

JOHN PHILIP SOUSA'S THE LAST DAYS OF POMPEII: AN EXPLORATION OF  
THE HISTORICAL AND ARTISTIC TREATMENTS LEADING TO THE WIND-  
BAND SUITE

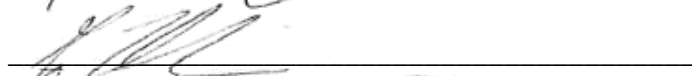
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Joel Michael Graham  
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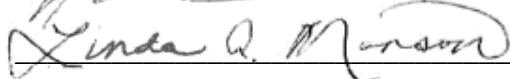
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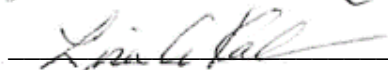
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John Philip Sousa's The Last Days of Pompeii: An Exploration of the Historical and  
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## **ABSTRACT**

### **JOHN PHILIP SOUSA'S THE LAST DAYS OF POMPEII: AN EXPLORATION OF THE HISTORICAL AND ARTISTIC TREATMENTS LEADING TO THE WIND-BAND SUITE**

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George Mason University, 2019

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This dissertation explores John Philip Sousa's *The Last Days of Pompeii* and its relationship to two preceding artistic treatments of the same title, a novel by Edward Bulwer-Lytton and a painting by Karl Bryullov. Each work is examined and analyzed in context of its relationship to the other artistic treatments and the Pompeii historical record. Historically, researchers' language exaggerated the works' connections, and this research attempted to substantiate those connections and illustrate the threads between the works. Each treatment was inspired by that which preceded it, but the content transferred from one to the next is minimal. Findings on what did transfer are supported with historical evidence, unique to each creator.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Vesuvius's catastrophic eruption in 79 CE represents a unique point in history. The eruption killed many inhabitants of Pompeii and Herculaneum, but it also preserved those cities for future discovery and study. The tragedy, though horrific, created a snapshot of Roman life frozen for nearly two millennia. Since the initial mid-eighteenth-century excavations, several artistic treatments have drawn inspiration from the site. Many fixate on the population's final days, and the three artistic treatments discussed in this dissertation do just that, each drawing to some degree on the preceding example. These examples, each titled *The Last Day(s) of Pompeii*, culminate in 1893 with John Philip Sousa's wind-band suite.

Programmatic works based on history or art are found throughout the wind-band literature. Daniel Bukvich's 1978 *Symphony No. 1: In Memoriam – Dresden 1945* depicts the 1945 Allied Forces bombing the German city Dresden.<sup>1</sup> Larry Daehn's inspiration for his 1994 *As Summer was Just Beginning* came from a painting by John Lafarge.<sup>2</sup> Joseph Schwantner used a poem by children's author Carol Adler for his 1977 *...and the*

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1. Daniel Bukvich, "Symphony No. 1: In Memoriam - Dresden 1945" (Wingert-Jones Music, 1978).

2. Larry Daehn, "As Summer Was Just Beginning" (Daehn Publications, 1994).

*mountains rising nowhere*.<sup>3</sup> Each of these works derives source material from the past in its own unique way.

What makes Sousa's suite unique is the source material's evolution. The suite was directly inspired by Edward Bulwer-Lytton's novel of the same title.<sup>4</sup> The specifics of that relationship are central to this dissertation and supplement the topic's scarce existing research. Bulwer-Lytton's novel is itself inspired by an earlier Karl Bryullov painting of the same title, see figure 1.1.<sup>5</sup> Bulwer-Lytton describes it in his travel journal after a visit to the Brera Gallery in Milan:

One picture, however, I except. It is making a considerable sensation at Milan, and the subject of it is 'The Last Days of Pompeii.' This picture is full of genius, imagination, and nature...the scene is full of pathos, and in the true contrast of fine thought.<sup>6</sup>

Clearly the painting impacted the author who later used the title for his novel. Karl Bryullov's inspiration came directly from the historic site after he visited the Pompeii excavation in 1827.<sup>7</sup> The site had such an impact it took him six years to perfect the canvas.

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3. Joseph Schwantner, "...And the Mountains Rising Nowhere" (Schott-Helicon Music, 1977).

4. Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *The Last Days of Pompeii* (McAllister Editions, 2015).

5. Bulwer-Lytton and Sousa pluralize "Day" in their respective works. With the popularity of the Bulwer-Lytton novel, the painting's title is often written in the plural form.

6. Entry of Edward Bulwer-Lytton's journal quoted in Victor Alexander George Robert Bulwer-Lytton, *The Life of Edward Bulwer: First Lord Lytton*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1913), 440.

7. Ingrid D. Rowland, *From Pompeii: The Afterlife of a Roman Town* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 2014), 130-132.



Figure 1.1. Karl Bryullov's *The Last Day of Pompeii*. Oil on Canvas, 1833, The State Russian Museum, accessed September 20, 2018, [http://en.rusmuseum.ru/collections/painting-of-xviii-first-half-xix-centuries/artworks/posledniy-den-pompei/?sphrase\\_id=113392#rmPhoto/0/](http://en.rusmuseum.ru/collections/painting-of-xviii-first-half-xix-centuries/artworks/posledniy-den-pompei/?sphrase_id=113392#rmPhoto/0/).

In this dissertation, I explore the artistic mediums and the tragedy's public record as they relate to each iteration of the title. Sousa suggested in interviews the suite was special to him, warranting investigation into the work's importance.<sup>8</sup> The proceeding chapters discuss the subject's historical and artistic treatments that may have influenced Sousa's composition.

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8. Sousa often spoke highly about the work in interviews and articles. He also programed the suite consistently from its premiere through his death. Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa* (Columbus, Ohio: Integrity Press, 1984).

## **Background and Literature Review**

Sousa's suite received very little scholarly attention since its premiere in 1893. Performances and recordings have been limited leading to very little research into the work or its ties to the preceding artistic treatments. I have scoured databases and archives to find all available and relevant materials; however, current extant research is largely limited to mere secondary-source mention. My primary focus has been examination and analysis of the individual artistic works, vital to understanding the relationship between them.

The painting, which is on display at the Russian State Museum, is available through several high-quality digital resources, including one from the museum itself in which viewers can enter a virtual construct of that museum.<sup>9</sup> These high-resolution scans allow for close analysis of the work; chapter three's analysis focuses on the character depictions and their actions.

The Bulwer-Lytton novel has been reprinted many times since the first edition in 1833. I used several including a 2015 reprint, a 1903 edition, and an 1891 limited print edition with illustrations in two volumes.<sup>10</sup> The 1891 volume was of special interest as it was printed just two years before the Sousa composition and represents a sample of the illustrated versions widely available in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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9. Karl Bryullov's *The Last Day of Pompei*, Oil on Canvas, 1833, The State Russian Museum, accessed September 20, 2018, [http://en.rusmuseum.ru/collections/painting-of-xviii-first-half-xix-centuries/artworks/posledniy-den-pompei/?sphrase\\_id=113392#rmPhoto/0/](http://en.rusmuseum.ru/collections/painting-of-xviii-first-half-xix-centuries/artworks/posledniy-den-pompei/?sphrase_id=113392#rmPhoto/0/).

10. Bulwer-Lytton, 2015. Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *The Last Days of Pompeii* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903). Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, vol. 1–2, 2 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1891).

The suite is available in five forms. The Library of Congress holds the complete 1912 John Church Company set in its digital archives.<sup>11</sup> Also in their collection are most of the copyist's manuscript parts used for the engraving of that publication.<sup>12</sup> That collection also holds the holograph, but it is not found in their public catalog or available digitally. Anyone wishing to view the holograph can request the microfilm version in the Library of Congress Performing Arts Reading Room.<sup>13</sup> The Sousa Archive at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign holds the original manuscript parts used by the Sousa Band, 414 pages of manuscript that I digitized for this research.<sup>14</sup> The fifth version of the suite is a 2010 arrangement by R. Mark Rogers. This version is the most accessible to those wishing to perform the suite, but it modifies the instrumentation to better comply with a 21<sup>st</sup> century wind band.<sup>15</sup> All of these versions were used in the analysis of the work, with emphasis on the Sousa Archive manuscript parts and the holograph score.

Many books have been written about the general history of Pompeii, with a handful specifically relevant to this research. Nineteenth century archaeologist Sir William Gell's two volume collection, *Pompeiana*, details his findings at the excavation

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11. John Philip Sousa, "The Last Days of Pompeii" (John Church Company, 1912), <https://www.loc.gov/item/sousa.200028246/>.

12. John Philip Sousa, "The Last Days of Pompeii," Notated Music, n.d., <https://www.loc.gov/item/sousa.200031240/>.

13. John Philip Sousa, "The Last Days of Pompeii," Holograph Full Score (Washington D.C., January 18, 1893), The Library of Congress.

14. John Philip Sousa, "The Last Days of Pompeii," Notated Music (Urbana, IL, 1893), Sousa Archive: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

15. John Philip Sousa, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, ed. R. Mark Rogers (San Antonio: Southern Music Company, 2010).

site.<sup>16</sup> These volumes are particularly useful because they were the historical reference Edward Bulwer-Lytton used to create his novel. The research may be outdated by today's standards, but it represents the type of information available to the public in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Estelle Lazer's *Resurrecting Pompeii* provides substantial background on the city, the eruption, and the excavation efforts.<sup>17</sup> One of the most interesting chapters summarizes ancient sources to contextualize the 79 CE Vesuvius eruption by including records of preceding earthquakes and information about the population at the time of the eruption. This same chapter discusses the date of the eruption which has been vigorously debated in recent years. The first appendix, which chronicles the Pompeii and Herculaneum excavations from 1592 to the present, was the most valuable section for me. Lazer also references the Bulwer-Lytton novel and other historical works concerning the subject frequently.

Two additional books focus specifically on the treatments of the historical material. Stephen Harrison and Meilee D. Bridges have chapters about the Bulwer-Lytton novel in Shelley Hales's *Pompeii in the Public Imagination*.<sup>18</sup> The discussion of Bulwer-Lytton's novel includes how the author created realistic scenery based on the findings and publications of Sir William Gell. A later chapter illustrates how Pompeii captured

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16. William Gell, *Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices and Ornaments of Pompeii; the Result of Excavations since 1819*, 2 vols. (London: Jennings and Chaplin, 1832).

17. Estelle Lazer, *Resurrecting Pompeii*. (London: Routledge, 2011).

18. Shelley Hales and Joanna Paul, eds., *Pompeii in the Public Imagination from Its Rediscovery to Today*, Classical presences (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

audiences across the globe by outlining its prominence in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania during and after the United States' 1876 centennial celebration. This chapter hints at Bulwer-Lytton's influence there, but it does not investigate it thoroughly. Ingrid D. Rowland similarly devotes a chapter to the Bryullov painting in her book *From Pompeii*, as well as individual chapters to Pompeii's rediscovery and subsequent tourism surge.<sup>19</sup>

Alison E. Cooley and M. G. L. Cooley's *Pompeii and Herculaneum: A Sourcebook* is a useful collection of ancient texts and inscriptions.<sup>20</sup> Though most of this collection does not relate specifically to the research in this dissertation, the book provides detailed source material illustrating the lives of the ancient Pompeians. The included translations of Pliny the Younger's letters to Tacitus were most useful. These translations have been updated to include recent research, including placing the eruption in the fall rather than late summer.

Karl Bryullov's fame rests squarely on the canvas of *The Last Days of Pompeii*. The painting afforded the artist widespread recognition, but interest in his other works never met the same level of appeal. As a result, Bryullov fell out of favor and his legacy dwindled. Relatively few resources address the artist, and those that do often contradict each other. The information presented in this dissertation attempts to stitch together those sources and weed out those likely incorrect.

Biographical information on artists can often be found in field-specific encyclopedias and dictionaries. In music, the titles which fall under Oxford Music are

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19. Ingrid D. Rowland, *From Pompeii: The Afterlife of a Roman Town* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 2014).

20 Alison Elizabeth Cooley and Melvin George Lowe Cooley, *Pompeii and Herculaneum: A Sourcebook*, 2nd edition. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014).



generally considered reliable sources, Grove Music for example. Grove Art Online provides a background in the article “Bryullov family” and focuses on Karl and his architect brother Alexander.<sup>21</sup> This source is useful for quick background information on the difficult to research artist. One of the other Oxford Art publications, the Benezit Dictionary of Artists, failed as a reliable source, and researchers should use it with caution. The article “Karl Pavlovich Bryullov” is useful as a snapshot biography, but not all details agree with other sources.<sup>22</sup> For example, this article claims Bryullov was born in Italy. That claim’s basis is unknown and should not be taken as fact. No other sources included in this research assert Bryullov was born outside of Russia.

Larger snippets of biographical information can be found in dedicated chapters and sections of several books. Rosalind Gray’s *Russian Genre Painting in the Nineteenth Century* is one of the most detailed.<sup>23</sup> The book, focused on genre paintings, provides many details about the artist’s early life that influenced the creation of *The Last Day* in the chapter “Beyond the Frontiers”. In *A Concise History of Russian Art*, Tamara Talbot Rice offers details about Bryullov’s conflict between his academic roots and the pressures of early Russian Romanticism.<sup>24</sup> In *From Pompeii: The Afterlife of a Roman Town*, Ingrid D. Rowland goes beyond a biographical sketch and tackles the work itself; she

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21. Ye I. Kirichenko and Larissa Haskell, “Bryullov Family,” *Grove Art Online*, 2003.

22. “Bryullov, Karl Pavlovich,” in *Benezit Dictionary of Artists* (Oxford University Press, 2011), accessed September 30, 2018, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/benezit/view/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.001.0001/acref-9780199773787-e-00027684>.

23. Rosalind P. Blakesley, *Russian Genre Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford Historical Monographs (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 101-107.

24. Tamara Talbot Rice, *A Concise History of Russian Art*, 3rd ed. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), 219-227.

relates it to other works from the same period, both of the same subject and not. Bulwer-Lytton's novel is discussed as a tribute to the painting, though, as discovered in this research, that may be an overstatement. Her discussion is useful for researchers investigating where *The Last Day of Pompeii* fits in a historical context, and how it influenced a handful of other works. *The Last Days of Pompeii: Decadence, Apocalypse, Resurrection* by Victoria C Gardner Coates et al. devotes a chapter to Bryullov but focuses more on the painting rather than Bryullov's life.<sup>25</sup> Researchers should use caution when referencing this source as well. Coates makes several assertions in this chapter that were difficult or impossible to verify. However, she does compare several of his paintings to other works which Bryullov was known to have or most likely studied.

A series of articles in journals and magazines offer information on various aspects of Bryullov and his works. Kate Dianina outlines the critical-reception roller coaster that followed Bryullov throughout his life, emphasizing *The Last Day*.<sup>26</sup> Nicholas Daly takes a broader approach and focuses on the "Volcanic Disaster Narrative" including its use on canvas, such as Bryullov's painting, as well as in prose and on stage.<sup>27</sup> His survey concisely goes through some of the best known treatments of the subject and touches heavily on Bryullov and Bulwer-Lytton. Semyon Ekshtut explores Bryullov's influence

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25. Victoria C. Gardner Coates et al., eds., *The Last Days of Pompeii: Decadence, Apocalypse, Resurrection* (Los Angeles: [Cleveland]: The J. Paul Getty Museum; The Cleveland Museum of Art, 2012).

26. Katia Dianina, "The Making of an Artist as National Hero: The Great Karl Briullov and His Critical Fortunes," *Slavic Review* 77, no. 01 (2018): 122–150.

27. Nicholas Daly, "The Volcanic Disaster Narrative: From Pleasure Garden to Canvas, Page, and Stage," *Victorian Studies* 53, no. 2 (2011): 255–285.

as a prominent Russian artist in an article outlining his career.<sup>28</sup> A more lighthearted article from *Apollo* examines evidence of Bryullov's relationship with Countess Julia Samoilova. "Love Letter to a Goddess" explores evidence in Bryullov's works that indicate an intimate relationship between the two.<sup>29</sup>

Two monographs about Bryullov provide a wealth of knowledge about the painter and his works. Galina Leontyeva's *Karl Briullov: Artist of Russian Romanticism* is a thorough biography about the artist with emphasis on *The Last Day of Pompeii*. The information aligns with other sources and the English translation makes it more accessible to English speaking researchers. The only aggregate of primary sources readily available is a collection of documents and letters collected and edited by Nikolay Georgievich Mashkovtsev.<sup>30</sup> Mashkovtsev devotes several chapters to Bryullov's life before chronologically listing the included documents and letters. Chapters are divided by time period with subtitles such as "On the way to Italy". Most useful are the many letters between Bryullov and the Society of the Encouragement for the Arts in which details about the artist's studies and works are revealed. Letters are not limited to just those composed by or to Karl Bryullov. Several are between Alexander Bryullov and others mentioning Karl's activities. There are also numerous reviews of his works. This source is the most informative of the lot, however it is a rare and difficult to obtain book. The

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28. Semyon Ekshtut, "Karl Bryullov: Russia's First Mast Painter," *Russian Life* 43, no. 26 (n.d.), <https://search.proquest.com/docview/223996513?accountid=14541>.

29. Kristen Regina, "Love Letter to a Goddess," *Apollo: The International Art Magazine* (June 2007).

30. Nikolay Georgievich Mashkovtsev, *K. P. Bryullov v Pis'makh, Dokumentakh i Vospominaniyakh Sovremennikov* (Academy of the Arts Publishing, 1961).

text, entirely in Russian, has only a handful of copies in the world. For researchers interested in Karl Bryullov, it is indispensable. Much of the conflicting information in other sources can be settled through this collection.

Several sources address Edward Bulwer-Lytton, although not always in a favorable light. Dissertations such as William Scholer's *Bulwer-Lytton and the Supernatural* center on the writer specifically.<sup>31</sup> Others, like Meilee D. Bridge's "Re-presenting" the Past: *Literary Excavations of Antiquity in Nineteenth-Century Britain* address Bulwer-Lytton in the context of historical representation.<sup>32</sup> The previous research surrounding the latter contains particularly useful insight for this research. Another dissertation along these same lines is Shawn C. Malley's *Nineteenth-Century Archaeology and the Retrieval of the Past: Carlyle, Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, Pater, and Haggard*.<sup>33</sup> Though these scholarly publications discuss Bulwer-Lytton's interest in the subject, their most useful features are their bibliographies.

The most useful source on Bulwer-Lytton's life is divided into three collections. Bulwer-Lytton began writing an autobiography but died before completing it. Knowing it was unfinished, he left the task of finishing it to his son, Edward Robert Bulwer-Lytton. His son attempted to do so and published two volumes titled, *The Life, Letters, and*

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31. William Scholer, "Bulwer-Lytton and the Supernatural" (Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1976), <http://search.proquest.com/docview/302796946/>.

32. Meilee D. Bridges, "'Re-Presenting' the Past: Literary Excavations of Antiquity in Nineteenth-Century Britain," 2006, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/305312201?accountid=14541>.

33. Shawn C. Malley, "Nineteenth-Century Archaeology and the Retrieval of the Past: Carlyle, Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, Pater and Haggard," 1996, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/304323264?accountid=14541>.

*Literary Remains of Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton*, however, like his father he died while compiling the collection.<sup>34</sup> The two completed volumes do offer a unique mix of Bulwer-Lytton's autobiographical writing and his son's own opinions and research.

Autobiographical chapters are noted as such and are often followed by a chapter of additional research conducted by his son. With this collection only covering a portion of Bulwer-Lytton's life, his grandson, Victor Alexander George Robert Bulwer-Lytton, decided to take up the mantle and finish the collection in his two volume set, *The Life of Edward Bulwer: First Lord Lytton*.<sup>35</sup> This set provides the most detailed information about the author's life, but must be paired with the previous two-volume set. Address of *The Last Days of Pompeii* is limited, but V. Bulwer-Lytton provides some context for the inspiration of the work with a selection from Edward Bulwer-Lytton's travel journal.

Another biography by Leslie G. Mitchell provides a less personal overview of Lytton by examining different aspects of the writer's life.<sup>36</sup> For example, one chapter is devoted to how Lytton interacted with the public and his role in society, and others are devoted to his wife and son. The writing about his wife was particularly interesting and helped establish a timeline for the couple's travels through Italy in 1833. Though this book is less inclusive than the combined Bulwer-Lytton biographies, it provides additional details. When combined, the two sources provide a comprehensive overview

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34. Edward Robert Bulwer-Lytton, *The Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton*, 2 vols., Harper's Franklin Square library (Harper & Brothers, 1884).

35. Bulwer-Lytton, Victor Alexander George Robert, *The Life of Edward Bulwer: First Lord Lytton*.

36. Leslie G. Mitchell, *Bulwer Lytton: The Rise and Fall of a Victorian Man of Letters* (London; New York: Hambledon and London: Distributed in the U.S. and Canada by Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

of Bulwer-Lytton's life. Unfortunately, none of these address *The Last Days of Pompeii* in sufficient detail. I conducted extensive research to supplement these sources, but unfortunately, they were the most useful found.

David Huckvale's *A Dark and Stormy Oeuvre: Crime, Magic, and Power in the Novels of Edward Bulwer-Lytton* covers the novel in substantial detail, though the book addresses many of Bulwer-Lytton's novels, not just *Pompeii*.<sup>37</sup> This particular source is useful in examining how the novel influenced the public's image of Pompeii through later artistic treatments. Several films are mentioned, such as the 1900 silent film adaption directed by Walter R. Booth. Huckvale mentions Bryullov as an inspiration for the novel, but there is no additional detail. Interestingly, he asserts Giovanni Pacini's opera *L'ultimo giorno di Pompei* (*The Last Day of Pompeii*) influenced Bryullov's painting, however, the claim is not substantiated.<sup>38</sup> I attempted to do so in chapter four of this dissertation, but there is not enough evidence to make such a conclusive statement.

Critical reaction to the novel is plentiful. As Bulwer-Lytton's most successful publication, thirty-two editions were printed by 1914.<sup>39</sup> Many reviewers criticized the novel between the first edition and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Aggregates of these reviews, such as those by Charles Moulton, provide a quick survey of critical reaction.<sup>40</sup>

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37. David Huckvale, *A Dark and Stormy Oeuvre: Crime, Magic and Power in the Novels of Edward Bulwer-Lytton* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2016).

38. David Huckvale, *A Dark and Stormy Oeuvre: Crime, Magic and Power in the Novels of Edward Bulwer-Lytton* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2016), 91.

39. Mitchel, xvi.

40. Charles Wells Moulton and Martin Tucker, *Moulton's Library of Literary Criticism of English and American Authors through the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: In Four Volumes. Vol. 3: From the Romantic Period to the Victorian Age*, 6. print. (New York: Ungar, 1989).

These reviews, particularly those discussing the secondary character Nydia, were critical in investigating Sousa's creation of the suite.

Two biographies about Sousa were useful for general background research.

*Making the March King: John Philip Sousa's Washington Years 1854-1893* by Patrick Warfield extensively chronicles the first half of Sousa's life.<sup>41</sup> This information on Sousa's upbringing helped color the picture of a young composer who continuously wanted to expand his horizons. Paul E. Bierley, the undisputed expert on Sousa, provides a more concise overview of Sousa's entire life in *John Philip Sousa: American Phenomenon*.<sup>42</sup> The book is very accessible and useful for music researchers as well as amateurs interested in Sousa's life. Unfortunately, these two biographies lack detailed information about his compositions and are better suited for those more interested in his life, rather than his music. Bierley mentions *The Last Days of Pompeii* only briefly but has three other books relevant for this dissertation. His *The Works of John Philip Sousa* expands on his previous *John Philip Sousa: A Descriptive Catalog* and provides brief overviews of each composition category, such as marches or suites, as well as a brief background of each piece.<sup>43</sup> These two books were disappointing in their scope, but they were still useful, particularly the chronological listing of Sousa's compositions. This

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41. Patrick Warfield, *Making the March King: John Philip Sousa's Washington Years 1854-1893*, 2016.

42. Paul E. Bierley, *John Philip Sousa; American Phenomenon* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1973).

43. Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa* (Columbus, Ohio: Integrity Press, 1984). Paul E. Bierley, *John Philip Sousa: A Descriptive Catalog of His Works*, Music in American life (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973).

section provided a quick reference for examining the composer's output over the years, which I used for comparison purposes. It is also worth noting that the term "works" expands beyond musical compositions. The books include all of Sousa's works including his writing endeavors, though those entries are limited to bibliographical information only. Besides these books, Bierley's *The Incredible Band of John Philip Sousa* is another useful text.<sup>44</sup> Information contained within covers the Sousa Band's beginnings in 1892 through Sousa's death. Bierley includes an appendix in which he compiled approximately 200 Concert Programs. An extremely insightful inclusion, as this may be the only such aggregate in existence. However, initial utilization of this appendix failed to support the repeated claim that Sousa programed *The Last Days of Pompeii* more than any of his other suites. Realizing the appendix contained only a random sample of programs, I went to the *Sousa Band Press Books* from the United States Marine Band Library, from which Bierley assembled much of the appendix.<sup>45</sup> This massive collection of scrap books covers the entirety of Sousa's career with the Sousa Band. It includes everything from programs to reviews from all around the globe. These scrap books must be the go-to for any Sousa researcher. No other collection comes close in its quantity of primary sources, and likely never will.

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44. Paul E Bierley, *The Incredible Band of John Philip Sousa* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2010).

45. *Sousa Band Press Book*, 85 vols. (Washington D.C.: U.S. Marine Band Sousa Collection, 1892).



Sousa wrote his own autobiography, *Marching Along: Recollections of Men, Women and Music*, toward the end of his life.<sup>46</sup> It is a collection of writings Sousa contributed over the years stitched together and retold, often contradicting earlier sources. Regardless, it was still useful for understanding the composer's life. Those researchers interested in Sousa's writings might benefit more from a recent publication, which I wish I found earlier in the process of this dissertation. *A Sousa Reader* is a collection of Sousa's writings and interviews in their entirety, unlike the earlier mentioned Bierley text.<sup>47</sup> By the time I discovered this book, I had already tracked down nearly all the relevant articles and interviews in their primary source form. However, the text did provide additional writing which I could not track down, and I recommend it most out of the texts mentioned here. The general public limits Sousa to composer of marches, or so it seems; this book provides great insight into a man who was much more than that.

The suite has only been mentioned in passing in the beforementioned sources. Very little research about the suite appears to have been conducted, but William B. Stacy's PhD thesis *John Philip Sousa and His Band Suites: An Analytic and Cultural Study* devotes a short section to the work and its background.<sup>48</sup> Stacy has the most substantial mention of the work, but information is still limited with citations either vague or dated. More recently, a master's thesis by Steven Wilcer discusses the suite in

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46. John Philip Sousa, *Marching Along: Recollections of Men, Women and Music* (Hale, Cushman & Flint, 1928).

47. Bryan Proksch, *A Sousa Reader: Essays, Interviews, and Clippings* (Chicago: GIA Publication, Inc., 2017).

48. William B. Stacy, "John Philip Sousa and His Band Suites: An Analytic and Cultural Study," 1972, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/302556187?accountid=14541>.

additional detail.<sup>49</sup> However, his discussion is also limited, and he makes similar claims to the Stacy dissertation. For example, both describe the first movement as though it does not fit into the suite. I disagree entirely and have attempted to support that disagreement in chapter five.

Two recordings were used in this research. The first is a digital reproduction of a vinyl album recorded between 1974 and 1976.<sup>50</sup> Another recording, released in 2003, is by the Royal Artillery Band.<sup>51</sup> These two recordings have slight differences in performance, but they appear to be the only recordings available.

### **Statement of the Problem and Research Questions**

Previous research examines each work individually, but nothing goes into detail about the relationship connecting the three. Material that started with the history of Pompeii evolved through these artistic treatments; that raises questions of how the material developed and what connects the various mediums? The novel received the most public attention, despite its complex and wordy language. Unfortunately, the suite received the least attention, but that does not mean it is unworthy of revival. Sousa may be known as the “March King,” but does that make his other works less deserving?

This project started with an assignment to find a non-characteristic work of a famous composer. After discovering *The Last Days of Pompeii*, I read in multiple sources

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49. Steven Wilcer, “Sousa’s Descriptive Works and Suites as Class-Cultural Mediations” (n.d.): 70.

50. Jack T. Kline and The United States Marine Band, *The Heritage of John Philip Sousa: Collection*, CD (Virginia: The Robert Hoe Collection, 2011).

51. The Royal Artillery Band and Keith Brion, *John Philip Sousa: Works for Wind Band*, CD, vol. 3 (Naxos, 2003).

that Sousa based the suite on a novel, and that novel was based on a painting. Even in the most accessible edition of the suite, the arranger writes: “*The Last Days of Pompeii* is Sousa’s only suite based on a pre-existing work, in this case the novel of the same name by Victorian author Edward Bulwer-Lytton (1803-73).”<sup>52</sup> However, “based on” implies the suite retells the novel’s plot. The suite does not methodically go novel’s plot or even mention the primary characters. Instead, Sousa paints three scenes. In chapter five, I discuss how I believe the suite represents a single character’s arc rather than the novel’s plot. There is even less connection between the novel and the painting, removing any strong definition of basis. Although it may appear as a minor difference, a more appropriate term would be inspired. Each treatment relies on the preceding artistic and historical treatments but to a lesser extent implied by previous research.

This dissertation focuses on Sousa’s suite, but to understand from where the subject material came, I explore each artistic work and the relevant Pompeii historical record that may have inspired them. Central research questions are:

1. How did each treatment develop?
2. What connects each treatment’s content to that which precedes it?
3. How is the suite a product of the preceding artistic and historical treatments?

Secondary questions used to contextualize the transitional period between each treatment include:

1. What is the critical reception of each artistic treatment?
2. What other elements, encountered by the artists, may have inspired them?

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<sup>52</sup> Sousa, *Pompeii*, Rogers, 69.

## **Research Design and Methodology**

Each of the following four chapters is dedicated to one element of source material. The first provides historical context of both the 79 CE eruption and the excavations between 1748 and 1893. This context provides a basic understanding of the historical material that was then adopted across the artistic treatments. I examine that material's relevant dissemination for the creation of the artistic treatments and give special attention to the spread of "Pompeii Fever" in the United States starting in Philadelphia, a vital component of the suite's inception.

The second chapter examines Karl Bryullov and his painting and is divided into three sections. The first outlines biographical information about the artist and his works leading to *Pompeii*. It also explores the relationship between Bryullov and Countess Julia Samoilova. Their relationship helped shape his interest in Pompeii and may connect him to another artistic treatment of the same name, a possibility explored in the third section. The middle section examines the painting and extracts elements that represent Bryullov's historical research. Sources explored in chapter two carry over to this chapter as depictions in the painting.

Chapter three follows a similar model beginning with a biographical sketch of Edward Bulwer-Lytton up to the novel. Two subsequent sections examine the novel and the author's legacy. This chapter breaks down the plot and characters emphasizing Nydia. In chapter five, I argue Nydia's story arc is central to the wind-band suite.

The final and most substantial chapter explores Sousa's life leading up to the suite and analyzes the suite. Again, I use a similar model starting with a sketch of Sousa's

experiences leading to the composition with special attention to his time in Philadelphia during the 1876 centennial celebration. This section carries forward material from chapter two, outlining his proximity to the wildly popular subject. It also examines his career as it evolves from his time as director of the Marine Band to the creation of his own professional ensemble.

A detailed harmonic analysis follows. I include interpretations and considerations to help the reader understand my understanding of the work. These include how the suite relates to material from the novel, and my suggestions for creating an effective performance. These were crafted over many months of analysis and performance preparation. They should not be taken as rules, but I hope that they can be useful to those who conduct the work in the future.

Of the three artistic treatments, the Sousa suite is the least known. The work has few recordings and performances, and as mentioned in the literature review the scholarly output about the work is limited. Part of this issue is the absence of a scholarly edition. Hopefully such an edition will be available in the future and lead to additional performances. For the purposes of this research, I surveyed critical reception dating during Sousa's life to establish a baseline of the work's popularity. In general, the public and critics received the work positively, supporting the needed action to revive it.

Examination of these three artistic treatments on the same subject material provides a study into how material can evolve from one work to another. The issue of basis versus inspiration is a central point and breaking down each work helps in

understanding how it inspired the next. I hope this research will spark a new interest in the suite and help redefine the “March King’s” legacy.

### **Implications for Theory and Research**

This dissertation provides a narrow scope of a much larger topic. Programmatic compositions are at an all-time high with many wind-band composers writing in a neoromantic style. Methodology used within may help others determine the best avenue in their own programmatic-composition research. Although my methods are not the only way to approach the topic, they demonstrate how elements can be removed from one work and related to another. This type of analytical exploration is particularly useful for conductors who may wish to contextualize a work for their ensemble. The bridging of artistic mediums goes beyond this one example, and this study may encourage others to explore additional works.

If *The Last Days of Pompeii* was truly one of Sousa’s favorites, scholars need to preserve the work and question both why it was held in a high regard and why it has fallen out of favor. This dissertation lays the groundwork for additional research on the subject, including the creation of a critical edition. Although that was not a component of this project, it would be unwise to create a scholarly edition without the historical investigation presented here.

### **Limitations**

As mentioned above, this is but one study within a much broader topic. Larger questions of how compositions based on other artistic mediums draw from previous material are worthy of address. However, this dissertation is a study in a single case of

multiple-treatment source material. Focusing on the evolution of this one title, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, prevented the research from becoming unwieldy. The primary questions of how each treatment developed, with minimal tangents to related output, kept the topic focused. That focus includes the exploration of each work, but only in the context leading to Sousa's suite.

A new critical edition needs to be assembled, but I limited this project to the historical exploration. That exploration lays the foundation for a critical edition, but limitations on this project prevented an edition's inclusion at this time. Another reason for the exploration is to shed light on a work that, in this researcher's opinion, deserves more attention.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **A BRIEF HISTORY OF POMPEII**

Today, Pompeii is a snapshot of an unimaginable catastrophe. Since the classic Roman city's rediscovery in the eighteenth century, it has been a point of constant study and consistent attraction. Visitors flock to the ruins to see a glimpse of history. For some the view elicits sorrow, but for others it ignites imagination. This chapter explores the important events concerning the disaster that led to the artistic treatments covered in this dissertation.

#### **Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Mount Vesuvius**

Pompeii is more than a city in the modern age; it is an event. The 79 CE Mount Vesuvius eruption that destroyed Pompeii and Herculaneum epitomizes the apocalypse. At the time, Pompeii was a moderately sized city with a strong commercial center and an approximate population of 20,000. Herculaneum on the other hand was a small coastal city of about 5000. The volcanic eruption buried Pompeii in approximately three feet of pumice and ash. Herculaneum, being much closer to the volcano, was buried under approximately twenty meters. See figure 2.1 for an illustration showing the relative location of the ancient cities and Vesuvius. The modern image of the fiery destruction evolved as findings and artistic treatments emerged over the past three centuries. Primary historical evidence has come from the archaeological excavations. However, one



surviving firsthand account by Pliny the Younger provides a unique and essential perspective on the disaster.

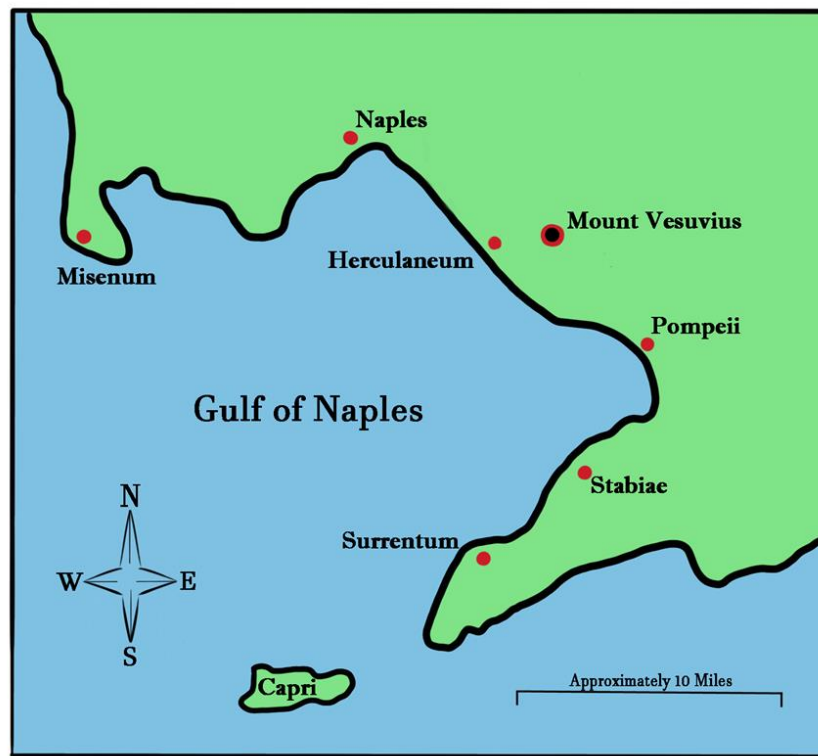


Figure 2.1. Illustration of the Bay of Naples Circa 79 CE.

### **Pliny The Younger's Letters to Tacitus**

Pliny the Younger was a young student when the eruption occurred. His uncle, Pliny the Elder, was the commander of the Roman Fleet in Misenum. See figure 2.1 for its relative location. Record of the two Plinys is found in a set of two letters written in approximately 110 CE. Tacitus the historian wrote to Pliny the Younger and requested he account his uncle's final hours in order to represent the fleet commander in his historical

volume *Histories*. Though that work no longer exists in its entirety, the correspondences survived.

The first letter describes when the eruption begins on October 24, 79 CE. After a large cloud, resembling an “umbrella pine”, forms above a mountain to the south, Pliny the Elder wishes to investigate, but his nephew forgoes the short journey to continue his studies.<sup>53</sup> The Elder quickly sends for a ship and sets out towards the curiosity. However, as he leaves, he receives an urgent communication from a citizen near the eruption requesting evacuation assistance. The Elder then dispatches a fleet of ships to help facilitate the exodus.

On route the elder diverts to Stabiae to rescue Pomponianus, who was trapped on land by an opposing wind.<sup>54</sup> After arriving, Pliny the Elder loads the ships with luggage and waits for the wind to favor departure. Despite the clear imminent danger, he retires for the evening and goes to sleep. During his rest, the landscape becomes covered with ash and pumice. He wakes when pyroclastic material accumulates to a dangerous depth. After meeting with Pomponianus, he decides to take his chances outside rather than waiting for the roof to collapse under the growing weight. He goes to the shore to see if they can set sail, but the weather has not improved. He dies on the beach, presumably from the thick smoke and ash filling his lungs.

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53. Pliny the Younger, First letter to Tacitus translated in Alison Elizabeth Cooley and Melvin George Lowe Cooley, *Pompeii and Herculaneum: A Sourcebook*, 2nd edition. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 45. Historically, translations of the letter initially placed the eruption in August. However, researchers have concluded the eruption took place in the autumn based on findings that include the clothing on the bodies and various autumn fruit discovered at the site. Most scholars now agree that October as the most probable month.

54. Stabiae was a small town about three miles southwest from Pompeii.

The second letter recollects the dangers Pliny the Younger and his mother faced in Misenum. After his uncle leaves, the day carries out in a relatively normal manner. The Younger describes his routine through retiring for the night. However, during the night the earthquakes increase, and he and his mother get up and sit in their courtyard. As the sun rises, the light is subdued through the thick ash and smoke. Though the two were outside, the danger of the building collapsing around them increases, and they decide to leave the city. A crowd follows them, and they wait outside the city, repeatedly clearing ash from themselves, until there is enough daylight to see their surroundings. That light, “pale as in an eclipse,” allows the two to see the heavy ash gathered on the ground like snow.<sup>55</sup> They return home, and although the earthquakes continue the danger appears to have passed. The letter ends indicating they remain in their residence waiting for news about Pliny the Elder. Undoubtedly the news they received provided the content Pliny the Younger wrote in his first letter.

Though Pliny the Younger was not physically present in Pompeii, his letters are the closest firsthand evidence available. It is unclear how he receives the information about his uncle, but survivors would have likely reported on the heroic commander’s fate. The account of himself and his mother demonstrates how large an event this was with the two residing some distance from the volcano. The descriptive language helped researchers imagine the event beyond that which artifacts alone could reveal.

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55. Cooley, 49.

### **Excavations: 79 to 1900**

After the eruption, those who stuck nearby but survived, like Pliny the Younger, either went or dispatched others to the scene. Areas left exposed were likely plundered, but with meters of pyroclastic material covering some areas there were little remnants remaining. In time, the two cities are forgotten, and new sites emerge on top of the buried ruins. Resina was built directly above Herculaneum, and the area surrounding Pompeii is designated Civita.

The cities remained dormant for centuries until a series of small discoveries led to their reemergence. Sometime around 1592 construction workers found coins from the first century as they were tunneling through a hill in Civita. In 1637 German historian Luc Holstenius suggested Pompeii was located beneath Civita but took no action to substantiate the claim. Another construction site searching for water in 1689 unearthed a stone with an inscription mentioning Pompeii. This caused a short stir of speculation, but again no archaeological actions were taken.

The first excavation took place in 1709 after a landowner drilling for a well unearthed fragments from Herculaneum's theater. Prince d'Elbeuf, an officer in the Austrian imperial army, heard of the discovery and immediately bought the land. He then started the area's first excavation. However, his pursuit was not archeological. Instead, it was a treasure hunt meant to find artifacts and deliver them to Austrian Nobility. By 1738, Charles III of Spain, King of the Two Sicilies, joined the hunt after appointing Joaquin de Alcubierre director of the excavations. Like the early Austrian interests, this excavation employed destructive techniques to retrieve artifacts for Spanish

nobility. Alcubierre even used explosives to speed up the process.<sup>56</sup> These two endeavors disregarded site preservation, and, as a result, were sporadic and damaging. Fortunately, approaches changed shortly thereafter.

In 1748 permission was granted to excavate Civita. At the time, the lead excavator Abbot Giuseppe Martorelli believed the site was the ancient town of Stabiae, the town in which Pliny the Elder died. By 1750 Karl Weber, employed as one of Alcubierre's aides, suggested a more systematic approach be taken. He put this suggestion into practice in the excavation of the Herculaneum Gate with great success. This approach was quickly adopted by others and helped to preserve the sites for future study, despite the continued treasure-hunt mentality.

For years, many suspected Civita was Pompeii, but it was not confirmed until 1763 when an inscription reading "Res Publica Pompeianorum (Republic of Pompeii)" was uncovered, removing any doubt.<sup>57</sup> Weber's successor, Francesco la Vega, discovered the Temple of Isis in 1764. Excavations continued through the end of the century and steadily became more archaeological in nature through the next.

When Napoleon rose to power, his sister Caroline and her husband Joachim Murat assumed the throne of Naples. They funded several excavations and appointed Antonio Bonucci director of the excavations in 1814, a post he retained after the Bonapartes lost power in 1815. As the excavations continued, publications began to emerge documenting the findings. Sir William Gell published one such work in 1817

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56. Estelle Lazer, *Resurrecting Pompeii*. (London: Routledge, 2011), 285

57. Ingrid D. Rowland, *From Pompeii: The Afterlife of a Roman Town* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 2014), 86.

titled *Pompeiana: The Topography of Edifices and Ornaments of Pompeii*. As he continued his work he recorded new findings and incorporated them in the re-released two volume monograph in 1832. Though the Gell was representative of the types of cataloging and observations taking place at the site, methods used in the excavations continued to be crude.

That changed in 1863 when Giuseppe Fiorelli was appointed as director of the excavations. He insisted the excavations move forward systematically, and extensive cataloging be kept. That approach created a foundation of archaeological interest and continued through by his successor, Michele Ruggiero. As technology improved, those methods became more refined and allowed redirection to existing excavations. By the end of the twentieth century focus moved toward preservation and restoration rather than new excavation.

### **Pompeii Fever**

Archaeological publications, like Gell's, were only the beginning of a widespread fascination of Pompeii. For some artists, firsthand study of the site and artifacts created enough material to generate new artistic works. That was the case for academic artist Karl Bryullov, who spent years immersed in careful study. Edward Bulwer-Lytton, on the other hand, relied heavily on the scholarship of others. He formed a personal relationship with Gell during a visit to Pompeii in 1833, and a year later the English author published his immensely popular *The Last Days of Pompeii*. That novel changed the public view of Pompeii. The romance narrative was popular, and the novel was easily obtainable throughout Europe and the United States. It brought the city into the public's imagination

and nurtured a growing “Pompeii Fever”, encouraging new artistic creations through the remainder of the century and beyond.

By 1876 the fever spread to be a worldwide epidemic. The United States, caught up in the excitement, put the city on display during its centennial celebration in Philadelphia. This fair, officially labeled the International Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures and Products of the Soil and Mine, was the first world’s exhibition hosted in the United States. The tie into the centennial celebration was just a small portion of the gargantuan event but served to help heal a country still scared by war and financial turmoil. Industry dominated most of the fair, but art and music held very important roles as well. With “Pompeii Fever” flooding into the States, many of the art works on display, domestic and international, focused on the subject. Table 1 lists the works concerning Pompeii found in the official catalog. Most of these works were housed in Memorial Hall, a massive structure that acted as the exhibition’s art gallery. The building was built at a cost of \$1,500,000 and designed to be a permanent memorial to the Centennial Exhibition. Today, it is the last surviving main structure.<sup>58</sup>

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58. Hamilton F. Webster, *Visitors’ Guide to the Centennial Exhibition and Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1875).

Table 1. Listings of Art Works Depicting Pompeii at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition

<b>Title</b>	<b>Artist</b>	<b>Medium</b>
<i>Nydia, the Blind Girl of Pompeii</i>	Randolph Rogers	Sculpture
<i>The Tepidarium of the Baths (Pompeii)</i>	Louis Haghe	Watercolor Painting
<i>A Discovery at Pompeii</i>	H. Moulin	Bronze Sculpture
<i>View of Pompeii, with Mount Vesuvius</i>	A. Von Swieszewski	Oil Painting
<i>Episode of the Destruction of Pompeii</i>	Godefroid Guffens	Oil Painting
<i>Cellar of Diomede – Scene at the Destruction of Pompeii</i>	Joseph Stallaert	Oil Painting
<i>Woman of Pompeii</i>	Angelo Biella	Sculpture
<i>A Flower-Girl of Pompeii</i>	Federico Maldarelli	Oil Painting
<i>A Bath in Pompeii</i>	Federico Maldarelli	Oil Painting
<i>Preparation for a Fest in Pompeii</i>	Anatolio, Scifoni	Oil Painting
<i>Pompeiiian Boy Flute-Player</i>	Roberto, Bompiani	Oil Painting
<i>The Last Days of Pompeii</i>	Pietro Guarnerio	Sculpture
<i>The Pompeiian Woman</i>	Antonio Tantardini	Sculpture
<i>Pompiian Woman at the Bath</i>	Francisco Jover	Oil Painting

*Source: International Exhibition: 1876 Official Catalogue: Part II: Art Gallery, Annexes, and Outdoor Works of Art*, 11th ed., vol. 2, 4 vols. (Philadelphia, 1876), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044029342995>. Listed in order presented in the official catalog.





Figure 2.2. Randolph Rogers, *Nydia, The Blind Flower Girl of Pompeii*, Sculpture, 1859, Gallery 700, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/11951>.

Of the works listed, the sculpture of *Nydia, The Blind Girl of Pompeii* caused quite a sensation, see figure 2.2. It depicts one of the main characters of Bulwer-Lytton's novel, first modeled in 1854 by American sculptor Randolph Rogers. Rogers was believed to have produced 167 versions, both life-size and half-scale, with fifty surviving

today.<sup>59</sup> A review in Edward Strahan's *The Masterpieces of the Centennial International Exhibition of 1876* compares the Rogers sculpture to a similar depiction at the fair, *The Last Days of Pompeii* by Italian sculptor Pietro Guarnerio. Strahan champions the American sculpture in his comparison of the two representations from Bulwer-Lytton's novel.<sup>60</sup> Another entry about the sculpture appeared near the end of the Centennial Exhibition after a *Baltimore Sun* correspondent visited the fair.

...next is Randolph Roger's Nydia, the blind girl of Pompeii. This is a figure of the character in Bulwer's "Last Days of Pompeii," who, in the stormy violence of the awful rain of fire and ashes, pilots the way to a place of safety for her loved one by that unerring instinct of the blind which is sometimes more infallible than sight itself. The natural groping attitude, the expression of anxious terror in the sightless face, and the rare perfection of the drapery, almost rent by furious wind, cause us to wonder that no medal has been awarded, but the ways of juries are past finding out.<sup>61</sup>

Undoubtedly, the gallery organizers thought highly of the Rogers sculpture, despite no medal awarded as mentioned in the review above. Its placement in the building's central gallery, Grand Central Hall Gallery B, demonstrated their affinity for the work.<sup>62</sup> Figure 2.3 illustrates the floorplan of Memorial Hall during the fair and the central location of Gallery B. The hall was organized by origin country with the central galleries combining works from around the globe. Visitors who wished to go to the galleries devoted to

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59. Jon L. Seydl, "Experiencing the Last Days of Pompeii in Late Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia," in Shelley Hales and Joanna Paul, eds., *Pompeii in the Public Imagination from Its Rediscovery to Today*, Classical presences (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 217.

60. Edward Strahan, *The Masterpieces of the Centennial International Exhibition of 1876*, vol. 1, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Gebbie & Barrie, 1876), 298-302.

61. "Statuary and Art at the Centennial," *Baltimore Sun* (Baltimore, October 21, 1876).

62. *International Exhibition: 1876 Official Catalogue: Part II: Art Gallery, Annexes, and Outdoor Works of Art*, 11th ed., vol. 2, 4 vols. (Philadelphia, 1876), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044029342995>, 50-52.

individual countries passed through the central galleries to do so. As a result, any of the over eight million visitors to the fair viewing the gallery would have likely passed the sculpture.<sup>63</sup>

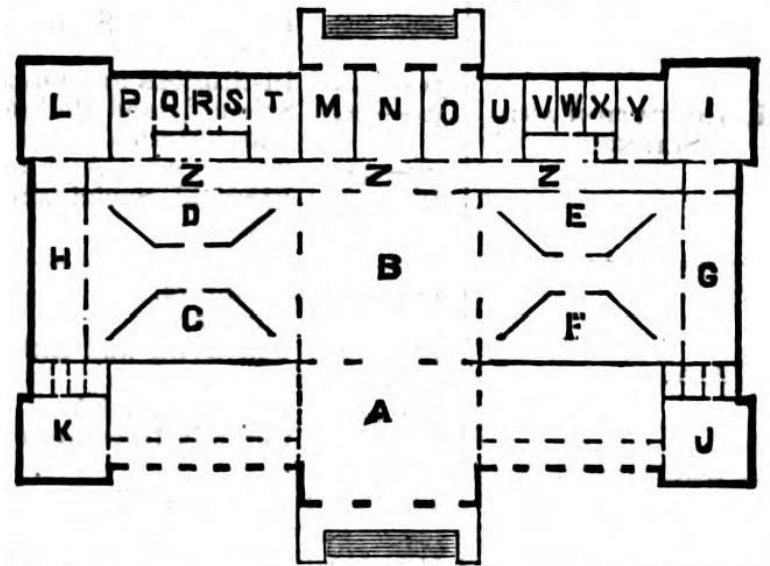


Figure 2.3. Floorplan to Memorial Hall at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition. *International Exhibition: 1876 Official Catalogue: Part II: Art Gallery, Annexes, and Outdoor Works of Art*, 11th ed., vol. 2, 4 vols. (Philadelphia, 1876), 11.

When the fair concluded Memorial hall needed repurposing. In the following year the building was converted to a fine art museum. The public appeal of Pompeii, partially due to the popularity of the Rogers sculpture, remained a central component. In

December 1877 John Welsh, former president of the Centennial Board of Finance,

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63. Lewis M. Grist, "Our Great Exhibition and Its Predecessors," *Yorkville Enquirer* (Yorkville, November 30, 1876). The count reported by paper in a comparison between attendance there and previous world's exhibitions was 8,004,21420. This report was printed twenty days after fair's closing day.

purchased thirty-four peephole cabinets to furnish the Memorial Hall's basement.<sup>64</sup> The cabinets, created by Giacomo Luzzati, were copies of another set created for an 1870 Pompeii exhibit in Naples. Each cabinet featured a peephole through which a viewer would see a series of top-lit paintings. These were divided into three groupings: images of the excavation site, reimagining of those images restored to their classic condition, and a series of canvasses illustrating the plot of Bulwer-Lytton's *The Last Days of Pompeii*.<sup>65</sup> An announcement about the "Pompeian Views" in the *Baltimore Sun* reads,

POMPEIIAN VIEWS – Minister John Welsh has presented to the Fairmount Park commission, Philadelphia, a series of views of Pompeii, purchased by him in Italy at a cost of \$20,000. Thirteen of the views represent the chief architectural remains of Pompeii, and twenty-one represent the interiors of dwellings, street scenes, courts of justice, the amphitheater, &c. The thirty-fourth picture represents the eruption of Mount Vesuvius. The views are represented to be very interesting, and some are almost startling in their vividness.<sup>66</sup>

Unfortunately, the move to these devices aligns with the trend during the late nineteenth century favoring spectacle over the fine arts. At the same time, Rogers's sculpture was removed, but the Pompeian Museum, as it came to be known, reflected the public thirst for Pompeii.

"Pompeii Fever" was not isolated to Philadelphia. Artistic treatments across the world, several of which inspired by the Bulwer-Lytton Novel, illustrated the public's appetite for the subject. In addition to the 1870 exhibit in Naples mentioned earlier, drama productions began peppering the globe almost immediately after Bulwer-Lytton

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64. Hales, 224-225.

65. Ibid, 225.

66. "Pompeian Views," *Baltimore Sun* (Baltimore, May 6, 1878).

released his novel. In 1872 Robert Reece's farce *The Very Last Days of Pompeii* premiered at the Vaudeville theater in London.<sup>67</sup> Even the ruined theaters in Pompeii were revitalized. An announcement in the *Philadelphia Times*, in the adjacent column reviewing the newly opened Permanent Exhibition Art Gallery at Memorial Hall, told of the theaters dramatic reopening.

THE PERFORMANCES at the theatre of Pompeii, interrupted by the eruption of Vesuvius, A.D. 79, are to be resumed under the management of Signor Languri, who makes the following announcement: "After a lapse of more than eighteen hundred years the theatre of this city will be reopened with 'La Figlia del Reggimento.' I solicit a continuance of the favor bestowed by my predecessor, Marcus Quintus Martius, and beg to assure the public that I shall make every effort to equal the rare qualities he displayed during his management."<sup>68</sup>

Languri was an energetic thespian driven by profit. An article in *The Musical World* discusses this announcement and the manager's ploy. It states, at most, the local authorities granted him a few evening performances in the theater, which was open air and in ruins.<sup>69</sup> The announcement's presence in the *Philadelphia Times* reflects the surge or "Pompeii Fever" in that area. Afterall, the announcement was taken from Italian newspapers and printed in one of the Centennial City's most popular dailies.

Elsewhere in the United States the intensely popular *Last Days of Pompeii* "pyrodrama" by James Pain toured the country for decades. Pain, an English firework manufacturer, satiated the public's desire for spectacle by combing elements of Bulwer-Lytton's novel with pyrotechnics. The show was produced in at least thirty-seven

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67. Nicholas Daly, "The Volcanic Disaster Narrative: From Pleasure Garden to Canvas, Page, and Stage," *Victorian Studies* 53, no. 2 (2011): 275–276.

68. "The Performances," *Philadelphia Times* (Philadelphia, May 20, 1878).

69. "Pompeii," in *The Musical World*, vol. 16 (Duncan Davison & Co, 1878), 479–480.

locations across the United States with requested seating for approximately 10,000 at each venue.<sup>70</sup> See figure 2.4 for photograph of a 1903 performance at Coney Island and note the elaborate collapsible sets and detailed costumes.



Figure 2.4. “No. 1 of Pain’s Spectacle, Coney Island,” image, *Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA*, accessed April 1, 2019, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2007663416/>.

“Pompeii Fever” spread throughout the nineteenth century. Karl Bryullov caught it immediately after visiting the site causing him to immerse in private study. Edward Bulwer-Lytton, ever the entrepeneuer, saw a potential narrative after encountering the Bryullov painting and visting the excavation site. His novel catapulted international interest and directly triggered countless derivatives. As illustrated above, the American population was just as susceptible to the fever as their European counterparts. Even the

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70. “The Last Days of Pompeii (Getty Villa Exhibitions),” *The J. Paul Getty Museum*, last modified 2013, <http://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/pompeii/entertainments.html>.

March King, John Philip Sousa, joined the trend with his 1893 wind-band suite *The Last Days of Pompeii*. This chapter has highlighted the important historical events surrounding Pompeii that directly or indirectly influenced each of the artistic treatments investigated in this dissertation. The following three chapters explore how each artist developed an interest in Pompeii and created their treatments.

## CHAPTER THREE

### BRYULLOV AND HIS PAINTING

Pompeii captured nineteenth-century artists' imaginations across all mediums. One of the most influential art works that emerged was Karl Bryullov's *The Last Day of Pompeii*, unveiled to public and critical acclaim in 1833. Bryullov, a true academian, owed the painting's success to his careful study of Pompeii and the intimately relevant touches he added to the canvas. It is likely the first artistic treatment in the chain leading to Sousa's 1893 wind-band suite.

#### **Karl Pavlovich Bryullov: Leading to Pompeii**

Karl Pavlovich Bryullov, born Karl Pavlovich Bryullo on December 12, 1799 in St. Petersburg, was a descendant of an extensive artistic lineage.<sup>71</sup> His great-grandfather, Georges Bryullo, began work as modeler in the St. Petersburg Imperial Porcelain Factory in 1773, and his grandfather, Ivan Bryullo, was known as a prominent sculptor. Perhaps the most influential figure in Karl's early life was his father, Pavel Bryullo, who held a

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71. Galina Leonteva and Karl Briullov, *Karl Briullov: The Painter of Russian Romanticism*, trans. Peter Deviatkin and Alla Zagrebina, Great Painters Series (Bournemouth: Parkstone/Aurora Art Publishers, 1996), 7-8. Alternate spellings of the surname include Briullo, Brullo, and Bruleleau. Some sources note Bryullov's birthdate as December 23, 1799. This date corresponds with the Julian calendar. The date shown here corresponds with the current Gregorian Calendar.



reputation as a talented wood carver and a professorship at the St. Petersburg Fine Arts Academy, the school that educated Karl and was critical to his development as an artist.<sup>72</sup>

In the 17<sup>th</sup> Century the Bryullo family were French Huguenots who fled the country after King Louis XIV rescinded the Edict of Nantes, which granted several civil liberties to French protestants.<sup>73</sup> The repeal sparked a nearly two-century long Russification process for the Bryullos.<sup>74</sup> It completed in 1821 when Karl began his European travels and changed his name to a more Russian spelling, Bryullov.<sup>75</sup>

In 1809 Bryullov, only nine years old, began attending the Academy School, a satellite school of the Russian Academy of Arts<sup>76</sup>. Although by modern standards this appears young to enter specialized study, Bryullov entered the school three years later than his classmates. Students attending the Academy School typically spent three years in each of the three classes, totaling nine years. Students then graduated to the Academy Proper for an additional six years, totaling fifteen years.<sup>77</sup> Bryullov spent six at the Academy School before moving on to the Academy where he studied until 1821 under

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72. Leont'eva. Various sources refer to the Fine Arts Academy as the Russian Academy of Arts.

73. Semyon Ekshtut, "Karl Bryullov: Russia's First Mast Painter," *Russian Life* 43, no. 26 (n.d.), <https://search.proquest.com/docview/223996513?accountid=14541>.

74. Geoffrey Treasure, "The Edict of Nantes," in *The Huguenots* (Yale University Press, 2013), 224–235, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vm0ht.26>.

75. "Karl Pavlovich Bryullov | Russian Artist," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed February 6, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Karl-Pavlovich-Bryullov>. Alternate spellings of Bryullov include Briullov, Brjullo, Bryulov, Brülov, Brüllov, and Brülöw, but the most prominent is Bryullov.

76. Ekshtut.

77. Rosalind P. Blakesley, *Russian Genre Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford Historical Monographs (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Andrei Ivanov, Aleksei Yegorov, and Vasili Shebuev.<sup>78</sup> During his final year he won the Great Gold Medal and Certificate of the First Degree for his oil painting *The Appearance of Three Angels to Abraham*.<sup>79</sup>

Following graduation, Bryullov spent two years traveling throughout Europe. His famous-architect brother Alexander joined him in 1822. A grant by the newly formed Society for the Encouragement of the Arts funded the trip.<sup>80</sup> At the end of their tour, the two settled in Rome and their careers blossomed.<sup>81</sup> During this time, Karl emerged as a great portraitist with over 120 portraits in various mediums.<sup>82</sup> Still under the tutelage of the Society, Bryullov regularly reported his progress in Italy through letters. In these he indicated thorough study of master painters with particular emphasis on Raphael.<sup>83</sup> This study culminated with an impressive copy of Raphael's masterwork *School of Athens* in 1828, see figure 3.1.<sup>84</sup> The copy, a 10,000 ruble commission by the Russian Embassy in Italy, demonstrated Bryullov's talent and dedication to history in the true academic

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78. Bryullov, Karl Pavlovich," in *Benezit Dictionary of Artists* (Oxford University Press, 2011), accessed September 30, 2018, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/benezit/view/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.001.0001/acref-9780199773787-e-00027684>.

79. Ekshtut. The Certificate of the First Degree include a sword and was considered "a token of his ascension to the rank of Russian nobility."

80. Ye I. Kirichenko and Larissa Haskell, "Bryullov Family," *Grove Art Online*, 2003.

81. Karl spent thirteen years in Italy (1821-1834), and Alexander spent eight (1821-1829).

82. Ekshtut.

83. Mashkovtsev, K. P. *Bryullov v Pis'makh, Dokumentakh i Vospominaniyakh Sovremennikov* (Academy of the Arts Publishing, 1961), 36. A letter from November 1822 to P. A. Kikinu, the head of the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, mentions careful study of "antiques" with emphasis on his observations of Raphael's works. Bryullov discusses how more details emerge the longer he studies these works. This depth of detail no doubt influences Bryullov's works and perfectionist tendencies.

84. Ibid, 61. Bryullov writes about his progress on the work in several letters with mention in a November 12, 1827 letter that the work is near completion, 58.

fashion.<sup>85</sup> This commission marked a point in Bryullov's career during which he could sever his dependency on the Society and begin to work independently. Coinciding with this change were several events which shaped his future output and directly led to his best-known work.



Figure 3.1. Raphael's Fresco *School of Athens*, 1510-1512, Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican Palace, Vatican State, accessed December 6, 2018, [https://library-artstor-org.mutex.gmu.edu/#/asset/LESSING\\_ART\\_1039490532..](https://library-artstor-org.mutex.gmu.edu/#/asset/LESSING_ART_1039490532..)

Early in 1827, Bryullov met Countess Julia Samoilova, daughter of Count Peter von der Pahlen. Von der Pahlen famously led the group who overthrew Russian Tsar Paul I on March 11, 1801, paving the way for Alexander I's quarter century reign and his

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85. Ekshtut.

eventual successor Nicholas I.<sup>86</sup> The details of Bryullov and Samoilova's relationship are unclear, but many scholars suggest it had some level of intimacy.<sup>87</sup> He visited her palace in Milan regularly and painted her likeness in several portraits. See figure 3.2 for an example of one such portrait including her with her foster daughter Amazilla Pacini. Samoilova also appears in *The Last Day of Pompeii*, at least once, but as many as five times.

Their meeting set off a rapid chain of events leading to that work beginning in June 1827, when the two visited Naples and the Pompeii excavation site. Shortly thereafter, Bryullov was commissioned to paint a canvas depicting the destruction of the historic city, see figure 3.3. In her book *Russian Genre Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, Rosalind P. Gray suggests Countess Maria Razumovskaya commissioned the painting, who then sold the rights to Anatoly Demidov, a known patron of the arts.<sup>88</sup> Victoria C. Gardner Coates shares that claim in her *The Last Days of Pompeii: Decadence Apocalypse Resurrection*, but neither author cites source material.<sup>89</sup> This assertion may be supported by a July 6, 1827 letter from P. A. Kikin to Alexander Bryullov stating Karl went to Naples with Razumovskaya, only one month after his initial

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86. Paul Bushkovitch, *A Concise History of Russia* (New York, UNITED STATES: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

87. Semyon Ekshtut claims Samoilova was Bryullov's only true love in his article "Karl Bryullov: Russia's First Master Painter," while others go as far as to analyze hidden messages in Bryullov's works alluding to his secret love affair with the Countess. See Kristen Regina, "Love Letter to a Goddess," *Apollo: The International Art Magazine* (June 2007).

88. Gray, 105

89. Victoria C. Gardner Coates, Kenneth D. S. Lapatin, and Jon L. Seydl, eds., *The Last Days of Pompeii: Decadence, Apocalypse, Resurrection* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2012), 140.

visit.<sup>90</sup> Another letter in March 1828 from Karl to F.P. Brullov states Razumovskaya ordered a canvas “on Pompeii” with no mention of Demidov.<sup>91</sup> Demidov is generally credited with the commissioning the work, but it is unclear how he gained control of the commission. He did have rights to the work by the time it arrived in Russia, evident by his gifting it to Tsar Nicholas I.<sup>92</sup> Regardless of the origins of the work, the commission changed the course of the young painter’s life and brought him into the international spotlight.

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90. Mashkovtsev, 58

91. Ibid, 63-64.

92. Katia Dianina, “The Making of an Artist as National Hero: The Great Karl Briullov and His Critical Fortunes,” *Slavic Review* 77, no. 01 (2018): 127.



Figure 3.2. Karl Bryullov, *Portrait of Countess Julia Samoilova with Her Adopted Daughter Amazilla Pacini*, Oil on Canvas, ca 1842, Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, accessed February 12, 2019, [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b7/Yuliya\\_Samoylova.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b7/Yuliya_Samoylova.jpg).





Figure 3.3. Karl Bryullov, *The Last Day of Pompeii*, oil on canvas, 1833 1830, Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, accessed November 5, 2018, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karl\\_Bryullov\\_- \\_The\\_Last\\_Day\\_of\\_Pompeii\\_-](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karl_Bryullov_-_The_Last_Day_of_Pompeii_-)

### **The Painting: The Last Day of Pompeii 1830-1833**

Bryullov's most important and long-lasting work, *The Last Day of Pompeii*, is a monumental piece of art, both in its depiction and physical dimensions. The final oil on canvas work stretches nearly fifteen feet tall and twenty-two feet wide.<sup>93</sup> Work on the scene began with sketches immediately following Bryullov's visit to Naples in 1827, but the artist did not touch paint to canvas until 1830. He then took three more years to perfect it.<sup>94</sup> During this lengthy work period, Bryullov spent much of his time studying Pompeii. He wanted to get every detail as realistic as possible. His preparation included diving deeply into the writings of Pliny the Younger to Tacitus and additional visits to study excavated artifacts.<sup>95</sup>

Scenes pulled directly from that ancient writing can be found throughout the canvas. The center of the painting reflects the following passage in Pliny's writing: "The carriages which we had ordered to be brought began to move in different directions although the ground was quite level and they did not even stay still when secured by stones placed in their tracks."<sup>96</sup> Bryullov depicted this with a horse drawn carriage and rider collapsing as the moving ground breaks the chariot's axle, see figure 3.4. Behind the

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93. "The Last Day of Pompeii," Artwork, last modified 2006, [https://library-artstor-org.mutex.gmu.edu/#/asset/SCALA\\_ARCHIVES\\_10313879158](https://library-artstor-org.mutex.gmu.edu/#/asset/SCALA_ARCHIVES_10313879158). 456.5 x 651 cm.

94. Leontyeva, 29-30.

95. Ibid, 29.

96. Pliny the Younger, Letters to Tacitus, ca. 106-107, Translated in Alison Elizabeth Cooley and Melvin George Lowe Cooley, *Pompeii and Herculaneum: A Sourcebook*, 2nd edition. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 48.



carriage lies a dead woman who has fallen from the carriage. Bryullov described how her child is draped across her body with no support in his March 1828 letter to F.P. Brullo.<sup>97</sup>



Figure 3.4. Detail, Bryullov, *The Last Day of Pompeii*.

Pliny addressed the pyroclastic flow several times in his writing, but in one section he described how the inhabitants attempted to protect themselves. “Then again, in the open there was the fear of falling pumice stones, even though these were light and porous...They put cushions on their heads tied with cloth, as protection against falling

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97. Mashkovtsev, 63-64.

objects.”<sup>98</sup> Bryullov depicted this literally with a man carrying a cushioned ottoman over his head as pumice falls from the sky, see figure 3.5.



Figure 3.5. Detail, Bryullov, *The Last Day of Pompeii*.

As seen in chapter two, the historian Tacitus requested Pliny the Younger describe his uncle, Pliny the Elder, in his final hours during the tragedy. Both Pliny the Younger and his uncle appear in the painting with the elder’s depiction based on the passage: “Leaning on two young slaves he stood up and immediately collapsed, because, I gather, his breathing was obstructed by the thicker smoke, and his windpipe, which was naturally weak, narrow and often inflamed, was blocked.”<sup>99</sup> In the right corner of the

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98. Ibid, 46-47.

99. Ibid, 47.

work the viewer can see an elderly distressed man being carried by two others, see figure 3.6.



Figure 3.6. Detail, Bryullov, *The Last Day of Pompeii*.

In the same figure, Pliny the Younger can be seen pleading with his elderly mother and grasping her hand in desperation. This depiction is one of the most moving in the work based on the passage:

Then my mother begged, encouraged, and ordered me to escape by whatever means I could, being a young man; she, being old and stout, would die content as long as she had not brought about my death. I, however, said I would not escape



unless we did so together; then grasping her hand, I forced her to quicken her pace. She reluctantly complied and accused herself of delaying me.<sup>100</sup>

The painting also depicts historical and personal influences beyond the writings of Pliny the Younger. The attention to detail reflects Bryullov's extensive study of the site, as well as his attachment to the work. Dmitri Sarabianov discusses Bryullov's innovative approach to incorporating history into his painting by choosing an actual site for the scene rather than an imaginary one.<sup>101</sup> This attention to historical detail can be seen in the paving stones, which are nearly photorealistic reproductions. See the below comparison between the painting and one of the earliest known photographs of Pompeii in figure 3.7.



Figure 3.7. Paving stone comparison. Left Detail, Bryullov, *The Last Day of Pompeii*. Right Detail, *Le Dien, Pompeii*, ca. 1853, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accessed December 15, 2018, <https://images.metmuseum.org/CRDImages/ph/original/DP319714.jpg>.

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100. Ibid, 48.

101. Dmitri V. Sarabianov, *Russian Art: From Neoclassicism to the Avant Garde, 1800-1917: Painting - Sculpture - Architecture* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1990).

Several of the twenty-nine detailed figures in the painting are strongly tied to Bryullov and his personal life.<sup>102</sup> In particular, Countess Samoilova is almost certainly the model for multiple figures. See figure 3.8 for a comparison of known portraits of the countess and two example inclusions in *The Last Day*. Samoilova's unique facial structure is a giveaway, and it is well documented she and Bryullov were close. The extent of that relationship is lost to history, but the inclusion of Samoilova in his most monumental work suggests she was deeply important to him. He even included her foster daughters, Giovannina and Amazilia Pacini, at least once, see figure 3.9.



Figure 3.8. Comparison of three Bryullov paintings. Top Left Detail, *Portrait of Countess Julia Samoilova with Her Adopted Daughter Amazilla Pacini*. Bottom Left, *Portrait of Countess Samoilova*.<sup>103</sup> Center and Right Details, *The Last Day of Pompeii*.

102. Figures in this instance refer to human depictions in the foreground. Monochromatic figures in the background are not part of this count.

103. Karl Bryullov, Photographed by Ed Owen. *Portrait of Countess Samoilova*, oil on canvas, 1832-1834, Hillwood Estate, Museum, and Garden, Washington D.C., accessed February 12, 2019, [https://library-artstor-org.mutex.gmu.edu/#/asset/AHILLWOODIG\\_10313875036](https://library-artstor-org.mutex.gmu.edu/#/asset/AHILLWOODIG_10313875036).



Figure 3.9. Comparison of Pacini children. Left Detail, Karl Bryullov, *The Rider. Double Portrait of Giovanina and Amazilia Pacini (The Cavalry)*, oil on canvas, 1832, Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, accessed February 1, 2019, [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/35/Karl\\_Bryullov\\_%28Bryullo%29\\_\\_%D0%92%D1%81%D0%B0%D0%B4%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%86%D0%B0\\_-\\_Google\\_Art\\_Project.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/35/Karl_Bryullov_%28Bryullo%29__%D0%92%D1%81%D0%B0%D0%B4%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%86%D0%B0_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg). Compared with the two figures portrayed with a figure likely based on their foster mother Samoilova in the Right Detail, *The Last Day of Pompeii*.

Besides Samoilova, the most intimate inclusion in the painting is that of the painter himself. During the Romantic Era, artists often included self-portraits in their historically based works to convey a sense of witness.<sup>104</sup> The artist establishes trust by including himself as though he were present during the events depicted. Figure 3.10 compares a later self portrait of Bryullov with the likeness included in *The Last Day*. Note how several figures in the painting flee with their most important possessions. The figure based on Bryullov is not carrying gold or religious items. Instead, he carries a box of his trade tools: paint, brushes, squares, and more. These personal inclusions, detailed

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104. Leontyeva, 32.

study of the site and artifacts, and lengthy completion process stress how important this work was to Bryullov.



Figure 3.10. Bryullov self-portrait comparison. Left Detail, Karl Bryullov, *Self-Portrait*, sepia on paper, ca. 1833, Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, accessed January 25, 2019, [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/99/Karl\\_Bryullov-self-portrait\\_1830-33.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/99/Karl_Bryullov-self-portrait_1830-33.jpg). Right, Detail, Bryullov *The Last Day of Pompeii*.

From 1827 until its premiere in 1833, the artist intended on making every aspect of this work perfect. That effort did not go unnoticed, as the final product was subject to immediate critical and public success. After its initial exhibition in Milan, it moved on to the Louvre in Paris. While there, the French Academy awarded Bryullov a gold medal for



the work. However, French critics were less receptive to the work despite its public appeal.<sup>105</sup>

After nearly a year on tour, the painting arrived at the Hermitage museum in St. Petersburg. Demidov gifted the painting to Tsar Nicholas I, who then appointed Bryullov as a professor at the Academy, ending the artist's extended tenure in Italy.<sup>106</sup> The painting remained a major success and solidified Bryullov as an important figure in Russian Art. However, he failed to replicate the excitement for his *Last Day*, and the work became his one major success. That is not to say that the work was his only accomplishment, just that it left his other works in shadow.

Unable to live up to the fame *The Last Day* afforded him, many of Bryullov's later works remained unfinished. In the late 1840s his health began to decline, and he traveled to Madeira for treatment. He never returned to his homeland and died in 1852.<sup>107</sup>

### **Giovanni Pacini: A Missing Link?**

Bryullov's 1833 painting, *The Last Day of Pompeii*, is linked, to some degree, to the later mediums discussed in this dissertation, but evidence suggest another artistic treatment preceded it. As indicated in this chapter, Bryullov owes the painting's detail to his careful study of Pompeii and its artifacts. However, Bryullov was not the only artist captivated by the city. Giovanni Pacini's 1825 opera *L'ultimo giorno di Pompei* (*The Last*

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105. Dianina, 127.

106. Ibid.

107. Kirichenko.



*Day of Pompeii*) may have influenced the artist, which would make it the true first in the lineage.

Giovanni Pacini was a contemporary composer of Bryullov born in Catania, Italy in 1796. He was known primarily for his operas but influenced his set pieces through form modification.<sup>108</sup> Figure 3.11 depicts Alessandro Sanquirico's set design for an 1827 production of *L'ultimo giorno di Pompei*, which premiered on November 25, 1825 at the Teatro San Carlo in Naples. The 1827 production at La Scala in Milan suggests opera's success and widespread appeal in Italy.<sup>109</sup>



Figure 3.11. Sanquirico set design for *Pacini's L'ultimo giorno di Pompei*. Carlo Sanquirico, Alessandro Sanquirico Set Design for 1827 La Scala production of Giovanni Pacini's *L'ultimo giorno di Pompei*, accessed February 11, 2019, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Eruption\\_of\\_Vesuvius\\_from\\_Pacini%27s\\_opera\\_L%27ultimo\\_giorno\\_di\\_Pompei.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Eruption_of_Vesuvius_from_Pacini%27s_opera_L%27ultimo_giorno_di_Pompei.jpg).

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108. Michael Rose, Scott L. Balthazar, and Thomas Kaufman, *Pacini, Giovanni*, vol. 1 (Oxford University Press, 2001), accessed February 12, 2019, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000020662>.

109. Nicholas Daly, "The Volcanic Disaster Narrative: From Pleasure Garden to Canvas, Page, and Stage," *Victorian Studies* 53, no. 2 (2011): 264.

A review in the *Giornale delle due Sicilie* describing the scene states

...then he struck the last scene in an extraordinary way, presenting a grandiose and bleak picture of the city under rain of stones in the midst of a flood of flames that were overflowing from Vesuvius.<sup>110</sup>

This quote and the figure above look and sound very similar to Bryullov's depiction of the same event. Considering the success of the opera, it is unlikely the artist was naïve of its existence, particularly with parallel interest of the same subject matter at the same time.

Coupled with that evidence is the case of Countess Samoilova. I suggested previously the relationship between Bryullov and the Countess was more than a friendship. However, Samoilova was notorious for her relationships. Another well documented relationship was a longstanding liaison with composer Giovanni Pacini. Their relationship occurs at the same critical period as Bryullov's creation of his masterwork, approximately 1828 to 1831.<sup>111</sup> The relationship between Samoilova and Pacini resulted in her sponsoring the education for his daughters Giovanina and Amazilia, often referred to as her foster daughters. Bryullov featured the girls in several of his paintings as seen in the earlier figures 3.2 and 3.9.

A dissertation could be written exploring the potential relationship between Pacini's opera and Bryullov's painting, but as that is not the focus of this paper, this evidence provides a possible extension in the lineage. The conjecture presented is lacking

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110. *Giornale delle due Sicilie*, no. 269, (November 21, 1825) quoted in Milena Melfi, "Excavating Opera: Composers and Archaeologists in 19th Century Italy," in *Congresso Intenracional: Images: La Antigüedad En Las Artes Escenicas y Visuaels* (Logrono: Universidad de La Rioja, 2008), 161.

111 Rose.

extant primary sources directly linking Bryullov to the opera. However, the proximity of the hit opera and Bryullov's personal relationships suggest he knew of the production.

What is well documented is the commitment to the history Bryullov demonstrated during the creation process of his best-known work. A true product of the Academy, he valued careful study and attention to detail. *The Last Day of Pompeii* is a monumental work that influenced the imaginations of countless viewers. However, poor reproduction techniques limited viewership. Dissemination of the work in the nineteenth century was localized. It took one viewer, Edward Bulwer-Lytton to apply a narrative to the subject and spread the story of Pompeii worldwide. Text was easily duplicated during this era, and his novel goes on to shape the world's view of the last days of Pompeii more than any previous treatment of the subject.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### BULWER-LYTTON AND HIS NOVEL

“It was a dark and stormy night...” This quote from the opening of Bulwer-Lytton’s 1830 novel *Paul Clifford* is perhaps the most cliché of all literary quotes, subject to mockery and parody today. It is the epitaph to Bulwer-Lytton’s disgraced reputation, but views of the author were not always so unfavorable. When Bulwer-Lytton penned his novel *The Last Days of Pompeii* in 1834, he provided the world with a narrative of the historic city. In its pages he incorporated his fascination of the site, fueled by Sir William Gell’s work, Bryullov’s painting, and his personal troubled-relationships history. The latter element may have influenced his most popular character, Nydia, as well as the novel’s nineteenth century success.

#### **Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer**

Edward Bulwer was born the youngest of three brothers in London on May 25, 1803 to General Earle Bulwer and Elizabeth Barbara Lytton. His name as it appears later in life, Bulwer-Lytton, first appeared after his mother’s death in 1843.<sup>112</sup> Childhood was dark and stormy for the future author, and his parents’ marriage was unhealthy and turbulent. This is not surprising considering the circumstances that led to their marriage.

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112. Louise Henson, “Lytton, Edward Bulwer Lytton, Baron, 1803-1873,” *ProQuest Biographies* (Ann Arbor, United States, Ann Arbor: ProQuest, 2000), <https://search.proquest.com/lion/docview/2137908735/citation/7501EC655254D89PQ/1>.

Bulwer-Lytton summarized the formative years of that marriage in his autobiographical writings. Elizabeth had interest in other men, but after a year of Bulwer's pursuit "the consent was wrung from her at length."<sup>113</sup> In the summer of 1798 "Elizabeth Lytton passed to the marriage-altar, perhaps with a foreboding heart..."<sup>114</sup> Unfortunately, the turbulence that resulted from this loveless matrimony did not stop with Elizabeth.

The Bulwer family was deeply divided. Family members formed paired allegiances and were not shy about dislike toward relatives. Edward's grandmother favored the second-born brother, Henry, leaving him her fortune after her death. She had a level of abhorrence toward Edward, shared by his own father. General Bulwer's love appeared reserved for his first-born, William, leaving Edward troubled and scarred.<sup>115</sup> Edward describes how his father's aversion to him progressed:

It was not long before, from an object of indifference to my father, I became one of positive dislike. It may be that I shared in the same jealousy which had enveloped my grandmother. But I think that my father had also another cause for the scowls with which he greeted my unconscious aspect. The lands of Lytton, if ever developed on my mother, would be at her own disposal; and he must have known enough of my mother's family pride to suspect that she would have a strong desire to keep the distinct representation of her own line apart from that of the Bulwers. William would inherit Heydon; Henry, in all probability, the fortune of his grandmother. It was possible that my mother would think that justice might allow her to select her own heir and representative in me. That was an idea that would have been eminently offensive to my father; who, an eldest

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113. Edward Robert Bulwer-Lytton, *The Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton*, Harper's Franklin Square library v. 1 (Harper & Brothers, 1884), 66.

114. *Ibid*, 67.

115. Leslie G. Mitchell, *Bulwer Lytton: The Rise and Fall of a Victorian Man of Letters* (London; New York: Hambledon and London: Distributed in the U.S. and Canada by Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 1–3.

son himself, naturally venerated the sanctity of primogeniture, and would gladly have seen every acre in Knebworth under the hammer of the auctioneer, in order that the proceeds might enable him to add to the hereditary domains in Norfolk.<sup>116</sup>

Fortunately for Edward, as much as his father hated him, his mother loved him that much more. Whether or not that love materialized from lineage preservation as Edward suggested above, their relationship was his saving grace. Reflections of his family relationships can be found in his writing, for example the theme of lost parents in *Paul Clifford*.

In 1807 General Bulwer became bedridden, a complication of gout. His condition quickly deteriorated and after falling into a “gentle sleep” one afternoon he passed away.<sup>117</sup> For a man who did not extend gestures of love to those who deserved it, he was afforded great love after his death. His dog refused to leave the remains and when forced apart found his way to the coffin and died next to it.<sup>118</sup> In a similarly sweet manner, Edward concluded his autobiographical segment on his father with a paragraph that acknowledged the General’s faults but reduced them to no worse than other men. He wrote,

For the rest, thy courage was without question, and thine honor without stain; and thy tomb closed over a true Englishman—who, had the invader come, would have planted a patriot’s foot on the Saxon soil, or hallowed with a patriot’s blood the turf of some glorious field.<sup>119</sup>

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116. Edward Bulwer-Lytton in Edward Robert Bulwer-Lytton, 73.

117. Ibid, 80.

118. Ibid.

119. Ibid.

This epitaph demonstrates the depth of Edward's character and may be more than he owed the man who showed so much resentment during the brief period in which they knew each other. With his father gone, his relationship with his mother grew stronger as he began his education.

### **Schooling**

Bulwer-Lytton's formative education began at home while living alone with his mother. Three years after his father's death, his scholarly grandfather passed away and left an extensive library to Elizabeth and her son. Bulwer-Lytton wrote about the event, "The great event of my infant life—my Siege of Troy, my Persian Invasion, my Gallic Revolution—the Arrival of my Grandfather's Books!"<sup>120</sup> These books sparked his imagination and fostered his curiosity. Unfortunately, his grandfather left his estate in debt and disarray, and, upon returning from a trip with his mother, the two found that the library vanished, presumably taken by debt collectors.

Though the books were in the house for a brief time, the foundation of the author's future had been forged. His mother decided he should attend school in 1812. Much like his early life, his early school years were tempestuous. He began by going to a school in Fulham, but during his short tenure he endured intense hazing and bullying. After two weeks his turmoil noticeably affected his health, and his mother, shocked at his appearance, immediately removed him from the school.

Next, he attended Dr. Curtis's School in Sunbury where his brother Henry studied. Despite being classmates the two never became close during his two years there,

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120. Ibid, 100.

and the administration recommended Edward move to Brighton to improve his health. Relocation to improve health occurred often in Bulwer-Lytton's life. He did so for a short time and then found his way to Dr. Hookers, a school in Rottendean. Unlike his previous experiences, the soon to be author felt this school suited him. He began to excel and even created a popular publication with some classmates. Unfortunately, he again found trouble at age fifteen, and the school master recommended a transfer to Eton.

By this point, Bulwer-Lytton felt beyond the years of his classmates. He and his mother visited the school in Eton, but after much debate and argument he convinced her that his public-school days were over. Instead, he planned to continue his studies with a private tutor. The two interviewed many for the position and decided on Reverend Charles Wallington in Ealing.

Bulwer-Lytton's education progressed rapidly under his tutelage. Besides loving his new educational setting, he had companions in Ealing that treated him much better than his Fulham classmates. He wrote with excessive nostalgia about his tutor and life during this, indicating this period impacted his future greatly.<sup>121</sup>

Between 1821 and 1825 Bulwer-Lytton attended Trinity College in Cambridge. There he expanded interests beyond literature to other topics, like historical research. Many of the novels he later wrote were in the historical fiction genre, a trend rooted in his studies at Trinity. In 1825 he left the college with high marks, though he admitted he did

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121. Ibid, 123–131.



not try for honors.<sup>122</sup> During that same year he worked on the manuscript for *Falkland*. Though this novel failed, it helped the author navigate his early career.

### **Independence**

After meeting Rosina Wheeler in 1826, Bulwer-Lytton began courting her and they married the following year. Like his parents' marriage, his was troubled. After less than a decade they officially separated. His mother opposed the marriage from the beginning and, as a result, cut off his allowance. Suddenly devoid of this steady income, the author realized he had to support himself through writing. Luckily for him, his next attempt was far more successful than the previous. *Pelham*, published anonymously by Henry Colburn in 1828, launched Bulwer-Lytton's career and afforded him the leeway to negotiate higher pay for future publications.

The author began writing prolifically, and, in 1828, he published *The Disowned* and in 1829, *Devereux*. Being an intelligent man, Bulwer-Lytton knew how to cater to his audience. In 1830 he released his first Newgate novel, *Paul Clifford*. Newgate novels, which glamorized the lives of criminals in fantastical narratives, gained popularity in the 1820s and stayed in favor through the 1840s.

After becoming a popular author in England, Bulwer-Lytton expanded into other areas to supplement his income. He worked as an editor for the *New Monthly Magazine* put out by his first publisher, Henry Colburn, for a short time in the 1830's, and in 1831 he began a decade-long career as a conservative Parliament member. His busy life, part author and part politician, prompted a vacation to Italy to better his health. There he

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122. Ibid, 213.

discovered material for his two most successful novels, *Rienzi* and *The Last Days of Pompeii*. Coincidentally, both works were later adapted by late nineteenth century composers, Richard Wagner and John Philip Sousa respectively.

### **The Novel: The Last Days of Pompeii**

Some by P. Veronese, and one by Catiglione are particularly fine. But the modern pictures are wretched – out of drawing, and in the worse colouring of the worst French School. One picture, however, I except. It is making a considerable sensation at Milan and the subject of it is “The Last Days of Pompeii.” This picture is full of genius, imagination, and nature. The faces are fine, the conception grand. The statues toppling from a lofty gate have a crashing and awful effect. But the most natural touch is an infant in its mother’s arms: – her face impressed with a dismay and terror which partake of the sublime; the child wholly unconscious of the dread event – stretching its arms towards a bird of gay plumage that lies upon the ground struggling in death, and all the child’s gay delighted wonder is pictured in its face. This exception to the general horror of the scene is full of pathos, and in the true contrast of fine thought.<sup>123</sup>

The quote above from a travel journal Bulwer-Lytton kept during his vacation in Europe describes the author’s reaction to Karl Bryullov’s *The Last Day of Pompeii* while on display at Brera Gallery in Milan in 1833. The path of his vacation can be traced by following letters written by his wife, who accompanied him. The visit to Milan was followed by Venice, Florence, Rome, and then Naples and Pompeii.<sup>124</sup> The couple made a hasty retreat to England from Naples after Mrs. Bulwer was unfaithful to her husband. This suggests their recorded trip to Milan was when they encountered the painting. The extent to which this painting influenced Bulwer-Lytton is not entirely known. Certainly, it had some influence, but other factors also shaped the novel, most notably

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123. Victor Alexander George Robert Bulwer-Lytton, *The Life of Edward Bulwer: First Lord Lytton*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1913), 440.

124. *Ibid*, 260-271

famed archaeologist Sir William Gell. In his biography on his grandfather, Victor Bulwer-Lytton wrote about the influence of the painting and Gell:

The intimacy he formed at Naples with Sir William Gell, and not improbably a haunting recollection of the picture he had seen at Milan, stimulated the fancies which the sigh of them created in his mind; and those fancies rapidly embodied themselves in a work which has imperishably associated his name with Pompeii.<sup>125</sup>

At the very least, the title carried from the artwork to the novel. The note about the child, blind to the destruction, is another theme that pervades into the novel through the character Nydia, a blind flower girl. See figure 4.1 for a detail of the described child reaching for the bird.



Figure 4.1. Detail, Karl Bryullov, *The Last Day of Pompeii*, oil on canvas, 1833 1830, Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, accessed November 5, 2018, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karl\\_Bryullov\\_-\\_The\\_Last\\_Day\\_of\\_Pompeii\\_-\\_Google\\_Art\\_Project.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karl_Bryullov_-_The_Last_Day_of_Pompeii_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg).

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125. Ibid, 443.

Though the painting impacted Bulwer-Lytton, his research into the excavations forms the plot's foundation. Sir William Gell's publications and the personal relation the author and archaeologist forged appear to have influenced the author. This novel's dedication supports this.

DEAR SIR, – In publishing a work, of which Pompeii furnishes the subject, I can think of no one to whom it can so fitly be dedicated as yourself. Your charming volumes upon the antiquities of that city have indissolubly connected your name with its earlier (as your residence in the vicinity has identified you with its more recent) associations.<sup>126</sup>

Gell and John P. Gandy published a two-volume monograph on the city titled *Pompeiana: The Topography of Edifices and Ornaments of Pompeii* in 1817, which they updated to include the latest findings. Bulwer-Lytton used this collection to shape his novel, much as Bryullov's studies shaped his painting. However, unlike Bryullov, Bulwer-Lytton's fascination bordered on obsession. When he returned to London after his trip, he remodeled his entire residence to resemble one from classical Pompeii.<sup>127</sup> Though quirky, his fascination with Pompeii drove him to create his most successful work.

## Characters

*The Last Days of Pompeii* requires patience to read from cover to cover. Bulwer-Lytton is notorious for his wordy descriptions and use of imaginary archaic language to evoke a sense of historical exoticism. On top of those difficulties, the plot is a dense web of story arcs that weave together tighter than a modern-day soap opera. The reader may

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126. Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, vol. 1–2, 2 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1891).

127. Thomas Hay Sweet Escott, *Edward Bulwer, First Baron Lytton of Knebworth: A Social, Personal, and Political Monograph* (G. Routledge and sons, ltd., 1910), 181.

find it difficult to follow character relationships and their roles. The following table, Table 2, describes the most important characters.

Table 2. Important Characters in The Last Days of Pompeii

<b><u>Character</u></b>	<b><u>Description</u></b>
Glaucus	An Athenian nobleman admired by the citizens of Pompeii. He is the protagonist and love interest of Nydia, Julia, and Ione (after pursuing her). Arbaces poisons Glaucus and frames him for the murder of Apaecides.
Arbaces	The antagonist, a high priest of Isis, is often referred to as “The Egyptian.” He is Ione’s guardian and mentor but falls in love with her. After Ione rejects him and declares her love for Glaucus, he begins plotting to rid Pompeii of the Athenian.
Ione	A beautiful woman from Neapolis, Greece. Glaucus becomes enamored with her at first sight. She is the ward of Arbaces and Apaecides’s brother.
Apaecides	A priest of Isis, ward of Arbaces, and Ione’s brother. Arbaces murders him after converting to Christianity and declaring intent to expose Arbaces’s false gods and corruption.
Nydia	A blind slave flower girl from Greece. In the beginning of the novel she is owned by Burbo and Stratonice but is later bought by Glaucus who gifts her to Ione. Nydia falls in love with Glaucus and unwittingly helps condemn him to death. Ultimately, Nydia is responsible for his salvation after she saves him twice, once from the lions and once from Vesuvius.
Julia	A wealthy Pompeiian, daughter of Diomed. She also falls in love with Glaucus and seeks a love potion to obtain his affection.
Burbo	A wine seller and former gladiator who owns Nydia. He and his wife, Stratonice, are cruel to the blind slave which prompts Glaucus to buy her from them.

## **Plot**

The story takes place in the year 79 C.E. shortly before Mount Vesuvius erupts. The reader is introduced to Glaucus, a popular Athenian Nobleman as he heading to the bath house. On his way he mingles with slaves in the street, including Nydia, a blind flower girl from Greece. He shows special interest in her which elicits love from the young woman, however, it is quickly revealed that Glaucus has fallen for a Greek woman whom he saw during his travels.

Many in the city are unsure what religion to follow, the cult of Isis or the newly formed Christianity. This theme permeates the plot with the cult of Isis representing evil and Christianity representing good. Arbaces, a high priest of Isis only interested in his own pursuits, secretly hopes Egypt will rise to power again. He is Ione and Apaecides's guardian, each for whom he has selfish plans. Apaecides is to become a priest of Isis, and Ione is to become his wife.

Ione, as Glaucus discovers when he meets her in Pompeii, is the woman for whom he fell during his travels. He begins to pursue her romantically and she eventually returns his advances. Meanwhile, the wine sellers and former gladiators Burbo and his wife Stratonice own Nydia. They are cruel to her and beat her regularly. Glaucus saves Nydia in an act of compassion by buying her from the couple. However, he intends to gift her to Ione and in doing so places the young slave directly between their budding relationship. He asks Nydia to deliver a letter to Ione which, in its text, declares his love and affection, gifts her Nydia, and raises suspicions of Arbaces. As a result, Nydia knows Glaucus could never love her as she does him.

The suspicions Glaucus raised cause Ione to confront the Egyptian. Knowing this would be a dangerous task, Nydia goes to Glaucus and Apaecides to warn them of the confrontation. While meeting with Arbaces, Ione is surprised to hear his confession of love for her. When he learns she loves Glaucus, he becomes angry and grabs her violently. Glaucus and Apaecides intercede and a quarrel ensues. During the altercation the earth quakes, due to the impending eruption of Vesuvius, and an icon of Isis falls from a column onto Arbaces. The blow is thought to have killed the high priest and acts as a trigger point for Apaecides, leading him to convert to Christianity.

At this point, Glaucus and Ione are together, and Nydia is hurt he will never love her. Julia, the daughter of a wealthy Pompeiian named Diomed, is also enamored with the handsome Athenian. Unhappy he has chosen Ione, she seeks help from Arbaces, who did not parish in the temple incident. Arbaces gives her a vial of poison which he says is a love potion. Nydia steals it and delivers it to Glaucus who drinks a small portion. This causes him to go temporarily insane.

He begins rambling incoherently as he wanders through the streets. At the same time, Apaecides decides to confront Arbaces about his false religion. Arbaces becomes aware of Apaecides's conversion to Christianity by his language, and at the threat of public humiliation stabs him twice in the chest. Apaecides falls silent to the ground as Glaucus approaches. Arbaces hides and waits for Glaucus to approach the body. When he does so, he emerges screaming for help and declaring Glaucus the murderer. Glaucus, unable to comprehend the situation in his inebriated state, cannot defend himself and is

arrested along with a Christian who speaks out to defend him. Both are sentenced to face the lions in the upcoming gladiatorial games.

Ione is convinced Glaucus is innocent, but, before she can report that to the authorities, Arbaces locks her away in his palace. Arbaces believes he has prevented his exposure, but he does not realize Nydia learned his secret. She goes to convince Calenus, another priest of Isis who witnessed the murder and is incarcerated in the palace as well, to reveal the truth. However, she is captured and locked away. Luckily, she convinces a slave to carry a message to one of Glaucus's friends, Sallust. When the letter is delivered, Sallust is too drunk to read it, and he does not do so until the next morning, the same day Glaucus is meant to die.

At the arena, the gladiatorial games begin. When the lion emerges, it turns around and returns to its cage. The crowd demands action just as Sallust arrives to interrupt the spectacle. He convinces the praetor to listen to Calenus, and eventually Glaucus is set free. The crowd demands Arbaces take his place in the games, but the eruption interrupts them.

Chaos ensues and affords Glaucus the chance to go to Arbaces's palace and save Ione. Arbaces dies in one of the accompanying earthquakes, and the air fills with ash as the sky darkens. Nydia learns Glaucus has been gravely injured while rescuing Ione and navigates her way against the crowd to find him. When she does, he and Ione are unable to see in the dense ash and smoke, but Nydia, being blind, is accustomed to the darkness and knows the city well. She guides the couple around the turbulent crowd to the shore. There the trio join a group on a ship and set sail away from Pompeii.



In the night Nydia gets up and reaches for Glaucus's hand. She finds it grasping Ione's and is overwhelmed with depression. She knows Glaucus will never love her and decides she cannot live without him. After kissing his head, she reasons through her next action,

"No, no!" she said, half aloud, and in a musing and thoughtful tone, " I cannot endure it; this jealous, exacting love—it shatters my whole soul in madness! I might harm him again—wretch that I was! I have saved him—twice saved him—happy, happy thought: why not die happy? —it is the last glad thought I can ever know. Oh! sacred Sea! I hear thy voice invitingly—it hath a freshening and joyous call. They say that in thy embrace is dishonour—that thy victims cross not the fatal Styx—be it so! —I would not meet him in the Shades, for I should meet him still with her. Rest—rest—rest! —there is no other Elysium for a heart like mine!"<sup>128</sup>

She then quietly slips into the sea. A sailor hears the quiet splash, but when he looks, he sees only a glimpse of something white above the waves for a short moment. Believing it is nothing of concern, he goes back to sleep.

When Glaucus and Ione wake they are distraught they cannot find Nydia. They search all corners of the small ship, but, when they do not find her, they know she has died. Glaucus and Ione cry and embrace as they silently ponder Nydia's fate. Bulwer-Lytton refers to Nydia in this moment as "their sister," demonstrating that they both loved her greatly.<sup>129</sup>

The final chapter is divided into two parts. The first is a reply letter from Glaucus to Sallust, who survived and moved to Rome, urging him to come visit in Athens.

Glaucus writes of his unwavering love of Ione and how they still mourn Nydia. He

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128. Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1891), 222.

129. *Ibid*, 223.

explains he built a tomb on his property which him and Ione wreath with flowers daily. He says that Nydia, though she lived life as a slave, deserved a tomb. The letter then moves on to issues of faith and reveals the couple has converted to Christianity. Though there are still questions in his mind and heart, he enjoys his new faith and his retired life. The letter concludes with another urging for Sallust to visit Athens.

The second portion of the final chapter is in the narrator's voice, echoing the preface as Bulwer-Lytton's own voice. He describes the early excavations of Pompeii and the discoveries of the characters in the plot. Julia and her father Diomed are described, as well as some residences and structures. Each of which are now points of curiosity for visitors to the site. This short epilogue claims the preceding story is true and based on these findings. However, this is just a hook Bulwer-Lytton uses in the last few pages to deepen this tale of historical fiction. It parallels Karl Bryullov inclusion of his self-portrait in the painting to elicit a sense of witness. In this case, Bulwer-Lytton creates his own sense of witness through archaeological evidence. He researched to the extent that could be done at the time to make this novel realistic, but the characters and plot are purely imaginative.

### **The Lasting Novel**

*The Last Days of Pompeii* represents a time in the authors life when acquiring a living wage was a priority. The topic of Pompeii undoubtedly sparked Bulwer-Lytton's imagination, but the fact is the novel is a calculated marketing scheme. He found an unexploited subject that could be used in the increasingly popular historical romance genre. The novel's saving grace is the research Bulwer-Lytton put into creating it. That

helped escalate the book to its extremely successful heights during the Victorian Era. Additionally, the book, published in September 1834, premiered just one month after the 1834 eruption of Vesuvius. That event helped to bring the volcano into the public imagination, and Bulwer-Lytton offered fodder to fuel it. Unfortunately, the novel's success dwindled quickly.

By 1914, thirty-two editions of the novel had been printed.<sup>130</sup> Due to the lack of copyright laws the text was copied and translated freely, adding to its widespread availability. It was a critical success throughout the nineteenth century. An 1835 review reads,

In the work before us Bulwer has, we think, succeeded in this difficult attempt. We feel throughout his book all the inspiration of the poetic and sublime creations of ancient genius, and share in the scholar-like fervor which evidently swells the author's mind.<sup>131</sup>

Another critic wrote about the lasting impression of Nydia in 1844,

“The Last Days of Pompeii,” wove into a story of deep interest and beauty the memories of the classic times; and the character of Nydia, the blind girl, will last as long as our language endures.<sup>132</sup>

The idea that Nydia is an impactful character is shared among many critics and sheds light on why John Philip Sousa choose to center his wind-band suite on her. A review in the New-York Mirror reads,

The Last Days of Pompeii...is almost as valuable for its life-like popular delineation of the customs and manners of Roman antiquity, as it is fascinating to

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130. Leslie G. Mitchell, *Bulwer Lytton: The Rise and Fall of a Victorian Man of Letters* (London; New York: Hambledon and London: Distributed in the U.S. and Canada by Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), xvi.

131. “Review of The Last Days of Pompeii,” *The North American Review* 40, no. 87 (1835): 449.

132. Richard H. Horne, *A New Spirit of the Age* (New York: Garland, 1844), 302.

the lover of sentimental and thrilling romance...Among his characters, that of Nydia, the blind girl of Pompeii, is one of the most beautiful and delicate of his creations, and for a long while occupied that place in public favor, in which it has been lately supplanted by the "Little Nell" of Dickens.<sup>133</sup>

Bulwer-Lytton also received praise from the general public. Even his wife, no stranger to criticizing her husband during their short marriage, wrote in a letter to her mother-in-law,

Have you read his new book *The Last Days of Pompeii* yet? I am perfectly enchanted with it, and think it shows more genius by far than any he ever wrote. The interest is perfectly breathless. One cannot lay the book down for a moment.<sup>134</sup>

Though the reviews, critical and public, were generally positive in the nineteenth century, some were less favorable. An 1845 review in *Blackwood's Magazine* reads,

There is great talent, much learning, and vigorous conception, in the "Last Days of Pompeii," by Bulwer; and the catastrophe with which it concludes is drawn with his very highest powers; but still it is felt by every class of readers to be uninteresting... No amount of learning or talent can make the dialogues ...interesting to a modern reader.<sup>135</sup>

By the early twentieth century the novel's content started to fall out of favor. One review on a new illustrated edition from 1926 focused on the visual components of the book rather than the imaginary in the text.

A new edition of *The Last Days of Pompeii*, illustrated in colors by F. C. Yohn, is so attractive that it makes one wish for other classics in such a form. The typography is pleasing, and the volume is as suitable for a gift as for the library shelves.<sup>136</sup>

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133. "THE LAST DAYS OF POMPEII.," *New-York Mirror* 20, no. 44 (October 29, 1842): 351.

134. Rosina Bulwer, October 11, 1834 Letter to Elizabeth Lytton, included in GRANDSON, 289-290

135. "The Last Days of Pompeii," *Blackwood's Magazine* 58 (1845): 350.

136. D. B., "Review of *The Last Days of Pompeii*," *The Elementary English Review* 3, no. 9 (1926): 306.

Despite the novel's declining reputation, it accomplished what Karl Bryullov's painting could not. It brought the story of Pompeii to a massive audience and inspired the imaginations of generations.

By the late-twentieth century the name Edward Bulwer-Lytton had become synonymous with hack writers. The story of *The Last Days* has reemerged a few times throughout the century with reimagining of the plot in several films. The 1935 RKO production disregards Bulwer-Lytton's plot and characters altogether and only utilizes his description of the city and eruption. Multiple films in Italian, like the 1959 *Gli Ultimi Giorni di Pompei* starring Steve Reeves, utilized more of Bulwer-Lytton's content but still took strong liberties. The latest English-language attempt, the 1984 television miniseries *The Last Days of Pompeii* produced by Paramount Television, came closer to following the novel. It added some characters and changed Nydia's fate, but overall it followed the plot closely. For most people today, that iteration is probably the most digestible form of the plot.

### **The Bulwer-Lytton Legacy**

After Elizabeth Lytton died in 1843, her son inherited her wealth and changed his name to the now known Bulwer-Lytton. Despite his new financial stability, he continued to write prolifically until this death. Shortly after releasing *The Last Days* he began dabbling in theater and wrote several plays including *The Duchess de la Vallière* (1836), *The Lady Lyons* (1838), and *The Sea Captain* (1839).

In 1852 he returned to his political career as a member of Parliament. Always one to stick with trends, he attempted to write novels that would sell. Toward the end of his life he even ventured into the realm of science fiction with his 1871 novel *The Coming Race*. He was known as one of the most prominent Victorian Era writers, but, after he died in 1873, he was quickly forgotten, despite his prolific output.

*The Last Days of Pompeii*, though forgotten as a novel, lives on through its influence on the public's perception of Pompeii and the Vesuvius's 79 CE eruption. It is ironic Bulwer-Lytton wrote about such turbulent love affairs, perhaps influenced by his own life, when Karl Bryullov lived such an affair with Countess Julia Samoilova. The author likely knew nothing of the painter's personal life, but the coincidence is fascinating. Through the decades following his death the novel occasionally captured the imaginations of artists, producers, and composers. One such captivation is in the John Philip Sousa's 1893 wind-band suite *The Last Days of Pompeii*.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SOUSA AND HIS WIND-BAND SUITE**

The name Sousa carries a weight in the United States unlike any other native composer. Everyone from seasoned musicians to laypersons have heard Sousa's music at some point in their lives. Besides his fame as a composer, he is a cultural icon. Unfortunately, his historical legacy has been limited to a fraction of his output. The "March King" was more than a composer of marches. This chapter explores his origins and how his experiences led to his first suite, *The Last Days of Pompeii*.

#### **John Philip Sousa**

John Philip Sousa was born the third of ten children to John Antonio Sousa and Marie Elisabeth Trinkaus on November 6, 1854 in Washington DC. His father, born in Spain to Portuguese parents, was working as a Navy musician in Brooklyn, NY when he met his future wife. They moved to Washington DC in 1854, and he joined the Marine Band as a trombonist, the first step in John Philip's long association with that ensemble.

Of the ten Sousa children, only six survived infancy, and John Philip was the oldest boy. Like Bulwer-Lytton, he started his schooling at home before moving onto the public education system. While attending grammar school he began his music education in John Esputa Jr.'s Evening Conservatory of Music. There he was discovered to have substantial talent and perfect pitch. Over his four-year attendance at the conservatory,

Sousa studied voice and a variety of instruments including violin, piano, flute, cornet, and trombone.<sup>137</sup>

Musical enrichment was not limited to the conservatory. Sousa regularly attended Marine Band rehearsals with his father and even sat in on occasion.<sup>138</sup> Before he was a teenager he was already performing as a solo violinist and had organized a dance band that performed at local dances hosted by Professor Sheldon's Fashionable Dance Academy.

In an article titled "My Dreadful Life" Sousa recounts how he nearly joined the circus when he was only thirteen. He describes how he was practicing violin one afternoon with the window open. A man with the traveling circus walking by heard the violin. He knocked on the door to proposition the young musician to join the circus band, and immediately Sousa was captivated by the prospect. He agreed to meet the following day to join. However, after telling a neighbor boy of his secret plans, his parents learned his intentions. John Antonio convinced John Philip that evening the circus was not for him.<sup>139</sup> This incident prompted one of the most important events of Sousa's life when, immediately after, his father enlisted him in the Marines as an apprentice.

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137. Paul E. Bierley, *John Philip Sousa; American Phenomenon* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1973), 29.

138. *Ibid*, 31.

139. John Philip Sousa, "My Dreadful Past," *Pearson's Weekly* (March 9, 1911): 561.



## Marines: First Enlistment

On June 9, 1868 Sousa enlisted with an agreement to serve nearly eight years.<sup>140</sup> This was the second step in establishing his long-lasting relationship with the organization. During his enlistment years he continued to study music. The Marines provided some instruction, but his private study with George Felix Benkert may have influenced the young composer more. He was the teacher that suggested Sousa take up operetta composition, a consistent pursuit throughout Sousa's life. With the support of his teacher, he eventually published his first work in 1872, *Moonlight on the Potomac Waltzes*. It was followed by two more pieces in 1873, a galop titled *Cuckoo*, and his first march, *Review*. Later that same year, Louis Schneider, the new commander of the Marine Band, discovered the band rehearsing a new march. When Schneider discovered Sousa, a low-ranking bandsman, was the composer, he ordered the group to discard the work. The march, *Salutation*, had been composed in honor of the change in command. This incident likely influenced Sousa's eventual discharge from the organization in 1875.

Shortly after leaving the Marines, Sousa met Emma M. Whitfield. He began courting her as he, now deprived of his government salary, increased his freelance work. After obtaining a substitute conducting position at Ford's Theater, one of the actors, Milton Nobles, was impressed by the talented conductor. Sousa then applied to become music director of the show's tour, but the position had already been filled. However, while on tour in Chicago, Nobles messaged Sousa to offer him the position. Shortly before this Sousa proposed to Whitfield, but her stepfather, Benjamin Swallow,

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140. Bierly, 33.

disapproved of her marrying a poor musician. Sousa accepted the position in Chicago to prove musicians did not have to be poor and told Swallow he would return in two years to marry Whitfield, blessing or no blessing.

Sousa toured with the theater group for several months before returning to Washington in early 1876. He then took a position as a violinist at Ford's theater and later as orchestra leader for the touring vaudeville show *Matt Morgan's Living Pictures*. That production, which included nude women, met unfavorable reactions in much of the country due to moral objection. Sousa wrote about the show in his autobiography, *Marching Along*, clearly illustrating his position on the production.

On my return to Washington, they immediately made a position for me in my old theatre. After playing there a short time, there came to the theatre a very sensational series of tableaux known as Matt Morgan's Living Pictures. I believe it was the first time that America had seen the undraped female on the stage, in any numbers, and America gasped at the spectacle. From an artistic standpoint the tableaux were certainly very beautiful. Matt Morgan, who had been the artist for Frank Leslie's Weekly, had painted some very effective scenery and there were seven statue girls and one statue man to depict such paintings as *Phryne Before the Tribunal*, *Cleopatra Before Caesar*, *The Christian Martyr*, *The Destruction of Pompeii*, *The Shower of Gold*, and others equally famous.<sup>141</sup>

Sousa goes on in this section of his autobiography to describe how the show met opposition on the tour and even led to several arrests, fortunately not him. Immediately after this tour Sousa set out for Philadelphia, where the United States' first world's fair was taking place in conjunction with the nation's centennial. As explained in chapter two, "Pompeii Fever" had a prominent epicenter at the centennial celebration, and Sousa had been primed to catch it after working on the "Living Pictures" production. As seen in the

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141. John Philip Sousa, *Marching Along: Recollections of Men, Women and Music* (Hale, Cushman & Flint, 1928), 52.

quote above, Pompeii was on display in that show as well, placing Sousa aware and admiring of art based on the 79 CE Vesuvius eruption. That admiration could have compelled him to explore the subject further, and he had ample opportunity at the centennial.

### **Sousa in Philadelphia**

Philadelphia was a thriving cultural center in 1876, and the added centennial celebration lured Sousa. He decided to head to Philadelphia as a freelancer with no established contracts. He wrote about this transition in a short article in *The Etude*,

I was traveling as orchestra leader with Matt Morgan's living pictures. At the end of the season I decided to go to Philadelphia and see the Centennial. It was a big event in the life of any young American, and I believe the first event of its kind that the country had ever had. I called on Mr. Simon Hassler, the well-known musician, and inquired if there was any work for a young violinist. He told me that he was engaged to supply some extra men for the Offenbach Orchestra...I returned and played for Mr. Hassler. I was then a young man of nineteen or so, and I felt the honor greatly when after hearing me, he engaged me.<sup>142</sup>

Offenbach was hired to guest conduct during the Centennial Exhibition but was also engaged throughout Philadelphia and in other parts of the country during his visit. In addition to the Offenbach orchestra, Hassler placed Sousa in the Centennial Orchestra, which he and Max Maretzek directed. However, after Offenbach returned to France the orchestra quickly lost popularity and was replaced.

Despite this minor setback, Hassler continued to provide Sousa with employment opportunities during his tenure in Philadelphia. One such position was with the Chestnut Theater orchestra, at which he performed several productions. Sousa began finding

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142. John Philip Sousa, "Commander John Philip Sousa Tells of His Tour with the Offenbach Orchestra," *The Etude* 48 (July 1, 1930): 471.

regular success as a freelancer in the city and began to accrue some wealth. Nearly simultaneously, he ran into Emma Whitfield and her stepfather while strolling the city streets. Seeing the success Sousa has created for himself, he invited the musician back to Washington to discuss the marriage. However, after returning to Washington, Sousa discovered his fiancée had been seeing another man. He returned to Philadelphia immediately, and his former fiancée married the other man in less than two weeks.

Back in Philadelphia Sousa continued to freelance, but he also began to supplement his income by working for publishers. His first such position was error proofing for the W.F. Shaw Company, where Thomas á Becket Jr. was working. Becket previously worked for Lee and Walker when that company published Sousa's *Review* and *Cuckoo*. Later Sousa worked for another publisher in Philadelphia, J.M. Stoddart. Eventually he became an arranger for the W.F. Shaw Company and wrote two volumes of solos for violin and piano, *Evening Pastime* and *Evening Hours*.

The same year, Sousa finished his first operetta, *Katherine*. Unfortunately for him, Gilbert and Sullivan's *H.M.S. Pinafore* became increasingly popular since its premiere a year earlier. Philadelphia theaters were exploding with performances of that work, overshadowing his foray into the genre. However, the popularity of the Gilbert and Sullivan show afforded Sousa the opportunity to take up music direction with the Amateur Opera Company, who was producing it. The company, which changed its name to the Church Choir Company, brought the show on tour. After the company returned to Philadelphia, Sousa met his future wife, Jane van Middlesworth Bellis. Only ten months later the two married, but, by this point, his time in Philadelphia was coming to an end.

Sousa originally went to Philadelphia to investigate the Centennial Celebration, and after it concluded in November 1876, the grounds were left for repurposing. As discussed in chapter two, Memorial Hall was converted to a museum of fine art including the Pompeiian Museum in its basement. The Main Exhibition Building was quickly purchased by private investors who converted it into the Permanent International Exhibition. Opening in May 1877, that exhibition sought to reignite the public enthusiasm seen for the Centennial Exhibition. An official announcement in the Baltimore Sun reads,

The din of preparation for the opening of the grand international exposition at Philadelphia on Thursday next, May 10, gives a vivacity to the things around the centennial grounds that has not been seen since the closing of the great exhibition.<sup>143</sup>

The new attraction included an orchestra, simply named the Permanent Exhibition Orchestra, which performed in the summers. Hassler ran that orchestra and hired Sousa in the summers of 1877 and 1878.

Chapter two discusses the emergence of “Pompeii Fever” as it spread throughout Philadelphia, fueled by the inclusion of Pompeii themed artworks in Memorial Hall during the fair and the widespread distribution of illustrated versions of Bulwer-Lytton’s *The Last Days of Pompeii*. Of the artworks, Randolph Roger’s *Nydia, the Blind Girl of Pompeii* was particularly successful during the fair. Sousa arrived at the fair in the summer of 1876 and was interested in exploring the celebration as well as performing with ensembles there. There is no mention of Sousa’s interaction with the sculpture, but,

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143. Correspondence of the Baltimore Sun, “The Permanent International Exhibition--Its Grand Opening May 10,” *The Sun* (1837-1993); *Baltimore, Md.* (Baltimore, Md., United States, Baltimore, Md., May 5, 1877).

as illustrated in chapter two, it would have been difficult for visitors to avoid it if they entered Memorial Hall. Based on his interest and months at the fairgrounds, Sousa likely would have investigated Memorial Hall and seen the sculpture. Of the structures at the fair, Memorial Hall was only dwarfed in stature by the Main Exhibition Hall.

Shortly after the Permanent International Exhibition opened, the repurposed Memorial Hall followed suit. The crowds on opening day were reported to be so large the museum had to employ substantial crowd control measures.<sup>144</sup> The Pompeiian Museum, which resided in the basement of the building, was popular due to the peephole viewing devices depicting scenes from Pompeii and Bulwer-Lytton's novel. Again, evidence that Sousa directly interreacted with these devices is missing, but Sousa likely knew about the museum and the exhibit.

Sousa regularly visited the grounds of the Centennial Exhibition, both during the fair and for years afterwards. He had several months to explore the celebration, which was his initial reason for traveling to Philadelphia, and see the Rogers sculpture. He continued to be present on the grounds when the Pompeiian Museum opened two years later and may have even visited it himself. At the very least, he would have heard about the exhibits at some point during his four years in Philadelphia, either by word of mouth or through the museum's press releases. Pompeii's popularity at this time in Philadelphia was extremely high, and Sousa himself likely caught "Pompeii Fever" as a result of his

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144. Jon L. Seydl, "Experiencing the Last Days of Pompeii in Late Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia," in Shelley Hales and Joanna Paul, eds., *Pompeii in the Public Imagination from Its Rediscovery to Today*, Classical presences (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 225.

time there. Unfortunately, it laid dormant for over a decade, but in that time, Sousa likely read the Bulwer-Lytton novel, fueling his interest in the topic.

### **Return to Washington**

After learning he was being considered as leader for the U.S. Marine Band, Sousa secured release from his commitments in Philadelphia and moved back to Washington to assume the position. He enlisted in the Marines, again, on October 1, 1880 replacing his former commanding officer, Louis Schneider.

Sousa's early years in command were not easy. He incurred a pay reduction when he left Philadelphia for the command, and the ensemble shifted in size considerably under his leadership. He did however make great improvements to the band, particularly to its library by adding his own transcriptions and a steady production of new works, many of which were marches.

As Sousa worked to improve the ensemble and the caliber rose, its reputation grew. Eventually the ensemble began touring, and David Blakey, manager of several of Patrick S. Gilmore's band tours, was hired to organize them. The band toured twice to great success, and, while on the second tour, Blakey made a compelling proposition. He asked Sousa to leave the Marines and start his own private band. Though such a prospect intrigued Sousa for some time, such a venture would be a great personal risk. Regardless, he accepted the proposal and resigned from the Marines in July 1892.

## The Sousa Band

Sousa immediately began traveling to recruit musicians for his new band. He started in Philadelphia and then moved onto New York, where he decided his group would be headquartered. After assembling the ensemble, he spent two weeks rehearsing before their first concert on September 26, 1892 at Stillman Music Hall in Plainfield, New Jersey. That fall the inaugural ensemble went on a short tour, during which they added several more musicians, including renowned cornetist Herbert L. Clarke.

Though the band's inaugural season was short, it formed the foundation for future success. In the winter months of early 1893 the band did not perform, and Sousa focused on creating several band transcriptions and his first suite, *The Last Days of Pompeii*. Sousa's creation of the band may have been partially fueled by a desire to explore additional compositional genres. In the decade between 1881 and 1891, Sousa's output was prolific with five operettas, nineteen songs, thirty-two marches, and fifteen other works falling under various categories.<sup>145</sup> Forty-five percent of his works were marches, and it was during this time period he was initially dubbed "The March King."

Sousa had no aversion to the march, and he knew his marches were popular. He even enthusiastically embraced new recording technology to record marches and reach more audiences. However, after the Sousa Band formed, he shifted his compositional output. There was a sharp drop in output over the following decade, probably due to two reasons. Firstly, he was heavily involved in the ensemble's organization, more so than his previous positions which undoubtedly took a large portion of his time. Secondly, he

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145. Paul E. Bierley, *The Works of John Philip Sousa* (Columbus, Ohio: Integrity Press, 1984), 212.



shifted to longer expressive mediums. Between 1893 and 1903 nearly forty-eight percent of his output was marches. However, during that decade he began writing for a new genre, the multimovement suite. This new venue for expressivity blossomed with his first suite, *The Last Days of Pompeii*.

### **The Last Days of Pompeii: A Wind-Band Suite**

At some point before the winter of 1892–1893 Sousa became aware of Edward Bulwer-Lytton’s novel. As discussed already in this dissertation, that novel with its many printings made great waves as it spread around the world. Sousa likely read the novel at some point, but after digging through as many primary source materials as possible the evidence is just not present. The novel certainly influenced the work as it adopts the title and three modified quotes, however, as discussed earlier in this chapter and chapter two, Sousa likely caught “Pompeii Fever” during his tenure in Philadelphia. The circumstantial evidence presented here represents what I was able to gather, placing him in a time and place when the topic was surging. Records may be uncovered in the future that provide more detail, but for now this research summarizes available materials on the topic.

*The Last Days of Pompeii* was written in the Sousa Band’s first off-season. In the winter months Sousa focused on band transcriptions and this first endeavor into the wind-band suite. Out of the fifteen suites Sousa wrote, eleven are dedicated settings of original music. The remaining four suites adopt material from other composers or from other works he wrote previously. One such example, *El Capitan and his Friends* uses material from three of his operettas. *The Last Days of Pompeii* was entirely new material.

## Versions

Four versions of the parts are available including: the original manuscript parts, the copyist parts (incomplete), the original 1912 published parts, and the 2010 arranged version by R. Mark Rogers. In addition to the respective scores included in each of those sets, the Library of Congress has a thirty-four-page holograph full score. Table 5.1 lists the instrumentation for each of these versions.

The variations in instrumentation between these versions is not extreme, but there are a few notable differences. The inclusion of Bb low brass parts in the 1912 publication reflects early 20<sup>th</sup> century trends, particularly of the John Church Co. Sousa did not write for those instruments as unique voices in the orchestration. However, the Sousa Band manuscript parts include three unique voices not found in the holograph score: harp, contrabassoon and flugelhorn.

The exclusion of these three instruments on the holograph score suggests Sousa added the parts later. This was most likely done as those instruments were added to the band. The first inclusion of flugelhorn on the band roster is in 1897 when Franz Helle joined. In 1900, John Helleberg joined the bassoon section on contrabassoon, and, in 1905, William A. Chase joined the ensemble on harp. Sousa, known to regularly vary the performances of his marches, probably modified the suite after these members enlisted.

Table 3. Instrumentation Comparison of Available Versions

Holograph Score	Manuscript Parts	Copyist Manuscript	John Church	Rogers
(Full Score)	Condensed Scr.	Cornet/Cond.	Cornet/Cond.	Full Score
-	Harp	Harp	Harp Missing?	Harp
Db Picc./Fl II	Db Picc./Fl II	Db Picc./Fl II	Db Picc./Fl II	C Piccolo
Flute	Flute	Flute	Flute	Flute I
-	-	-	-	Flute II
-	-	-	-	Flute III
Oboe I/E. Hrn.	Oboe I	Oboe I	Oboe I	Oboe I
Oboe II	Oboe II/E. Hrn.	Oboe II/E. Hrn.	Oboe II/E. Hrn.	Oboe II/E. Hrn.
Eb Clar. I	Eb Clar. I	Eb Clar. I	Eb Clar. I	-
Eb Clar. II	Eb Clar. II	Eb Clar. II	Eb Clar. II	-
-	Bb Clar. Solo	Bb Clar. Solo	Bb Clar. Solo	-
Bb Clar. I	Bb Clar. I	Bb Clar. I	Bb Clar. I	Bb Clar. I
Bb Clar. II	Bb Clar. II	Bb Clar. II	Bb Clar. II	Bb Clar. II
Bb Clar. III	Bb Clar. III	Bb Clar. III	Bb Clar. III	Bb Clar. III
Alto Clar.	Alto Clar.	Alto Clar.	Alto Clar.	Alto Clar.
Bass Clar.	Bass Clar.	Bass Clar. Bassoon	Bass Clar.	Bass Clar.
Bassoon I	Bassoon I	I	Bassoon I	Bassoon I
Bassoon II	Bassoon II	Bassoon II	Bassoon II	Bassoon II
-	Contra Bsn.	-	-	-
Alto Sax.	Alto Sax.	Alto Sax.	Alto Sax.	Alto Sax.
Tenor Sax.	Tenor Sax.	Tenor Sax.	Tenor Sax.	Tenor Sax.
Baritone Sax.	Baritone Sax.	Baritone Sax.	Baritone Sax.	Baritone Sax.
Eb Cornet	Eb Cornet	Eb Cornet	Eb Cornet	-
-	-	Crnt. Solo/Cnd	Crnt. Solo/Cnd	-
Cornet I	Cornet I	Cornet I	Cornet I/	Cornet I
Cornet II	Cornet II	Cornet II	Cornet II	Cornet II
Cornet III	Cornet III	Cornet III	Cornet III	-
Trumpet I	Trumpet I	Trumpet I	Trumpet I	Trumpet I
Trumpet II	Trumpet II	Trumpet II	Trumpet II	Trumpet II
-	Flugelhorn	-	-	-
Eb Horn I	Eb Horn I	Eb Horn I	Eb Horn I	F Horn I
Eb Horn II	Eb Horn II	Eb Horn II	Eb Horn II	F Horn II
Eb Horn III	Eb Horn III	Eb Horn III	Eb Horn III	F Horn III
Eb Horn IV	Eb Horn IV	Eb Horn IV	Eb Horn IV	F Horn IV
Trombone I	Trombone I	Trombone I	Trombone I	Trombone I
Trombone II	Trombone II	Trombone II	Trombone II	Trombone II
Trombone III	Trombone III	Trombone III	Trombone III	Trombone III
-	-	Baritone	Baritone	-
Euphonium I	Euphonium I	Euphonium I	Euphonium I	Euphonium I
Euphonium II	Euphonium II	Euphonium II	Euphonium II	Euphonium II
-	-	Bb Bass	-	-
Basses I	Basses I	Basses I	Basses I	-
Basses II	Basses II	Basses II	Basses II	-
-	Tuba I	Tuba I	Tuba I	Tuba I
-	Tuba II	Tuba II	Tuba II	Tuba II
Timpani	Timpani	Timpani	Timpani	Timpani/ Bells
Drums	Percussion	Missing Perc.?	Percussion	Percussion.

The copyist manuscript and the John Church Company publication are nearly identical, with the exceptions of harp and percussion. I have been unable to find any correspondence addressing these omissions, but the publisher likely did not think harp was worth including and the percussion parts are simply missing. The harp part may merely be missing from the collection used for this dissertation, but without evidence this is only speculation. The John Church Company “Solo Bb Cornet/Conductor” part does not mention harp, implying it was not included in the publication. That publication collection, from the Library of Congress, is otherwise nearly complete, but I did discover it is also missing the second and third movements for the first cornet part.

The most radically different version available is the 2010 arrangement by R. Mark Rogers. Although the score sells as an edition, Rogers acknowledges it is more of arrangement in his program notes,

It then becomes necessary to make a decision as to whether this edition of *The Last Days of Pompeii* should represent the composition as played by the Sousa Band in 1893 or as played in the later years as the band’s roster evolved into something that more closely resembles contemporary performance practice. We have chosen the latter course and offer this edition to conductors who wish to explore the wind band’s earliest surviving repertory.<sup>146</sup>

To accomplish this Rogers made several changes to the instrumentation, as seen in table 5.1. Notably he removed instruments that have declined in popularity over the last century, Eb clarinet and Eb cornet. He altered other parts to make up for the condensed instrumentation, but overall the score is nearly authentic. Added articulations and dynamics are not bracketed as one might hope, but Rogers does an adequate job of

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146. John Philip Sousa, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, ed. R. Mark Rogers (San Antonio: Southern Music Company, 2010), 69.

representing the intentions of the work. The Rogers arrangement is the most accessible version for the modern conductor and is the most likely to be performed, at least until someone releases a new critical edition.

### **Early Impressions**

During the Sousa Band's first full year, the group toured the United States with multiple long engagements. Sousa prepared a contrasting tour repertoire that featured famous works, his own transcriptions, and his first suite, *The Last Days of Pompeii*. The holograph score is signed "John Philip Sousa Washington DC January 18, 1893."<sup>147</sup> As noted earlier, this was completed during the band's off season which took place in winter months. The first performance record of the work is a concert program from the Grand Central Palace in New York City on April 30, 1893.<sup>148</sup> The suite was well received with one critic writing,

A suite descriptive of the last days of Pompeii composed by Sousa was then rendered by the band. The Music told, as well as Bulwer Lytton's words, the scene in the house of Burbo and Stratonice, the unhappy lot of the blind Nydia and the destruction of the fated city.<sup>149</sup>

Between the April 30th concert and the end of July, Sousa featured the work on at least eighteen concerts, though it was likely more.<sup>150</sup> Critics were generally positive in their reviews, however on occasion a negative review surfaced.

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147. John Philip Sousa, "The Last Days of Pompeii," Holograph Full Score (Washington D.C., January 18, 1893), The Library of Congress, 34.

148. *Sousa Band Press Book*, vol. 2, 85 vols. (Washington D.C.: U.S. Marine Band Sousa Collection, 1893), 3.

149. "An Evening of Melody," *New York Recorder* (New York, May 1, 1893).

150. Although the Sousa Band Press Books have a large record of published programs and reviews, it is not a complete record of all performances. In 1893 there are programs and or reviews for at

A performance on May 1st in Philadelphia left critics split. One wrote the suite “was more ambitious than any other featured of the evening, but no more attractive to the audience.”<sup>151</sup> While another opposed with,

The feature of the concert was of course the suite...the descriptive music of which, ranging through almost all the forms of music, and commanding and exhibiting all the resources of a great band was a thing to be heard again with pleasure and profit.<sup>152</sup>

Later that same month in Milwaukee a critic blasted a performance with,

A suite entitled “The Last Days of Pompeii,” an original work by the director, has little claim to the title, and consists chiefly of deafening blasts from the combined forces of blatant brass.<sup>153</sup>

In July, back in New York, another critic wrote about the audience’s favorable response to the work,

“The Last Days of Pompeii” was particularly well received and the audience was not satisfied until [Sousa] had given five encores to this number.<sup>154</sup>

Another review in the Brooklyn Citizen from earlier that month provides a detailed summation of the work’s impact,

“The Last Days of Pompeii” by Sousa is worthy of more than passing notice. The thought which pervades it is naturally the outcome of a careful study of Lytton’s description of that fearful scene. The blind girl wandering in the confused darkness, the rout, horror and tumult of the dreadful riot; the cries, wailings and despair of the multitude; the conflict of the human and helpless with the divine

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least eighteen individual performances featuring *The Last Days of Pompeii*. Two additional reviews refer to performances that were likely separate but unspecified.

151. “A Crowded Audience Hears Sousa’s Band,” *Philadelphia Press* (Philadelphia, May 2, 1893).

152. “Sousa’s Band at the Academy,” *The North American* (Philadelphia, May 2, 1893).

153. “Music and the Drama,” *Milwaukee Sentinel* (Milwaukee, May 22, 1893).

154. *Brooklyn Eagle* (Brooklyn, July 28, 1893).

and apparently relentless are all prefigured and unfolded with the skill which shows the stamp of a refined scholarship as well as the enthusiasm of a born artist. The orchestration is not only ample but accurate. Each instrument is itself a pen which tells in thrilling tones the story of that unparalleled event and if Mr. Sousa had scored this one number only, he has done enough to establish his reputation as a musician of rare attainments. The task assumed was a serious, responsible and difficult one, and its execution in competent hands will gain for it a lasting place among the concert numbers of this and other lands.<sup>155</sup>

Clearly the work, though not favored by some critics, strongly moved the population. It is clear from the reviews the widespread availability of Bulwer-Lytton's novel led to a wider appreciation of the work. Audiences appreciated the descriptive devices Sousa employed throughout the composition, one of which being extensive use of chromaticism. Sousa himself saw the work as long lasting and, only three years after the premiere, he said in an interview from *Music*,

I have written chromatically. In my "Pompeii," for instance, I have carried chromaticism about as far as it can be carried. It is a piece which I expect will maintain my reputation after I am dead.<sup>156</sup>

He believed the work to be a great triumph and continued to program it throughout the remainder of his life. Unfortunately, without Sousa himself to champion the work, critics and audiences soon forgot it.

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155. "By Sousa's Band: Manhattan Beach's Musical Prestige Maintained," *Brooklyn Citizen*, July 16, 1893.

156. W.S.B. Matthews, "An Interview with John Philip Sousa," *Music: A Monthly Magazine Devoted to Art, Science, Technic, and Literature of Music* 9 (March 1896): 487-492.

## Legacy

Sousa clearly thought very highly of the work from its creation to his death in 1932. Failure to publish the work for nearly two decades supports that notion with the Sousa Band holding exclusive performance rights. Michael Steinberg proposed Sousa refrained from publishing the piece in order to keep the descriptive effects exclusive to his band.<sup>157</sup> Paul Bierley echoes that same sentiment in his books on Sousa including *The Works of John Philip Sousa*.<sup>158</sup> More supporting evidence comes in the programs Sousa assembles over the decades. As illustrated in the previous section, 1893 sees the suite performed regularly. That trend continues with the work being programmed more than any of Sousa's other original suites.<sup>159</sup>

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157. Michael Steinberg, "The Entertaining Missionary," *Boston Globe (1960-1987)*; *Boston, Mass.* (Boston, Mass., United States, Boston, Mass., July 29, 1973).

158. Bierley, *Works*, 101.

159. *Ibid.*



## Detailed Analysis

The macro-structure of this suite is not particularly remarkable. There are three movements with two sections in the final movement. In some ways it makes sense to think of movement three's second section as the fourth movement, but Sousa never delineated it as such, despite countless revisions. Harmonically the movements move through Eb major, Bb major, C minor, and Ab major in movement three's second section. The suite runs approximately twelve minutes total.

### *Movement One: "In the House of Burbo and Stratonice."*

Table 4. *The Last Days of Pompeii*: Movement One Form

<u>Intro</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>Trans.</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Codetta</u>	<u>Recit.</u>	<u>C Intro</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>Re-Trans</u>
1–28	29–43	44–62	62–85	86–89	90–97	98–101	102–129	130–140
Bb	Eb	Cb→Bb	Bb	Bb→Db	Db	Gb	Gb	Bmin→F

#### RECAP

<u>Intro'</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>Trans.'</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Re-Trans</u>	<u>A'</u>	<u>Coda</u>	<u>Tag</u>
141–156	157–171	172–180	181–200	201–224	225–231	232–236	237–238
Bb	Eb	Fb→Cb	Cb	Cb→Bb	Eb	Adim7	Eb

Movement one begins with a twenty-eight-measure introduction. The material can be divided into four motives, each established within the first six measures. Motive one, see figure 5.1, opens the movement with single-eighth-note perfect fifths on every beat. The introduction centers on a Bb tonal center, the dominant tonality of this movement. Motive one acts as a pedal through measure twenty-two. Those familiar with Sousa's

marches will hear that character influence throughout this movement. In measure 3, the second motive is heard in the trombones, see figure 5.2, again focusing on Bb. These two motives stress a martial aspect, reflective of Burbo and Stratonice’s past careers as gladiators.

Figure 5.1. Motive One. Measures 1–2. John Philip Sousa, “The Last Days of Pompeii,” Holograph Full Score (Washington D.C., January 18, 1893), The Library of Congress, 1.



Figure 5.2. Motive Two. Measures 2–4. Sousa, Holograph Score, 1.



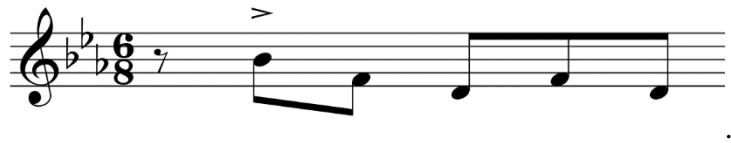
In measure 5, Sousa presents the third motive in the clarinets. This chromatic motive moves from Bb to F over one measure, see figure 5.3, and is the first use of chromaticism in the suite. Chromaticism appears frequently in this work and, as noted earlier, Sousa believed he took it to its farthest extreme. Measure 6 presents the final motive in the introduction with disjunct parallel triads in the low clarinets and saxophones. This motive, figure 5.4, introduces a third to the Bb tonality with the addition of D natural. Simultaneously the horns interject with a Bb fifth dyad sustained

over one complete measure. The accented articulation and the open fifth harmony indicate this is an expansion of motive one.

Figure 5.3. Motive Three. Measures 5–6. Sousa, Holograph Score, 1.



Figure 5.4. Motive Four. Measure 16. Sousa, Holograph Score, 1



In measure 11, motive three expands into parallel triads, and in measure 15 reduces the rhythm to sixteenths. At this point, the motives occur more frequently and begin to overlap with greater intensity. Motive one and motive two merge in the trombones and the harmonic contour begins ascending rapidly, driven by motive three. In measure 21, that motive moves from a Bb triad to an Eb triad in second inversion with the Bb open-fifth pedal continuing through the first eighth note of measure 22. Harmonic rhythm stalls for a moment with the flutes and piccolo alternating between the pitches Ab and G. The progression then continues in the second half of measure 23 with the horns and low woodwinds alternating between F half-diminished<sup>7</sup> in second inversion and Bb<sup>7</sup>.

The root of that chord drops out in measure 25 when the saxophones take over the flute's previous Ab to G trill-like figure. Motive two then reprises, returning the root of the chord, but this time in Euphonium.

The primary theme enters at measure 29 with the first solid presentation of an Eb triad, see figure 5.5. The twenty-eight measure introduction boils down to one very long dominant chord leading the primary theme. This theme may remind some of Sousa's compound-meter marches, which makes sense as the title characters are former gladiators. This theme is asymmetrical, two seven-measure phrases with a single measure extension between them. Motive one from the introduction continues prominently throughout these two phrases.

Figure 5.5. Primary theme in movement one, measures 29–35. Sousa, Holograph Score, 3.



An eighteen-measure transition section begins at measure 44. Harmonic movement is chromatic starting with A natural and descending to an F7 chord in measure 54. As happened in the introduction in measure 22, the harmonic movement stalls and the

harmony shifts chromatically between F7 and Gb7 at measure 54. This resolves to a descending set of octave F's over a descending F mixolydian scale in the harp at measures 58 and 59. A two-measure alteration of motive two in the trombones follows, see figure 5.6.

Figure 5.6. Motive two modification in measures 60–61. Sousa, Holograph Score, 5.



The secondary theme arrives at measure 62 and utilizes a conversation like block scoring between the brass and woodwinds spanning eight measures. The tonal center is Bb major, the dominant of the movement. Contrasting the strong and agile melody of the primary theme, this begins with a delicate melody first presented in the trumpets and euphoniums. See figure 5.7 for a reduction of this melody. However, the section's character changes suddenly in measure 70 when the dynamic shifts from pianissimo to subito fortissimo. This eight-measure episode derives material from the introduction with motive three used prominently. Like measure 22 and measures 54–57, this eight-measure section also utilizes a stalled harmonic rhythm. This time for the entirety of the episode, measures 70–77 centered on F.

Figure 5.7. Movement one secondary theme reduction, measures 62–69. Sousa, Holograph Score, 5.

The musical score is divided into three systems. The first system is for 'Cornets, Trumpets, and Euph.' in 6/8 time, marked *pp*. It features a melody in the treble clef and a bass line in the bass clef. The second system is for 'Stone Cups' in 6/8 time, marked *p*. It features a melody in the treble clef and a bass line in the bass clef. The third system is for 'Oboe, Clarinets, and Horns' in 6/8 time, marked *p*. It features a melody in the treble clef and a bass line in the bass clef.

The secondary theme is restated in measure 78 with the woodwind and horn answers more rhythmically active than the previous statement. Bassoon and bass clarinet are added in the second half of these responses. This time the second half of the eight-measure theme flips with the woodwinds starting and the brass ending. The section concludes with a four-measure two-phrase codetta that transitions harmonically from a half cadence in the first two measure phrase on F major to Db major in the second phrase.

The tempo and character of the movement change drastically in measure 90. An eight-measure section, notated as “Maestoso Recitativo,” features a recitative cornet solo

accompanied by hushed woodwinds and tuba, see figure 5.8. Tonality maintains Db major from the preceding codetta but now with emphasis on an added seventh. The section concludes on a Db7 dominant chord, allowing transition to Gb major in the following section.

Figure 5.8. Solo cornet recitativo reduction, measures 90–97. John Philip Sousa, “The Last Days of Pompeii” (John Church Company, 1912), <https://www.loc.gov/item/sousa.200028246/>, 54.



Measure 98 reintroduces motive one, but this time it is in Gb major and considerably slower, notated as “Moderato pesante.” Four measures of that motive act as an introduction to the tertiary section. Trombones present the tertiary theme in measure 102 and are later joined by the trumpets in measure 116, see figure 5.9. The theme is twelve measure total and appears twice with a four-measure harmonic stall on D major in measures 114–118. The use of the D major triad in these measures allows for a common tone transition back to Gb major for the second presentation, measures 118–130. At the end of the second presentation a variation on the introduction’s motive three is presented in the upper woodwinds. At the same time the melody stops on Gb rather than ascending to the four-measure D major harmonic stall found in the first presentation.

Figure 5.9. Movement one tertiary theme reduction. Measures 102–114. Sousa, Holograph Score, 8.

The musical score for measures 102–114 is presented in four systems. Each system consists of two staves. The top staff is for the Low Brass section, and the bottom staff is for the piano section. The key signature is Bb major (two flats), and the time signature is 6/8. The piano section is marked *tutta forza* and *ff*. The score shows a reduction of the tertiary theme, with various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

An eleven-measure transition section begins at measure 130 moving the tonality from Gb major to an F7 dominant chord in the second half of measure 140. This allows for the transition back Bb major, the dominant tonality of the movement's Eb major. This return coincides with a condensed recapitulation of the introduction from measure 141 through measure 156. The four introduction motives return but the total length of this section condenses to sixteen measures compared to the original twenty-eight. Sousa notated the tempo as "L'istesso" indicating this recapitulation is to maintain the slower "Moderato pesante" tempo from the previous section.

As expected in a recapitulation, the introduction material leads into the primary theme at measure 157. The theme is identical to the first presentation with two seven-



measure phrases and the one-measure extension between them. The theme concludes at measure 172 with the transition section. However, this time Sousa condenses it to nine measures, instead of the previous eighteen, beginning on Fb and concluding on Cb, as compared to the previous transition from Cb7 to Bb.

The secondary theme returns in measure 181, this time in Cb major. As before the theme is eight measures, consisting of two four-measure subphrases. The harmonic stall episode begins in measure 189 and continues eight measures. The second presentation of the secondary theme begins in measure 197, but a sudden transition interrupts in measure 201. This transition section utilizes the melody from the primary theme in multiple transformations. The transition itself can be divided into two parts, measures 201–212 and measures 213–224. The first twelve-measure section moves the tonality from Cb major to Eb major with excerpts of the primary theme. These are arranged as two four-measure phrases, and then two two-measure phrases. The second half of the transition starts at measure 213, still using the primary theme material but with syncopated rhythms. It is accompanied by an aggressive and repetitive figure spanning most of the ensemble.

The primary theme returns in true fashion at measure 225, taken over by the high woodwinds and high brass. However, an A diminished<sup>7</sup> chord on the first eighth note in measure 230 suddenly interjects. This movement by tritone from a major triad to a fully diminished seven chord resonates two measures with a lone suspended cymbal before the coda begins in measure 232.

The coda is five measures long with an added two measure tag. The A diminished7 continues as accompaniment to a falling chromatic figure that passes through the woodwinds and tubas. That figure ends in the second half of measure 236 with an Eb diminished7 chord. A two-measure tag follows beginning on an A diminished triad and ending on Eb major. See figure 5.10 for a reduction of the coda and tag.

Figure 5.10. Movement one coda and tag reduction. Measures 232–238. Sousa, John Church Co., Solo Bb Cornet (Conductor), 56.

The musical score for measures 232–238 is presented in a multi-staff format. The top staff is for Clarinet (Clar.), followed by Alto Clarinet (Alto Clar.), Saxophone (Sax.), and Horns. The bottom staff is for Basses, with a Solo Bb Cornet part indicated by a bracket. The music is in 4/4 time and features a falling chromatic figure. The score includes dynamic markings such as *f*, *loco*, *Solo*, and *ff*, as well as a *cresc.* (crescendo) marking. The coda and tag are clearly delineated by a double bar line and a repeat sign.

***Movement Two: “Nydia, the Blind Girl.”***

Table 5. *The Last Days of Pompeii*: Movement Two Form

<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Coda</u>
1–16	17–31	32–39
Bb	Bb	Bb

The second movement, with its slow and lyrical character, starkly contrasts the first. The movement is binary form in Bb major. A chorale-like primary section is presented in the clarinets. This delicate chorale has a strongly emphasized wave-like contour. See the John Church Co. Solo Bb Cornet (Conductor) part for this movement in figure 5.11.

Figure 5.11. Movement Two Reduction. Sousa, John Church Co., Solo Bb Cornet (Conductor), 56.

**Solo Bb Cornet**  
(Conductor)

**Nydia**

**NO 2 Andante con sentimento** JOHN PHILIP SOUSA

ppp Reeds

English Horn Solo

Sax.

Oboe

dim. morendo dim. molto ppppp Eng. Horn

The secondary theme starts with the anacrusis to measure 17 in the English horn. A harp-like arpeggiation in the clarinets and an organlike figure in the low-clarinets and tuba accompany the soft lyrical melody. After Sousa added a harp part, the original clarinet accompaniment figure appeared there instead.

This theme is asymmetrical with the first phrase, measures 17 to 25, spanning eight measures, and the second phrase, measures 25 to 32, spanning only seven. That second phrase includes expanded harmony with oboe added to the English horn, forming a duet.

An eight-measure coda begins in measure 32 with an oboe and solo clarinet duet. Harmony rocks between Bb major and Eb minor over a Bb pedal in the tubas. The movement ends with an Eb minor<sup>7</sup> chord moving to a Bb major triad. The entirety of the coda is notated as *morendo*, and the ending silence is emphasized with the addition of a fermata over the final rest.

***Movement Three: “The Destruction and Nydia’s Death.”***

Table 6. *The Last Days of Pompeii*: Movement Three Form

<b>I</b>	<u><b>Intro</b></u> 1–16 ~Eb	<u><b>A</b></u> 17–35 Cmin	<u><b>Episode</b></u> 36–41 Cmin	<u><b>B</b></u> 42–57 Cmin	<u><b>C</b></u> 58–68 Edim→Ddim	<u><b>Codetta</b></u> 69–72 Ddim
<b>II</b>	<u><b>Intro2</b></u> 73–74 Ab	<u><b>Nydia B’</b></u> 75–90 Ab	<u><b>Coda</b></u> 90–95 Ab			

Movement three is divided into two major sections, notated as “I” and “II” in table 6. The later versions of the movement’s title that include “and Nydia’s Death” imply this movement could be understood as two movements via attacca transition. Regardless of one’s interpretation, the contrast between the sections is palpable.

Section I begins with a sixteen-measure introduction centering around Eb, see figure 5.12. Sousa left the mode ambiguous in this beginning section, but Eb is clearly the tonal center with a consistent Eb drone in the timpani, joined by tuba in measures 4–8 and 11–14. Motivic material presented in the clarinets and low brass follows an ascending harmonic contour starting a tritone away from the pedal on an A diminished triad in measure 3.<sup>160</sup> This material follows a series of stepwise diminished harmonies creating oblique motion from the pedal until it reaches Eb in measure 8, arriving as an Eb dominant chord.

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160. The harmony appears as an A minor dyad over the Eb pedal. Including the pedal forms the A diminished triad in second inversion. This analysis conforms with the following series of diminished harmony.

Figure 5.12. Movement three introduction reduction. Solo Bb Cornet (Conductor). Measures 1–16. Sousa, John Church Co, 57.

**Moderato molto**

Tymp. *pp* Bassoons 8va bassa *pp*

Muffled Dr. B. Dr. Basses Tromb.

Bass Clar. Solo *p* 3rd Tromb.

Clar. 8va bassa Bassoons 8va basso

*pp* Trump. *pp* S. Dr. 7 B. Dr. Basses

Bb Clar. Tromb. Clar.

In measure 9, the introductory material resets to mimic measure 1. This time however, the motivic material in the clarinets appears a measure later. It starts with the same A diminished triad, but the sequence does not unfold in the same fashion. Instead, a harmonic encapsulation occurs with movement from the A diminished triad to an F# fully diminished7 chord, when the pedal is included, to a G diminished triad over the pedal. A listener may anticipate moving to an Eb dominant chord again, as in the first four-measure phrase, by common tone transition, but Sousa ends the introduction with an Eb

minor major 7 chord instead. This unexpected harmony then moves by common tone to the primary theme in measure 17.

The primary section, measures 17 through 35, sits firmly in C minor, see figure 5.13. Tonic and dominant relationships are clear, starkly contrasting the introduction. This section can be divided into two asymmetrical subsections, the first seven measures, 17–23, and the following five measures, 24–34. The material then begins to repeat in measure 29, minus the second phrase forming a ternary phrase structure.

Figure 5.13. First sixteen measures of Section I A section. Solo Bb Cornet (Conductor). Sousa, John Church Co., 57.

**Allegro con fuoco**

The musical score is arranged in five systems. The first system features a Solo Bb Cornet (Conductor) part with a melodic line and a Bases part with a rhythmic accompaniment. The second system includes 7 Fl. Sax. and Tromb. parts. The third system features Euph. Sax., Horns, and Euph. Sax. parts. The fourth system includes Dr. and Cl. parts. The fifth system features Bases and Cor. parts. The score is written in C minor and 2/4 time, with a tempo marking of 'Allegro con fuoco'. The key signature has three flats (Bb, Eb, Ab) and the time signature is 2/4. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

At measure 36, a six-measure-false transition begins. It begins harmonically in G major but ends with a C diminished triad. The melodic material, now legato, contrasts the spasmodic material in the primary section. A listener might expect this section to transition the harmony for the secondary section, but because this does not happen, I labeled these six measures as an episode or an extension of the primary section.

The secondary section begins in measure 42 and continues through measure 57. Tonality continues in C minor, and the material combines both the staccato character of the primary section, and the legato character of the preceding episode, see figure 5.14. Unlike the primary section, this one utilizes two symmetrical eight-measure phrases. Harmonically, the section begins and ends on a C minor triad, which makes the transition to the tertiary section abrupt.

Figure 5.14. Section I B section material illustrating the connected theme and detached accompaniment. Measures 42–57. Sousa, John Church Co., Solo Bb Cornet (Conductor), 58.





The tertiary section begins in the measure 58 on an E diminished triad. The ascending movement between the third of the C minor triad and the root of the E diminished triad is counter balanced by descending movement four measures later to an Eb diminished triad. A D diminished triad over an Eb in the timpani follows. That descending motion stalls, but the bass pitch lowers to an Ab pedal in measure 68. Phrase structure in this section follows: a+a'+b spanning measure lengths 4+4+2, see figure 5.15.

Figure 5.15. Section I C Section and Codetta, measures 58–72. Sousa, John Church Co., Solo Bb Cornet (Conductor), 58.

The musical score for measures 58-72 is arranged in three systems. The top system includes staves for *furioso* Flutes-Sax., *ff* Cor., and Cym. The middle system includes staves for Cor., Sax., Bases, Tromb., and Bassoons. The bottom system includes staves for Bases, Tromb., Clar., *dim.* *ppp* Horns, and *ff*. The score features complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and dynamic markings such as *ff*, *dim.*, and *ppp*. A solo Bb Cornet part is indicated at the beginning of the section.

A five-measure codetta ends Section I with tonality still centered on the D diminished triad but emphasizing the Ab in the bass. This harmonic emphasis paired with the decaying dynamics and density sets up Section II. Section II starts in measure 73 with a two-measure introduction in Ab major. If this were the fourth movement, as suggested earlier, it would be titled “Nydia’s Death.”

The thematic material in this section is a modified presentation of the secondary theme from movement two, see figure 5.16. Obvious changes are the instrumentation and meter change, but it is unmistakably the same theme. Compare figure 5.16 with figure 5.17 to see the transformation. There are two eight-measure phrases, the second eliding with the coda in measure 90. The coda continues the Ab major tonality with two three-measure phrases finishing out the work.

Figure 5.16. Movement Three Section II, “Nydia’s Death.” Measures 73–95. Sousa, John Church Co., Bb Solo Cornet (Conductor), 58.

**Andante tranquillo**

Cl. Solo

Bells

Engl. Horn. Flutes Bb Cl.

*pp molto expression*

Cl.

Flute

*pp dim.*

*dim. e. rall.*

*dim. ppp*

Figure 5.17. Movement Two. Sousa, John Church Co., Solo Bb Cornet (Conductor), 56.

**Solo Bb Cornet**  
(Conductor)

**Nydia**

**No 2 Andante con sentimento**      **JOHN PHILIP SOUSA**

ppp Reeds

English Horn Solo

Sax.

Oboe

dim. morendo dim. molto ppppp Eng. Horn

### Interruptions, Conducting Considerations, and Suggestions

*The Last Days of Pompeii* has been neglected by musicians and historians. Little research has been conducted on the work and performances are few and far between. This dissertation aims to add clarity and perhaps rejuvenate interest in a work whose world-famous composer held in extreme high regard. This project started out trying to investigate how each successive artistic treatment acted as a basis for the next; however, to say any of the treatments are based on an earlier iteration implies too much. A more accurate word is inspired. At most, the suite depicts four scenes over three movements. After extensive research, I believe this work extracts and represents a single character's thread from the novel. Nydia, the secondary character that touched the hearts of many all over the globe as seen in chapter two, is both the thread that ties the events in the novel

together and the three movements together. My interpretations and suggestions reflect that assertion.

*Movement One, In the House of Burbo and Stratonice*, represents a struggle between the past and present for its title characters. The title of this movement, “In the House of Burbo and Stratonice,” provides many clues about how to approach the material within. In the Bulwer-Lytton novel, these two characters are retired gladiators who now own a drinking and gambling establishment. The author describes the games and scenery of their wine house vividly in book two of chapter one.<sup>161</sup> Sousa includes a condensed descriptive quote from this section: “Within the room were placed several small tables, round these were seated several knots of men drinking, some playing dice.”<sup>162</sup>

On the surface, the inclusion of these characters and this location appears superfluous. William B. Stacy writes,

Sousa’s choice of this scene for inclusion in his suite seems somewhat curious. Neither Burbo, Stratonice (man and wife, both retired gladiators!), nor the scenes in their tavern play important roles within the novel. Bulwer-Lytton portrayed these characters as being reprehensible in every respect. They hardly seem the type that Sousa would want to idealize. However, it may be that Sousa was attracted to the atmosphere of their tavern, which he portrayed with a lively march.<sup>163</sup>

This argument Sousa may have been attracted to the subject matter is not invalid, but disassociation of the plot is far reaching. If the listener interprets the suite as a depiction

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161. Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1891), 90-91.

162. John Philip Sousa, “The Last Days of Pompeii,” Holograph Full Score (Washington D.C., January 18, 1893), The Library of Congress, 1. Quoted as it appears in the holograph score. This omits language in the novel but manages to convey the tavern’s atmosphere.

163. William B. Stacy, “John Philip Sousa and His Band Suites: An Analytic and Cultural Study,” 1972, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/302556187?accountid=14541>, 57-58.

of Nydia, then the subject matter in this movement makes sense and comes to life. Such interpretation causes programmatic elements to spill from the page, and every conductor of the work must pay attention to them.

As Stacy said, the movement is march-like, and I believe it reflects the couple's past profession as gladiators. The tempo, Allegro, works well at 120 bpm. The first two introductory motives play into this martial character with their weight and fanfare, see figure 5.18. The third motive with its utilization of chromaticism, is a foreshadowing device used throughout this suite, think magma boiling towards the surface. Typically, its use indicates impending despair or suffering. With the impending eruption of Vesuvius known to the audience, this twenty-eight measure introduction acts as an overture to the work.

Figure 5.18. Motives used in the first movement's introduction. Sousa, Holograph Score, 1.

Motive 1



Motive 2



Motive 3



Motive 4



The primary theme in this movement echoes other compound march themes Sousa wrote over his career. It is tuneful but also conveys athleticism. The first intervals used in the theme are two minor seconds and then a major sixth. This depicts a sense of agility, a skill needed by gladiators. That agility combined with the asymmetrical phrases help illustrate the unpredictable nature of that profession. In the second halves of measures 34 and 35, the audience can hear strong accents as though a right and left hook in the ring. Emphasizing those accents will convey the sport's barbarous nature, and if this theme is thought of as a sparring theme, those hits lead to the sforzando downbeat of measure 44, a winning strike for the gladiator. Because of these elements, I have dubbed this first theme the "Gladiator Theme." The following transition, measures 44–62, can be thought of as depicting a short victory lap that fades out as though this theme represents a daydream. As the music transitions back there appears to be a struggle between the memories of the past and the realities of the present, measures 54 through 61. This struggle eventually sets Nydia's story arc into motion and reoccurs throughout this movement.

The secondary theme appears in measure 62, contrasting the primary theme. The dynamic is now pianissimo, and the section is a conversation between the characters. The married couple often bicker in the novel as Burbo refuses to give money to Stratonice if she does not comply with his will. He does not like to be bothered by others, and this type of bickering would be bad for business, so the conversation begins in hushed tones. To accurately depict this argument the pianissimo section should be intense but hushed as though a whisper. Because of the conversation-like nature, assigning each character to

certain instrument groups feels appropriate. The brass appear to represent Burbo, and the woodwinds and horns, with their lighter timbre and higher tessitura, appear to represent Stratonice. These factors in mind help the musicians and audience follow the argument as it ensues. The use of clinking stone cups in this section establishes the present, representative of patrons drinking wine. Sousa is not clear on how this effect should be executed, but after much experimentation I found the best sound came from a horizontal ceramic mug on a towel struck with a medium-hard plastic mallet.<sup>164</sup>

The hushed argument between the couple suddenly erupts in measure 70 with a subito fortissimo/forte. This moment is most effective if the ensemble exaggerates the dynamic contrast. The passing eighth-note figure in the low-woodwinds and brass should have pointed articulation to make this section as uncomfortable as possible. The chromatic motive three from the introduction should also be emphasized as it is foreshadowing, as mentioned earlier.

The couple's argument becomes hushed again in measure 78 when the call and response restarts. However, this time the second phrase reverses with the woodwinds beginning and brass ending. The brass, representing Burbo, then continue in a short four-measure codetta/transition. The use of rallentando and the following themes suggest Burbo begins to daydream once more, reliving his glory days.

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164. Experiments included several varieties of ceramic and stoneware mugs. Initial tests indicated striking two mugs together produced a muffled tone and would most likely lead to fracturing the mugs themselves. By resorting to a mallet, the mug was left to vibrate more freely and provided a nice crisp "clink." I recommend conductors of this work experiment themselves to find what sound they believe is closest to wine patrons clinking their stone cups together. The variety inherent to ceramics and stoneware provided a large spectrum of colors and sound. Those conducting this suite should take the time to find the best solution for their ensemble.

An eight-measure cadenza-like section follows at measure 90 with a declarative cornet solo accompanied by quiet woodwind-block chords. The tempo is indicated as “maestoso recitativo,” considerably slower than the opening tempo. This section works particularly well if the tempo is on the slower side of Maestoso, or even just under it. I prefer a tempo of approximately 66 bpm. The cornet soloist should be given some liberty of rubato. In the holograph score, the cornet solo is notated “recitativo,” and the second to last note is notated as “lunga,” implying some soloistic rubato.<sup>165</sup> Based on my previously mentioned interpretation of the characters, this declarative fanfare represents Burbo, the undefeated gladiator.<sup>166</sup>

The third section of this movement, starting in measure 98, is marked “moderato pesante,” I suggest 96 bpm, allowing the regal character of the theme to come through. Motive one returns and is indicated as heavy with “tutta forza” notated in the score.<sup>167</sup> This section could reflect Burbo’s pride in his past life. After a four-measure introduction, the trombones present the trio theme. The present wine house is established again, but this time through castanet rolls. The explicit mention of dice in the quote Sousa included suggests these rolls depict the patrons rolling dice. The effect can be amplified by having the musician experiment with ways to keep the rolls soft and only semi-regular. I have dubbed the theme in this section as the “Glory Days Theme,” as it appears to represent Burbo’s past proud career.

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165. Sousa, Holograph Score, 7.

166. Bulwer-Lytton, v. 1, 93. “Burbo, the unconquered in the field, according to report...”

167. Sousa, Holograph Score, 8.



Measure 141 recaps the introductory material but maintains the slower tempo of the previous section. I believe the indication of “l’istesso tempo” in this recap establishes the passage of time for the retired gladiators. As the reintroduction leads into the primary theme, that slower tempo reflects the couples age and inevitable loss of agility. However, as seen in the previous sections, Burbo is unwilling to let go of his past. This recap revives his memories and again leads into the secondary theme in measure 181. Another argument ensues between Burbo and Stratonice, but I believe this iteration represents a specific moment in the novel.

One argument occurs after Nydia, emotionally distraught over the cult of Isis, joins the couple and begins to annoy Burbo. Burbo tells Stratonice if she wishes to have money, she must take care of the blind slave. Stratonice ultimately becomes furious and drags Nydia away to beat her.<sup>168</sup> This scene is depicted through this recapitulation of the secondary theme that then moves into a new transitional section at measure 201.

This transition reintroduces the primary theme through various solo instruments and builds in intensity to measure 225. The “gladiator theme,” though not violent in its depiction, does represent a violent profession. The theme takes over entirely in measure 225 but a sforzando strike interrupts on the first beat of measure 230. Instead of Burbo remembering some long-defeated foe in the arena, as with the initial presentations, this strike is more powerful. It moves from an Eb triad in the previous measure to an A fully diminished<sup>7</sup>. This movement by tritone highlights the harshness of the moment, most likely depicting Stratonice beating Nydia. The sudden stop of motion emphasizes the

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168. Bulwer-Lytton, v. 1, 101-103.

moment even more. A lone suspended cymbal rolls for two measures. In measure 232 a falling chromatic scale joins the reiterated A diminished<sup>7</sup> chord and passes through the ensemble down to the lowest voices. In measure 246 the listener hears a strike back at Burbo and Stratonice. In the novel, Glaucus buys Nydia to save her from her cruel owners. I believe this moment in measure 246 represents that action. The sforzando strike is harsher than the previous, a sixteenth instead of an eighth, and it moves the tonality back to Eb with an Eb diminished<sup>7</sup> chord. The later iterations of the work help to support this idea with the addition an ascending Eb major scale in the harp at this same moment. That figure represents Glaucus saving Nydia, and the two-measure tag concluding the movement slams an imaginary door on the callous owners.

This movement, although not specifically about Nydia, does outline how her story arc begins to move within the novel. Burbo and Stratonice's struggle to depart from their former life as gladiators leaves them as cruel owners to the young girl. The themes within the movement are not inherently dark, but readers should note that the death sports of ancient Italy were not viewed negatively. Instead, arena combat was a spectator sport, and if a gladiator did well, he or she would have been favored. Such was the case with Burbo, who, as noted earlier, was undefeated. His profession has changed, but his and Stratonice's tendencies still stem from their violent past. Emphasizing the contrasting moments in this movement will help portray the story of the couple and Nydia's eventual departure.

*Movement Two, “Nydia, the Blind Girl,”* is one of Sousa’s most beautiful compositions. The character of Nydia represents both innocence and ignorance in the novel. Being blind, she is ignorant of the sights around her, but she is also ignorant of Glaucus’s platonic love. She feels his kindness towards her as a romantic lure, and constantly struggles with her love for the Athenian. Along with that ignorance comes an innocence of someone who has never been able to love or been loved before Glaucus. Love drives the character, a quality immediately apparent in the novel when she is introduced. Her first appearance is in the streets as Glaucus stops to listen to her sing “The Blind Flower Girl’s Song”. Besides a sales pitch to passersby, this has stanzas about love and the plight of the blind girl in a world of light.<sup>169</sup> Sousa adopted the first stanza of the second verse for his second movement.

“Ye have a world of light  
When love in the loved rejoices  
And the blind girl’s home is the House of Night  
And its beings are empty voices.”<sup>170</sup>

Nydia’s qualities and struggles should be kept in mind throughout this movement. Although this is the shortest movement, it is, in my opinion, the most important of the suite. If this suite depicts Nydia as I have proposed, then the utmost care must be paid in this movement’s execution.

The opening clarinet chorale theme, with its wavelike contour sweeps, should be kept as delicate as possible. Imagine Nydia sweeping back and forth in the streets to find her way as she sells her flowers. The use of the clarinet timbre here paired with the

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169. Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *The Last Days of Pompeii* (McAllister Editions, 2015), 5-6.

170. Sousa, Holograph Score, 19.

pianississimo dynamic will reflect the character traits without much effort, however, if using the original instrumentation, the Eb clarinets will have to take considerable precautions to keep the timbre as dark as possible. Phrase markings should be used as clean slurs to reflect connection, the fundamental characteristic of love, and sigh motives, like in measure 4, should have weight on the first pitch to emphasize the gesture.

The dark timbre continues when the secondary theme enters at measure 17 with the melody presented by the English horn. Those ensembles that do not have access to an English horn should only use an alternative instrument that can maintain a dark texture. If using cornet, as the solo is cued in the solo cornet part, the performer may wish to experiment with various methods of darkening his or her tone. Some suggestions for this would be to utilize mutes, such as a tight cup, a bucket, or a hat mute. Alternately, the player could experiment with various distances from the music stand in order to mimic the dark timbre of the English horn more precisely.

The same concern can be said for the harp part, which enters during this secondary theme. Sousa added parts to the work as his band expanded, and one of the most significant changes was the addition of the harp. Ensembles that do not have access to a harp should consider two options. The first option, and most desirable second to an actual harp, would be to use a high-quality synthesizer and a keyboardist. Today's synthesizers can be almost as good as the real thing, but careful considerations must be taken to ensure a quality performance. A low-quality synthesizer or amplification system can ruin the delicate nature of this movement. When exploring this option, the conductor and performer should be aware of the synthesizer's overtone balance, attack, sustain, and

polyphony. Lower-quality keyboards may compromise these elements and distract an audience from the intended aesthetic effect. For example, a keyboard with a low polyphony may abandon the sustain or resonance of a past attack in an active line. This abrupt disruption of sound is one of the challenges with an electronic instrument trying to mimic an acoustic one.

If the ensemble cannot procure a harp or a quality synthesizer, the third option would be to utilize the original scoring found in the clarinets. The original band, which lacked a harpist, would have used the clarinet section to achieve a similar effect, however, Sousa's decision to move this line to the harp, when he had the option to do so, provides some perspective into how he would have approached this line in the clarinets. Contrasting the connected movement of the theme, this line should move with gentle separation. The challenge here is to keep the body of each pitch rounded. The original scoring of single sixteenth notes implied a more percussive attack, but that type of attack is not inherent to the harp. Performers should try to mimic the harp attack and release with a rounded tone, meaning soft attack and soft release within a short amount of time.

The theme in the secondary section has a similar contour to the opening chorale, but it contains an ascending reach that occurs multiple times. This reach should have energy reflecting Nydia's constant struggle, reaching to see but also reaching for love. The soloist should experiment with various levels of energy in these reaches, perhaps hinting at the desperation Nydia often experiences in the plot. However, the performer should take care not to lose the momentum of the line by over doing crescendos and decrescendos.

When the oboe joins the English horn in a duet at measure 25, the dynamic momentum should begin to expand rapidly to the climax at measure 29.<sup>171</sup> This climax helps to emphasize the following morendo. If the climax fails to create enough energy, then the morendo will drag.

The “morendo e diminuendo molto” in the final measures should be well paced. Pacing it too quickly, slowing down too much too soon, will detract from the overall effect of the movement and too slowly will lose the intention. Because the movement is already slow the conductor should avoid a linear decay by reserving a more aggressive decay for the final two measures. This coda sets up the devastation of the eruption in the following movement and represents the characters’ loss of hope. As seen in chapter four, the events leading up to the eruption include imprisonment for several of the characters. The morendo in this movement could reflect that plot element, as imprisonment also slows all elements of life.

***Movement Three, “The Destruction and Nydia’s Death,”*** contains multiple special effects the conductor should take special care to address. In some ways, this movement is the most accessible for the listener. Few people today will know the plot of Bulwer-Lytton’s novel, but audiences will likely know about Pompeii and Vesuvius. The descriptive effects used in this movement directly reflect the quote Sousa used.<sup>172</sup>

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171. The holograph manuscript score does not contain the oboe part at this section. However, the original manuscript parts used by the Sousa Band do contain separate oboe and English horn parts for this moment. It is unclear when these changes were made, but the notations on the manuscript parts suggest oboe may have been used for the entire solo at some point.

172. The quote used for the third movement is the longest of the three examples, but it the only one not to appear in the holograph score. The reason for this may be its length. The previous two quote are scribbled in the upper margin of their respective pages. It is possible Sousa had this quote in mind while

At that moment they felt the earth shake beneath their feet; and beyond in the darkness, they heard the crash of falling roof; —a group of men and women, bearing torches, passed by the Temple They were of the congregation of the Nazarenes; the troop chanted along with the wild horror of the air, ‘Behold! The Lord descendeth to judgement! He maketh fire come down from Heaven in the sight of men! Woe to the harlot of the sea! Woe! Woe!’ At that moment a wild yell burst through the air—and thinking only of escape, whither it knew not, the tiger of the desert leaped among the throng, and hurried through its parted streams. And so came the earthquake. And so darkness once more fell upon the earth. —In the silence of the general sleep, Nydia rose gently: ‘Oh, Sacred sea! I hear thy voice invitingly —Rest, —Rest, —Rest!’<sup>173</sup>

Like the quote used in movement one, this one skips material. However, this time Sousa twists Bulwer-Lytton’s words to the point they are unrecognizable. Most notable is the jump from the climax during the eruption to after the trio’s escape when Nydia commits suicide. This adds to the argument that the two sections in this movement should be thought of as two movements.

This movement represents one of the most cataclysmic events in history, and the performers must do their best to paint the scene. In the beginning of the movement, a muffled snare drum with snares off joins the timpani roll. These rolls should be felt rather than heard like the earth quaking. The worst thing that can happen in these moments is to have a metered roll of any kind break through the introduction.

Those hushed rolls represent the earth as it begins to tremor. In the novel, tremors occur frequently but are not always cause for alarm. When the bass drum enters in

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writing the movement but did not want to squeeze it into the score’s margin. The beforementioned program from April 30, 1893 concert does include quote. However, the omission of the quote from the holograph score also opens the possibility it was added after the suite’s completion. Any of the quotes could have been added between the scores finish date and the premier date, but that is very unlikely. Sousa most likely picked these quotes before writing the work in order to reflect the scenes better.

173. Program from the New York Press Club, April 30, 1893. *Sousa Band Press Book*, vol. 2, 85 vols. (Washington D.C.: U.S. Marine Band Sousa Collection, 1892), 6.

measure 2, those tremors grow in intensity. Like the preceding rolls, the syncopated figure in the bass drum should be whispered, but a mallet with significant hardness should be used so the rhythmic pattern is articulate. Measure two can be challenging for the bass drum performer as there is no strong pulse in the ensemble. Again, avoid metered rolls in the timpani and snare or any accents on the beats. An earthquake preceding a volcanic eruption is not and should not be portrayed as predictable.

In the winds, the notated crescendo and decrescendo should be dramatic but not overly so. The bass clarinet entrance in measure 5 should be a true *subito forte* to elicit a surprise from the listener. In a similar fashion, the crescendo leading into measure 17 should be overt. Sousa prepares the listener for the eruption with the introduction's oblique harmony, rolls, and syncopation. The eruption starts in measure 17, so the crescendo leading into it should be explosive

Sousa helps this scene by increasing the density, volume, and tempo at measure 17. The introduction tempo, notated "*moderato molto*", works well at 96 bpm. At measure 17, the tempo increases to "*allegro con fuoco*", which I like to take at approximately 140 bpm. Each of these tempos allow the rhythmic figures to be clear, but they also contrast enough to represent this moment in the eruption. One major difficulty for the ensemble is the transition between these tempi. Unfortunately, there is no easy solution to catch the end of measure 16. The character of the crescendo in that measure and the explosion of the ensemble at measure 17 are most vital. Conductors may consider a metric modulation from 96 bpm to 144 bpm, aided by the triplet figure in the bass



drum; but ultimately each ensemble must work through that transition and decide how fast the *allegro con fuoco* should be.

Again, character is just as important as speed in this section. Rhythmic figures should be clear and sharp. Crescendos and decrescendos should be exaggerated so they cut through the dense orchestration. Horn interjections in measures 24 and 27 should be strong and articulate with no decay. Volcanic eruptions are not quiet and gentle. They are violent, and this represents one of the most violent eruptions in history. These elements in mind will help contrast the proceeding material.

The timpanist may face certain challenges in accomplishing the character of the introduction, and the rhythms starting in measure 17. As stated already, the introductory timpani roll should be felt rather than heard, which would suggest a softer mallet. However, the figures in timpani starting at measure 17 need to clear, suggesting a harder mallet. The conductor and performer need to strike a balance between these two sections. Unfortunately, there may not be a suitable solution to this problem in a live performance setting.

During the episodic material starting in measure 36, be aware of the balance between the triplet figure and the melody. Depending on the ensemble, there could be issues with the clarinets overpowering the new theme. Like the percussion rolls in the introduction, the clarinet figure should be a rumbling. That balance continues when the clarinets and low brass switch to the staccato figure in measure 42. When done correctly this will come across as a chaotic bubbling, representing the world crumbling around the characters as lava envelops it. Cornets and trombones have the melody and should have

an air of heroism in this section. I believe this theme represents Nydia when she saves Glaucus and Ione. The world has gone dark and the connected melodic theme represents her ability to navigate through the darkness. In the holograph score the melody is marked as *ppp* and the staccato accompaniment *pppp*.<sup>174</sup> This reflects the how fragile the moment should be, but the syncopated staccato figure can be too present as performers aim for rhythmic accuracy.

In the final measures of the secondary section, measures 56 and 57, build gradually but in a non-linear fashion. Measure 58 should be another explosion of sound, like measure 17, and accomplishing this requires saving some of the preceding crescendo for immediately before the arrival. The tertiary section is very similar in character to the primary section, and the suggestions for that section apply here as well. One moment worth addressing is in measures 66 and 67. Be cautious of how the brass articulate this figure. Sharp-strong articulation can easily lead to blatting. There should be weight and strength in this figure, but without excessive edge to the sound. This section could be representative of Glaucus, Ione, and Nydia's escape to the shore as Vesuvius continues to erupt and destroy the city.

The pyramid in measure 68 works best if performers focus on the body of the sound rather than the attack. Too often these types of figures have excessive attack and lack tonal body. The attack should be strong and establish the tone, but then the players should come back slightly to allow the other pyramid figures to come through. The

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174. Sousa, Holograph Score, 27.

clarinets may struggle with the triplet figure in this moment, and the tempo chosen for the *allegro con fuoco* should consider this.

Although not notated, a *ritardando* from measure 70 to measure 73 will better transition into Section II of the movement. When the introduction of Section II begins in measure 73, the solo clarinet represents the waves of the boat on which Glaucus, Ione, and Nydia have escaped. Nydia's theme, the secondary section of movement two, is then presented in its modified form, but should still be as delicate as the solo in the second movement. Be cautious of the solo clarinet losing the wave-like character as the pattern becomes monotonous. The performer must maintain the rocking figure as the aural painting of the boat continues.

In the final three measures of the piece, the rocking stops and triplet figure ascends. Because of the title of the movement, and the reflection of the novel, this could represent Nydia's life lifting from her. To emphasize this moment of death, be sure to hold the silence after the final chord. Sousa includes fermatas on the chord and on the proceeding rest. In many ways, this moment of silence could be Nydia's death.

Many of these interpretations could be debated, but, after spending a significant amount of time with this work and its source material, I believe they should be considered to better reflect the scenes represented. Any conductor preparing this piece should take the time to familiarize him or herself with the source material, particularly the Bulwer-Lytton novel. The suite deserves more attention in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and I hope this research will help bring it into the light.

## CHAPTER SIX

### FINDINGS

This research set out to explore how Sousa's *The Last Days of Pompeii* developed from preceding works of the same title. Language historically used to describe that development, primarily the use of "basis", implied the suite represented programmatic material or at least included foundational material from the preceding work. Based on the analysis of each treatment and the transitional periods between them, that implication is incorrect. Each iteration of the title was not based on the previous but was inspired by it. Threads tie the programmatic material together, however, those threads are difficult to distinguish without the context provided in the previous chapters.

Karl Bryullov drew his inspiration primary from the excavation site. Chapter two covers the relevant historical treatments on the subject to help the reader understand the context in which Bryullov created his painting in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. As the first artistic treatment, his work held the most potential for influencing the proceeding works covered in this research. Initial investigations were aimed at finding evidence that both Bulwer-Lytton and Sousa referenced the painting in their creation processes. Unfortunately, evidence to support that inquiry was minimal for Bulwer-Lytton and non-existent for Sousa.

The development of his painting relied heavily on the painter's academic background, historical research, and relationship with Countess Julia Samoilova. After learning about Giovanni Pacini's opera *L'ultimo giorno di Pompei*, I hoped to find evidence Bryullov saw the opera. His relationship with the Countess, however they defined it, supported the notion Bryullov knew about the work. However, there is no mention of the work in connection with the painting. His relationship with Samoilova and the identical titles suggest the opera began the treatment lineage. However, without more evidence, that claim cannot be substantiated. Future research on Bryullov should focus on the painting's origins and potential ties to the opera. Such an investigation exceeded the scope of this limited project, so other researches will have to take up that mantle.

What is certain, is the inclusion of historical elements in the painting. Depictions are clearly drawn from the letters of Pliny the Younger to Tacitus. As is the detail Bryullov could have only created after visiting the site himself, being the era before photographic evidence. Less definitive aspects should be explored further by researchers focused exclusively on the painting. One avenue of interest may be a more practical analysis in facial recognition to determine how many inclusions of Samoilova are present, if any. That analysis could support the conjecture surrounding their relationship, and even better tie Bryullov to Pacini. Because this dissertation focused on the Sousa suite, I attempted to provide analysis only where it was relevant to the transition between the historical record and the painting, and the painting to the proceeding artistic treatments.

Edward Bulwer-Lytton's novel is probably the most important treatment in the lineage. It clearly influenced the Sousa suite, and as discussed in chapter four, it helped spread a public fascination with Pompeii. However, the painting most likely had little to do with the creation of the novel. At the very least, Bulwer-Lytton decided to adopt the title after seeing the painting in Milan. Any suggestions beyond that would be speculation. Bulwer-Lytton studied the historical record extensively during his writing process, but his encounter with the painting was brief. His relationship with Sir William Gell likely played more of a roll in the creation of the novel than his trip to the art gallery. Despite the author's prolific writing pace, he did a substantial amount of historical research to make his novel convincing. Additional research should be conducted to determine how much the painting influenced the creation on the novel.

The travel journal mentioned in the Bulwer-Lytton biography appears to be lost, but if discovered, it may provide additional insight into the Milan visit. With such a deficit surrounding the connection, I attempted to outline the circumstances surrounding that visit. With his interest in historical elements, Bulwer-Lytton likely would have paid close attention to the detail in the painting. Obviously the painting influenced him, but it is unclear at what point he saw the painting in his writing process. His prolific output makes it difficult to determine if he started writing the novel before encountering the painting or afterward. The fragmented and multi-generational creation of his biographies likely led to the loss of such detail. If he had finished his autobiography before his death, there would likely be much more substantial evidence to support the paintings influence on the novel. However, because evidence is lacking, the only real conclusion that can be

drawn is he likely adopted the title after seeing the painting. In chapter three, I suggest the child in the painting Bulwer-Lytton talks about in his journal may have influenced his character development of Nydia, but that is not definitive. Hopefully, researches who investigate this connection in the future have better luck tracking down sources more precisely tied to it.

The clearest connection between the artistic treatments is between the Sousa suite and the Bulwer-Lytton novel. Although Sousa did not write about his interaction with the novel, his use of characters and reworked quotations suggests he not only knew it but read it thoroughly. Without question, the suite was inspired by the novel, but it is not a representation of the novel's plot. Therefore, language implying it is should be avoided. As seen in chapter five, the inclusion of Burbo and Stratonice, relatively minor and abhorrent characters, is unusual. In some ways, their inclusion supports my argument the work is not a retelling of the novel but instead depicts the character Nydia.

In chapter two, I outlined how "Pompeii Fever" spread across the globe. One of the prominent components of that, and more importantly the connection to the novel, was the character Nydia. As seen in chapter two and four, she was the character that appeared to have the most impact on readers and critics. It is likely that was true of Sousa when he read the novel as well, but because he never wrote about his interactions with it, we may never know for sure. That is why I attempted to support the importance of the character in Philadelphia, where Sousa spent a good number of his formative years. After additional consideration, I stand by my assertion the suite centers around Nydia's story arc. As in the novel, Nydia's thread ties all arcs together. That is true of the suite's three

movements, with the blind girl one of only three named characters in the work and the only main character adopted from the novel.

Certainly, some will disagree with that assertion, but I believe conductors should understand that thread in order to create an effective performance. I hope that my research can be the first step in reviving this deserving work. The next step should be continuation of this research and the creation of a true scholarly edition.

There are nearly 700 pages of extant notated material created between the holograph score in 1893 and the first publication in 1912 providing ample notation material for a new edition. My research will hopefully help that process by providing answers to how these works were and were not connected, as well as why Nydia is an important focus. Too often, researchers exaggerated the connection between the treatments, and I hope I cleared those exaggerations up to some extent.

Admittedly, when I started on this journey, I was hoping to find a much clearer and deeper connections between the works. Afterall, secondary source mention made the connections sound so quantifiable. After months of digging, the connections were not as strong as those sources suggested. Despite that, there are connections, and I hope this dissertation can help others see them. The suite deserves to be revived. It holds an important place in Sousa's output, being his first foray into the medium at a time when his output shifted to more expressive genres. The current widespread ignorance of the suite's existence does a disservice to Sousa and his memory.



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## **BIOGRAPHY**

Joel Michael Graham is currently the Director of Bands at the College of Wooster in Wooster, Ohio. He conducts the symphonic and concert bands, teaches courses in music education and conducting, and oversees the Scot Marching Band. Previously he taught at George Mason University while studying to receive his Doctor of Musical Arts degree in conducting. During that doctoral program he studied conducting with Professor Mark Camphouse and Dr. Dennis Layendecker, Colonel USAF retired.

Past teaching appointments include directing the music programs at Lee Academy in Lee, ME and at Kents Hill School in Readfield, ME. During his time in Maine, he also directed the Robert Browne Hall Memorial Band in Oakland. Under his leadership, that ensemble performed an active performance schedule of up to ten performances per year with musicians ranging from young novices to retired professionals.

Graham earned his Master of Arts degree in conducting from the University of New Hampshire, where he studied with Dr. Andrew Boysen and served as the graduate assistant to bands. He received his Bachelor of Music degree in music education at the University of Southern Maine, where he studied with Dr. Peter Martin.

In addition to his conducting and education career, he has maintained an active performance schedule on trumpet and trombone and has been featured as solo artist with the multiple ensembles in New England. Private study in trumpet has been taken with Ms. Elizabeth Rines, Mr. Trent Austin, and Dr. Robert Stibler.

In 2016 Graham was named a semi-finalist in the college ensemble division of the American Prize Conducting Competition.