband of Morrison and was unfortunately in the hospital during the time of the opera.

²¹⁵ LAC Serie E, file 33 holds letters from 1975 to 1980 which may hold letters from the Ursulines after the premiere.

5.2.1 Anhalt's and Roberts' Hopes

When Roberts commissioned the opera, he expressed high hopes. Roberts told Anhalt “I hope this work will communicate with—that is reach out, touch and move—human beings who still retain their sensitivity in this world in which so many have been numbed by horror and violence... I feel this is a very special chance for you to say something very vital to mankind.”²¹⁶

Anhalt accepted the commission in part because of this vision. In 1970 he wrote to Roberts “I accept... especially because the nature of the work, as described by you on the telephone, and in your letter, is very close to me.”²¹⁷ The idea that is close to him, is the idea of searching for oneself and connecting to a higher power. He is very interested in understanding what it means to be human and to seek for answers that we can never know. In reference to this topic, which is very close to him, he continues,

I am referring here chiefly to these words of yours: ‘the search for order and meaning in life through the focus of religion.’ As far as this work is concerned I shall understand the word ‘religion’ to mean, according to one of the definitions in Webster, ‘an apprehension, awareness, or conviction of the existence of a supreme being, or more widely, of supernatural powers, or influences controlling one’s own, humanity’s, or nature’s destiny...’-In this definition I understand ‘supernatural powers’ to mean, at least, the idea of the impenetrableness of man’s and the universe’s reality: the idea as expressed in Heisenberg’s principle of uncertainty, or as depicted in the allegory of the bottomless pit of time by Thomas Mann in the Introduction to the JOSEPH tetralogy.- Furthermore, in my mind, this idea is indivisibly locked into man’s indomitable urge to keep searching for these secrets despite the knowledge of the perpetually receding objective.²¹⁸

²¹⁶ Roberts to Anhalt, 21 October 1970, E,32, p. 7, LAC.

²¹⁷ Anhalt to Roberts, 9 October 1970, E,32, p. 3-4, LAC.

²¹⁸ Anhalt to Roberts, 9 October 1970, E,32, p. 3-4, LAC.

Although the work presents complex ideas, Anhalt hoped to package the work in an understandable format for a very diverse audience. He sought “to get across M. de l’I’s story in a comprehensible way, which would include her life, tribulations, mysticism, and environments, etc.”²¹⁹ Anhalt, however, had no way of knowing if he would succeed in creating a coherent narrative. Anhalt wrote “in choosing the language for the rest of the text I was aiming at comprehension of the progress of the story, throughout the piece, by English and French speaking audiences alike. I may, or may not, have succeeded in this. Much will depend on the manner of composition.”²²⁰ Without an all-encompassing audience survey, it is difficult to assert that the composer succeeded based on an audience perspective. However, with the reviews and letters, we can determine that the composer believed that he got through to the audience and that the opera was generally appreciated.

5.2.2 Three Public Reviews

La Tournagelle received three reviews from three different newspapers: *The Globe and Mail* (Kraglund),²²¹ *The Toronto Star* (Littler),²²² and the *Kingston Whig Standard*

²¹⁹ Anhalt to Roberts, 2 June 1972, E,32, p. 37, LAC.

²²⁰ Anhalt to Roberts, 5 August 1971, E, 32, p. 18, LAC.

²²¹ For more information on this critic see the Canadian Encyclopedia. “His drily sardonic, usually brief reviews, pragmatic in the face of a midnight deadline, became a hallmark of Toronto scepticism, and it has been said that a measured enthusiasm from Kraglund was the equivalent of a panegyric from a colleague.” The Canadian Encyclopedia, “Kraglund, John,” by Alan H. Cowle and Kenneth Winters, accessed October 1, 2021, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/john-kraglund-emc>.

(Applebaum).²²³ *The Whig Standard* review, written by fellow composer Applebaum, will be discussed last. It was the most positive of the three. The other two reviews were not quite as kind, but still had good things to say.

Kraglund's review, titled "Memorable moments in uneven Tourangelle" sets the reader up to expect both positive and negative comments on the opera.²²⁴ It suggests there are memorable and good moments, but that the opera lacks consistency, meaning it is not entirely made up of *good moments*. The article starts off with high praise for the opera by way of an off-handed criticism towards the CBC. Kraglund states "the CBC may have slipped up in its latest addition to the ever-expanding list of pieces by Canadian composers. It is just possible someone may be interested in presenting a second performance of Istvan Anhalt's La Tourangelle."²²⁵ The critic goes on to say he would not go out of his way to avoid another performance. This from Kraglund is high praise. He outlines the basis of the opera and the use of electronics before laying judgement. He found the last three tableaux "more effective" than the first four. He states,

²²² For more information on this critic see the Canadian Encyclopedia. "Littler's own occasionally equivocating reviews have become known for their graceful and amusing prose style and balanced argument." The Canadian Encyclopedia, "Littler, William," by Kenneth Winters, accessed October 1, 2021, From Canada Encyclopedia, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/william-littler-emc>.

²²³ For more information on this composer see the Canadian Encyclopedia. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/louis-applebaum-emc>

²²⁴ John Kraglund, "Memorable Moments in Uneven Tourangelle," *The Globe and Mail*, July 18, 1975, Music, <https://login.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/historical-newspapers/music/docview/1313969661/se-2?accountid=14701>.

²²⁵ John Kraglund, "Memorable Moments," *The Globe and Mail*, July 18, 1975.

“the singers were so effectively integrated into the instrumental and taped elements of the music that they were scarcely recognizable as soloists.”²²⁶ He would prefer “if the narrative line had been less obscured or if the moments of emotional upheaval and dramatic violence had been more clearly in contrast to the spiritual rhapsody or meditative serenity.” He ends the article by saying “Perhaps, upon closer acquaintance, it will emerge as a well-ordered composition. At the moment it seems a big, uneven work with memorable moments.” This is not a great review, but it is also not a terrible review. In less than 500 words the critic tells the public that the “jury is still out” on this opera and only time will tell. Remember, the slightest praise from Kraglund is a generous compliment. And, in this case, it is a huge step forward for Anhalt. In 1971 Kraglund’s review on the premiere of Anhalt’s *Foci* was titled “Anhalt a composer? Results raise doubts.”²²⁷ At the time, Anhalt told his friend Rochberg that “one critic killed me.”²²⁸ It would seem, a few years later, that Kraglund’s opinion of Anhalt had improved.

Littler’s article “Musical canvas spotlights a heroine” presented on July 18th, 1975, in section E4 of *The Toronto Star*, is slightly more positive than Kraglund’s review, and gives validation to Anhalt’s hopes for the work. Littler takes time in his 5 column, 580 word article to explain who Anhalt is, and what the world of classical music is like in Canada. He tells the reader that Canadian history is often “ignored by all but a few of our composers” and that

²²⁶ John Kraglund, “Memorable Moments,” *The Globe and Mail*, July 18, 1975.

²²⁷ John Kraglund, “Anhalt a Composer? Results Raise Doubts,” *The Globe and Mail*, May 22, 1971.

²²⁸ Anhalt to Rochberg, 10 June 1971, in *Eagle Minds: Selected Correspondence of Istvan Anhalt and George Rochberg, 1961-2005*, ed Alan M. Gillmor (Waterloo, CA: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), 90.

“sometimes it takes an adopted citizen to appreciate what [Canadians] overlook.”²²⁹ He goes on to describe the subject of the opera, Marie Guyard, letting the public know that the opera “formally ends with her arrival in Quebec and thus omits the biographical chapter responsible for her fame.”²³⁰ However, he explains there is a clear reason for this; “Anhalt appears to be more concerned with the making and testing of character that produced the kind of woman who would come to be called a saint.”²³¹ This statement is partial confirmation of Anhalt’s and Roberts’ hopes. A commentary on the making of an individual’s character and identity is exactly what Anhalt was trying to create. It is the common theme of his works. Littler, however, is not entirely convinced by the opera.

Littler calls it a “multi-textured musical canvas from which words and sounds appear and disappear, are heard naturally and altered electronically.”²³² He explains that “the ear can’t always take in all the detail or make out all the words in French and English. Sometimes, when Anhalt puts marking-time figures behind the voices, a strong verbal profile emerges. At other times, the dominant impression is of texture, of mood, of a kind of reverent aura.”²³³ After a clear listing of the parties necessary to produce the work he casts his judgement, which is

²²⁹William Little, “Musical canvas spotlights a heroine,” *Toronto Star*, July 18, 1975, E4.

²³⁰William Little, “Musical canvas spotlights a heroine,” *Toronto Star*, July 18, 1975, E4.

²³¹William Little, “Musical canvas spotlights a heroine,” *Toronto Star*, July 18, 1975, E4.

²³²William Little, “Musical canvas spotlights a heroine,” *Toronto Star*, July 18, 1975, E4.

²³³William Little, “Musical canvas spotlights a heroine,” *Toronto Star*, July 18, 1975, E4.

actually barely a judgement at all. He says he would “like to get to know *La Tourangelle* better before predicting for it the immortality of its heroine.”²³⁴

Applebaum wrote the review titled “Premiere of a Major Anhalt Work” for the *Whig Standard*. It is unfortunate that the Applebaum review is not included in the 116 letters, despite Anhalt enclosing it in various letters, nor is it readily available online.²³⁵ A partial of this review can be found in *Eagle Minds* in a footnote reading

The oratorio, cantata or whatever conventional label one might wish to apply to this unconventional work, is written for five singers, a chamber orchestra of 16 players, two tape machines, and sundry assistant conductors, page turners, tape starters and volume controllers. It is played without a break in just a bit more than an hour and it turned out to be one of the shortest hours I have spent in a concert hall in recent years.²³⁶

Another partial of this review can be found in *Music Makers: The Lives of Harry Freedman and Mary Morrison*. It states that the opera had “three of the country’s finest sopranos singing with remarkable intensity.”²³⁷ What is available from Applebaum’s review is positive commentary. However, it is Anhalt’s reaction to the review which sheds light on its favourable opinion of the opera. The review confirmed Anhalt’s hope that the audience would comprehend the work. To Appelbaum, Anhalt wrote “how can I thank you for having written such an understanding,

²³⁴William Little, “Musical canvas spotlights a heroine,” *Toronto Star*, July 18, 1975, E4.

²³⁵ Anhalt mentions including the Applebaum review in letters to Roberts, Mother Marie of the Incarnation, Constant, and the Vocalists. He includes all three reviews to Roberts and Mother Marie. It is unclear which review he sends to Coulter to pass on to the instrumentalists.

²³⁶ Louis Applebaum, “Premiere of a Major Anhalt Work,” *The Whig Standard*, July 19, 1975, quoted in *Eagle Minds: Selected Correspondence of Istvan Anhalt and George Rochberg, 1961-2005*, ed Alan M. Gillmor (Waterloo, CA: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), 112.

²³⁷ Louis Applebaum, “Premiere of a Major Anhalt Work,” *The Whig Standard*, July 19, 1975, quoted in Walter Pitman, *Music Makers: The Lives of Harry Freedman & Mary Morrison*, (Toronto, Ont: Dundurn Groups, 2005): 140.

sympathetic, and penetrating account of the premiere of *La Tourangelle*? Or should I thank you at all?”²³⁸ He continues “I hope you will not mind if I tell you how grateful I am for your words. They are the strongest indication I could ever have hoped for that say ‘Yes, you got across’.”²³⁹ Anhalt was not prone to write to reviewers of his works. In fact, in a follow up letter to Applebaum he states that he never does this and considers it taboo, but in this one case it was a peer and fellow composer who wrote the review. This peer dynamic gave Anhalt a personal allowance to write to Applebaum. The review was seen as an indication that Anhalt’s hopes for the work were realized, and Anhalt was pleased with the outcome of the project because he believed he “got across” to the audience.

5.2.3 Positive Reviews

The three reviews combined show the opera in a positive light offering a balanced judgement of the opera, thereby confirming to Anhalt that his aim had been met. Kraglund saying that he would not avoid a second performance and suggesting this opera could merit other runs in the future, is rather positive (if one takes into consideration his reputation and history with Anhalt’s music). The balancing argument is that the opera lacks contrast. Littler’s review could be said to debunk Anhalt’s belief that he “got across” to the audience because he states that the words are not always intelligible in both French and English. However, the reviewer immediately refutes his own statement through the expression of his understanding that the opera

²³⁸ Anhalt to Louis Applebaum, 21 July 1975, Kingston (Canada), E,32, p. 172, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

²³⁹ Anhalt to Louis Applebaum, 21 July 1975, E,32, p. 172, LAC.

is about the “making and testing of character.”²⁴⁰ He did not need to understand each and every word to understand Anhalt’s message. He balances any positive or negative arguments by stating in the end that he needs to get to know the piece better before casting judgement. Lastly, Anhalt was extremely impressed by Applebaum’s “understanding, sympathetic and penetrating” review, because it verified his hopes for the production.²⁴¹ With no further access to the review there is no determination of how balanced it was. The three reviews were positive enough in Anhalt’s mind that he openly shared them all with his colleagues.

5.2.4 Sharing the Reviews

Anhalt built a narrative of success utilizing the three reviews. He shared the professional reviews of the opera with those around him, making sure everyone was aware of its success. He shared reviews with Coulter, Constant, the Mother Marie of the Incarnation, Roberts, and four of the five performers. To Constant he wrote “here I include another review of our concert. Appelbaum, who is executive director of the Council of the Arts Ontario, is a composer of renown, he was invited to write for the edition of the journal of Kingston.”²⁴² Having a review is a sign of success and in this case the composer is pointing out, here is yet another review.

²⁴⁰ John Kraglund, “Memorable Moments,” *The Globe and Mail*, July 18, 1975.

²⁴¹ Anhalt to Louis Applebaum, 21 July 1975, E,32, p. 172, LAC.

²⁴² Anhalt to Constant, 21 July 1975, Kingston (Canada), E,32, p. 161-62, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

He sent all three reviews to Mother Marie of the Incarnation.²⁴³ To Roberts he wrote “here enclosed please find three public comments on the July 17th premiere of *La Tourangelle*. I do hope that some other, ‘private’, comments have also reached you by now. Altogether it was a very satisfying occasion for me.”²⁴⁴ He made sure to tell his colleagues that he was pleased with the results of the process, and I would like to believe his written letters speak truth and are not merely a facade to save face to those he worked with. Anhalt’s acknowledgement and willingness to share all the reviews creates an aura of accomplishment and a positive sentiment surrounding the premiere.

5.2.5 Friends’ and Colleagues’ Feedback

Letters from Beckwith, Freedman, and the Ursulines further outline public opinion of the opera and the hopes of stakeholders. Beckwith, a close friend and fellow composer, shares his impression of the premiere through a letter written to Anhalt the day after the premiere. He writes “the performance was fine & generated thoughts & feelings on many levels. A real occasion. Hope to talk to you at length about it. Wonderful that there was such a polarized and sympathetic audience.”²⁴⁵ What thoughts and feelings did it invoke? And what does he mean when he uses the words, “polarized”, and “sympathetic”? Having the nuns present

²⁴³ Anhalt to Mother Marie of the Incarnation, 21 July 1975, Kingston (Canada), E,32, p. 163, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

²⁴⁴ Anhalt to Roberts 30 July 1975, E,32, p. 174, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

²⁴⁵ Beckwith to Anhalt 18 July 1975, Toronto (Canada), E,32, p. 153, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

alongside musical colleagues and friends would create a “sympathetic” audience. Is this the same mix that created the “polarized” audience? Were there mixed positive and negative reactions about the production? Does polarized mean the group was diverse or that the group had very different views of the event? This is positive feedback for Anhalt, as it reiterates the ability of the work to say something to a sensitive audience. If the audience were to think and feel because of the opera, would that not be a success? Another composer friend, Freedman, writes "Congratulations! From what I've heard - From Mary and others - it's a fine work that really deserves the acclaim it received."²⁴⁶ The Mary he refers to is his wife, Morrison who sang in the production. He was in the hospital and unable to attend the production. This account seems positive and makes one wonder what was the acclaim it received? Did he read Applebaum's review or the others?

The Ursulines were impressed and honoured to be involved. From the first moments they met Anhalt to the premiere of the production, they expressed their delight with the idea of an opera depicting the Mother Marie of the Incarnation. The Mother Superior found it “interesting to think that Marie de l'Incarnation will participate in music of the future.”²⁴⁷ She writes that this experience is to be “touching like a space of presence,” and continues to cheer Anhalt on, writing “onwards. It will be magnificent.”²⁴⁸ The Mother Superior believed that Marie was a good

²⁴⁶ Freedman to Anhalt, 27 July 1975, Toronto (Canada), E,32, p. 171, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

²⁴⁷“C'est interessant de penser que Marie de l'Incarnation participera à la musique du futur.” Chabot to Anhalt, 21 July 1971, E,32, p. 16, LAC.

²⁴⁸“Ce sera émouvant comme une espace de présence. Allez de l'avant. Ce sera magnifique!” Chabot to Anhalt, 16 August 1971, E,32, p. 24-25, LAC.

subject to choose for an opera. She states that “her character as a woman was genial and universally will lend itself well to this experience.”²⁴⁹ It was unfortunate that the Mother Superior could not attend the premiere after her thorough involvement in the creation process of the libretto. She regretted not being able to attend the premiere because of her commitment to the Ursulines. The opera premiered at the same time as baptisms in the church. However, she left Anhalt with encouraging words prior to the premiere, writing “I congratulate you and thank you for having honoured Marie of the Incarnation. Would you excuse me and think of my profound regret. I am waiting for news of the premiere performance.”²⁵⁰

Just before the premiere, another nun, Marcelle Boucher wrote to Anhalt informing him that all the Ursulines would be awaiting the premiere and were poised to listen. She explains the other nuns “are enchanted with what you presented in music to honour our Mother Marie of the Incarnation. All are going to listen to the big night, as well as all the Ursulines (900) dispersed across the province or who are cloistered in one of our extraordinary general chapters.”²⁵¹ The Ursulines were pleased with the project and presented Anhalt with a painting of Marie to

²⁴⁹ “Son caractère de femme génial et universelle se prête bien a cette experience.” Chabot to Anhalt, 21 July 1971, E,32, p. 16, LAC.

²⁵⁰ “Je vous félicite et vous remercie d’avoir honneur Marie de l’Incarnation. Veuillez m’excuser et croire a mon profond regret. J’attendrai des nouvelles de la première émission.” Chabot to Anhalt, 11 July 1975, Loretteville (Canada), E,32, p. 44-45, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

²⁵¹ “Elles sont enchantées de ce que vous présentez en musique à l'honneur de notre Mère Marie de l’Incarnation. Toutes seront à l’écoute au grand soir ainsi que toutes les Ursulines (900) dispersées à travers la Province ce ou enfermées en la chapitre general extraordinaire.” Marcelle Boucher to Anhalt, 7 July 1975, Quebec City (Canada), E,32, p. 135-38, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

commemorate the occasion and his commitment to bringing her to the public view.²⁵² Without knowing that Boucher was the archivist of the Quebec Monastery, one would wonder why the sudden communications between the two and why she would be so involved or interested in the premiere. As archivist, Boucher and Anhalt likely had many correspondences prior to this letter. She was in charge of supervising the microfilming of all records from the Quebec Monastery in the early 1970s.²⁵³ Anhalt began borrowing books during his first visit to the monastery in early 1971. By 1975, he may have known Boucher for four years. This would explain her interest and attendance. The opinions and hopes of the nuns remain positive and supportive leading up to the premiere.

5.2.6 Many Thanks

Anhalt judged himself and the production, and within different letters he remarked on different aspects of the work which satisfied him. The composer wrote thank you notes to the conductor and soloists, letting them know how much he appreciated their artistic work on the project. To others, he thanks for their professional skills. Through these letters, he built a narrative of success. It is his own statements of satisfaction which I seek in the correspondence.

He wrote thank you letters to each of the performers thanking them for their participation in the opera. To Roslak, Greer, and Relyea he wrote the same text saying “how pleased” he was

²⁵²Marcelle Boucher to Anhalt, 7 July 1975, E,32, p. 135-38, LAC. See appendix C for full letter.

²⁵³ It will soon be possible to consult the Quebec Monastery’s old records in digital format thanks to the Library and Archives Canada’s Documentary Heritage Communities Program. As of September 2021, the website shows a *coming soon* message. “The Archives,” Pôle Culturel Du Monastère Des Ursulines, <https://www.polecultureldesursulines.ca/en/archives/>

with their contributions and that they brought the work to life with “understanding and inspired interpretation.”²⁵⁴ To Morrison he wrote “I must put it down on paper how grateful I am to you for your participation in the premiere... You were simply great, beautiful and penetratingly intelligent. There are just too numerous the details in which your understanding, insight and experience manifested themselves for mentioning these one by one.”²⁵⁵ To Mailing he wrote “just a big hug and another word of thanks to you for your great contribution to the birth of *La Tourangelle*. You were a pillar of strength (what a beautiful and flexible one --never mind the metaphor) and you breathed life into the score with understanding, passion, and subtlety.”²⁵⁶ Needless to say, he was extremely pleased with the performers and of their professionalism and artistry of interpretation of the work. Anhalt was also extremely happy with the work of the conductor. He wrote to Constant thanking him, saying “what a pleasure it was to work with you, and to observe putting life into a score which is inanimate. I have a lot of admiration for your method, intelligence, musicality and strategy of rehearsal. I am very happy, also, with the work, also for the suggestions of some changes in the score.”²⁵⁷ These letters speak to the rewarding process of bringing a production to life on the stage. It is a collaborative effort of many people

²⁵⁴ Anhalt to Roslak, 21 July 1975, Kingston (Canada), E,32, p. 157, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa; Anhalt to Greer, 21 July 1975, Kingston (Canada), E,32, p. 158, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa; Anhalt to Relyea, 21 July 1975, Kingston (Canada), E,32, p. 159, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

²⁵⁵ Anhalt to Morrison, 21 July 1975, Kingston (Canada), E,32, p. 156, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

²⁵⁶ Anhalt to Mailing, 21 July 1975, Kingston (Canada), E,32, p. 160, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

²⁵⁷ Anhalt to Constant, 21 July 1975, E,32, p. 161-62, LAC.

which had an edifying effect on the composer as he was able to witness the vision of his work blossom into a tangible although ephemeral reality.

To those that were involved yet only with the technical or administration side of the production, Anhalt shares his satisfaction of the experience and extends thanks for professionalism. To Mother Marie of the Incarnation, he writes “It was a great pleasure for me having you participate in the premiere of this work.”²⁵⁸ To Coy he writes a thank you for “your effective and patient help in the production of the parts, and performance scores.”²⁵⁹ To Scott McKenzie, whom he thanks for having prepared the rehearsal and performance tapes, he writes McKenzie, you were a “tower of reliability, expertise, unstinting help and intelligent assistance.”²⁶⁰ To Richard Coulter he writes “Thanks for everything that led to the premiere... especially your patience... We must have a cup of something, and a chat, about details. I do hope that you feel as good about this project as I do.”²⁶¹ Anhalt’s satisfaction is apparent.

Through the words of others and of Anhalt, we can determine that the general sentiment towards the premiere of the opera was positive. The Ursulines were supportive throughout the entire process. All composers spoke of it with favorable words and Anhalt in turn spoke favorably of all those who participated in the production of the opera and with the outcome. The reviews of critics supposed that the opera had potential to be a significant work in the Canadian

²⁵⁸Anhalt to Mother Marie of the Incarnation, 21 July 1975, E,32, p. 163, LAC.

²⁵⁹Anhalt to Coy, 21 July 1975, E,32, p. 166, LAC.

²⁶⁰Anhalt to Scott McKenzie (Queen’s Music Department), 23 July 197, Kingston (Canada), E,32, p. 169, The István Anhalt Fonds, MUS 164, LAC, Ontario, Ottawa.

²⁶¹Anhalt to Coulter, 21 July 1975, E,32, p. 164-65, LAC.

repertoire and be remembered for years to come. Despite the small upset with the copyist and the fact that Anhalt worked many more hours than contracted, taking on multiple roles far beyond composer and consultant, in the end he was satisfied. All that is left to say is what he himself stated. He said “I am very happy... with the work,”²⁶² and “this performance meant a great deal to me as I poured much of myself into this work, or to say it better, I grew with it into unexpected directions between 1971–75.”²⁶³

²⁶²Anhalt to Roberts 30 July 1975, E,32, p. 174, LAC.

²⁶³Anhalt to Rochberg, 19 February 1976, in *Eagle Minds: Selected Correspondence of Istvan Anhalt and George Rochberg, 1961-2005*, ed Alan M. Gillmor (Waterloo, CA: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), 114.

6. Conclusions: Of Librettos, Networks, and Compositional Process

This thesis set out to answer 5 main thesis questions to gain a better understanding of Anhalt's process for creating the opera *La Tourangelle* by studying a selection of unpublished holdings at Library and Archives Canada. The study of the archival documents helped create a chronological history of events narrated through the voices of those who influenced and who were influenced by the opera. With a chronology in place, I was able to begin navigating the archival documents I had received and begin answering the research questions. Because the answers to the research questions occur over multiple chapters, I will give a brief summary of each chapter here. The introductory chapter and chapter two, Context, introduce the reader to Anhalt, Marie of the Incarnation and facts about the opera: the tableau structure of the opera, chamber orchestra, electronics, trilingualism, and concert-style staging. After reading the composer's and protagonist's biographies back to back, the parallel of their respective transatlantic journeys is apparent. Chapters three, four, and five walk the reader through the years 1970 to 1975, alongside the progression of the opera. Chapter four addresses questions 1, 2, and 3, while chapter five deals with questions 4 and 5. Of all the questions, the least understood is question 4, which is due in part to the fact that the letters do not go into sufficient detail on how the premiere was set up: although there is relevant information on schedules and performers, there are not as many behind the scenes details on how involved individual people were with the event itself.

Research question 1 casts a wide net by asking “What activities did the composer undertake to create the *La Tourangelle* libretto?” We are now aware that, in order to create the libretto, the composer sought out historical documents in libraries, including the archives at the Ursuline convent. This meant Anhalt travelled to Quebec, met with Ursuline nuns, and even maintained an ongoing correspondence with them, including building relationships with key figures in the Ursuline order such as the Mother Superior and the current Mother Marie of the Incarnation. Asking this question also revealed that he often negotiated with the CBC to augment the contract to his artistic vision. Their flexibility with Anhalt throughout the process is surprising, in that so many facets of the work outlined in the original contract changed by the end of the 5 year process. The commission contract was signed in 1970 and soon after that, details began to change. As this is the first time anyone has thoroughly investigated the genesis of the opera, a timeline discrepancy between sources was unveiled and discussed, concluding that although there is no record of Anhalt discussing with La Pierre about the topic of the opera, he must have done so in early 1971. Now, with the topic in hand, he had direction for his research, and sought out historical documents. He used at least 29 sources as inspiration and for direct quotation to assemble the libretto. More research on this is needed to identify how many of the sources were directly quoted.

Long after the text was assembled, experiences continued to influence and change the composer’s course of action with the text. He continued revising the libretto well into the recording phase of the project. And there is evidence that changes still occurred during the week of the premiere. It is interesting that he took on some activities with the specific intent of creating the libretto, while other activities, like rehearsals, only passively influenced the libretto. This

brings up research question 2: “How were the writing and compositional processes connected? Was there reciprocal influence?”

There is an abundance of evidence in letter correspondences revealing a non-linear, reciprocal creative process. As the evidence suggests, it is a collaborative process that influences the composition. Answering the 3rd and 5th research questions—“What was the process of recording the pre-recorded materials which Anhalt produced for the premiere?” and “Who participated in organizing and presenting the production of the premiere, and how involved were they with the event itself?”—helped unveil the collaborative process of his artistic creation. There is constant negotiation between the composer’s ideas and the ideas of those around him. Anhalt actively sought out inspiration from those around him, a fact which is most clearly seen in his communications with Roberts and Chabot. However, his flexibility and willingness to change and morph both the music and libretto are also evidenced in letters with the conductor, Constant, readers, such as Morin and Crowder, and the soloists. Working with performing artists changed the composer’s composition as it should. This is a reason why modern operas usually start with a workshop phase. Because the text, music and active performance of the text and music reciprocally influence one and other. This indicates that the people creating the text, music, and performance, work together as a team. Is this the precedent for composers and librettists in the field of contemporary opera in the 21st century? Is it the common practice in Canada to have the composer and librettist present for the entire length of the journey, or at least during a part of the production process? From my own personal experience working on premieres of contemporary music, it is common to have the composer present during the production: things can change right up to the first performance and even after. The letters in this

archive highlight artistic practices that are taken as commonplace, but which are not regularly discussed as the social fabric within contemporary opera. There is evident reciprocal influence between the libretto and music writing, and the performative stages of recording and rehearsing the opera. All of these are connected in the composer's process finalizing the score. And although the written libretto and score are finalized, and the recordings are complete, any performing artist who takes up the mantle to reproduce this opera, and bring it to the stage, will continue the collaborative process that Anhalt started nearly 50 years ago.

Finally, research question 5 is about success. In simple terms, the question is “was the opera successful?” Because this is subjective, I chose, instead, to seek out what Anhalt and colleagues said about the performance by asking “How did Anhalt, his friends and colleagues, and the media react to the premiere performance?” Although friends and the critics found the work thought provoking, the lack of a second production speaks volumes. Perhaps there was a lack of opportunity or luck. Perhaps the difficulty of the analog electronic sound set up was a deterrent prior to the digital revolution. Through the decades, at least one conductor tried to remount the opera, but to no avail.²⁶⁴

It is important to note that the researcher's experience of Anhalt comes entirely through the written word. He passed away in 2012, long before this research project began, leaving only those who knew him and his archives, as a way to get to know the composer. This researcher has

²⁶⁴ “The conductor wants to perform, imagine this, La Tourangelle in the afternoon and Winthrop in the evening on the same day! We'll see ... There will be master-classes, lectures, etc. during the week preceding the performance(s): by the soloists, the conductor, and myself. It should be a busy week, indeed.” Anhalt to Rochberg, 12 June 1985, in *Eagle Minds: Selected Correspondence of Istvan Anhalt and George Rochberg, 1961-2005*, ed Alan M. Gillmor (Waterloo, CA: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), 168.

found the man to be quite endearing. An honest, caring, gentle, intelligent, intellectual, who is curious and thoughtful and kind. Through letters with his friends and colleagues one is quick to notice he is an open sharer of his ideas and can be long winded. He likes to communicate ideas with his friends and will go into detail describing thoughts that come to him. He is open about his projects and his activities and often writes about his work to his composer friends. For this reason, it becomes easier to date certain events in his life when he openly discussed them with those around him. After exploring a mere portion of the Anhalt fonds, I agree with Kallman who said "the contents of the fonds reveals the creative path from first sketches, abandoned passages and variants to the final version of a composition..."²⁶⁵ The archives indeed reveal many paths forward in the creation of the opera. I would extend this opinion to include the production beyond the completion of the final version of a composition, and add that they also reveal the practical and logistical path forward from signing a contract to presenting the work to the public. Kallman said that "the thoroughness of Anhalt's documentation will surely earn the gratitude of users."²⁶⁶ It has indeed earned my gratitude.

²⁶⁵ Helmut Kallman, "The Istvan Anhalt Fonds at the National Library," in *Istvan Anhalt: Pathways and Memory*, eds. Robin Elliott and Gordon E. Smith (Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 348-49.

²⁶⁶ Kallman, "The Istvan Anhalt Fonds," 348-49.