Stravinsky's "Rejoicing discovery" and What

IT MEANT: IN DEFENSE OF HIS NOTORIOUS TEXT SETTING

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§1

True vocal music is written to a pre-existing text, to a work of artistry, of poetry, capable of inspiring a musician. It is moreover essential that the music faithfully transmit the general mood of the poetical work and that it serve as its beautiful and well-fitting attire. It is essential that in quantity the music correspond to the dimensions of the poem, so that the music does not dangle on it like a gown on a hook, so that the text need not be artificially prolonged by repeating stanzas, verses, or individual words, and so that by such repetitions the artistic and elegant form of the poem be not distorted. It is essential that, in singing, the pronunciation of every word be suitably rendered, and that the phrasing of the text and the observance of its punctuation be correct. Besides that, the rhythm of the music and its meter must be in direct correspondence with the meter of the verse, the length of the musical phrase with the length of the text phrase, and, in fine, that the music in every way blend with the word so as to form with it one indissoluble, organic whole.¹

t. César Cui, "Neskol'ko slov o sovremennykh opernykh formakh" (1889), in Cui, *Izbrannye stat'i*, ed. I. L. Gusin (Leningrad, 1952), pp. 406–8. Translations from Russian are mine.

So wrote César Cui, then Russia's doyen of musical criticism, when Igor Stravinsky was seven years old. Like all such dogmatic pronouncements of Cui's, these are framed as rules dictated by sheer Ciceronian common sense, and yet the author attaches an explicitly programmatic significance to them when he notes that "remarkably, before the present time a majority of composers and of the public did not realize the importance of all of the foregoing and willingly deprived themselves of this powerful force of expression and impression." It was a specifically Russian and a specifically realist aesthetic he was summing up, one that had found its prime exponent in Mussorgsky, and that was exemplified par excellence in a style of vocal

writing Cui had long ago labeled "melodic recitative"—a kind of infinitely flexible, madrigalian arioso with which anyone who has seen *Boris Godunov* is very familiar. "The most accomplished and inspired scene" in that opera, wrote Cui, was the scene in the inn at the Lithuanian border (act 1, scene 2 in the version of 1874). Here is how he described it:

The music is so closely, so indissolubly bound with the word that it is as impossible to recall a phrase of text without the corresponding music as it is to recall a phrase of music without the accompanying text. . . . The whole scene is written in so lively, so true and so formally free a fashion, . . . the music and text reinforce one another to such a degree, that the scene makes a far stronger impression with music than without, despite all its lofty purely literary distinction.²

Here Cui alludes to the fact that Mussorgsky had set a scene from Pushkin's Boris Godunov practically verbatim, and a prose scene at that. He is quick to caution, however, that despite Mussorgsky's success, prose is not an ideal medium for music.

In music a definite and regular rhythmic continuity is desirable. It augments the force of the impression [the music makes]. Of course, in no case should correctness of declamation be sacrificed to this rhythmic regularity. But if the one can be combined with the other, then all the better. And this is entirely possible given the tonic [i.e., purely accentual] quality of our [Russian] verse, with its regular and monotonous succession of stresses.3 A text which contained phrases now long, now short, consisting of a diverse, even fractionated number of verses, would evoke in the music a phrase structure correspondingly devoid of symmetry, which would reflect unfavorably on the absolute value of the music. One should not magnify this disadvantage through a constant rhythmic irregularity. Rhyme is not needed. Short verses with a rich rhyme scheme can often actually impart a rather insipid quality to the music. But regular verses in a beautiful meter are indeed highly desirable. In French verses, on the other hand, rhyme is utterly indispensable. It can, albeit to a limited extent, conceal the unsuitability for music of a syllabic [i.e., numerable] versification. Without rhyme, such verses would ultimately turn into prose.4

For this reason, along with many others, Cui's paradigm of perfected operatic style was Dargomyzhsky's Stone Guest, based, like the inn scene from Boris, on a

2. Ibid., p. 412.

3. The tonic character of Russian stress is so marked, in fact, that even prose displays a kind of metric evenness, with accented syllables spaced regularly, and unaccented ones arranging themselves in formations of short equal values like gruppetti between the accented ones. See my "Handel, Shakespeare and Musorgsky: The Sources and Limits of Russian Musical Realism," in Studies in the History of Music, vol. 1 (New York: Broude Bros., 1983), pp. 247-68.

4. Cui, p. 412.

5. For a detailed description of Dargomyzhsky's opera and its influence, see chapter 5 ("The Stone Guest and its Progeny") of my Opera and Drama in Russia (Ann Arbor, 1981).

6. "K Iubileiu Stravinskogo" (1900), in V. V. Stasov, Stat'i o muzyke, vol. 5a (Moscow, 1980), pp. 260-62. For the jubilee benefit performance that occasioned this tribute (3 January 1901, at which Stravinsky sang Holofernes in Serov's Judith), Igor Fyodorovich remembered "being sent to Cui . . . with a special invitation [betokening] my father's wish to pay Cui a mark of attention" (Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, Memories and Commentaries [Berkeley, 1981], p. 60).

7. Cf. Izbrannye stat'i, pp. 309, 403, 442.

8. Memories and Commentaries, p. 61. Stravinsky continued, "I do not know whether Cui had heard my Firebird, and though I think he was present at the first performances of the Scherzo Fantastique and Fireworks, I recall no hint of his reactions to these pieces reaching my ears." Some reactions were preserved, however, in Cui's correspondence, especially with his confidante, Maria Semyonovna Kerzina (ca. 1865-1926), a Moscow pianist and founder, with her hushand Arkadii Kerzin (1857-1914), of the influential Russian Music Circle, an important bastion of musical conservatism in the early years of the twentieth century. On the Scherzo Fantastique, for example, Cui wrote: "It's all the same old pompous mediocrity [napyshchenpreexisting play by Pushkin, but one cast in elegant iambic pentameters, not prose.⁵

Now the reason for dwelling at such length and in such minuscule and technical detail on the writings and opinions of so apparently insignificant a figure as César Cui, is that the aesthetic canon summarized in his article was passed along to Stravinsky as a catechism and was at first accepted by him uncritically and in toto. Not only was he, as one hardly needs reminding, a pupil and disciple of one of Cui's kuchkist brothers-in-arms, but he had been brought up in a family that had exceptionally close ties with Cui himself and with the Russian operatic traditions he represented. Vladimir Stasov, the great kuchkist tribune, dubbed Fyodor Stravinsky the great "realist" of the Russian operatic stage, praised him above all for his powers of truthful declamation, and saw in him the ideal portrayer of Leporello, the basso role in The Stone Guest.6 The elder Stravinsky created the highly realistic role of Skula in Borodin's Prince Igor, and sang often in his youth to Mussorgsky's piano accompaniment. Cui seconded Stasov's judgment of Fyodor Stravinsky's artistic qualities in a slew of fine notices.7 And although—inevitably-heavily barbed, Igor Stravinsky's 1960 memoir of Cui was quite surprisingly revealing. After dismissing the older composer's sterile anti-Wagnerism, his nationalism, and his orientalism with a sneer, he confided that

Cui did help me to discover Dargomyzhsky, however, and for that I am grateful. Rusalka [after Pushkin's mermaid poem] was the popular Dargomyzhsky opera at the time, but Cui considered The Stone Guest the better work. His writings drew my attention to the remarkable quality of the recitatives in the latter, and though I do not know what I would think of this music now, it has had an influence on my subsequent operatic thinking.⁸

naia bezdarnost'], absence of music, pursuit of sheer sonority, of orchestral effect, various curious combinations of various instruments, absence of logic, of taste, frequent discord and all the rest. And as a result, the complete conformity of all the modernists with one another, the horrible monotony of their pseudo-music-[producing] either indignation or boredom, depending on one's temperament. But the gros public, afraid of the charge of

being old fashioned, listens to all this nonsense in holy silence and dares not withhold its applause" (25 January 1909; César Cui, Izbrannye pis'ma, ed. I. L. Gusin [Leningrad, 1955], p. 387). If that was his reaction to the Scherzo, what could he have made of The Rite of Spring? This is what: "The other day Koussevitzky performed The Celebration of Spring' [Prazdnik vesny (the standard Russian title is Vesna sviashchennaia)] by Stravinsky, which has broken all records for cacophony and hideousness. It is a treasure chest into which Stravinsky has lovingly collected all manner of musical filth and refuse. In French I would say, 'M-r Stravinsky est un vendangeur musical.' This 'Celebration' has been booed everywhere abroad, but here it has found applaudersproof that we are ahead of Europe on the path of musical progress" (16 February 1914; Izbrannye pis'ma, p. 446).

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That's putting it mildly. As long as he lived even part time in Russia, Stravinsky's thinking on the text-music relationship was dominated by the melodic-recitative ideal as transmitted not only through Cui's writings, but, of course, through the teaching of Rimsky-Korsakov. He had a particularly formative experience on 4 January 1906, when, in honor of Stasov's eighty-second birthday (it would be his last), Rimsky-Korsakov arranged a performance at his home of the then unpublished and all but unknown setting Mussorgsky had made in 1868 of the first act of Gogol's comedy, Marriage, the most uncompromisingly realistic recitative opera ever attempted. Stravinsky's brother Gury was among the performers, and the budding composer, accompanied by his fiancée Catherine (they were married one week later) joined an audience of thirty-five of Saint Petersburg's leading musicians (including Chaliapin and Glazunov) to hear this legendary "experiment in dramatic music in prose." The results of this exposure may be seen in Le rossignol, not only in the first act, which was composed before The Firebird, but even in the third act, composed as late as 1914. The Chinese Emperor, suffering his death agony against a ritual chorus of unseen spirits (a situation reminiscent of the death of Boris Godunov), sings a passage that could have come straight out of Marriage (ex. 1a). Let us in fact compare it with Mussorgsky's opera (ex. 1b). It has all the earmarks of Mussorgsky's special brand of realistic speech-song: careful observation of the intonational contour and tempo of Russian conversational speech, in this case highly agitated, and, above all, extreme care in the handling of the tonic accent. Stressed syllables fall on the beats while the unstressed syllables arrange themselves freely into gruppetti. Where words begin with unaccented syllables, the beginnings of beats are occupied with rests, producing a plethora of what Russian writers call "mute endings" (glukhie okonchaniia), that is, the interruption by a rest on the beat of a string of short unaccented note values. At the one spot where an accented syllable does fall off the beat (the final "múzyki"), Stravinsky fastidiously marked an accent, even though the high Eb would hardly be sung without one. Stravinsky was well aware of the source of these prosodic practices. While at work on the first act he wrote in his diary, "Why would I be following Debussy so closely, when the real originator of this operatic style was Mussorgsky?"10 It is noteworthy, in fact, that there is less of Debussy and more of Mussorgsky in the post-Rite of Spring acts of Le rossignol than in the pre-Firebird onc.

The same specifically Russian fastidiousness in declamation can be found in the works composed during Stravinsky's brief flirtation with Russian symbolist poetry. Between 1907 and 1911 he set two poems from Sergei Gorodetzky's collection *Iar*² (Saint Petersburg, 1907), and three from Konstantin Balmont's *Zelionyi*

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Example 1a: Igor Stravinsky, Le rasignol, act 3. Copyright 1941 by Edition Russe de Musique. Copyright assigned to Boosey & Hawkes, Inc., 1962. Reprinted by permission of Boosey & Hawkes, Inc.



Specters: Think back! We are all your deeds. We are here to stay! O think back. Think back on us!

Emperor: What's this? Who are they? I don't know you! I don't want to listen to you! Quick, some music! Music, music! Bring on the big Chinese bass drums! O music, music!

Example 1b: Modest Mussorgsky, Zhenit'ba (Marriage), 1868.



Fiokla: You pestered me yourself: find me a wife, old woman, that's all I ask!

Vertograd (Saint Petersburg, 1909). The opening line of The Dove (Golub), one of the Balmont settings, is a very paradigm of fussily accurate declamation (ex. 2). So as to keep the unaccented last syllable of "k téremu" off the third beat, the word is set as a triplet, voiding the third beat with a typical "mute ending." Even Balmont's

mystical Zvezdoliki is set in a thoroughly "realistic" fashion as to declamation (ex. 3). The composer's whole effort seems bent on realizing Cui's behest that "in singing, the pronunciation of every word be suitably rendered, and that the phrasing of the text and the observance of its punctuation be correct," even though the text in question is one whose meaning is deliberately veiled, and whose intelligibility is beyond the power of any composer to vouchsafe. "I couldn't tell you even now [!] exactly what the poem means," wrote Stravinsky a half-century after he set it, "but its words are good, and words were what I needed, not meanings." But this was the composer of the Canticum sacrum and of Threni speaking, not the composer of Zvezdoliki. Every aspect of the Balmont setting belies the remark.

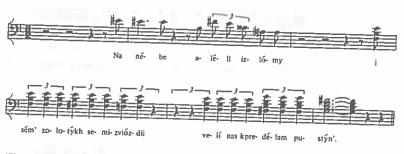
11. Ibid., p. 83.

Example 2: Igor Stravinsky, Two Poems of Balmont (1911), Golub ("The Dove"), first line, with hypothetical version in equal eighths.
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Example 3: Igor Stravinsky, Zvezdoliki (1911), rehearsal 11 to end, chorus parts only. Copyright 1971 renewed by Rob. Forberg—P. Jurgenson. Reprinted by permission of C. F. Peters Corporation, sole selling agents for Rob. Forberg.



(The dove pressed itself to the tower,)



[The sky was streaked with red, and seven golden constellations led us to the end of the desert.]

12. Cf. Robert Siohan, Stravinsky (New York, 1970), p. 32. The ultra-refinement of Stravinsky's Russian prosody in this early period, as a matter of fact, provides strong internal evidence that his first ostensible setting of a foreign language, the *Poèmes de Verlaine* of 1910, were composed not to Verlaine's text at all, but to the Russian translation by Stravinsky's close friend Stepan Mitusov. (This will perhaps console certain French critics.)¹² Consider, for example, the setting of the title phrase of "Un grand sommeil noir," which transgresses

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13. It is perhaps for this reason that Georgii Ivanov, the compiler of the standard bibliography of settings of Russian poetry (Russkaia poèziia v otechestvennoi muzyke, vol. 2 [Moscow, 1969], p. 234) counts the Verlaine songs as Russian and attributes the texts to Mitusov.

Example 4a: Igor Stravinsky, Two Poems and Three Japanese Lyrics, *Un grand sommeil noir* (Poèmes de Verlaine, op. 9 [1910]), French text. Copyright 1936 by Boosey & Hawkes, Inc. Renewed 1984. Reprinted by permission of Boosey & Hawkes, Inc. French declamation in so many ways at the very outset of the song and also in the setting of "Je perd la mémoire," (ex. 4a) and compare it with the Russian ("Dúshu skováli," literally, "My soul is fettered"), whose tonic stresses it mirrors faithfully (ex. 4b).¹³



Example 4b: Russian text by Stephan Mitusov.



[Gloomy dreams have oppressed my soul: sleep, hopes; sleep, desires. My memory grows weak; I cannot see.]

And now we must confront a great irony, one of the central ironies of Stravinsky's career. For, as one hardly need point out, in the course of the next few years Stravinsky transformed himself into a vocal composer as far from the Cui ideal as it was possible to become. There is not a single precept in the lengthy extract with which we opened our discussion that Stravinsky did not baldly and willfully transgress. The texts he chose were often very far from what is normally considered "artistic." His settings of them were often deliberately and seemingly arbitrarily misaccentuated, distorted as to phrasing and punctuation, dislocated in meter vis-à-vis that of the text, and, in fine (to paraphrase Cui), so calculated as in no way to blend with the word or to permit the formation of "an indissoluble, organic whole." For this, of course, he has been severely chastised, and prosody is

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perhaps the one aspect of Stravinsky's work that remains today as controversial as it was when his music was new. Most often attacked are Stravinsky's settings of English, a language he spoke poorly, where British and American critics have felt confident that the composer's lapses could be attributed to ineptitude. Yet a study of Stravinsky's Russian text settings in the years of his Swiss exile must decisively put that charge to rest. For every transgression one-finds in *The Rake's Progress* or the *Cantata* can also be found in works like *Renard* or *Les noces*, where there can be no question of ineptitude, especially as we have seen how faithfully Stravinsky could set his native language when that was his aim. Any deviations in any language from the prosodic methods already shown should therefore be regarded as intentional.

Our task, then, will be to trace the process of Stravinsky's self-liberation from the Russian prosodic traditions born of realism, to identify the sources of his inspiration and of his methods, and to offer an aesthetic rationale for what amounts to an utter *volte-face*. A tall order, admittedly, for a short paper, but a few provocative points will, I hope, emerge from even a cursory review of the question.

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The earliest work in which we find deliberate and conspicuous departures from the norms of correct Russian declamation is the set of Japanese Lyrics composed, to a Russian text by the orientalist A. Brandt, concurrently with The Rite of Spring. When Russian musicians received copies of this work following its publication in May of 1913, even the most avant-garde among them were bewildered by the "constant and stubborn disharmony between musical meter and text," as Vladimir Derzhanovsky put it in a letter to the composer. 14 Indeed, a glance at the voice part of Akahito, the first song in the set, will show that every tonic stress is quite systematically, and therefore, it seems, perversely, placed on the off-beat (ex. 5a). Nikolai Miaskovsky observed drily in a letter to Prokofiev that these songs "are declaimed with such a delightful regularity that the words could be sung with the correct accentuation by merely moving the whole kit and kaboodle one eighth note to the left."15 (Cf. ex. 5b, where the song is written out that way.) A sketch page recently published in Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents confirms Miaskovsky's half-jocular surmise in the most surprising way: it shows a number of early drafts of the concluding phrases of the voice part, in which not only are the verses set beginning with upbeats (i.e., "one eighth note to the left"), but other conventional prosodic devices, such as the lengthening and the high placement of the climactic word "sneg" (snow), were also originally called into play. Stravinsky, in other

14. July 12, 1913. Vera Stravinsky and Robert Craft, Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents (New York, 1978), p. 107. Derzhanovsky was the editor of Muzyka, the leading contemporary music forum in Moscow and director of the Moscow organization of the Evenings for Contemporary Music. The translation of this letter in Robert Craft, ed., Stravinsky: Selected Correspondence, vol. 1 (New York, 1982), p. 50, is scriously garbled.

15. June 3, 1913. S. S. Prokofiev and N. Ia. Miaskovsky, Perepiska (Moscow, 1977), p. 106. The letter is partly translated (but not entirely correctly) in Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents, p. 107. words, initially conceived Akahito in his heretofore wonted, conventional, prosodic manner, and then deliberately distorted it (ex. 6).

Stravinsky sent Derzhanovsky an explanation of what he was up to, and Derzhanovsky had it printed in his magazine *Muzyka* in December 1913, as part of the advance publicity for the Russian première. Here is what Stravinsky wrote:

My Japanese romances are composed to authentic Japanese verses of the VIII and IX centuries A.D. (in translation, of course). The translator preserved with precision the exact number of syllables and the distribution of the words in lines. As in the Japanese language, so in Japanese poetry there is no such thing as accentuation. There is quite a lot of interesting information on this matter in the preface to the little book of verses from the Japanese [Stikhotvoreniia inponskoi liriki—hence Stravinsky's original Russian title for the set] from which I drew three verses.

I let myself be guided by these ideas—chiefly the absence of accentuation in Japanese verse—as I composed my romances. But how to achieve this? The most natural course was to shift all the "long" syllables onto musical "short" [beats]. [Stravinsky is using the terms long and short in a conventional way to describe Russian tonic scansion, which is qualitative, not quantitative.] The accents thus ought to disappear of themselves, so as fully to achieve the linear perspective of Japanese declamation.

Example 5a: Igor Stravinsky, Two Poems and Three Japanese Lyrics (1913) Akahito, voice part only. Copyright 1956 by Boosey & Hawkes, Inc. Renewed 1984. Reprinted by permission of Boosey & Hawkes, Inc.



Example 5b: The same, "one eighth note to the left."



[1 wanted to show you the white flowers in the garden. But the snow fell and you can't tell where there is snow and where there are flowers.]

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Example 6a: Akalnito, sketch of the ending (Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents, p. 107). Reproduced by permission of the Paul Sacher Foundation.

Example 6b: Transcriptions from same.

Ex. 6b

No snég po- shól.

Ne ra- zo-brát', gde snég i gde tsve- tý!

16. Stravinsky's letter is dated 21 June (O.S.)/4 July 1913; it is quoted here from *Muzyka*, no. 159 (7 December 1913):834–35.

It would have been a crude error to observe this principle only for the Japanese language, for, in singing these romances in European languages, one would deprive them of what to me is the most precious thing—the unique linear perspective of Japanese declamation.

As to the preposterous impression this declamation supposedly makes, that doesn't embarrass me at all. It is on the level of conventions, which are subject, after all, to the rule of habit. ¹⁶

17. An Autobiography (New York, 1962), p. 45.

18. Derzhanovsky's letter, dated 24 July 1913, is printed in Robert Craft, ed., Stravinsky: Selected Correspondence (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 1:51. Miaskovsky's retort (2 July [O.S.] 1913) is in N. Ia. Miaskovsky, Sobranie materialor, 2d ed. (Moscow: Muzyka, 1964), 2:362. Miaskovsky had given a more balanced critique a couple of weeks earlier, though still expressed with his typically ironic nonchalance: "Here's what I think about Stravinsky: All this is well and good (his letter I'm returning to you: after all, it's a letter from I. Stravinsky!), Japanese verses are linear and all the rest, but when I played and read his little pieces, I instinctively wanted the whole time to rub my ears and shake my head to get rid of that intrusive horsefly, his willful declamation; but the music itself I like: there is much in it that is personal, "linearly" intimate, harmonically fresh, and Glory be, un-Scriabinish" (20 June 1913: Sobranie materialov 2:359).

This explanation will serve to amplify the rather inscrutable remarks Stravinsky made about the Lyrics in *Chroniques de ma vie*, where he claimed that "the graphic solution of problems of perspective and space shown by [Japanese painters and engravers] incited me to find something analogous in music," and that he "succeeded by a metrical and rhythmic process too complex to be explained here." The impetus toward creating a "Japanese perspectiveless style" came not from the visual arts directly, but from Brandt (who may well have drawn the analogy in his preface), and not, moreover, until a first draft of *Akahito* had been sketched observing all the rules of conventional Russian declamation according to what Stravinsky, in his letter, called a "crude error" of style.

The idea, to summarize and clarify Stravinsky's somewhat oblique description of his method, had been to capture, despite the use of Russian words that normally carry a strong tonic (dynamic) accent, something of the quality of Japanese numerable versification. What he omitted from his description was perhaps the most significant operative factor: rigorous isochrony. In *Akahito* the voice part is practically limited to one note value, the eighth note, which is, moreover, uniformly present in the movement of the music thanks to the use of a six-note ostinato in the instrumental accompaniment. Thanks to this rigidity of rhythmic motion and the sedulous displacement of the tonic stress onto offbeats, Stravinsky envisioned a situation in which the verbal and musical stresses would cancel one another out, leaving a dynamically uninflected, stressless line, the musical equivalent of the flat surface (what Stravinsky, probably following Brandt, insisted on calling the "linear perspective") of Japanese paintings and prints.

It was an interesting experiment, but one that violated every canon of Russian taste, and no one bought it. Even Derzhanovsky was at bottom unconvinced. "My guesses," he wrote Stravinsky, "which I was already prepared to employ in defense of the work against the critics' strictures, were confirmed. And yet," he added, "I am somewhat anxious at the thought of that eventuality." Miaskovsky, to whom Derzhanovsky sent Stravinsky's letter, responded with undiminished irony: "after all is said and done, [Stravinsky's] Russo-Japanese declamation is still an absurdity!" 18

But perhaps there is a simpler way of viewing the Japanese Lyrics within the context of Stravinsky's immediate artistic environment at the time of their creation. As has been pointed out before, these settings, though often factitiously compared with *Pierrot Lunaire*, which Stravinsky heard in Berlin while at work on them, actually represented his closest point of contact with the younger generation of French modernists, whom he met after the premiere of *The Firebird*. ¹⁹ The chief stimulus in setting the Japanese Lyrics was evidently Stravinsky's friendship with Maurice Delage, *Akahito*'s dedicatee and the translator of the whole set into French.

19. See Jann Pasler, "Stravinsky and the Apaches," The Musical Times 123 no. 6 (June 1982):403-7, especially the last page, where Stravinsky's "abstract" treatment of his text is discussed (though Pasler seems to think Stravinsky set the Lyrics to French-or even Japanesewords directly); also Takashi Funayami, "Three Japanese Lyrics and Japanism," paper delivered at the International Stravinsky Symposium, San Diego, 14 September 1982, at which one of Delage's Sept Hai Kai was performed.

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20. The complete continuity draft of "Mazatsumi," the second of the Japanese Lyrics, on pp. 135–38 of the Boosey and Hawkes facsimile publication, The Rite of Spring: Sketches 1911–1913 (London, 1969) confirms this analysis: the word zaprigali (leapt) (mm. 23–24 in the finished score; p. 136 in the sketchbook) has been deliberately moved a quarter note "to the left" so as to mitigate its tonic stress.

21. Cf. my "Russian Folk Melodies in *The Rite of Spring*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33, no. 3 (1980):501-43.

22. "From Firebird to The Rite: Folk Elements in Stravinsky's Scores," Ballet Review 10, no. 2 (Summer 1982):72–88; also "From Subject to Style: Stravinsky and the Painters," to appear in the proceedings of the International Stravinsky Symposium.

And it was probably the sensitive French prosody of Delage's Hindu songs and haiku settings (at least as much as Japanese prosody, which Stravinsky did not know at first hand but only through Brandt) that provided the model for Stravinsky's declamation. By shifting the words of *Akahito* "one eighth note to the right" (to paraphrase Miaskovsky), Stravinsky sought to neutralize the Russian tonic accent and achieve the "syllabic versification" to which Cui (half French himself) had already drawn attention as being the antithesis of Russian prosody. The use of beams in the voice part (unique to these settings) must have been meant to further this process. To contrast the Japanese Lyrics with the Verlaine songs is thus amusingly instructive: on the one hand we have French declaimed as if Russian (and in fact probably set in Russian), on the other we have Russian declaimed as if French.²⁰

As in other ways, so from the declamational point of view the Japanese Lyrics were a cul-de-sac for Stravinsky. His prosodic innovations were contrived: literally imposed in the course of work as an afterthought, not the principled procedure he claimed it was in the *Autobiography* and in his defensive letter to Derzhanovsky. And again, as in other ways, what finally led him out of the blind alley and irrevocably out of bondage to the constricting Russian realism in which he had been brought up, was a new and unprecedented approach to Russian folklore—new and unprecedented not only for Stravinsky but for Russian art music as a whole.²¹

\$III

I have attempted elsewhere to account in general cultural and aesthetic terms for Stravinsky's turn to Russian folklore as an unmediated stylistic resource. This "neo-nationalist" trend reached its apex in Stravinsky's work during his period of residence in Switzerland, from 1914 to 1919. During this period he composed two major concerted pieces—Les noces and Renard—four sets of short solo songs—Pribaoutki, Berceuses du chat, Trois histoires pour enfants, Quatre chants russes—and one set of choruses—the so-called Podbliudnye or "Saucers"—to folk texts. What attracted Stravinsky in folk poetry was the same thing that had attracted musicians to the symbolists, and something, moreover, that Russian symbolists like Gorodetzky had already long since recognized and appropriated from folk poems: verbal music. Just how important this play of lingual sounds was to Stravinsky at this particular creative juncture may be gauged from the fact that his observations in Chroniques de ma vie on what he called the "sequences of words and syllables" in folk poetry, "and the cadence they create, which produces an effect on one's sen-

23. An Autobiography, p. 53.

24. See Expositions and Developments (Berkeley, 1981), pp. 101-3. The retraction is not convincing, amounting in the end to nothing but an equivocating tautology: "Music expresses itself" (to which, in a filmed interview, Stravinsky once rather quaintly added, "eloquently").

25. This dismantling process had a classic manifestation in 1914: Benois's staging of Rimsky-Korsakov's Le coq d'or, in which the singers were confined to the wings and only dancers appeared on stage. This provided a tremendous precedent where Stravinsky was concerned. Le rossignol, Renard and Les noces were all staged that way, and the latter two were actually composed for such a staging, as was Pulcinella, where the song element is utterly disembodied.

26. Expositions and Developments, p. 121.

27. Ibid.

28. Bruno Nettl, "Words and Music: English Folk Songs in the United States," in Charles Hamm, Bruno Nettl, and Ronald Byrneside, Contemporary Music and Music Cultures (Englewood Cliffs, 1975), p. 198.

sibilities very closely akin to that of music,"²³ was the passage that immediately preceded, and indeed furnished the springboard for the famous diatribe on music and expression, that "over-publicized bit" which Stravinsky would try so hard to live down when it became important to him to forge a link with the expressionist-based music of the Second Viennese School,²⁴ but which still must be regarded as the linchpin of his postwar modernism. It was precisely the dissociation of sound from meaning (present in all poetry to some degree, of course) that provided Stravinsky with a reassuring validation and a powerful weapon in his avowed aim, if we may put it so, of dismantling the Gesamtkunstwerk.²⁵

And where folk poetry went much further in this dissociation even than that of the symbolists (and in directions Stravinsky could never have taken when he was actually setting the symbolists) was in its distensions of stress, something fully revealed only in singing. "One important characteristic of Russian popular verse," Stravinsky recalled forty years after the fact, "is that the accents of the spoken verse are ignored when the verse is sung." This is not quite accurate, since the verses in question are never actually spoken, only sung, and hence are not subject to distortion in quite the way he meant, but merely representative of that distortion. Nonetheless, the differences between sung and spoken accentuation are manifest in Russian folklore, and vastly suggestive to Stravinsky: "The recognition of the musical possibilities inherent in this fact was one of the most rejoicing discoveries of my life; I was like a man who suddenly finds that his finger can be bent from the second joint as well as from the first." Tracing the process of this discovery will show how unexpectedly concrete it was, and how concrete its effects on Stravinsky's music. A few preliminary remarks are perhaps in order.

First, the prosodic distortions encountered in folk singing are a very different matter from the prosodic distortions of the Japanese Lyrics, for the tonic stress is not suppressed, merely shifted. The end product is as authentically and endemically a Russian prosody as the fastidiously realistic speech song of Dargomyzhsky or Cui. But (for a second preliminary) such a phenomenon is by no means restricted to Russian folk song. It is probably a universal trait in the folk singing of tonically stressed languages, like Spanish (as Claudio Spies informs me), or, for that matter, like English. We may be accustomed to assume that Anglo-American folk songs show "a close structural correspondence between words and music," that "at various levels—stanza, line, verse foot, and musical measure—units of words and music correspond closely," and that "stressed syllables are set to musically stressed notes"; ²⁸ yet a glance at any field-collected anthology of such songs will turn up many accentual irregularities, as in the following examples from Cecil Sharp, a fastidious collector if ever there was one (ex.7).

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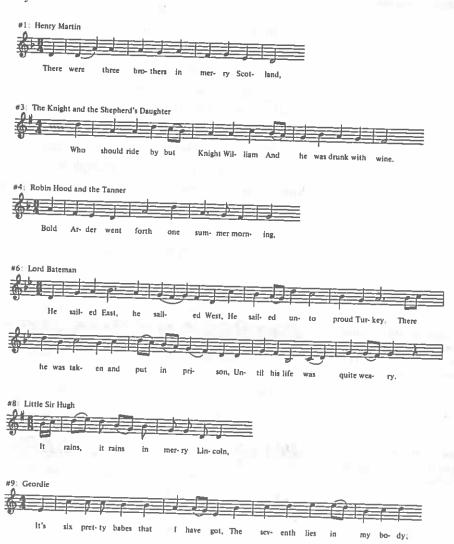
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a

Example 7: From Cecil Sharp, One Hundred English Folksongs (1916; rpt. 1975). Reprinted by permission of Dover Publications, Inc.



Out of the first ten songs in Sharp's *One Hundred*, misaccentuations occur in more than half. The one in no. 9 is especially telling, as it was so easily avoidable. The others arise from the forcing of refractory words into an overriding metrical pattern. The frequency, amounting in its paradoxical way to regularity, of this practice is perhaps the reason why Sharp never saw fit to call attention to it in the descriptive commentary to his collection.

As a third preliminary, let us note that Stravinsky was by no means the first Russian composer to observe the misaccentuation of Russian folk texts in singing. It was well known to the kuchkists. Balakirev, who holds a position in Russian folksong collecting quite comparable to Sharp's in England, faithfully transmitted, in

his anthology of 1866, a number of striking instances of shifting accents within a single song, something extremely common in dance songs and ritual songs—the very types that were to furnish Stravinsky with most of his models (ex. 8). Ten years later Rimsky-Korsakov published a version of the first of the songs cited in example 8, and even included it in simplified form as the opening chorus of his opera May Night after Gogol (1878). In both versions the accentual shift is maintained without adjustment (ex. 9). This rhythmic quirk remained a permanent fixture in Rimsky's folk choruses, as in the following example from The Legend of the Invisible City of Kityezh (1906), an opera every step of whose creation was closely witnessed by Stravinsky (ex. 10).

Example 8a: Mily Balakirev, Sbornik russkikh narodnykh pesen (1866), no. 9: "Oh we sowed the millet."



Example 8b: "At daddy's gates" (cf. Tchaikovsky, 1812 Overture).



Example 9a: Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov, *Sbornik russikh* narodnykh pesen (1877), no. 42: "Oh we sowed the millet."



Example 9b: Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov, *May Night* (1880), opening chorus.



Example 10: Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov, The Legend of The Invisible City of Kityezh (1904), act 2, chorus of drunkards.



29. Cf. Vyacheslav Karatygin's obituary for Balakirev in Apollon (1910), no. 10 (quoted in my "From Subject to Style"), in which the future of Russian music is predicated in terms of what the author calls "denationalization."

30. Yastrebtsev, Vaspominaniia, vol. 2, p. 453. The comment was made on 25 December 1907, at a gathering at which Rimsky's daughter Nadezhda sang the song, along with the Pastorale, which latter was dedicated to her.

31. An Autobiography, p. 50. 32. Expositions and Developments, p. 12011.

So Stravinsky's "rejoicing discovery" had ample precedent. It was something he had long known, only didn't know he knew it. For until he himself turned seriously to folk texts these shifts of stress had little or no aesthetic significance for him; they were merely among the decorative trappings of the style russe, a style advanced musical minds in Russia thought passé.29 Still, there are aspects to Rimsky-Korsakov's use of folklore and folk song that do have aesthetic resonance in the mature Stravinsky. In the Prologue to Rimsky's Snegúrochka (1881), for example, folk choruses are frequently juxtaposed with dialogue, and the same characters participate in both. When singing an "impersonal" folk song they treat the text one way; when singing "personally" they treat it very differently. Stravinsky, for whom the impersonal was all, adopted the former manner, though, as we shall see, far from directly. For he had held folklore very much at arm's length during his period of study with Rimsky-Korsakov. The closest he came to it in those days was in his songs to Gorodetzky's pseudo-folk poems "Spring (The Cloister)" and "A Song of the Dew." The first of these songs seems to contain a characteristic Russian stress shift (ex. 11). But the shift is only seeming; it is actually a sophisticated pun. "Doróga" means road; "dorogá" is a feminine predicative form of the Russian adjective dorogoi, "dear." So what looks like a playful Russian stress shift creates a meaningful utterance: "the road (or journey) is dear (precious)." It is a typical symbolist effect and far from the world of folk poetry. Rimsky-Korsakov perceived this clearly when he dismissed Gorodetzky's poem as "decadent, impressionistic lyricism [cast in] an artificially folklike Russian," and declared that he, personally, could not see "what pleasure there could be in setting [such] verses."30

More evidence that the freedom of accentuation in Russian folk song was not completely new to Stravinsky in 1914 can be found in the Three Little Songs subtitled "Recollection of My Childhood," which he had composed during the previous summer but which (according to the *Chroniques*) were based on melodies he used to amuse his friends with "in earlier years." In *Expositions and Developments* he claimed that he played them to Rimsky-Korsakov in 1906. 32 They are

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Example 11: Igor Stravinsky, "Spring (The Cloister)" op. 6, no. 1 (1907), middle section. Copyright by Boosey & Hawkes, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Boosey & Hawkes, Inc.



[Oh, field, my freedom, oh path thou art so dear.]

trifling pieces, hardly more than jingles. As the voice part to Sorochen'ka (The Magpie), the first of the set, shows (ex. 12), the Little Songs are full of accentual distensions; but as the effect is "naïf" and parodistic, the result of imitating childish singsong, and as these songs stand utterly alone among Stravinsky's pre-1914 output, little aesthetic or technical significance need be attached to their scansion.

Example 12: Igor Stravinsky, Three Little Songs (1913), Sorochen'ka (The Magpie; "Souvenir de mon enfance," no. 1). Copyright by Boosey & Hawkes, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Boosey & Hawkes, Inc.



[Little magpie, don't leap up into the fir tree. She did, and broke her head. Give me some string to the her head.]

\$iv

We can, then, take Stravinsky's word that his rejoicing discovery took place when he said it did (that is, when he began to think seriously about *Les noces*), and that it was fundamentally bound up with his modernist revolt against his old post-kuchkist milieu and with his post-*Rite of Spring* determination to depersonalize his art. What, precisely, led him to it? One of the most potent stimuli came from the work of Evgeniia Linyova, the early twentieth-century musical ethnographer, who was the first in Russia to use the phonograph for field research and whose prefaces to her published transcriptions were musically detailed and authoritative to a hitherto unprecedented degree. If Balakirev was the Russian Cecil Sharp, Linyova was the Russian Bartók. Her work was well known to Stravinsky, ³³ and, as I have

33. Cf. his letter to his mother (10/23 February 1916) in which he informs her that he has volume 1 of Linyova's transcriptions and asks whether there have been any other volumes issued (L. S. Diachkova, ed., I. F. Stravinskii: Stat'i i materialy [Moscow, 1973], p. 488).

34. Evgeniia Linyova, Velikorusskie pesni v narodnoi garmonizatsii, vol. 1 (Saint Petersburg, 1904), p. xvi. Stravinsky would have found ample confirmation of these remarks in the collection of wedding songs by Kircevsky on which he drew for Les noces (V. F. Miller and M. N. Speransky, eds., Pesni sobrannye P. V. Kireevskim, Novaia seriia, vol. 1 (Pesni obriadnye) [Moscow, 1911]). Here are a few examples of displacement as Kircevsky noted them down as early as the 1830s:

#183: Zhurila, govórila, Govoríla, sama plakala

#192: Boiary li vy, boiáry!

#742: Veselaia sem'ia veseláia.

#918:
Iasna sókola vo chistóm póle,
Vo chístom pole vo zelenom,
Sazhala ego na belú rúku,
Prinosila ko rodnoi matushke:
"Matushka moia, gosudarynia!
Izlovila ia iasna sokolá!"
Uzh kak tot-li iasion,
Ty, Seluian gospodin,
Seluian, sudar' Fedotovich!

In the last example, every one of the syllables of the word sókola (hawk) receives a stress at some point, and the metrical count is in constant flux.

tried to show elsewhere, uncommonly suggestive to his neo-nationalist creative attitudes.

Linyova was the first Russian ethnographer to make explicit observations on the unusual rhythmic and prosodic traits earlier students of Russian folklore had taken for granted. In the following lengthy extract she touches not only upon the mutability of accent, but also on the metrical irregularities peasant singers habitually introduced into the songs they sang, often—unlike the kinds of distensions we have so far observed, e.g., in Cecil Sharp—decidedly at variance with the prevailing poetic meter.

From the rhythmic point of view folk song has a property which especially hampers its transcription into fixed notation. This property is the freedom with which accent is displaced in word and verse. The accent in folk song moves from one syllable to another within a word and from one word to another within a verse, according to the demands of the sense of the verse or of the melody, which are closely bound together and mutually influential. In this mobility of accent one feels the urge to destroy monotony, for example: lúchina, luchina, luchiná [recte: luchína, a torch], or góry, gorý [recte: góry, mountains]. As a result of this mobility and mutability of [what we may call] the logical accent of folk song, it is often very difficult to reconcile it [that is, the logical accent] with the metrical accent of contemporary art music (as marked by bar lines), which strives for mechanical regularity in the counting of time units. When taking a song down by hand little rhythmic compromises are possible—one can steal an eighth note here, a quarter note there, and in this way smooth over the apparent rough spots and bring the recalcitrant, capricious tune into conformity with a general mold. But . . . the phonograph insistently claims its due and will not admit such errors.34

Linyova goes on to pinpoint two very specific characteristics of Russian folk verse, both of which became characteristics, too, of Stravinsky's <u>Swiss-period</u> music.

- (i) The number of syllables in the respective hemistichs of a folk verse is not equal. On the contrary, the inequality of the number of syllables in the hemistichs, each of which has one *chief* accent, is one of the characteristic traits of folk song.
- (ii) The accent in the verse of a folk song is not tonic (that is, mechanically regular, falling on a certain syllable of the verse), but logical

35. Ibid., p. xvii.

36. Russkaia narodnaia muzyka, velikorusskaia i malorusskaia, v eë stroenii melodicheskom i ritmicheskom i otlichiia eë ot osnov sovremennoi garmonicheskoi muzyki (Kharkov, 1888).

37. Linyova, pp. xvi-xvii.

38. In his autobiography, Rimsky-Korsakov recalled of this particular item, "once, at Borodin's, I struggled till late at night trying to reproduce a wedding song [Zron Kolokol, Ringing Bell), rhythmically it was unusually freakish, though it flowed naturally from the mouth of Borodin's maid, Doonyasha Vinogradova, a native of one of the governments along the Volga" (My Musical Life, trans. Judah A. Joffe [London, 1974], p. 165).

[logicheskoe], mutable (only occasionally changing position according to the demands of sense, but nonetheless in no way arbitrary). Therefore, although in general any song, even the rhythmically most wayward, can be divided into measures, nonetheless, owing to the changing position of the accent and the insertion of one, two or even three syllables into one strain or another (depending on the sense, or simply on the individual inclination of the singer toward exclamations—èkh, ai no, pravo, da vot, and so on), one will frequently encounter departures from the division (i.e., the meter) one has adopted.³⁵

As she relates, Linyova briefly considered adopting the transcription method developed by the Ukranian composer and folklorist Pyotr Sokalsky (1832–87) in his posthumously published collection (1903) and his important theoretical monograph on Great-Russian and Little-Russian folk music. This method involved abandoning all attempt at metrical barring, using bar lines only to mark the major divisions of the verses (the hemistichs). She decided against this, however, in that in practice it obscured the rhythmic structure of the music. She preferred a system of irregular barring that placed all "chief accents," as she called them, on down-beats. The practice in Stravinsky's settings, too.

Once again we should note that the early kuchkists, armed with sharp ears and open minds, had anticipated the scientific ethnographers of the next generation. Balakirev's anthology contains notable instances of Linyova-like irregular barring, including one (song no. 17) that instinctively adopts Sokalsky's hemistich method (ex. 13). And in Rimsky-Korsakov's anthology there is a wedding song that looks as if Stravinsky had composed it (ex. 14).³⁸

Alongside Linyova there is another important source to be identified before looking at the impact of Stravinsky's rejoicing discovery on his music—a source even more specifically and directly related to Stravinsky's work. Among the books Stravinsky brought back with him from his last trip to Russia in July 1914—a trip

Example 13: Mily Balakirev, Sbornik russkikh narodnykh pesen (1866), no. 17, Na Ivanushke chapan.



(Cf. Sokalsky, barring by hemistichs)

Example 14: Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov, *Sbornik*, no. 72: wedding song, "The bells are ringing in Yevlashev village."



39. Cf. Robert Craft, Prejudices in Disguise (New York, 1974), p. 248; later in Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents, p. 132. Also Eric Walter White, Stravinsky: The Composer and His Works (Berkeley, 1966), p. 33. In both cases, however, the bibliographical citations are faulty.

expressly motivated, as is well known, by the need for folk texts for *Les noces*—was one that came not from the Kiev bookseller who had furnished him with his copy of Kireevsky's wedding songs, but from his own father's huge, indeed famous, library. This was Ivan Sakharov's *Skazaniia russkogo naroda* (Legends of the Russian People [Saint Petersburg, 1838]), an enormous miscellany that is occasionally mentioned in connection with *Les noces* ³⁹ but that was actually the source of the texts for the Peasant Choruses (*Podbliudnye*) of 1914–17. ⁴⁰ Like most of the early Russian folklorists, Sakharov published only the texts of his songs, not the melodies. But in the case of the *podbliudnye*, he felt constrained to comment obliquely on the tunes, precisely because of the way the texts were distorted in singing. His comments were quite ambiguous; it would be difficult to figure out exactly what he was driving at in the extract that follows without our knowledge of Balakirev, Rimsky-Korsakov, and especially Linyova.

The Russian yuletide songs we call *podblindnye* or *igral'nye*, from their adaptation to games (*igry*), or *obriadnye* [from *obriad*, ritual], belong without doubt to very remote times which we have no factual basis for deter-

40. Stravinsky forgetfully gave trusty old Afanasiev (the source of the Pribaoutki, Renard and Histoire du soldat) as the source of these texts as well (Expositions and Developments, p. 119), and he has been followed by all subsequent writers and bibliographers, including White (p. 209) and Dominique-René de Lerma (Igor Federovitch Stravinsky: A Practical Guide to Publications of His Music [Kent, Ohio, 1974], p. 78). Craft cited not the familiar Afanasiev skazki collection, but his lesser known Poèticheskie vozzreniia

slavian na prirodu (The Slavs' Poetic Attitudes toward Nature, vol. 2 [Moscow. 1869], p. 194) as the source for these texts (Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents, p. 604), but what is actually found there is only a description of the divination ceremonies for which these texts were appropriate-together with a footnote reference to Sakharov! The most famous of the four podblindnye texts-Shchuka (The Pike), the third in Stravinsky's setcan in fact be found in this Afanasiev volume (p. 158) as

well as in Tereshchenko's Byt russkogo naroda (vol. 7 [Saint Petersburg, 1848], p. 158), which was also in the elder Stravinsky's library. Both Shchuka and U Spasa v Chigasakh (At the Savior's Church in Chigasy, the first of the set) can be found in the 1911 Kireevsky publication (nos. 1059 and 1063 respectively). But Sakharov contains all four texts (3d ed. [1841], vol. 3, pp. 11, 12, 13, 260), and it is the unique source of Stravinsky's nos. 2 and 4.

mining exactly. As creations of folklore, these songs carry a peculiar imprint in the form of a tune which differs from all other kinds in its slow, regular and economical [Sakharov evidently means syllabic] disposition in tones.

Russian yuletide songs come in the following meters: anapestic, dactylochoric with tribrachic endings, choric, dactylic, iambic. Or else they are made up of anapestopyrrhic feet. Lines are found with two, three or four feet. Here are examples.⁴¹

41. Ivan Sakharov, *Skazaniia* russkogo naroda (3d ed., 1841), vol. 3, p. 10.

And what is the very first example? None other than The Pike (*Shchuka*), the third of Stravinsky's set of choruses, but the first to have been composed. It was completed before the year 1914 was out, and the conclusion seems inescapable that it was Sakharov's prosodic analysis that piqued the composer's interest in setting the text. Look now at example 15 and behold Stravinsky's "rejoicing discovery."

Example 15: Ivan Sakharov, Skazaniia russkogo naroda (1841), vol. III p. 10. РУССКІЯ СВЯТОЧНЫЯ ПЭСНЕ БЫВАЮТЬ: АНАПЕСТИЧЕСКІЯ, ДАКТИЛО ХОРЕНЧЕСКІЯ, СЬ ОКОНЧАНІЕМЪ ТРИБРАХИЧЕСКИМЪ, ХОРЕПЧЕСКИМЪ, ДАКТПЧЕСКИМЪ, ЯМВИЧЕСКИМЪ; ИЛИ СОСТОЯТЬ:
НЗЪ АНАПЕСТОПИРРИХІЕВЪ РАЗМЪРЪ СТИХОВЪ БЫВАЕТЬ: ДВУХСТОПНЫЙ, ТРЕХСТОПНЫЙ, ЧЕТЫРЕХСТОПНЫЙ. ВОТЪ ПРИМЪРЫ:

Она хвостъ воловла изъ Бъла озера

Какъ на щу къ чещуй ка серебрянля.

Здъсь трехстопный анапестический стихъ

имъеть трибрахическог окончание.

What Sakharov had sought in his pedantic way to prove was that The Pike was sung in "anapestic trimeters with tribrachic endings." What he actually proved is what is by now a familiar story: that the musical ictus distorted the natural accentuation of the poem. Most telling is the fact that the second syllable of the word "Novagoroda," which is merely an infix stemming from the archaic genitive declension of the name of the old Russian city of Novgorod, falls on an accented note in the melody. If read, rather than sung, the three lines given by Sakharov would be accented as follows:

Shchúka shlá iz Novagóroda. (Slava!) Oná khvóst voloklá iz Bela-ózera. (Slava!) Kák na shchúke cheshúika serébriannaia. (Slava!)

The pike came from Novgorod. Its tail it dragged from Belo-ozero. How silver were its scales!

For a conventionally declaimed setting of the poeticized form of the name Novgorod, compare the opening chorus from Rimsky-Korsakov's opera Sadko (1897) (ex. 16).

Example 16: Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov, *Sadko* (1897), opening chorus.



un great Novgorod everyone is his own boss,]

So how does Stravinsky's setting relate to Sakharov's scansion? If one looks at the so-called original version of the chorus (1914), one is apt to be disappointed (ex. 17a). Not only is the second syllable of *Novagóroda* apparently unaccented and thereby conventionalized, but the final syllable (a mere genitive case ending) is set to a long note, spoiling Sakharov's "tribrachic ending."

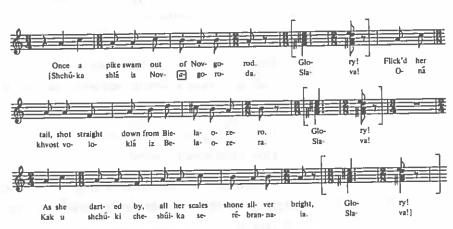
But now compare the 1954 version of the chorus, with the four horn parts (omitted in the example) (ex. 17b). Amazingly, we now have a perfect transcription of Sakharov's scansion by means of Linyova's method: the bars are so arranged that the accented notes (including the telltale -a- of Novagóroda) fall on downbeats, and the "tribrachic endings" are set as staccato eighth notes. What is truly paradoxical is

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Example 17a: Igor Stravinsky, Podbliudnye, no. 3: Shchuka (1914), top voice only. Reproduced by kind permission of the copyright owners, J & W Chester/Edition Wilhelm Hansen, London, Ltd.



Example 17b: Igor Stravinsky, Four Russian Peasant Songs (new version, 1954), no. 3: "The Pike." Reproduced by kind permission of the copyright owners, J & W Chester/Edition Wilhelm Hansen, London, Ltd.



*

that this version, which fits the quirky Russian text so well, was published only with an English text, whose relationship to the new barring is utterly meaningless. It is inconceivable that Stravinsky went back to Sakharov, whom he had apparently forgotten all about (as we deduce from the mistaken attribution of the *Podbliudnye* texts to Afanasiev in *Expositions and Developments*), only to adopt his scansion for an English translation. No, the only reasonable explanation is that the 1954 Englishlanguage version actually represents the original Russian conception, and the original publication (delayed until 1930, and brought out by Schott) was misguidedly rebarred (whether by Stravinsky himself or by an editor) either for the sake of simplicity or in order to accommodate the German translation (for no one could have expected Russian performances in the west in 1930). Confirmation of this hypothesis will of course have to come from the still inaccessible sketch material in the composer's archive.

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But any doubts as to the importance of Sakharov's example in the formation of Stravinsky's habits of Russian prosody must vanish when one examines the sketch-

42. See Conversations with Igor Stravinsky (Berkeley, 1980), p. 35; also Expositions and Developments, p. 121: "The word pribaoutki denotes a form of popular Russian verse, the nearest English parallel to which is the limerick. It means 'a telling,' 'pri' being the Latin 'pre' and 'baout' deriving from the Old Russian infinitive 'to say.' Pribaoutki are always short—not more than four lines usually. According to popular tradition they derive from a type of game in which someone says a word, which someone else then adds to, and which third and fourth persons develop, and so on, with utmost speed." Practically none of this is true.

43. A. S. Gruzinsky, ed., Ruskie narodnye skazki A. N. Afanasiera (Moscow, 1913), vol. 5, p. 240. es for the first settings he made under its influence—the *Pribaútki* of 1914. Fortunately, a sample page of sketches for the third of them—*Polkovnik* (The Colonel)—has been published, and there we may see how Stravinsky turned Sakharov's analytical method, via Linyova's transcription method, into a compositional tool.

More than any other type of folk text, pribaútki represent the kind of pure "mouth music" that was Stravinsky's post-1914 ideal. No wonder they were the first texts (besides Shehuka) he set after making his rejoicing discovery: the set was completed within three months of the book-buying excursion to Kiev. The source for them was the very last section, a kind of appendix to Afanasiev's monumental Russian Folk Tales (Russkie narodne skazki), in which a garland of twenty-three pribaútki were collected and set forth not as verse but as prose. And what are pribaûtki? They are essentially nonsense jingles, often sung either by or to children. The standard musical term for them is potéshki. Stravinsky called them pribaútki because that is what Afanasiev called them, though the latter term is more generally applied to witty patter of any kind. In a couple of his conversation books Stravinsky made some observations about the genre, but they are faulty and misleading (and absolutely outrageous as to etymology).⁴² A far better starting point for an understanding of pribaútki can be found in Afanasiev's own commentary. "Pribaûtki," he observed, "in the form in which one hears them now on the lips of the people, apparently comprise excerpts from a variety of folk verbal prototypes: the songs, stories and [even] the laments which accompany [popular] games and rituals."43 While not exactly verse, they are nonetheless distinguished, according to the collector, by their strongly rhythmic character, and their heavy use both of rhyme and of alliteration. Rhythm, rhyme, and alliteration, in fact, are far more important in pribaútki than meaning. There couldn't be a better example than the third song in Stravinsky's set, a perfect Russian analogue to our own tongue twister "Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers." It is not about a colonel, not about a quail. It is about the letter p and (in the second half) about subtly differing rhythmic groups that all end in the vowel a (or to be more precise, a schwa):

Poshól polkóvnik poguliáť, poimál ptíchku-perepiólochku; ptíchka perepiólochka píť pokhotéla, podnialás'-poletéla, pála-propála, pod liód popála,

A colonel went a-walking, he caught a little bird, a quail. The little quail became thirsty. She rose up and flew away, she fell to earth and disappeared, under the ice she landed. 44. Ibid., p. 238.

popá poimála, popá popóvicha, Petrá Petróvicha.⁴⁴

She caught a priest, a priest and son of a priest named Peter son of Peter.

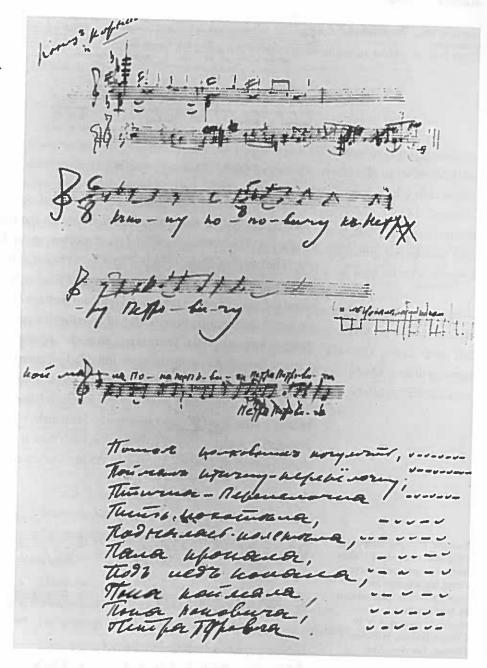
I have set the *pribaútka* out not in prose, the way Afanasiev printed it, but with each clause as a line in itself approximating verse, the way Stravinsky did in his sketch book. Turning now to the sketch (ex. 18), what do we find? We find Sakharov's scansion marks set next to each line, and above the "poem" three musical drafts (the two-line sketch at the top of the sheet is for the oboe-clarinet duet at the end of the first *pribaútka*, *Kornilo*). The two pitched sketches are both for the ending of the song, and both differ considerably from the final version. In the first, the grammatical case is changed for some reason from the genitive to the dative, suggesting that at first Stravinsky may have intended to paraphrase Afanasiev's text rather than set it as it stood (ex. 19a). The most important way in which this sketch differs from the final version is prosodic. Stravinsky at first distinguished the accented syllables from the unaccented ones by lengthening them: they are set either as quarters or as groups of two slurred eighths.

SHOSS

In the second draft of the ending, Afanasiev's text is set without departure, and the melodic figure corresponds to one that is found in the finished song, though not at these words (ex. 19b). Accented syllables are still lengthened here. Now the most revealing sketch by far is the one that has obviously been added as an afterthought, and most likely after the poem had been copied out and scanned at the bottom of the page. It is a purely declamational sketch, showing no pitches, just durations and barrings (ex. 19c). Here Stravinsky hit upon the method he was to employ in the end for the whole song, and in many other settings as well: with only a single exception every syllable in the setting carries the same duration—an eighth note (or, occasionally, a pair of slurred sixteenths)—and accentuation is achieved solely by means of what Linyova called the "logical stress."

In example 20, which shows the whole voice part as Stravinsky finally barred it, and also shows the scansion marks from the sketch, we may finally observe in full the results of his rejoicing discovery. First of all, note that the bracketed section, which corresponds to the third sketch, maintains its declamation exactly (and is set to a single pitch, as the sketch already implied). Second, note that the ending is adjusted to take the stress off the last note; some old Russian prosodic habits of Stravinsky's died a hard death, after all. But lest we be misled into thinking that Stravinsky was still trying to please César Cui, consider the words podnialás'-poletéla at the end of the second line, where, as Stravinsky put it, "the accents of the spoken verse are ignored when the verse is sung," that is, where a purely musical

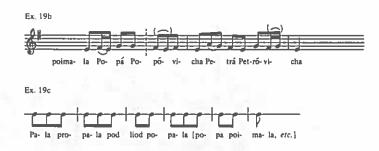
Example 18: Igor Stravinsky, Sketch for *Pribaútki*, no. 3 (*Polkornik*) (*Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents*, p. 131). Reproduced by permission of the Paul Sacher Foundation.



Example 19a: Transcriptions from same.



Example 19b,c: Transcription from same.



sequence is allowed precedence over the verbal accent. And now look at the "sprung rhythm" at the words *poimál ptíchku* in the first line, where the unique succession of two stressed syllables is overridden, again, for purely musical reasons.

The opening of the song is willful to the point of being a bit enigmatic. What is the role of the accents, which never return? Evidently they are meant to countermand the tonic stress on the second syllable (perhaps a carry-over from the "Russo-Japanese" declamation Stravinsky had toyed with a year earlier) and turn the whole measure into an upbeat. There being no readily available sign for the suppression of a stress, Stravinsky seems to have intended to surround the natural stress with ersatz stresses and, by thus equalizing the stress, in effect neutralize the stress.

But the tonic stress remains very much in force, even when honored in the breach rather than in the observance. Stravinsky's post-1914 prosody remained profoundly authentic in its Russianness, only now it was a different Russian tradition to which he pledged allegiance. As in so many other ways, Stravinsky played

Example 20: Igor Stravinsky, Pribaútki (1914), no. 3 (Polkovnik): voice part only, incorporating the scansion marks from the sketch. Reproduced by kind permission of the copyright owners, J & W Chester/Edition Wilhelm Hansen, London, Ltd.



the Russian folk-music tradition against the art-music tradition and used it as his passport to freedom from the academic post-realist milieu in which he had been brought up.

\$vi

Now that we have reached the crucial year 1914, we had better stop going piece by piece, for to tackle the major works of the Swiss years would take us far beyond the scope of a modest paper. Still, I do wish to demonstrate that the discoveries Stravinsky made in Sakharov and Linyova were no cul-de-sac, like his Japanese experiments, but a permanently transforming acquisition, and that the attitudes and even the techniques he was on the threshold of formulating stayed with him long after the close of his so-called Russian period, that is, long after he stopped setting Russian texts.

As it happens, the shaping of the prosody in the third of the Berceuses du chat—which we can follow in detail thanks to its fortuitous inclusion in the published Rite of Spring sketchbook—gives just such a suggestion. The text comes from the section containing lullabies in the same Kircevsky volume whose wedding songs furnished the text for Les noces. Again there is a close English analogy: "Hush Little Baby, Don't Say a Word." Kircevsky's text runs as follows:

Báiushki-baiú, pribaiúkivaiu . . . Kach', kach', priveziót otéts kalách, Máteri sáiku, sýn[k]u balaláiku, A baiú, baiú pribaiúkivaiu . . . Stánu ia kacháti, V balaláichku igráti, A baiú, baiú, pribaiúkivati . . . 45

Hushabye, hushabye I sing . . .

Rockabye, rockabye, Daddy will bring you a biscuit,
He'll bring Mommy a roll, he'll bring sonny a balalaika,
Hushabye, hushabye I sing . . .

While I rock you,
I shall play the balalaika,
While hushabye, hushabye I sing . . .

The refrain is what I wish to focus upon. Apparently, Stravinsky first sketched it in a way that respects its accentuation as indicated above (ex. 21a). But he

45. Pesni, sobriannye P. V. Kireevskim, Novaia seriia (Moscow, 1911), no. 1108.



Example 21a-g: Igor Stravinsky, sketches for Berceuses du chat (1915), no. 3 (Baiushki-baiu) (The Rite of Spring: Sketches 1911–1913 [London, 1969], pp. 110–13). Reproduced by permission of the Paul Sacher Foundation. immediately began to tease it, apparently with the object of exploiting a musical correspondence between the accented "-baiú" and the unaccented "-vaiu." It is difficult to decide in just what order the sketches for this song were made. But if we assume that they made a progressive approach to the version that was published, then the order is as follows: example 21b, which was immediately changed to example 21c, and then to example 21d (these being layers of a single sketch), then to example 21e, and finally to example 21f before ultimately assuming the published form: example 21g.

Example 21a



Example 21b; (p. 110)



Example 21c



Example 21d



Example 21e: (p. 112)



Example 21f: (p. 113)

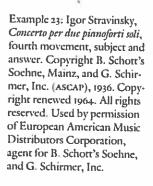


Example 21g: (from the published score) Reproduced by kind permission of the copyright owners, J & W Chester/Edition Wilhelm Hansen, London, Ltd.



The accentuation of the word *pribaiúkivaiu* is utterly distorted. An argument could be made that *pri*- carries an accent (since it occupies the downbeat), or that -va- carries an accent (since it is given an acciaccatura), or even that the final -iu carries an accent (since it is syncopated and lengthened, like the "sprung" -ba- in the first measure). But the third syllable cannot by any stretch be said to carry one. Now to anyone who knows the later Stravinsky, this inside-out setting of *pribaiúkivaiu* will have a familiar ring. The resemblance to "Laudate Dominum" in the Symphony of Psalms is uncanny—right down to the syncopated and lengthened, yet unaccented, final syllable (ex. 22). The shifting stress of the two "laudate's" comes straight out of Kireevsky and Linyova. (The fact that the original words may have been "Góspodi pomílui" does not alter the situation, for Stravinsky saw fit to make no adjustments when substituting the Latin text.) And in turn are we not legitimately reminded of a piece that might fairly have been expected to be the very last Stravinsky composition to figure in the present discussion? (See example 23.)

Example 22: Igor Stravinsky, Symphony of Psalms, third movement, 2 before 17 (choral parts only). Copyright 1931 by Edition Russe de Musique; renewed 1958. Copyright and renewal assigned to Boosey & Hawkes, Inc. Revised edition copyright by Boosey & Hawkes, Inc. Renewed 1975. Reprinted by permission of Boosey & Hawkes, Inc.







\$vII

One of the most characteristic of the folklore-derived techniques governing Stravinsky's Russian text settings (and his settings of other languages thereafter) involved the molding of a thematic phrase on the correct declamation of a "model" verse or stanza, which phrase then carries succeeding lines strictly according to syllabification—i.e., "number"—and without regard to stress. The technique is an

46. Conversations with Stravinsky, p. 35.

47. The pribautka in Renard is found on pp. 238–39 in the 1913 edition of Afanasiev, vol. 5 (see note 43); the one in the Trois histoires, on p. 237. In the standard Soviet editions (eds. Azadovsky, Andreev, and Sokolov [Academia, 1936]; reedited by Vladimir Propp [Moscow, 1957]), they are nos. 542 and 537 respectively.

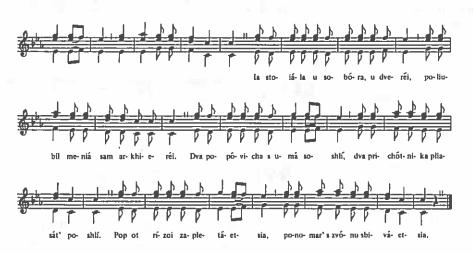
48. Conversations, p. 35.

49. Stravinsky has replaced Afanasiev's first words, Kukolka, kukolka (little doll) with two poetic diminutives of "vixen"—lisynka-lisitsa—to tie the pribaútka to the Renard theme, an impressive demonstration of his command of the language of skazki.

Example 24: Evgeniia Linyova, *Velikorusskie pesni v* narodnoi garmonizatsii (Saint Petersburg, 1909), vol. 2, p. 65. adaptation from such *pribaútki*-like pattersongs as the following, a "humorous song" entitled "Vavila" from Linyova's anthology (ex. 24).

To trace this technique adequately in Stravinsky's work requires access to sketch material in quantity, something that is still beyond reach. A single deductive example from *Renard* will have to suffice for now, though I am willing to predict that the pervasiveness of the technique I am about to demonstrate will be amply confirmed when more material comes to light.

The first section of *Renard* to have been completed, as Stravinsky for once correctly recalled, was the concluding pattersong that follows the slaying of the vixen (figs. 81–90). Looking back upon this passage, Stravinsky called it a "pribaoutki" (*sic*). 46 It was not he who categorized it thus, however, but Afanasiev himself. For the text here is taken not from the animal stories in volume 1 of the *Russian Folk Tales* that furnished the rest of *Renard*, but from the same appendix in volume 5 that had previously served as source for the set actually entitled *Pribaoutki*, and also for the song "Ducks, Swans and Geese" in the *Trois histoires pour enfants*, which were composed at the same time as *Renard* and shared space with it in Stravinsky's sketchbooks. 47 Of his setting, Stravinsky said that it "exploits a speed and an accentuation that are natural to Russian," and warned that "no translation of this passage can translate what I have done musically with the language." 48 And that is true. Yet if one looks at the passage in question, one notes that, as usual, most of the stresses in the very first line have been moved out of place (ex. 25). 49 There is in fact nothing "natural to Russian" about this accentuation.



[Trans.: 12. I stood by the cathedral doors, the bishop himself fell in love with me.

Two priests' sons went crazy, two clergymen went into their dance.
 The priest tripped on his chasuble, the sacristan lost count of the church bells.]

Example 25: Igor Stravinsky, *Renard*. Reprinted by permission of Belwin Publishers.



50. Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents, p. 139. In a brief description of the *Renard* sketches, Robert Craft informs us that the draft, dated 16 January 1916, carries the heading "Pribautki: Gospodi pomilui." Recognizing the latter pair of words as the Slavonic Kyrie, Craft speculated that *Renard* was to have been originally "a religious satire that was later diluted or bowdlerized." But that is not the case. All the heading meant was that Stravinsky began his setting of Afanasiev's *pribaûtka* not with the main text but with a variant given by Afanasiev in a footnote, which is now to be found not at the beginning of the section of *Renard*, but near the end, at fig. 87 (ex. 26). The setting of this group of lines, the first to have been composed, is irreproachable from the prosodic standpoint. It provided the model stanza, to which other lines were fitted purely syllabically, not accentually (ex. 27).

Example 26: Igor Stravinsky, *Renard*, rehearsal 87. Reprinted by permission of Belwin Publishers.



Example 27a—e: Igor Stravinsky, *Renard*, the concluding *pribaútka*. Reprinted by permission of Belwin Publishers.

Example 27a: rehearsal 83



Example 27b: rehearsal 84



Example 27c: 2 after 85

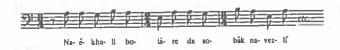


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Example 27d: rehearsal 88



Example 27c: rehearsal 89

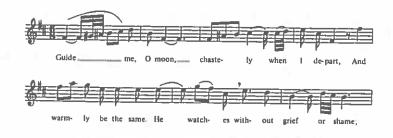


Without knowledge of the sketches for the Renard *pribaûtka* it would not be possible to identify the *Gospodi pomilui* verse, buried as it now is in the middle of things, as the model stanza from which the other, prosodically distorted, verses were derived. (Nor is this the only time that Stravinsky, in proceeding from sketch to finished composition, covered his methodological tracks.) Yet having discovered the technique, one encounters it again and again, sometimes in very surprising contexts. Consider the rather famously awkward prosody of Anne's aria, "Quietly, night," in the third scene of *The Rake's Progress*. The beginning of the second stanza contains one of Stravinsky's most notorious "lapses" in English prosody (ex. 28).⁵¹ The lapse involves more than accentuation. It also involves syntax. The end of the first sentence is detached from the rest and set along with the beginning of the second sentence in a single unbroken melodic arch. It seems inconceivable that this music was written to these words.

In fact, it was not. The aria is in a modified strophic form with coda. The second stanza begins with a truncated recapitulation of the music to which the first had been set. Stravinsky's sketches show how literally this was the case: the words of the second stanza were initially overlaid to the sketches of the first (ex. 29). The offending phrase of music had originally carried the text of the last line of the first stanza: "Although I weep, it knows of loneliness." And the sketch page reproduced in example 30a shows the original model stanza: except for one minor pecadillo (the accentuation of "although") it is quite blameless as to prosody—far more so, in fact, than the setting of the line as it finally took shape in the finished score—another instance of Stravinsky covering his tracks (ex. 30b). What seems especially interesting is the apparent retroactive influence of the setting of "warmly be the same" in the second stanza on that of "although I weep" in the first. (The change is entered explicitly at the very top of example 29.)

Of course, ignoring punctuation was nothing new to Stravinsky by the time he wrote *The Rake's Progress*. The Russian settings abound with examples, and so,

51. It was brought to my attention by my colleague, Prof. Jack Beeson. Example 28: Igor Stravinsky, *The Rake's Progress*, Anne's aria (act 1, scene 3), beginning of second stanza. Libretto by W. H. Auden and Chester Kallman. Copyright 1949, 1950, 1951 by Boosey & Hawkes, Inc.; renewed 1976, 1977, 1979. Reprinted by permission of Boosey & Hawkes, Inc.





Example 29: Igor Stravinsky, sketch for Anne's aria (Paul Griffiths et al., *The Rake's Progress* [Cambridge, 1982], plate 6). Reprinted by permission of the Paul Sacher Foundation.

of course, do Russian folk songs. But in *The Rake* (or in *Oedipus* or *Perséphone*, for that matter) it gets noticed, and Stravinsky gets criticized for it by those who tacitly, perhaps unwittingly, approach his work with the assumptions and the desiderata of a César Cui. Our assumptions, however, ought to be the opposite.

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Example 30: Igor Stravinsky, *The Rake's Progress*. Libretto by W. H. Auden and Chester Kallman. Copyright 1949, 1950, 1951 by Boosey & Hawkes, Inc.; renewed 1976, 1977, 1979. Reprinted by permission of Boosey & Hawkes, Inc.

Example 30a: "Model stanza" transcribed from top of above sketch.

Example 30b: The same line, final version in published score.

52. "M. Igor Stravinsky nous parle de 'Perséphone,' " Excelsior (Paris), 1 May 1934 (rpt. White, Stravinsky, p. 534).

53. One of the early musical impressions Stravinsky recorded in Chroniques de ma vie seems to have been rather transparently "planted" to justify this modernist predilection. Recalling the song of an ancient, near-dumb peasant singer, Stravinsky describes it as having been "composed of two syllables, the only ones he could pronounce; they were devoid of meaning, but he made them alternate with incredible dexterity" (Chronicle of My Life [London, 1936], p. 11). Here is one good example among many of Stravinsky's way of manufacturing "formative influences" to suit his changing aesthetic purposes.

54. The wording here follows "Pushkin: Poetry and Music" (rpt. White, p. 543); Stravinsky first quoted the retort in *Chroniques*, p. 117.

For Stravinsky, once he had made his "rejoicing discovery," the accents of spoken language were merely there to be manipulated like any other musical parameter, for the sake of musical enjoyment. "Words," he asserted in one of his more belligerent





manifestos, "far from helping, constitute for the musician a burdensome intermediary. . . . For music is not thought." Instead, he maintained, he sought syllables, that is, lingual sounds to match with musical sounds. For if, as Mallarmé put it to Degas in a phrase that so delighted Stravinsky that he quoted it twice in his published writings, "one does not create rhymes with ideas but with words," then one does not create music with words but with sounds—or at least Stravinsky did not. In this, as in so many other ways, he sought in the aesthetic stance of folk artists the seeds and the validation of an authentic modernism. Though it may discomfit us that he saw fit to set the poetry of Auden or of Gide as if it were a Russian limerick, that is what he did, and seriously. To fail to take this aspect of his art seriously is to fail at a very basic level to understand it.

POSTSCRIPT (MAY 1983)

Through the good offices of the Special Collections staff at the Music Division of the New York Public Library, temporary custodian of the Stravinsky archive (and I wish specially to thank Richard Koprowski, John Shepard, and Susan T. Sommer), I have at last gained access to some of the sketch material relevant to the propositions advanced deductively in the foregoing essay, and I can make a few refinements and amplifications in light of it.

Stravinsky, it seems, used scansion marks to plan his prosody as early as the first act of *Le rossignol* (1908–9), so it would seem that I may have overstated the case

somewhat with respect to the direct influence of Sakharov on his methods. On the other hand, the original setting of *Shchuka* was indeed conceived as I predicted. The syllables marked long by Sakharov were calculated (as per Linyova's prescription) to fall on downbeats, or at least on explicit secondary stresses within a longer measure.

The earliest sketches for the Podblindnye are found in a tiny notebook (no. 14a in the catalog prepared for Stravinsky's use in 1954 by Robert Craft and later published as appendix C in Eric Walter White's Stravinsky: The Composer and His Works), which also contains notations for a few other works—the Berceuses du chat, the "Chant dissident" from Quatre chants russes, and the Berceuse to Stravinsky's daughter Liudmila. This notebook, despite its heterogeneous contents, has a delightful painted cover (such as one often finds among the manuscripts of the Swiss years) giving the title "Podbliudnye" and a little floral design on a blue field. What one, with some surprise, finds first in it are the four texts for the choruses copied out on four successive rectos in the order of the finished set, although the settings were composed in a different order, over a span of almost three years. The first to be composed (as noted already in the body of the paper, above), was Shchuka (no. 3), immediately followed in the sketchbook by the fourth chorus, Puzishehe (usually translated as "Master Portly"). Here sketches for the Podbliudnye leave off. (A separate bifolium of uncertain date, inserted into a little sleeve pasted into the back cover of the book, contains early sketches for Owen, the second of the set. For sketches to the first chorus—U Spasa v Chigasakh, which Stravinsky may have remembered from Pushkin's Eugene Onegin, chapter 5 [the eighth stanza], and which Nabokov translates "At Our Savior's parish in Chigasy, beyond the Yauza"—one must go to a different, somewhat later sketchbook [Craft no. 16b], otherwise given over to Renard, the four-handed piano pieces, the "Song of the Bear" with a dedication to "Svetik," i.e., Stravinsky's son Sviatoslav [Soulima], and other works, some unrealized.)

The sketches for *Shehuka* show Stravinsky tackling the song phrase by phrase in two consecutive drafts. Both curiously stop after the fifth phrase (out of seven), and the first draft is missing the first phrase (possibly because a leaf has slipped out of the sketchbook). The leading part of the second, more complete, draft is given

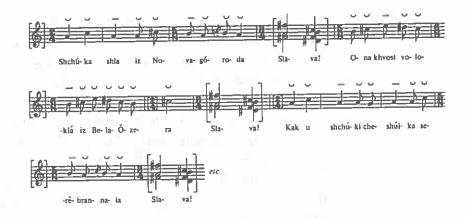
below (ex. 31) as far as the third phrase, for comparison with example 17 above. Sakharov's scansion marks have been added.

The most salient rhythmic difference between this sketch and the published version consists of the dactyls in the first and third phrases, which mirror Sakharov's stresses quantitatively as well as tonically. The telltale second syllable of "Novagoroda" is on the downbeat as per Linyova (one would give much, of

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Example 31: Igor Stravinsky, sketch for *Shchuka*. Reproduced by permission of the Paul Sacher Foundation.



course, to see the missing first draft of that word, assuming one existed), and the only reason why "khvost" in the second phrase is not so placed seems to be a general avoidance in this setting of measures shorter than 2/4. (The breaking up of the 5/8 bars in the 1954 revision is in keeping with many of Stravinsky's late-period rebarrings; a good example is the 1943 Danse sacrale, where so many "fives," of whatever beat value, are broken down into twos and threes.)

The final version of *Shehuka* arrived at in 1914 or thereafter (it is found complete among Stravinsky's manuscripts only in a fair copy of the complete set, though the first phrase alone is found on a very decorative, painted loose sheet on the other side of a sketch for *Les noces*) is identical to the one published in 1930, but for one extremely telling detail. The first phrase is given as it appears on the loose sheet (ex. 32), for comparison with example 17a above.

Example 32: Igor Stravinsky, Shchuka, final version. Reproduced by permission of the Paul Sacher Foundation.



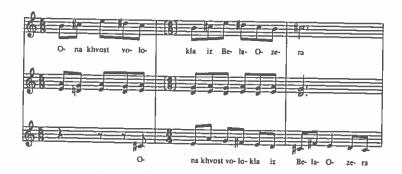
The 8/8 bar is there, all right, but it is broken up by the dotted bars in a way that preserves the Sakharov scansion and, moreover, clearly guided Stravinsky's 1954 revision. The dotted bars resolve the discrepancy between examples 17a and 17b, and one can only wonder why they were omitted from the 1930 edition (the more so as all the other measures longer than 6/8 in that edition do have dotted bars to guide the conductor's beat and, presumably, the choir's accentuation).

Although it is not strictly germane to our theme, it is very interesting to compare the two drafts of *Shehuka* in the 1914 sketchbook. The comparison reveals

that the starkly homorhythmic texture so characteristic of the *Podbliudnye* was something attained, rather than (as it would be natural to assume) integral to the "neo-nationalist" concept. Phase 2 in the earlier sketch goest as per ex. 33.

Imitation and cross-accent are both so foreign to the nature of these songs as we know them that it is astonishing to find them a part of the original conception.

Example 33: Igor Stravinsky, sketch for *Shehuka*, second phrase. Reproduced by permission of the Paul Sacher Foundation.



How much more conventional this early thought is than the ascetically plain published version. But only by knowing the sketches can we see this plainness for the "second simplicity" it is. It is an inspiring example of Stravinsky's creative ruthlessness, reminding us of the force with which *Apollo* struck Balanchine: "It seemed to tell me that I could dare not to use everything, that I, too, could eliminate." That, if anything, is "the Message of Igor Stravinsky."