articles

Ancient Voices of Children: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation*

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I

In recent years, speculative thought in anthropology, linguistics, and psychoanalysis has increasingly been brought to bear on criticism in the literary, visual, and performing arts.[1] This essay participates in that trend by employing concepts drawn from psychoanalytic developmental theory in the interpretation of a work of postmodern music. For the psychoanalytically trained listener, the composition considered in this essay, *Ancient Voices of Children* (1970) by George Crumb, all but *compels* the psychoanalytic approach because of its subtle but unmistakable preoccupation with developmental themes.

Freud, as is well known, was unresponsive to music and left no significant texts that directly relate his insights to this art form.[2] The task, therefore, of applying to music a psychoanalytic understanding of the human psyche has fallen to subsequent authors. Although it has been remarked that the art of music has received scant attention within the body of psychoanalytic criticism, a modest number of such studies are extant.[3] Much of what has been written, however, falls more or less into the category of pathography or psychobiography, the thorny problems of which are well known and have been extensively discussed by modern aestheticians.[4] It is my aim here, however, to demonstrate the possibility of quite a different psychoanalytic approach to music, one which removes the music from any biographical references to its composer.[5] When heard with a knowledge of post-Freudian psychoanalytic developmental theory, *Ancient Voices of Children* subtly but intensely evokes an aesthetic experience of the first drama in which all human beings participate, namely, the positively and negatively charged interactions between mother and infant.

Although I believe it may be possible to extrapolate from what is presented here a more general psychoanalytic approach to musical form, the present paper is limited to the interpretation of the one work. I draw upon theoretical schemata taken not directly from Freud's own writings but principally from those of two of his followers, who, although deeply influenced by him, felt a need to modify and extend his ideas along certain lines, particularly to fill in important lacunae in his thinking. For the non-psychoanalytic reader of this essay, I begin by giving a brief account of these lines and of some of the

developmental notions of the two psychoanalysts in question, Margaret S. Mahler and D. W. Winnicott.

Mahler,[6] a distinguished Viennese-trained pediatrician, psychiatrist, and psychoanalyst, devoted her clinical work to the study of preverbal development in infants. In particular, she explored the infant's earliest ties to its first object (the mother) in more depth and detail than Freud had ever attempted. Her writings are complemented by those of the eminent pediatrician and psychoanalyst D. W. Winnicott,[7] who developed many of his ideas simultaneously with Mahler during the 1950s and 1960s. Although they worked quite independently, their conceptual frames for understanding early development mesh comfortably and may be reviewed in tandem without detriment to either.

Extensive work with autistic infants (i.e., infants who, within the first year of life, manifest apathy, fail to respond to the approach of caregiving adults, and shrink altogether from human contact) persuaded Mahler that the sources of such disturbance must be sought in these infants' earliest dyadic relations with the mother. Freud's major interest in child development, however, was the Oedipus complex, which he described as structuring the young child's relations with both parents at a later stage (from three years of age to five or six) when the conflicts endemic to these relations can be verbally expressed. The earlier preverbal dyadic tie that precedes the Oedipal stage was left relatively unexplored by Freud, who considered the triadic phase as critical in human development, the pivotal stage for the genesis of character structure and subsequent (neurotic) psychopathology.[8]

In recent psychoanalytic literature, however, owing largely to the pioneering work of Mahler and her colleagues, pre-Oedipal development has come to be recognized as far-reaching in its effects on the psyche of the developing child and as coloring and shaping all later and more complex intrapsychic configurations. Through her observation and treatment of both normal and psychotic infants, Mahler gradually labeled and described a stage-series of early forms of relatedness. Central to her theory, which pertains roughly to the first three years of life are the gradual development of self-consciousness and the incipient, fluctuating boundaries between self and other: "Consciousness of self and absorption without awareness of self are the two polarities between which we move with varying ease and with varying degrees of alternation or simultaneity."[9]

Stressing that the human infant is born unprepared to sustain life unaided, Mahler explored the psychological consequences of this biological dependency. She concluded that such total initial reliance on another being, a "mother," who is usually but not always the biological mother, leaves traces that remain imprinted on the human psyche even "unto the grave." She spoke of a "gradual growing away from the maternal state of symbiosis, of one-ness with the mother [as] a lifelong mourning process."[10]

Mahler's developmental sequence includes the following stages, described briefly below: *normal autism, symbiosis,* and the process of *separation-individuation*

which is further subdivided into the phases of *differentiation, practicing,* and *rapprochement.* The first stage in the "psychological birth of the human infant,"[11] as described by Mahler, is *normal autism,* which occurs in the first weeks following birth. The newborn sleeps for long periods of time, and his wakeful periods center around efforts to achieve physiological homeostasis (i.e., to avoid painful tension, usually emanating from internal, digestive disequilibrium). The mother's ministrations at such times are not distinguished by the infant from his own efforts to preserve equilibrium. Thus, this first stage is one of psychological undifferentiation of self and other.[12]

Gradually awakening to an awareness of a need-satisfying object, the infant functions "as though he and his mother were an omnipotent system—a dual unity with one common boundary."[13] Mahler calls this state—prior to clear differentiation between inside and outside, between the "I" and the "not-I"—the *symbiotic phase.* As yet unaware of the mother as a specific whole person, the infant experiences her as a need-gratifying extension of himself. The exquisitely pleasurable quality of this symbiotic phase (as experienced in cases where the fit between infant and mother is, in Winnicott's term, "good enough") comes from the mother's sensitive attunement and adaptation to the infant's needs. Her selective responses to his demands and the subtle climate created by her conscious and unconscious attitudes give him a sense of well-being—a foundation for what Winnicott has called the "true self."[14]

By adapting to the infant's needs in this symbiotic stage, the mother creates in her child a sense of power and control—a sense of magical omnipotence, that persists as long as she remains for him a part of himself. Thus, the good enough mother (Winnicott's term) provides a situation in which her young infant can experience and trust his own creation of reality. Although he initially experiences tension and discomfort, as the mother presents herself and repeatedly alleviates his distress, she gives him "the illusion that there is an external reality [that] corresponds to his own capacity to create."[15] The magical omnipotence that results—the sense of being able to create and recreate reality—has obvious connections with subsequent experiences in the arts (and, of course, with a child's burgeoning capacity to invest in imaginative play).[16] Preferential smiling at the mother is often a sign that the infant is safely anchored within the symbiotic orbit.

After providing her child with optimal opportunities for creating illusion during symbiosis (up to the age of about five months), the mother's next task, during the developmental stage of *separation-individuation,* is the gradual disillusionment of the child. This is necessary, for were the child not to expand beyond the symbiotic orbit, he would remain unable to distinguish fantasy from reality (a state common to acute phases of severe psychosis). Disillusionment is a step-by-step process which is aided and abetted by the maturing infant's own increasing motor and perceptual faculties.

"Hatching" from the symbiotic orbit is often marked by a new look of alertness and persistence on the part of the infant. An infant at this stage will

commonly strain his body away from the mother to look at her while being held; he may engage in manual, tactile explorations of the mother's face; he may pull her hair and play peek-a-boo—all signs of increasing *differentiation.* When all goes well, the mother is able to provide a stable base for this growth by responding to her infant's cues. Optimally, she will foster his healthy movement toward differentiation without pushing him into premature independence. She collaborates, in other words, with the developmental trajectory and thus facilitates the infant's gradual renunciation of symbiotic fusion with her.

Weaning is the physiological counterpart of this psychological process, but the psychological precedes the physiological by many months, and it is, as Mahler points out, a process never fully completed. For mothers, as for infants, the full experience of this period must involve loss as well as gain. To function in the real world, the infant must give up a measure of the magical omnipotence derived from his illusion of sharing in his mother's powers. He must learn, gradually, and never without pain, to perceive her as an external object, i.e., as a part of the world that is not himself, as an "other" who can depart, who can disappoint him, and whom he can lose. For mothers there is a correspondingly deep sense of loss at this stage, though it is often unrecognized and well disguised.

During the *practicing* subphase (about ten to fifteen months of age), the young infant's love for the mother is generalized into a grand passion—"a love affair with the world."[17] Toddling now, he manifests elation, exuberance, and an urge to explore and discover all aspects of sensory experience. He often becomes so absorbed in his activities that he seems oblivious of the mother's presence. But this burst of ebullient autonomy is not the whole story, for the fearless young adventurer needs to "check back" at periodic intervals that vary from child to child (and for the same child under different circumstances). He needs not only to see but to establish intimate physical contact with his mother as he returns to her for emotional refueling.

This is the stage at which many children form an attachment to a particular object in their immediate surroundings, such as a soft blanket or a stuffed toy animal. They do this both to protect themselves against loss and to preserve the special quality of relationship with the mother that they are in the process of relinquishing. This object, importantly, is neither a part of the infant's or the mother's body but something else ("not-me"). It nevertheless possesses certain soothing qualities (partly because it is imbued by the child with such qualities) that enable him to use it as a bulwark at times of stress and loss (e.g., at bedtime).

Winnicott, who labeled this phenomenon and described its psychological significance,[18] included in his notion of such "transitional objects and phenomena," the category of *sounds* initiated by the child. The youngster's impulse to babble, croon, and chatter to himself before falling asleep serves a dual function, as he both makes and hears these sounds. By initiating, replicating, and elaborating on previously heard phonemes, he practices his new-

ly developing vocal skills. At the same time, hearing these sounds serves as a source of comfort to him.

Rapprochement, the next subphase, lasts from roughly sixteen to twenty-four months of age. It coincides with the maturation of the central nervous system and thus with a spurt in the child's cognitive faculties. (Language acquisition is extraordinarily rapid during this period.) Endowed now with a multidimensional and therefore acute awareness of his separateness, the child makes abortive attempts to reestablish symbiosis with the mother. His wish for reunion with her conflicts, however, with his fear of engulfment and with his pride in newly acquired skills and feelings of independence. Ambivalence, therefore, characterizes this stage. Toddlers often alternate between shadowing their mothers and darting away from them, and the young child's autonomy is usually defended by a strident negativism.

Mahler speaks of a "rapprochement crisis"—that point when the child comes face to face (quite dramatically in some cases) with the devastating realization that his love objects are, inevitably, separate from himself. He must experience in his own way the profound sense of loss, vulnerability, and alienation that will remain forever inseparable from his human subjectivity. Concomitantly, he awakens to a clearer realization of the *triadic* drama into which he has been cast. The death of one phase heralds the birth of the next (and yet they overlap). Highly charged dyadic relations are now expanded and reworked in the newly perceived triadic relations between father, mother, and child. Desire begins to replace primitive demand. The chosen love of separate individuals with different and unique voices begins to replace the fused, dependent love of early infancy. The ache, the mourning for oneness, however, survives. Great myths like that of the Garden of Eden stand as testaments to the undiminished regressive power of primitive symbiosis.

With this theoretical background, we turn now to the music. My intent has been to work as lightly as possible with the theory—keeping it as a tacit framework while the music is described. For *Ancient Voices of Children,* as a work of art, clearly transcends any particular theory that can be brought to bear upon it. Richly, it melds together, condenses, contrasts, and reveals, rather than unfolding in a simple linear sequence. In juxtaposing psychoanalytic developmental theory with *Ancient Voices of Children,* my purpose is not to reduce the latter to some musical version or illustration of the former but, rather, to endow the listener with a frame of reference that "expand[s] the field on which attention rests."[19]

II

The full title of George Crumb's 1970 composition is *Ancient Voices of Children: A Cycle of Songs on Texts by García Lorca.*[20] Actually, it fuses several art forms into one, since its performance involves a special arrangement of instruments onstage, the strategically timed entrances and exits of certain performers, and the occasional vocalizing of instrumentalists as well as, in some cases, their changing of instruments during the piece. Consequently, as in the

parallel case of an opera, not even the finest recording[21] can do justice to the full range of expressive possibilities offered by the work.

Ancient Voices of Children is scored for soprano, boy soprano, oboe, mandolin, harp, electric piano and assorted percussion instruments, including antique cymbals, tambourine, maracas, Tibetan prayer stones, sleighbells, and five Japanese temple bells. Its oversized score is a work of art in its own right, a festival for the eyes, with notes, markings, and poetic text that dance enticingly helter-skelter over its pages.[22]

The chosen fragments of García Lorca's poetry are strung together into a five-part cycle by Crumb, who assimilates and re-creates the text into a new totality of his own making. The result is a transformation and transcendence of the original poetry in ways impossible in earlier conventions governing the setting of poetry into song. The composer creates a synthesis of music and language—sound and voice—that embodies new meanings, reveals new interrelationships and sequential significance beyond those inherent in the original poetry. By so doing, he participates in the recent tradition of breaking up verbal texts into phonemes and thereby abstracting them into pure sound.[23]

He has, as I have suggested above, given to his work a strong, almost choreographic visual aspect, by carefully designating the position of all instrumental groups onstage and by directing his performers to move about as they prepare to play different instruments. They turn away, depart to perform offstage, or come onstage after having been totally invisible to the audience. In fact, the entire piece possesses a theatrical aura, and the score actually states that it can be adapted to choreography or even to mime.[24]

From the psychoanalytic developmental perspective I have adopted here, one feature emerges as momentous. There is onstage from the beginning both a grand and a toy piano, and the visual relations (as well as the musical relations) between these instruments serve to underscore as well as to mirror the similar relations between the adult woman and young boy soprano who perform the central roles. As elsewhere throughout the piece, contrast and continuity are stressed by being presented in not merely one but at least two sensory modalities. Their intensity is magnified in a way reminiscent of the "coenesthetic" experiences of our earliest (ancient) moments, described first by psychoanalyst and infant researcher René Spitz[25] and more currently by Daniel N. Stern.[26] These authors have described the "cradle of perception," in early infancy as prototypic for our later experiences in the realm of the aesthetic. Sensations, perceptions, and impressions are cross-modally reinforced: the infant simultaneously touches, tastes, smells, sees, hears, and feels in a primitive state before perception is localized and mediated by semantic symbols.

Ancient Voices of Children thus juxtaposes our notions of silence and absence. Our notions of consonance and dissonance find a parallel in the congruence and incongruence of sizes, shapes, sexes, and generations. This is accomplished through an interweaving of unusual musical elements with poetry

that has been partially broken up into its phonemic components, and with visual counterparts including both objects and movements in space. The piece presents us with an experience in which the "primary illusion,"[27] is musical. The music is heightened, however, by a drama that envelops us by engaging us cross-modally, as do perhaps not only the earliest but all the most intense dramas throughout our lives.

Importantly, the dramatic action of the piece explores not only the perspective of the child but that of the mother. Insofar as the mother–child relationship is paradigmatic, the piece becomes a complex metaphor for the varying degrees of alternation and simultaneity that characterize all human relationships. As a work of art, *Ancient Voices of Children* confronts us additionally with the problem of relating ambiguities inherent in aesthetic experience to other important ambiguities. It challenges us to consider how it is that our experiences in the arts derive their power to move us so profoundly.

As a title, *Ancient Voices of Children* seems puzzling, even paradoxical. How can the youthful voices of children be called ancient? The composer unravels this riddle by revealing that, for each of us, the old or former or ancient self is indeed that of a child, inextricably bound to the voice with which we once spoke. It is an ancient voice that we are fated to lose and mourn, along with all the quality of life and human relationship that once went with it. Yet sometimes we can rediscover it in the voices of other children, perhaps especially our own. Through his art George Crumb has fixed the central message of Margaret Mahler's insights.

Ancient Voices of Children is about the power, magic, ambiguity, and range of the human voice. It is about sounds created by human beings: what they can be, what they can do, and what they can mean. The piece gives us two human characters, a woman (soprano), and a boy (soprano), who represent—at times consciously, but on a deeper level unconsciously—a mother and her child. We are led by them to explore through the medium of voice, but also through anthropomorphic instrumental sound, the dimensions of their changing relationship. The anthropomorphism here moves characteristically back and forth. The voices of the two pianos take on the personae of adult and child, and the plaintive oboe imitates the human voice. On the other hand, the soprano, while vocalizing into the amplified piano, prefigures the sounds of the Tibetan prayer stones with her clicking tongue. This intimacy and intermingling of human and instrumental sound characterizes the piece, reinforcing its evocation of the ancient and the primitive.

Voice reaches out in all directions as a bridge across primal separateness. It is a mother calling ("¿Cuándo, mi niño, vas a venir?"—"When, my child, will you come?"), trying somehow to establish contact with the child within her body, with a child out in the world, and with the child who is her own partially forgotten self (" . . . que me devuelva / mi alma antigua de niño."—" . . . to give me back / my ancient soul of a child."). But voice is also an affirmer of self, a confirmer of identity and self-sufficiency ("El niño busca su voz."—"The little boy was looking for his voice."). And these two ways in

which the human voice functions can be in painful conflict, as we hear in the occasional abrupt contrasts, juxtapositions, and interpenetrations of the music.

The painful separations of birth ("Te diré, niño mío, que sí, / tronchada y rota soy para ti."—"I'll tell you, my child, yes, / I am torn and broken for you.") and death ("todas las tardes se muere un niño."—"a child dies each afternoon.") lie at the extremes of the spectrum of partial separations described by psychoanalytic developmental theory. But separation can be partially overcome by music and the magical power of voice, which interpenetrates that surface between self and outer world ("como me pierdo en el corazón de algunos niños."—"as I lose myself in the heart of certain children."). Thus, this music, "with a sense of suspended time," according to the score,[28] momentarily arrests our sense of life's evanescence.

III

The piece begins with the soprano entering the stage and walking over to the piano. Standing beside the great instrument, she is dwarfed by it, as our fleeting consciousness is dwarfed by the cavernous recesses of the unconscious. She bends over and begins to sing into the body of the piano. Her voice induces sympathetic vibrations in the piano strings. Rich vowel sounds ("a-i-u-a-i-u-a-i-u-a-i-u-a-i-u . . . ka-i-o-e-a-i-ai-u") vibrate and resonate throughout the hall as though in waves spreading from her, echoing and reechoing. She is searching, exploring, questioning, exulting in what her voice can do. She does not turn to the audience, but seems to sing into the depths of her own psyche—letting the sounds of her own voice bring messages to her. She makes a compelling visual image, leaning over the piano as if it were a pool of water, an ocean, or a vast nothingness. She is perhaps the pregnant mother calling to and listening to the unborn child within her who is still a part of her own body.

She sings sounds at this point: not words, but the "inside stuff of words"; sounds that suggest language unfettered to specific meanings; sounds evoking warmth and color unconstrained by outline; sounds like those with which the young infant practices, experiments, and plays repetitively, joyful in his burgeoning power both to make and simultaneously to respond. In this opening section, by taking not words but the sounds of letters inside words as musical elements in his composition, the composer delves into the expressive tonal qualities of language—its internal value of sound. He isolates vowels, consonants, diphthongs. With this exploration, a vast richness of meaning opens, and associations multiply.

While Mahler described the symbiotic orbit that envelops infant and mother in the first stage of their relationship, she did not stress the powerful regressive pulls that this relation exerts upon the mother. This aspect of the dyadic drama is, however, elaborated in *Ancient Voices of Children.* From the very beginning, we are absorbed into the "shimmering aura of echoes" produced by the soprano's vocalise.[29] The primeval quality of her voice, as she

renders these sounds loosened from word-shells, is enhanced by the apparent freedom, spontaneity, and intense self-absorption with which she performs this opening section. Paradoxically, although the experience she conveys is almost improvisational in character, its every nuance is notated with consummate precision in the score.[30]

Although the words are not heard until later, the title of the first movement reads, "El niño busca su voz" ("The little boy was looking for his voice"). The voice of the adult woman soprano merges in the listener's fantasy with the inarticulate experimentations of the small child too young as yet to form words. And then, as if in confirmation, the child's own voice is heard remotely offstage at the close of the passage. Further fantasies evoked by this movement (which is marked "very free and fantastic in character") include the expressive vocalizations of an adult overwhelmed by extreme emotion into incoherence; the strange and unpredictable sounds of ancient tribal music which might thus link the early history of mankind with that of individuals; the delirious liberation of sounds from binding constraints of meaning; or the unfamiliar noises of some language that one cannot comprehend.

As the music evokes such fantasies as well as the underlying human drama of fusion and separation, its breaking down of verbal sense and orgy of primitive play may cause a struggle in its listener against regressive pulls. Like the young child caught in his own developmental thralldom, the listener may find himself similarly caught, for if he can permit himself to resonate with the magic of this music, he will gradually be engulfed by its reverberations—deeply stirred and compelled by the ancient powers of his own psyche.

García Lorca's text continues:

(The king of the crickets had it.)
In a drop of water
the little boy was looking for his voice.

The soprano clicks her tongue intermittently, flutters it, works with open and closed sounds (full-throated and nasal), varying dynamics and tempi. Perhaps she is pretending to be the cricket king who has tried on a human voice, exploring all its possibilities, not certain what to do with it. Simultaneously, in these passages, she becomes the child trying to find his own voice, tentatively emerging from the fetal drop of water. She merges with and evokes the experience of the young toddler who tries on different pitches and rhythms like costumes to discover which feels comfortable, startling, useful, horrid, becoming.

She becomes the child seeking a separate and unique identity in sound, a distinct voice of his own. This theme is developed by the lines of the boy soprano's "after-song," rendered softly through a cardboard speaking tube offstage:

I do not want it for speaking with;

I will make a ring of it
so that he may wear my silence
on his little finger.

To find one's own voice is also to be able to choose silence. It is to be able to make the ring of inclusion and the ring of exclusion in the dyad, and thus, to make the little finger independent—independent of the mother.[31]

There are associations from later developmental stages as well: A boy is changing, on the brink of manhood. He looks into the water, his memory, the sounding board, and he feels the vibrations of his past. He is seeking his former voice, since his present one has grown unpredictable and strange. The soprano's voice represents, perhaps, the voice for which the boy is searching, the voice for which he will continue to search in all his subsequent relations. As her voice reverberates in ever-expanding echoes, our own awareness of the possibilities of vocal sound expands. We become conscious of the multiple meanings released by this freeing of language from word and sound from poetry and enter aesthetically into the recurring and layered dramas of early human development.

The piece continues with an instrumental interlude, "Dances of the Ancient Earth," for oboe, harp, mandolin, and percussion. Although the composer denies that this section is a commentary on the text,[32] the overarching theme of the human voice is developed and expanded here as the various instrumentalists vocalize in occasional shouts and whispers. As in later movements, the sounds made by the instruments themselves are often reminiscent of human voices—the raw wailing of bow on metal saw in section II, the antique toy piano's suggestive tinkling in section IV, the many different bells and touches of vibraphone, and above all, the oboe's haunting abortive melodies which recapitulate qualities of the soprano's voice in section V. In this interlude and throughout the piece, the warmth and vitally personal quality of the human voice is present.

In section II, the soprano moves to center stage and, facing her audience with cupped hands, she proceeds to whisper the following lines of poetry, as if telling a secret:

I have lost myself in the sea many time
with my ear full of freshly cut flowers,
with my tongue full of love and agony.
I have lost myself in the sea many times
as I lose myself in the heart of certain children.

These lines, not sung, but spoken quickly, quietly, confidentially, form almost a commentary on the preceding section as well as a further thematic development. We are, they suggest, always open to sound—to voice. Our ears are perpetual receptors unlike our eyes, and therefore we can be engulfed by sound; we can "lose" ourselves in it, for it has the power to surround and

invade us. Music fills our ears with "freshly cut flowers" i.e., with notes or words that have been spoken or sung and that die soon or change once they have passed the lips of the singer.

The irony of these lines is further expressed by the juxtaposition of "love" and "agony." Voice creates an illusion of bridging the gulf between self and other—between mother and child. A mother hearing her newborn infant's cry or an infant sensing his mother's voice and bodily sounds feels a powerful urge to be reunited in that symbiotic prenatal and postnatal union which must dissolve. The soprano's whispering of words between cupped hands—words spoken but not sung—reminds us that the transforming, reuniting magic of voice is but illusion. They remind us of the paradox that to hear another's voice as one's very own (like "freshly cut flowers") is to be at once united and inexorably separate; hence, "love" and "agony" together.

The next movement of the composition, "¿De dónde vienes, amor, mi niño?" ("From where do you come, my love, my child?"), is its centerpiece, musically, temporally, and even visually, in terms of the score itself. Its text, a block of richly imagistic poetry, comes from the song of Yerma—García Lorca's unforgettable Yerma, the barren wife, who longs so desperately to bear a child. Her words become now a musical dialogue between the two soprano voices: the one, adult, female, and present; and the other, youthful, male, and absent. The child, whom we have already heard offstage in section I, continues to remain far away, remote and invisible. Incorporated into this section are the bolero rhythms[33] of the "Dance of the Sacred Life-Cycle," which is scored in the shape of a ring on the page (reminiscent of the "anillo" of voice and silence). This dance closely follows the structure of Lorca's poetry with the mother's repeated (slightly varied), yearning questions, the child's vividly sensual and pictorial responses, and the thrice-repeated chorus. Against the rhythms and repetitions of this movement play a rich variety of background accents produced by ingenious combinations of instruments and the composer's exploitation of their potential for creating new sound.

Visually and auditorily, the instrumentalists become almost a family to the major participants in the dialogue here, as awareness of setting becomes more prominent both in the text and in the drama that is unfolding between mother and child and between mother and self. As background becomes foreground in the instrumental interludes, we grow more sensitive to the way in which all the noises that surround us—including those internal to us—have significance and hitherto unrecognized value. We begin to perceive these noises as relating us to life around us and to our intrapsychic and bodily selves.

Section IV is preceded by a silence. Brief but deeply signifying, this silence symbolizes death (the final and irrevocable absence), but it also offers respite. It prepares us for the complex and highly emotional threnody to come:

Todas las tardes en Granada,
todas las tardes se muere un niño.

Each afternoon in Granada,
a child dies each afternoon.

Dominated by slow, unmeasured rhythms, this climactic movement evokes the death of children—not loss of life alone but the death of childhood itself.

In the first song, the little boy was heard offstage speaking of wanting his voice not to talk but to make a "ring of silence." It is *this* silence, this distance, that the mother mourns here, although the literal death of children remains a viable interpretation. The toy piano's *perdendosi* rendition of Bach's "Bist du bei mir" ("Be near me") addresses the theme of loss and separation with special poignancy.

That the actual death of children is lamented also is made patent in the brief transition, aptly named "Ghost Dance," as well as in the final movement, "Se ha llenado de luces mi corazón de seda" ("My heart of silk is filled with lights"). Here the composer directly quotes in his plaintive oboe solo a melodic line from the final movement, "Der Abschied" ("The Farewell"), of Gustav Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde*,[34] a piece written by that composer upon the death of his own five-year-old daughter. As the music evokes our sense of loss in these several dimensions, it conveys especially that mourning for a special kind and quality of relationship that must irrevocably pass, and yet which is, evanescently, recaptured in our aesthetic moments with music.

Finally, in this concluding section of *Ancient Voices of Children,* we hear voices—both human and instrumental—reaching with a progressive sense of urgency. The soprano sings of traveling "farther than those hills, / farther than the seas, / close to the stars," to span the distance—to close the gap between herself and her "ancient soul of a child." It is here that the oboe player, after performing his soulful motive, slowly rises and leaves the stage. Later, we hear him again, the oboe muted, distant, and somehow reminiscent in feeling of the soprano's voice. The oboist's physical departure is essential here. It enables us to experience fully and cross-modally the illusion that voice reaches across the landscape with power to heal the terrible anguish of separation.

Then, after the last words of the poem are sung, the child comes onto the stage for the first time. The "ring" is now closed as the soprano walks toward him, and standing together in an exquisite cameo, they perform a series of wonderful, wordless sounds—a recapitulation of the first moments of the piece, but infused this time with shared serenity, joy, and resolution.

By the conclusion of *Ancient Voices of Children,* we have relived our own ancient cycles of symbiosis and separation-individuation. Associations, impressions, partially formed ideas flood consciousness: Through the process of searching within herself for her own "ancient" childhood, a mother may ultimately find her child in a new way. There must be death, but there is also regeneration. There is agony and yet love. The uncanny quality[35] of the music fascinates and attracts us, inviting us to expand our sense of what music is and can be, just as it stretches and strengthens our sense of the open-ended

possibilities of human relationship. Hearing this music with the insights into the dawning phases of human development that are provided by modern psychoanalytic theory, we may feel that the intense pleasure it affords us derives in no small measure from its power to awaken in us that archaic experiential world of infant and mother, duality and union, which lives on in the unconscious.

NOTES

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A version of this article will appear as "Separation-Individuation in a Cycle of Songs: George Crumb's *Ancient Voices of Children,*" in Volume 42 of *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child;* permission of the Yale University Press is here gratefully acknowledged.

[1] Recent examples of fine interdisciplinary work in these areas include Charles Segal, "Pentheus and Hippolytus on the Couch and on the Grid: Psychoanalytic and Structural Readings of Greek Tragedy," *The Classical World* 72 (1978): 129–48; Norman Bryson, *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983); Patricia Tunstall, "Structuralism and Musicology: An Overview," *Current Musicology* 27 (1979): 51–64.

[2] Freud himself admits this in "The Moses of Michelangelo," (1914), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud,* vol. 13, ed. James Strachey (London: The Hogarth Press, 1953), 211.

[3] For some exceptionally fine examples, see the following articles by Stuart Feder: "Gustav Mahler, Dying," *International Review of Psycho-analysis* 5 (1978): 125–48; "Gustav Mahler um Mitternacht," *International Review of Psycho-analysis* 7 (1980): 11–26; "Gustav Mahler: The Music of Fratricide," *International Review of Psycho-analysis* 8 (1981): 257–84; "Decoration Day: A Boyhood Memory of Charles Ives," *The Musical Quarterly* 66 (1980): 234–61; "The Nostalgia of Charles Ives: An Essay in Affects and Music," *The Annual of Psychoanalysis* 10 (1982): 301–32; "Charles Ives and the Unanswered Question," *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society* 10 (1984): 321–51; "Calcium Night Light and Other Early Memories of Charles Ives," (unpublished essay).

[4] See, for example, O. K. Bouwsma, "The Expression Theory of Art," *Aesthetics Today,* eds. M. Philipson and P. J. Gudel (New York: New American Library, 1980); Alan Tormey, "Art and Expression: A Critique," *Philosophy Looks at the Arts,* ed. Joseph Margolis (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978); Peter Kivy, *The Corded Shell* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

[5] For a discussion of three major psychoanalytic approaches to the arts, see Ellen Handler Spitz, *Art and Psyche: A Study in Psychoanalysis and Aesthetics* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985).

[6] Margaret Mahler's principal works are cited as referred to in the text.

[7] Winnicott's relevant works are cited as referred to in the text. In addition, for an excellent anthology of essays applying Winnicott's notions of transitional objects and phenomena to clinical and cultural studies, see *Between Fantasy and Reality,* ed. Simon A. Grolnick, Leonard Barkin, Werner Muensterberger (New York and London: Jason Aronson, 1978).

[8] It is interesting to speculate on the connection between Freud's lack of interest in music and his relative lack of interest in the preverbal child. It is striking, moreover, that those more recent psychoanalytic authors who *have* studied the early infant–mother dyad have developed ideas with remarkable applicability to music.

[9] Margaret S. Mahler, "On the First Three Subphases of the Separation-Individuation Process," *International Journal of Psycho-analysis* 53 (1972): 333.

[10] Mahler, "On the First Three Subphases."

[11] See work of this title: Margaret S. Mahler, Fred Pine, and Anni Bergman, *The Psychological Birth of the Human Infant* (New York: Basic Books, 1975).

[12] For an alternative view and critique of Mahler, see Daniel N. Stern, "Implications of Infancy Research for Psychoanalytic Theory and Practice," *Psychiatry Update* 2, ed. Lester Grinspoon (Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Press, 1983).

[13] Mahler, *On Human Symbiosis and the Vicissitudes of Individuation* (New York: International Universities Press, 1968), 8.

[14] See Winnicott, "Ego Distortion in Terms of True and False Self," *Maturational Processes and the Facilitating Environment* (New York: International Universities Press, 1965).

[15] Winnicott, "Transitional Objects and Transitional Phenomena," *International Journal of Psycho-analysis* 34 (1953): 95.

[16] See Winnicott, "The Location of Cultural Experience," *International Journal of Psycho-analysis* 48 (1966): 368–72.

[17] See Phyllis Greenacre, "The Childhood of the Artist," *Emotional Growth* 2 (New York: International Universities Press, 1971): 490.

[18] Winnicott, "Transitional Objects."

[19] Arnold Isenberg, *Aesthetics and the Theory of Criticism,* ed. William Callaghan et. al. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973), 52.

[20] *Ancient Voices of Children* was commissioned by the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation in the Library of Congress. It was first performed by Jan deGaetani, soprano, Michael Dash, boy soprano, and the Contemporary Chamber Ensemble conducted by Arthur Weisberg, 31 October 1970. The score was published by C. F. Peters Corporation, New York, London, and Frankfurt. The author of the present article was privileged to attend two brilliant performances of this work featuring soprano Barbara Martin at The Juilliard School during the summer of 1980.

[21] *Ancient Voices of Children* has been recorded on a Nonesuch stereo disc, H–71255, featuring Jan deGaetani.

[22] Although the actual sounds of the Spanish words are inextricable from their musical effect, I have, owing to complications of rights, quoted the Spanish texts more sparsely than I would have liked. My warrant for providing translation comes directly from the score (Edition Peters No. 66303), where Crumb has clearly indicated his desire that the meaning of the text be understood by all his listeners. He states: "N.B. both Spanish and English texts should be printed as part of the program notes." The translations are from Federico García Lorca, *Selected Poems* (New York: New Directions Publishing, 1955). Copyright © 1955 by New Directions Publishing Corporation. Reprinted by permission of new Directions Publishing Corporation.

[23] The number of twentieth-century composers who have treated texts as phonemes is enormous. Some of the most well-known of these composers are Luciano Berio, György Ligeti, Karlheinz Stockhausen, and Daniel Lenz.

[24] "ANCIENT VOICES OF CHILDREN could be adapted to theater presentation involving dance and, perhaps, mime. The two instrumental interludes, 'Dances of the Ancient Earth' and 'Ghost Dance,' would be especially adaptable to solo dancer" (from Crumb's Performance Notes in the published score of *Ancient Voices of Children).*

[25] See René Spitz, *The First Year of Life* (New York: International Universities Press, 1965).

[26] See Daniel N. Stern, "Implications of Infancy Research."

[27] See Susanne Langer, *Feeling and Form* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953).

[28] Crumb, *Ancient Voices of Children,* p. 5.

[29] Crumb, *Ancient Voices of Children,* inside front cover.

[30] The paradox of a score which specifies every nuance of performance and yet engenders a performance that conveys the very essence of spontaneity recalls the following lines by William Butler Yeats from "Adam's Curse":

> A line will take us hours maybe;
> Yet if it does not seem a moment's thought,
> Our stitching and unstitching has been naught.
> Better go down upon your marrow-bones
> And scrub a kitchen pavement, or break stones
> Like an old pauper, in all kinds of weather;

For to articulate sweet sounds together
Is to work harder than all these, and yet
Be thought an idler by the noisy set
Of bankers, schoolmasters, and clergymen
The martyrs call the world.

From "In the Seven Woods," *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960).

[31] It may be interesting here to introduce a Lacanian perspective to understand the place of the cricket king who *has* the little boy's voice. According to Lacan, it is the father ("le nom/non du pere") who intervenes and ruptures the child's symbiotic ("imaginaire") relation with the mother. In symbiosis, no symbolic communication is necessary. It is thus the (phallic) father who, in severing the bond with the mother, initiates the child into language, symbolized here perhaps, by the "king" who has the voice of the child. See Jacques Lacan, *Ecrits: A Selection,* trans. Alan Sheridan (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1977).

[32] Crumb, *Ancient Voices of Children,* inside front cover.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Gustav Mahler, *Das Lied von der Erde* (Vienna and London: Philharmonia Partituren in der Universal Edition, 1962), originally published in 1912. Mahler's elder and beloved daughter Maria (Putzi), who had been named for the composer's mother, died of scarlet fever on 5 July 1907. For a sensitive discussion of the effect of her death on her father, see Stuart Feder, "Gustav Mahler, Dying" (cited above in note 3). The child's death coincided not only with artistic conflicts that led to Mahler's resignation from the Vienna Opera but with the diagnosis of the valvular heart disease that, four years later, claimed his life. As the first sketches for *Das Lied* were made in the summer of 1907 and its first title was "Das Lied vom Jammer der Erde" ("The Song of the Sorrow of the Earth"), we may assume some connection between the events of his life and this piece in which, as Alma Mahler writes, "He expressed all his sorrow and dread." *Gustav Mahler: Memories and Letters.* ed. Donald Mitchell (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1946), 139.

[35] Freud's notion of "the uncanny," developed in his paper of that title published in 1919, has to do with what he termed "the return of the repressed." According to this view, we experience as "uncanny" those events which precipitate a partial return into consciousness of infantile gratifications or fears that had previously been kept out of awareness. It is worth speculating that some measure of the "uncanny" quality of the composition under discussion here may be attributable to this phenomenon.

The Cubist Metaphor: Picasso in Stravinsky Criticism

By Tom Gordon

"Stravinsky was to music what Picasso is to art." This was the headline of a five-column obituary by the staff music critic of the *Toronto Globe and Mail* published the morning after the composer's death. As the one epitomizing sentence drawn from John Kraglund's assessment of Stravinsky's impact on the twentieth century, it was a vivid explanation of the known unknown in terms of the known unknown. To the uninitiated, the most notorious composer of this century was comprehensible when compared to the most notorious figure in the world of art. The comparison itself, apart from the headline, was based on the vast influence each of these artists exerted:

> Efforts to assess Stravinsky's place in our musical life are extremely difficult. Is he, indeed, the greatest composer of this century, or is that merely the impression that has been created by a brilliant publicity campaign as some believe? . . . for now it is safe to say that Stravinsky has been the most influential composer of this century—in the way that Picasso has influenced the visual arts.[1]

But the Toronto critic's turn of phrase was hardly original coinage. On 7 April 1971, the metaphor appeared on art and entertainment pages across the western world. Harold Schonberg wrote in *The New York Times:*

> A score like the *Symphony of Psalms* or *Oedipus Rex* created a world of its own, much as cubism . . . created its own world. . . . Like Picasso, . . . Stravinsky was an important figure in helping shape a period.[2]

The unsigned tribute published in *Time* magazine a week later similarly said of *The Rite of Spring:*

> It was one of those works, like Joyce's *Ulysses* and Picasso's *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon,* that announced a new consciousness.[3]

The metaphor equated the two most conspicuous innovators of the century because they thrust their revolution into public view. Stravinsky and Picasso had been represented as the apex of high-brow modernity almost from the moment of their nearly simultaneous appearance in the years of this century's adolescence. The earliest invocation of the metaphor came in a review of the London premiere of *The Rite of Spring,* published on 11 July 1913:

> The dancing . . . is allied to recent manifestations in the other arts, and

may perhaps be called "Cubist dancing," (according to a recent definition—24 dances performed by 24 dancers to 24 different tunes played simultaneously.)[4]

Comparing Stravinsky and Picasso became a convention in populist criticism. They, of course, collaborated on *Pulcinella* in 1920, a collaboration arranged at the composer's request. An intense, if sporadic, personal sympathy had sparked between them at the time of their first encounter in Rome and Naples during the pivotal spring of 1917. Stravinsky recounted that meeting with a vivid anecdote in his conversation books, but he deflected the reader's attention from the import of the moment by including a tale of their arrest for public urination in the streets of Naples. Other chroniclers have invested the Neapolitan encounter with greater significance. In his 1930 *Panorama de la musique contemporaine,* André Coueroy saw this meeting as a mutual awakening. Reflecting on their visits to the Italian galleries and the ruins of Pompeii, Coeuroy wrote:

> Before a drawing by Raphael, Picasso meditates on what the aestheticians have called "linear classicism." It is at this precise moment that Stravinsky meets him—an identical point in his own evolution. . . . The Stravinsky–Picasso dyad attains from the beginning an equilibrium in the style of stylized classicism: proof that their routes at the time of their meeting were twin.[5]

Jean Cocteau, the perpetual bridesmaid of the signet events of this century, repeatedly claimed responsibility for bringing composer and painter together. Moreover, Stravinsky and Picasso, as Cocteau's twin masters, showed him and the entire generation of *après guerre jeunes* in France the route to a new art, stripped of the accrued decadence of romanticism.[6]

No Stravinsky chronicler has failed to remark on the coincidences of biography and creative development that link the Spaniard from Montmartre and the Russian from Lausanne. Born only six months apart, they grew up on the opposite fringes of the western world. Each entered the artistic field of his father: Picasso's was an academic painter in Barcelona; Stravinsky's, a soloist with the St. Petersburg Opera. Each was steeped in a knowledge of the traditions of western culture, but removed from its mainstream. This situation eventually allowed each to shape a reconstruction of that culture both from without and from within. For the young composer and the young painter, the release from nineteenth-century academicism came through a Parisian apprenticeship. Both were drawn into the French milieu: Picasso through a succession of transformations suggested by Lautrec, Cézanne, and the Fauves; Stravinsky at the distanced feet of Chabrier and then Debussy. Paris beckoned them and provided the venue for the decisive and apparently revolutionary act that thrust each into the forefront of the avant-garde. Though Picasso's epochal *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* predates *The Rite of Spring*

by six years, his leadership of the cubist movement was not widely acknowledged until 1911.[7] While Stravinsky's notoreity was immediate, Picasso held himself aloof from the scandals, and few of his cubist works were seen in Paris until after 1916. The 1914 war made exiles of both men but allowed them to continue their creative work. Throughout this period, each experimented in relative isolation, testing the hypotheses of the preceding decade, refining and abstracting from individual coloristic and structural discoveries. Then in 1919, to a public that was better prepared to embrace their modernism, they offered a barren classicism, incomprehensibly distilled from the seeming chaos of the decade before. As already noted in André Coeuroy's assessment, the moment of their personal encounter marked the collision of their evolutionary paths.

These illuminating anecdotal coincidences make fascinating biographical fodder and may sustain a *Zeitgeist* view of the unfolding of cultural history. But beyond the journalistic metaphor, beyond the biographical coincidences, the parallels between Stravinsky and Picasso have had a third life in the serious critical writing on the composer. Periodically, from Stravinsky's first command of serious attention, writers have sought intent in these coincidences by exploring the possibility of artistic influence. Some of the more thorough investigations have probed comparable distinctions in style and technique.[8] Others have dwelt on a more metaphysical plane, striking parallels of intent and interpretation.[9] Both types have developed insights that were first articulated in a series of articles published between 1928 and 1934 by French advocates of Stravinsky, including André Coeuroy, André Schaeffner, and Boris de Schloezer.[10] The appearance of these studies in the years surrounding 1930 is significant, since the most obvious links between the painter and the composer were by then a matter of history. Picasso had broken with the Ballets Russes circle in 1925. Stravinsky, through *Oedipus Rex,* had taken his neo-classical explorations of the preceding fifteen years to monumental form. The critics had a broad enough perspective on the post-1913 works to judge fairly.

The most obvious parallel between Stravinsky and Picasso, the one that lay at the root of the "enigma" they continuously presented to the public, was what Coeuroy called the "constantly recurring surprise."[11] Oleggini called it "an astonishing mobility of genius";[12] Cocteau, the ability to "change one's skin, not just the garment."[13] The recurring surprise resulted from the artists' attitude that each new work was a problem to be solved, a problem that set its own terms and determined a unique solution. The disconcerting about-face that each new work from *The Rite of Spring* to *Oedipus Rex* presented the public was the inescapable result of such an attitude. The belief in creation as problem-solving seemingly disallowed habits in the composition of new works, just as it disallowed habits in their reception. For both Stravinsky and Picasso, this approach was the only sure antidote to the habits that a lingering romanticism had ingrained in the creative process.

In his 1961 apologia, *Les Fondaments de la musique dans la conscience humaine,*

Ernest Ansermet unsympathetically acknowledged this process of continuous renewal as the principal link between two artists he had come to see as mostly dissimilar:

> Our epoch has been dominated by two artists who have adopted a "purely aesthetic" attitude toward their art. Neither one nor the other has engaged himself in a *style* which permeates all their works. They are Stravinsky and Picasso. . . . Between them they have one point in common: the need to continuously renew their material.[14]

This denial of the habits of creation had as its intent the rejection of one of the most fundamental conventions of all the arts: that the work of art is itself a metaphor for some element of physical or psychological reality. What Ansermet had grown to regret, but what linked Stravinsky and Picasso nonetheless, was the commitment to replacing art's illusion of physical or emotional description with the objective reality of the work itself.

A variety of labels came to be attached to this phenomenon, the most common of which were objectivity[15] and purism.[16] Like continuous renewal, purification of the art object became a recurrent theme in comparisons between composer and painter. Paul Collaer identified the intent of purism as a focus on the act of creation itself:

> Stravinsky and Picasso are perhaps the two artists in the contemporary world who have awakened the greatest interest among all types of creative workers. For in approaching the most elemental materials of their art, and using them to build on a surface cleared of all inherited tradition, they allow the closest view of the phenomenon of creation.[17]

Oleggini saw this rigorous and disciplined means of purification as an escape from appearances—a leap into the domain of pure idea:

> Apropos Stravinsky and Picasso, it is right to have spoken of pure music and pure painting, a purity extending to the state of form and design, the extreme limit of abstraction. . . . Through a process of increasing elimination and deformation, Stravinsky and Picasso achieve the destruction of the world of appearances to retain only the world of ideas, an abnormal realm for mankind.[18]

The price of this purism was high. To achieve it both painter and musician renounced not only subject, but the subjective voice of the creator. Long before Stravinsky published his notorious quip that music was incapable of expressing anything, there was a recognition that both Stravinsky and Picasso were denying their works conventional expressive meaning. The psychological expressivity of music was a hot topic in French criticism in the years immediately after the First World War. It was debated by the composer

Charles Koechlin[19] and the Russian emigré and critic Boris de Schloezer.[20] The former pleaded for a return to psychological sensibility, while the latter decried such manipulations of the heart, thereby expressing the Wagner-weary sentiments of the vanguard. De Schloezer found a model for nonpsychological music in Stravinsky, whose works he said function on a suprahuman plane, "without an atom of psychological content."[21] Repeatedly de Schloezer, among others, drew a parallel to Picasso, who conscientiously stripped his cubist canvasses of all psychological association or manipulation.

The most striking articulation of the parallel between Stravinsky's nonpsychological intent and that of the cubists was one of the earliest. Jacques Rivière, the postwar editor of *La nouvelle revue française,* had been one of Stravinsky's first sympathetic critics. His essay-length review of November 1913 began a general reconsideration of *The Rite of Spring*. This reconsideration led to a vindicating concert performance in the spring of 1914. Though he fully expected to have the same sort of sympathy for the 1914 premiere of *The Nightingale,* Rivière sensed in the new work a shift toward what he regarded as dangerous directions in the visual arts:

> The principle that Stravinsky means to insinuate is the same one that the cubists and futurists proclaim in common accord: it is necessary to renounce whatever flatters the sensibility; the new art must appeal to the intellect. . . . Music must then cease to be moving.[22]

In place of moving the listener—in place of awakening emotional associations in the viewer of a new work of art—Stravinsky and Picasso offered a new formalism, a corollary of purism. For a work to be a concrete reality in itself and not a representation of some other physical or psychological entity, it must be restricted to the exploration of the possible forms which a blank two-dimensional surface or span of time could hold. Picasso expressed it succinctly:

> Cubism . . . is an art dealing primarily with forms, and when a form is realized, it is there to live its own life. . . . We give to form and color all their individual significance as far as we can see it.[23]

Two years earlier, Ernest Ansermet, then Stravinsky's most ardent advocate and personal spokesman, had explained the composer's formalism in almost identical terms:

> Stravinsky does not use his timbres as a colorist. . . . But rather as Cézanne, or perhaps Picasso, construct with color, he constructs with timbre. His work is a polyphonic construction of melodic and harmonic rhythms, emphasized by qualities of timbre.[24]

The formalist orientation, together with the new dialogue with tradition evident in *Pulcinella,* inevitably raised the spectre of classicism. As a genre piece, anticipated by such Ballets Russes productions as *The Good Humored Ladies, Pulcinella* itself drew little comment. But when both composer and painter persisted in making art from art, critics recognized a new creative principle. Ansermet can be presumed to be speaking for the composer in 1921, when he wrote:

> We see Stravinsky making in a ragtime the portrait of a general character—making a pure sonata inspired by the play of syncopation. Compare Stravinsky's three ragtimes as you would three harlequins by Picasso.[25]

From around 1915, Stravinsky and Picasso became creative kleptomaniacs, drawing their material from existing works and using it however they saw fit. Paul Collaer interpreted this as evidence of their continual renewal:

> The so-called returns to Pergolesi, Bach, Handel, or Weber are not evidence of abdication or retrogression, but rather indicate the points of departure of a new art. Ingres or Negro art has the same function in Picasso's work.[26]

Boris de Schloezer pursued this similarity to its root. Neither Stravinsky nor Picasso worked from reality, but rather from the already artificial.

> Their art is *art raised to the second degree.* . . . The painter, the sculptor, as a rule, start with reality and transmute it; Picasso works on something that has already been transmuted, on pictorial forms which he reorganizes. Stravinsky operates similarly in his field, he creates with something that has already been created . . . his genius takes in hand formal elements which are not really his, in order to arrange them after his own fashion.[27]

With this assessment, most of the terms of the metaphor fall into place. Working with disparate and ever varied sources and models, both Stravinsky and Picasso circumvented the limitations of individual creative imagination. They were freed—not only from the restriction of inspiration, but also from the tendency to make the work of art a metaphorical interpretation of physical or psychological reality. The result in both cases was not nonhuman, but suprahuman works of art—works devoid of explicit expressive intent and yet paradoxically capable of a greater, more profound intensity of expression. This intensity of expression resulted from a formalistic rather than descriptive orientation in the work, one where elements of sound and image were free to attain their own value. The work itself was pure, an object unto itself.

One further and more specific dimension of the metaphor remains to be

explored. The critics found the formalism of Stravinsky and Picasso unique because it made conventional continuities of space and time disjunct. Coeuroy called it "a peculiar use of rhythm."[28] Ansermet found that, in Stravinsky's polyphony, what should have been successive was simultaneous, while what should have been simultaneous was successive; but

> thanks to harmonic landmarks which assign a precise zone to movements and thanks to the rhythm which distinguishes them, the spirit collects within itself, what has unfolded in time, separates what has been united, rejoins what has been separated, and dominates the whole without confusion. This is the process of cubism.[29]

Writing considerably later, with the benefit of hindsight and a more complete knowledge of cubist theory, Léon Oleggini interpreted these tendencies as the first application of a relativist or Einsteinian conception of space and time to the arts. He compared the two men's approaches toward the most fundamental materials of their arts. As Picasso realized three dimensions in two without illusion, Oleggini concluded, Stravinsky achieved a musical past, present, and future (previously dependent on the roles of memory and anticipation in the psychological perception of music) within the ontological now.[30]

The cubist metaphor was an interpretive tool. Each of the writers who invoked it, whether journalist, biographer, or critic, sought to illuminate the work of the composer by comparing it to the work of the painter, and by highlighting similarities in the ways these men achieved positions of preeminence. These similarities might be dismissed as fascinating coincidences were it not for the suspicion that Stravinsky himself had some hand in the articulation of the metaphor, perhaps even to the point of cultivating it. The suspicion requires some attention.

Stravinsky wrote remarkably little about his relationship with Picasso. Granted, the term of their friendship was brief: they met in the spring of 1917, and three years later they collaborated on *Pulcinella*. Their interaction beyond these occasions was infrequent. Stravinsky's reminiscences about the painter focus almost exclusively on the camaraderie they enjoyed. Apart from rather general statements of admiration, which became more guarded as the composer grew older, Stravinsky evaded direct assessments of Picasso's work. But two isolated remarks from newspaper interviews suggest that Stravinsky may have compared himself to the artist. In an interview printed in the London *Observer* at the time of the 1921 revival of *The Rite of Spring*, Stravinsky elaborated on his position as a composer of pure music:

> Well, suppose I am a painter. I paint, say, a portrait of a lady in *toilette de bal*, with her jewels. My portrait resembles the person painted. Nonetheless, it is painted for the pleasure of painting, despite its subject. . . . The same thing applies to all my works. In the "Rite of Spring," for instance,

the pretext of the prehistoric birth of spring, has suggested to me the construction of the work that I have called "The Rite of Spring." The "pretext" I choose is but a pretext, like the painter's pretext for painting. If anyone objects, and prefers anecdote to a simple musical monument, they are surely in their mental infancy.[31]

A few years later in another interview, Stravinsky offered his own distinction between expressionism and cubism. In language that would recur in the *Poetics of Music,* language that is traceable to Jacques Maritain's 1919 treatise on human creativity entitled *Art et scholastique,*[32] the composer distinguished the *individuality* of expressionism from the *personality* of cubism, and identified his own work with the latter:

> Expressionism involves individuality, cubism personality. Individuality is suspect, but never personality, which is almost a divine concept, the quality of being as a gift of God. Individuality is recognized in the world of the spirit as a form of refined pride, or egoism. Personality: person: the receiving and the returning.[33]

Stravinsky's recognition and cultivation of the parallels between Picasso's work and his own is most evident in the writings of his appointed spokesmen from 1914 to 1950. Theodore Stravinsky's monograph *The Message of Igor Stravinsky* (1948) can claim the composer's tacit approval since it was published in English translation under the editorship of Robert Craft in 1953. The composer's son made this forthright statement:

> The unique evolution of Picasso and Stravinsky together with their universally acknowledged positions in painting and music . . . present a parallel which is certainly not arbitrary. Every living thing evolves; and everything that evolves renews itself in some way. "Renewal" and "life" are in some respects the same things. Stravinsky always sees the creation of a new work in terms of concrete problems to be resolved.[34]

Similiar comparisons can be drawn from the writings of most of Stravinsky's other apologists in the pre-Craft era. Charles-Ferdinand Ramuz likened Stravinsky's technique of reconstituting new works from preexistent material to cubist analysis.[35] (Ramuz was a firsthand participant in this process, since he collaborated on the translation of Stravinsky's Russian songs from the First World War period.) According to Arthur Lourié, a Maritain disciple and the composer's public voice from the time of the Sonata to that of *Apollon Musagètes,* when Picasso abandoned cubism for line drawing in the early twenties, Stravinsky similarly abandoned the volume and color of *Symphonies of Winds* for the "linear space" of the Sonata.[36] Stravinsky's hand can also be seen in the first serious assessment of his works, Ernest Ansermet's "L'Oeuvre d'Igor Stravinsky" (1921), which has already been liberally

quoted. The composer had recommended Ansermet's essay to Henry Prunières, the editor of *La revue musicale,* rather than provide his own apologia.[37] Ansermet's points are richly illustrated by the Picasso metaphor with applications to both the composer's technique and intent.

But the most emphatic evidence of Stravinsky's cultivation of the metaphor derives from his relationship with Jacques Rivière. The much regretted publication of Stravinsky's own defense of *The Rite of Spring* in Ricciotto Canudo's pro-cubist review *Montjoie!* is described in one of Robert Craft's appendices to the 1978 documentary biography, where Stravinsky's authorship is authenticated.[38] In an attempt to disassociate himself publicly from Canudo's radical postures, Stravinsky sought support from the other end of the critical spectrum. Jacques Rivière's sensitive study of *The Rite of Spring,* published in the more conservative *La nouvelle revue française,* provided the necessary antidote. Almost immediately the composer started to cultivate the critic. Published correspondence suggests that Stravinsky attempted to groom Rivière to explain his next work, *The Nightingale,* to the public. Rivière was admitted to rehearsals and given complimentary tickets to the premiere. One of Rivière's letters, dated months before the premiere, makes reference to having "started to put on paper some ideas about the *Nightingale.*"[39] The outcome of this courtship has already been stated: Rivière decried *The Nightingale* as a cubist manifesto.

> It is undeniable that certain principles on which *The Rite of Spring* was founded had been previously sketched by the cubists and futurists. Stravinsky seems to have perceived this after the fact and, inspired by the *Zeitgeist,* he felt himself obliged to turn back toward his impotent precursors, to listen to their petty counsel, to accept their little axioms, to gather their insignificant discoveries and, as thanks, to write *The Nightingale.* Too much devotion.[40]

If one accepts Rivière's hypothesis, one must ask why a composer at the height of his creativity would choose to submit himself to a radical, modernist movement then at the center of public controversy. Two answers suggest themselves. The first relates to the "brilliant publicity campaign" to which Stravinsky's Toronto eulogist alluded. The vindicating reception which the 1914 concert performance of *The Rite of Spring* received must have troubled its composer even more than the tumultuous scandal of the year before. Wildly embraced now, *The Rite of Spring* came to be perceived as a monument of ethnic primitivism. The composer himself was touted as a sort of avant-garde Rimsky-Korsakov. For the next fifteen years, each new work by Stravinsky would be publicly regretted when measured against *The Rite of Spring.* Thus even before the war made him an exile, while he was working on such abstract sketches as the *Three Pieces for String Quartet,* Stravinsky may have been planning escape from an imposed ethnic ghetto. Cubism (which *Vanity Fair* proclaimed in 1914 was "a magical word these days! Whisper it and you will

pack a hall for a debate, or a gallery for an exhibition"[41]) may have suggested a "safe harbor," if only because of its controversy.

Less skeptically, one might concur with Rivière's observation of a link with cubism, while questioning his evaluation of the result. In 1913–1914 Stravinsky may well have recognized himself as a musical cubist. Though he had not yet met Picasso, Stravinsky claims to have known his work from 1912. Certainly the composer was traveling in cubist circles. After his interview with Canudo, Stravinsky had been the subject of a 1914 portrait by the doctrinaire cubist Albert Gleizes, whom he probably met through Jean Cocteau. Also through Cocteau, the composer would have been familiar with the writings of Apollonaire and the other *Section d'or* theorists of cubism. Beyond recognizing aesthetic and formalistic sympathies, Stravinsky—already adept at transforming the plastic forms of dance and the syntactic forms of verse to music—may have embraced the challenge of transforming the two-dimensional dynamic of cubism to sound. The process of that transformation would have been far closer to the composer's central creative impulses than the usual transformation of a scenario or poem into the "pretext" of a composition.

NOTES

[1] John Kraglund, "Stravinsky was to music what Picasso is to art," *Toronto Globe and Mail,* 7 April 1971, 8.

[2] *New York Times,* 7 April 1971, 48.

[3] "The Rightness of His Wrongs," *Time,* 19 April 1971, 58.

[4] *Daily Mail* (London), 11 July 1913, quoted in Nesta MacDonald, *Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and the United States, 1911–1929* (New York: Dance Horizons, 1975), 99.

[5] "Devant un dessin de Raphaël, il [Picasso] médite ce que les esthéticiens ont appelé le 'classicisme linéaire.' C'est le moment où Stravinski le recontre, au même point de son évolution. . . . La dyade Stravinski–Picasso atteint du premier coup l'équilibre dans ce style classique stylisé: preuve que leurs routes, quand elles sont venues à rencontre, étaient jumelles." André Coeuroy, *Panorama de la musique contemporaine,* revised and enlarged ed. (Paris: Editions KRA, 1930), 20–21.

[6] Cocteau was delightfully inconsistent in this claim. His twin masters formed a sort of fill-in-the-blanks game: depending on whom he was addressing and when, they might be Stravinsky and Picasso, or Satie and Raymond Radiguet, or any combination.

[7] Lynn Gamwell, *Cubist Criticism* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), 26–27.

[8] Notably, William Mahar, "Neo-Classicism in the Twentieth Century: A Study of the Idea and Its Relationship to Selected Works of Stravinksy and Picasso" (Ph.D. diss., University of Syracuse, 1972).

[9] Léon Oleggini, *Connaissance de Stravinsky* (Lausanne: Editions Maurice et Pierre Foetisch, 1952).

[10] André Coeuroy, "Picasso and Stravinsky," *Modern Music* 5, no. 2 (January 1928): 3–8. André Schaeffner, "On Stravinsky, Early and Late," *Modern Music* 12, no. 1 (November 1934): 3–7. Boris de Schloezer, "The Enigma of Stravinsky," *Modern Music* 10, no. 1 (November 1932): 10–17.

[11] Coeuroy, *Panorama,* 23.

[12] Oleggini, *Connaissance de Stravinsky,* 137.

[13] Jean Cocteau, *Le Coq et l'Harlequin* (Paris: Editions de la Sirène, 1918), 22.

[14] "Notre époque a été dominée par deux artistes qui ont adopté devant leur art une attitude 'purement esthétique,' car ni l'un ni l'autre ne se sont engagés dans un *style* qui marquerait

toutes leurs oeuvres: Picasso et Stravinsky. . . . Mais il sont entre eux un point commun: ce besoin de renouveler constamment leur matière." Ernest Ansermet, *Les Fondaments de la musique dans la conscience humaine* (Neuchâtel: A la Baconnière, 1961), 1:506.

[15] Paul Landormy, "Le Déclin de l'impressionisme," *La revue musicale,* 2, no. 4 (February 1921): 97–114.

[16] Roland Manuel, "Réflexions sur la pureté," *La revue Pleyel,* 31 (April 1926): 15–17.

[17] Paul Collaer, *A History of Modern Music,* trans. Sally Abeles (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1961), 142.

[18] "C'est donc avec raison que l'on a parlé, à propos de ces artistes, de musique et de peinture pure, cette pureté allant même se figer jusqu'à son état de forme et de dessin, limite extrême du dépouillement. . . . D'élimination en élimination, de déformation en déformation, ils arrivent à détruire le monde des apparences pour ne faire subsister que le monde des idées, règne de l'anormal pour les hommes." Oleggini, *Connaissance de Stravinsky,* 142.

[19] Charles Koechlin, "La musique plaisir de l'esprit au jouissance sensuelle," *La revue musicale,* 2, no. 5 (March 1921): 219–41.

[20] Boris de Schloezer, "Psychologie et musique," *La revue musicale,* 2, no. 8 (June 1921): 244–56.

[21] Boris de Schloezer, "Stravinsky and Picasso," *American Spectator Yearbook,* 1 (1934): 82.

[22] "Le principe que Stravinsky prétend insinuer, est celui-là même que cubistes et futuristes proclament d'un commun accord: il faut renoncer à flatter la sensibilité; l'art nouveau doit être intellectualiste. . . . La musique doit donc cesser d'être pathétique." Jacques Rivière, "La saison russe," *La nouvelle revue française,* 7, no. 66 (July 1914): 154.

[23] Marius de Zayas, "Picasso Speaks," *The Arts,* 3 (May 1923): 315–26, quoted in Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art* (New York: Arno Press, 1980), 270–71.

[24] "Stravinsky n'use donc pas de ses timbres en 'coloriste.' . . . Mais, comme Cézanne, ou peut-être comme Picasso, construisent avec des couleurs, il construit avec des timbres. Son oeuvre est une construction polyphonique de rythmes mélodiques et de rythmes harmoniques, mis en valeur par des qualités de timbres." Ernest Ansermet, "L'oeuvre d'Igor Stravinsky," *La revue musicale,* 2, no. 9 (July 1921): 25.

[25] "On a vu Stravinsky faisant dans un Rag-time le portrait d'un caractère général, on l'a vu faisant une pure sonate, inspirée par les jeux de la syncope; . . . Comparez ces trois Rag-times, comme vous compareriez trois Arlequins de Picasso." Ibid., 14n.

[26] Collaer, *Modern Music,* 132–33.

[27] Boris de Schloezer, "The Enigma of Stravinsky," 11–12 (Italics de Schloezer's).

[28] André Coeuroy, "Picasso and Stravinsky," 5.

[29] "Grâce au repère harmonique qui assigne une zone précise aux mouvements et grâce au rythme qui les distingue, l'esprit ramasse en lui-même ce qui s'est écoulé dans le temps, sépare ce qui s'est uni, rejoint ce qui s'est séparé et domine, sans confusion, l'ensemble. C'est le procédé du cubisme." Ernest Ansermet, "Introduction à l'oeuvre de Stravinsky," *La revue Pleyel,* 18 (March 1925): 19.

[30] Oleggini, *Connaissance de Stravinsky,* 140–44. This idea is explored further in Linda Dalrymple Henderson, *The Fourth Dimension and Non-Euclidean Geometry in Modern Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

[31] "Interview with Stravinsky," *The Observer* (London), 3 July 1921.

[32] The close rapport between Stravinsky's aesthetic pronouncements and the writings of Maritain is explored in my doctoral thesis, *Stravinsky and the New Classicism: A Critical History, 1911–1928* (University of Toronto, 1983).

[33] *Le Vingtième Siècle,* 27 May 1930, quoted in Vera Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 195.

[34] Theodore Stravinsky, *The Message of Igor Stravinsky,* trans. Robert Craft and André Marion (London: Boosey and Hawkes, Ltd., 1953), 19–20.

[35] Charles-Ferdinand Ramuz, *Souvenirs sur Igor Strawinsky,* in *Oeuvres complètes,* 14 (Lausanne: Editions H. L. Mermod, n.d.), 38–39.

[36] Arthur Lourié, "La Sonate pour piano d'Igor Stravinsky," *La revue musicale,* 6, no. 10 (August 1925): 103.

[37] Stravinsky and Craft, *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents,* 243.

[38] Ibid, 522–26.

[39] Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Conversations with Igor Stravinsky* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 57.

[40] "Il est incontestable que certain des principes sur lesquels le *Sacre du Printemps* était fondé, avaient été esquissés d'abord par les cubistes et les futuristes. Stravinsky semble s'en être aperçu après coup et, tout ému de cette coincidence, que l'unité de tendances d'une même génération suffit à expliquer, il s'est cru obligé de revenir vers ces précurseurs impotents, d'écouter leur petits conseils, d'accepter leurs petits axiomes, de recueillir leurs petites découvertes et, pour les remercier, d'écrire le *Rossignol.* Trop de dévouement!" Jacques Rivière, "La Saison russe," 151.

[41] Max Weber, "Cubist Poetry," *Vanity Fair,* August 1914.

Haydn and Laurence Sterne: Similarities in Eighteenth-Century Literary and Musical Wit*

By Howard Irving

In an essay appearing in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* of 11 March 1801, a contributor known as "Hr. Triest" discusses wit and humor in the music of Haydn:

> The quintessence [of Haydn's greatness] seems to me to be in his exquisitely light handling of rhythm, in which he has no equal, and to consist of what the English call "humor," for which the German word *Laune* doesn't quite work. It is from this last characteristic that his propensity for comic turns and their greater success than the more serious ones may be explained. —If one wished to seek a parallel with other famous men, J. Haydn, from the point of view of his fruitful fantasy, might be compared with our Jean Paul (the chaotic arrangement of the latter, of course, being set aside—for brilliant representation (*lucidus ordo*) is not the least of Haydn's advantages), and with regard to his humor, his "originelle Laune" (*vis comica*), he may be compared with Lor. Sterne.[1]

As Triest struggled to communicate a concept that he implies was to some extent foreign to his culture, he was naturally drawn to a parallel between Haydn and certain literary figures popular at the time, especially the novelist Laurence Sterne. In general, parallels of this sort are of limited value, not only because they tend to be concerned with merely superficial similarities but also because they run the real risk of reading into the music some specific content not intended by the composer. Still, some similarities in the nature of certain kinds of musical and literary wit and humor in the eighteenth century are based on essentially non-verbal principles, and one can discuss these similarities objectively. If eighteenth-century observers found certain passages in Haydn's late instrumental music witty or humorous, we might justifiably draw analogies from certain literary works that were themselves widely known for their wit and humor—and perhaps thus come to a better understanding of Haydn's own intentions.

Triest's parallel also offers a sense of perspective without which wit and humor of any kind can be acutely vulnerable to misinterpretation outside the cultural context for which they are conceived. Since both wit and humor often involve radical departures from what is normal or expected, they necessarily anticipate a background of assumptions and expectations against which this incongruity is to be experienced. Further, even within a particular age and culture, some forms of wit and humor can be easily misunderstood because they tend to be hermetic by design: that is, they are calculated to be intelligible only to those possessing a specific body of knowledge or even a

particular intellectual outlook.

As an example, Griesinger's biography of Haydn contains an account of the *Surprise* Symphony story in which Haydn is asked directly of his intentions in the second movement. The composer claims that he was not, as contemporary German writers widely assumed, concerned with playing a joke on sleeping members of the audience with the famous drumstroke. Rather, he was "interested in surprising the public with something new and in making a brilliant debut" so as not to be outdone by his former student Ignaz Pleyel, who was engaged at that time by a rival organization.[2] If Haydn's own words contradict the familiar legend concerning one sort of humor in the *Surprise* Symphony, they could easily be used instead to support a conclusion that wit in the sense of "cleverness" or "invention," as the English-speaking world of the late eighteenth century might have understood that term, was Haydn's actual motivation.

The apparent tendency of many German writers to interpret Haydn's drumstroke as a kind of *Schadenfreude* rather than an example of wit in this sense may be the product of a cultural difference: Triest's remarks suggest that English wit was sufficiently foreign to the contemporary German (especially North German) reader's attitudes that he could not even find a German word to convey the concept clearly. Triest's difficulty with this concept, in fact, is reflected in his admittedly inadequate expression *originelle Laune*. One key to the meaning of this term is the word *originell* itself, which was used in the late eighteenth century in the sense of "original," as it is today, but could also carry the distinct connotation of "odd" or "eccentric." In Johann Christoph Adelung's *Grammatische-kritisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1798), for example, the second definition offered for *das Original* reads:

> Figuratively, an extraordinary genius—a person who is inventive in his own way—is also called an *Original;* in this broader sense the term thus takes on the meaning of an odd fellow, a crank.[3]

This *originelle Laune,* which Triest attributes to both Haydn's and Sterne's works, is thus characterized by originality, by ingenuity, and to some degree by what the German mind perceived as oddness or eccentricity. These are all qualities that could reasonably be attributed both to the second movement of the *Surprise* Symphony and to the works of Sterne. Consider, for example, a well-known passage from Sterne's great exemplar of eighteenth-century wit, *Tristram Shandy,* in which the unfortunate young Tristram is accidentally circumcised by a falling window sash while he is attempting to urinate out of his bedroom window.[4] This passage has much in common with Haydn's drumstroke: it is original, eccentric, irreverent, and indelicate. But above all, it is clearly designed to be shocking, to seize the reader's attention. These are qualities that the works of Sterne and Haydn share.

The present study will explore aspects of Triest's *originelle Laune* that relate

to the eighteenth-century English conception of wit in Haydn's late piano trios (Hob. XV:18–32), using critical models derived from the study of Sterne's *Tristram Shandy.* These piano trios, also known as accompanied sonatas (i.e., sonatas for piano "accompanied," as the original titles indicate, by a violin and cello), were composed mainly for London amateurs in the 1790s. Although written around thirty years after *Tristram Shandy,* these sonatas seem to have been intended for a similar segment of the British middle class. In fact, of all musical genres of the eighteenth century, the accompanied keyboard sonata occupies a niche most similar to that of the novel in the type of audience to which it appealed and in its role as a medium of domestic entertainment. Since the sort of wit in question is characteristically English, it is possible that some facet of the London revision of Haydn's instrumental style in these sonatas may reflect Haydn's understanding of his English audience.

Triest's *originelle Laune* can be seen in many aspects of the late instrumental music of Haydn: in the handling of rhythm that Triest mentions, in the dynamics of the *Surprise* Symphony, even in Haydn's treatment of musical form. One area in which the late trios stand out—even in comparison with Haydn's late instrumental music in other genres—is the composer's approach to harmony, especially his frequent use of third-related keys and enharmonic key relationships. By the standards of Haydn's imaginative London music, the frequency with which these key relationships occur in the late trios is merely somewhat unusual; but by the standards of accompanied keyboard sonatas by other composers of the period, which tend to be bland and conventional, Haydn's could well be considered eccentric.

To understand why an unusual key relationship can be considered an example of wit, we might first consider the meaning of the term in the eighteenth century. *Wit* is used in a variety of senses in eighteenth-century texts, some of which, as Joseph Addison writes in his series of essays on wit in *The Spectator,* mean scarcely more than "good writing."[5] Addison himself was satisfied with John Locke's definition of wit in the latter's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* a definition widely quoted throughout the eighteenth century and satirized in *Tristram Shandy.*[6] To Locke, wit is mainly the "assemblage of *Ideas,* and putting those together with quickness and variety, wherein can be found any resemblance or congruity. . . ." Locke contrasts this mental faculty, the finding of similarities among apparently unrelated items, with its opposite, *judgment,* the act of "separating carefully, one from another, *Ideas,* wherein can be found the least difference. . . ."[7]

Locke finds wit undesirable and even dangerous "because its Beauty appears at first sight, and there is required no labour of thought, to examine what Truth or Reason there is in it."[8] Addison, on the other hand, approves of wit, adding to Locke's definition that the resemblance of ideas in wit should not be obvious and that the result should delight or, more important, surprise the reader. To circumvent the problem of the inappropriate assemblage of ideas (to which Locke objects)—the assemblage of ideas based on

superficial qualities and not grounded in reason—Addison creates a new category, called "false wit" (as opposed to "true wit"), in which he places such literary devices as the pun. "As *true Wit*," Addison writes, "generally consists in this Resemblance and Congruity of Ideas, *false Wit* chiefly consists in the Resemblance and Congruity sometimes of single Letters, as in Anagrams, Chronograms, Lipograms, and Acrosticks: Sometimes of Syllables, as in Ecchos and Doggerel Rhymes: Sometimes of Words, as in Punns and Quibbles. . . . "[9]

It is not surprising that some German writers could make no distinction between wit and humor: some forms of wit can indeed be humorous (Addison's false wit, for instance), even though humor is not an essential quality of wit in general. For the juxtaposition of two keys to display the appropriate cleverness of true wit, these keys must demonstrate a relationship that is rational (licit within the rules of harmony as they were understood at the time). If the relationship between two keys seems arbitrary, irrational, or deliberately based on some inappropriate similarity, the result is an incongruous juxtaposition, one of the primary devices of humor.

Haydn's bold tonal experiments in the late string quartets, especially his uses of third-related keys and enharmonicism, have been objects of keen interest to Haydn scholars.[10] Although the trios have attracted less attention, they rival the quartets in the frequency and sophistication of these techniques. Table 1 shows the keys of individual movements in the three largest collections of instrumental music Haydn wrote during and slightly after the London years. Third relationships between movements are actually more common in the trios than in any other late instrumental music. Only one symphony (no. 99) and five quartets (op. 74, no. 3; op. 76, no. 5; op. 76, no. 6; op. 77, no. 1; and op. 77, no. 2) use third-related keys as the tonalities of movements within the cycles while eight of the fifteen late trios show this trait. One trio (Hob. XV:29) shows an enharmonic third relationship (E-flat–B[=C-flat]–E-flat), which is found elsewhere in table 1 only in the Quartet op. 76, no. 6.

When the German-born theorist A. F. C. Kollmann discusses unusual key relationships in his *Essay on Practical Musical Composition* (London, 1799), the examples he cites are from Haydn's late piano trios. Kollmann calls particular attention to the "abrupt changes of the key from one movement to another, which are found in *Haydn's* Sonatas Op. 75"[11] (i.e., the piano trios Hob. XV:27–29, published as op. 75 by Longman and Broderip in 1797).[12] Discussing the first of the three sonatas in this group (Hob. XV:27, in which the movements are C–A–C), Kollmann approves of the change from C major to A major between the first and second movements. It is "allowable, according to the rules of abrupt modulation by omission" as detailed in his *Essay on Harmony*, for "C is the key, and the triad of A the leading chord [dominant] to a related key. . . . "[13] The change from A major in the second movement back to C major in the finale cannot be rationalized by the application of Kollmann's rule, however, since the tonic triad of C major cannot be the domi-

Table 1

Tonalities of Individual Movements in the Largest Collections of Instrumental Music Haydn Wrote During and After the London Period

"London" Symphonies

No.	1	2	3	4
93	D	D	G	D
94	G	G	C	G
95	c	c	E♭	C
96	D	D	G	D
97	C	C	F	C
98	B♭	B♭	F	B♭
99	E♭	E♭	G	E♭
100	G	G	C	G
101	D	d	G	D
102	B♭	B♭	F	B♭
103	E♭	E♭	c	E♭
104	d–D	D	G	D

Quartets Opp. 76, 77, 103

Op.	1	2	3	4
76/1	G	C	G	g–G
76/2	d	D	d	d–D
76/3	C	G	C	c–C
76/4	B♭	E♭	B♭	B♭
76/5	D	F♯	D	D
76/6	E♭	B	E♭	E♭
77/1	G	E♭	G	G
77/2	F	F	D	F
103	—	B♭	d	—

"Salomon" Quartets

Op.	1	2	3	4
71/1	B♭	F	B♭	B♭
71/2	D	A	D	D
71/3	E♭	B♭	E♭	E♭
74/1	C	G	C	C
74/2	F	B♭	F	F
74/3	g	g	E	g

Piano Trios XV:18–32

Hob.	1	2	3
XV:18	A	a	A
XV:19	g–G	E♭	g
XV:20	B♭	G	B♭
XV:21	C	G	C
XV:22	E♭	G	E♭
XV:23	d–D	B♭	D
XV:24	D	d	D
XV:25	G	E	G
XV:26	f♯	F♯	f♯
XV:27	C	A	C
XV:28	E	e	E
XV:29	E♭	B	E♭
XV:30	E♭	C	E♭
XV:31	e♭	E♭	
XV:32	G	G	

nant of any key related to A. Given a system such as Kollmann's, in which third relationships are not considered, the progression from C major to A major is easily understood, but the return from A major to C major is incomprehensible and therefore eccentric. Kollmann concludes that "as it is too great a skip in harmony, [this progression] ought not to be imitated by young composers."[14]

Kollmann's conception of harmony is based largely on the theoretical writings of Johann Philipp Kirnberger (*Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*, 1771–1779). The two theorists differ, however, on the matter of enharmonic progressions. Kollmann, continuing the passage quoted above, recognizes

the enharmonic scheme of Hob. XV:29 (E-flat–B–E-flat) and has no objection to it, but Kirnberger strongly disapproves of enharmonic progressions:

> It can be stated in general that enharmonic progressions are not absolutely necessary for modulating quickly. They were very much in use at the time of Marcello and sometimes may have been used in such abundance only for the purpose of making it difficult for even connoisseurs of harmony to guess their proper treatment and to reduce certain chords to their true fundamental harmony.[15]

In Kirnberger's opinion, even "if one wants to create a sudden surprise and puzzle the listener to a certain extent," there are better ways to do it. He cites C. P. E. Bach (in the *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu Spielen*), who "sanctions such harmonic peculiarities only occasionally and never without necessity."[16]

Example 1. Haydn, Piano Trio in E Major, Hob. XV:28, third movement, mm. 56–72.

It might be observed that Kirnberger's reluctance to endorse enharmonic progression and Locke's opposition to wit stem from the same basic objection: that in both cases the result may seem attractive but may at the same time be based on unsound or improper reasoning. In fact, Kirnberger's frustration with enharmonic progression (that it seems to be employed only for the purpose of confusing theorists) resembles the universal complaint of the advocates of Locke's judgment. As Locke points out, wit is necessarily a quick process because it is concerned with only part of an idea, while judgment, which must consider ideas in their entirety in order to identify all their differences, may have difficulty keeping pace. Even so, Kirnberger will reluctantly allow the use of enharmonic progressions at need; it is the trivial or gratuitous appearance of enharmonicism to which he must object.

Passages such as example 1, from the third movement of the Trio Hob. XV:28, must have been a source of irritation to such theorists. In this example a series of enharmonic progressions leads from the key of F-sharp minor through E-flat minor (m. 63) to the dominant of E minor (m. 67). Obviously there are more conventional ways to modulate from F-sharp minor to E minor than Haydn's enharmonic third progressions. A passage identical in sound to this example is available without recourse to enharmonic deception by spelling the passage in D-sharp minor.

If some of Haydn's critics objected less to the sound of his music than to the abuse of logic, then Haydn's writing may be said to reflect one of the most common satirical devices of the age. In *Tristram Shandy*, Sterne often uses the absurd application of logic to ridicule learned authorities and especially the type of mind-set that is overly concerned with legal technicalities. For example, after Tristram is accidentally given the wrong name at baptism, two experts at canon law, Didius and Kysarcius, discuss the circumstances under which a baptism may be nullified:

> Had a priest, for instance, which was no uncommon thing [before the reformation], through ignorance of the *Latin* tongue, baptised a child of Tom-o'Stiles, *in nomino patriae & filia & spiritum sanctos*,—the baptism was held null—I beg your pardon, replied *Kysarcius*—in that case, as the mistake was only in the *terminations*, the baptism was valid—and to have rendered it null, the blunder of the priest should have fallen upon the first syllable of each noun—and not, as in your case, upon the last.—
>
> My father delighted in subtleties of this kind, and listen'd with infinite attention.
>
> *Gastripheres*, for example, continued *Kysarcius*, baptizes a child of *John Stradling's*, in *Gomine* gatris, *&c. &c.* instead of *in Nomine* patris, *&c.*—Is this a baptism? No,—say the ablest canonists; inasmuch as the radix of each word is hereby torn up, and the sense and meaning of them removed and changed quite to another object. . . .
>
> (IV.xxix.229)

The essence of this kind of satire has been described as "the power to use logic to give a show of plausibility to an absurd or unreasonable argument."[17] Some aspects of Haydn's use of enharmonic modulations could be considered the musical analogue to Sterne's logic-chopping. For example, in the first movement of the Trio Hob. XV:28, the development section begins in C-sharp minor but soon cadences on the dominant of G-sharp minor at m. 44 (example 2). The enharmonic shift to A-flat major in m. 45 may well be

Example 2. Haydn, Piano Trio in E Major, Hob. XV:28, first movement, mm. 39–51.

considered a mere change in mode from minor to major. The resulting key of G-sharp major (spelled more manageably as A-flat major), however, was outside the ordinary canon of keys during Haydn's time. Thus a faulty premise (the enharmonic respelling) sets up what might have been considered an unreasonable harmonic argument.

This sort of modulation has been discussed in detail in connection with Haydn's late quartets in a penetrating article by Laszlo Somfai entitled "A Bold Enharmonic Modulatory Model in Joseph Haydn's String Quartets." The simplest of the examples cited by Somfai is the *Andante grazioso* from Haydn's Unfinished Quartet op. 103. As Somfai diagrams the large key areas of this movement, there is a progression from the tonic, B-flat major, through the keys of G-flat major, D-flat major, C-sharp minor, E major, A minor, G major, and finally a return to the original tonic, B-flat major. Taken individually, the connections from one key area to another are reasonable and, in many cases, conventional. Yet the shift from D-flat major to C-sharp minor is, in effect, a change of mode from D-flat major to D-flat minor, which is spelled as C-sharp minor only for the sake of convenience. If one envisions the keys that follow, not in Haydn's easier enharmonic spellings of E major, A minor, G major, and B-flat major, but rather in the "actual" identities, the movement modulates through the keys of F-flat major, B-double-flat minor, and A-double-flat major before concluding in C-double-flat major.[18] Comparing the actual progression to a logical proof, then, the conclusion is faulty (i.e., the tonic has not really returned), while the illusion of a correct conclusion is provided only through a faulty premise (the reinterpretaion of a proper step in the argument, D-flat minor, as C-sharp minor).

That the harmonic peculiarities in the previous examples are more a challenge to the intellect than to the ear could be considered part of their humor: in both examples from Hob. XV:28, the listener (and, for that matter, the two string players who, in example 1, have only rests in their parts) may remain unaware of the true extent of the harmonic irregularity. Seen in this light, both passages could be examples of hermetic humor, inside jokes reserved for those having the intellectual facility to understand them. It may be no accident that passages such as these occur mostly in the piano trios Haydn dedicated to Therese Jansen, a pianist for whom Haydn had great respect.[19]

Some of Haydn's sudden modulations are clearly designed to have greater aural impact. The first movement of Hob. XV:28 (example 3) contains one of the many instances of an abrupt shift to a third-related key in Haydn's late trios, in this case from B major, the key of the dominant, to G major in m. 24.

The freedom with which Haydn exploits shocking key changes such as this resembles another characteristic of Sterne's writing. Sterne is noted for his licentious treatment of sensitive subject matter, in particular sex and religion.[20] Tristram's accidental circumcision is only one example of this sort; others can be found on nearly every page of the book, from the untimely interruption of Tristram's conception in the first volume to the seduction of

Example 3. Haydn, Piano Trio in E Major, Hob. XV:28, first movement, mm. 21–27.

the impotent uncle Toby by the libidinous Widow Wadman in the last. In this connection it can only be observed that abrupt modulations are often discussed, in modern as well as eighteenth-century writing, with the use of terms such as "bold" and "daring"—terminology suggesting that such procedures are not merely technically irregular but risqué. As deliberate flirtations with impropriety, they are not much different from Sterne's indelicacies. In fact, incongruity resulting from the deliberate violation of rules is often considered one of the principal types of humor, encompassing indecency as a closely related sub-category.[21]

The question whether or not Haydn *intended* passages such as these to be examples of "false wit" can be answered to some extent by remarks made by Haydn's contemporaries and even by Haydn himself. Haydn's biographer A. C. Dies, who quotes extensively in his biography from the article by Triest cited above and twice alludes to writings by Sterne, writes:

> In his [Haydn's] character there was much cheerfulness, jest, and musical wit both popular and refined, but original [i.e., eccentric] to the

> highest degree. It has often been called humor, from which is rightly derived Haydn's bent for musical teasing.[22]

This teasing is one quality of Haydn's wit that the composer himself acknowledged in a conversation with Dies:

> I ventured to question Haydn on the subject of teasing [*Neckerei*] in his musical output. He admitted to me that it was a characteristic of his that used to be due to an abundance of good health. "Perhaps," I said, "like merry boys, who from sheer soundness of health don't know what to do with themselves and romp about in innocent mischief, now rolling around in the grass, now teasing one another in all sorts of ways."—"Exactly!" Haydn replied. "One is seized by a certain humor that will not be tamed."[23]

It is conceivable that Haydn's musical teasing may have been directed toward some of the same targets attacked in the writings of Sterne. In *Tristram Shandy*, for example, Sterne's wit is often aimed at pedants and narrow-minded critics because "their heads, Sir, are stuck so full of rules and compasses, and have that eternal propensity to apply upon them all occasions, that a work of genius had better go to the devil at once than stand to be prick'd and tortured to death by 'em" (III.xii.132). Haydn also had to deal with what Triest calls, at the beginning of his essay, the "pedantic nitpicker" (*pedantischer Mückenseiger*) who "feels compelled to find fault with an entire work, distinguished by a thousand beauties, as soon as he finds a set of forbidden, or even concealed, fifths and octaves." Haydn's problems with North German critics are not fundamentally the result of minor part-writing irregularities, however, but of a different system of values. In a conversation with Dies, Haydn claims that he often

> took the liberty not of offending the ear, of course, but of breaking the usual textbook rules, and wrote beneath these places the words *con licenza*. Some cried out, "A mistake!" and tried to prove it by citing Fux. I asked my critics whether they could prove by ear that it was a mistake? They had to answer No.[24]

One of the passages to which this statement refers is found in the Quartet op. 76, no. 6. According to H. C. Robbins Landon, some eighteenth-century editions contain the letters "c: l:" or the words "cum licentia" written out at various points in the second movement of this quartet. Significantly, these words are placed in the music at points of enharmonic deception, leaving no doubt that Haydn anticipated critical reaction to his enharmonicism.[25]

There is other evidence that Haydn wrote at least some unconventional passages, if not with the intention of provoking pedantic theorists, then at least knowing full well the objections his German critics would raise. In a

letter to his publishers Breitkopf and Härtel dated 12 June 1799, Haydn hopes "Herr Critics" will not pounce too hard on *The Creation:*

> They will of course stumble at several points of musical spelling, and perhaps also at others that I have been accustomed these many years to consider mere trifles. The true connoisseur, however, will also see my reason for many of them and step over such stumbling-blocks with good will.[26]

Haydn had reason for concern. Critics often did not understand his reasons for unorthodox spelling or a variety of other eccentricities and did not step over such stumbling blocks with good will. In 1792 an anonymous pamphlet was published in Leipzig asserting—without specific reference either to Haydn's orthography or to his enharmonicism, though both were undoubtedly part of the problem—that "no one will contradict that the the only dominating attitude, or (since we are dealing with music) the only dominating emotion in Hayden [*sic*] is eccentric, bizarre;—and projected without control."[27]

In *Tristram Shandy* Sterne's wit is an instructional tool for combatting this sort of narrow-mindedness, which, Tristram feels, is itself the product of incomplete learning:

> Every thing in this world, said my father, is big with jest,—and has wit in it, and instruction too,—if we can but find it out.
>
> —Here is the *scaffold work* of INSTRUCTION, its true point of folly, without the BUILDING behind it.—
>
> —Here is the glass for pedagogues, preceptors, tutors, governours, gerund-grinders and bear-leaders to view themselves in, in their true dimensions.—
>
> Oh! there is a husk and shell, *Yorick,* which grows up with learning, which their unskilfulness knows not how to fling away!
>
> —SCIENCES MAY BE LEARNED BY ROTE, BUT WISDOM NOT.
>
> (V.xxxii.276)

In his *General History of Music* (1789), Charles Burney describes Haydn's style as "sportive, *folâtres,* and even grotesque" and notes that "the first exclamation of an embarrassed performer or a bewildered hearer is, that the music is very *odd* or very *comical.*"[28] Burney's remarks here are directed toward no particular musical genre. The degree to which any musical characteristic could have been considered odd or eccentric, however, is related to contemporary expectations, which, in turn, may have varied widely from one genre to another. When found in a vehicle of domestic entertainment for amateurs (as the accompanied sonata had surely become), techniques then considered unusual, sophisticated, or exotic might have swelled considerably Burney's total of "embarrassed performers" and "bewildered hearers."

There are indications, in fact, that the keyboard sonata with accompaniments in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, far from being a genre for connoisseurs, was an unusually conventional and cliché-ridden form even when compared with solo sonatas and other works of the lesser figures of the period. This phenomenon is particularly noticeable in the keyboard sonatas of Clementi[29] but has also been described by William Newman in a broad spectrum of solo and accompanied keyboard sonatas of the period.[30]

It is reasonable to speculate that the decline of the accompanied sonata in the late eighteenth century was caused in part by the very factors that brought about a decline in the quality of the novel in England during the same period: both came to be appreciated for their entertainment value by a middle class increasingly in search of escapism. At times Sterne confronts the escapist audience directly. In the first volume of *Tristram Shandy,* Sterne admonishes the female reader in particular to re-read the previous chapter as penance—not, he says, out of cruelty, but rather

> to rebuke a vicious taste which has crept into thousands besides herself,—of reading straight forwards, more in quest of adventures, than of the deep erudition and knowledge which a book of this cast, if read over as it should be, would infallibly impart with them.
>
> (I.xx.41)

Sterne continues in lament of the shallowness of his readers:

> The subtle hints and sly communications of science fly off, like spirits, upwards;—the heavy moral escapes downwards; and both the one and the other are as much lost to the world, as if they were still left in the bottom of the ink-horn.
>
> I wish the male-reader has not pass'd by many a one, as quaint and curious as this one, in which the female-reader has been detected. I wish it may have its effects;—and that all good people, both male and female, from her example, may be taught to think as well as read.
>
> (I.xx.42)

Haydn's biographers record several instances of humor at the expense of dilettantes. Dies, for example, describes a conspiracy between Haydn and his concertmaster Tomasini to embarrass some "amateurs of gentle birth" performing at a concert attended by the Empress Maria Theresa.[31] Another story of this kind, illustrating the efficacy of wit as a tool for instruction, is found in Dies's well-known account of the circumstances surrounding the composition of Haydn's lost *Jacob's Dream* Sonata. According to Dies, this sonata was written for a German amateur violinist who "had the bad habit of always playing too close to the bridge in the highest tones." Although Dies claims that this sonata was written to exploit the amateur's weakness through clev-

erly designed passages in the violin's highest registers, its purpose was not merely to humiliate but rather, as Dies writes, to "break the dilettante of his habit and to give him a feeling for a solid manner of playing."[32]

This essay has been limited to only one aspect of Triest's *originelle Laune* and to only one facet of Haydn's music. Haydn's key relationships offer an unusually clear insight into wit in its narrowest sense as the juxtaposition of elements in such a way that a surprising relationship is demonstrated. In fact, music may be a better medium in which to consider the quality of wit than any of its sister arts in the eighteenth century, not only because a precise technical vocabulary exists to assist in the analysis of intricate relationships but also because specific contemporary reactions to these techniques—the background of assumptions and expectations needed for understanding any type of wit—are available in the writings of eighteenth-century theorists.

The essence of the similarity between Haydn and Sterne is the same. Haydn's biographer G. A. Griesinger, echoing the words of Triest, describes it as a "harmless roguery of what the British call humor."[33] Haydn was not a rebellious figure, and neither was Sterne. But in the works of both, one senses a certain good-natured playfulness that often knowingly skirts the edge of what many in their time regarded as correct or proper. It should not go without notice, however, that whether the devices with which this essay is concerned should be considered the appropriate cleverness of "true wit" or the low humor of "false wit" is largely in the eye of the beholder. Haydn's key relationships may not be licit by the standards of theorists and amateurs who were struggling to keep pace with new developments, but in time they did come to be seen as reasonable by a new generation with a greater tolerance for originality.

Sterne's own originality endeared him to the Romantics. *Tristram Shandy* is an extremely complex book, capable, as Sterne himself indicated, of many interpretations, but one of its purposes is to instruct the reader in the tolerance and appreciation of originality. Tristram complains:

> Tell me, ye learned, shall we for ever be adding so much to the *bulk*—so little to the *stock* ?
>
> Shall we for ever make new books, as apothecaries make new mixtures, by pouring only out of one vessel into another?
>
> Are we for ever to be twisting and untwisting the same rope? for ever in the same track—for ever at the same pace?
>
> Shall we be destined to the days of eternity, on holy-days, as well as working-days, to be shewing the *relicks of learning,* as monks do the relicks of their saints—without working one—one single miracle with them?
>
> (V.i.239)

It may not be reaching too far to imagine that Haydn hoped to accomplish something similar.

NOTES

*An earlier version of this paper was read at the twelfth annual conference of the Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies at Columbia, South Carolina, 27 February–1 March 1986.

[1] "Die Quintessenz derselben scheint mir in der ausnehmend leichten Handhabung des Rhythmus, worin ihm keiner gleich kommt, und in dem zu liegen, was der Engländer *Humor* nennt, und wofür das deutsche Wort 'Laune' nicht ganz passt. Aus dieser lezteren Eigenschaft lässt sich sein Hang zu komischen Wendungen und das noch grossere Gelingen derselben, als der ernsthaften, erklären. —Wollte man auch hier eine Parallele mit andern berühmten Männern aufsuchen, so liesse J. Haydn sich in Ansehung der Fruchtbarkeit seiner Phantasie vielleicht mit unserm Jean Paul (die chaotische Anordnung, wie sich versteht, abgerechnet, denn die lichtvolle Darstellung (*lucidus ordo*) ist keiner von Haydn's geringsten Vorzügen) vergleichen, und in Ansehung seines Humors, seiner originellen Laune (*vis comica*) mit Lor. Sterne." *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3 (1801; Amsterdam: N. Israel-Frits A. M. Knuf, 1964), 407.

[2] Georg August Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn*, in Vernon Gotwals, ed. and trans., *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 33.

[3] "Figürlich nennt man auch ein ausserordentliches Genie, eine Person, welche in ihrer Art Selbsterfinder ist, ein Original; da denn auch wohl in weiterer Bedeutung ein seltsamer Kopf, ein Sonderling, den Nahmen eines Originals, nehmlich der Thorheit, des Seltsamen, bekommt."

[4] Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, ed. Howard Anderson (New York: Norton, 1980), vol. V, chap. xvii, p. 264. Further references are to this edition and will generally be incorporated into the text.

[5] Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), vol. 1, 267.

[6] *Tristram Shandy*, III.xx.

[7] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter H. Niddeth (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 156.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Addison, vol. 1: 265. A similar understanding of this type of musical wit can be found in Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style* (New York: Norton, 1972), 96–98.

[10] Two important studies in this area are found in H. C. Robbins Landon and Roger E. Chapman, eds., *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music: A Tribute to Karl Geiringer on His Seventieth Birthday* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970): Lazlo Somfai, "A Bold Modulatory Model in Joseph Haydn's String Quartets" (pp. 370–81) and Louise E. Cuyler, "Tonal Exploitation in the Later Quartets of Haydn" (pp. 136–50).

[11] Augustus Frederic Christopher Kollmann, *An Essay on Practical Musical Composition* (London, 1799; New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 10.

[12] H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 4, *The Years of "The Creation" 1796–1800* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1977), 199.

[13] Kollmann, 10.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *The Art of Strict Musical Composition*, trans. David Beach and Jurgen Thym (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 149.

[16] Ibid., 149 n. 57.

[17] D. W. Jefferson, "*Tristram Shandy* and the Tradition of Learned Wit," in *Tristram Shandy*, 506. Originally published in *Essays in Criticism* 1 (1951), 225–48.

[18] Somfai, 372.

[19] Jansen's abilities are discussed in Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle*, vol. 3, *Haydn in England 1791–1795*, 411; and in vol. 4, 210–11.

[20] Jefferson, 507–8.

[21] *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, s.v. "Humor," by D. H. Monro.

[22] A. C. Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten von Joseph Haydn*, in Gotwals, *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits*, 203.

[23] Ibid., 145.

[24] Ibid., 109.

[25] Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle,* vol. 4, 307 n. 1.

[26] Griesinger, 65.

[27] *Portfeuille für Musikliebhaber* (Leipzig, 1792), trans. in Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle,* vol. 3, 190.

[28] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music,* ed. Charles Mercer (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1935), vol. 2, 960.

[29] Leon Plantinga, *Clementi: His Life and Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), 126.

[30] William Newman, "Concerning the Accompanied Clavier Sonata," *Musical Quarterly* 33 (1947), 341–42.

[31] Dies, 112.

[32] Ibid., 170–71.

[33] Griesinger, 57.

Birdsong and the Imitation of Birdsong in the Music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*

By Richard d'A. Jensen

People have always been fascinated by birds. Perhaps their ability to fly is responsible for this. Equally fascinating, however, is their ability to sing, as evinced by the vast repertory of birdsong imitations in music. We have every reason to believe that such imitations are as old and as prevalent as music itself. The earliest notated example is probably the medieval English *rota* "Sumer is icumen in" (ca. 1250), which imitates the song of the cuckoo. Later and more famous examples include Janequin's "Chant des oiseaux," the so-called bird concertos of Handel and Vivaldi, Beethoven's Sixth Symphony, Britten's *Spring* Symphony, and of course most of Messiaen's oeuvre.[1]

The similarities of birdsong to human music have led many scholars to discuss one in terms of the other. As one writer put it, "Where else in nature can we find music so similar to our own, both in its style of delivery and in its melodic form?"[2] The music of birds, like that of humans, includes elements of repetition and variation.[3] More complex vocalizations can be divided into phrases, although "strophe" is perhaps a better term, due to the element of repetition.[4] Moreover, some scholars believe that birdsong may have played a role in the evolution of our music.[5]

Nevertheless, one is tempted to exaggerate the similarities between birdsong and human music. A salient characteristic of birdsong is its extremely quick tempo. Unlike human song, an entire birdsong may be over within a few seconds; after six seconds the pattern is usually repeated.[6] Furthermore, by employing the techniques of "sound microscopy" (i.e. the playback of taped birdsongs at greatly reduced speeds), ornithologists have discovered that the unaided ear hears only a fraction of the entire performance. The skylark (*Alauda arvensis*), for example, is capable of singing between 100 and 130 tones per second (see example 1).[7] While a number of these notes are repeated—a characteristic trait of most birdsongs—there is still a great deal of variety. Within a few short seconds the song is over, inaudible, for the most part, to its human audience. This lightning-fast tempo is not the only distinguishing feature of birdsong. Most birds sing in a tessitura equivalent to the highest notes of the piano and beyond.[8] Even when birdsong is slowed down, and consequently lowered in pitch, it still does not sound like human music because it does not conform to any familiar scale or metrical pattern.[9]

Considering the complexity of birdsong, it is not surprising that scientists should still be grappling with the problem of devising a suitable notation. Two possible methods are the translation of birdsong into human speech and the approximation of the rhythm and pitch of birdsong through musical notation. Field guides generally resort to verbal description and onomatopoeia, when referring to the sounds that birds make. Thus the song of the nightin-

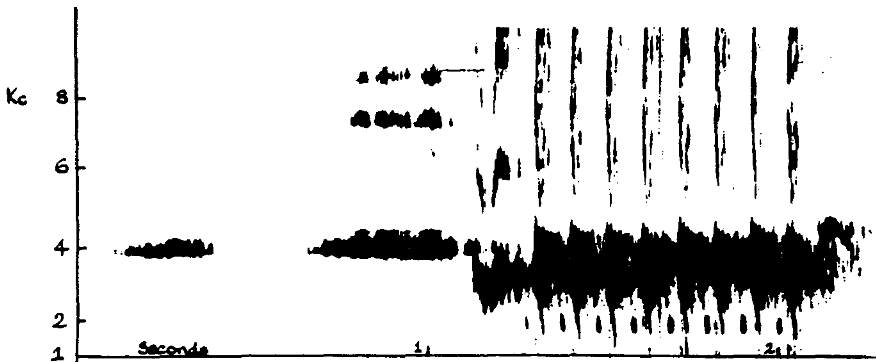
Example 1. Excerpts from the song of the Skylark transcribed using the technique of sound microscopy. The call is actually eight times faster and three octaves higher. P. Szöke, "Zur Entstehung und Entwicklungsgeschichte der Musik," *Studia Musicologica* 2 (1962): 60–61.

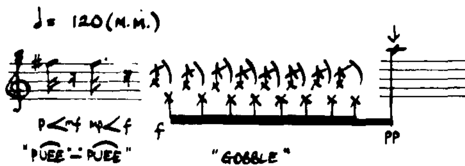
gale (*Luscinia megarhynchos*) is "a flute-like peu-peu-peu rolling into a beautiful liquid warbling ending in a crescendo."[10] The popular use of onomatopoeia, which is the least accurate means of representing birdsong, may be explained by the ease with which humans comprehend it. Music notation, while offering a more accurate representation of birdsong, still presents certain limitations. What is natural for a nightingale seems overly complex and unnatural when translated into staff notation (see example 2). Furthermore, this method does not record the variations in timbre and minute fluctuations in pitch that are characteristic of birdsong.

To the scientific community, the above methods suffer from an excess of vagueness and subjectivity. An accurate representation of birdsong may be achieved using the sound spectrograph, a device capable of analyzing changes in tone quality as determined by overtones. This instrument produces an accurate "picture" of the variation in timbre and the fluctuation in pitch over time (see example 3). While the sound spectrograph is indispensable for scientific analysis and comparison of birdsong, it does not represent the song as heard by the human ear.

By now it should be clear that birdsong imitations found in the context of human music are bound to be approximations at best. It is with a certain degree of caution, then, that this writer attempts a comparison of the songs of particular species and their representations in music. To make such a comparison, it is first necessary to identify which species composers intended to imitate. This identification is complicated by the fact that the composers themselves may not always have distinguished between birds within the

Example 2. Songs of the nightingale, rooster, hen, cuckoo, and quail as represented in Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia universalis.* The song of the nightingale is notated in the upper portion of the example. Published in 1650, this is one of the earliest examples of notated birdsong in a nonmusical context.





Example 3. A phrase from the song of the nightingale as analyzed by the sound spectrograph and transcribed into staff notation. Trevor Hold, "The Notation of Bird-Song; A Review and a Recommendation," *The Ibis* 112 (1970): 168.

same family or genus.

In the paragraphs that follow, I will discuss various instances of birdsong imitations in the vocal music of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The Appendix contains a table that shows the title or incipit, genre, and composer of each piece examined for this study, and the bird species represented.[11] This repertory contains a wide variety of musical genres and languages and an even wider variety of bird species. From among these species, I will discuss musical imitations of the cuckoo, owl, crow, raven, rooster, hen, lark, and nightingale. Wherever possible, I will attempt to identify the exact species intended by these imitations. Different species carry different connotations within the literary and musical traditions to which this repertory belongs. Accordingly, a look at the symbolic meanings associated with some of these species will lead to a better understanding of the music itself.

One of the most imitated birds is the cuckoo. Even though there are 127 species of cuckoo in the family *cuculidae,* it can be stated with some certainty which one of these species composers preferred to imitate. According to Peterson, three species are commonly sighted in Europe, all from different genera. Each has a distinctive call: the "kittera-kittera-kittera" of the great spotted cuckoo (*Clamator glandarius*), the "ka-ka-ka-ka-kow-kow-komp-komp-komp" of the yellow-billed cuckoo (*Coccyzus americanus*), and the "cuc-coo" of

the European cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus*).[12] In all the musical examples known to me, the cuckoo sings the last of these.

The song of the European cuckoo is so clear that one discovers a consistency of treatment not found in the imitated songs of other birds. The virelai "En ce gracieux tamps" of Jacob de Senleches (fl. 1378–95) refers to "a bird that loudly cries cocu, cocu" ("un oysel que toudis crioit a haute vois cocu, cocu," see example 4). Although the bird is not explicitly named, the intended spe-

Example 4. The song of an unidentified bird (obviously the cuckoo) in Jacob Senleches's "En ce gracieux tamps," mm. 41–50.

cies is clear from the imitation of its song. Falling thirds and the onomatopoeic "cocu" are typical of most musical representations of this species. Whether it be the French "coqut," "coccu," "cucu," or "coqu," the Italian "cocu," or the German "cucu" or "gucu," the effect is the same. The bird in Senleches's virelai sings a three-note "cococu" as well as the more common two-note song. Examples of this type of song are also found in other sources, as in the "Chant des oiseaux" by Clément Janequin (ca. 1485–1558). This piece is also notable in that the cuckoos sing a variety of falling intervals (seconds, thirds, and fourths) just as they do in nature. Even more realistic is the ostinato treatment of the cuckoo song in Adriano Banchieri's "Contraponto bestiale alla mente" from *Festino* (1608). In this unusual piece, the upper voices represent four creatures: a cuckoo, an owl, a cat, and a dog; while the lowest part intones a parody of a Latin *cantus firmus* (see example 5). Other cuckoo imitations may be found in Janequin's "Chant de l'alouette,"

25

[Cuckoo] cu- cù cu- cù cu- cù cu-

[Owl] chiù chiù

[Cat] mi- au mi- a- u mi- au mi- a- u

[Dog] ba- bau ba- bau

[Man] -li- ter est zop-

cù cu- cù

chiù chiù

mi- au mi- a- u mi- au

ba- bau ba- bau

pis, si

Example 5. The owl and the cuckoo in Adriano Banchieri's "Contraponto bestiale alla mente," mm. 23–29.

as well as "The Nightingale" and "Lady, the Birds Right Fairly," both by Thomas Weelkes (1576–1623).

The European cuckoo is frequently mentioned in the folklore of animals that was transmitted both orally and through the bestiaries of the Middle Ages. Many associations were drawn from observations of bird behavior. The cuckoo was considered unfaithful because of its habit of laying eggs in the nests of other birds. While this is called "nest parasitism" in the scientific literature,[13] in Janequin's "Chant des oiseaux" it is called treason:

Back, Master Cuckoo!
Leave our guild!
All hate you,
As you are nothing but a traitor.
Cuckoo, cuckoo, cuckoo, etc.,
For treason, lay unwanted eggs
In every nest.[14]

Indeed, the word "cuckold" is derived from the name of this bird, allowing Shakespeare the following play on words in *Love's Labor Lost* (act 5, scene 2):

The cuckoo then, on every tree,
Mocks married men; for thus sings he, Cuckoo!
Cuckoo, cuckoo, O word of fear
Unpleasing to a married ear.

Thus we can sympathize with the lover who describes his sad fate in "Que n'est elle aupres de moy" by Pierre Certon (d. 1572):

I once loved a pleasant lady,
She made me cuckoo, cuckoo. . . .[15]

Without a doubt the cuckoo is most severely criticized in Janequin's "Chant de l'alouette":

> Death to that false villain, jealous cuckold, so wretched, so depraved, not worth the clout of a dangling corpse; let him be hanged and burned, this depraved one.[16]

Clearly the sin of adultery had serious consequences! Yet, this is not the cuckoo's only vice. Because the cuckoo's song and his name are the same, he has been accused of vanity. Edward Topsell (1572–1625) gave this description in *The Fowles of Heaven or History of Birds:*

> So they love to talke of nothinge but themselves and their oune acts, envyinge the just prayses and merits of other men, and extollinge the dunghill of their oune fame.[17]

In his book, *Some Folk-Lore and Legends of Birds,* J. W. Horsley mentions the following legend concerning the origin of the cuckoo's call:

> The cuckoo, however, once had a song of its own, and was proud of it without much reason. Flying into a town he fished for compliments, as men say, and began by asking what men thought of the nightingale's song. The whole town praises that. And of the lark's? Half the town

> delights in that. And of the blackbird? Many delight in that too. And, pardon my blushes, what do men say of my song? To tell the truth your name is never mentioned. What never? Well, hardly ever. Is that so? then I will drop my song and advertise my name, and henceforth every one shall know the name of cuckoo.[18]

The cuckoo in the virelai "Par maintes foys" by Jehan Vaillant (fl. ca. 1360–90) would seem to behave accordingly:

> Though many different times heard he
> The nightingale's own dulcet melody,
> The cuckoo simply would not sing along,
> But spitefully would choose another key
> With "cuckoo, cuckoo, cuckoo" so sang he,
> To try and make his neighbor's notes sound wrong.[19]

But the cuckoo's song is not always derided. It is praised in the fourteenth-century *chace,* "Talent m'est pris de chanter cume le coqu" ("I wish to sing like the cuckoo"), and in Weelkes's madrigal "The Nightingale":

> The nightingale the Organ of delight,
> The nimble Lark, the blackbird and the Thrush,
> And all the pretty quiristers of flight,
> That chant their Music notes in ev'ry bush:
> Let them no more contend who shall excel,
> The cuckoo is the bird that bears the bell.

The cuckoo is credited with one positive trait: it is the bird that traditionally announces the coming of spring. There is a saying in some parts of England that goes, "on the third of April come in the cuckoo and the nightingale."[20] Clearly, this association goes back a long way, as it is the primary message behind the thirteenth-century *rota,* "Sumer is icumen in":

> Summer has come,
> Loudly sing, cuccu!
> Seed grows and meadow blossoms
> and the wood comes into leaf now.
> Sing, cuccu!
> Ewe bleats after lamb,
> Cow lows after calf,
> Bullock leaps, buck jumps,
> Merry sing, cuccu!
> Cuccu, cuccu, well sings the cuckoo;
> Do not ever stop now.[21]

The cuckoo is one of the few birds that takes its name from its song. Two others are the owl and the crow. "Chiù," which is Italian for owl, is the owl's only lyric in Banchieri's "Contraponto bestiale" (see example 5). "Chiù" is not very different from "pew," which is the sound of the scops owl according to the *Collins Bird Guide*.[22] The owl sings a more complex song ("te whit te whoo") in the madrigal "Sweet Suffolk Owl" by Thomas Vautor (fl. 1600–20). The same birdsong is quoted by Shakespeare in "Love's Labor Lost" (act 5, scene 2):

> Then nightly sings the staring owl—
> Tu-whit,
> To-who, a merry note. . . .

It is unlikely that this is the scops owl, whose present range is in Southern Europe. The tawny owl (*Strix aluco*), on the other hand, is found throughout Europe. Its song is described as "a mellow hooting in a characteristic three-part form . . . hoo-hoo-hoo-hoo . . . hu . . . hoo-hoo-hu-hu-hoooooooo," which is not too dissimilar to "tu-whit tu-who." The Collins guide states outright that this is the owl referred to by Shakespeare; it may also be the one in Vautor's madrigal.[23]

Like the owl, the crow's song is a single note. Two types are found in

Et
Et
or son fat- to cor- bo e can- to cro, cro, cro, cro
or son fat- to cor- bo e can- to cro, cro,
cro, cro.
cro, cro, cro, cro.

Example 6. The crow's call in Donatus de Florentia's "I' fu' già bianc'uccel," mm. 25–34.

Europe, the carrion crow (*Corvus corone*) and the hooded crow (*Corvus corone cornix*). The calls of these birds are similar: "a harsh croaking 'kraa' repeated 3–4 times."[24] In madrigal "I' fu' già bianc'uccel" by Donatus de Florentia (fl. second half of the fourteenth century), a "corbo" laments his fate (see example 6). Love has made the creature miserable: "once a white bird with a golden plume," he has become an ugly "corbo" with the raucous call, "cro, cro, cro." In Italian, the word "corbo" may mean either "crow" or "raven." The bird may be identified by its call, however, as a hooded crow or a carrion crow.

The songs of the rooster and hen are similar, but not identical. Both are characterized by a string of repeated notes followed by a skip: a skip up for hens and down for roosters (see example 2).[25] The most convincing representation is found in the well-known "Il est bel et bon" by Pierre Passereau (fl. 1509–47), where the hens sing "cocococodac" (see example 7). Cock crows may be heard in three sixteenth-century Italian pieces: "Quasi sempre avanti

Example 7. The clucking of chickens in Pierre Passereau's "Il est bel et bon," mm. 42–47.

il dì," a frottola attributed to Bartolomeo Tromboncino (ca. 1470–after 1535); "O pierulin dov'es tu" from Orazio Vecchi's "L'Amfiparnaso" of 1597 (the "galletto" referred to is technically a cockerel); and a moresca, "Chichili-chi-cucurucu," attributed to Giovanni Domenico da Nola (ca. 1515–92).[26] The traditional onomatopoeic device, "cucurucu," that is used in all three pieces corresponds to "cock-a-doodle-do" in English.

The songs of the lark and the nightingale are more complex. Consequently, one finds less consistency among the musical imitations of these birds than among those of the less "gifted" birds already discussed. While the cuckoo, owl, and crow can say only their names, and the rooster greets the rising sun in the same way every morning, the nightingale sings "ciciwigg cificigo" in Oswald von Wolkenstein's fourteenth-century Lied "Der Mai"; "oci, oci, oci" in fourteenth-century virelais by Borlet, Pykini, and Senleches; as well as a variety of other sounds in Janequin's "Chant des oiseaux." The lark sings "Que dit Dieu yl est jour" in the anonymous virelai "Or sus vous dormez trop" and in Janequin's "Chant de l'alouette" (see example 8). The nightin-

Example 8. The lark's song in Clément Janequin's "Le Chant de l'alouette," mm. 32–33.

gale sings "gay, gay, gay" in "En ce beau moys" by Guillaume Costeley (ca. 1530–1606) and "I love, I love, I love" in "The Fields Abroad" by Thomas Morley (ca. 1557-1602). Thus, in addition to nonsense syllables, the lark and the nightingale are given meaningful language in certain poems.

The choice of language is not random, but instead reflects literary conventions and folklore relating to these birds. Just as the cuckoo heralds the coming of spring, the lark announces the start of a new day. This association will be familiar to most readers from the following well-known exchange:

> *Juliet.* Wilt thou be gone? It is not yet near day.
> It was the nightingale, and not the lark,
> That pierced the fearful hollow of thine ear.
> Nightly she sings on yond pomegranate tree.
> Believe me, love, it was the nightingale.

Romeo. It was the lark, the herald of the morn,
No nightingale. Look, love, what envious streaks
Do lace the severing clouds in yonder east.
Night's candles are burnt out, and jocund day
Stands tiptoe on the misty mountaintops.
I must be gone and live, or stay and die.[27]

The lark similarly announces the coming of morning in the anonymous "Or sus vous dormez trop" and in Janequin's "Chant de l'alouette" with the words, "Que dit Dieu yl est jour" ("God says that day has come").

The nightingale is traditionally considered the most gifted of singers. Giambattista Marino's praise is eloquent, but not unusual:

But above all other lovely and gentle birds
That unfold their charming song and flight,
The nightingale, siren of the woods,
Pours forth its trembling and rarified spirit.[28]

In classical mythology the nightingale is associated with the unfortunate Philomela, who was raped by her brother-in-law the king. In order to keep his crime a secret, he tore out her tongue. Eventually the gods intervened and Philomela regained her voice, which was transformed into the beautiful song of the nightingale.[29] In a further meaning, according to Rowland, "the nightingale sings of Christ's death and resurrection and is itself the symbol of the greatest love."[30] Thus Philomela's suffering is likened to that of Christ. This perhaps explains why the nightingale sings "I love, I love" in "The Fields Abroad" and "gay, gay" in "En ce beau moys." The "oci, oci" in the virelais by Borlet, Pykini, and Senleches, on the other hand, appears to be a Latin cry for vengeance and may serve to remind the listener of Philomela's plight.[31]

In addition to the repertory discussed above, numerous song texts mention specific birds without imitating their song. No doubt, the traditional meanings associated with these creatures are present also in these nonimitative songs. Through references to specific birds, poets were able to evoke the powerful topoi of love, vanity, and adultery, the coming of day and the coming of spring. The imitation of birdsong in music, by virtue of a more or less consistent application through time, yielded a system of topoi analogous to those in literature. A composer, by imitating the song of the cuckoo, for example, could effectively signal to the listener the same "cuckold" intended by the poet.

It is clear that medieval and Renaissance composers did not achieve—nor is it likely they attempted—a scientifically accurate representation of birdsong. Instead, working within literary and musical traditions, they created works of art through the imitation of natural phenomena or, more likely, the imitation of previous imitations of these phenomena. In fact, their imagina-

tive use of these and other conventions may be one of the scales by which to measure the quality of their works.

For those wishing to gain further insight into birdsong itself, and the fascination it invokes in humans, I recommend the following: the next time you hear a bird sing, listen very carefully. Follow the song as if it were a piece of human music. The experience is bound to be a rewarding one.

NOTES

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[1] For additional examples see the following articles by Trevor Hold: "The Notation of Bird-Song; A Review and a Recommendation," *The Ibis: Journal of the British Ornithologists' Union* 112 (1970), 155; "Messiaen's Birds," *Music and Letters* 52 (1971), 114; and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* s.v. "Birdsong." "Messiaen's Birds" is the only article in which birdsong imitations in music are compared to the actual songs of different species.

[2] W. B. Olds, "Bird Music," *Musical Quarterly* 8 (1922), 242.

[3] Hold, "Messiaen's Birds," 114.

[4] Many birds sing "airs" which appear to follow a pattern of strophic variation. Skeptical readers should consult Rosemary Jellis's *Bird Sounds and Their Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 196–206, for a summary of the scientific literature on the subject.

[5] See P. Szöke, "Zur Entstehung und Entwicklungsgeschichte der Musik," *Studia Musicologica* 2 (1962), 71–78.

[6] Charles Hartshorne, *Born to Sing: An Interpretation and World Survey of Bird Song* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), 39–41.

[7] Szöke, "Zur Entstehung und Entwicklungsgeschichte der Musik," 38. An interesting comparison of what humans hear and what is actually sung may be found in Jellis, p. 197. The author includes two transcriptions (in staff notation) of the song of the blackbird, the first at normal speed and the second at one-eighth and one-sixteenth normal speed.

[8] For a comparison of the tessitura of birdsong and human music see Edward A. Armstrong's *A Study of Bird Song* (revised ed. New York: Dover, 1973), 31.

[9] Hold, "Messiaen's Birds," 114–15. For a recording of birdsongs at normal speed and at one-fourth speed consult the demonstration record accompanying Donald J. Borror's "The Analysis of Animal Sounds" in *Animal Sounds and Communication,* ed. W. E. Lanyon and W. N. Tavolga (Washington, D.C.: Intelligencer Printing Co., 1960), 26–37.

[10] Stuart Keith and John Gooders, *Collins Bird Guide: A Photographic Guide to the Birds of Britain and Europe* (London: Collins, [1980]), 596.

[11] Readers who know of birdsong imitations in western art music of any period are invited to correspond with the author, who is compiling a list of such pieces. Please write to Richard d'A. Jensen, P.O. Box 24537, Los Angeles, CA 90024.

[12] Roger Tory Peterson, Guy Mountfort, and P. A. D. Hollom, *A Field Guide to the Birds of Britain and Europe* (second ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966), 182–83. Readers interested in seeing photographs of the cuckoos discussed above as well as the other birds mentioned in this article should consult Keith and Gooders, *Collins Bird Guide.*

[13] C. J. O. Harrison, ed., *Bird Families of the World* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1978), 126.

[14] "Arriere maistre coqu, / Sortez de no chapitre, / Chacun vous est mal tenu, / Car vous n'estes qu'un traistre. / Coqu, coqu, coqu, etc., / Par traison en chacun nid / Pondez sans qu'on vous sonne." A. Tillman Merritt and François Lesure, eds., *Clément Janequin: Chansons polyphoniques* (Monaco, 1965), 18–21. All translations are by the author unless stated otherwise.

[15] "J'ay esté amoureux d'une assez belle dame / Elle m'a faict coqu, coqu. . . . " François Lesure, ed., *Anthologie de la chanson parisienne au xvie siècle* (Monaco, 1953), 32.

[16] "Qu'on tue ce faulx villain jaloux cornu, tout malheureux, tout malautru. Qui ne vault mye les brayez d'ung pendu. Qu'il soit pendu, qu'il soit bruslé, ce malautru." Merritt and Lesure, *Clément Janequin: Chansons,* 102–3.

[17] Quoted in Beryl Rowland's *Birds with Human Souls: A Guide to Bird Symbolism* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1978), 40.

[18] J. W. Horsley, *Some Folk-Lore and Legends of Birds* (New York: E. S. Gorham, 1914), 43.

[19] "Par maintes foys avoy recoillie / Du rosignol la douce mélodie, / Mais ne s'i veut le cucu acorder, / Ains veult chanter contre ly par envie: / Cu-cu, cu-cu, cu-cu toute sa vie, / Car il veult bien à son chant descourder." Willi Apel, ed., *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950), 114.

[20] Charles Swainson, *The Folk Lore and Provincial Name of British Birds* (London: Elliot Stock, 1886), 111.

[21] "Sumer is icumen in, / Lhude sing cuccu, / Groweth sed and bloweth med, / And springth the wode nu; / Sing cuccu; / Awe bleteth after lomb, / Lhouth after calve cu; / Bulloc sterteth, bucke verteth, / Murie sing cuccu. / Cuccu, cuccu wel singes thu cuccu, / Ne swik thu naver nu."

[22] Keith and Gooders, *Collins Bird Guide,* 543.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Peterson, *A Field Guide,* 310.

[25] For a transcription of the cock crow see Charles A. Witchell's *The Evolution of Bird-Song* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1896), 234. For a transcription of chicken vocalizations see Szöke, "Zur Entstehung der Musik," 54.

[26] Alfred Einstein makes the latter attribution in *The Italian Madrigal,* 3 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), 3:83. The work does not appear in the complete edition of Da Nola's work, however. See Lionello Cammorota, ed., *Gian Domenico da Nola: i documenti biografici e l'attività presso la SS. Annunziata con l'opera completa* (Rome: De Santis, 1973).

[27] William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet,* act 3, scene 5.

[28] "Ma sovr'ogni augellin vago e gentile / Che più spieghi leggiadro il canto e 'l volo, / Versa il suo spirto tremulo e sottile / La sirena de' boschi, il rosignuolo . . ." Giambattista Marino, *Adone,* ed. Marzio Pieri ([Rome:] Gius. Laterza, 1975), canto 7, no. 32. English translation by Dr. Charles Speroni.

[29] Rowland, *Birds with Human Souls,* 107.

[30] Ibid., 106.

[31] Ibid., 109.

Appendix
Birdsong Imitations in Medieval and Renaissance Music

Title or Incipit	Genre	Composer	Species Represented
Sumer is icumen in[a]	Rota	Anonymous	Cuckoo
Der Mai[b]	Lied	Wolkenstein	Nightingale, Crow, Cuckoo, Lark, Thrush, Kungel, Siskin, Titmouse, Dove
Apposte Messe[c]	Caccia	Lorenzo da Firenze	Cuckoo
Se je chant[d]	Chace	Anonymous	"Oysiaus"
Talent m'est pris[e]	Chace	Anonymous	Cuckoo
I' fu' già bianc'uccel[f]	Madrigal	Donatus de Florentia	Crow
En ce gracieux tamps[g]	Virelai	Senleches	Cuckoo, Nightingale
He, tres doulz roussignol[h]	Virelai	Borlet	Lark
Or sus vous dormez trop[i]	Virelai	Vaillant (?)	Lark, Goldfinch
Par maintes foys[j]	Virelai	Vaillant	Nightingale, Cuckoo, Lark, Goldfinch, Starling, Quail, Kestrel, (Sparrowhawk?)
Plasanche or tost[k]	Virelai	Pykini	Nightingale
Chant de l'alouette[l]	Chanson	Janequin	Lark, Cuckoo
Chant des oiseaux[m]	Chanson	Janequin	Woodthrush, Cuckoo, Starling, Nightingale
Chant des oiseaux[n]	Chanson	Gombert	(This chanson is an imitation of the above and includes the same species.)
En ce beau moys[o]	Chanson	Costeley	Nightingale
Il est bel et bon[p]	Chanson	Passereau	Hens
Que n'est elle[q]	Chanson	Certon	Cuckoo
Quasi sempre avanti dì[r]	Frottola	Tromboncino (?)	Rooster
Chichilichi-cucurucu[s]	Moresca	da Nola (?)	Rooster

Contraponto bestiale[t]	Madrigal	Banchieri	Cuckoo, Scops Owl
O Pierulin dov'es tu?[u]	Madrigal	Vecchi	Cockerel, Pigeon
The Fields Abroad[v]	Madrigal	Morley	Nightingale
Lady, the Birds Right Fairly[w]	Madrigal	Weelkes	Cuckoo, Lark, Thrush, Nightingale, Quail
The Nightingale[x]	Madrigal	Weelkes	Cuckoo, Lark
Sweet Suffolk Owl[y]	Madrigal	Vautor	Owl

MODERN EDITIONS

[a] Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel, eds., *Historical Anthology of Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946), 44–45.

[b] Oswald von Wolkenstein, *Geistliche und Weltliche Lieder*, ed. Oswald Koller and Josef Schatz, vol. 18 of *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* (Vienna, 1902), 179–81.

[c] W. Thomas Marrocco, ed., *Fourteenth-Century Italian Cacce*, second edition, revised (Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1961), 1–5.

[d] Willi Apel, ed., *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century* ([Rome:] American Institute of Musicology, 1970–72), 3:162–68.

[e] Ibid., 168–72.

[f] Nino Pirrotta, ed., *The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy* (Amsterdam: American Institute of Musicology, 1962), 3:28.

[g] *French Secular Compositions*, 1:174–75.

[h] Willi Apel, ed., *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1950), 110–11.

[i] Ibid., 117–19.

[j] Ibid., 114–16.

[k] *French Secular Compositions*, 1:164–65.

[l] Clément Janequin, *Chansons polyphoniques*, ed. A. Tillman Merritt and François Lesure (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1965), 1:99–115.

[m] Ibid., 5–22.

[n] Nicolas Gombert, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Joseph Schmidt-Görg (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1975), 11:1–9.

[o] François Lesure, ed., *Anthologie de la chanson parisienne au XVIe siècle* (Monaco, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1953), 78–84.

[p] Passereau, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Georges Dottin ([Rome:] American Institute of Musicology, 1967), 23–25.

[q] *Anthologie de la chanson parisienne*, 31–34.

[r] Benvenuto Disertori, ed., *Le Frottole per canto e liuto intabulate da Franciscus Bossinensis*, vol. 3 of *Istituzioni e monumenti dell'arte musicale italiana* (Milan: Ricordi, 1964), 128–32.

[s] Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, revised edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 3:83–86.

[t] Adriano Banchieri, *Festino nella sera del giovedì grasso avanti cena*, ed. Bonaventura Somma (Rome: De Santis, 1939), 38–40.

[u] Orazio Vecchi, *L'Amfiparnaso*, ed. Cecil Adkins (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 22–25.

[v] Edmund H. Fellowes, ed., *The English Madrigal School* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1921), 2:41–44. Revised as *The English Madrigalists*, ed. Edmund H. Fellowes and Thurston Dart (London: Stainer and Bell, 1965 and 1966).

[w] Ibid., 11:45–50.

[x] Ibid., 13:62–65.

[y] Philip Ledger, ed., *Oxford Book of English Madrigals* (London: Oxford University Press, 1978), 303–9.

review

Igor Stravinsky. *L'Oiseau de Feu.* Fac-similé du manuscrit Saint-Pétersbourg, 1909–1910. Geneva: Éditions Minkoff, 1985.

Études et commentaires par Louis Cyr, Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, Pierre Wissmer. Publié par le Conservatoire de Musique de Genève à l'occasion du cent cinquantième anniversaire de sa fondation. Geneva: Éditions Minkoff, 1985.

In 1917, Igor Stravinsky, living in Morges, Switzerland, and cut off by war and revolution from the income his family estates in Russia had heretofore provided him, began his lifetime practice of selling his manuscripts off to collectors. The choice item in this earliest batch of sales was the autograph fair copy of the full score of *The Firebird.* It was sold with the help of René Auberjonois (or possibly Ernest Ansermet) to Jean Bartholoni, a Swiss oil magnate and musical amateur whose grandfather had founded the Geneva Conservatory in 1835. In November 1920 Bartholoni donated the manuscript to the Conservatory's library, thus making it the first Stravinsky holograph available for public inspection. Eric Walter White closed his earliest monograph on the composer with a description and commentary on what was then the only source of its kind accessible to scholars.[1] Though it reached quite erroneous conclusions, this discussion has the distinction of being the first published study of Stravinsky's creative process. It invested the *Firebird* holograph with a glamour that has not worn off in the intervening half-century and more.

In 1985, in celebration of its sesquicentennial, and in honor of its eminent family of benefactors, the Geneva Conservatory, in collaboration with the redoubtable house of Minkoff, made Bartholoni's gift available to the world at large by publishing the manuscript in a sumptuous photographic facsimile, accompanied by three essays in French and in English translation: an account of the ballet's creative and performance history by Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, an appreciation of Stravinsky by the Geneva composer Pierre Wissmer, and, most substantial by far, a detailed diplomatic essay on the manuscript and the other extant sources of the ballet by Louis Cyr, the Montreal music bibliographer who has established his credentials, by virtue of a masterly textological study of *The Rite of Spring,*[2] as a leader in that branch of Stravinsky research.

That the book is a joy to behold and to handle goes without saying. Every page, every note, every jot and tittle exerts an irresistible fascination, and

one stares at it entranced for hours. Whether its publication is also, in Mr. Cyr's words (p. 189), "a musicological event of the highest order," whether in fact a holograph fair copy of a published masterpiece is ever apt to be much more than a souvenir from the broadly musicological (as opposed to the narrowly textological) point of view, is a question that bears some discussion. What, beyond its supremely exalted entertainment value, does such a document offer us?

To begin with, as to "creative history" the manuscript is virtually silent, especially when compared with the holograph piano reduction (now at the Pierpont Morgan Library), which shows a deal of interesting structural revision.[3] Indeed, when pickings are slim, one may be inclined to exaggerate their significance. Mr. Cyr, for example, makes much of the fact that the Introduction is written on a different paper, with a different pagination, from the rest of the manuscript. This, plus the unhurried calligraphy, so unlike most of the rest of the score, does suggest that the Introduction was orchestrated at a different time from the rest. That it was earlier rather than later is suggested by the list of instruments given at the outset, which specifies a heavier brass complement than was eventually used. But since the music does not differ from the published score, all these chronological minutiae are of no properly historical significance. The inconclusive, hence insubstantive nature of the Geneva holograph as a source of creative history is only too well summed up by Mr. Cyr's hyperbolic yet equivocal summation: "These findings . . . tend to date yet earlier the fair copy of these first pages of *The Firebird.* Indeed, already the complex and convoluted process of a constantly evolving orchestral texture was beginning to take shape. Definitive answers to the many questions raised concerning the score's chronology will only be possible, however, when additional sketches to the work, be they fragmentary or extensive, see the light of day" (p. 208). Exactly. It is sketches we want, not holographs, and sketches for *The Firebird* we have not got. A holograph fair copy can point to the existence of "problems," like complex and convoluted processes of constantly evolving textures and the like, but it cannot elucidate them.

Let us restate the question, then: Is there any information that may be deduced from the holograph that is not present in the published score? The answer is again disappointingly equivocal. What may be deduced is very little indeed, and that little is mainly of relatively trivial biographical or sentimental interest. A few dates may be added to our knowledge of the ballet's chronology,[4] but none that surprises us in any way; they merely amplify and corroborate the story that is already known. The pressure of the approaching deadline may be read in the vagaries of Stravinsky's handwriting. The Introduction is written in a hand so round and neat that one scarcely recognizes it as the composer's. By figure [3] in the first tableau, the hand has already taken on its familiar, highly pronounced, downward slant to the left. By figure [208] the composer is resorting to wholesale repeat signs and alphabet shorthand, giving the last couple of pages of the score the appear-

ance of a sketch. But, after all, "Composer rushes against deadline" has about the same news value as "Dog bites man." The multitude of corrections and on-the-spot revisions in the Scherzo (*Jeu des Princesses avec les Pommes D'Or*) confirms Stravinsky's complaint that he "labored again and again on that piece, but could do no better, and an awkward orchestral handicap remains, though I cannot say exactly what it is."[5] The weird orthography in the clarinet four bars after [96], which I had often pondered, now stands revealed as the result of a mistransposition: Stravinsky corrected the phrase from B-flat to A clarinet by adding sharps to all the natural notes, and changing a flat to a natural.

As long as we are proofreading: "dolcente" in the solo cello two bars earlier—some cellists on recordings have tried to take this "literally," it seems!—should be *dolente;* the meaningless "stesso" at the end of the flute cadenza before [53] should be *steso,* i.e., "slow, lengthened" (some editor at Jurgenson's evidently did not know this rather unusual word, but had seen contracted expressions like "lo stesso tempo" in other scores). An octave transposition sign is missing from the xylophone part one measure after [47]. And so it goes. One intriguing wrong note should be singled out, though. The G-natural in the second violins and violas at the seventh bar after [49] in the printed score should be G-sharp. The holograph full score is not really needed to correct this error. The sharp appears at the analogous place in the published piano transcription, and as the *lectio dificilior* is obviously the correct reading. But even this much external authority is unnecessary to make the adjustment. There is conclusive internal evidence: When the G-sharp is restored, the harmony belongs to the octatonically-referable "ladder of thirds" sequence, which according to Stravinsky's own published analysis[6] (the only technical explication he ever made of the poetics of his own music!) is the harmonic *Grundgestalt* of the whole ballet. Anyone making a thorough study of the score would have had compelling reason to query the spot and, even in the absence of documentary authority, to make the change. The point is worth belaboring here, since among the conductors who accepted the faulty reading uncritically was Stravinsky himself, in his 1961 Columbia recording of the complete *Firebird* ballet.[7] This obviously raises a fundamental question as to the documentary value and authority of the many commercial recordings Stravinsky made late in life, one that needs urgently to be addressed in a rigorous discographic survey and comparison of the myriad discs (issued and unissued), aircheck acetates, and piano rolls that document the composer's performances of his own music over the half-century 1917–67.

Inevitably, as we have just seen, study of any fair copy of a published work quickly turns into an exercise in proofreading. A third and final question thus arises: What textual authority does the Geneva holograph possess vis-à-vis the other extant prepublication materials for *The Firebird,* which include, in addition to the holograph piano transcription, a copyist's score that was used by the Ballets Russes for its performances through 1929 (now at the

Morgan Library together with an incomplete set of manuscript parts) and a set of corrected proofs of the first edition, recently acquired by the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Basel from the estate of Pierre Monteux?[8]

Although the Geneva holograph was the exemplar from which the Morgan Library manuscript derived, the two documents are not identical. The most noticeable difference is the presence in the Geneva manuscript, but not the Morgan one, of concert endings for every dance in the ballet: i.e., the components of the 1911 concert suite (viz., the *Danse de L'Oiseau de Feu,* the *Supplications de L'Oiseau de Feu* [called the "Adagio" in the holograph piano transcription], the Scherzo, the *Ronde des Princesses,* and the *Danse infernale*),[9] plus the *Berceuse,* which was published by Jurgenson as a separate concert item in 1912. We may deduce from this that Stravinsky planned the suite alongside the complete ballet, rather than "extracting" it later.[10] The additional presence of an alternate series of rehearsal numbers in lead pencil that skips the mime sections,[11] and also of conductor's markings in green pencil, found only in the suite items up to the *Dance infernale,* shows that the Geneva holograph was used as a conductor's score for early performances of the suite.[12]

The Morgan Library score, meanwhile, was used by the Diaghilev enterprise for performances of the full ballet. Before the First World War this was the only conductor's score in practical use, since Diaghilev owned exclusive rights to the ballet for the first five years of its existence. Even after the printed version was available, this score continued to be used as long as the Ballets Russes lasted, and its worn condition testifies to its nineteen years of faithful service in the pit. Conductors' markings are multifarious and plentiful. The crossing out of the marking *non crescendo* at [90] must be in the hand of Gabriel Pierné, the conductor of the premiere, and corroborates an amusing story Stravinsky recounted in *Expositions and Developments* half a century later.[13] Evidence of the vagaries of the Ballets Russes performing versions can also be found in this score. Thus five bars from the 1919 Suite (one after [4] through figure [6]), which has a much truncated Introduction, have been inserted as replacement for nineteen measures (two before [1] through figure [3]) before the raising of the curtain, despite the radical difference in sonority between the scoring of the insert (e.g., piano in place of celesta) and that of the music it replaced. The relatively pristine appearance of the insert page suggests it was added to the score for the revival of 1926, only three years before Diaghilev's demise and that of his enterprise.

Over and above its practical significance, the Morgan score was the *Stichvorlage* for the first published edition, which was engraved in Moscow between July 1910 and April 1912, when the *Firebird* was next performed by Diaghilev. Mr. Cyr (p. 194) calls attention to the presence of printer's casting-off markings in blue pencil, corresponding to the pagination of the printed edition. There seems to be additional evidence for the status of this score as *Stichvorlage* in the fact that numerous discrepancies in instrumentation, both minor and quite major, exist between it and the Geneva holograph, and

in such places the printed score invariably agrees with the Morgan score. The seemingly obvious inference—i.e., that Stravinsky revised the scoring prior to the copying of the Morgan score—turns out, however, to be incorrect. The recently discovered set of proofs show that the vast majority of orchestrational revisions were made at that stage, on the basis of Stravinsky's actual audition of his score in rehearsal and performance, and were then copied back into both manuscript full scores to the extent that they were needed. Thus, the extensive proof revisions in the scoring of the *Danse infernale* are reflected in both manuscripts.[14] On the other hand, the revisions in the Finale, which was not part of the original suite, were entered only in the Morgan score (by Stravinsky himself). They are not found in the Geneva holograph, which was used only for suite performances, and neither are such other changes as the addition of the tuba at [103], that of the second contrabassoon at [2], and many, many others.

The upshot of this comparison is that, of the three prepublication sources that document the full orchestral text of *The Firebird,* the Geneva holograph possesses the least textual authority and would be of least use to the preparer of a critical edition. The most important source by far for this purpose would be the set of proofs, for it is there that most of the revisions in the text as published originated, and it is there that the composer's final intentions, presented most clearly as a separate layer, can be most readily ascertained. One page from the proofs is printed in the volume at hand as an illustration (p. 227). It is worth all the rest. One can imagine that a full publication of the proofs in facsimile would be not only an important document for establishing a critical text of *The Firebird,* but a veritable textbook of orchestration. It would be more valuable than Rimsky's even, for the reason Ravel expressed when he said he would like to compile an orchestration text in which the didactic illustrations would be drawn exclusively from unsuccessful passages in his works that needed to be revised.

And that is the third strike. The Geneva holograph fails as a document of creative history, as provider of fresh or significant new analytical insight, and even as arbiter of a critical text. The first criterion would be better met by the holograph piano transcription at the Morgan; the second, by Stravinsky's Aeolian piano-roll commentary; the third, by the proofs, or even by the non-autograph Morgan score. Facsimile publication of any of these would have constituted a musicological event of a higher order than this one. According to Mr. Cyr (p. 224), "the publication of this manuscript provides one of the clues to an impressive process of musical invention, always on the move, flexible, physically palpable and apparently inexhaustible, that would be operative in every score Stravinsky was to compose during the next six decades." Such a peroration may be understandable and excusable as "hype," born of enthusiasm for a document that fairly reeks of mana and of the desire to justify the Geneva Conservatory's huge venture into self-celebrating publication. But it cannot be justified on scholarly grounds. As Mr. Cyr puts it himself (p. 203), "the interest of a fair copy like this lies mainly in a detailed

examination of the notation's outstanding characteristics." That, with all due respect, is relatively trivial work compared with the pressing need to set the Stravinskian historical record straight, to find efficacious analytical approaches to his works, and to establish better texts for them.

Indeed, when one commits oneself a priori to the kind of partisanship Mr. Cyr has come to espouse on behalf of this particular source, one is in danger of losing one's musicological perspective. Mr. Cyr has apparently done so when he describes the original, prerevision scoring of the Scherzo, the *Danse infernale,* and the Finale (p. 233, n. 59) as a version worthy of restoration in concert performance ("much less massive, more subtly colored and, in short, less aggressive than the present gigantic orchestral apparatus"). Stravinsky himself, not once but twice, revised the scoring of these sections for concert use (the suites of 1919 and 1945), and both times he indeed made them less massive and aggressive than the original of 1910. But the version Mr. Cyr would like to see reinstated was not comparable to these. It was not a revision at all but in fact the opposite: a rejected scoring Stravinsky considered ineffective. Despite the fact that it may have been performed (or—who knows?—merely rehearsed) a few times in Paris in 1910, it is not a "version" but a draft. To propose its elevation to the status of a viable version on a par with the three Stravinsky deemed worthy of publication is idle. Had Stravinsky overheard such talk he might well have been tempted to throw his manuscripts away, like his compatriot Vladimir Nabokov, who contemptuously compared the public exhibition of an artist's superseded drafts to "subjecting a fetus to an exploratory operation."[15]

But perhaps, after all, I am taking an overly prosaic and utilitarian view of what ought better be looked upon as a splendiferous musical objet d'art, to be admired and enjoyed rather than studied or used. I have indeed been admiring and enjoying it to distraction, but I do wonder whether the potential enjoyment of nonspecialists might not have been enhanced by a scholarly presentation of higher quality. The object is unique, magnificent, yet M. Eigeldinger's introductory essay is of a sort that might accompany any LP record—a compilation of standardized information, misinformation, and disinformation culled from the same old secondary sources and memoirs, and perpetuating the same old errors.[16] By now, too, Stravinsky is surely entitled to a more substantial and sophisticated sort of appreciation than M. Wissmer's soufflé of oracular platitudes.

Even without undertaking fundamental research in primary sources, a scholar who can read the by-now considerable Russian secondary literature on Stravinsky can surpass the efforts of M. Eigeldinger or M. Wissmer as a matter of course: witness the informative essay on "Stravinsky's Theatre" by Victor Borovsky in *Stravinsky On Stage,* a compendium assembled in collaboration with Alexander Schouvaloff (London: Stainer & Bell, 1982). Even Mr. Cyr was hampered by his inability to decipher for himself the Russian-language inscriptions in the holograph. He was forced to accept the authority of a Russian-speaking inhabitant of Geneva (a Mme Svetlana Misuri) whose

credentials are unstated but whose performance was not without slips, owing to her evident unfamiliarity not just with Stravinsky's idiosyncratic Russian handwriting, but with the "old orthography" use in Russia before the alphabet reform of 1918. For example, where Stravinsky has "Have the celesta double the trumpet's attack" (*Dat' celest'e vmeste s truboi attakku* [*celest* is written in Latin letters]), Cyr (p. 201) has gobbledygook about nonexistent diminished-seventh chords. The Russian word *liga,* by the way, which Mr. Cyr translates as a cognate to *legato,* is better rendered by the English word *slur,* since what is signified is the notational symbol, not the resulting mode of performance.

To sum up, then, and though it may sound ungrateful, my strongest impulse, on contemplating this luxurious monument to the arts of photography and printing, is to wish that comparable zeal had been lavished on such worthier Stravinskian tasks as historical research, analysis, or critical editing. There is enough Stravinskian memorabilia in print now to last us until the next centennial. It is time for Stravinsky scholarship to advance to the level we now take for granted in studies of other preeminent masters of music.

—*Richard Taruskin*

NOTES

[1] "Note on the Manuscript of 'The Fire Bird,'" *Stravinsky's Sacrifice to Apollo* (London: Hogarth Press, 1930), 144–46.

[2] "*Le Sacre du printemps*—Petite histoire d'une grande partition," in François Lesure, ed., *Igor Stravinsky: Études et Temoignages* (Paris: Éditions Jean-Claude Lattès, 1982), 89–148.

[3] For a description of this source and an account of the revisions, see Charles Joseph, *Stravinsky and the Piano* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 252–71.

[4] I.e., the dates (all 1910, "Old Style") on which the orchestration of various items was completed: *Ronde,* 1/(14) April; *Lever du jour,* 3/(16) April; *Danse de la suite de Kachtchei,* 16/(29) April; *Danse infernale,* 30 April/(13 May); *Berceuse,* 2/(15) May; end of manuscript, 5/(18) May, a scant five and one-half weeks before the premiere. For comparison, the autograph piano transcription (Pierpont Morgan Library) is dated 21 March/(3 April).

[5] *Expositions and Developments* (Garden City and New York: Doubleday, 1962), 150; reprint (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 132.

[6] It was printed on the piano roll recorded by Stravinsky and published by the Aeolian company (London) in 1929; a typescript (in French) survives in the Stravinsky Archive, now at the Sacher Stiftung, Basel.

[7] According to Cyr (p. 222, n. 53), only Lorin Maazel's recording (Vox Turnabout 34617) has the correct reading ("and even there the sharp does not seem to have been played by all the strings concerned"[!]).

[8] Neither sketches nor particell for the work are known to survive, though it is likely that they lurk somewhere in the Soviet Union. A bifolium in the Archive (Sacher Stiftung), which Cyr mistakenly assumes to be the original cover/title page to the piano transcription, contains very early sketches that were never actually used in the ballet. For a photograph of the first recto, see Robert Craft, ed., *Stravinsky: Selected Correspondence,* I (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 223. These sketches are of course extremely interesting; but they belong, properly speaking, to the ballet's "prehistory," not to its history.

[9] The situation is actually a touch more complicated than that: the *Supplications* lack the concert ending, but a glue stain in the manuscript shows that it had at one time been inserted. In the *Danse de L'Oiseau de Feu,* the more heavily scored chord Stravinsky composed as a concert

ending actually replaced the original finishing chord in the published score.

[10] The concert endings (except for the *Supplications,* which was evidently not originally envisioned as part of the suite—see the preceding note) already appear in the autograph piano transcription, which predates the full score. This suggests that Stravinsky originally composed the dances with their concert endings, devising the *jonctions* to link them up with the mimed episodes later. Compare Fokine's memoir of his collaboration with Stravinsky, in which the composer is depicted as working on the dances off by himself, but composing the mimed parts of the action together with the choreographer in a sort of tandem improvisation. See Mikhail Fokine, *Memoirs of a Ballet Master,* trans. Vitale Fokine, ed. Anatole Chujoy (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1961), 161.

[11] From these penciled figures, White leaped to the erroneous conclusion that the "fixed dance numbers" constituted an earlier version of the ballet, rather than a suite of excerpts. Dubbing the version numbered in lead pencil "Version A" and the complete continuity (numbered in red pencil) "Version B," he made up a little Tale of the Firebird, as follows: "[W]hen Stravinsky wrote the music of version A he knew the story of the ballet, but he had not yet come into close collaboration with his choreograph, Fokine. It was probably only later when Fokine pointed out the necessity of a certain amount of miming between the fixed dance numbers that Stravinsky made the interpolations that belong to version B" (*Stravinsky's Sacrifice to Apollo,* 145). This false chronology is worth citing as an object lesson on the dangers of extrapolating from individual sources studied in isolation, a danger actually magnified by making one such source so widely accessible as the Geneva holograph has now become.

[12] One of the green marking cues an entry for the "Pos[aunen]," showing that the conductor who entered them was a German. As a letter from Boris Jurgenson to Stravinsky attests (11 January 1913; see Robert Craft, ed., *Stravinsky: Selected Correspondence,* II [New York: Alfred Knopf, 1984], 222), this was Oskar Fried (1871–1941), who later made one of the earliest recordings of the Suite with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

[13] *Expositions and Developments,* p. 147; reprint, p. 129.

[14] Some of these are entered in both manuscripts (e.g., at [150]) in the same hand, which differs from either original hand (i.e., it is neither the hand of Stravinsky nor that of the anonymous Morgan copyist). It is clearly the hand of a nonprofessional scribe, and the possibility suggests itself that it is the hand of Catherine Stravinsky, who is known to have copied some of her husband's manuscripts. No specimens of her musical handwriting are at present available to me to test this surmise. I would be interested and grateful to hear from a reader who is able to make the comparison.

[15] Vladimir Nabokov, *Strong Opinions* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), 29.

[16] The Ballets Russes, properly so-called, was founded and christened in 1911, the year of *Petrushka* (thus Stravinsky's association with Diaghilev predates the Ballets Russes). There is no evidence that Stravinsky's *Fireworks,* op. 4, was performed before its official premiere under Siloti on 9/(22) January 1910, by which time Stravinsky was already hard at work on *The Firebird. Les Orientales,* a ballet divertissement to which Stravinsky contributed an orchestration of Grieg's "Kobold," was presented in 1910, not 1909 (it shared the bill with the first *Firebird*). The ballet divertissement Diaghilev presented in 1909 was called *Le Festin.* It was not the fairy tale "The Little Humpbacked Horse" that Diaghilev considered before deciding to commission a ballet on *The Firebird,* but the 1864 ballet on that subject by Cesare Pugni (choreography by Saint-Léon). More seriously, the author accepts uncritically Stravinsky's highly biased memoirs of his collaboration with Fokine. Also questionable is the habit of quoting long stretches without critique or corrective from the publicity surrounding the premiere.