

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

AN EXPERIENCE-ORIENTED APPROACH TO ANALYZING STRAVINSKY'S
NEOCLASSICISM

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents an experience-oriented analytical approach to Stravinsky's neoclassical music. The project has three main goals: first, to find and provide historical context for written responses by audience members at early performances of Stravinsky's neoclassicism; second, to use these contextualized reports to direct neoclassical music analysis toward methods that can illuminate the experiences these listeners relate; and third, to explore the methodological challenges inherent in any endeavor to develop an analytical practice that is relevant to contemporaneous listeners.

In connecting analysis to historical experiences, an important part of the project involves reconstruction of past performances and the experiences associated with them. Most of this information is not available simply in a score. I contextualize these experiences using historical context and text analysis techniques, including quantitative techniques borrowed from the digital humanities. Building on work by music theorists Robert Gjerdingen and Vasili Byros, who work on determining schematic musical formulae that were "in the air" in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, one strategy in my analytical chapters is to determine how Stravinsky uses such schemata and alters them to strategic effect. These analyses allow for additional, new ways of experiencing a piece of music that, while not necessarily being more "authentic," may provide new insight for present-day listeners into Stravinsky's music and its historical context.

INTRODUCTION: ANALYSIS, EXPERIENCE, AND EXPERIENCE-ORIENTED ANALYSIS

The interpreter's fidelity to the details of an art work, his or her ability to demonstrate not only homogeneity of material but also purposefulness in the ordering and processing of material, and his or her success in capturing aspects of our naive experience of a work [is valuable]. The key word is "our"; an interpretation is worth something if it enhances the importance of an artifact for the members of a cultural community for which membership is defined in terms of shared assumptions and knowledge.

—William Benjamin, "Tonality Without Fifths" (1976)¹

This project was inspired by Igor Stravinsky's (possibly apocryphal) story about the writing process and premiere of the Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments (1924). Stravinsky says that at some point during the composition process, he lost the manuscript draft of the second movement. Unable to recall what he had written, the composer was forced to rewrite the interior movement of the concerto. It is believed that the second draft bears little resemblance to the earlier, lost version. Memory issues associated with this movement also plagued the premiere: Stravinsky played the solo part alongside Serge Koussevitsky and the orchestra of the Paris Opéra; he successfully performed the first movement, but was unable to remember how the second movement began. Koussevitsky was forced to (slyly) hum the incipit for the movement to the composer in order to jog his memory and continue the performance.² While Stravinsky suggests that this lapse was likely due to stage fright or a slight interruption from the audience, the second movement seems to be difficult to remember, for some reason.³

¹ William Benjamin, "Tonality without Fifths: Remarks on the First Movement of Stravinsky's Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments," *In Theory Only* 2/3, no. 11–12/2 (1976): 11.

² Eric Walter White, *Stravinsky: The Composer and His Works*, 2nd edition (University of California Press, 1985), 316–18.

³ Igor Stravinsky, *Stravinsky: An Autobiography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1936), 179.

This inability to remember portions of the concerto, an inability that the composer himself apparently felt, jibes with my own experiences of the work. Despite several months of analyzing the work, writing about it, and playing through portions of it at the piano, I found myself unable to recall the themes for any movements, either aurally (in order to sing it) or kinesthetically (in order to play it). I found, also, as I explored the historical context surrounding the work, that certain words were used frequently, words associated with this music's ability to throw one off-balance, to create a sense of *disability* in situations that listeners and performers are usually able to succeed, especially when dealing with music that is primarily tonal and that contains repetitive formal structures.⁴

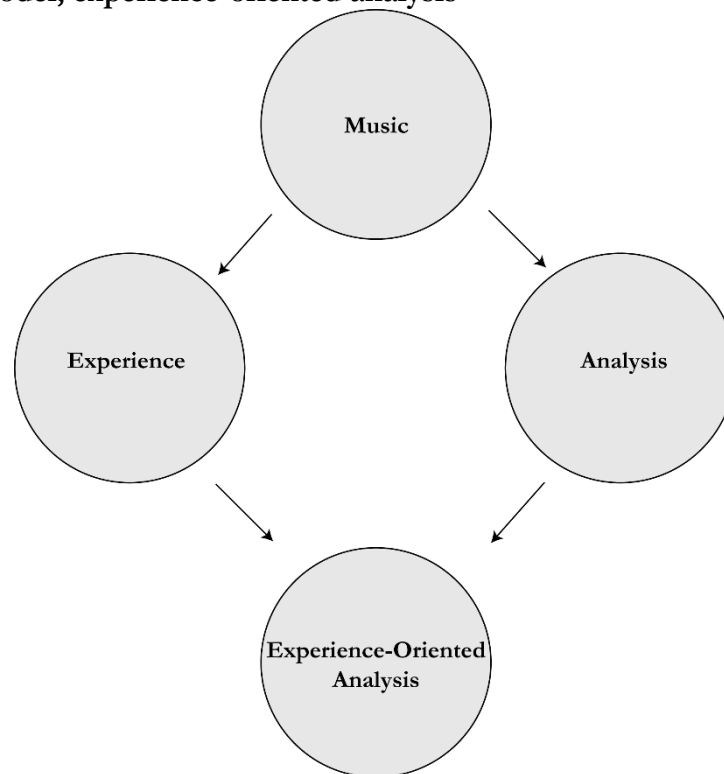
The central question for the dissertation, then, is how to reconcile the most common features people describe when they hear Stravinsky's neoclassicism with more systematic, analytical accounts of these works. When people write about their experiences of neoclassicism, they tend to focus on this music's engagement with past musical models, but analyses tend to emphasize structural elements that do not always interact, at least explicitly, with such descriptions.

What, then, would an "experience-oriented analysis" entail? What features would it contain, and how could structural elements and experiential elements be productively combined? While, clearly, no analysis will exactly match a given experience, and indeed, good analyses often *inspire* and provoke new experiences, this dissertation suggests that the practice of attending closely to others' reported experiences can suggest analytical pathways that have not been previously explored, in addition to connecting extant analytical models more closely with the reception history of Stravinsky's neoclassicism.

⁴ There is a growing body of work on disability in music, from a variety of perspectives. See, for example, Joseph N. Straus, *Extraordinary Measures: Disability in Music*, 1st edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011) and Blake Howe et al., eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Disability Studies*, 1st edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

The diagram in Figure 0.1 suggests one possible (heuristic) model for reconciling analysis with experience.⁵ At the top of the figure, the “music” represents any encounter a person might have with Stravinsky’s neoclassicism: a performance, a recording, a score, and any of the myriad options contained in each of these smaller categories (for example, a performance of any of the three *Pulcinella* suites, or *Pulcinella* as the complete, multimedia ballet). The second levels segregate “experience” (which here concatenates historical listeners’ experiences with those of present-day listeners) and “analysis” completely, and the last level, called “experience-oriented analysis” contains the blending of both experiential features and analytical features.

Figure 0.1: Possible model, experience-oriented analysis



⁵ This model, as may be obvious, is inspired by Lawrence Zbikowski’s model for “conceptual blends” between text and music in *Lieder*. Zbikowski, in turn, draws from linguistic and cognitive studies: the “conceptual integration networks” developed by Mark Turner and Giles Fauconnier as a way to understand textual blends. For Zbikowski, the two middle-level spheres may inform one another, but for the purpose of this heuristic, I have removed that cross-pollination. See Lawrence M. Zbikowski, *Conceptualizing Music: Cognitive Structure, Theory, and Analysis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 77.

To further evaluate this model, consider what is contained in the “experience” and “analysis” bubbles. “Experience” is diverse: both personal experiences (including those that might arise from different encounters with the music) and the experiences of others (whether present or historical) may be included in this apparently clean-cut category. For my purposes, “experience” in this model also refers, primarily, to first-person, immediate reactions that one might have when engaging with music.⁶ By contrast, because of the segregation of these bubbles, “analysis” contains *only* encounters with the music that are entirely systematic—experiences and analyses may not commingle in this model.

But experience and analysis are not so easily separable: many writers suggest that the two are much more deeply involved than such a model would allow. David Temperley, who defines analysis as “an investigation of the structure of a single piece,” asks a provocative question about how to relate experience to analysis, which I reproduce here:

Is musical structure something in the mind of the listener, in which case its elucidation involves the description of (perhaps unconscious) psychological processes and representations? Or is it something that resides in the musical object itself—perhaps, in large part, not normally part of the listener’s hearing and experience, but revealed by the analyst with the aim of enhancing that experience?⁷

Temperley calls the first kind of analysis “descriptive,” the second “suggestive,” and writes that there are rarely instances where an analysis is fully divorced from experience.⁸ Thus, this model is not quite accurate. On the one hand, there is some sense in which analytical methods for approaching Stravinsky’s music and experiences reported about it seem to run in parallel. On the other, it is nearly

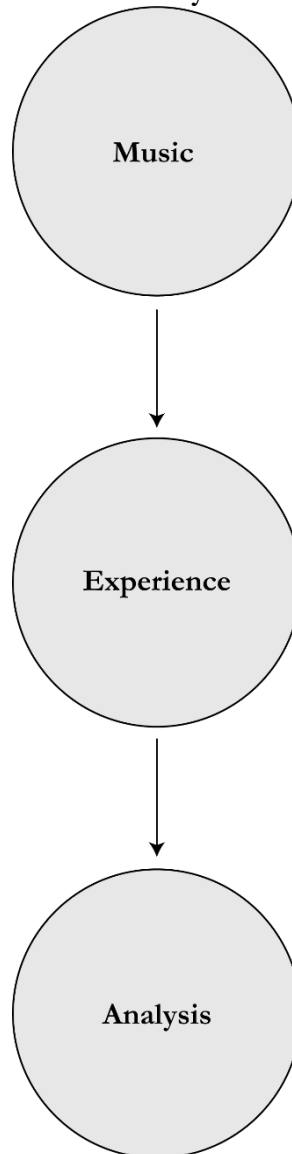
⁶ Of course, the idea that one can have an experience that is entirely unmediated is problematic. Nicholas Cook is one of the many music theorists who argue that one’s context affects how one hears and experiences music. See Nicholas Cook, “Epistemologies of Music Theory,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Street Christensen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 78–105.

⁷ David Temperley, “The Question of Purpose in Music Theory: Description, Suggestion, and Explanation,” *Current Musicology* 66 (Spring 1999): 66.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 71.

impossible to imagine an analysis that is entirely un-experiential.⁹ Many analysts even use others' historical experiences, represented by especially evocative quotations, to guide certain aspects of their work.¹⁰ Clearly, analysis and experience intersect more than this diagram allows.

Figure 0.2: Possible model, experience-oriented analysis



⁹ For more on how music theorists commonly navigate this possible gap between experience and analysis, see Benjamin Hansberry, “Phenomenon and Abstraction: Coordinating Concepts in Music Theory and Analysis” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2017).

¹⁰ Donald Traut, for example, includes many examples of historical response to the Concerto for Piano Winds in his recent monograph, which he uses alongside his own phenomenal response to the music as guides for analytical inquiry. See Donald G. Traut, *Stravinsky’s “Great Passacaglia”: Recurring Elements in the Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2016).

Figure 0.3: Possible model, experience-oriented analysis

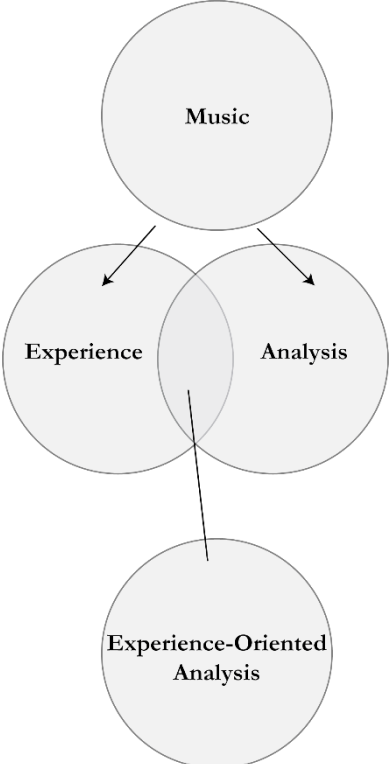
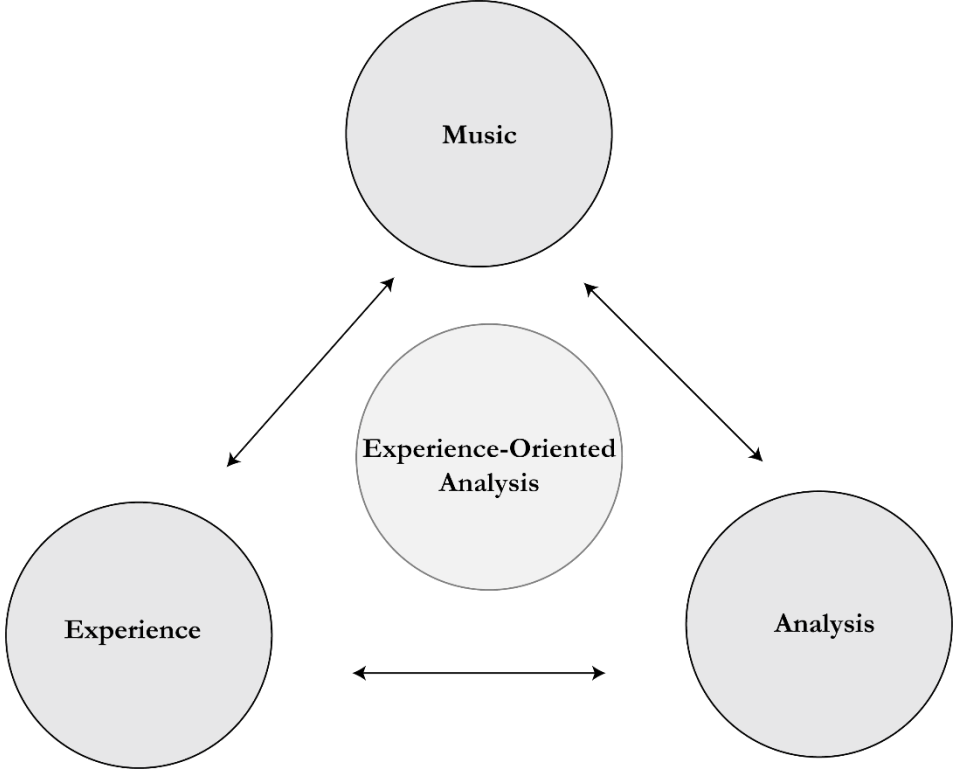


Figure 0.4: Possible model, experience-oriented analysis



Another model, shown in Figure 0.2, suggests a more linear relationship: after interacting with the work, having experiences and reading about others' (perhaps, historical listeners') experiences, analysts filter these experiences through the process of systematizing them for analysis. Here, there are many more types of analysis that can participate in the bubble—no single theory or strategy is prioritized. But, in this model, there is no analysis that is *not* explicitly descriptive and experience-oriented. This leaves out many successful, suggestive analyses in which a studious reader may need to undergo intensive ear training in order to experience the author's analytical claims.¹¹

Yet another model, in Figure 0.3, suggests that experience-oriented analysis is located in the intersection between experience and analysis, without positing a linear relationship between the two—analysis and experience can flow together freely. This Venn diagram suggests that music gives rise to ideas that are purely experiential, purely analytical (as problematic as either of those concepts might be), and those that are some combination thereof: experience-oriented analyses. Both historical and personal experiences intermix, and suggestive and descriptive analyses can arise. But, none of these models seems appropriately fluid for the project at hand: trying to understand personal, contemporary experience as separate and different (but potentially informed by) another's historical experience, using an eclectic bag of analytical tools to ramify and shape past experiences for a present audience. Thus, a final model, in Figure 0.4, shows yet another possibility: convergence. This metaphor, while not perfect, suggests that by shuttling between music, experience, and analysis, one can encompass and approach an experience-oriented analysis, however asymptotically. Unlike the first models, which require a certain degree of linear flow, the last allows for multi-directional relationships between the three nodes, allowing for multiple passes, multiple experiences, and

¹¹ While neither Stravinskyan nor historical, David Lewin's Stockhausen analysis explicitly requires an ear-training exercise and multiple passes through the work in order to "experience" his analysis of pentachords across the work. See David Lewin, *Musical Form and Transformation: 4 Analytic Essays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 16–67.

multiple analyses, in which no single feature must exist apart from the others. It is non-hierarchical, and there are many paths through this model, much as there are many paths through a transformational diagram. Like transformational networks, the model in Figure 0.4 represents all possible relationships, all possible paths, but like many musical works that use such networks, certain paths are more well-trodden than others. Thus, many of the analyses in this dissertation take the same path through the model and may appear to arise from a model more like Figure 0.2, because such a path helps organize writing. Yet, each analysis in the chapters to follow integrates points on the triangle in order to serve the overall goal of using historical experiences to orient analysis, and hence, suggest additional experiential possibilities for present-day listeners.

To return to Temperley, who argues that when integrating suggestive and descriptive analysis, one must be very clear about how and where such crossover occurs, I close this introduction by providing the following explanation of my usual analytical process in the chapters to follow.¹² Having listened to these works in the past, and developed my own, primarily aural, experiential understanding of a musical moment (for example, the humorous trombone slide in *Pulcinella*), which sometimes bleeds into a descriptive analysis of the moment, I often turn toward historical listeners' accounts of the music, which contain traces of experiences that I do not always initially share (for example, hearing that slide as suggestive of 1920s variety-show music). I then return to the musical scores and recordings, with both sets of experiences in hand, to see if I can shift my experience, either aurally or through analytical procedures. I then continue to work through the music analytically in an attempt to reorient my own experience, an analytical process that is primarily suggestive. When writing up the analyses, I tend to remove the descriptive elements of my initial analyses in favor of providing a cleaner analytical narrative. Thus most of the analyses in this

¹² Temperley, "The Question of Purpose in Music Theory," 78.

dissertation take a more suggestive route, beginning with context and historical experiences and then trying to reflect these experiences in analysis as a suggestive exercise for readers. This need not be the only path toward experience-oriented analysis, nor is it the only possible way to approach the final model I present here. But it does provide new analytical paths and new, historically oriented listening possibilities for present-day audiences.

1 NEOCLASSICISM, ANALYSIS, AND EXPERIENCE

The time traveling of the *Pulcinella* ballet probably provided the impetus for Stravinsky's neoclassical period, which apart from the adoption of eighteenth-century forms and titles, is chiefly noticeable for its attempt to create melody by synthetic manufacture. One cannot create a creature of flesh and blood out of fossil fragments.

—Constant Lambert, “Stravinsky as Pasticheur” (1934)¹

1.1 NEOCLASSICISM AFTER THE GREAT WAR

In the period immediately following the Great War, music that explicitly and ironically engaged with the past became commonplace. Of course, composers of all eras engage the music of the past—“deliberate imitation or revival of ‘ancient’ or obsolete musical styles for specific emblematic or expressive purposes has a history that goes back at least as far as the Renaissance”—but twentieth-century neoclassicism's invocation of earlier styles was quite different.² Whereas prior revivals of earlier music were generally “reverential,” twentieth-century neoclassicism includes an element of critical, even ironic, distance. This trend was not geographically limited to Paris; composers in Russia, England, and Germany were also reaching into the more removed musical past, writing music that idealized the past while simultaneously exploring its distance from the present.³ For Richard Taruskin, this is the moment that defines the twentieth-century musical aesthetic; further, this music was intentionally “preromantic,” situating itself as the antithesis of

¹ Constant Lambert, *Music Ho! A Study of Music in Decline* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), 101.

² Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music: Music in the Early Twentieth Century*, vol. 4 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 449. Taruskin details several moments in which neoclassicism of a sort appeared prior to the twentieth century (as what he calls “delicious neoclassicism,” a form of stylistic pastiche) on pp. 449–56.

³ Composers throughout Europe looked to Baroque forms, galant styles, and other “classics.” They made explicit reference (ironic or otherwise) to music that preceded the “Romantic” era. These composers include Hindemith, Prokofiev, Stravinsky, Ravel, Debussy, Satie (and the rest of *Les Six*), Shostakovich, Busoni, and later Benjamin Britten. Even Schoenberg was writing music that engaged with Baroque dance forms. See Scott Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music: From the Genesis of the Concept through the Schoenberg/Stravinsky Polemic* (Ann Arbor, MI.: UMI Research Press, 1988); Glenn Watkins, *Pyramids at the Louvre: Music, Culture, and Collage from Stravinsky to the Postmodernists* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1994); Robert P. Morgan, *Twentieth-Century Music: A History of Musical Style in Modern Europe and America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991).

nineteenth-century values and musical tendencies toward subjectivity, expression, and maximalism.⁴ The French neoclassical turn was not just anti-romantic but also distinctly anti-Wagnerian, and the resultant turn toward “lucidity and simplicity” became characteristic of twentieth-century neoclassicism.⁵ This neoclassicism, which Scott Messing has shown was also associated with musical features such as linearity, polyphony, and counterpoint, had a unique flavor that could be traced to Stravinsky, *Les Six*, and other Russian ex-patriots then living in France (e.g., Prokofiev).⁶ This ironic distance was marked for listeners as significant, and they sought ways to ground this significance in ideas, emotions, and other states of being. Of course, meaning varies, and Stravinsky expressed publicly and repeatedly that he believed music was incapable of expression.⁷ Yet, audience members often described this music as if it carried referential content, and disagreed, in subtle and not-so-subtle ways, about how to describe it, calling it “objectivist,” “realist,” and “constructivist,” among many other adjectives.⁸ It is worth noting here that there is an immense body of work on meaning(s) and music(s). I find Michael Klein’s nuanced understanding of Nicholas Cook’s and Jean-Jacques Nattiez’s theories of musical meaning (specifically, semiotics) to be particularly relevant to the kinds of (musical) meanings I want to explore in this project. Klein writes:

Troublesome in Cook’s theory, Nattiez’s tripartition, and my borrowing of this work is the conception that attributes (and structures) are somehow *in* the music. It may just as well be the case that we project these attributes and structures *on* the music, so that the immanent level collapses into the esthetic.⁹

⁴ Taruskin, *Oxford History of Western Music* vol. 4, 448, 457.

⁵ Marion Schmid, “À Bas Wagner! The French Press Campaign Against Wagner during World War I,” in *French Music, Culture, and National Identity, 1870-1939*, ed. Barbara L. Kelly (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 89.

⁶ Scott Messing, “Polemic as History: The Case of Neoclassicism,” *The Journal of Musicology* 9, no. 4 (October 1, 1991): 481–97. Messing also shows that the term “neoclassicism” had a fraught history that included French writers using the term pejoratively against German music of the early twentieth century. Boris de Schloezer was the first to use the word to describe Stravinsky’s output in 1923, reclaiming the term for its (eventual) present-day use (see p. 490).

⁷ Stravinsky’s views, and the importance of not always taking the composer at his word, are discussed further in the following section.

⁸ Messing, “Polemic as History,” 490.

⁹ Michael Klein, “Chopin’s Fourth Ballade as Musical Narrative,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 26, no. 1 (2004): 24n6.

In other words, there is no need to suppose that meaning exists and is transferred from composer to listener, or that meaning is inherent to this music. Rather, listeners may be imposing their own understandings and meaningful content upon this music, regardless of composer intent or music's ability to carry referential content. In neoclassicism, the juxtaposition of traditional and modernist musical materials, ironic or otherwise, was evocative for many listeners. As the epigraph to this chapter indicates, that commentary was not necessarily positive: Lambert sees *Pulcinella* as unnatural—a skeleton rather than a living entity—a quality that changes his experience and understanding of the ballet's “time traveling.”

Tracing twentieth-century neoclassicism's particular origins and implications, though, is quite difficult.¹⁰ Richard Taruskin, Scott Messing, Martha Hyde, Pieter van den Toorn, and Maureen Carr have all grappled with the problem of how to understand the many ways in which twentieth-century composers dealt with the past.¹¹ Taruskin notes that in most cases what makes twentieth-century neoclassicism unique and count as “modernism” is its ironic approach to past materials.¹² Irony as a governing paradigm still allows for variation: at its core, irony simply involves some level of critical distance and opposition, whether verbal irony (saying the opposite of what is meant, e.g., “clear as mud”) or situational irony (juxtaposing an event's expected outcome with its opposite). These variations in ironic approach to the source material allow for vast differences between twentieth-century neoclassical works.

¹⁰ Martha M. Hyde, “Neoclassic and Anachronistic Impulses in Twentieth-Century Music,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 18, no. 2 (October 1, 1996): 200–35.

¹¹ Richard Taruskin, “Back to Whom? Neoclassicism as Ideology,” *19th-Century Music* 16, no. 3 (April 1, 1993): 286–302; Hyde, “Neoclassic and Anachronistic Impulses in Twentieth-Century Music”; Pieter C. van den Toorn, “Neoclassicism and Its Definitions,” ed. James M. Baker, David Beach, and Jonathan W. Bernard, *Music Theory in Concept and Practice* (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 1997), 131–56; Maureen A. Carr, *Multiple Masks: Neoclassicism in Stravinsky's Works on Greek Subjects* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); Maureen A. Carr, *After the Rite: Stravinsky's Path to Neoclassicism (1914–1925)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹² Taruskin, *Oxford History of Western Music* vol. 4, 457.

Even within Stravinsky's own neoclassical output from 1920 to 1951, the composer's engagement with the past varies widely, and listeners' responses to these works are similarly diffuse. Two works that demonstrate very different relationships with the past are *Pulcinella* (1920) and the Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments (1924), both early examples of Stravinsky's neoclassicism.¹³ Stravinsky's approach to "past" musical materials and forms in *Pulcinella* is distinct from his approach in the Concerto. In the former, Stravinsky uses already-extant music by early eighteenth-century composers and limits himself to changes in instrumentation, occasional irregular shifts to irregular meters, and alterations in inner voices. He only rarely interpolates passages in which the writing is entirely his own. Stravinsky's relationship to the music with which he engages in *Pulcinella* is more like sampling than composition: remixing, adding textures and timbres, splicing in small snippets of new material—an unsuccessful attempt, in Lambert's eyes, to resurrect dead music through artificial means.¹⁴

Take, for example, Stravinsky's light reworking of "Se tu m'ami."¹⁵ Figures 1.1 and 1.2 reproduce, respectively, the score from *Arie Antiche* (the edition from which it is believed Stravinsky

¹³ Stravinsky scholars debate whether *Pulcinella* (1920) or the Octet (1923) represent the beginning of Stravinsky's neoclassical "period." See Taruskin, *Oxford History of Western Music* vol. 4, 469–71 for a discussion of why he believes the Octet is the true beginning of neoclassicism. Martha Hyde cites *Pulcinella* as one of the first examples of "reverential imitation," though she is not entirely convinced it is truly neoclassical either (see Martha M. Hyde, "Stravinsky's Neoclassicism," in *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky*, ed. Jonathan Cross (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 110). Stuart Campbell locates the shift earlier, either with *Pulcinella* or the Symphonies of Wind Instruments (see Stuart Campbell, "Stravinsky and the Critics," in *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky*, ed. Jonathan Cross (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 239). Maureen Carr argues that *Pulcinella* is an important signpost on the road to neoclassicism (see Carr, *After the Rite*, 227). For my purposes, any explicit engagement with forms and structures of earlier music counts as neoclassical, as the overall focus of this dissertation is the ways in which historical listeners responded to Stravinsky's engagement with the past.

¹⁴ Carr writes that "Stravinsky at times reshapes his sources almost beyond recognition," but her examples of such deformation still fall far short of what Stravinsky does in other, later neoclassical works such as the Piano Concerto. Most of Carr's analysis, in fact, shows that Stravinsky does exactly what I suggest here: pulling musical fragments at will into *Pulcinella*'s fabric and occasionally splicing together multiple copies of a musical idea (in other words, imitation) where the original might have had a simpler texture. See Maureen A. Carr, ed., *Stravinsky's Pulcinella: A Facsimile of the Sources and Sketches*, Music in Facsimile (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2010), 22.

¹⁵ Barry Brook calls this aria "a late nineteenth-century forgery" that would be difficult to reconcile with Pergolesi's style. Barry S. Brook, "Stravinsky's *Pulcinella*: The 'Pergolesi' Sources," in *Musiques, Signes, Images*, ed. Joël-Marie Fauquet and François Lesure (Genève: Minkoff, 1988), 49. Brooks notes further that the aria seems to have first appeared in Alessandro Parisotti's 1885 anthology of arias, and was likely written by Parisotti himself. Despite this,

worked), and the 1920 vocal score of the same movement within *Pulcinella*. I use the vocal score here because the texture most closely approximates that of the “Pergolesi” that Stravinsky set. The arietta does not appear in the orchestral suite for obvious reasons (that is, because it is a vocal number), but serves as a typical example of Stravinsky’s alterations as they appear in *Pulcinella*. In the first vocal phrase, Stravinsky leaves the vocal line intact, and chooses nearly the same set of bass pitches, though his first four measures of accompaniment eschew stepwise motion in the bass for a more disjunct approach. His inner-voice accompaniment contains more dissonance, using major- and minor-second dyads and quartal structures rather than triadic harmonies. The changed pitches coincide with instrumentation changes: whereas the original suggests a keyboard accompaniment, Stravinsky’s full orchestral score accompanies the soprano with strings, which maintains the single timbre but perhaps softens the effect of the dissonances. Despite such changes, the movement is very little altered, and maintains a strong essence of, if not resemblance to, the “Pergolesi” original. More analysis of *Pulcinella*’s relationship to the musical sources will follow in Chapters Two and Four.

In the Piano Concerto, by contrast, the references to the past are still apparent but operate principally at the stylistic, formal, and schematic level. There are no obvious quotations of extant past works.¹⁶ Instead, in the Concerto, Stravinsky acts as composer who references or alludes to the past, without directly filtering or reviving examples from it. The allusions are multifarious, layered,

Stravinsky and others believed this was a genuine Pergolesi, and the myth that this is a genuine aria from the “Classical” era is perpetuated today, even though the aria is now often attributed to Parisotti instead. The aria still features prominently in vocal anthologies for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as Caccini et al., *30 Italian Songs and Arias of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Roger. Nichols, trans. Sarah. Nichols (London; New York: Edition Peters, 2007).

¹⁶ Donald Traut argues that there is a quotation of the *Musical Offering* in the first movement, but the quotation remains under the surface. I have not found evidence that listeners recognized more than a general (stylistic) nod to Bach. See Donald G. Traut, “Revisiting Stravinsky’s ‘Concerto,’” *Theory and Practice* 25 (2000): 75.

and often contradictory.¹⁷ For example, the opening of the third movement evokes not only a Bachian fugal subject-answer narrative between soloist and orchestra but also an emphasis on (then-contemporary) ragtime rhythms and jazz-like themes. The first piano cadenza, beginning at “Tempo P” and continuing unaccompanied until rehearsal number 69 and shown in Figure 1.3, emphasizes the rhythmic quality and use of dissonance that evokes ragtime, a stylistic reference that is at odds with the otherwise Baroque approach to the movement. The triadic harmonies suggest a C tonal center, but the right hand’s emphasis on B \flat and the disjointed contour of the left hand help push the ragtime/jazz reference to the forefront at this moment. (Further analysis of the Piano Concerto will follow in Chapter Five.)

Figure 1.1: Parisotti, “Se tu m’ami”¹⁸

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Se tu m'ami" by Parisotti. It is written in 2/4 time with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The tempo is marked "ANDANTINO" with a quarter note equal to 58 beats. The score is in three systems. The first system shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins with a whole note rest, followed by the lyrics "Se tu m'a mi,". The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand. The second system continues the vocal line with the lyrics "se tu so spi ri Sol per me gentil pa stor,..." and includes dynamic markings "cres." and "rit." above the staff. The piano accompaniment continues with similar rhythmic patterns and includes "cres." and "rit." markings below the staff.

¹⁷ While neither “fugue” nor “ragtime” are common to the vocabulary of musical topoi (though fugal entrances are often considered markers of the learned style), certainly the layering and incompatibility of these references works much in the same way that Robert Hatten suggests topical troping works. See Robert S. Hatten, “The Troping of Topics in Mozart’s Instrumental Works,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. Danuta Mirka, Oxford Handbooks Online (Oxford University Press, 2014), 514–36; and Hatten, *Interpreting Musical Gestures, Topics, and Tropes: Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004). Scott Schumann has used the concept of topical troping to develop a sense of the ways in which Stravinsky “distorts” musical topoi in the service of neoclassical detachment and irony. See Scott Charles Schumann, “Making the Past Present: Topics in Stravinsky’s Neoclassical Works” (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2015).

¹⁸ Alessandro Parisotti, *Arie Antiche*, vol. 1 (Milano: G. Ricordi, 1885), 102.

Figure 1.2: Stravinsky, *Pulcinella*, “Se tu m’ami”¹⁹

The image shows a musical score for Soprano and Piano. The Soprano part is in 3/4 time, with lyrics: "Se tu m'ami, se tu so-spi-ri Sol per me, gen-til pas-tor,". The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in the right hand and quarter notes in the left hand. A *rit.* (ritardando) marking is present above the final two measures of the vocal line.

Figure 1.3: Stravinsky, Piano Concerto, III, first cadenza²⁰

The image shows a musical score for Piano Concerto III, first cadenza. The tempo is marked **Tempo I^o**. The score is in 3/4 time and features complex rhythmic patterns and chords. A *forte assai* marking is present in the first system. A box containing the number **69** is located above the final measure of the second system. The score concludes with a *sf assai* marking.

Stravinsky’s different kinds of engagement with musical references seem to be matched by listener response: *Pulcinella* was often immediately understood and usually well received while the

¹⁹ Igor Stravinsky, *Pulcinella; Ballet Avec Chant En Un Acte D’après Giambattista Pergolesi*. (London: J. & W. Chester, 1920), 61.

²⁰ Igor Stravinsky, *Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments* (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1960), 50. Rests in the orchestral accompaniment have been removed.

Concerto was more off-putting and baffling to its audience.²¹ This is not to say that the composer's differing approaches to earlier material in these works directly caused listeners' responses (there are many additional factors at play) but rather that these phenomena coexist. Both works still demonstrate Stravinsky's interest in displaying the music of the past in some degree of incongruity with the present, and the degrees and kinds of incongruity do correlate with differences in historical listener reception.²² After all, it is no secret that neoclassical music gains its aesthetic power in part by highlighting the (often strained) relationship between past and present. This relationship, the result of the close juxtaposition of past and present, is not always the same, though irony remains a prevailing feature. Listeners perceive (and respond to) the many differences. As Carolyn Abbate writes about Ravel's neoclassical works (e.g., *Tombeau de Couperin* (1913)):

These works, and perhaps others categorized as neoclassic, are thus not only nostalgic, or melancholic, sardonic, anxious, awed, reverent, or painful stolen glances at antiques from music's attic. The litany is not entirely ironic. Neoclassicism as an idea is protean, as Richard Taruskin has shown in witty commentaries on the phenomenon and the scholarship it engendered. What does it mean to invoke the past? What past? How? When? Here [Ravel's] neoclassicism is a Parisian *cordon sanitaire* against Wagnerian encroachments; there (Stravinsky) an aesthetic of inexpressiveness, a sinister compositional cool; somewhere else Teutonic chauvinism mixed with psychopathologies of influence (Schoenberg and friends); somewhere else again, nostalgic kitsch (Richard Strauss). Anxious influence and psychology, or politics and sociology, have become classic grounds for debates about twentieth-century works in which we sense the presence of an old and alien voice.²³

Clearly, the ever-shifting nature of neoclassicism, even when limited to looking only at Stravinsky, affects listeners' relationships to and interpretations of these works. As we will see, contemporaries

²¹ As I show in Chapter Three, *Pulcinella* often received adjectival descriptions that emphasize the positive effect Stravinsky's alterations had on the music, such as "good" and "respect," and the Concerto's reception was more fraught: while it still often is described as "great," more qualifiers (like "merely") surround the descriptions, and deeper analysis reveals more tension between reference and realization in the Concerto than *Pulcinella*.

²² This is, of course, a simplification—music of "the present" is always informed and infused by music by other composers and in different eras. But in neoclassicism, the composer self-consciously appropriates musical cues that are associated with past-ness and modifies them in ways that make it possible for listeners to separate the stylistic reference (that is, how something "should" sound) from its deformation in the music.

²³ Carolyn Abbate, *In Search of Opera*, 1st edition (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 193.

indeed often used adjectives such as those Abbate uses above (nostalgic, melancholic, inexpressive, alien, and so on), suggesting the diversity of their experiences. This dissertation will allow these differences in reception of and writing about Stravinsky's neoclassicism to inform and enhance the analytical process.

1.2 ANALYZING NEOCLASSICISM: PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

Heinrich Schenker, Viennese analyst-extraordinaire and one of the most influential music analysts of the twentieth century, wrote the following about Igor Stravinsky's Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments (1924):

These bars are written in succession, as is normal in music (perhaps the time will come when, in the name of progress, the bars will be lined up vertically instead of horizontally); thus I must believe that this succession signified a cohesive whole to the composer. But in music, all cohesion is nothing other than a composing-out in linear progressions; thus it is the linear progressions alone that bear witness to cohesion, not whatever the composer may say or write on the subject.²⁴

As should be evident, Schenker was not fond of Stravinsky's music. This is not surprising. As the quote indicates, he found the Concerto to be incoherent, unable to provide much in the way of development or a composing-out of the *Urfinie*. It does not demonstrate tonal coherence, or, in Schenker's mind, coherence of any kind, even if the composer says otherwise. He does not understand why a composer would turn away from writing a coherent, organically constructed work, and therefore finds the Concerto lacking on all fronts.

The particular passage Schenker cites, rehearsal number eleven, features the piano alone, moving with a toccata-like fervor centered on D. The ostinati and other forms of repetition in this

²⁴ Heinrich Schenker, *The Masterwork in Music: Volume II, 1926*, ed. William Drabkin, trans. Ian Bent, John Rothgeb, and Hedi Siegel, Trade edition (Dover Publications, 2014), 17.

passage do create a certain kind of harmonic stasis, something that many other analysts have noted.²⁵ Schenker's analysis of this section focuses on its failure to assert of any kind of linear close. Figures 1.4 and 1.5 reproduce Schenker's reduction of the score alongside his sketch of the passage.²⁶ Note that in Figure 1.5, Schenker recomposes these measures in order to sketch them, adding thirds to complete triads and changing the bass where necessary to create neighbor and passing motion in keeping with Schenker's theory of tonality and progression.

Despite these changes, the music captured in the sketch shown in Figure 1.5 still does not meet Schenker's standards, not least because there are several low-level linear progressions that are set over dissonances. Schenker bemoans the lack of coherence here, explaining that Stravinsky writes "notes [that] constantly coincide in dissonances, a procedure which serves him as a substitute for content and cohesion."²⁷ For Schenker, the features most often associated with Stravinsky—dissonance (especially the altered octaves and displacement of expected resolutions) and repetitive, layered blocks of music—are the same features that cause this music to fail the coherence test. In particular, Schenker's search for coherence and continuity fails in large part due to the way that his sketch in the first line of Figure 1.5 reduces on the line below. Dissonance refuses to disappear, and to make matters worse, Schenker says, Stravinsky does not even use dissonance properly: "Stravinsky imagines that he can make the dissonance still more dissonant by piling up dissonances," but "the only surety even for dissonances...is the cohesiveness of a well-organized linear progression: without cohesiveness, dissonances do not even exist!"²⁸ Even Stravinsky's dissonances fail to meet Schenker's standards. The vitriol is palpable.

²⁵ See, for example, Benjamin, "Tonality without Fifths"; Robert P. Morgan, "Dissonant Prolongations, Perfect Fifths, and Major Thirds in Stravinsky's Piano Concerto," *In Theory Only* 4, no. 4 (1978): 3–7; Malia Jade Roberson, "Stravinsky's Concerto for Piano and Winds (1924): Metrical Displacement, Tonal Distortion and the Composer as Performer" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2012).

²⁶ Schenker, *The Masterwork in Music*, 17.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

Figure 1.4: Stravinsky, Piano Concerto²⁹

Fig. 30

fp sub.

u. s. w.

All markings other than *fp sub.* at the upbeat are by the author of this Yearbook

Figure 1.5: Schenker's sketch, linear progressions³⁰

Fig. 31

a) (Oktavzug) u. s. w.

I: IV^{#3} - V - I^{#3} - IV^{#3} - V⁷ - I

b) u. s. w.

Many analysts today study Schenker's theories in order to develop their analytical work, without necessarily adopting Schenker's values and belief system. Another option for reading this

²⁹ Ibid., 17.

³⁰ Ibid.

analysis, however, is as a historical object, as a product of the contingent moment of being Heinrich Schenker in 1926 Vienna.³¹ Reading Schenker's writing as a product of its historical time and place provides a different understanding of the forces at work here. Schenker writes his dismissal of Stravinsky in 1926, after his *Harmonielehre* and *Kontrapunkt* had been published (but before *Der freie Satz*). There are many things at play here: Stravinsky's music does not conform to Schenker's understanding of how music should work and be perceived. He also represents a wave of new music and art that Schenker is not and cannot be a part of, as the French modernist movement, especially the neoclassical movement, is strongly aligned against Germanic influences. Furthermore, Schenker's understanding of this music is shaped not only by his theories but by his distinct relationship with the world. Schenker's theories are inextricably linked with his beliefs in German supremacy, organicism and hierarchy, and the superior quality of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century (German) music.³² In this light, then, rather than agreeing or disagreeing with the statements Schenker makes, present-day readers might wonder under what circumstances one could hear this music as Schenker does: unable to develop, unable to reach a satisfying linear close, unable to complete the desired linear progressions, and therefore utterly incomprehensible. Fully understanding Schenker's world-view requires more information and context than can be fully explored here, and Nicholas Cook's excellent book on the subject provides one such point of entry.³³

³¹ Returning context to Heinrich Schenker's writings has a long and varied history. See, for example, William A. Pastille, "Heinrich Schenker, Anti-Organicist," *19th-Century Music* 8, no. 1 (1984): 29–36; Kevin Korsyn, "Schenker's Organicism Reexamined," *Intégral* 7 (1993): 82–118; Leslie David Blasius, *Schenker's Argument and the Claims of Music Theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Nicholas Cook, *The Schenker Project: Culture, Race, and Music Theory in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2007); Robert P. Morgan, *Becoming Heinrich Schenker: Music Theory and Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

³² These views have been well documented. See, for example, Robert Snarrenberg, *Schenker's Interpretive Practice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), xv; William Drabkin, "Heinrich Schenker," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Street Christensen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 815.

³³ Cook, *The Schenker Project*.

What interests me here, however, is the idea that one could, through (admittedly speculative) reconstructive processes, come nearer to an understanding of a historical experience. This experience could, in turn, provide fodder for a different analysis of the piece that captures some essence of that experience. Schenker's analysis portrays some degree of his understanding of the Piano Concerto. It represents the very specific, contingent experience of a man steeped in many years of listening to and exploring music whose primary mode of development and expansion is linear composing-out of underlying consonances.³⁴ For Schenker, this music neither follows these tenets nor does it organically cohere, and it is therefore worthless. It is easy to imagine, because so many music theorists have studied Schenkerian analysis, that with some additional context and exploration it would be possible to recover something of what it was like for Schenker to experience Stravinsky's Piano Concerto. Indeed, Robert Snarrenberg suggests that Schenker's writing, while often insufficient to capture the experience, contains traces of his experiences. He writes:

No utterance, analytical or theoretical, should be assumed to be a straightforward reporting of his musical experiences. Schenker's public speech is a trace—albeit richer than most, but no less partial—of experiences that invariably outran his attempts to communicate them.³⁵

The goal of the analytical vignettes in this dissertation, then, is to provide a link between analytical methodology and (historical) listener experience. I will address this further in the sections below.

Sometimes, analysts read Schenker's analysis not as a historical object but as containing tools that they may adapt in their own analyses of Stravinsky's neoclassicism. These analyses tend to follow one of two patterns. First, they may demonstrate, as Schenker does, that Stravinsky's work is

³⁴ The question of how Schenker's analysis relates to his experience, and of what this experience consists (was it a performance, reading a score, or some other engagement with the music?) is unanswerable here, but the fact remains that Schenker's relationship to Stravinsky's music is colored by his analytical philosophy in a way that would not have affected many of his contemporaries, especially those without musical training. Robert Snarrenberg and Joseph Dubiel have explored this relationship between Schenker's experiences and his analyses in Snarrenberg, *Schenker's Interpretive Practice*, Joseph Dubiel, "'When You Are a Beethoven': Kinds of Rules in Schenker's 'Counterpoint,'" *Journal of Music Theory* 34, no. 2 (1990): 291–340.

³⁵ Snarrenberg, *Schenker's Interpretive Practice*, xvii.

deficient, lacking in the kind of structural unity and connection that Schenker deems necessary for a work with tonal properties.³⁶ Second, and more frequently, they may argue that Stravinsky's music simply follows other rules for defining consonance and closure, and that the consistency with which he adheres to these rules insures that his works are in fact unified structures. These writers show that Stravinsky composes out octatonic clusters, dissonant chords, or other sets, rather than the diatonic structures Schenker seeks.³⁷ In either case, the underlying assumption remains that linear development and closure are necessary, desirable properties of music. When Stravinsky's music fails these test cases or the theory requires severe adjustment to presuppositions about voice leading for Stravinsky's music to pass, it does so in part because it does not conform to these organicist values, but also because it is centric, not strictly tonal.³⁸ Centricity refers to music that may revolve around a "center" rather than a tonic, and indicates a loosening of tonal regulations, including mode (e.g., is this passage in D major, D minor, some other mode, or organized around the pitch-class D in some other way?). Kip Wile and Stanley Kleppinger have explored this phenomenon in detail—much greater detail than is necessary here—to show that the relationship between centricity and tonality is

³⁶ This happens fairly rarely. Yet, the lack of unity remains a sticking point for Adorno, who makes no Schenkerian claims and finds Schoenberg perfectly palatable (unlike Schenker). See Theodor W. Adorno and Robert Hullot-Kentor, *Philosophy of New Music* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006). Felix Salzer demonstrates a slightly more politic approach, suggesting that Stravinsky's music is not entirely antithetical to Schenkerian analysis, but still slightly deficient. See Felix Salzer, *Structural Hearing: Tonal Coherence in Music* (New York: C. Boni, 1952).

³⁷ See, for example, Joseph Straus, "A Principle of Voice Leading in the Music of Stravinsky," *Music Theory Spectrum* 4 (April 1, 1982): 106–24; Richard Taruskin, "Chez Pétrouchka: Harmony and Tonality 'chez' Stravinsky," *19th-Century Music* 10, no. 3 (April 1, 1987): 265–86; Marshall Malone Thomason, "Neo-Tonality: A Unified Approach to Stravinsky's Neoclassical Music" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1987); Morgan, *Twentieth-Century Music*; Pieter C. Van den Toorn and Dmitri Tymoczko, "Stravinsky and the Octatonic: The Sounds of Stravinsky," *Music Theory Spectrum* 25, no. 1 (April 1, 2003): 167–202; Joseph Straus, "Harmony and Voice Leading in the Music of Stravinsky," *Music Theory Spectrum* 36, no. 1 (June 1, 2014): 1–33. Prolongation of non-tonal structures has also been well-discussed in the theoretical literature (see Joseph N. Straus, "The Problem of Prolongation in Post-Tonal Music," *Journal of Music Theory* 31, no. 1 (April 1, 1987): 1–21; Steve Larson, "The Problem of Prolongation in 'Tonal' Music: Terminology, Perception, and Expressive Meaning," *Journal of Music Theory* 41, no. 1 (April 1, 1997): 101–36; Olli Väisälä, "Prolongation of Harmonies Related to the Harmonic Series in Early Post-Tonal Music," *Journal of Music Theory* 46, no. 1/2 (2002): 207–83).

³⁸ The degree to which Stravinsky's neoclassical music is tonal certainly varies, but it would be difficult to argue that it is completely atonal. In Daniel Harrison's words, we might say that Stravinsky's neoclassicism retains a level of "backward compatibility" with traditional as well as other tonal music." Daniel Harrison, *Pieces of Tradition: An Analysis of Contemporary Tonal Music* (Oxford University Press, 2016), 5.

a difficult and fraught one.³⁹ Wile defines Stravinsky's relationship to tonality as "neocentrist," by which he means that Stravinsky's music clearly establishes a tonal center without exhibiting all the properties that are usually associated with tonality proper. Analysts who view this music through a Schenkerian lens thus must redefine the tool (e.g., instead of composing out a single triadic harmony, Stravinsky's music composes out a diminished seventh chord or some octatonic span) or recompose the music to fit within Schenkerian norms, as Schenker does himself.⁴⁰

In addition to requiring Stravinsky's music to be more tonal than it is, Schenker's analyses of Stravinsky's music (and those that follow his lead) engage very little with the central property of neoclassicism: juxtaposing music of at least two different time periods in such a way that each remains recognizably distinct, but the joint product also is received as meaningful.⁴¹ This product is, after all, where Taruskin locates irony in neoclassicism. Ignoring this duality is not just a problem in Schenkerian approaches. Many analyses of Stravinsky's neoclassicism are unable to address this mixture because they treat this music as unified by a single principle, rather than shot through with plural logics. In these analyses, Stravinsky's music is treated as either tonal, "common-practice"

³⁹ Kip Douglas Wile, "Collection in Neocentric Music: A Study in Theory and Analysis of the Music of Debussy, Stravinsky, Scriabin, Bartok, and Ravel" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1995); Stanley V. Kleppinger, "Reconsidering Pitch Centricity," *Theory and Practice* 36 (2011): 65–109.

⁴⁰ Note that Joseph Straus defines prolongation, simply: "some musical entity stays in control even when it is not explicitly present," which allows for these sorts of post-tonal prolongations to be possible (Straus, "The Problem of Prolongation in Post-Tonal Music," 2). Certainly, these types of spans can be prolonged in this sense, and Megan Lavengood has explored the possibility of recomposing Stravinsky in order to write Schenkerian sketches. She restricts herself to adjusting pitches by two or fewer semitones in each direction, and after graphing the recomposition, she superimposes the graph on Stravinsky's original. While there are problems with this approach (e.g., normalizing the abnormal, turning octatonic melodies into diatonic ones), Lavengood shows that, at least for her and many Schenkerians, it is possible to hear a tonal background of sorts superimposed upon Stravinsky's foreground. Megan Lavengood, "Following Schenker's Lead in Analysis of Stravinsky" (Annual Meeting of the Music Theory Society of New York State, Mannes School of Music, New York, NY, April 3, 2016).

⁴¹ Such communication is interpretive: meaning is socially constructed. Historical listeners' writing about and experience of neoclassicism's meaning is the focus of this dissertation—by using the words "meaning" and "communication" I never intend to assert that any intent or message is inherent to the music. Stravinsky himself is rather emphatic that "music is, by its very nature, essentially powerless to express anything at all" (Igor Stravinsky, *Igor Stravinsky, an Autobiography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1936), 163. While the composer might like this to be the case, historical evidence shows that listeners found a variety of expressive content within the music—though they often disagreed. For more on how listeners wrote about their experiences of this music, see Chapter Three.

(eighteenth- and nineteenth-century) music, or as post-tonal, scale and set-based (twentieth-century) music.⁴² At least on the surface, Stravinsky's neoclassicism intertwines these procedures in ways that can be difficult to separate analytically but remain easy to hear.

In the passage that Schenker analyzes, there are many features at play that signal a duality between the “neo” (Stravinskyan) and the “classical” (Baroque, perhaps Bachian). The mechanistic and frenetic quality of the piano part here evokes a toccata. The open fifths, rather than the fully triadic tonality that Schenker returns to the passage in Figure 1.5 defamiliarize the genre, perhaps instilling a pastoral quality that is at odds with the academic style of the toccata.⁴³ This quality may be enhanced in the orchestral interludes by the instrumentation, winds and brass, which are more closely tied with pastoral moments (e.g., the usage of winds in the first movement of Beethoven's “Pastoral” Symphony) and are less typically associated with Baroque-style concerti (especially moments of *Fortspinnung*), where strings would be more prevalent. Yet, the Baroque references retain a certain quality that listeners can recognize, even when ironically juxtaposed with Stravinskyan

⁴² The history of the octatonic approach is long and varied, with Richard Taruskin as heavy advocate, though for historical reasons. See, for example Arthur Berger, “Problems of Pitch Organization in Stravinsky,” *Perspectives of New Music* 2, no. 1 (October 1, 1963): 11–42; Pieter C. van den Toorn, “Some Characteristics of Stravinsky's Diatonic Music (II),” *Perspectives of New Music* 15, no. 2 (April 1, 1977): 58–95; Taruskin, “Chez Pétouchka,” April 1, 1987; Van den Toorn and Tymoczko, “Stravinsky and the Octatonic”; Richard Taruskin, *On Russian Music* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009); Richard Taruskin, “Catching Up with Rimsky-Korsakov,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 33, no. 2 (October 1, 2011): 169–85. On the Schenkerian side of the fence, approaches to neoclassical music include Roy Travis, “Towards a New Concept of Tonality?,” *Journal of Music Theory* 3, no. 2 (November 1, 1959): 257–84; Marshall Malone Thomason, “Neo-Tonality: A Unified Approach to Stravinsky's Neoclassical Music” (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1987); Donald G. Traut, “Revisiting Stravinsky's ‘Concerto’ (Schenker's Failure to Account for Its Tonal Properties),” *Theory and Practice* 25 (2000): 65–86; Peter Scott Silberman, “Neighbor Spaces: A Theory of Harmonic Embellishment for Twentieth-Century Neotonal Music” (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music, 2006); David J. Heetderks, “Transformed Triadic Networks: Hearing Harmonic Closure in Prokofiev, Copland, and Poulenc” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2011); Joseph N. Straus, “Harmony and Voice Leading in the Music of Stravinsky,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 36, no. 1 (June 1, 2014): 1–33.

⁴³ This combination of toccata and pastoral references engages in topical troping, as discussed earlier. The topic or other easily identified musical object is imported into a new context, where its relationship to the new context can have a variety of meanings, such as irony or metaphor or synecdoche. See, e.g., Robert S. Hatten, “The Troping of Topics in Mozart's Instrumental Works,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. Danuta Mirka, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 514–36.

features such as metric irregularities, mismatched ostinato-like patterns, and a block structure that resists traditional motion toward cadences and closure.

Figure 1.6: Piano Concerto, reduction mm. 1–4



Figure 1.7: Piano Concerto, recomposition mm. 1–4



This juxtaposition is especially apparent in the first measures of this movement’s introduction, a piano reduction of which is shown in Figure 1.6. The dialogue between tradition and modernism is apparent, evoking strains of a Lully-like French overture (or perhaps a chorale-like, Funeral March topic, given the orchestration) intermixed with strident dissonances. These measures begin ploddingly, centered on A. The motion of the outer voices outlines a fairly standard harmonic progression: root position tonic passes to first inversion in the first two measures, then a diminished seventh chord becomes dominant seventh chord in the third measure (missing its bass E) and is resolved deceptively in the fourth measure. These evenly divided four measures and associated tonal design may feel archetypical, but there is also absence and difference here: C and C \sharp and G and G \sharp occur interchangeably and sometimes simultaneously, and the resolution to a root position tonic or submediant chord has been replaced by an ambiguous first-inversion submediant. Yet, the allusion to a prototypical chord progression has been made explicit, the topical possibilities (Funeral March,

French Overture) have been suggested, and the tonal center has been established as A. Figure 1.7 presents a recomposition of these opening measures in A minor (one could also choose A Major; indeed, either mode will suffice, since this music is more centric than tonal). This process requires adjusting only a few pitches to arrive at the prototypically tonal chord progression suggested above.⁴⁴ Listeners could easily extrapolate that such a reference exists in Stravinsky's opening, though the appearance of a dominant substitute, vii^{o6}, in the second half of bar 2, which anticipates the inverted dominant on the downbeat of m. 3, remains unusual. While I have chosen recomposition here as a tool to gesture toward a possible tonal reference, I do not do so in the hope of making this music conform to Schenker's notion of the *Ursatz*. Instead, I would like to suggest that while hearing Stravinsky's opening, listeners may also be aware of the tonal allusion, able to hear the difference between historical reference and the sounding music. This dialogue creates space for listeners to ascribe meaning and feelings to the music, especially for Stravinsky's intended audience, (historical) listeners for whom the recent past (the Great War) was a real and likely painful memory. This reaching beyond the recent past to the eighteenth century, toward something ostensibly purer and cleaner, but deformed in its presentation, is striking, and historical listeners were keenly aware of these references, and found meaning in them.⁴⁵ The passage Schenker analyzes, while more difficult to connect with a specific referent, also contains vestiges of Baroque features that, in their alteration, become meaningful and provoke listeners to understand them in a different way than they would have understood, for example, a Bach toccata on its own. Schenker's analysis, and analyses that follow a similarly unified approach, tend to overlook or undervalue these references and their

⁴⁴ These moments are most likely connected to the prevailing sense that Stravinsky composed "wrong-note music," i.e., music that was *almost* tonal but replete with wrong notes.

⁴⁵ As I will show in Chapters Three and Five, the Concerto's effects on listeners was striking in its duality. Listeners heard machines, felt vertigo, and found the effects chilling.

importance in relation to the modern work on which they are layered in their zeal to analyze the work as a single, unified compositional impulse.

Pieter van den Toorn writes that many questions about the specific relationship between these traditional and modern elements in neoclassicism “do not lend themselves all that well to analysis [because] they touch to too great an extent on the immediacy of the experiencing subject.”⁴⁶ While he is interested in using this argument to push against organicist notions of Stravinsky’s work, van den Toorn also alludes to an important aspect of experiencing neoclassicism that can make analysis difficult: the listener’s subjectivity. Obviously, any listener’s response to any music is dependent upon myriad factors, including his or her situation in time or geographical place, and his or her prior engagement with music. For neoclassical writing, however, this subjectivity takes on a new importance: the listener’s ability to respond to the music on both the level of the past references and their present manifestations makes this experience all the more complex and interesting. Because neoclassicism’s listeners recognize references to earlier musics, there is a certain barrier to entry, a degree of shared experience required for listeners to understand what the composer is trying to communicate—or, more accurately, what they *think* the composer is trying to get across, even if, like Stravinsky, the composers allegedly intended to communicate nothing. Historical listeners, those able to attend the premieres of these works, would have a different set of shared experiences than listeners today, and relate to these references differently. It is true that no formal system will explain the complexities of this subjective experience, but, turning this question on its head, it makes sense that these experiences can be used to inform the kinds of analyses one attempts. Van den Toorn realizes this as well, and wishes to place more emphasis on these mixed elements. He wishes to put

⁴⁶ Toorn, “Neoclassicism and Its Definitions,” 131.

them in an ongoing dialogue with one another in analysis, but finds the “solution to be beyond the analyst’s grasp.”⁴⁷

Van den Toorn’s reproach is well taken: when he was writing this article in 1996, analysis of Stravinsky’s music remained, in large part, staunchly focused on issues of compositional practice and intent. Most analysts refrained from engaging with the issues that were presented in musicological discussions of neoclassicism, particularly as situated in Paris in the 1920s.⁴⁸ In recent years, this has changed some, but not as much as one might hope. Analyses of Stravinsky’s neoclassicism still tend to fall into one of two categories, as described earlier: those that prioritize Stravinsky’s modernism and use scale- or set-theory to demonstrate Stravinsky’s use of “Russian” sets or scales (especially octatonic scales), and those that foreground the works’ relationship to traditional tonality and apply Schenkerian models or voice-leading sketches.⁴⁹ Analyses of Stravinsky’s neoclassical works consistently appear in collected texts on the composer, such as Jann Pasler’s *Confronting Stravinsky*, Ethan Haimo and Paul Johnson’s *Stravinsky Retrospectives*, and Jonathan Cross’s *Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky*.⁵⁰ As noted above, most of these contributions subscribe to either a Schenkerian or scale-theoretic approach (sometimes resorting instead to set theory) in order to explain the larger part of Stravinsky’s diverse output. Often, these analyses are meant to show the utility of a particular brand of music theory in understanding Stravinsky’s neoclassical music. Given the variety within Stravinsky’s writing during this period, a toolbox approach, choosing multiple analytical styles and

⁴⁷ Ibid., 156.

⁴⁸ For example, Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music* and Hyde, “Neoclassic and Anachronistic Impulses in Twentieth-Century Music” are already engaging with the aesthetic complications of neoclassicism in the early 1990s, but these writers do very little analysis in these studies. As we will see below, writers prior to 1996 rarely engaged historical and analytical methods in the same text.

⁴⁹ See footnote 42 for an extensive list of analyses on both sides of the fence.

⁵⁰ Jann Pasler, ed., *Confronting Stravinsky: Man, Musician, and Modernist* (University of California Press, 1986); Ethan Haimo and Paul Johnson, eds., *Stravinsky Retrospectives* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987); Jonathan Cross, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky*, Cambridge Companions to Music (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

adapting them to the work at hand, may be more successful in saying something meaningful about individual works and moments.

Daniel Chua is one of the few Stravinsky analysts who rejects the idea of a single methodological approach, citing Richard Taruskin and Allen Forte's fight over analyzing *The Rite of Spring* as indicative that this is a piece of music that does not behave or conform to a single analytical method. Chua uses this to motivate a multi-pronged approach, combining analytical methodologies to form his own analyses of *The Rite*.⁵¹ Chua finds that both Taruskin's octatonic/folkloric approach, and Forte's set-theoretic approach, trying to locate modernism in *The Rite*, miss the point. For Chua, the appeal and staying power of *The Rite*, the reason it has been so controversial since its premiere, is that it resists attempts to categorize it or treat it as an organic whole.⁵² For an analysis to be successful, it must allow the music to "riot," to focus on the particular over the general without subsuming them into a single unified approach. Chua's use of multiple technologies seems appropriate, given the music at hand and a composer whose compositional choices often are eclectic. Because Stravinsky's music, as Chua notes, seems to resist organic unity, striving for continuity of analytical methods seems unpromising; this pluralistic approach, by contrast, is appropriate for the *Rite*, and continues to be useful when approaching Stravinsky's later works, especially because listeners often give pride of place to discussion of dialogic relationships they hear in the music (e.g., the Bach in Stravinsky, etc.). A singular approach is unable to fully address how listeners report their experiences of neoclassicism, as these reports involve both recognition of tonal structures and a response to how Stravinsky's own voice appears in the shaping and alteration of these elements. This

⁵¹ Daniel K. L. Chua, "Rioting with Stravinsky: A Particular Analysis of the 'Rite of Spring,'" *Music Analysis* 26, no. 1/2 (March 1, 2007): 59–109. Chua notes that critics at the premier of the Rite discussed the music's content not as dissonant, but as involving "wrong notes," something that leads him to the assertion that tonality must be present to some degree for listeners (p. 75).

⁵² He writes, "in verifying the work, the analytical rioters disciplined a radical score to consolidate their conservative positions, granting it a coherent system or a continuous tradition that ultimately suppressed the riot. An 'authentic *Rite*' cannot run amok." *Ibid.*, 61.

dialogue is primary in listener accounts of Stravinsky's neoclassicism, but remains secondary in many analytical accounts.

Historically oriented studies of Stravinsky's neoclassicism have demonstrated an increased interest in engaging with some of the analytical concerns discussed above. These studies most often serve to explore the composer's process or intentions more completely. Richard Taruskin began this fight in 1979 with his scathing review of Allen Forte's ahistorical approach to analyzing Stravinsky in *The Harmonic Organization of the Rite of Spring*, suggesting that an octatonic approach is closely tied to Russian traditions and thus more historically viable.⁵³ Joseph Straus also engages this interest in historically informed analysis with his 1990 book, *Remaking the Past*, which uses literary theory (especially work by Harold Bloom) to explore the variety of ways in which twentieth-century composers dealt with the musical past without being eclipsed by it.⁵⁴ The book has become an influential text for many Stravinsky scholars and remains an important touchstone for anyone dealing with early twentieth-century neoclassicism.⁵⁵ Maureen Carr's *Multiple Masks: Neoclassicism in Stravinsky's Works on Greek Subjects* seeks to understand Stravinsky's compositional process in these works via sketch studies and other more historical means.⁵⁶ More recently, Gretchen Horlacher's *Building Blocks: Repetition and Continuity in the Music of Stravinsky* studies repetition in Stravinsky's music, showing how layering, juxtaposition, and development of motives, ostinati, and melodies occur, in

⁵³ Richard Taruskin, "Review of *The Harmonic Organization of 'The Rite of Spring'* by Allen Forte," *Current Musicology* 28 (1979): 114–29. This book and Taruskin's review do not engage with neoclassicism, but do affect later scholars' analyses of the neoclassical works.

⁵⁴ According to Taruskin, Straus does not engage Bloom properly, but this book has remained an often-cited resource. See Richard Taruskin, "Revising Revision: 'Towards a New Poetics of Musical Influence,' by Kevin Korsyn; and *Remaking the Past*, by Joseph N. Straus," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 114–38.

⁵⁵ Joseph N. Straus, *Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1990). See also Jann Pasler, *Confronting Stravinsky: Man, Musician, and Modernist* (University of California Press, 1986); *Stravinsky Retrospectives* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987); Jonathan Cross, *The Stravinsky Legacy, Music in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky*, Cambridge Companions to Music (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003) for other contextual approaches to analysis influenced by Taruskin and Straus.

⁵⁶ Carr, *Multiple Masks*.

order to counteract common characterizations of Stravinsky's writing as "broadly discontinuous, static, or deadlocked."⁵⁷ Taruskin rekindled the fight for a more historical approach to analysis in 2011, though his aim remains studying the octatonic as evidence of Russian influence on Stravinsky (especially via Rimsky-Korsakov, one his most influential composition teachers).⁵⁸

Because these historically informed studies provide contextual readings of Stravinsky's music from the composer's perspective, they provide a point of entry for similar work focused instead on the listener and historical audience member. Focusing on listener experience is relatively rare in Stravinsky studies, but not in music analysis overall.⁵⁹ Many responses to Taruskin's "Catching up with Rimsky Korsakov" demonstrate interest in a broader understanding of Stravinsky's output, including its effect on listeners. Robert Gjerdingen's response focuses on schemata, thinking about what "Gebrauchs-formulas" the Russian composers in Rimsky-Korsakov's circle would have shared as a musical language and used in composition.⁶⁰ Schemata, as Gjerdingen describes them, are "stock musical phrases employed in conventional sequences."⁶¹ In Gjerdingen's analyses, many of these formulae turn out to be the same partimento schemata he finds in eighteenth century Italianate music. Regardless of these Gebrauchs-formulas' origins or exact deployment in Russian music of the early twentieth century, this turn toward schemata opens the door for considering what relationships

⁵⁷ Gretchen Grace Horlacher, *Building Blocks: Repetition and Continuity in the Music of Stravinsky* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), vii.

⁵⁸ Taruskin, "Catching Up with Rimsky-Korsakov." Taruskin's views remain controversial, as seen in the many responses to this article, including Kofi Agawu, "Taruskin's Problem(s)," *Music Theory Spectrum* 33, no. 2 (October 1, 2011): 186–90.

⁵⁹ Certainly, in music psychology, the focus has been primarily on the listener (as opposed to the composer or performer) for a long time, but these results rarely translate into the analytical sphere as anything other than a footnote. Of note here, of course, is David Lewin, "Music Theory, Phenomenology, and Modes of Perception," *Music Perception* 3, no. 4 (1986): 327–92. Lewin and his followers emphasize that the analyst's experience is an important component in analytical writing, and indeed is a valid mode of entry for deep analytical claims.

⁶⁰ Robert O. Gjerdingen, "Gebrauchs-Formulas," *Music Theory Spectrum* 33, no. 2 (October 1, 2011): 191–99. While these formulae and schemata are distinct to the Russian composer group, many are rooted in galant traditions (p. 192). Gjerdingen shows that partimento-style exercises were often used for a group-composition game; this familiarity with galant styles and patterns is something that Rimsky-Korsakov seems to have brought to his students.

⁶¹ Robert Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (Oxford University Press, 2007), 6.

listeners might hear in Stravinsky's music, since the use of stock compositional patterns also provides listeners with a framework within which to predict them. As I show in Chapters Four and Five, Stravinsky often invoked these schematic archetypes (to some degree) to signal the galant allusions in his neoclassical works.

Gjerdingen and Vasili Byros have both published extensively on how composers and listeners come to use, assimilate, and understand schematic patterns. This research has two important implications for this dissertation. First, Gjerdingen and Byros are both interested in reconstructing the past through analysis of music that was “in the air” at the time. They use their findings alongside thick description in order to claim that the schematic archetypes that they describe are commensurate not only with compositional patterns, but also with how a listener would have experienced music in this time.⁶² Byros calls this “historically situated cognition.”⁶³ Though these writers do not consistently differentiate between compositional strategy and listener experience, their work suggests that both composers and listeners of historical eras experienced music differently (if in somewhat different ways) from how a listener might experience the “same” music today, given the contextual differences. While past and present listeners may share certain biological or cognitive relationships with the world, they are also shaped by the specifics of culture and the conditions of knowledge in their historical time and place, what Michel Foucault would refer to as their epistemes.⁶⁴ It is much easier to see that the “episteme that defines the conditions of possibility of all

⁶² Gjerdingen writes that “music’s meanings do seem to be shared within social groups of similar age, education, ethnicity, and class. But as the social distance between people increases, so can the distance between their modes of listening,” which suggests that, although Gjerdingen shares my interest in recovering a distant mode of listening, that he does not distinguish between modes of composing (stringing together the schematic patterns instilled by partimento training) and modes of listening (recognizing these patterns to whatever degree eighteenth-century courtiers were able to distinguish and categorize them). *Ibid.*, 16.

⁶³ Vasili Byros, “Towards an ‘Archaeology’ of Hearing: Schemata and Eighteenth-Century Consciousness,” *Musica Humana* 1, no. 2 (2009): 235–306.

⁶⁴ For Foucault, the idea of epistemic difference is easiest to comprehend when faced with a knowledge or belief system that is utterly foreign one’s own (as seen in his description of an ancient Chinese encyclopedia’s animal taxonomy). While the 1920s in the same region are not nearly as foreign, and it is arguable whether a true epistemic

knowledge” in the eighteenth century is quite different from that in the twenty-first.⁶⁵ Yet, as I will explore in Chapter Two, there remain many differences between early twentieth-century listeners and present-day listeners that may also represent epistemic change. Recovering these experiences may allow access to an understanding of this music that is predicated on the listening practices of the early twentieth-century.

Gjerdingen’s and Byros’s methodology for recovering historically situated understandings of past music is through exploring the music itself (for Gjerdingen, via partimento treatises, and Byros via analysis of music “in the air” at the time). My approach in Chapter Two will be primarily textual, but will engage similar ideas to suggest that historical experiences of neoclassicism in the early twentieth century are distinct and worthwhile to pursue. This pursuit guides my analyses in Chapters Four and Five. Though I model myself after Gjerdingen and Byros here, I hope to be more explicit that such reconstruction always remains speculative.

In addition to modeling this project after the historical portions of their work, Gjerdingen’s and Byros’s analytical methods also prove useful, as implied earlier. Stravinsky’s neoclassical writing often employed and altered the very same schematic patterns discussed in the pages of *Music in the Galant Style*, as I will show in Chapters Four and Five. For eighteenth-century listeners, many of these patterns were so deeply ingrained through repeated exposure that when these structures were invoked, listeners could project expectations onto the music. Present-day listeners may not be as well-versed in these structures, given the wealth of other music that we often hear, but when listening to Stravinsky’s neoclassical works, we are often still able to hear galant-style evocations,

change has occurred, there is a level of cultural difference that informs interwar experience that no longer remains for present-day listeners.

⁶⁵ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, Reissue edition (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 198. Foucault at this moment seems to imply that there is only a single episteme operating in each historical moment, but implies elsewhere that multiple may coexist (for example, in the Foreword to the English edition, p. x).

project certain expectations, and reflect on the ways Stravinsky employs them. Similarly, while these patterns would not have been “in the air” in the early twentieth century to the same degree that they would have been for eighteenth-century courtiers, at the very least, invoking schematic patterns would provoke certain expectations of continuation (e.g. that the falling thirds of the outer voices in what Gjerdingen calls a “Prinner” and fully defined in Chapter Four, will continue to fall until they reach a harmonically stable resting point). Furthermore, programs from concerts at the time indicate that audience members attending neoclassical Stravinsky premieres were also routinely exposed to the music of Bach, Beethoven, and Mozart, if not also revivals of earlier music, where the same schematic patterns abound.⁶⁶

When Stravinsky breaks or alters schematic patterns, the juxtaposition between the referent and sounding music provides space for listeners to ascribe meaning. Of course, Stravinsky’s corpus had its own traits, carrying schematic markers that may have been familiar to those following the composer’s output. That said, the patterns of eighteenth-century music were so prevalent and pervasive in music performed during the early twentieth century that the juxtaposition with Stravinskian elements surprised and alienated listeners, especially those attending the initial performances.⁶⁷ Stravinsky sets up tonal patterns and their attendant expectations before deforming them, creating distance between composer and listeners in a practice that Maureen Carr and others

⁶⁶ While Stravinsky’s works often appeared on concerts where the composer was the sole focus (especially if Stravinsky himself was conducting or performing) this was not always the case, and the works often appeared alongside eighteenth-century and earlier compositions. For example, Victor Babin’s press papers (clippings of reviews) for Stravinsky’s performances of the Concerto for Two Pianos includes excerpts of reviews on which the concerto was performed alongside multiple works by Bach and Handel (see Victor Babin, “Reviews Sheet,” n.d., PSS 86.1, Paul Sacher Stiftung). There were also entire concert series devoted to juxtaposing early (Renaissance and Baroque) music with new music in Paris. One such series, the “Concerts de la Pleiade” in the 1940s, contained French music from the sixteenth and twentieth centuries, for the express purpose of performing works banned by the Nazis (including Stravinsky), which had the added effect of bringing together neoclassical works with their classical references. See Nigel Simeone, “Messiaen and the Concerts de La Pléiade: ‘A Kind of Clandestine Revenge against the Occupation,’” *Music & Letters* 81, no. 4 (November 1, 2000): 551–84.

⁶⁷ I would argue that this surprise was more marked for historical listeners than what we might experience today, though these experiences may be similar in kind. Stravinsky’s music has been so influential and pervasive that its aesthetic and markings have become much more commonplace than they were in the 1920s.

have described as “masking.”⁶⁸ Similarly, the absence of Stravinsky’s personal style in favor of such masking may have had a similar, surprising effect for listeners.⁶⁹

This intentional deforming of the familiar is related to the idea of “defamiliarization” (*Ostranenie*) in Russian Formalism.⁷⁰ Through the process of making the familiar seem strange, the artist delays audience recognition of the object in the hope of enriching the experience and returning qualities of the object that have become transparent with over-familiarity. This characterization is also similar to Heidegger’s hammer: we recognize the tool most when it breaks. Martin Scherzinger’s analysis of Hindemith uses Heidegger in this way, and acts as a useful heuristic for this project.⁷¹ Whether Heideggerian tool or *Ostranenie*, in Stravinsky’s neoclassicism, music of the past is made strange in order to foreground the difference between that idealized past and the present moment. Scott Schumann addresses this point in his dissertation, which adapts topic theory for use with Stravinsky.⁷² Topic theory meshes nicely with schemata, as it is another surface-level analytical technique that traditionally finds its home in analysis of eighteenth and early nineteenth century works.⁷³ Though my focus remains on schematic-level allusions rather than musical topics in this dissertation, using both of these techniques allows for the teasing-out and separation of recognizable

⁶⁸ Carr, *Multiple Masks*, xi.

⁶⁹ In other words, suppressing personal style seems less conscious and different than choosing to adopt and deform a set of obvious, semiotically charged stylistic markers. Whether or not this distinction matters depends on whether one cares what the composer’s intention and conscious choice imparts to the music, if the focus is on the listener’s *experience* of these stylistic changes.

⁷⁰ Viktor Borisovich Shklovskii, *Theory of Prose*, 1st American edition. (Elmwood Park, IL: Dalkey Archive Press, 1990).

⁷¹ Martin Scherzinger, “Heideggerian Thought in the Early Music of Paul Hindemith (With a Foreword to Benjamin Boretz),” *Perspectives of New Music* 43/44, no. 2/1 (2005): 80–125.

⁷² Schumann, “Making the Past Present: Topics in Stravinsky’s Neoclassical Works.”

⁷³ Vasili Byros and Olga Sánchez-Kisielewska have recently explored the ways in which topics and schemata relate. See Vasili Byros, “Topics and Harmonic Schemata: A Case from Beethoven,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. Danuta Mirka, (Oxford University Press, 2014); Olga Sánchez-Kisielewska, “Interactions between Topics and Schemata: The Sacred Romanesca Case” (Annual Meeting of the Music Theory Society of New York State, Mannes School of Music, New York, NY, April 2, 2016).

structures of an earlier time from Stravinsky's alterations and interpolations of "pure Stravinsky."⁷⁴ They also lend themselves well to the understanding of listeners' experiences. These patterns are aurally salient, and when activated can lead listeners to particular expectations for and understandings of the music. This can occur even if listeners cannot name a pattern or even describe it—the fact that they can have a sense of "how it ought to go" is enough.⁷⁵

1.3 WHENCE LISTENER EXPERIENCE?

There are three possibilities when approaching a project focused on audience experience: one empirical, one ethnographic, and one historical. Each has its virtues and its pitfalls. One can interview current audience members, performing an ethnography or developing rigorous psychological experiments that test both conscious and subconscious responses to this music. Such projects allow for the inclusion of scientific data and the reconstruction of experiences. What such studies do not do, of course, is explore the contingency of the historical moment in which Stravinsky's neoclassicism was developed. Recovering the contingency of these experiences can be done with historical methods, whose data sources are mostly limited to textual accounts of listener's experiences. Historical methodology of this sort relies heavily on interpretation of reviews, program notes, and letters found in published fora and personal archives. Such interpretation consists in part of traditional close reading, though, as I will explore in Chapter Three, certain digital and ostensibly more objective measures can aid in understanding overall differences in experience between the interwar era and today. This approach is messier and more contingent than the empirical route, and

⁷⁴ In a review of *Pulcinella's* London premiere, Edward J. Dent's colorful review includes a discussion of how the music "wriggles off at every opportunity into pure Stravinsky." (Edward J. Dent, "Covent Garden: 'Pulcinella,'" *The Athenaeum*, no. 4703 (June 18, 1920): 807.) I will discuss this review further in Chapters Two and Four.

⁷⁵ David Huron's theory of expectation, while problematic, does suggest that listeners presented with familiar patterns will experience certain limbic and emotional responses when an expectation is met or declined, even if they have little or no musical training. David Huron, *Sweet Anticipation: Music and the Psychology of Expectation* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006).

it is impossible to make causal or one-to-one claims between a listener's writing and the analytical trends I discuss. Yet, putting the two in close proximity allows for a productive tension that recovers both a sense of how this music affected those experiencing its premieres, as well as providing alternative tools for analysis. Through speculative reconstruction of the experience, and through use of contextual and textual clues about the historical listener, an analysis can be sensitive to and reflect a contingent hearing that may otherwise be no longer available to a listener today.

Tamara Levitz's microhistory of the premiere of Stravinsky's *Perséphone* (1934) crafts a narrative surrounding this performance that engages specifically with audience members' level of discomfort at both the music and the ballet production.⁷⁶ In this impressive 623-page tome Levitz explores this premiere in extreme detail "as a means of understanding a broad spectrum of themes related to modern music and what is known as the style of neoclassicism."⁷⁷ Since this dissertation's project focuses on analysis as well as reconstruction, the reconstructive project in the chapters to follow is more circumscribed than Levitz's, and the archival research much more limited. Yet, through this experientially sensitive analysis, I hope to accomplish two complementary goals that align with Levitz's. The first goal is to initiate a dialogue between analysis and historical listener experience that results in different, satisfying analyses for current readers and listeners. The second goal is to provide readers with a mode of listening (in Byros's words, a "situated mode of cognition") that, however speculative, represents what it might have been like to listen to Stravinsky's music in another time and place, or simply as another person. Opening a listener's world-view to additional possible experiences, providing a way to understand another listener's context, offers another means by which we might understand both Stravinsky's music and its historical context.

⁷⁶ Tamara Levitz, *Modernist Mysteries: Perséphone* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

One important part of any historical account of this era is the Great War and World War II, but it is by no means the only factor affecting historical listeners' cultural milieu. As George Steiner writes, theories of culture in interwar Europe must acknowledge the role of war without overly fetishizing it.⁷⁸ Such an understanding of the particular context of neoclassicism has reached musicological writing, but does not currently stretch into music-theoretic accounts, as I have demonstrated above. The unique position of artists and their audiences in Europe in the interwar period is exactly what gave rise to this musical culture that presented a keen nostalgia for the past. Without fetishizing it, I do intend to bring this context into my analytical account. In my archival work, it was noteworthy how few correspondents mentioned the war and war efforts at all. While the effects of these wars were wide-reaching and certainly affected performance practices and listeners' experiences, they were mitigated by the more banal realities of everyday life. It is for this reason that I focus on many additional factors (and hardly on the wars) in Chapter Two.

In a way, this listener-centric approach to analysis seems antithetical to the very claims Stravinsky makes with his neoclassical music: while Stravinsky strives for objective clarity, I seek subjective, messy phenomenology.⁷⁹ Since listeners often engage with music in ways that composers do not intend, this seems reasonable. In keeping with this engagement with surface features and experience, I use more experiential models of music analysis as guides for my own approach. As Dora Hanninen writes, the “move from conceptual recognition of things-abstracted-from-contexts to experience of how-things-sound-in-context is often elided in the course of doing analysis as if the concept of repetition were phenomenally transparent.”⁸⁰ This is exactly the kind of elision I wish to

⁷⁸ George Steiner, *In Bluebeard's Castle: Some Notes towards the Redefinition of Culture* (Yale University Press, 1971), 29–30.

⁷⁹ Here, I simply mean to refer to “phenomenology” in the sense of that which we experience in the phenomenal world. This phenomenology is of the sort that is presented in Lewin, “Music Theory, Phenomenology, and Modes of Perception,” rather than any strictly philosophical notion.

⁸⁰ Dora A. Hanninen, “A Theory of Recontextualization in Music: Analyzing Phenomenal Transformations of Repetition,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 25, no. 1 (April 1, 2003): 59.

avoid in making not only musical context, but also experiential context, the basis of my analyses. Hanninen's work in "A Theory of Recontextualization" and continued in her recent book is influential here in that she provides an approach to music analysis that, while continuing to use the traditional methodologies available to theorists, is much more phenomenologically sensitive than many of the analytical approaches described above.⁸¹ While the modes of analysis I have considered (Schenker, set theory, scale theory) tend to value particular kinds of musical structures (tonality-driven voice-leading, use of a particular set or scale), Hanninen's approach values readings that are *aurally* available to a listener. In her article, that listener happens to be Hanninen herself—and of course, this is much simpler than trying to write an analysis that is of value to a different listener than oneself. Hanninen's notion of recontextualization, however, seems a promising place to begin despite the shift from the listening self to the listening historical subject. Indeed, Hanninen suggests that recontextualization can be useful in understanding Stravinsky's "superimposed ostinati."⁸² This is exactly the approach Gretchen Horlacher uses in her own analyses.⁸³ I would like to suggest that this recontextualization can be taken still further: Stravinsky uses familiar tonal music, gestures, and schemata in unfamiliar contexts, and this recontextualization may give rise to listeners' unique reactions in their writing about music. This recontextualization certainly resonates with ideas of topical troping and defamiliarization mentioned above and will play an important role in the analyses presented in later chapters.

Many writers on historical modes of cognition assume that writers about music and composers of music, or composers of music and listeners of music, conceive of music in the same way. In the introduction to *Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past*, Christopher Hatch and David

⁸¹ Hanninen, "A Theory of Recontextualization in Music"; Dora A. Hanninen, *A Theory of Music Analysis: On Segmentation and Associative Organization* (University of Rochester Press, 2012).

⁸² Hanninen, "A Theory of Recontextualization in Music," 62.

⁸³ Horlacher, *Building Blocks*.

Bernstein write that “the chances are strong that at any given time and place the natures of thinking in music and thinking about music will correspond in many respects.”⁸⁴ In many of their publications, Robert Gjerdingen and Vasili Byros suggest (often implicitly) that listeners and composers would have access to the same schematic ideas and expectations.⁸⁵ Because scientific evidence supports a more nuanced understanding, that trained musicians and non-musicians interact with and process musical stimuli differently, it seems unlikely that these assumptions hold.⁸⁶ Thus, while I do agree that the music “in the air” for musical contemporaries is similar enough that they may tend to understand music in more similar ways than people living in vastly different times, I believe that the conflation of composer and listener (or musicians and non-musicians, performers and listeners) takes this a step too far, effacing one of the more interesting connections between these people: communication. Stravinsky invokes particular musical structures in his writing precisely because he expects his listeners (musicians or otherwise) to recognize them and react to them. While this requires a shared language of sorts, it does not require equal cognition or understanding, nor does it require that listeners *always* recognize and name the structure. In fact, misidentification (or multiple listeners identifying structures differently) is one of the more interesting possibilities that Gjerdingen and Byros’s approaches gloss over.

⁸⁴ Christopher Hatch and David W. Bernstein, eds., *Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past*, 1st edition (University of Chicago Press, 1994), 5.

⁸⁵ Robert Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (Oxford University Press, 2007); Vasili Byros, “Meyer’s Anvil: Revisiting the Schema Concept,” *Music Analysis* 31, no. 3 (2012): 273–346; Vasili Byros, “Unearthing the Past: Theory and Archaeology in Robert Gjerdingen’s *Music in the Galant Style*,” *Music Analysis* 31, no. 1 (2012): 112–24.

⁸⁶ For more discussion of the differences in cognitive pathways and neural plasticity for musicians and non-musicians, see Karen Chan Barrett et al., “Art and Science: How Musical Training Shapes the Brain,” *Frontiers in Psychology* 4 (2013): 1–13.

1.4 THE PROBLEM OF HISTORICISM

The analyses in this dissertation attempt to balance both “neo” and “classical” elements of Stravinsky’s neoclassicism in order to present a more experientially, aesthetically, and historically rich representation of the music. Yet, in attempting a historically based approach to music analysis, one risks falling into the all-too-inviting trap of historicism. As a pejorative, the word “historicism” tends to refer to the belief that, through careful research, it is possible to create an unmediated connection with the past—a portal into an earlier time, as it were. The opposite position—“presentism”—is similarly derided: evaluating the past entirely through the lens of the present is no more helpful than an attempt to reconstruct the past “exactly as it was.” Thomas Christensen defines this historicist/presentist dichotomy in terms of treating theoretical treatises as either purely historical documents (historicist) or as purely theoretical (presentist). The historicist deals with treatises only in terms of their context and ability to speak to intellectual, social, and historical trends in their time, while the presentist is only concerned with the treatise’s explanatory power for music without reference to its historical context.⁸⁷ A middle-ground is preferable: one that attempts to speculatively reconstruct the past through careful research and use of historical imagination, while realizing that any such attempt is necessarily mediated by one’s position in the present. The history of music theory has been fraught with this issue of evaluating and trying to understand past ideas from a present position.⁸⁸ Christensen proposes a Gadamerian approach to hermeneutics that allows him to avoid complete reconciliation between these extremes, but rather to use this tension to come to a better understanding of the theory in its context. As Christensen ultimately decides, “the essential

⁸⁷ Thomas Christensen, “Music Theory and Its Histories,” in *Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past*, ed. Christopher Hatch and David W. Bernstein, 1st edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 9.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

goal of historicism is desirable” as long as it is tempered by realization of “the inescapable constraints of observation” from our present position in time.⁸⁹

This kind of historical hermeneutics is also prevalent in literary theory. Terry Eagleton deals with many philosophical and theoretical approaches to phenomenology and the past in his famous introductory text.⁹⁰ In his discussion of hermeneutics, he writes that, “for Gadamer, all interpretation of a past work consists in a dialogue between past and present.”⁹¹ In neoclassicism, where the work itself is in exactly this kind of dialogue, the Gadamerian perspective seems particularly valuable on two different levels: first, understanding the work in terms of the transaction between past (musical styles) and present (Stravinsky’s conscious deformation and use of his own style) as simultaneously “enter[ing] the alien world of the artifact, but at the same time gather[ing] it into our own realm, reaching a more complete understanding of ourselves.” We can also do this on the historical level, reaching into the past via reported listener experiences.⁹² Eagleton, too, recognizes the importance of convention and audience recognition—while noting that the best writers remain interesting and relevant by “forc[ing] the reader into a new critical awareness of his or her customary codes and expectations,” rather in the same way that the Russian Formalists expect a writer to defamiliarize familiar objects.⁹³

1.5 OVERVIEW

In the remaining chapters, this dissertation explores the historical context surrounding neoclassicism and develops analytical methodologies for text and music that mutually reinforce a

⁸⁹ Ibid., 25.

⁹⁰ Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction*, 1st edition (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983).

⁹¹ Ibid., 71.

⁹² Ibid., 72.

⁹³ Ibid., 79.

listener-based, historically informed understanding of the music. Chapter Two begins with an exploration of key elements of living in Paris during the period immediately following the Great War, using archival and other documentary evidence to highlight differences that would affect how audience-members responded to the music they heard. The chapter continues with further discussion of speculative reconstruction and its possibilities, suggesting ways in which understanding the context behind the written document can inform our understanding of that audience member's experience and how we might use this information in conjunction with analysis. Chapter Three delves deeper into the issue of close reading: should documentation of listener experiences (letters, program notes, reviews—any documentary trace of a listener's experience) be engaged through close reading alone, or can digital methodologies provide additional help? This chapter explores some of the issues related to physical and digital archival work when approaching this question from either a close-reading or distant-reading perspective. Chapter Four turns toward analysis, using the musical sources for *Pulcinella* as a starting point. I explore the potential of schemata and topic theory to provide certain analytical insights related to the texts collected, as well as using a toolbox approach to understand Stravinsky's relationship to form, melody, and contrapuntal concerns. Chapter Five extends these analytical findings to additional works in the neoclassical period, culminating in *The Rake's Progress*, Stravinsky's last neoclassical work, only full opera, and a product of the post-World War II era. I address the possibility that contemporary reviews and other written accounts offer the ability for the analyst to engage with performance-specific factors that rarely appear in music analysis, such as venue size and location, performance choices, and level of rehearsal for the performers. I conclude that the techniques explored in this dissertation can, with significant contextual modification, be applied to a much broader swath of Western Classical music, including the music of Stravinsky's contemporaries, *Les Six*, and even the much different neoclassical writing of George Rochberg in the 1960s.

2 HEARING NEOCLASSICISM THROUGH HISTORICAL EARS

Beauty at the present is bone shallow, rather than skin deep. The only depth about it is the camouflage, and this can be bought in every colour, and shape, and consistency, for the maximum amount of strapping, smacking, boiling, and freezing, fasting, and rolling! Apparently, beauty is still susceptible to the sort of music which guides its matutinal exercises, but listening to Wagner makes it feel hollow, and Stravinsky is altogether too much for nerves vibrating to the needle of a weighing machine.

—Rosita Forbes, “The Quality of Beauty” (1926)¹

2.1 IMAGINING OTHERS’ EXPERIENCES OF *PULCINELLA*

It is not necessarily apparent that an experience of *Pulcinella* in 1920 would be at all different from an experience of *Pulcinella* in 2017. After all, less than a century has elapsed, and there are still people alive for whom it would have been possible to attend an early performance of the work (albeit as children). Further, many features of the work, how it affects people, might seem universal.² Yet, when one thinks about how much everyday life has changed between the end of the Great War and the early decades of the twenty-first century, there are many possible differences between a historical experience of *Pulcinella* and an experience of the work today. Consider the following descriptions.

THEN: It is 1920. You enter the home of the Paris Opéra, the Palais Garnier (pictured in Figure 2.1), and take your seat among dandies and well-dressed women.³ The theater is abuzz with speculation—what will this new ballet be like? As an upper-class socialite, you try to attend every Stravinsky premiere, although the war made things difficult.⁴ The riot at *Rite of Spring* remains as vivid in your mind as it was

¹ Rosita Forbes, “Features: The Quality of Beauty,” ed. Edna Woolman Chase, *Vogue* 67, no. 12 (1926): 60, 61, 120. In this article, Forbes is lauded for her multifarious travels, and discusses her understanding of fashion and standards of beauty in the West and East.

² Leonard Meyer’s argument in “Universe of Universals” carries weight here: there are certain portions of an experience that are shared by all people because of physical and psychological limits on our perceptive and cognitive capacities. Leonard B. Meyer, “A Universe of Universals,” *The Journal of Musicology* 16, no. 1 (January 1, 1998): 3–25.

³ Many writers document the high-class implications of attending these premieres, including Mary E. Davis, *Classic Chic: Music, Fashion, and Modernism* (University of California Press, 2006).

⁴ I have not been able to determine a ticket price for the premiere, but the programs cost one franc (“Programme Officiel Des Ballets Russes: Théâtre de l’Opéra, Mai-Juin 1920: Soirée Du 17 Mai 1920,” 1920, accessed May 19, 2016, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84151415>). Because of post-war inflation and France’s relationship with the gold standard in the 1920s, it is somewhat difficult to convert this amount into present-day currency. For more on the fluctuating value of the franc in interwar France, see Robert Boyce, *The Great Interwar Crisis and the Collapse of*

seven years ago. You were at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées that night, sitting next to a man who was pounding on the head of the person in front of him.⁵ You wonder whether this ballet will be similarly daring, similarly ingenious.⁶ You are aware that Stravinsky, Massine, Picasso, and Diaghilev are collaborating on the work, resurrecting some old Pergolesi pieces in the process.⁷ You are eager to see how Stravinsky will adapt the music, how Picasso's style will influence the set and costume design, and how the story of a Commedia dell'Arte puppet (who might be similar to Petrushka) will play out in this particular setting. Ernest Ansermet takes the podium, and the overture begins. The music is strangely conservative, incredibly consonant, and yet it retains a sense of the "Stravinskian."⁸ As the ballet progresses, you marvel at how the collaborators could give new life and add humor to something so old and elegant.⁹ This is not the Stravinsky of *Rite of Spring* or *Petrushka*, but you are thoroughly entertained.

NOW: It is 2017. You are an American tech writer, not a billionaire, but certainly upper-middle class, working from her home office. You are working while listening to an internet radio station as background music. The overture to a Stravinsky work from the early 1920s, *Pulcinella*, begins to play—but you are too involved in your work to look at the title as it scrolls by. As you listen through your noise-canceling headphones, your interest is piqued, and you begin to pay more attention. You notice some characteristics that remind you of Mozart, though perhaps this is a bit more dissonant and modern-sounding than what you would have expected. You begin to catalogue these sounds in relation to other composers and musics you have heard—could this be an eighteenth-century work, or is it from a soundtrack from a Jane Austen movie? Could it be something even more modern—perhaps something by George Rochberg? After all, he sometimes quoted Mozart in his music. Or, perhaps you are knowledgeable of Stravinsky's output and can immediately place it as an early neoclassical work.

Globalization (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 92–94. According to measuring-worth.org (the most reputable source I can find), the US dollar was worth 14.2 Francs at the time, and \$1 had the same spending power in 1920 as \$11.80 in 2015, but could have been worth nearly \$202 depending on the economic status and location of the person ("Measuring Worth - Relative Value of the US Dollar," accessed June 9, 2017, <https://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/>; "Measuring Worth - Purchasing Power of the Dollar," accessed June 9, 2017, <https://www.measuringworth.com/ppowerus/>). Thus, 1 franc may have had the same spending power as \$.89 US. Perhaps, then, these ticket prices were accessible, but it seems unlikely that the average French citizen could afford to attend the *Paris Opéra* regularly. It thus seems appropriate to assume that the audience members were middle- or upper-class patrons who had both money and time at their disposal.

⁵ Carl van Vechten's account of *Rite of Spring*'s riotous premiere describes (possibly apocryphally, but perhaps not) a man pounding on his neighbor's head. See Edward Burns, *The Letters of Gertrude Stein and Carl Van Vechten, 1913-1946* (Columbia University Press, 2013), 850.

⁶ See, for example, what was expected in RHM, "Concerts: Music Notes from Paris," *The Athenaeum*, May 28, 1920.

⁷ *Ibid.* It should be noted that, while we now know that most of the music adapted in *Pulcinella* was by other, Italianate eighteenth-century composers, in 1920 all the works used in the ballet were attributed to a single composer, Giambattista Pergolesi (Brook, "Stravinsky's *Pulcinella*: The 'Pergolesi' Sources").

⁸ Several reviews reference this odd juxtaposition between clearly Stravinskian elements and the consonant, galant style of the borrowed works. See, for example, Dent, "Covent Garden"; Reynaldo Hahn, "Les Premières," *Excelsior*, May 17, 1920.

⁹ See Table 1, which quotes several responses to early performances of *Pulcinella* that express such reactions.

Figure 2.1: South façade of the *Opéra Garnier* in Paris, France¹⁰



While the second example is artificially constructed (if realistic), the first has been carefully reconstructed using historical detail and writing from attendees at early *Pulcinella* performances. Both are speculative—they only asymptotically approach reality. These anecdotes demonstrate only a few of the many differences between listening to Stravinsky in his historical time and listening to his music nearly a century later, in addition to several differences that arise for other reasons. The imagined listeners described above encounter the “same” work in two different contexts: one attends a highly anticipated multimedia production in the presence of many other people, while the other

¹⁰ Peter Rivera, *South Façade of the Opéra Garnier in Paris, France.*, May 1, 2009, Paris Opera, accessed May 10, 2016, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Paris_Opera_full_frontal_architecture,_May_2009.jpg. Used under Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/deed.en>).

listens to the music alone and without expectation, transmitted directly to her ears via headphones.¹¹ The theatre-goer in 1920 experiences Picasso's sets and costumes (one of each are pictured in Figures 2.2 and 2.3), holds a paper program (a page of which appears in Figure 2.4), is presented with a picture of Pergolesi (see Figure 2.5), and sees Massine's choreography alongside the music. In contrast to this wealth of cross-modal sensory experience and information, the 2017 headphone-listener only experiences a portion of the revised orchestral suite while attending to something else. These listening experiences are significantly different, colored by their cultural, historical, and socioeconomic status in addition to the specific dissimilarities detailed above. They are difficult to equate. Additionally, the knowledge and backgrounds that these listeners bring to their experiences are diverse. Consequently, the conclusions and ideas they draw from their encounter with *Pulcinella* diverge. In both cases, the results and effect of listening depend, in part, on the listener's prior engagement with and knowledge of music and music history. Additionally, deeper distinctions such as nationality, technology, politics, and economical circumstance play an important role in shaping experience. Listeners from different times and places may share certain parameters (in the example above, for instance, class and Western cultural values may be assumed to be relatively similar), but their differences can and do play a role in shaping listeners' responses.

Obviously, an experience of Stravinsky's neoclassicism depends upon the subject's frame of reference and unique context, especially since this music makes direct reference to other genres, styles, and works. The degrees and kinds of recognition one will experience in a neoclassical performance depend largely on how much music in the "classical style" one has heard, what exact

¹¹ This speaks to a necessary malleability in the work concept: not all performances of "the work" are the product of the same score, performing forces, or multimedia contexts. Because the experiences described above result from different forces and multimedia (attending a ballet vs. listening alone, via headphones) there are many reasons to consider these entirely different manifestations of *Pulcinella*. For the purpose of this dissertation, these performances are lumped together to show their similarity, but I take care to mention, where possible, the context under which a piece was experienced.

works (of any genre or historical era) one has heard, and how attentively one has listened. One's level of musical training and expertise will also factor heavily in these experiences—as discussed earlier, physical evidence suggests that musical training changes neural pathways in the brain to such a degree that musicians often experience music differently than non-musicians.¹²

Figure 2.2: Picasso's scenery, depicted on a postage stamp¹³



¹² Karen Chan Barrett et al., “Art and Science: How Musical Training Shapes the Brain,” *Frontiers in Psychology* 4 (2013): 1–13.

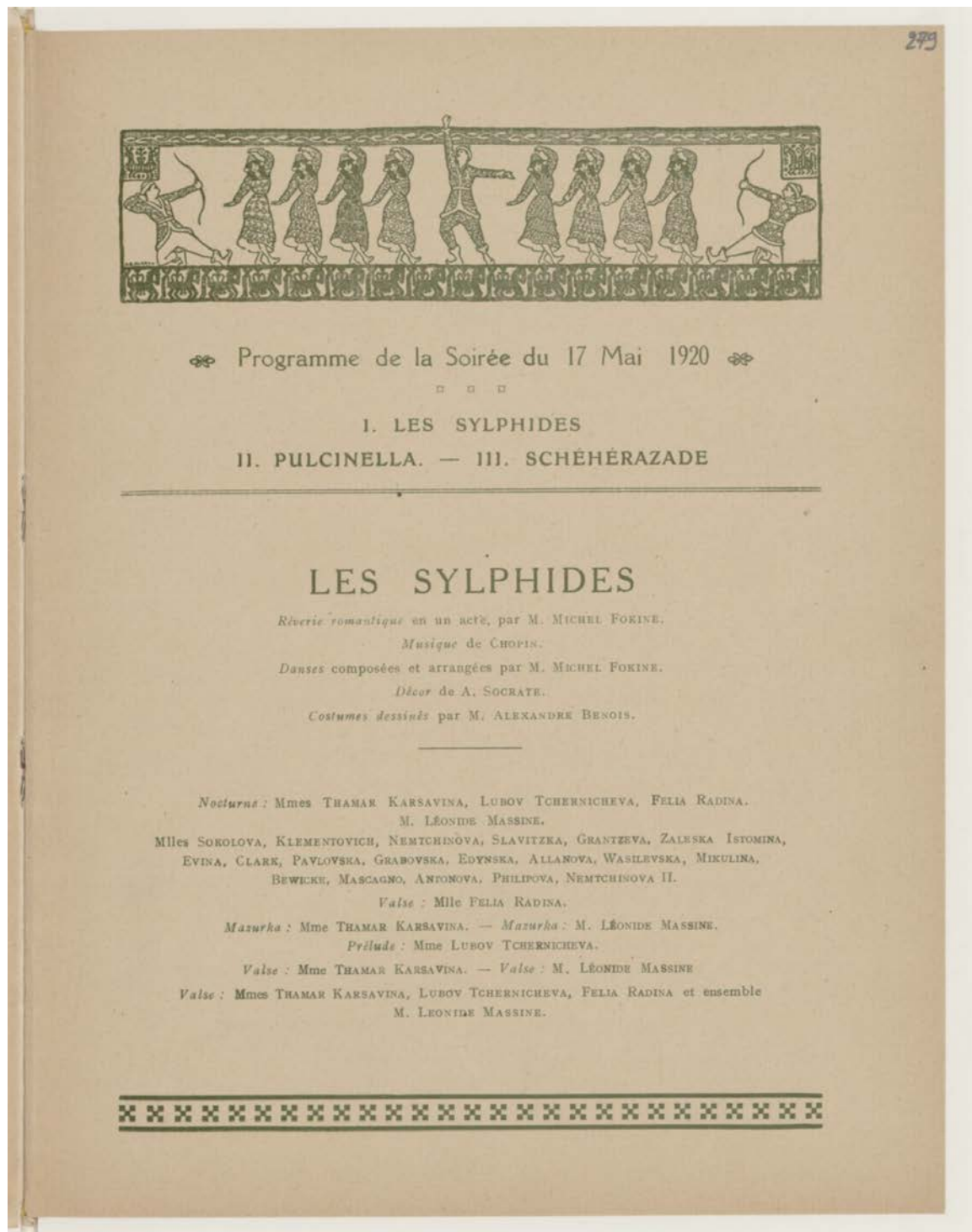
¹³ Pablo Picasso, *Pulcinella, Décor: Estampe*, Stamp, 1920. Public Domain.

Figure 2.3: Pulcinella's costume, as pictured in the program booklet¹⁴



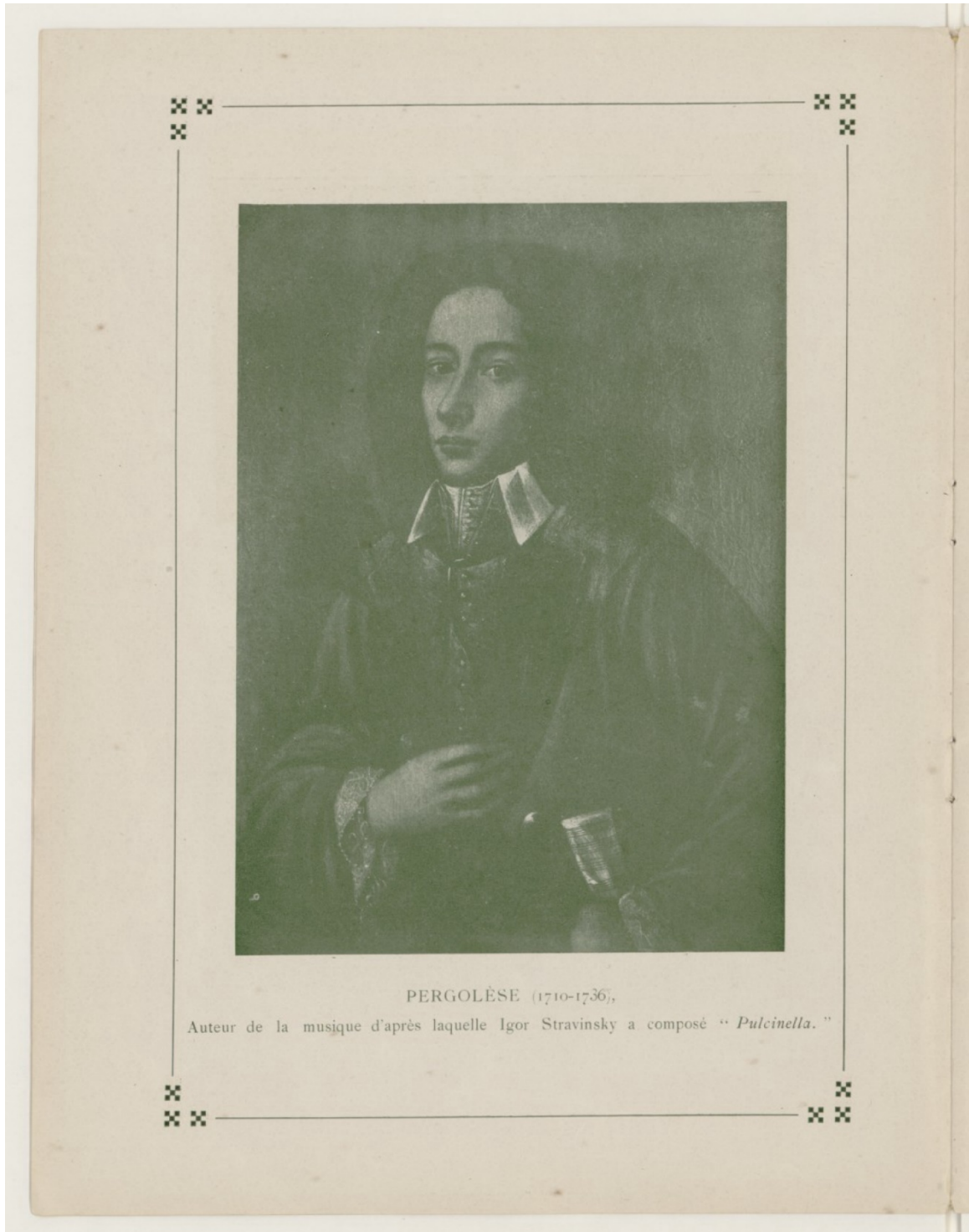
¹⁴ "Programme Officiel Des Ballets Russes: Théâtre de l'Opéra, Mai-Juin 1920: Soirée Du 17 Mai 1920," 1920. Public Domain.

Figure 2.4: Program order for *Pulcinella* premiere¹⁵



¹⁵ Ibid.

Figure 2.5: Image of Pergolesi in program booklet¹⁶



¹⁶ Ibid.

Although the multiplicity of experiences surrounding Stravinsky's music are diffuse and difficult to reconcile with one another, their collective power resides in the trends that arise from putting these experiences into their respective historical contexts. This particular brand of twentieth-century neoclassicism itself emerged, throughout Europe, as a response to specific historical circumstances: the process of recovering from World War I, then called "The Great War" or "The War to End All Wars." The genre, by making reference to the past and interpreting it through the lens of the present, relied on its audience to make meaningful connections, or at least, hear some reference to the past as in some way altered by its juxtaposition with clearly marked "present" material.¹⁷ This is not to say that Stravinsky did not hope his music would eventually transcend time and be welcomed into the classical canon, divorced of any extra-musical associations (including choreography and set design), but his economic situation demanded that he cater to the audience of his present day.¹⁸ His link to those audience members was more direct—they shared experiences of time and place.

Consider, then, how differently an audience member at a premiere of one of Stravinsky's neoclassical works might have experienced that performance than we might today. Not only would the performers, the orchestra, the costumes, the sets, and the performance context be significantly different, but because we are immersed in today's current events and not those of several decades

¹⁷ In an attempt to eliminate the performer as middleman, Stravinsky writes in "Some Ideas on My Octuor" that performers and conductors should consider themselves to be "executants," people who faithfully transmit the composer's music as written (and hence intended). Igor Stravinsky, "Some Ideas about My Octuor (1924)," ed. Eric W. White, *Stravinsky, the Composer and His Works*, 2nd edition, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979), 574–77.

¹⁸ Stravinsky's correspondence reveals anxiety about his financial situation, especially during and immediately following World War I, when his main monetary sources, the publication and performance of the early Russian ballets *Firebird*, *Petrouchka*, and *Rite of Spring* were no longer available to him (See Stephen Walsh, *Stravinsky, A Creative Spring: Russia and France, 1882-1934* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 260.) His financial situation in 1919 was so dire that his American fan club held several fundraisers to send him more than 2500 Swiss francs. In return, he promised a new arrangement of *Firebird*. See Igor Stravinsky, "Letters to Igor Stravinsky from Members of the 'Comite Des Amis et Admirateurs de Stravinsky,'" 1919, SUPPL LA-STRAVINSKY IGOR, 24–31, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Such financial arrangements often directed Stravinsky's compositional ventures, especially arrangements and revisions.

prior, our understandings and perceptions of the musical work necessarily diverge. We bring different baggage to these experiences. For that matter, our own experiences of the work may vary from day to day, depending on the performance context and the confluence of associations and factors that we bring to bear on a given moment.¹⁹ Yet, even among our own differences, and bearing in mind that some portions of musical perception are fixed or “universal” (in Meyer’s sense), the epistemic differences mentioned in Chapter One likely distinguish a 1920s listener from an otherwise similar listener in the 2010s.

One of the aims of this dissertation is to use historical experience to expand the tools available for analyzing Stravinsky’s neoclassical works in a way that speaks more clearly to how historical listeners experienced the music. Such a goal requires a degree of synthesis, because even though analytical apparatuses may allow for diffuse experiences and understandings, these tools require some overarching similarities in order to usefully reconcile with the wealth of experiences collected. This chapter therefore provides the contextual grounding for Stravinsky’s neoclassicism and its contemporaneous reception, gestures toward some common linguistic trends despite the wide variety of experiences reported, and suggests how these will lead to new analytical approaches in the following chapters. Using the collected texts to highlight both important linguistic trends and to shape analytical methodology allows for a tighter relationship between reception and analysis. By reconstructing experiences no longer available to us, it becomes possible to see how differently neoclassicism struck people at its outset. As time and culture shifted, so too did response.

¹⁹ As David Lewin notes often, context and state of mind greatly affect one’s experience and understanding of a work on a given day. See, for example, his many analyses of a single moment in “Morgengruss” from multiple perspectives. (David Bard-Schwarz and Richard Cohn, eds., *David Lewin’s Morgengruss: Text, Context, Commentary*, 1st edition (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015)). Art historian T.J. Clark’s *The Sight of Death* is entirely devoted to the different readings of a single painting that are possible with daily reflection and changes in personal or physical circumstances (T. J. Clark, *The Sight of Death: An Experiment in Art Writing*, 1st edition (Yale University Press, 2006)).

But any effort to reconstruct past experiences will have—at best—an asymptotic trajectory. Regardless of how much information one gathers, how tightly one weaves a narrative, and how carefully one attempts to avoid approaching the past through any kind of biased lens, the fact remains that nothing can fully recapture a subjective experience “as it truly was.” This, however, does not mitigate the utility of trying to bring the past into a closer relationship with the present. After all, studying past events is an important component of learning and growing.

Because narrative histories run the risk of sounding too authoritarian and asserting (even inadvertently) more causal relationships than they ought, some more recent attempts to write history have taken the form of more fragmented, presence-oriented approach.²⁰ Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht’s *In 1926* tries to make interwar Europe seem real to his audience in just this way, not by crafting a narrative, but by creating an alphabetical catalog of “things” that one might have encountered at the time.²¹ Just as Russian formalists were interested in renewing engagement with art through the process of defamiliarization, Gumbrecht’s goal in this book is to bring readers closer to “how it really was” than would be possible in a traditional, narrative-centered tome.²² Similarly, this dissertation cannot possibly hope to reconstruct a detailed narrative of experiences that changed drastically over the course of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s in Paris and the United States. Yet, it is possible, through carefully selected historical detail, to suggest some of the differences that shaped experiences in the early twentieth century, differences in thought, situation, and occupation that may no longer inform experiences in the twenty-first century. By providing this lens into past

²⁰ The word “presence” has a very particular meaning here. Gumbrecht writes, “presence effects, however, exclusively appeal to the senses. Therefore, the reactions that they provoke have nothing to do with *Einfühlung*, that is, with imagining what is going on in another’s psyche.” Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), xv. A presence-oriented history tries to make the past tangible to its readers without attempting to be comprehensive or assuming we understand or empathize fully with historical actors. It is about immersion rather than empathy.

²¹ Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *In 1926: Living on the Edge of Time* (Harvard University Press, 1997).

²² Alun Munslow, “Review: Hans Gumbrecht. In 1926,” *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 1 (February 1, 1999): 148–49.

experiences, I hope to bring the reader closer to an understanding of how neoclassicism might have felt to its original audience. This does not discount current experiences of neoclassicism. Indeed, responses to neoclassicism changed over the course of the three decades I study here, and it has continued to evolve and change to the present. Thus, my analytical methodology ought to be adaptive to these changing experiences, able to respond to how, for example, a 1920s listener and a 1950s listener might form very different opinions or responses to *Pulcinella*. These reception-sensitive analyses allow windows into the music that currently are not present in analytical writings on Stravinsky's neoclassicism or, for that matter, neoclassicism in general.

The following sections explore the phenomenon of neoclassicism as it developed after the Great War, as well as its implications for Stravinsky. Following this discussion, the chapter shifts its focus from the composer to the audience. As Jane Fulcher notes, the kind of cultural-historical approach I adopt here comes with certain challenges: one can too easily become caught up in “thick description” to make a useful historical argument and it can be difficult to avoid asserting power dynamics or incorrect causal claims when dealing with a mass of information.²³ In order to avoid these difficulties, I place select primary sources (materials that document memories) within the larger scope of the time (historical materials) in order to suggest ways in which we may reconstruct the context behind a contemporaneous reported experience. This chapter thus integrates a sort of Gumbrechtian, presence-oriented approach with cultural-historical intentions to interrogate the language of Stravinsky's audiences and speculatively reconstruct a sense of how the experiences they relate interact with what they were feeling and hearing. By looking at the experiences corresponding to Stravinsky's contemporary audience—members of his own time—I reconstruct experiential contexts that are now missing for modern-day listeners.

²³ Jane F. Fulcher, “Introduction: Defining the New Cultural History of Music, Its Origins, Methodologies, and Lines of Inquiry,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music* (Oxford University Press, 2011), 5–7.

2.2 NEOCLASSICISM FOR HISTORICAL LISTENERS

As discussed in Chapter One, neoclassicism is not a new phenomenon. History is replete with the cyclical tendency to look to the distant (often, Greek) past as a return to a humanistic and hopeful future.²⁴ The movement in the twentieth century, however, was particularly charged by the ironic interaction between past and present forms.²⁵ Neoclassicism in the early twentieth century thrived on its ability to articulate the present's distance from the past, while simultaneously drawing it closer. As Stravinsky expressed in his *Autobiography*:

It is impossible for anyone to grasp fully the art of a bygone period, to penetrate beneath the obsolete form and discern the author's meaning in a language no longer spoken, unless he has a comprehensive and lively feeling for the present, and unless he consciously participates in the life around him.²⁶

For Stravinsky, then, the juxtaposition of past and present was not only important in understanding their relationship, but vital.

This form of neoclassicism arose simultaneously throughout Western Europe, affecting countries such as France, Germany, Britain, and Spain, not only as a musical movement, but in visual art and literature as well.²⁷ Each nation's approach was somewhat different and often nationalistic in origin, but each defined itself against the excess of the nineteenth century. In France, especially, the turn to neoclassicism was an anti-German, anti-Romantic (and anti-*Art Nouveau*) response to the excess and immorality that many saw as root causes of the Great War.²⁸ It can be difficult, with

²⁴ Consider, for example, the humanist movement in Western Europe in the fifteenth century, as well as the multiple crises in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries concerning opera's content and subjects. French composers, especially during the Franco-Prussian war of the late 1800s, were already engaged in making musical reference to their predecessors, often reaching back to Hellenic roots (See Glenn Watkins, *Proof through the Night: Music and the Great War* (University of California Press, 2002), 96; Samuel Noah Dorf, "Listening between the Classical and the Sensual: Neoclassicism in Parisian Music and Dance Culture, 1870-1935" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 2009), 25.)

²⁵ As discussed in Chapter One, this is the view that Taruskin takes in *The Oxford History of Western Music: Music in the Early Twentieth Century*, 4: 447–93.

²⁶ Stravinsky, *Stravinsky: An Autobiography*, 119.

²⁷ Daniel Albright, ed., *Modernism and Music: An Anthology of Sources*, 1st edition (University of Chicago Press, 2004), 276–77.

²⁸ Watkins, *Proof through the Night*, 176.

historical distance, to remember that the Great War was then the bloodiest in history. None of the countries and very few of the people in Western Europe escaped unscathed. Rebuilding one's country after such an apocalyptic event struck everyone, and although the 1920s are now remembered as the Golden Age brimming with women wearing fringed dresses and smelling of *Chanel No. 5*, in the early portion of the decade there remained a strong undercurrent of loss and, consequently, of nostalgia for a better time. The war so affected France that the country began to shut down its borders, becoming even more xenophobic and anti-Semitic than in previous decades.²⁹ Of course, the war was not all-consuming—it does not pervade the correspondence or newspaper articles that remain from the time. People continued to have ordinary, everyday experiences, even when they were inflected by such wartime necessities as rationing and censorship.³⁰ Stravinsky was intimately involved with and influenced by these moments, particularly after moving from Switzerland to Paris in 1920.³¹ As the Catholic *L'Action Française* and later the *Renouveau Catholique* reached beyond religion to become the leading political and social powers in France, Stravinsky did his best to publicly remain in favor, although his religious reconversion was to Russian Orthodoxy in 1926 rather than to Roman Catholicism.³² He remained a prominent and favored figure in the French and American artistic press throughout not just his “neoclassical period” but his lifetime.

Several musicologists and music theorists have taken on the difficult task of disentangling the phenomenon of neoclassicism, especially as it relates to Stravinsky, including Richard Taruskin,

²⁹ Jane F. Fulcher, “The Preparation for Vichy: Anti-Semitism in French Musical Culture between the Two World Wars,” *The Musical Quarterly* 79, no. 3 (October 1, 1995): 465.

³⁰ Several writers whose World War II correspondence with Nadia Boulanger resides at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France were forced to rewrite and redact portions of their letters that might give away details of the war effort in the United States. Katherine Wolff, writing to Stravinsky in 1945, writes, “life is full of surprises and it may be that the Germans will run a submarine up the Delaware River and toss a few bombs on our city. The Governor's warning was printed in our papers also, but, life goes on just the same. I hope you will not change your plans for February because of this advance notice of a possible annihilation.” (See Katharine Wolff, “Letter to Igor Stravinsky,” January 5, 1945, PSS MF 105, Paul Sacher Stiftung.)

³¹ Stephen Walsh, “Stravinsky, Igor,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 3, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.uchicago.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/52818>, sec. 5, par. 1.

³² Levitz, *Modernist Mysteries: Perséphone*, 119.

Joseph Straus, Scott Messing, and Maureen Carr. Samuel Dorf has criticized these writers for their narrow view, suggesting that the cultural factors that shaped neoclassicism and its reception are often overlooked in favor of musical features and sketch studies.³³ He finds his solution in a cultural-historical approach that portrays Parisian neoclassicism as a much larger phenomenon than these earlier writers discuss, but Dorf's own approach is necessarily limited by the depth to which he studies the phenomenon of neoclassicism through the lens of its relationship to Greek subjects. On the whole, however, Dorf's point is well-taken: cultural history certainly does provide an important counterpoint for musical features of neoclassicism. A similar approach will be useful in the sections to follow, though necessarily circumscribed by the overall scope of this dissertation.

In a recent article treating *Pulcinella*, Katharina Clausius suggests that rather than considering the traditional model of neoclassicism as a kind of agonistic competition between past and present, Stravinsky and those who received *Pulcinella* found it to be more about comedy through juxtaposition, or, as Stravinsky wrote later, "a backward look" that was simultaneously "a look through the mirror."³⁴ As Clausius points out, this does not mesh well with Joseph Straus's reading of neoclassicism as fundamentally involved with Bloomian "anxiety of influence," and she instead proposes a spatialized understanding of how past and present interact.³⁵ This approach allows for a more nuanced, less violent way of understanding how Stravinsky and his contemporaneous audience felt about the work. It allows for nostalgia, reflection, and change, all quite important to those going through the post-war reconstructive period. This is the approach that will be most useful in understanding contemporaneous responses to Stravinsky's neoclassicism. This also clarifies why so many analyses of neoclassicism seem unable to mirror the experiences listeners (past or present) tend

³³ Dorf, "Listening between the Classical and the Sensual," 27.

³⁴ Katharina Clausius, "Historical Mirroring, Mirroring History: An Aesthetics of Collaboration in *Pulcinella*," *The Journal of Musicology* 30, no. 2 (April 1, 2013): 129.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 220.

to report: choosing to analyze music as either wholly classical or entirely modernist asserts a model under which one facet of neoclassicism subsumes the other, favoring a single perspective when listeners tend to hear interactions, duality, and multiplicity.

2.3 RECONSTRUCTING HISTORICAL LISTENING

While historical listeners leave behind traces of their listening practices and experiences, recovering a sense of the period ear is notoriously difficult and fraught. The ineffability of music and performance practices makes this much more difficult than a similar exploration in literature or visual art, where the exact work, in many cases, still exists in nearly the same condition. This does not make the attempt less worthwhile, but historians must be careful with their claims and methods.

Reconstructing historical listening has been an important component of early music research since at least the 1990s, and while the degree to which there is a difference between historical listening practices and current listening practices is much greater when looking at music from before 1600, the methods and ideas presented in this research still apply. Regardless of the date, many of the practices that inform historical approaches to listening are complicated by the fact that listeners must first translate their experience into text.³⁶ In the special double issue of *Musical Quarterly* on “Music as Heard” in 1998, editor Leon Botstein writes:

Whatever our discomfort may be with adjusting our readings of past texts to account for insights derived from the study of the history of reading, printing, language, and literacy, the problems faced by those scholars interested in understanding music from the perspective of how it may have been heard and listened to in the past, and therefore how it was interpreted by its listeners, vastly exceed those faced by writers who use literary texts.³⁷

³⁶ Leon Botstein suggests that while occasionally listeners express their experience through participatory acts like singing along, dancing, or otherwise embodying the music, the primary way that listeners (especially those of “sacred and secular high art music”) communicate their experience is through language. This requires a translation between modalities. See Leon Botstein, “Toward a History of Listening,” *The Musical Quarterly* 82, no. 3/4 (October 1, 1998): 428.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 427.

Some of the factors Botstein alludes to here are performance practices, audience behavioral norms, instrumental differences, and tuning practices (obviously a more important concern for pre-1800 music than for the 1920s), and political and social conceptions of music and its role in the community.

Daniel Cavicchi notes that one of the main reasons that historians avoid doing this kind of “audiencing” is because of the lack of appropriate sources.³⁸ It is far easier to find archives and documentation for composers and famous critics than it is for everyday listeners. And, unfortunately, “journalism does not necessarily capture the experiences of ordinary people, for whom a concert may have had a far different significance than it did for a professional and literate expert.”³⁹ While it certainly would be possible, as many creative cultural theorists have done, to locate the experiences of these lay listeners in scattered archives, economic records, and so on, it is far beyond the scope of this dissertation to do so. Instead, I will use the documentary evidence of journals, program notes, and letters, some of which were indeed written for and by lay listeners, to recreate a sense of possible experiences—what it was like for some subset of people to hear this music at that time. The goal here is thus “emic,” to understand audience reception from within rather than from without, even if such an attempt is necessarily truncated and incomplete.⁴⁰ Figure 2.6 represents one way in which the emic approach may be taken too far (as, after all, to fully reconstruct any listening practice or experience is impossible). Here, one’s own ears are, presumably, to be replaced wholesale with ears from the appropriate time, in this case, 1377. This project does not try to replace 2017 ears with

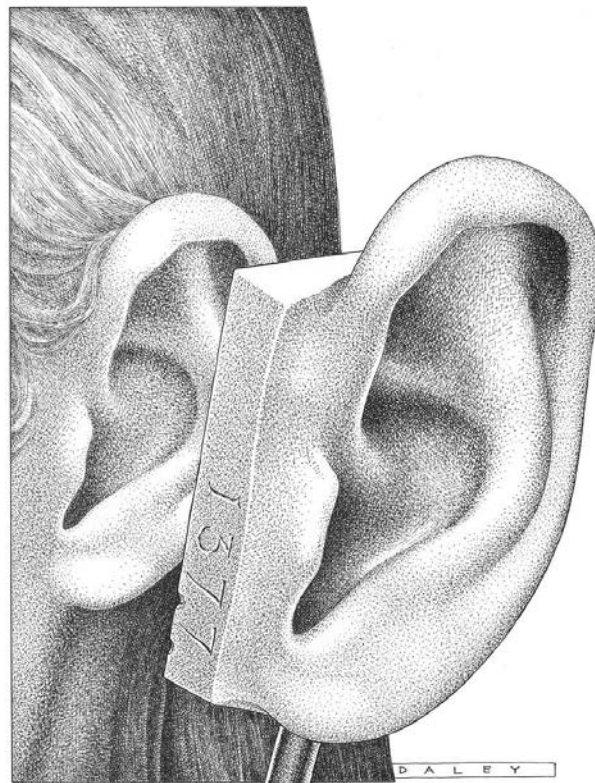
³⁸ Cavicchi develops this term as an alternative to Christopher Small’s “musicking,” where all aspects of making music are considered. He writes, “following Small’s lead, I employ the term audiencing in this book with similar intentions: to get away from a narrow modern idea of a listener, passively consuming a recording, and to move toward the wider array of behaviors that I describe in this book.” Daniel Cavicchi, *Listening and Longing: Music Lovers in the Age of Barnum* (Wesleyan University Press, 2011), 167, endnote 5.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁴⁰ For more on the difference between emic and etic approaches, see Thomas N. Headland, Kenneth Pike, and Marvin Harris, eds., *Emics and Etics: The Insider/Outsider Debate* (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc, 1990).

1920s ones but rather suggests what hearing with 1920s ears could have been like, what might have been different, and thus allowing for a level of sensitivity and resonance with these earlier, different experiences. Because the end goal of this project is twofold, not only to recover a sense of historical listening but also to apply it to analysis and provide new hearings in the present day, this history, unsatisfactory as it may be on its own, provides several touchstones that allow new analytical paths to emerge.

Figure 2.6: The “period ear,” reproduced from Burstyn⁴¹



Take, for instance, the following description of an early London performance of *Pulcinella*:

Much more to the general taste was ‘Pulcinella,’ produced on July 4 [1921]. Stravinsky’s *réchauffé* [reheating] of Pergolesi is a delightfully impudent affair, though the humor wears thin at the close—‘thick’ would perhaps be a better word, for at this

⁴¹ Shai Burstyn, “In Quest of the Period Ear,” *Early Music* 25, no. 4 (November 1, 1997): 692. Unfortunately, we are not told who created this image or where it was found.

point the scoring loses its earlier wit and becomes buffoonish; the trombone portamento, so overworked in variety shows, is out of place here.⁴²

This reviewer suggests that the trombone glissando that opens movement 18, “Vivo,” reproduced in Figure 2.7 is both a familiar technique to Londoners in 1921, and that this attempt at humor falls flat. It is incompatible with its surroundings. This description seems at odds with present-day experiences (certainly, my own), not least because variety shows are infrequent and rarely feature a full orchestra wherein trombone portamenti could occur. Furthermore, listeners today rarely experience the entire ballet, the only version available to this reviewer (the first concert suite premiered in 1922). While this does not affect the preceding piece, “Gavotta (con due variazioni),” which appears in both versions, the following trio, “Pupilette, fiammette d’amore,” is much more traditional, staid, and may have helped emphasize the trombones in the “Vivo” as markedly unusual for the reviewer. In sum, the sense that this trombone slide is not simply humorous or burlesque, but grotesque and improper seems worth recovering for present-day listeners.

By orienting our ears toward 1921, trying to imagine what it was like to have such gestures as a part of the everyday, entertainment lexicon, perhaps we can return a sense of this impropriety to our own hearings, and analyze accordingly. Is it the placement of this movement that makes it improper, or is it the juxtaposition of a familiar, “popular” gesture within the galant context that is so grating for this reviewer? As a pastiche, a collage of musical sources and gestures, *Pulcinella* seems to call out for such outside references. But perhaps, in part, the notion in the 1920s that this music was entirely by Pergolesi portrayed a different quality to the audience, one in which the music coheres, in which Stravinsky is meant to merely be an arranger—and this change in instrumental timbre, not only from string to brass, but to glissando brass, takes too much liberty, or the wrong kind. Alternatively, though *Pulcinella* would have been performed several times in London by 1921

⁴² H. G., “The Russian Ballet,” *The Musical Times* 62, no. 942 (August 1, 1921): 568.

(as its British premiere at Covent Garden was in June 1920), Stravinsky's new style might have been unfamiliar or unwelcome. In either case, hearing this moment as not only humorous but vaudevillian and annoying may require some historical imagination, some ear re-training, in order to imagine this juxtaposition between "high" and "low" art as improper.⁴³ That said, the attempt is worthwhile: it reveals fissures between Stravinsky's alterations and the musical sources (in this case, an actual Pergolesi work, the final movement of his Sinfonia for cello and continuo) that may have been smoothed-over with time. The following sections will explore some of those contextual divides in greater detail.

⁴³ Variety shows in London at the time were often the product of mixed genres and stylistic levels (the very name suggests it). This makes H.G.'s statement more perplexing. See Carole Kew, "Mary Wigman's London Performances: A New Dance in Search of a New Audience," *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 30, no. 1 (2012): 1–21; Derek B. Scott, "Incongruity and Predictability in British Dance Band Music of the 1920s and 1930s," *The Musical Quarterly* 78, no. 2 (1994): 291. Scott also discusses the British appropriation of the jazzy plunger mute for brass instruments, which might be the reference to variety shows that H.G. hears (p. 292).

Figure 2.7: Stravinsky, *Pulcinella*, “Vivo”⁴⁴

The image shows a page of a musical score for Igor Stravinsky's *Pulcinella*, specifically the "Vivo" section, measures 170-188. The score is for a small orchestra and includes parts for Cerulean (Cer.), Trumpet (Tr.), Trombone (Trb.), Violin I (Viol. I), Violin II (Viol. II), Viola (Via.), Cello (Cb.), Violin I (Viol. I), Violin II (Viol. II), Viola (Vlc.), Violoncello (Vcl.), and Contrabass (Ctb.). The tempo is marked "Vivo" with a metronome marking of 132-138. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). A red circle highlights a "gliss" marking in the Trombone part. The score includes dynamic markings such as "ff" and "sub. p".

2.4 THE AUDIENCE: SETTING THE STAGE

As we will see, audience members at early performances of Stravinsky’s neoclassical pieces reacted quite pointedly to the new phenomenon. While the exact composition of the audience, their average class, level of musical training, gender, or nationality breakdown, is difficult to determine, contextual clues and the composition of reviews suggest that most attendees at early performances

⁴⁴ Igor Stravinsky, *Pulcinella. Ballet in One Act for Small Orchestra with Three Solo Voices after Giambattista Pergolesi*, Revised Full Score (Boosey & Hawkes, 1965), 137.

were musically trained and well-off enough to regularly attend such performances.⁴⁵ Though most reviewers and correspondents were male, Mary E. Davis's work suggests that many high-society women would likely have been present and acting as taste-makers for the general public.⁴⁶ The average Parisian worker was likely not present.

From the outset, language in published reviews and private correspondence included metaphors of revitalization, revivification, and even the more religious trope of resurrection, as shown in Table 1.⁴⁷ While Stravinsky certainly was not alone in adopting the neoclassical aesthetic, he became deeply entrenched in and associated with the neoclassical movement and its aesthetic assertions. Unlike many of his peers, Stravinsky was an outsider in the artistic circles in which he travelled. His Russian roots were quite visible in his earlier works, but his move to Switzerland and aesthetic switch toward galant styles in *Pulcinella* signaled a shift toward European styles and influences. No longer was Stravinsky obviously inserting Russian folk tunes into his music (except in *Mavra*). No longer would his models be drawn from the Russian past, but rather, the Western-European, cosmopolitan past. Stravinsky's move to western Europe thus coincided with his adoption of a more cosmopolitan mode of composition.⁴⁸ Other composers, notably the French *Les Six*, Ravel, and Satie, as well as fellow Russian ex-patriot Prokofiev, were also writing neoclassical music, replete with anti-German undercurrents.⁴⁹ Their styles, however, were quite different from Stravinsky's and the response to their works cannot be conflated with audience responses to

⁴⁵ See footnote 4 for more on the difficulty in assessing the class and composition of audience members. As Table 1 shows, nearly all the historical writing I have been able to gather on *Pulcinella*, whether published review or correspondence with/about the composer, was written by men.

⁴⁶ Davis, *Classic Chic*.

⁴⁷ This table synecdochically represents a large swath of responses to *Pulcinella* during its first two decades.

⁴⁸ Stravinsky reports that he did not have access to French music until later in his university career, which might change the motivation behind his shift toward this more cosmopolitan writing, though the larger point remains the same. See Stravinsky, *Stravinsky: An Autobiography*, 27–29.

⁴⁹ For these composers, the major players in the eighteenth century (Bach, Mozart, Haydn) have been stripped of their nationality. They seem to be universal, rather than German. It is the excessive romanticism of Wagner and his circle that these composers reject.

Stravinsky's. After all, one of the most often-mentioned features of Stravinsky's neoclassicism is the ways in which he melds his clear "Stravinskyan" style with neoclassical models.⁵⁰ Though he certainly influenced and was influenced by his surroundings, Stravinsky's metric shifts and penchant for diatonic dissonance are uniquely his own.

Table 1: Adjectives associated with early performances of *Pulcinella*⁵¹

Year	Writer	Score Performed	Key Words/Phrases	Linguistic Category
1920	Francis E. Barrett	Original, full ballet	used, novelty, "serving up gems of the past"	spontaneity, presentation
1920	Henri Prunières	Original, full ballet	diabolical, "Pergolesi's music, flavored by Stravinsky's tartar sauce"	humor
1921	William Child	Piano reduction (no ballet)	"musical periphrasis," "the two are arm in arm"	synthesis
1921	H.G.	Unknown (likely full score) ⁵²	"re-heating," "impudent," "humour," "buffoonish," "variety shows"	humor, revitalizing
1924	Alexandre Guinle	Unknown (likely full score)	"stunning," "resuscitation"	revitalization
1925	Paul Bechert	Original score	"impromptu", "witty grotesquerie"	humor, spontaneity

⁵⁰ In his analysis of *Pulcinella*, David Carson Berry suggests that Stravinsky's signature compositional techniques include a tendency toward harmonic stagnation, use of diatonic pedals, and block stratifications. David Carson Berry, "Portrait with Retouches: The Adaptation and Transformation of Stravinsky's 'Pulcinella': Finale" (M.M. thesis, Memphis State University, 1993). To this list, many have added repetitive ostinato patterns and the use of octatonic scales. See Horlacher, *Building Blocks*; Edward T. Cone, "The Uses of Convention: Stravinsky and His Models," *The Musical Quarterly* 48, no. 3 (1962): 287–99; Berger, "Problems of Pitch Organization in Stravinsky"; Van den Toorn and Tymoczko, "Stravinsky and the Octatonic"; Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through Mavra* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996).

⁵¹ The Appendix, beginning on p. 218, contains the full text and citations for these reviews.

⁵² Although these writers do not explicitly disclose which copy of the score or performance setting they are reviewing, the only options before 1926 are the original ballet (with or without dancing) or the piano reduction.

Table 1, continued

1925	Adolf Weissmann	Suite	“fusion”, “humor”	synthesis, humor
1934	Constant Lambert	Unknown	“synthetic,” “One cannot create a creature of flesh and blood out of fossil fragments”	fake, dying
1943	Lionel Bradley	Revised full score	transmutation, masterful, wizardry, variety, fascinating, vastly enjoyable	metamorphosis, variety, entertainment

As Stephen Walsh notes in the *New Grove Stravinsky*, Stravinsky’s “true return to the Paris stage [after the Great War] was certainly with the ‘Pergolesi’ ballet, *Pulcinella*, which the company mounted at the *Opéra* (with Ansermet conducting) on 15 May.”⁵³ Even among composers for the *Ballets Russes*, Stravinsky was only one of a string of people who had been asked to arrange and recompose music from earlier composers for use in a ballet. Edward J. Dent’s review of the London premiere of *Pulcinella* (a month after the Parisian premiere) is worth quoting in its entirety:

Pergolesi’s own music (he really did compose some) is quite agreeable to sing, but is totally devoid of any qualities that might suggest dancing. But there—Schubert could set a menu to music; M. Massine can design steps to Pergolesi. Besides, there are singers behind the scenes who at intervals sing airs from his comic operas, and, of course “Se tu m’ami.” How they come to be associated with the story of *Pulcinella* is not explained; but they sound quite agreeable, which is the main thing. But the dance music presented a difficult problem. It was easy enough to dress up Scarlatti: Scarlatti’s music dances by itself. Pergolesi required more ingenuity than that of a mere Tommasini or Respighi. Besides, they too were Italians and scholarly musicians too. They might even hav[e] a respect for the style of their old Italian composers. It was a happy thought to entrust the score to M. Stravinsky. There could be no fear of his keeping himself in the background, or of his allowing the old composer to become too tedious. But, alas! Parisottified or Stravinskified, Pergolesi’s sentimental helplessness remains for ever a dead weight upon the ballet. Vainly does M. Stravinsky endeavour to enliven him, by making his music sound as if the members of the orchestra had lost their places or were playing their parts upside-down. No *valse bourgeoise* could be more flabbily inert. So he gives up the task in despair, as well

⁵³ Stephen Walsh, *The New Grove Stravinsky* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 18.

he might, and wriggles off at every opportunity into pure Stravinsky to which one could listen with pleasure, if only there were enough of it.⁵⁴

For Dent, at least, Stravinsky did better than most of his contemporaries and had quite a difficult task. It appears, as well, that Dent found the result humorous, lively, and mostly entertaining. But more information is needed to reconstruct this experience more completely. While Dent's words, alone, are quite engaging and offer a unique perspective on the work, with additional context, we can learn more, and situate his words within their cultural-historical context.

Placing a text in context, however, is a spiraling and unending quest. Not every contextual detail is useful, and it becomes important to set boundaries on what "counts" as useful contextual evidence. When setting the stage upon which audience members' writings can be interpreted, then, it is important to consider what kinds of evidence are permissible, and, in fact, necessary. While it may be tautological, it is common sense that the most useful evidence is that which proves its worth: in other words, evidence that strongly affects one's understanding of the texts at hand. Evidence that is not markedly different from an experience today, or that might only slightly affect one's understanding of the historical document (e.g., what color socks the reviewer was wearing) is clearly not useful. In an attempt to gesture, succinctly, toward the kinds of experiences that inform the reconstructions with which this dissertation deals, the following subsections hint at the various ways in which experiences may be shaped.

If one could time-travel to Paris in the 1920s, the experience would likely be shocking. Movies, books, and television shows such as *Midnight in Paris*, *The Great Gatsby* (written in the 1920s but still an obsession for many today), and *Downton Abbey* demonstrate our current obsession with the time and have, to a degree, given the general public a sense of "what it was like" to live in Europe or the United States between the Great War and the Great Depression (not knowing, of

⁵⁴ Dent, "Covent Garden."

course, that such a devastating, worldwide economic disaster was about to follow the post-war boom). Such depictions vary in their historical accuracy, but demonstrate that there are many ways in which life nearly a century ago differed. These differences necessarily affect and inform a listener's experience of Stravinsky's neoclassicism. Reconstructing the context against which these experiences occurred therefore allows one to understand the meaning and impetus behind a listener's response more fully. As Modris Eksteins writes in his influential (if controversial) history of the time, "modernism [is] above all a culture of the sensational event, through which art and life both become a matter of energy and are fused as one."⁵⁵ To understand modern art, then, Eksteins feels one must also understand its intimate relationship with the life of the time.

Since art and everyday life are so interconnected, technology is an obvious factor in understanding contemporaneous musical reception—while the world was quickly becoming more fully connected via radio, steam engine, airplane, and automobile, information still moved much more slowly than it can today. Attending a performance, listening to the recording on the radio or Victrola, or playing the piano reduction were one's only options when it came to experiencing a work. The performance at the theater was the only possible way of experiencing a ballet or opera in full—there was no *YouTube* or televised broadcasts. This is all obvious, but the resultant experiences are necessarily different from our own. Sitting in a concert hall would not require the now-common request to "silence all noise-making" devices, nor would a performance be interrupted by a ringing cellphone or someone pulling the phone out of their pocket to check the time.

It may help to immerse the reader in the aesthetics of the time by considering how people conceived of neoclassicism in their own time. The September 14, 1922 issue of *Life*, then a humor and public-interest magazine, features a cover image entitled "The Mirage" in which a fashionable

⁵⁵ Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*, 1st edition (Boston: Mariner Books, 2000), 16.

modern women peers into a pond at her eighteenth-century reflection.⁵⁶ This image appears in Figure 2.8. The modern woman, dressed in a sleeveless ball-gown, perhaps on her way to a social event, has stopped her red automobile just before reaching the house in the distance. She peers at her reflection in a pond. No male chaperone seems to attend her, nor are there any other figures in sight, though the house to which she is presumably going peeks out from between the hedges. Her reflection, an equally high-fashion woman from the eighteenth century, with a powdered up-do, has also stopped, this time on her way *from* the house, leaving a red carriage behind as she gazes into the same pond. To the reader, it seems clear that the “real” person is the twentieth century woman, imagining herself in the past, but in many ways the image seems to indicate a “Through the Looking-Glass” experience not unlike the one Stravinsky reported with *Pulcinella*. Not only is the pond perfectly still, smooth as glass, but it is surrounded by a stone circle, like a frame. While the modern woman approaches the home, the eighteenth-century woman appears to be leaving it, as her horse and carriage are facing the opposite direction. This is symbolic of the different directions in which the past and future run, emphasizing the brief moment of convergence as the eighteenth-century and twentieth-century versions of this woman cross paths.

The image is further telling as we look with twenty-first-century eyes. The differences in technology, the passage of time, and the ways that we use our leisure time are striking. Consider how this image would look if one were to visit this countryside today. Would someone still live in the house with the beautifully manicured hedges? Would there still be grass there, or would it be the site of a multinational conglomerate? If a fashionable young woman were to stare at herself in that pond, what would she see? Would she be as serene as her early twentieth-century counterpart, or would the buzz of traffic and her smartwatch keep her from such an experience? While these questions are

⁵⁶ Fabien Fabiano, “The Mirage,” *Life Magazine*, September 14, 1922.

facetious, they point to the rather large gap between the experience presented in this magazine, and life as most people experience it today.

Figure 2.8: “The Mirage,” by Fabian Fabiano, cover of *Life Magazine*, Sep. 1922⁵⁷



⁵⁷ Ibid. Public Domain.

When entering the performance hall, perhaps the *Palais Garnier* in Paris, or Covent Garden in London, the physical distinctions between the spaces and places would change how a performance could sound. The kinds of seats, the location in relationship to the stage, the degree to which one's neighbors were smoking, would all affect one's experience of the evening or matinee. The acoustics of the hall, the quality of the orchestra, and the audience surrounding one would all play important roles in the type and quality of the experience. The present-day auditoriums for the *Palais Garnier* and Covent Garden shown in Figures 2.9 and 2.10 retain much of the same architecture and acoustic quality that they would have had in the 1920s, when they were the respective sites of the Parisian and London premieres of *Pulcinella*. As is apparent in both images, one's seat placement would affect what one could hear and see, and although these auditoriums are shaped similarly, the materials involved in each, and the acoustic qualities that they impart, would be different. So even if Edward J. Dent had attended *Pulcinella* a month earlier at the *Palais Garnier*, or simply sat in a different seat, he may have had a (subtly) different experience of the ballet to relate. Perhaps he would still find it impudent, enjoying the moments that wind up sounding Stravinskyan, but it is difficult to speculate what exactly the differences might be. Yet, just as an experience in a different orchestral hall or on the radio is subtly different, one that occurs generations later would be more different still.

Figure 2.9: Auditorium and stage of the *Palais Garnier*⁵⁸

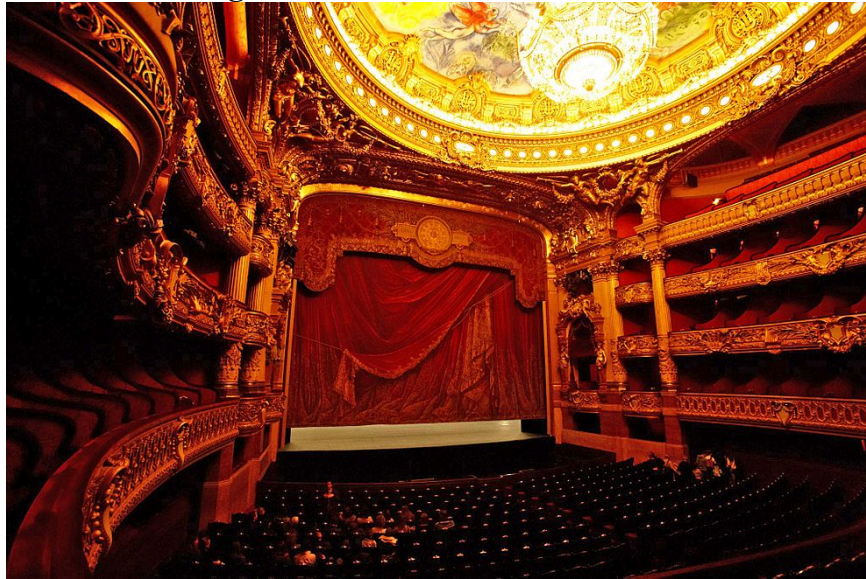


Figure 2.10: London, Royal Opera House, Covent Garden⁵⁹



The exact sights (and sites), sounds, and smells in the concert hall are difficult to reconstruct, and may impart very little difference to an analytical account of Stravinsky's neoclassicism. A much

⁵⁸ Naoya Ikeda, *Palais Garnier*, accessed May 16, 2016, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/06/Palais_Garnier_auditorium_and_stage.jpg/1920px-Palais_Garnier_auditorium_and_stage.jpg. Used under Creative Commons 3.0 Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>).

⁵⁹ *London, Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, Auditorium, View from the Balcony towards the Stage*, June 2011, accessed May 16, 2016, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ROH_auditorium_001.jpg. Public Domain.

more relevant question for analysis is what score was performed on the night in question, as well as what multimedia elements (choreography, staging, sets) accompanied the music. Interpretive differences abound as well—Stravinsky’s conducting differs markedly from Ansermet’s (as do those of any two conductors or performers), and the performances will therefore diverge.⁶⁰ Stravinsky re-arranged his own music for different ensembles and performance contexts almost as frequently as he “arranged” music by other composers. These suites often differed considerably both in instrumentation and content. *Pulcinella*, for example, is originally a ballet for orchestra and voices—a multimedia work that has a plot, choreography, and sung text to follow. This choreography, while not “lost” in the same way that the *Rite of Spring* choreography was lost, is hardly ever seen today.⁶¹ Stravinsky found it lucrative and useful to arrange it many times, and many reported experiences after 1920 may be predicated upon hearing the music without dancing or any text. The concert suite for piano and violin was published in 1926, and was performed as often as the original ballet, its revised version, the piano reduction, or the orchestral suite. Where possible, then, I have reconciled reviews with the version of the score that the reviewer likely heard—if it was performed at all. Music critics often wrote their reviews not from the performances of a work, but from a pre-circulated score. Using all available information to reconstruct what, where, and in what situation one heard a performance reveals that some experiences diverge due to these situational factors.

⁶⁰ While Stravinsky was often asked to conduct his own works, it is generally agreed that he was a rather poor conductor. His movements are usually described as mechanistic, and the poor early reception of *The Rake’s Progress* is often attributed to Stravinsky’s inability to conduct it well. See, for example, Richard Capell’s review of the premiere, where he writes, “Stravinsky conducted on the first night, unfortunately for the work.” (Richard Capell, “Stravinsky’s Opera,” *The Musical Times* 92, no. 1305 (November 1, 1951): 498–99.) Later performances under other conductors were much more successful.

⁶¹ Much of the choreography associated with Stravinsky’s ballets has had a similar fate, with the exception of the Balanchine choreography still done at the New York City Ballet. Massine’s choreography for *Pulcinella* is nearly impossible to find, and Millicent Hodson’s recovery of the *Rite of Spring* choreography remains one of the few reconstructions (Millicent Hodson, *Nijinsky’s Crime against Grace: Reconstruction Score of the Original Choreography for Le Sacre Du Printemps*, Dance and Music Series: No. 8 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1996).) Because so much of Stravinsky’s music has moved to the concert hall (and Alfred Weissmann’s review of the *Pulcinella* suite for violin and piano in 1926 indicates that it was headed this direction even then), choreography and the other multimedia aspects of these works have slowly disappeared.

Another important sonic resource is the other music listeners would have heard, both at concerts containing Stravinsky's neoclassical music and in the surrounding venues. Stravinsky's archives contain several physical programs that accompanied his performances, which are an invaluable resource here. This allows us not only to read the program notes that originally accompanied these works, granting access to the same information that a historical listener would have had, but allows us to also determine what other music would have been on these programs. Performing the *Pulcinella* ballet alongside *Les Sylphides* and *Schééhérazade* (as was done at the Paris premiere) will evoke different associations and relationships for audience members than hearing a *Pulcinella* orchestral suite alongside a Brandenburg concerto or Schubert symphony.

Further, as sound-recording technology advanced, a growing number of records containing a wide variety of works became increasingly accessible to the average listener. Among these are Wanda Landowska's (in)famous recordings of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*.⁶² Landowska's interest in historical performance practice is indicative of the larger early music revival and historical performance movement that coincided with Stravinsky's own interest in music of earlier historical eras.⁶³ Thus, audience members had the opportunity, though not always at the same concert, to hear Stravinsky and Bach in close proximity.⁶⁴ Nadia Boulanger, who opposed Landowska's *Well-Tempered Clavier* interpretations but was equally invested in historical issues and the dissemination of both early and

⁶² Landowska was a fierce proponent of using the harpsichord for performing Bach and began her touring career, performing the *Well-Tempered Clavier* on the instrument, in 1903. See Lionel Salter, "Landowska, Wanda," *Grove Music Online*, accessed May 15, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.uchicago.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/15951>; Wanda Landowska, *Wanda Landowska: The Complete Piano Recordings (1937-1958)* (London: APR, 2014).

⁶³ Salter, "Landowska, Wanda."

⁶⁴ For example, the program for a performance of *Symphony of Psalms* in 1946 included the fifth Brandenburg Concerto. See Arthur V. Berger, "Bernstein Leads Stravinsky's Work," January 22, 1946, PSS 87.1, 734, Paul Sacher Stiftung. The program for the Detroit premiere of the Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments also contained the overture to Mozart's *Le Nozze de Figaro*. See "Detroit Symphony Orchestra Program," March 3, 1925, PSS MSS 122.1, Paul Sacher Stiftung. The Milanese premiere of the Violin Concerto also contained the Bach Sonata in E Major. See "Programma, Teatro del Popolo," March 29, 1932, PSS MF 94.1, Paul Sacher Stiftung.

modern music, often taught Stravinsky's works alongside music from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.⁶⁵

Another important factor to consider when contextualizing these works is the common texts of the time. In Paris during the 1920s, newspapers, magazines, and the radio were the most prominent and expedient ways of receiving information. While the telephone and telegraph could communicate information nearly instantaneously, they were costly, so most information about events and aesthetics continued to be transmitted through the various print outlets in the city. The influence, reach, and audience of each of these papers differed, most noticeably in the gendered magazines that became quite popular beginning in the early twentieth century. This mode of communication remained primary during much of Stravinsky's neoclassical period.⁶⁶

In addition to traditional newspapers such as *Le Figaro* and *Comoedia* (which had a weekly insert entitled *Comoedia Illustrée*), there were smaller, less frequent papers devoted specifically to art and music, such as: *La Revue Musicale*, *Le Ménestrel*, *La France Musicale*, *La Chronique Musicale*, *La Revue du Monde Musicale et Dramatique*, *L'Art Musicale*, *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais*, *Le Musique à Bordeaux*, *La Gazette Musicale de Nice*, *La Gazette Artistique de Nantes*, and *Musica*.⁶⁷ Readership for these papers varied, but because reading such newspapers was one of the easiest ways to determine what to see and when to see it one can imagine that they were common texts among those who were interested

⁶⁵ Most of Boulanger's courses, especially at the Paris Conservatory, were for composers and performers only, but as Kimberly Francis has shown, Boulanger's influence affected Stravinsky's reception in important ways. See Kimberly A. Francis, *Teaching Stravinsky: Nadia Boulanger and the Consecration of a Modernist Icon*, 1st edition (Oxford University Press, 2015). Her course plans in the 1930s indicate that she taught almost exclusively early music (Monteverdi, Palestrina, Isaac, Bach) and modern music that dealt with similar contrapuntal issues (Debussy, Stravinsky, Kubik, Hindemith). See Nadia Boulanger, "Programme du Cours de chant choral & D'Analyse de Mademoiselle Nadia Boulanger 1935-1936," 1935, Res VM DOS 127-129 Bob 31970 (128(4)), *Les cours de la rue Ballu* 1934-1979), Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

⁶⁶ Stravinsky's archive of correspondence, including telegrams, shows that telegram and telephone discussions were reserved only for the most urgent of messages. Letters and press clippings make up the majority of this archive, as these were the primary way in which Stravinsky received feedback on his work. Historical listeners would have found themselves in similar circumstances. Mary Davis shows that reading magazines and newspapers were the way to stay informed in the early twentieth century. (Davis, *Classic Chic*.)

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 16.

in learning about Stravinsky's newest works. Fashion magazines such as *Vogue*, *La Gazette du Bon Ton*, and *Vanity Fair* had an even wider reach than the local newspapers, reaching multiple countries, and in the case of *Vanity Fair*, an edition on two continents.⁶⁸ Readership and intent varied widely in these texts, but those who read them relied on their authority and were often guided by the pronouncements that the music critics and journalists of these presses made.⁶⁹ Stravinsky and *Les Six*, along with Satie, were generally in the press's good graces, and were therefore usually lauded by the magazines that wrote about them.

Mary Davis notes that Diaghilev, Stravinsky, and the *Ballets Russes* were generally held in high esteem, as their costumes, sets, and stories seemed quite lavish and fashionable to the Parisian press.⁷⁰ For Davis, the connection between these pieces of high art and fashion is important in that it legitimized fashion as an art in the serious press, but for our purposes, the fact that fashion and the Russian ballets were so closely tied also means that discussion of Stravinsky's performances were commonplace in the fashion magazines that were present in many homes. Women, as the major audience for these magazines, thus had an incredibly important place in the reception of Stravinsky's neoclassical works, as did the writers that these women were reading (who, incidentally or not, were often women themselves, though men like Condé Nast still tended to hold the ultimate purse strings and make final decisions).

Costume and fashion designers became one and the same, and as Stravinsky's affair with Coco Chanel reveals, this infiltration was not one-sided: as much as the general public wanted to wear fashions designed by *Ballets Russes* designers, so did costumes begin to reflect the fashions of the era. Fashion designers as well as musicians were turning toward the classical: Paul Poiret, an

⁶⁸ Ibid., 129–33.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 21.

influential clothing designer and shrewd businessman, brought both oriental and classical influences to bear on all aspects of design with which he was involved, from architecture and design to everyday fashions to costumes, beginning as early as the 1910s.⁷¹ For Poiret, neoclassical designs were not only an attempt to reclaim an earlier, happier time, but a move toward simplicity and elegance.⁷²

Stravinsky also wrote about his own aesthetics. Though he was notorious for changing his views considerably, presumably readers were interested in his most recent essays. When “Some Ideas about My Octuor” was published in 1924, Stravinsky’s ideas about objectivity, coldness, and musicians as executants rather than interpreters became a part of the discourse about this kind of music. It is notable that this language contrasts quite sharply in some cases with language listeners used about *Pulcinella* prior to this publication.⁷³ Stravinsky’s literary influence seems to have been powerful in shaping his listeners’ experiences. Likely, they were influenced by what they read, and thus it is important to fill in this context by including discussion of newspaper, magazine, and radio reviews that may have influenced both attendance of performances and the audience’s reaction to these performances. Stravinsky’s autobiography was widely read after its publication in 1936 and in its subsequent translations and editions. Similarly, his Charles Eliot Norton Lectures at Harvard in 1939–1940 were quickly published, translated, and went through several editions.⁷⁴ It is no surprise, then, that Stravinsky’s admirers assimilated language and ideas that they read in his books—but more surprising is Stravinsky’s reciprocal tendency to appropriate what he read in reviews by his admirers.

⁷¹ Ibid., 23.

⁷² Ibid., 31.

⁷³ As illustrated in Table 1, language relating to “coldness” and “death” does not seem to occur in listener responses to *Pulcinella* until after Stravinsky published this manifesto, but Stravinsky, in turn, seems to have borrowed this language from Boris de Schloezer. I discuss this possibility further in Chapter Five.

⁷⁴ Igor Stravinsky, *Poetics of Music in the Form of Six Lessons*, Charles Eliot Norton Lectures (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970). It is important to note here that Stravinsky certainly had help writing these lectures, and had a significant amount of help from Peter Souvtchinsky and Alexis Roland-Manuel. See White, *Stravinsky*, 1985, 113.

One important example is the review of *Pulcinella*'s premiere by Reynaldo Hahn, who discussed the work as a sincere expression of love for Pergolesi long before Stravinsky did the same in *Expositions and Developments*.⁷⁵

The public was also immersed in neoclassical arts and culture. Fashion designers and editors of fashion magazines presented such art in their work constantly. *Le Gazette de Bon Ton*, a popular Parisian fashion magazine in the pre-war years, was quite taken with Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* and often printed fashion plates that resembled the Eastern costumes and dresses, a trend that continued after the war (with an attendant change in artistic style). For Mary Davis, this means that avant-garde art and fashion are not, at this time, separable. Picasso's designs are as likely to be found on someone's clothing as they are in the theatre or on the walls of a museum. She notes that wordplay in writing and cubism share similar aesthetic bases and that we may therefore read cubist art as a kind of pun or intellectual joke.⁷⁶ There is also an element of exoticism associated with both these Eastern designs and the later fascination with the past.⁷⁷

As one might expect, the primary audience for these fashion magazines were upper-class women, who, while no longer expected to stay home and sew, were still expected to dress and seem of a certain rank, whatever that may have been. Because these magazines became so involved, during and after the Great War, in the espousing of aesthetic ideals and taking a stand, it was primarily women who marshaled the forces that supported Stravinsky and other neoclassical artists. One woman who provided Stravinsky with a great deal of support, of course, is Nadia Boulanger. Recent work by Kimberly Francis has brought to light the extreme degree to which Boulanger constructed Stravinsky's public identity and performance contracts. A large portion of Stravinsky's commissions

⁷⁵ Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring: Russia and France, 1882–1934*, 313.

⁷⁶ Davis, *Classic Chic*, 54.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 58.

and performances between 1925 and 1945 were facilitated by Mme. Boulanger.⁷⁸ As a public figure in her own right, Boulanger's understanding of Stravinsky and her teachings thereof in her composition classes lent a great deal to texts and ideas surrounding Stravinsky's reception.

Of course, Stravinsky was equally involved in constructing his public persona, even if he did not write many of his books alone. Ghostwriters and interlocutors such as Roland-Manuel, Louis Laloy, and later, his amanuensis, Robert Craft were complicit in these constructions of the composer's identity. The Eliot Norton Lectures, *Poetics of Music* discussed above, were written in large part with help from Roland-Manuel. Robert Craft and others have since published their recollections of more intimate details regarding the composer, but at the time with which we are concerned (primarily the interwar years), such information was only available to those within Stravinsky's close-knit inner circle.

As described above, individual circumstances vary vastly, but common threads do emerge that may indeed be influenced by the above-mentioned traits of the time. As Table 1 (on page 67) illustrates, language surrounding *Pulcinella* reveals that, at first, many seem struck by *Pulcinella*'s humor and Stravinsky's attempts to revitalize his source material. In the later 1920s, closer to when the *Renouveau Catholique* had hold of France, references to humor seem to dissipate, and there seems to be a turn toward using terms that invoke resurrection imagery, although at least one review from the mid-1930s finds Stravinsky's attempt to be less-than-successful. With such a small sample size, it would be irresponsible to attempt over-arching historical claims about linguistic or paradigmatic change, but, as argued by Clausius, a clash between past and future seems secondary to discussions of Stravinsky's humor and his attempts to give new life to old music. As we will see in the chapters to follow, Stravinsky's neoclassicism often receives similar labels, but just as these writers are

⁷⁸ Francis, *Teaching Stravinsky*.

informed by their external contexts, they are also attentive to the music's specific features. A more dissonant, esoteric work like the Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments, for example, might still be labelled "impudent" or "covered in tartar sauce," but less often receives the label "humor." Still, these labels are best read with an eye toward their contextual grounding.

2.5 TAKING LISTENERS AT THEIR WORD: MEMORY AND HISTORY

Once finding a listener's response to a musical phenomenon, how can one responsibly extrapolate from the page toward a more fully contextualized experience? Some writers have an agenda, and not all writers remember the occasion exactly as it occurred. Many would argue that *no* person can perfectly recall an event. Even if the author were to write down his or her memories immediately upon returning from a performance, how was the perspective skewed by personal circumstance, or by the ineffability of certain aspects of an experience? To what degree were they able to leave us a complete picture? To what degree is the experience informed and influenced by outside factors?

While these questions complicate the matter significantly and may seem defeating, on one level, I would like to propose that they do not matter. When we read something published by another, we might take it at its word. After all, this is the point of music journalism and reviews—to make it clear whether a performance is worth attending, or to provide a window into an experience that others may not be able to have at the present moment, if ever. When these questions do matter, however, is when trying to flesh out a writer's context. This is where Fulcher's warnings for cultural historians become particularly important—one could easily fall into the trap of asserting causal relations where there are none, or, perhaps more egregiously, taking a single person's word as an exemplar of larger historical trends. In the chapters that follow, then, the attempt is to suggest,

emphasizing the speculative nature of such a suggestion, factors that may broaden the context of related experiences. While we may never (and truly can never) fully step into another person's experience and find it exactly as they did, the action of delving into the past, trying to paint that picture, and recapture some degree of the experience broadens the view of Stravinsky's neoclassicism and allows for a reframing of analysis in terms of the linguistic trends that emerge here within their cultural-historical contexts. Still, the linguistic trends we seek are traces of memory that occasionally mesh poorly with other sources of historical data.

Historians' relationships to personal recollections is tense: on the one hand, memories often provide tangible connections to historical occurrences, but on the other, memories are notoriously fraught. They cannot be fully trusted: facts may be misremembered or shaped by the emotional content of the experience. But memorial documents are vivid, visceral, and exciting. They provide a tether for readers, a possibility for empathy, and are therefore tempting to overuse. As Allan Megill notes, it is quite possible to become so caught up in memorial documentation that one abandons history's more critical approach to these sources.⁷⁹ There is a tendency to valorize memories, to see them as unbiased, and to use them to pose historical arguments that would be better served by testing these memories using other, non-human historical traces that are less easily affected by emotion, bias, and the passage of time. Megill's advice is that a historian ought to weigh historical sources cautiously and critically (individual, experiential memories) against historical traces (e.g. physical evidence, payment records, ships' manifests) in order to use memory properly as historical documentation. Although the goal here is not to create a history, Megill's warnings on history and responsible usage of memory remain useful. When approaching these memorial documents, it is important to place them in their larger historical context. In fact, it is that process of

⁷⁹ Allan Megill, *Historical Knowledge, Historical Error: A Contemporary Guide to Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 18–26.

contextualization that will allow extrapolation from individual, phenomenological analyses of the work to a more systematic, theoretical approach.

Megill's discussion of historical methodology is helpful as well in this regard: he describes four kinds of historical approaches to objectivity wherein subjective experience is acceptable. For Megill, no subjective narrative can stand on its own—it must always be tethered to analysis and argumentation. In fact, Megill's four kinds of historical writing—description, explanation, argumentation, and interpretation—have their analogues in music-analytical writing.⁸⁰ Music analysts commonly engage in several of these kinds of writing: describing music or a musical experience allows one to argue for a particular explanation or interpretation of the work.⁸¹ Music analysts often have a theoretical construct that they use to describe the work in particular ways, allowing the interpretation and argument to reinforce, extend, or break down a theory's usability for a composer or genre.

Megill's distinction between memory and history is also quite similar to the distinctions between analyses based on more subjective experiences (usually referred to as music phenomenology), and analyses based on stricter theoretical constructs. In the Chapters Four and Five, I apply these historical methodologies to the experiences that listeners recount, in order to move responsibly from analyses based on disparate musical phenomena, to an analytical tool that may comfortably apply to a wide range of experiences and reactions to Stravinsky's neoclassicism. In Chapter Three I delve further into these issues of interpretation—how best to use these texts that depict memories as fact. Both close-reading and more objective forms of distant reading provide

⁸⁰ Ibid., 97.

⁸¹ Megill's understanding of explanation is causal: something happens as the result of something prior. In music analysis, such discussions are rarer (though teleological discussion does occur at times)—consequently, this form of historical writing will be least useful. Joseph Dubiel suggests that description and explanation need not be separated in analysis (or, more specifically, that description need not be devalued in analysis) in Joseph Dubiel, "Analysis, Description, and What Really Happens," *Music Theory Online* 6, no. 3 (August 1, 2000), <http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.00.6.3/mto.00.6.3.dubiel.html>.

interesting possibilities and problems for the analysis at hand. Each requires a constant eye to contextualization of sources, but allows these memories to maintain a sense of vitality, while anchoring them in their context.

3 QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE APPROACHES TO TEXT ANALYSIS

Though not “everything” has been digitized, we have reached a tipping point, an event horizon where enough text and literature have been encoded to both allow and, indeed force us to ask an entirely new set of questions about literature and the literary record.

—Matthew Jockers, *Macroanalysis* (2013)¹

3.1 TEXTS AS TRACES OF EXPERIENCE

Although past experiences can never be fully reawakened for a present-day listener, we can use historical documents and evidence as clues toward (partial) reconstruction and engagement with such experiences. The texts that listeners leave behind, the written traces of their experiences, are the primary evidence available for interpreting personal responses to Stravinsky’s neoclassicism.

Analyzing these program notes, reviews, and letters begins to open a window into these experiences, even if the view from this window is necessarily mediated (or even obstructed) by language. This chapter explores two possibilities for analyzing these texts, one quantitative and one qualitative. Each approach has its values and its drawbacks, but when used together, alongside the contextual information provided in Chapter Two, these texts provide a more nuanced understanding of historically contingent listening experiences. Recovering these experiences provides a pathway, in the second half of this dissertation, for the exploration of music-analytical technologies that can reflect and further enhance these “revived” modes of listening to Stravinsky’s neoclassicism.

Consider the following description of Stravinsky’s 1928 ballets, *Apollon Musagète* and *La Baiser de la Fée* (“The Fairy’s Kiss”):

The first thing that strikes one when listening to and examining these compositions is the **simplification** all along the line. It seems as if the old **magician** who let loose on the poor musical world all the spirits of cacophony has now skilfully got them

¹ Matthew Jockers, *Macroanalysis* (University of Illinois Press, 2013), 4.

back into the magic bottles, and is delighted to find that his followers have not yet managed to do likewise; with them as a background the old innovator stands out as an extraordinary and **unexpected** euphonist.²

On its own, this is a powerful description: Stravinsky's music is simpler in the late 1920s, it seems somehow magical, and subversively innovative in its relative consonance. Each descriptive term provides a clue toward (speculatively) reconstructing these writers' experiences—trying to hear the relative simplicity, innovation, and magic in these works. But, perhaps we wish to contextualize this experience further: how does this singular description fit within all writing about Stravinsky's neoclassicism in the late 1920s? Do descriptions of simplicity, innovation, or magic often appear? Do they most often appear in descriptions of these two ballets? Quantitative analysis can help with this question. Figure 3.1 contains a word cloud that analyzes the texts of 28 documents written between 1925 and 1929 that discuss Stravinsky's neoclassicism.³ I have collected these documents from newspapers, reviews, program notes, and archival documents (primarily, letters and notes held in the Stravinsky archive at the Paul Sacher Stiftung and the music archives at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France). The word cloud shows, unsurprisingly, that the most common words (other than commonly used English articles and pronouns) are the composer's name, titles of works, and the names of composers that listeners hear Stravinsky reference. The circled words, "kind," "little," "melodic," "good," and "style," do not correlate especially well with the review explored above. Perhaps, as was suggested in the review, these features are specific to these works. The word cloud in Figure 3.2 thus analyzes seventeen documents from 1927 to 1947 that deal only with *Apollon Musagètes*, *La Baiser de la Fée*, or both. The circled words offer a slightly different perspective on these works: not only "good," but "great," "new" as well as "old," and "beauty." "Simplicity," however,

² Leonid Sabaneev and S. W. Pring, "Dawn or Dusk? Stravinsky's New Ballets: 'Apollo' and 'The Fairy's Kiss,'" *The Musical Times* 70, no. 1035 (May 1, 1929): 404. Emphasis added.

³ Because of the size and scope of this corpus, it is not feasible to create a physical appendix of all sources used in these quantitative data. This data is available upon request as raw text files.

still does not appear as a frequent word in the corpus. Thus Sabaneev and Pring’s review seems to be an outlier. This does not make it any less valuable, but does suggest that both quantitative and qualitative techniques ought to temper one another, as close-reading provides a more visceral window into a particular experience but the quantitative approach allows one to see how trends occur across a wider swath of listeners and experiences. The following sections will explore each technique on its own, discussing possible methods and refinements, before returning to a dual approach.

Figure 3.1: Word cloud, late-1920s responses to Stravinsky’s neoclassicism⁴



⁴ English stopwords only. I define stopwords in Section 3.2.3.

Figure 3.2: Word cloud, *Apollon Musagètes* and *Le Baiser de la Fée*⁵



3.2 QUANTITATIVE METHODS: DIGITAL HUMANITIES

One of the main reasons it is difficult to understand how Stravinsky’s music was experienced and received (this is not unique to this composer or this time, of course) is that every experience is contingent and distinct. Finding traces of these experiences is difficult, and bringing these experiences together, synthesizing them into a cohesive picture of musical reception, is fraught with methodological challenges.⁶ Matthew Jockers, author of *Macroanalysis* and the epigraph that begins this chapter, would suggest that the path toward reconstructing these experiences lies in the burgeoning field of digital humanities.⁷

⁵ English stopwords only.

⁶ Leon Botstein’s aptly named “The Perils of a Method in Reception History” comes to mind here. See Leon Botstein, “Music in History: The Perils of Method in Reception History,” *The Musical Quarterly* 89, no. 1 (2006): 1–16.

⁷ Jockers, *Macroanalysis*, 4.

The digital humanities are difficult to define because they encompass a vast range of technologies, questions, and methods. The field deals in general with computational approaches to humanistic questions.⁸ Because the crossover between computation and humanities research requires bringing quantitative methods into fields that primarily deal with qualitative data, people who work in the digital humanities must be careful with the ways in which they generate and interpret their data and results. There are not one-to-one correspondences between the kinds of things that one can quantitatively observe and effects in the world, tempting as it may be to make such claims. Yet, Jockers and his fellow digital humanists suggest that, given the wealth of information that now lies at any researcher's fingertips (via the internet or other digital archives), humanists have an obligation to consult and synthesize as many sources as possible, rather than privileging a selected subset of (usually well-known and canonic) texts through close reading. Because close reading is not a viable option when the number of available sources to read exceeds the remaining hours in a researcher's lifetime, macroanalysts turn to the computer for analysis. For these analysts, it is no longer ethical (as indicated in this chapter's epigraph) to ignore the wealth of information that the internet offers.

Digital approaches, for these researchers, seem to be the only acceptable option. While this zeal may be a bit much, especially for this project, I do agree that there are several positive features of a digital approach that are useful for the study at hand. There are hundreds, if not thousands of documents relaying experiences of Stravinsky's neoclassicism. Sifting through these and choosing a small handful to analyze in depth seems arbitrary and problematic. Close reading simply will not be enough. This, finally, leads to one of most important features of digital literary studies that I will

⁸ The field has changed as it has grown, and has been called many different names, including "humanities computing" and "macroanalysis." Each incarnation remains consistent with the general tenet of "digital humanities": researching humanistic questions using digital methods. For more discussion of the history of the term "Digital Humanities" and its history, see Kathleen Fitzpatrick, "The Humanities, Done Digitally" in Matthew K. Gold, *Debates in the Digital Humanities* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 12-15. See also Susan Hockey, "The History of Humanities Computing" in Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens, and John Unsworth, *Companion to Digital Humanities*, Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Professional, 2004), 3-20.

borrow in this chapter: the concept of “distant reading.” The term, originally coined by Franco Moretti, refers to using computational approaches to understand textual corpora as an important counterpart (and in Moretti’s mind, a superior choice) to traditional close reading.⁹ By taking the distant view, Moretti suggests, patterns and relationships between elements become more apparent.¹⁰

Thus, “distant reading” allows for a fairly unbiased, birds-eye view of the corpus, from which both differences and similarities among diverse audience members can be more easily seen. The types of tools one employs will alter, obscure, or enhance features of a corpus, but using a computer allows a researcher to compare many more sources than he or she could do by hand, and these digital approaches may reveal connections between sources that may be difficult to see on the micro-level. On the other hand, several technological hurdles stand in the way of an ideal distant reading and the possibilities today. Even if we could resolve these technological challenges, interpretive challenges remain. What can such data teach us? Can a form of Moretti’s “distant reading” really begin to illuminate historically contingent subjective experiences? The following sections take up such issues.

3.2.1 Digital Humanities, Musicology, and Digital Reception History

Musicologists and music theorists have engaged in digital pursuits for many years. In 2004, *A Companion to Digital Humanities* was published to show that humanities computing had already become an important and growing component of humanistic research.¹¹ The section on music, though, was understandably thin, since in 2004 technologies such as MP3, MIDI, and score

⁹ Franco Moretti and Alberto Piazza, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for Literary History* (London; New York: Verso, 2007); Franco Moretti, “Style, Inc. Reflections on Seven Thousand Titles (British Novels, 1740–1850),” *Critical Inquiry* 36, no. 1 (2009): 134–58; Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading*, 1st edition (London; New York: Verso, 2013).

¹⁰ Moretti and Piazza, *Graphs, Maps, Trees*, 2.

¹¹ Schreibman, Siemens, and Unsworth, *Companion to Digital Humanities*.

digitization were developing at a rapid pace.¹² Yet, the chapter makes several important points. It discusses, as do all the disciplinary chapters, the importance of digital work for preservation: digitizing texts and scores is a priority, one that can sometimes be undervalued by researchers outside of the digital humanities.¹³ Without digital tools or the preservation of physical resources, analysts and critics may lose access to key documents and objects of research.¹⁴ Additionally, the act of creating a digital repository can sometimes lead to new insight and knowledge. Simply making information available in a different sphere provides new points of contact between sources.

Music theorists since 2004 have certainly continued to use technology in research, although these digital approaches have largely focused on musical scores and automating music analysis. Humdrum, a powerful tool for musical corpus studies, has been in use for almost a decade, and many music theorists dedicate their time to computational analysis of musical features and moments using either the Humdrum Toolkit developed by David Huron, or the related music21, the latter developed by Michael Scott Cuthbert.¹⁵ Often, these interests coincide with psychological interests in

¹² Ichiro Fujinaga and Susan Forscher Weiss, "Music" in Schriebman, Siemens, and Unsworth, *Companion to Digital Humanities*.

¹³ "Exemplary tasks traditionally associated with humanities computing hold the digital representation of archival materials on a par with analysis or critical inquiry." (Schriebman, Siemens, and Unsworth, "The Digital Humanities and Humanities Computing: An Introduction," in *Ibid.*, par. 5.)

¹⁴ This is a common trope in digital humanities work, though archivists may disagree. While digitization remains an important part of archival work, many archives hold on to their paper copies because digital formats may not continue to be available (e.g. floppy disks and video/audio cassettes), and new technology may not be backwards-compatible with older materials. Storage space, both physical and digital, remains an issue for archivists. See the concern expressed by a United States National Archives librarian over whether archivists ought to be saving seemingly banal emails at Meg Phillips, "Close Reading, Distant Reading: Should Archival Appraisal Adjust?," *The Signal: Digital Preservation*, (October 14, 2014), accessed July 15, 2016, <http://blogs.loc.gov/digitalpreservation/2014/10/close-reading-distant-reading-should-archival-appraisal-adjust/>.

¹⁵ See documentation for *HumDrum* and *music21* at "The Humdrum Toolkit: Software for Music Research," accessed July 15, 2016, <http://www.musiccog.ohio-state.edu/Humdrum/index.html>; Michael Scott Cuthbert, "music21: A Toolkit for Computer-Aided Musicology," accessed July 15, 2016, <http://web.mit.edu/music21/>. Dmitri Tymoczko reviews *music21* and deems it an important contribution to the future of the field in Dmitri Tymoczko, "Review of Michael Cuthbert, Music21: A Toolkit for Computer-Aided Musicology," *Music Theory Online* 19, no. 3 (August 1, 2013), <http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.13.19.3/mto.13.19.3.tymoczko.php>.

how music is perceived (and thus, experienced), but this interest does not often extend to studying textual documentation of historical experiences.¹⁶

Historians of music theory have also used digital methods to enhance research. The Center for the History of Music Theory and Literature at Indiana University was developed specifically to digitize and make accessible basic materials for research in the history of music theory, and these materials are exactly what digital humanists need to begin their work. Corpus studies and the *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinum* (hereafter, *TML*) are excellent examples of ways in which researchers have used computational methods to answer musicological and music-theoretical questions.¹⁷ The *TML* details the changing use of specific Latin terms in historical music theory treatises, allowing researchers to easily trace what a particular term means in a given treatise and make informed historical claims about how a term changes in use over time.¹⁸ The creation and use of the *TML* is a close analogue to what I wish to do here with Stravinsky's reception: use digital techniques to question how language has changed surrounding Stravinsky's neoclassical works.¹⁹

Musicologists have also begun to explore digital possibilities for historical research. The Spring 2016 issue of the *Journal for the American Musicological Society* includes a section entitled "Digital and Multimedia Scholarship," which reviews several new digital humanities projects in musicology.

¹⁶ David Huron's work certainly falls into this category, using these tools to study a large corpus and determine the parameters for musical expectation, which, of course, is exactly why he created *Humdrum*. See also the corpus research in Huron, *Sweet Anticipation: Music and the Psychology of Expectation*.

¹⁷ Corpus studies have increased in popularity in recent years. See, for example, Robert O. Gjerdingen, "'Historically Informed' Corpus Studies," *Music Perception* 31, no. 3 (2014): 192–204. The entire server on which *CHTML* is hosted has been under cyber-attack recently but *TML* is currently located at "Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum," accessed February 17, 2016, <http://boethius.music.indiana.edu/tml/>.

¹⁸ See the following reviews of *TML* and similar databases, Ruth Steiner, "Lexicon Musicum Latinum Medii aevi/Wörterbuch Der Lateinischen Musikterminologie Des Mittelalters Bis Zum Ausgang Des 15. Jahrhunderts/Dictionary of Medieval Latin Musical Terminology to the End of the 15th Century, 1: Quellenverzeichnis/Inventory of Sources. Michael Bernhard Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum: A Comprehensive Database of Latin Music Theory of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance," *Speculum* 68, no. 3 (July 1, 1993): 721–22; Bradford Lee Eden, "Digital Media Reviews: Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum," *Notes - Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 63, no. 1 (September 2006): 158–59. Many projects have made use of these databases in a variety of ways, including Stefano Mengozzi's explorations into hexachordal systems (Stefano Mengozzi, "The Heptachordal Basis of Hexachordal Theory: On the Semiotics of Musical Notation in the Middle Ages," *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 22, no. 2 (October 2013): 169–94.)

¹⁹ The creation and maintenance of an online database such as *TML*'s is far beyond the scope of the dissertation project, but remains an eventual goal of the research begun here.

These projects include both those devoted to digitizing analog historical documents and making them searchable, and those devoted to using these now-digitized texts to make historical claims about how a work was composed or to expand its historical context.²⁰ While most of the work reviewed in this issue focuses on digitization, open access, and producing online critical editions, the whole is indicative of digital humanities' increasing influence in the field.

The blog for the *American Musicological Society* recently featured a digital humanities project that played an important role in Danielle Fosler-Lussier's book, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy*.²¹ Here, the focus is on accessibility and basic visualization: Fosler-Lussier felt that it was "important to help many other scholars discover portions of the data that relate to their own interests and expertise."²² While Fosler-Lussier's project has no direct connection to the one undertaken in this dissertation, the approach to visualization is useful. In Fosler-Lussier's project, it is helpful to provide something other than a mass of texts to help summarize and make apparent the trends in the data. Similarly, visualization in this dissertation provides a synthetic view of disparate reactions to Stravinsky's neoclassicism, allowing the reader to assess trends more quickly and concisely based on the parameters set by the visualization. Indeed, this is an area in which distant reading excels.

The summer 2015 meeting of the Digital Humanities at Oxford Summer School included a session on "Digital Musicology," in which panels focused on issues of "big data" and large-scale analysis for historical musicologists.²³ According to a student report following the workshop, the

²⁰ Judy Tsou, "Review: Sheet Music Consortium," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 69, no. 1 (April 1, 2016): 255–63; Jason Hooper, "Review: Schenker Documents Online," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 69, no. 1 (April 1, 2016): 264–73; Tim Crawford and Richard Lewis, "Review: Music Encoding Initiative," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 69, no. 1 (April 1, 2016): 273–85.

²¹ Danielle Fosler-Lussier and Eric Fosler-Lussier, "Rethinking Historical Data: A Foray into Digital Humanities," accessed February 23, 2016, <http://musicologynow.ams-net.org/2015/06/rethinking-historical-data-foray-into.html>; Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2015).

²² Fosler-Lussier, "Rethinking Historical Data," par. 4.

²³ "Digital Musicology Workshop: Digital Humanities at Oxford Summer School | Royal Musical Association – Student Blog," accessed February 23, 2016, <http://www.rma.ac.uk/students/?p=2624>.

concept of “distant reading” discussed here was also an important feature of that workshop—one can expect these features to appear in musicological work in future years.²⁴ One project at the workshop, Carolin Rindfleisch’s study of Wagner’s leitmotifs, used digital techniques to approach the mass of introductory-level material describing leitmotifs.²⁵ Rindfleisch’s interest is, again, providing future researchers with access to the materials that she has collected and determining which leitmotifs are most often discussed and treated in these texts. This work is significant and time-consuming, and not to be undervalued. But moving beyond these initial steps, using this database to understand the linguistic trends associated with these leitmotifs seems a logical continuation—all the data is present to begin such a study. The musicological projects detailed above share both an interest in digital humanities and linguistic analysis, and indeed we have seen that analyzing linguistic trends is a common goal for *TML* users. This is not new. What is new, however, is using digital methods to approach music reception histories.²⁶

I thus turn toward literary studies, especially Moretti’s concept of distant reading. Thomas Rommel’s literary studies section of the *Blackwell Companion to Digital Humanities* describes several trends of interest for this project: pattern matching in texts, moving beyond simply “counting words” (which, in itself, is still helpful). He also notes that, on its own, text analysis is not enough, that

a literary text, interpreted as an aesthetic construct that achieves a certain effect through the distribution of words and images, works on various levels. Without highly elaborate thematic—and therefore by definition interpretative—markup, only surface features of texts can be analyzed.²⁷

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Laurence Dreyfus and Carolin Rindfleisch, “Using Digital Libraries in the Research of the Reception and Interpretation of Richard Wagner’s Leitmotifs,” in *Proceedings of the 1st International Workshop on Digital Libraries for Musicology*, DLFM ’14 (New York, NY, USA: ACM, 2014), 1–3.

²⁶ Laurent Pugin, “The Challenge of Data in Digital Musicology,” *Digital Musicology*, 2015, 4.

²⁷ Thomas Rommel, “Literary Studies” in Schreibman, Siemens, and Unsworth, *Companion to Digital Humanities*, par. 9.

Clearly, computers alone are not the key to new, probing insights about texts on the macro-scale. But, this markup can be difficult. By reintroducing the human element into computational humanities, one runs the risk of once again skewing the results to fit the argument. When adding these interpretive features, then, it is important to remain both as objective as possible, as well as being as transparent as possible about when and how these moments occur. It is easy to hide behind the mask of computational objectivity and suggest that these interpretive leaps were not influenced by subjective judgments, but even the slightest intervention on the text has a subjective element.²⁸ Although Rommell ends his section by critiquing the in-roads that computation had made in literary studies in 2004 as limited to the surface features he denigrates earlier, these studies (generally of literary style) and methodologies do reveal commonalities and differences among a large number of diverse texts, something that still rarely finds its way into musicological research. The following section explores the values and drawbacks associated with distant readings of a textual phenomenon, in this case the reception of Stravinsky's neoclassicism.

3.2.2 Values, Drawbacks

The primary value of this form of distant reading lies in the expanded analytical ability it affords the researcher, who can use these tools to analyze a larger quantity of sources and thus avoid the value-laden decision of which to privilege through close reading.²⁹ In addition to the obvious advantage that these additional sources afford, the digital approach avoids re-inscribing canons (e.g., focusing only on Longfellow) and acts as an equalizing force.³⁰ But on its own, this would impart

²⁸ Russell writes, "Words as discrete strings of characters, sentences, lines, and paragraphs serve as 'natural' but by no means value-free textual segments. Any other instance of disambiguation in the form of thematic markup is a direct result of a critic's reading of a text, which by definition influences the course of the analysis." Rommel, "Literary Studies," par. 14.

²⁹ This is the argument that pervades and motivates Jockers's *Macroanalysis* and Franco Moretti's projects in *Distant Reading*.

³⁰ See Matthew Wilkens, "Canons, Close Reading, and the Evolution of Method," in *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, 2012, accessed July 14, 2016, <http://dhdebates.gc.cuny.edu/debates/text/17>. The degree to which distant

little additional value to this study. Where distant reading truly shines, then, is in the *way* focusing on quantitative methods enhances the information available. All the previously canonic sources remain a part of the dataset, but their influence is mediated and contextualized by the inclusion of all available members of the corpus. Furthermore, “text-mining methods allow us to direct our scarce attention to those in which we already have reason to believe we will find relevant information.”³¹

Macronalysis thus helps the researcher determine the texts on which to perform a close reading, making these choices not based on the texts’ presence in the canon, but instead based on which texts stand out in the corpus either as representative of, or antithetical to an overall trend.

Another benefit of macroanalysis is visualization. While close reading transforms one text into another, distant reading involves transforming a series of texts into a visual representation of some feature of the corpus. By offloading the process of reading to the computer, the researcher now interacts with the data at the level of selecting what features will take part in a visualization, shaping not the material itself but how it is presented, as is discussed further below. The researcher and her readers can use these visualizations not only as a springboard back into close reading of texts, but also as a way of learning in another medium about an information set too vast to be understood in its original form. Additionally, computational analysis also reveals different features of a corpus than a similarly powered person would. While people tend to recognize literary genres through the use of stereotypical figures and features (e.g., recognizing a text as gothic by the presence of supernatural events and castles), computers may recognize the same genre based on a much more fine-grained and inhuman feature (e.g., recognizing a text as gothic by the semantic

reading is truly a democratic force is up for debate, and some wonder whether “distant reading may actually blunt our critical faculties, inviting us to inadvertently adopt biased views of literature under the mask of objectivity.” Maurizio Ascari, “The Dangers of Distant Reading: Reassessing Moretti’s Approach to Literary Genres,” *Genre* 47, no. 1 (March 20, 2014): 3.

³¹ Wilkens, “Canons, Close Reading, and the Evolution of Method,” par. 15.

construction of its title).³² Using computers to assess texts thus provides surprising and different possibilities for researchers to explore.³³ These benefits are not limited to larger corpora. As shown below, through visualizing even a small number of texts, transforming them through this shift in medium, relationships become clear that might not otherwise be apparent in a close reading of the same group of texts.

Of course, there are also many possible issues with a digital approach. Before the computer can interpret any texts, the researcher must prepare an appropriate corpus, one that ideally avoids limiting itself to the canonic texts that are usually associated with the research question. This is not always easy, and several roadblocks remain when approaching Stravinsky's neoclassical reception through this digital lens. Even when the listener has left textual traces of his or her experience, the digital resources are not yet available to quickly and succinctly search all known documents written by people listening to Stravinsky. Many documents are hidden behind subscription-only paywalls, if digitized at all, and there is no central database that contains all the newspapers, articles, programs, program notes, and private correspondence related to a given work or composer. Indeed, such a database would be difficult to build, as it would require cooperation between and copyright permissions from far too many entities.³⁴ Such a database would also be of little use unless all the

³² See Moretti, "Style, Inc. Reflections on Seven Thousand Titles (British Novels, 1740–1850)." Another instance where distant reading is incredibly helpful is when people today have lost the ability to distinguish between genres that would have been eminently apparent to earlier generations, such as the fine-grained distinctions between types of articles in Victorian periodicals. Assigning this task to computers proves much more helpful. See Dallas Liddle, "Genre: 'Distant Reading' and the Goals of Periodicals Research," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 48, no. 3 (2015): 383–402.

³³ Moretti's exploration in "Style, Inc." reflects the massive amount of information one can gather from seemingly insignificant details, such as whether the title of a book references "the girl" or "a girl" indicating two very different approaches to a person: the first someone we already know, while the second must be introduced to us and further defined. Similarly, shorter book titles later in the eighteenth century correlates with success while the opposite is true earlier—Moretti suggests that this correlation can be explained by the rise of book reviews and libraries needing to shorten titles when putting them on their shelves.

³⁴ This difficulty is commonly discussed in digital humanities texts as one of the main hurdles facing wider adoption of these methods. The costs remain astronomical, and this is why many digital humanities projects in 2016 remain focused on digitizing sources and creating open-access repositories. See William G. Thomas, "The Promise of the Digital Humanities and the Contested Nature of Digital Scholarship," in *A New Companion to Digital Humanities*, ed. Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens, and John Unsworth (Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2015), 524–37; Andrew Prescott, "Beyond the Digital Humanities Center," in *A New Companion to Digital Humanities*, ed. Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens, and John Unsworth (Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2015), 459–75. A further issue faces digitized analysis of

documents held within it were not only scanned but also passed through text-recognition software (OCR—optical character recognition) so that it can be easily searched.³⁵ Certainly databases like Hathitrust, Gallica, and Proquest Historical Newspapers are among the databases that bring a digital humanities approach within reach. But still, export and OCR services leave something to be desired, and many of the archival materials that would be useful in this type of inquiry remain undigitized. For Stravinsky, these sources remain in Basel, at the Paul Sacher Stiftung, where they are on microfilm but are not otherwise digitized, searchable, or widely available.³⁶

Next to this impossibility stands the more reasonable task: archival and digital collection of any seemingly related writings into a researcher's own database. Still, there are technological issues to solve regarding digitization and collection, and as may be obvious, no collection of this sort can hope to be complete. The next section explores some of the methodological issues associated with creating a corpus and analyzing it.

3.2.3 Methodology

A basic issue when assigning text analysis to computers is spelling. A computer, without the proper guidance, is unable to connect Stravinsky with Strawinsky and Strawinski and Stravinski.

twentieth-century sources. Because the time has not elapsed for all of this material to become public domain, it is much more difficult to digitize and upload a large corpus. There has also been less time for private, archival material to become public, either reproduced online or in books.

³⁵ Even the OCR process itself is quite difficult. Digital humanists wrestle constantly with the issue of whether or not OCR errors matter at the macro-scale (and at what scale these errors become statistically significant), and reports of terrible OCR errors are commonplace in digital humanities blogs and publications. See, for example, Rose Holley, "How Good Can It Get?: Analysing and Improving OCR Accuracy in Large Scale Historic Newspaper Digitisation Programs," *D-Lib Magazine* 15, no. 3/4 (March 2009); Simon Tanner, Trevor Muñoz, and Pich Hemy Ros, "Measuring Mass Text Digitization Quality and Usefulness: Lessons Learned from Assessing the OCR Accuracy of the British Library's 19th Century Online Newspaper Archive," *D-Lib Magazine* 15, no. 7/8 (July 2009).

³⁶ The Paul Sacher Stiftung has been an invaluable resource, but their copyright restrictions do make digitization and open access an impossibility. They also inherited a mis-catalogued list of microfilms from the New York Public Library, which had previously been listed as duplicates to the Sacher's own microfilms, something that remained undiscovered until my visit there in 2014. There are thus many uncatalogued resources that may have been helpful to this project, but remain out of reach. Such issues are possible and problematic in any archival project, but are particularly difficult in a digital attempt, where comprehensiveness is especially important.

Similarly, British or American English spellings, writers' mistakes and misspellings, and, more largely, the issue of translation come into play. Should the analyst translate everything into the same language and spelling, and if so, which does she choose? In terms of spelling normalization, this is hardly uncommon—even when working on an analog project, many authors choose a single Russian transliteration and either British or American spellings, and translate everything accordingly, fixing writers' spelling mistakes along the way. Another technique, made possible by coding syntax, is to teach the computer to lump all these spellings together, as in the set *Stravinsky*= {*Stravinsky*, *Stravinski*, *Strawinski*, *Strawinsky*}. This technique requires more time, different tools, and does not necessarily impart extra information to the reader, so I have chosen to forgo this method in favor of normalization. I have chosen American English and the traditionally accepted American spellings of “Stravinsky,” “Tchaikovsky,” and so on for Russian transliterations. Stravinsky often corrected correspondents who used alternate spellings, as he began to use “Stravinsky” as his given name after moving to the United State. For example, in a letter to John Hammond, who worked on the 1947 Keynote recording of *Dumbarton Oaks*, Stravinsky writes, “Note my name spelled with ‘v’, not ‘w!’”³⁷

The issue of translation is significantly more complicated, as translation is not simply a process of objective one-to-one mapping between words in one language and another (as evidenced by the often hilarious failures of Google's translation tool).³⁸ Because so much can be lost in translation, it is important to separate sources by language. Correlates between words are desirable and possible to find, but it is far too tempting to create a match between words that may denote the

³⁷James N. Carder, “Dumbarton Oaks Concerto — Dumbarton Oaks,” accessed January 30, 2016, <http://www.doaks.org/library-archives/dumbarton-oaks-archives/from-the-archives/dumbarton-oaks-concerto>; Igor Stravinsky, Letter to John Hammond, 5/14/1947. Igor Stravinsky archives at the Paul Sacher Stiftung, p. 938 of correspondence microfilms.

³⁸ Many writers have tackled the issue of translation. George Steiner's *After Babel* explores several of these issues, including framing translation in terms of interpretation and the challenges that polysemy, in particular, poses for translators. See George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*, 3rd edition (Oxford University Press, 1998), 47–49. Included in Daniel Weissbort and Astradur Eysteinnsson, eds., *Translation: Theory and Practice: A Historical Reader*, 1st edition (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 397–405. Sandra Halverson approaches similar issues in Sandra L. Halverson, “The Concept of Equivalence in Translation Studies: Much Ado About Something,” *Target* 9, no. 2 (January 1, 1997): 207–33.

same thing in both languages, but have significantly different connotations. Idioms in one language do not directly map onto another, and there has been some scientific proof that one's first language plays a significant role in cognition and understanding of the world.³⁹ For this reason, I have limited my digital analyses to English-language texts only. While this does affect the claims I can make about how wide-spread these feelings about Stravinsky's neoclassicism may be, these analyses do provide information that can help direct experientially sensitive analyses in the latter half of this dissertation. Thus, while I cannot definitively say what a French-speaking Parisian native may have felt about the premiere of *Pulcinella* with these digital analyses (and will instead have to rely on close reading of French sources for such information), I can direct my analytical attention toward a historically sensitive analysis that engages with English sources at this level, and may in this way asymptotically approach a related (but different) French experience.

Once the researcher determines the limits of the corpus and prepares it, she must pick the appropriate analytical method to use. The tools available to the macroanalyst vary widely, and their results are similarly diffuse. Many have a high barrier to entry, and offer far more detailed and technical analysis than is necessary for this project. On the low-tech, low-effort end of the spectrum, there are tools like Voyant 2.0 (hereafter, Voyant), which was used to produce the word clouds in Figures 3.1 and 3.2.⁴⁰ Within Voyant there are several tools for analyzing texts. The "Cirrus" tool takes texts and creates word clouds based on the statistical frequency of single words. Exactly which words appear in the output can be adjusted with the use of "stop-words" lists. These lists prevent commonly used words in a language (e.g., articles and conjunctions such as "the" or "and") or words that might obscure more interesting results (in our case, words such as "music" or "Stravinsky" or

³⁹ This has not been proven for French-speaker versus English-speaker perception of music, but the studies showing that language has some effect on time perception (English versus Mandarin speakers in this case) do suggest that language plays a key role in categorization and perception. See Lera Boroditsky, "Does Language Shape Thought?: Mandarin and English Speakers' Conceptions of Time," *Cognitive Psychology* 43, no. 1 (August 2001): 1–22; Lawrence W. Barsalou, "Grounded Cognition," *Annual Review of Psychology* 59, no. 1 (2008): 617–45.

⁴⁰"Voyant Tools Documentation."

chapters to follow. Take, for example, the word clouds produced in Figures 3.4 and 3.5, each of which provides a distant reading of 27 sources. According to these clouds, the most frequent words used in discussion of Stravinsky's *Pulcinella* (1920) and the similarly timed Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments (1923) are related to the composers whose influence is most apparent (Pergolesi and Bach, respectively), and age (both "old" and "new" for *Pulcinella*, and only "new" for the Concerto). This is significant. Audience members are not writing about Stravinsky's octatonicism or underlying structural unity but rather recognizing (and discussing) the styles and works that Stravinsky references in these compositions. While this cannot tell us that audience members were not affected by any latent octatonicism (or chromaticism, diatonicism, or any other scalar feature) in the music, these texts do indicate that writers are preoccupied by matters other than Stravinsky's "Russianness," the feature usually associated with octatonicism.⁴² That "Russian" appears in the *Pulcinella* cloud indicates that there is some interest in this feature, but the size of the word indicates its relative prevalence in these texts—it is thus of relatively little prominence. The link between reception, experience, and these text analyses ought not to be overstated—certainly, the reception indicated by the reviews analyzed here is not directly representative of internal, often un-conceptualized experiences. Yet, what this distant reading offers is a different avenue for analysis today. These clouds point to the most salient features that people of the era felt compelled to discuss, allowing for the possibility that people remain affected by features that have been important to analysts in the twentieth century. That these are not mutually exclusive claims is important, as this allows analytical study in the present day to proliferate and coexist along multiple lines.

⁴² See, once again, Richard Taruskin's analyses of Stravinsky's octatonicism and subsequent claims that the composer maintains a sense of his heritage even while writing such cosmopolitan music. The following list is not exhaustive, but representative of Taruskin's continued engagement with the topic. Taruskin, "Chez Pétouchka: Harmony and Tonality 'chez' Stravinsky," *19th-Century Music* 10, no. 3 (1987): 265–86; Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*; Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); Taruskin, *On Russian Music*.

Figure 3.4: *Pulcinella* word cloud, minimal stopwords⁴³



Figure 3.5: Piano Concerto word cloud, minimal stopwords⁴⁴



The titles of the works, the names of characters and performers, and the common words for the genre, such as “music,” “work,” and “score,” have been removed. When these words remain, they obscure more interesting trends. See Figures 3.6 and 3.7, where I have only used the English stopwords list, and Figures 3.8 and 3.9, where I have used no stopwords at all. While the stopwords

⁴³ The stopwords list for “Cirrus” cloud for *Pulcinella* has been altered to include the words “Stravinsky,” “composer,” “Pulcinella,” “music,” “score,” “work,” and “ballet.” This corpus includes reviews not only of the complete ballet but also the suite, which complicates things somewhat, but provides a fuller picture of how people reacted to the music in the absence of choreography and sets, which is of primary interest here.

⁴⁴ In addition to Voyant’s usual English stopwords list, the words “Stravinsky,” “composer,” “concerto,” “piano,” “work,” “wind,” “winds,” “instruments,” “Stravinsky’s,” “Mr.,” and “music” have been removed from “Cirrus” cloud for Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments.

maintaining a facade of objectivity.⁴⁵ After all, were I to make an argument about the tendency of listeners to view *Pulcinella* favorably and the Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments negatively, an argument that on its face seems plausible, I could have chosen to remove all words with the opposite valence from their respective word clouds, leaving only those that support my argument. See Figures 3.10 and 3.11, where I have done exactly that.⁴⁶ While the Concerto's word cloud is fairly neutral, emphasizing features of the movements' tempi and dissonant underpinnings, the cloud surrounding *Pulcinella* has become significantly more positive-leaning, emphasizing, among other things, Stravinsky's "great" or "good" composing and his "respect" for the past. Of course, this view is contrived and could easily be further manipulated, but it would be difficult for a reader seeing only the clouds Figures 3.10 and 3.11 to know that this view has been so heavily altered. Clearly, there are methodological pitfalls here. It is still possible to cherry-pick examples, and the ethical problems are possibly even more difficult to notice in this seemingly objective context. The "Cirrus" tool within Voyant thus provides a useful first approximation, and is particularly good at creating a visually suggestive reading of a textual corpus. However, it cannot stand alone in any claim about reception.

⁴⁵ This *New York Times* blog post details some of the dangers in using word clouds as one's only source of evidence: "Word Clouds Considered Harmful," Nieman Lab, accessed May 1, 2016, <http://www.niemanlab.org/2011/10/word-clouds-considered-harmful/>.

⁴⁶ To get the *Pulcinella* cloud to focus on positively valenced words, I removed the following, in addition to the original minimal stopwords list: "Pergolesi," "Massine," "suite," "Diaghilev," "orchestra," "works," "old," "time," "musical," "orchestral," "choreography," "Pergolesi's," "piece," "bass," "little," "fragments," "Scarlatti," "ladies" (the prior two are holdouts from many early reviewers discussing this work in contrast with the poorly received Scarlatti/Tommasini *Good-Humoured Ladies*), "form," "century," and "trombone." For the Concerto cloud I have added the following, in addition to the original minimal stopwords list: "works," "movement," "new," "style," "like," "bass," "basses," "orchestra," "century," "york," "best," "genius," "great," "kind," "performance," "second," "composers," "composition," "musical," "instrument," "part," "Koussevitsky," "Bach," "progressions," "years," "man," "opening," "concert," "double," "passage," "Paris," "Petrouchka," "art," "1924," "cadenza," "pianist," "way," "say," "time," and "played."

He's done it again. They have said he was played out ever since he went into his neo-classical period (a generation ago) but he confuses them every time. This is a simple, melodious work. The excesses of **dissonance** are now long behind us. We've got back to the main stream of music.⁴⁸

Each uses the word “dissonance,” and if input in the same corpus, Voyant would count these as two instances of the same word. Yet, the word features very differently in each sentence. Counting these together could lead to problematic interpretations on the part of the analyst, and it would be difficult to catch these problems on the larger scale. These word clouds are a good initial heuristic and reveal a fair amount about texts that may not be apparent when simply reading as many as one can, but they are not able to stand alone or give any reliable information about overall trends in reception. After all, these tools are programmed to show only the highest statistical frequency of a word within a given text or body of texts. The interpreter must therefore be careful to consider the degree to which claims can reasonably be made using this method. These words must be understood not only in their historical and linguistic context, but within the context of the larger phrase.

Fortunately for the macroanalyst, even a program as simple as Voyant allows for some basic phrase-level understanding of texts. A tool called “Links” shows how the highest-frequency terms are related to one another, and which words often appear near them.⁴⁹ This is also called a “collocates graph,” and there are several programs in addition to Voyant that the macroanalyst could employ when studying collocates (and thus basic topic modeling).⁵⁰ This tool allows for a much

⁴⁸ Emphasis added. Barrett McGurn, “Critics Say Stravinsky Opera Marks His Return to Melody,” *New York Herald Tribune (1926-1962)*, September 12, 1951.

⁴⁹ “Collocates Graph - Voyant Tools Help,” accessed May 4, 2016, <http://voyant-tools.org/docs/#!/guide/collocatesgraph>.

⁵⁰ For many macroanalysts, topic-modeling is the point at which learning to code becomes necessary. The computing language R and the related *RStudio* can be used to interrogate a database of terms and determine common phrase patterns. See Matthew L. Jockers, *Text Analysis with R for Students of Literature*, Quantitative Methods in the Humanities and Social Sciences (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2014); “Topic Modeling,” accessed May 4, 2016, <http://mallet.cs.umass.edu/topics.php>. Collocates are a small step in this direction, showing which terms often reside in close proximity (here, equal to or less than five words away from the main term), and do not require the use of such programming languages. In addition to Voyant, the program AntConc allows one to interrogate a database of .txt documents for collocates without needing to learn a new programming language. See “Laurence Anthony’s AntConc,” accessed May 4, 2016, <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>.

more nuanced understanding of the appearance of texts in a corpus. See, for example, the unaltered (except for English stopwords, again) collocates graph in Figure 3.12, using the same corpus as in the “Cirrus” clouds above. The three most common terms, “Pergolesi,” “Stravinsky,” and “music,” are in green, while the most common terms that appear near them show up in smaller bubbles. The thickness of the lines connecting these bubbles indicates the relative frequency with which these words are found in close proximity. There are a few connections that are particularly important here: “music” is often associated with “comedy” and “took” and Stravinsky and Pergolesi are often connected by the term “altered.” This is telling with regard to reception: listeners recognized Stravinsky’s alterations of Pergolesi, often found the music humorous, and perhaps saw the alterations of the music as a kind of appropriation (or “taking”) of these earlier styles.

To show how unique this view is to *Pulcinella*, see Figures 3.13 and 3.14. Figure 3.13 corresponds with Figure 3.12 in that only the English stopwords are used, and the three most common words are shown in green, as a network. For the Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments, this is not particularly telling since the three most common words are “Stravinsky,” “concerto” and “piano,” and these are most often tied to the rest of the title or text that does not mean much in this context (e.g., “new,” which most likely just refers to the newness of the work). In Figure 3.14, then, I have added two search terms: “Bach,” and all iterations of words that begin with “dissonan” (i.e., “dissonant,” “dissonance,” and “dissonances”). Bach is, of course, the composer most often associated with the Concerto, especially the first movement’s toccata-like first theme. Among other words, Bach is associated with “calmly” and “convinced,” which may indicate a particular quality associated with Bachian moments. Dissonance (and its connected words) is associated with “new,” “consonance,” “surety,” and “piling”—features to keep in mind as one analyzes the work.

While collocate graphs still leave a lot to the imagination, this takes the macroanalyst a step closer to the texts as they originally were, and thus toward a contextually situated understanding of the commonalities among textual features.

Figure 3.12: *Pulcinella* collocates graph, English stopwords

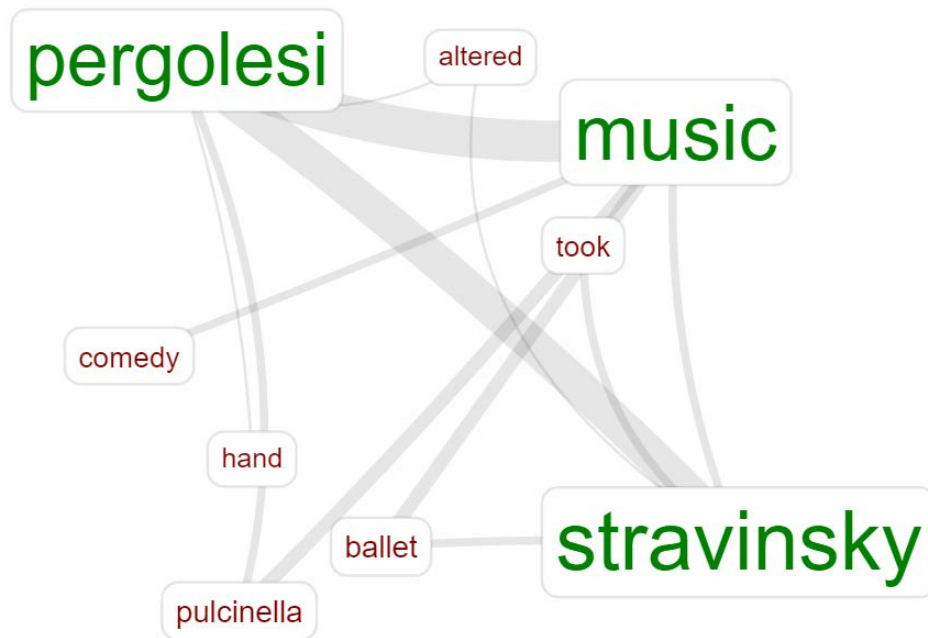


Figure 3.13: Piano Concerto collocates graph, English stopwords

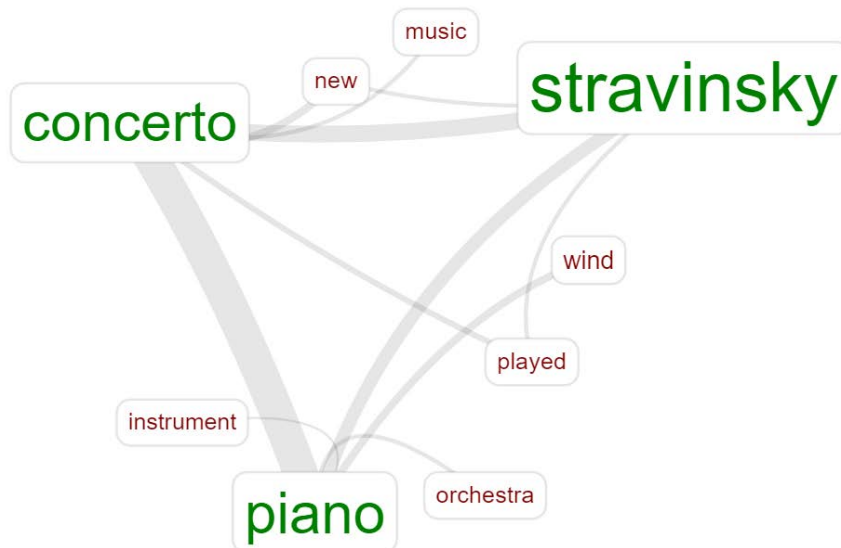
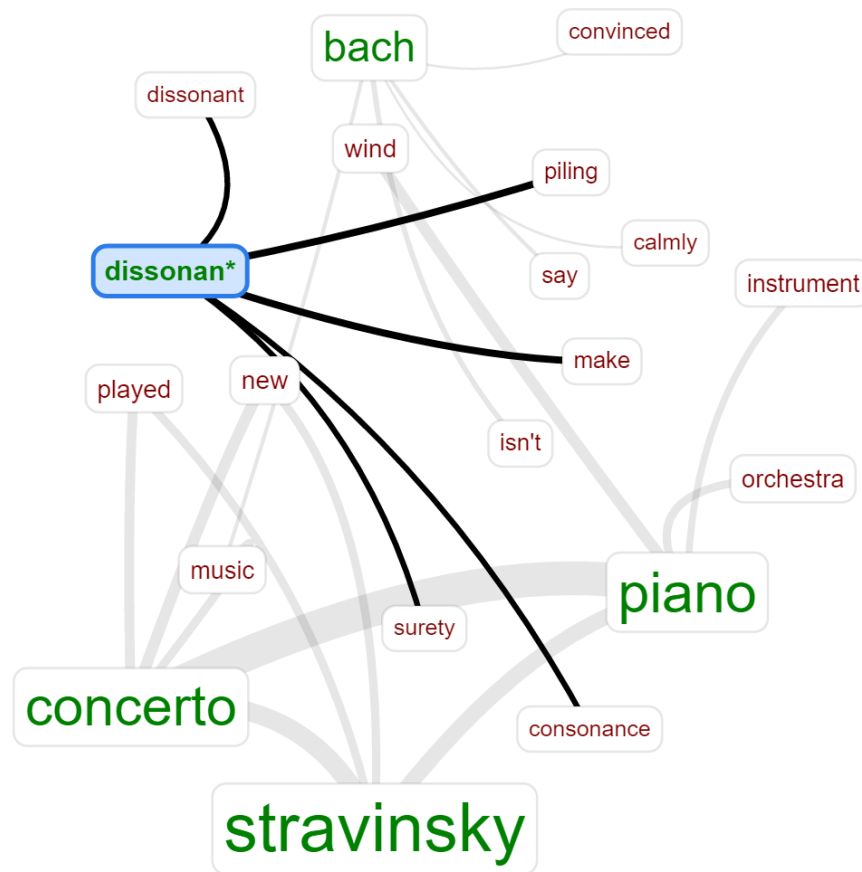


Figure 3.14: Piano Concerto collocates graph, search for “Bach” and “dissonance”



One significant argument against the digital approach is that it buries the subjectivity and contingency of these sources in seeming objectivity. It flattens the data it takes in, obscuring smaller but still important trends. And, a more damning problem: treating people and their emotions as “data” dehumanizes them. The distance can make it difficult, to invert a familiar expression, to “see the trees for the forest.”

Although we gain a significant source of information in these visualizations, as we have seen above, the information lost can be less easy to see. It is important to remember that the analyst still controls the inputs. The quality of the results depends on the level of objectivity that the researcher employs while preparing texts for analysis (or, more kindly, while providing guidance to the digital system). This depends on the researcher and the goals of the study. In the visualizations above, for example, complete articles were not included in the database. Only those sentences describing the

music in question—not the performers, the sets, or other works on the same program—were given to the computer for analysis. Several words were added to the stopwords lists, to make room for those that I found more interesting and useful to my research. The best I can do here is to be as transparent as possible about my methods and their purpose. Ultimately, this is still a humanities dissertation, not a scientific one. While I may not be revealing “truth,” these methods reveal ideas that support and challenge traditional close readings of the text in important and useful ways and provide new, useful, and holistic insights on the corpus that would not be available using traditional methods.

3.3 QUALITATIVE METHODS

The accusations leveled at digital humanists ring similar to those leveled at Stravinsky’s neoclassicism: cold objectivity masks emotion and agency in ways that people find uncomfortable. One of the first major forays into statistical history, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* was lambasted for its cold approach to a difficult topic, an approach that made “almost no room for enslaved persons’ agency.”⁵¹ Quantitative approaches, on their own, then, can be too clinical for humanities work. After all, as much as they reveal interesting trends that are not available to the naked eye, they also obscure much of the context humanists find to be so important for understanding texts. Indeed, Chapter Two demonstrates how important historical and contextual grounding is for this project, how differently a member of the groups first experiencing Stravinsky’s neoclassicism would have interacted with her world and conceptualized it. Tempering the digital techniques described above with more traditional modes of reception history will thus be helpful.

⁵¹ The book is described as such in William G. Thomas, II, “Computing and the Historical Imagination,” in Schreibman, Siemens, and Unsworth, *Companion to Digital Humanities*, par. 6. See also Robert William Fogel, *Time on the Cross: the Economics of American Negro Slavery*, revised edition (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995).

3.3.1 Reception History, Close Reading

The traditional modes of doing reception history have stood the test of time, though they are not immune from criticism. While reception history involves many more factors than simply texts, the general approach remains one of close reading and thick description: reconstructing (speculatively, of course) the context and circumstances within which the object in question (work, performer, composer, etc.) was received in order to understand it (or sometimes the historical moment or the receivers themselves) better. Historians working toward a reception history usually have one of two possible aims: 1) to rehabilitate and understand the object in question better by returning it to its historical context (e.g., understanding Meyerbeer better by placing him in his historical context, where he was much more important and well-respected than he is today); or 2) to understand the contextual moment better through the ways that people responded to the object (e.g., understanding nineteenth-century England better by exploring responses to Longfellow). For both aims, the methods remain largely the same.

Musical reception history developed following similar trends in literary reception history of the 1960s and 1970s. Mark Everist notes that to study only journalistic reception, which has been the most common site of reception history, is to overlook a large swath of historical materials that inform and amplify one's understanding of musical reception.⁵² In the section of *Grove Online* dedicated to reception, Jim Samson disagrees, noting that long before "reception history" was a recognized term, "musicologists attempted to generalize about people's awareness of, and attitudes

⁵² Mark Everist, "Reception," ed. Alison Latham, *The Oxford Companion to Music*, accessed April 28, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.uchicago.edu/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e5528>. Everist also notes that music itself is often a site of reception. Neoclassicism is one such musical trend where reception of earlier music is implicit and essential. Everist writes, "whether it is Schumann or Busoni revisiting Bach, Schoenberg orchestrating Brahms, Berio reworking Mahler, or Finnis stripping Grainger and Gershwin to their skeletal structure before recomposing them, all these musical endeavours implicitly invoke a theory of reception in their very composition" (par. 4).

towards, particular repertoires.”⁵³ For Samson, reception history is about the community, the general response within a particular group of people to a work or repertoire, not individual responses.

External factors cause a group of people to respond similarly. In this light, close reading of individual texts ought to find similar features, not differences, in responses to the work in question. Macroanalysis of texts similarly allows for correlations to shine through.

For Leon Botstein, however, the goal of reception history is to “illuminate the historical past and the critical ideologies of the present.”⁵⁴ Writers of reception histories must proceed with caution, for such a history “demands a far deeper foray into the archival riches, historical parallels surrounding musical culture, and the secondary historical literature well outside of music.”⁵⁵ It is not simply close reading then. Reception history outstrips macroanalytical methods in its ability to bring together, synthesize, and analyze trends as a product of their historical time and context. Botstein further criticizes traditional reception histories for their tendency to avoid talking about the musical text (whether a performance or a score) in any detail. These histories avoid such discussion because it is difficult to reconstruct a performance practice or to know anything about a performance that was not recorded. Botstein believes that it is essential to combine both contextual historical knowledge and analytical discussion of the musical text (though he offers no suggestions for how best to approach this) to provide a successful account of musical reception.

Although reception history does not consist of only close reading, these practices have long been tied. Close reading combines with other historical methodologies to trace a work’s path through the public sphere. Close reading is, not surprisingly, opposed to distant reading, zooming in on an individual text, picking it apart until its hidden biases, interesting features, and utility become

⁵³ Jim Samson, “Reception,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed April 27, 2016, par. 1, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.uchicago.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/40600>.

⁵⁴ Botstein, “Music in History,” 2.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

clear. Through close reading of many texts, writers of reception histories can understand how, generally, a work fit into its surroundings. At the very least, these close readings provide insight into the kinds of language used to describe a work, the sorts of feelings that were ascribed to it, and, through contextualization of the author's context (or the general context surrounding this time and place), an understanding of what it may have been like to experience a work in a given time. Granted, this reading is contingent, speculative, and limited. But by guiding readers through several close readings, the writer can suggest a different understanding, one that conforms to Botstein's goals for reception history.

3.3.2 Values, Drawbacks

Close reading of another sort becomes an issue when looking at individuals' written responses to a topic. Frances Ferguson notes that when engaging with a work of art, audiences often engage in a kind of "too-close reading" where they come to identify with a character or work.⁵⁶ Just as Ferguson sees this tendency occurring in novels and plays, such an identification, a love for the composer or the work occurs in the critical reactions to Stravinsky's neoclassicism. In letters, especially, writers make personal their convictions and understanding of Stravinsky's music, participating in exactly the sorts of "too-close" reading Ferguson describes. Harold Box, a frequent correspondent for Stravinsky, is one such writer. Box often finds passages in Stravinsky's music that he feels speak to him and only to him.⁵⁷ The distinction between this fierce, possibly fanatical love, and a general sense of enjoyment can be lost when analyzing quantitatively—computers generally

⁵⁶ Frances Ferguson, "Now It's Personal: D. A. Miller and Too-Close Reading," *Critical Inquiry* 41, no. 3 (2015): 521–40. The idea of "too-close reading" originates in D. A. Miller, but Ferguson takes it further, connecting this tendency with making things personal, internalizing them.

⁵⁷ Among Box's many letters to Stravinsky over the years, he speaks glowingly of the composer's works and the ways in which they are personally affecting. In a later letter, he writes, "I consider still your own music to be the most rewarding of all. To me it has—apart from great beauty, all the essentials that go to make-up healthy character and in addition, it can move one without resorting to sentimentality." Harold N. Box, "Letter to Igor Stravinsky," December 11, 1958, PSS 87.1, p. 2053, Paul Sacher Stiftung.

cannot tell the difference between admiration and love, and will conflate these experiences if they are related using the same language. Determining which writers express a sense that the musical work speaks directly to them, or as Ferguson would say, “hailing” and “greeting” them is a job for the close reader, not the macroanalyst. Yet, there is also the possibility that one, in reading such fantastical writing, will become similarly enamored with a writer and their experiences (as, for example, I might become with Edward J. Dent’s flamboyant review of *Pulcinella*). It is necessary at such moments to take a step back from reading these texts too closely, as they may not be (and likely are not) indicative of the population as a whole, but rather are the product of adoring fans or eloquent writers who have the problem that Ferguson describes. Macroanalysis, in this case, tempers the close reading.

Yet, close reading can still allow for similarity and difference to shine through in ways that computational approaches cannot. Consider the following responses to Stravinsky’s neoclassical output at various stages in his career. First, read Lionel Bradley’s response to hearing *Apollon Musagète* played by the Boyd Neel Orchestra under René Soria on the radio in 1944 (sixteen years after the work’s premiere and obviously without choreography):

Stravinsky’s *Apollon Musagète* is a very lovely work which I have known for some time from the gramophone. But I do not think I have previously heard an actual performance. I found it even more impressive “at first ear” & was interested to learn from Edwin Evans’s programme note that it is not, as I had supposed, so much a return to Bach as an act of “hommage à Lully.”⁵⁸

This text contains an instance where the word “Bach” might appear in a concordance graph or text cloud as a kind of red herring: Bradley hears (after reading Evans’s program note) a hint of Lully in

⁵⁸ Lionel Bradley, “Bradley Bulletins,” September 21, 1944, Royal College of Music. The concert included Rameau’s *Troisième Concert*, Britten’s *Les Illuminations*, a couple Mozart French songs (unspecified), and Warlock’s *Capriol Suite*. Lionel Bradley is a fascinating case, especially for those interested in learning about music performance in Britain during World War II. Bradley kept extensive records of his concert-going and radio-listening, which he sent to his friends as “Bradley Bulletins,” rather in the way one might have kept a LiveJournal in the early 2000s or blogged about his or her experiences today. As far as we know, Bradley had no musical training, but was an avid listener and supporter of new music, especially Stravinsky and Britten. For more on Bradley, see “One Man’s War” (BBC Radio, October 9, 2012), accessed November 4, 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b01n651t>.

this performance. There is much more to pick out of this text: Bradley, an untrained musician, heard Bach when he first listened to a recording of *Apollo*. Although this is not the first time Bradley has heard the work, it is the first live performance he has experienced and one in which he finds new and different references, due in large part to the program note that Edwin Evans prepared and that an announcer likely read aloud prior to the broadcast. This indicates that Bradley is someone who can be swayed by program notes—and he probably is not alone.⁵⁹ Thus, in this short paragraph Bradley expresses a vast amount of information about his experience. It is not an experience that conforms to the one many analysts would have. Rather than peering at a score or attending the performance either in concert or at the ballet, Bradley was at home, where the possible distractions and listening possibilities differ strongly from sitting in the concert at Wigmore Hall.⁶⁰ This is not the listener to whom analysts traditionally direct their analyses, though the experience that Bradley expresses may be a close analogue to what analysts actually do when they listen to and begin to analyze a work.

Compare the above to Bradley's response to another performance of the same work by the Boyd Neel Orchestra several years later, a performance he heard in person:

I loved Stravinsky's *Apollon Musagète* ever since I heard an odd movement of it on the gramophone & the more since I acquired the complete recording of it by this orchestra. I can't remember whether I have ever before heard it before in the concert room, certainly not more than once or twice, which is astonishing when one considers its richness & beauty—to-night's was the first performance of a "revised version" which seemed to me hardly at all different from the old one. We were told that "various alterations have been made in the time signatures & expression marks & expression marks have been added. There is however no substantial alteration in the music itself." It was a superlative performance.⁶¹

Here, Bradley's language remains much the same, but rather than calling the work "lovely," he calls it "rich" and "beautiful," words that have very different resonances. While "lovely" and "beautiful"

⁵⁹ For more on how program notes sway listeners, see Elizabeth Hellmuth Margulis, "When Program Notes Don't Help: Music Descriptions and Enjoyment," *Psychology of Music* 38, no. 3 (July 2010): 285–302.

⁶⁰ Bradley often notes that he misses portions of radio broadcasts due to a phone call or technical difficulties.

⁶¹ Lionel Bradley, "Bradley Bulletins," April 22, 1948, Royal College of Music. Though the orchestra remained the same as in the previous review, the venue changed: this performance was at the Bath Pavilion. The concert included the Bach Overture in G Minor and Gordon Jacob's piano concerto (Léon Goossens as soloist), concluding with *Apollo*.

feel somewhat similar, the former has a more surface quality to it. By combining beauty with richness, especially, Bradley seems to suggest a different kind of depth that he does not mention in the 1944 hearing. Though the orchestra is the same, and ostensibly the man, obviously this listening experience has changed. The factors that could contribute to this are several, including: in-person hearing, four years of Bradley steeping himself in this music, the Boyd Neel Orchestra changing rosters, and the revised version of the concert suite.

Apollon Musagète turns out to be one of the works that Bradley wrote about (and thus, likely heard) the most. In other bulletins, he describes “the joy I always find [in the work], whether with or without its Balanchinean accompaniment of ballet,”⁶² and “a work which has a calm beauty of which I never tire.”⁶³ Again, these texts seem to have slightly different connotations: “joy” as opposed to “lovely,” or a “rich beauty” instead of a “calm beauty.” Yet, for Bradley, these seem to express much the same thing. He refers constantly to its sameness—a work that he loves, which speaks to him, causing him joy through its beauty. Close reading allows us to approach an understanding of this man and his relationship to *Apollo* that distant reading would likely overlook.

Just as the close readers find fault with the distant readers, so too does blame fall on qualitative approaches for their lack of breadth (in favor of depth, of course). Jockers, predictably, notes in *Macroanalysis* that with the digital resources available to present researchers, close reading is simply “untenable as an exhaustive or definitive method of evidence gathering.”⁶⁴ While such a categorical statement misses much and, as demonstrated above, one can gather a large amount of evidence through close reading, Jockers’s statement does hold some truth. When one wants to explore questions of holistic understanding, a group’s response to a musical phenomenon, consulting as wide a variety of sources as possible seems not only prudent but also ethical. Were I to make

⁶² Lionel Bradley, “Bradley Bulletins,” January 12, 1947, Royal College of Music.

⁶³ Lionel Bradley, “Bradley Bulletins,” November 19, 1950, Royal College of Music.

⁶⁴ Jockers, *Macroanalysis*, 9.

claims about how all listeners responded to *Apollo* based solely on the experiences that Bradley relates I would miss many important features of the larger corpus of responses, including Merle Armitage's, in which he praises Stravinsky for "the complete impersonality of the music, its detachment from all the little petty things of the world."⁶⁵ Armitage and Bradley express very different experiences and together they provide a richer picture of how Stravinsky's music affected its audience. Armitage was a musically trained listener, an American impresario who personally worked with Stravinsky on many works. His experience and Bradley's cannot be equated on the level of close reading but, on the more distant scale, the similarities between their experiences as men of a certain level of economic privilege hearing music within their shared cultural-historical context may arise.

Reception history in music has furthermore found it difficult to engage with music as it was initially performed, due to the contingency and impossibility of recapturing these performances. Historical performance practice is a notoriously difficult subject, one that almost no one agrees upon. Reception histories cannot base their claims on any definitive notion of how a particular performance sounded.⁶⁶ Leon Botstein's main criticism of reception histories in the early 2000s remains valid today: in order to avoid the problem of historical performance practice, many historians avoid analysis and discussion of musical moments altogether, preferring to focus on issues that can be easily separated from musical specifics. Unfortunately, Botstein notes, the reduction of reception history to these issues (e.g., reading Mahler's reception in Vienna as largely anti-Semitic) is misrepresentative.⁶⁷ He writes, "it is impossible to make grandiose or subtle interpretative claims by interpreting selective pieces of published criticism without referencing the intricacies of historical

⁶⁵ Merle Armitage, "Letter to Igor Stravinsky," February 23, 1935, PSS 86.1, p. 227, Paul Sacher Stiftung.

⁶⁶ Botstein, "Music in History."

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 9.

context.”⁶⁸ This is valid and important to remember. Yet, even using every piece of imaginable criticism and historical context one could conceivably find would not necessarily provide more truthful or accurate information. There is always something missing, something more to be found, and objective truth, “what really happened,” is not possible to recover.⁶⁹ For Allan Megill, who calls this truth “absolute objectivity,” one of four types of objectivity he sees in history-writing, “requires a divine level of detachment and insight, [and] is best seen as an ideal lying beyond human attainment.”⁷⁰ Yet, while it is important not to present close reading of historical texts as facts about “how it was,” these readings do allow the historian and the reader to imagine a different world from their own, one that provides a different perspective on the work (or through the work, a different perspective on the historical moment) and a window into a (limited, but still interesting) historically contingent understanding. As the following section shows, bringing together close and distant readings can mitigate some of the problems with each, without introducing too many new problems.

3.4 QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE METHODS COMBINED

Tacking between digital analyses of all responses to *Apollo* on the one hand, and close reading of Bradley’s responses on the other, allows the analyst to draw on the strengths of each approach while avoiding their limitations. Even with a small corpus of documents (sixteen, three of which were subject to close reading above), several features of the “Cirrus” cloud and collocates graphs complement the close reading done above.

In Figure 3.15, the “Cirrus” cloud shows that Bradley’s chosen adjectives, “love,” “lovely,” “richness,” and “beauty,” are relatively uncommon (only “beauty” appears frequently enough to be included in the cloud), even though his words constitute a large swath of this corpus. Instead, the

⁶⁸ Ibid., 11.

⁶⁹ Allan Megill deals with these thorny issues in the third part of *Historical Knowledge, Historical Error*.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 114.

words that appear more commonly are references to the muses, the apotheosis, and the composer most often associated with the work, Lully. Note that Bach does not appear nearly as frequently—like Bradley, many heard references to Lully and not Bach in this ballet. Together with the close-reading that we have done earlier, it becomes possible to piece together a picture in which, while many reviewers recognized the references to Lully, the Bachian elements are more hidden. Furthermore, the most common descriptive terms in this corpus are the age of the work. By contrast with *Pulcinella*, “new” appears slightly more frequently than “old,” which may indicate a certain level of novelty associated with this work (that is, the newer elements outweigh the neoclassical references that would be seen as “old”).

Figure 3.15: *Apollo* word cloud, minimal stopwords⁷¹

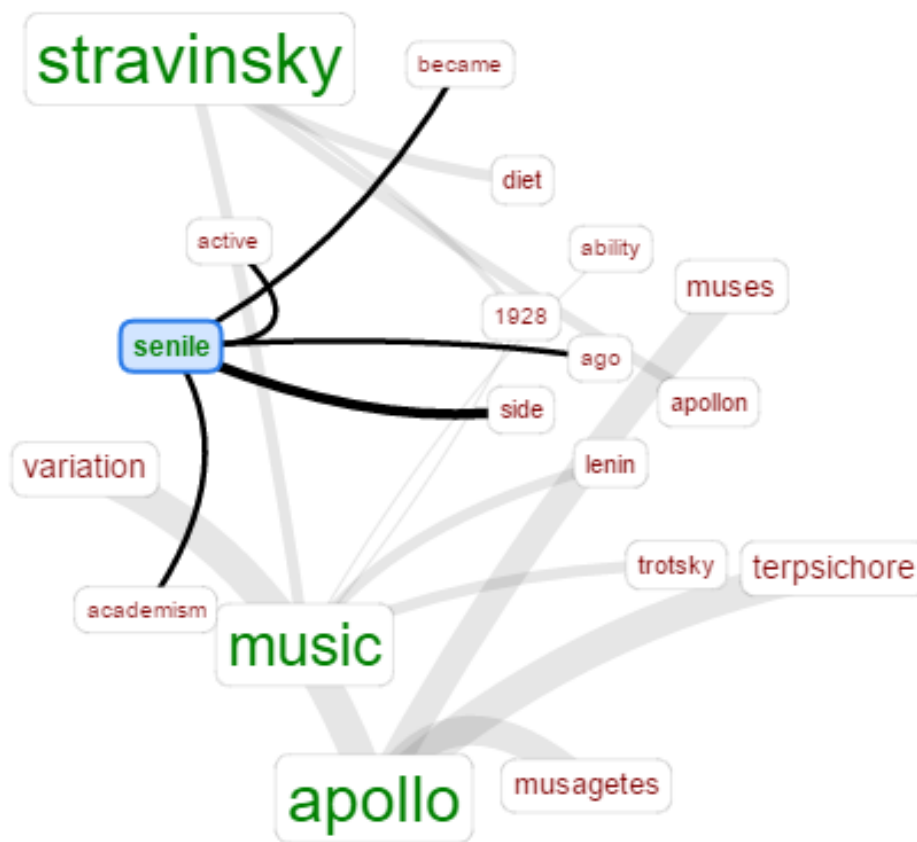


The term that most interests me here, however, is “senile,” a sentiment missing from the close readings above. At first glance, the fact that senility appears nearly as often in descriptions of *Apollo* as beauty is startling. To what aspects of the work could this senility refer? There are many possibilities—the composer, conductor, or a performer could be the subject of this descriptor, or even an audience member. To further analyze this requires additional tools, and a return to closer

⁷¹ The stopword list includes the following additional words: “composer,” “Tchaikovsky,” “world,” “second,” “Apollon,” “Apollo,” “Stravinsky,” “Stravinsky’s,” “music,” “musical,” “performance,” “ballet,” “Musagète,” “Musagetes,” “Mr,” “ex,” “fairy,” “kiss,” and “Igor.” “Tchaikovsky,” “fairy,” and “kiss” have been excised because many *Apollo* performance appear alongside the *Fairy’s Kiss*, and these terms were producing a false positive.

reading. First, the collocates graph in Figure 3.16 indicates that senility is associated most closely with the words “become,” “active,” “academicism,” “ago,” and “side.” That it appears halfway between the large terms “Stravinsky” and “music” further indicates that “senile” appears most often (and equally often) near one of these two words. Thus, one might assume that reviewers may have begun calling Stravinsky or his music senile, due in part to its academic style, and perhaps its often frenetic nature. This contrasts strongly with Bradley’s interest in *Apollo*’s beauty, and Armitage’s sense of its impersonality.

Figure 3.16: *Apollo* collocates graph, search for “senile”



Looking specifically for the terms “beauty,” “love,” and “lovely” reveals still more about how Bradley’s view of the work fits within the larger scope of *Apollo*’s reception. Figure 3.17 contains collocates graphs that zoom in on each term, in turn. While “beauty” and “lovely” appear more closely related to the composer and the title of the work, “love” is more closely associated with

music. Beauty is associated with words such as “constructed” and thus possibly more artificial, artisanal, or impersonal forms of composition, while also being associated with “astonishing,” which suggests an element of surprise for reviewers. Love, on the other hand, appears in connection with more active terms such as “play” and “ecstasy,” while “lovely,” which seems to have very little surface difference from “love,” is more closely associated with the title of the work, and may share more with “beauty” than with “love.” None of these are closely associated with depth metaphors, which may indicate that Bradley is an outlier as a reviewer, someone who finds depth where others do not.

Figure 3.17: *Apollo* collocates graphs: searches for “beauty,” “love,” “lovely”

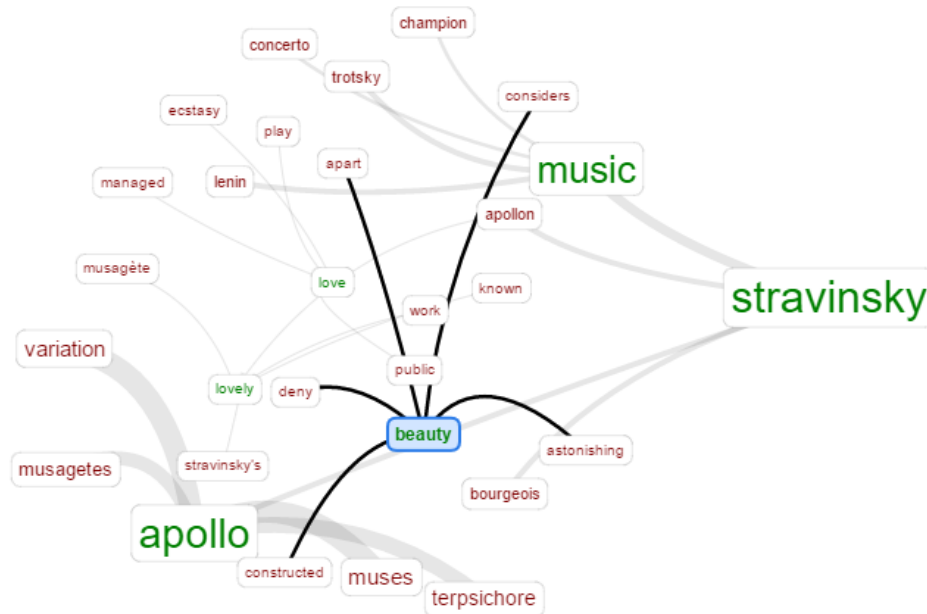
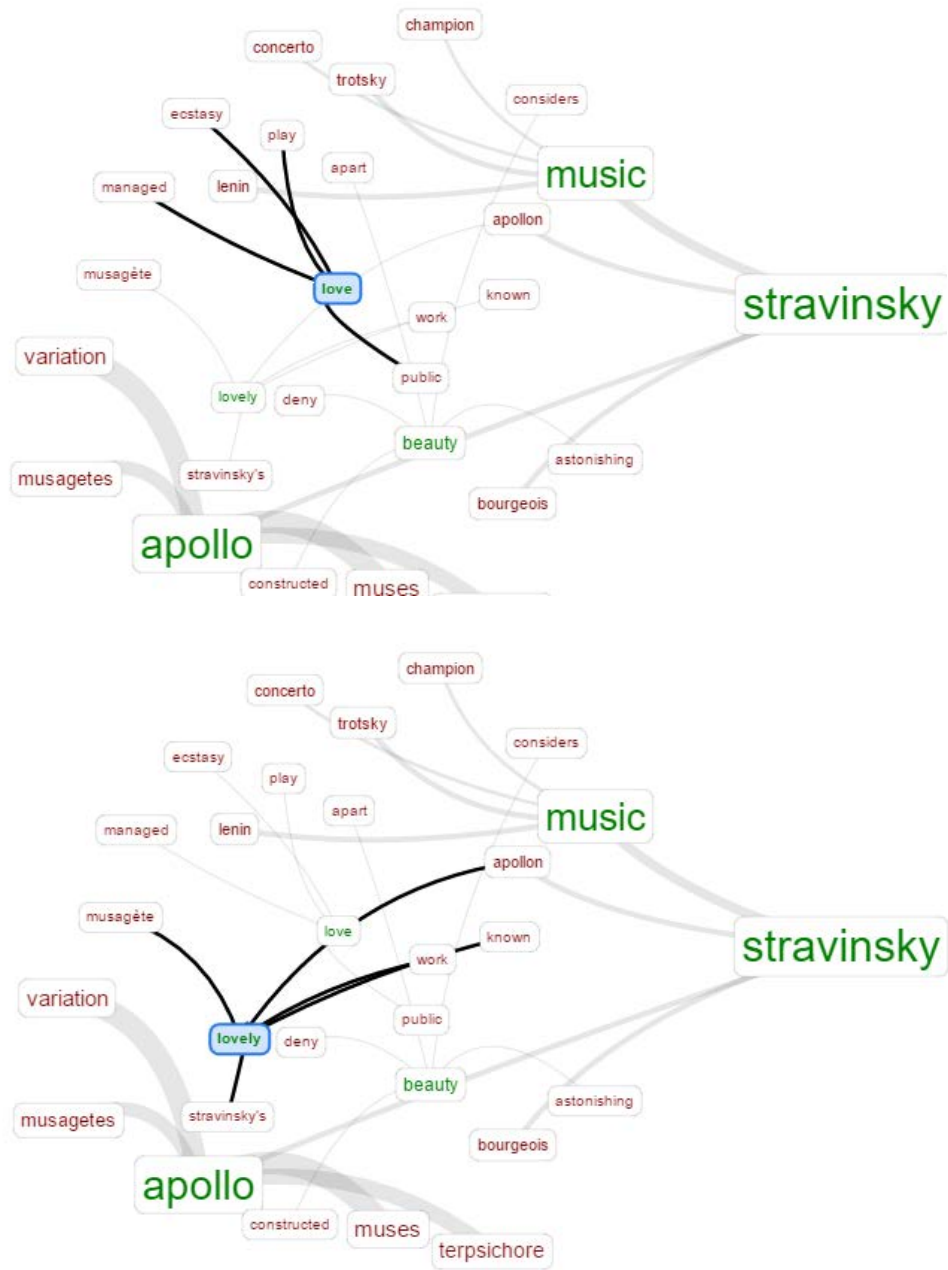


Figure 3.17, continued



These graphs and close-reading provide several pathways for the analyst interested in reconstructing a particular hearing. The path I choose to follow here is the idea of “senility,” which is located nearer to Stravinsky than “love,” “beauty,” or “lovely” are in the collocates graph. If Stravinsky’s music sounds senile, if his academicism contributes to this notion, where might this be located? One possibility arises in the opening movement, “Naissance d’Apollon,” which clearly

evokes Lully through the use of dotted rhythms, ornamentation, and instrumentation. As shown in Figure 3.18, the first four measures are solid C Major, with a clear question-answer form. Measures 5–8, however, seem less clear, more meandering, less rooted in a tonal center (but not completely unmoored—certainly there are Bachian moments that approach this level of ambiguity) and, perhaps, almost lost (senile?) in their approach to m. 9, where the opening gesture will repeat a step higher. Perhaps this is the senility to which listeners refer—but it is equally possible that these are the gestures Bradley finds lovely and deep, or that Armitage finds detached. It is up to the analyst to take this further, to tease out relationships and hearings that seem most productive, that remain attached to these historical traces and attempt to reanimate them, without suggesting, ever, that reconstruction is exact, complete, or anything more than speculative.

Figure 3.18: Scale-degree and figured-bass analysis, *Apollon Musagète*, mm. 1–9

C M: $\hat{1} \hat{7} \hat{1} \hat{5} \sharp\hat{4} \hat{5} \flat\hat{2} \sharp\hat{3}$

Violini I
Violini II
Viola
Violoncelli I
Violoncelli II
Contrabassi

dm: $\hat{1} \hat{3} \hat{4}\sharp \hat{5} \hat{6} \hat{7} \flat\hat{2} \sharp\hat{3}$

7 4 5 3 4 2 6 #8 5 2 #7 3 2

3.5 CONCLUSION

The goal of this chapter has been to demonstrate that both quantitative and qualitative methods of text analysis have their place in this dissertation. Tacking between close reading and distant reading provides the advantages of each approach while avoiding the other’s pitfalls. They act as foils for one another. Most digital humanists recognize this.⁷² This combined approach still must

⁷² See, for example, Wilkens, “Canons, Close Reading, and the Evolution of Method”; Rebecca L. Walkowitz, “Close Reading in an Age of Global Writing,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 74, no. 2 (June 1, 2013): 171–95; Jeffrey Drouin,

be treated with care—how and when one tacks between methods is key in making successful and methodologically sound claims. But when done well, this combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to text analysis provides a rich bed on which to rest music analyses that are sensitive to both the general and the particular.

Another reason to bring these methods together is the scope of the database. While digital methods are the only way to access holistic information on extremely large databases containing several thousands of documents (and even higher orders of magnitude), the database for this project numbers in the hundreds of unique items, not the thousands. It is possible to do close reading of a significant portion of this database. By comparing the results of both macro- and micro- analyses, allowing them to speak to one another, the results can amplify the possibilities of either text-analytical method on its own.

Ultimately, too, neither approach can be used to state, unequivocally, that it presents information that represents history “as it was.” Close reading only privileges a few perspectives, and distant reading is never truly comprehensive—there are always more texts out there to add to the database. With the latter, it may be tempting to argue for an asymptotic approach to truth—that is, that eventually enough data will be amassed that adding any more would make a negligible difference, but as I’ve shown above, every visualization makes value judgements and privileges similarity in ways that make it no more a bearer of truth than any other historical method. Yet, these two approaches to reception are suggestive. They allow for two different ways of providing insight into the past, into the ways in which people experienced (or, at least, spoke about) music at the time.

“Close- and Distant-Reading Modernism: Network Analysis, Text Mining, and Teaching,” *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies* 5, no. 1 (2014): 110–35; Katharine Coles, “Slippage, Spillage, Pillage, Bliss: Close Reading, Uncertainty, and Machines,” *Western Humanities Review* 68, no. 3 (Fall 2014): 57–83; Hoyt Long and Richard Jean So, “Literary Pattern Recognition: Modernism between Close Reading and Machine Learning,” *Critical Inquiry* 42, no. 2 (2016): 235–67.

4 REVIVING PERGOLESI IN *PULCINELLA*

It need hardly be pointed out that the sequences, cadences, and other stylistic features of the best classical tunes are not their most important element. They take their place in the scheme of things, they have a formal and even emotional logic, but they are the façade, not the whole building. It is the easiest possible thing to take four bars out of one of the best-constructed and most moving of Mozart's arias and find that in themselves they have remarkably little value. This, in fact, is what Stravinsky often does without, however, realizing that he is confusing the periwig with the face beneath it.

—Constant Lambert, *Music Ho! A Study of Music in Decline* (1934)¹

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Bringing music history and analysis into productive contact is notoriously difficult. Recall that in “Neoclassicism and Its Definitions,” Pieter van den Toorn writes that, while the relationship between past elements and their present appearances in Stravinsky's neoclassicism is of primary aesthetic and experiential importance, he finds “the solution [to putting the two in dialogue] to be beyond the analyst's grasp.”² While it is true that many analytical methodologies are incapable of effectively capturing this relationship, Robert Gjerdingen's and Vasili Byros's historicized analytical methodologies allow for new possibilities, as discussed in Chapter One.³ As Byros argues, the schematic approach can be applied beyond the Neapolitan, eighteenth-century context to large swaths of music in geographic and temporal proximity, allowing analysts to explore a work's engagement with prescribed tonal forms. He shows that this can lead to a more nuanced and historically informed understanding of a musical moment.⁴ Although schematic patterns exist

¹ Constant Lambert, *Music Ho! A Study of Music in Decline*, 101–2.

² Toorn, “Neoclassicism and Its Definitions,” 131.

³ Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*; Vasili Byros, “Foundations of Tonality as Situated Cognition, 1730-1830: An Enquiry into the Culture and Cognition of Eighteenth-Century Tonality with Beethoven's “Eroica” Symphony as a Case Study” (Ph.D. Diss., Yale University, 2009). Gjerdingen is certainly aware that this work is historicist, and suggest that such a lens is valuable when it comes to the goals of corpus studies. See Byros, “Unearthing the Past.”

⁴ Byros, “Meyer's Anvil.”

throughout the Western canon, vernacular, and popular musics, recent scholarship focuses almost exclusively on eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century music that can be read roughly as galant.

In their work, both Gjerdingen and Byros rely on tropes that would have been “in the air” and therefore familiar to composers (for Gjerdingen) and listeners (for Byros) in a given time. They use these observations to develop a sense of how one might hear a specific pattern in relation to other instances of the same general prototype. The phenomenological nature of these theories lends itself well to listener-sensitive theories, and provides some traction when considering the kinds of features that listeners most often described in their writing—features that rarely crop up in traditional Stravinsky analyses. Because, as mentioned in the Introduction, the process of convergence, tacking between the music, historical experience, and analysis, is difficult to follow on paper, the following sections will first explore *Pulcinella*’s historical context and textual reception, and then turn toward experientially sensitive analyses.

During this chapter, then, the following questions will guide my exploration: To what degree does Stravinsky reshape a recognizable musical formula or style? And when he does so, how do listeners (particularly, contemporaneous listeners) respond? The answers to these questions, when juxtaposed, make it possible to explore the intersection between the subjective experience of Stravinsky’s neoclassicism and more structured analytical observations about the music.

4.2 *PULCINELLA* AND STRAVINSKY’S TARTAR SAUCE

Pulcinella was the product of artistic collaboration, part of a series of “updated” galant-style ballets that the *Ballets Russes* commissioned.⁵ Leonid Massine, then a choreographer and dancer with

⁵ In 1917, the *Ballets Russes* put on *Les femmes de bonne humeur* (“The Good-Humored Ladies”), using music arranged by Vincenzo Tommassini, this time from Domenico Scarlatti keyboard sonatas. Manuel de Falla was the first choice for *Pulcinella*, but when he turned down the offer, Stravinsky was next on the list. (For more on the genesis of *Pulcinella*, see Carr et al., *Stravinsky’s Pulcinella: A Facsimile of the Sources and Sketches*, 3–6.)

the ballet, and Sergei Diaghilev, the impresario, asked Stravinsky to collaborate on a new ballet based on *Pulcinella*. Given the subject matter, the collaborators decided, it would be appropriate to arrange a set of 18th-century Italianate pieces for ballet performance. Diaghilev went to the British Museum (and later to Naples), where he transcribed a large quantity of galant-style music, which at the time was all attributed to Giambattista Pergolesi. As mentioned in Chapter Two, we now know that most of the music *was not* by Pergolesi—much of it was by another 18th-century Italianate composer, Domenico Gallo—but regardless of the specifics, Stravinsky ended up with a collage of galant sources from which he wrote the score to *Pulcinella*. What is most interesting for our purposes is that he made the initial sketches right on the sources themselves.

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 reproduce two pages from the scores Stravinsky received from Massine and Diaghilev.⁶ The first image is from the first movement of Gallo's first Trio Sonata, which became the overture to *Pulcinella*. Stravinsky makes no notes on this raw score. The second is from Carlo Monza's *Pieces modernes pour le clavecin*. Here, Stravinsky crosses out whole measures and (faintly) writes in new inner voice plans beginning on the third staff. Even from these two images, it is clear how little Stravinsky changed. The changes he does make, however, are extremely important as they transform otherwise eighteenth-century music into something distinctly modern and uniquely Stravinskian. The excised measure in the Monza, for example, disrupts the musical phrase structure, creating a metric imbalance where there had been clear periodicity, and the added inner voices change figured bass and harmonic progressions, disrupting the galant style and structure. The analytical sections to follow will explore these changes in greater detail, examining Stravinsky's modifications to harmony, instrumentation, and phrase structure. But first, we will examine how these changes, and the resultant ballet, were received.

⁶ Reproduced from *Ibid.*, 158 and 186, respectively.

Figure 4.1: A page from Stravinsky's source material, Overture

2.

Sonata I

Moderato.

The musical score is written on a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. It features complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and various ornaments like trills and mordents. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The score is divided into several systems, each with two staves. Fingerings and articulations are clearly marked throughout the piece.

Figure 4.2: A page from Stravinsky's source material, Allegro



A common approach to much of Stravinsky's neoclassical music, particularly *Pulcinella*, is to discuss it as pastiche or parody. The former is undeniable—after all, *Pulcinella* is a collection of diverse sources that, while organized in such a way that first movements of trio sonatas and early

moments in operas appear earlier than final movements are nevertheless put together as a patchwork. The latter is also possible, whether one interprets parody as (possibly mean-spirited) caricature, or as imitation. Taruskin suggests that “what alteration there is bears interesting comparison to Bach’s parody of the *Stabat Mater*.”⁷ He sees it as Stravinsky’s attempt to both honor Pergolesi, but also to improve perceived inadequacies. While Stravinsky certainly hews closely to his source material, is *Pulcinella* best described as parodistic? Perhaps, but historical reviews offer other models for understanding the work.

Early reviews of *Pulcinella* were often positive. On May 17, following *Pulcinella*’s world premiere, Louis Laloy, music critic for the French newspaper *Comoedia* wrote:

Stravinsky’s music is **classical** in the quality of the melodies, all **borrowed** from Pergolesi,...but [his music] is also **modern**, or to be more accurate, **very personal in the arrangement of one and the other**. [...] However, Pergolesi’s airs remain recognizable throughout, by the **easy play, the smiling and languorous grace, the suave radiance**. Yet they are used as themes of a **burlesque symphony** with the most **piquant effects**, by the **ingenious** composer whom they **inspired**. Did he have the right to use [these themes] in this way? Without a doubt, since his work is **charming**. In art, the only politics is that of results, and a masterpiece executed at the price of a **slight sacrilege** is no less **admirable** for it.⁸

Laloy finds Stravinsky to be a bit of a kleptomaniac, eclectically arranging his musical sources as amused and suited him.

Edward J. Dent, music critic for the *Athenaeum* in London, had a similar response in his review following the London premiere a few weeks later, on June 10, 1920, though his response lacks any reference to devils or sacrilege. His review was quoted in full in Chapter Two, but for ease of comparison I reprint the relevant portion here:

It was a happy thought to entrust the score to M. Stravinsky. There could be **no fear of his keeping himself in the background**, or of his allowing the old composer to become too tedious. But, alas! Parisotified or Stravinskified, **Pergolesi’s**

⁷ Richard Taruskin, “Parody as Homage,” pp. 61–62, in *Ibid.*, 62.

⁸ Louis Laloy, “À L’Opéra: ‘Pulcinella’: Ballet Avec Chant, Musique de M. Igor Stravinsky, D’après Pergolèse, Décors et Costumes de M. Picasso, Chorégraphie de M. Léonide Massine,” *Comoedia*, May 17, 1920. Emphasis added. Translation in Carr et al., *Stravinsky’s Pulcinella: A Facsimile of the Sources and Sketches*, 16.

sentimental helplessness remains for ever a dead weight upon the ballet. **Vainly** does M. Stravinsky **endeavour to enliven him**, by making his music sound as if the members of the orchestra had **lost their places** or were **playing their parts upside-down**. No valse-bourgeoise could be more **flabbily inert**. So he **gives up the task in despair**, as well he might, and **wriggles off at every opportunity into pure Stravinsky** to which one could listen with pleasure, if only there were enough of it.⁹

Certainly, there is much to digest within these two reviews. Both writers suggest that Stravinsky adds wit, life, and mischievousness to this music, but their similarities end there. Not only are the writers extremely generous with their thoughts (positive or negative), but these critics, with different backgrounds and agendas, focus on very different aspects of the work. For Laloy, French critic and supporter of the neoclassical, pro-French movement, Stravinsky's musical borrowing is legitimized by its beauty; what it means is far less important than its entertainment value. Dent's review is more ambivalent. One may speculate on the many reasons behind the differences (differing national allegiances, diverse performances and venues, as well as aesthetic values and backgrounds), but more concrete are the words that each critic employs when describing this new work to their audiences. Laloy clearly supports the work, while Dent's review is lukewarm. Both find the piece enjoyable, but Dent's review discusses the "dead weight" of the Pergolesi and does not see Stravinsky's alterations as entirely successful. While he lays the blame at the eighteenth-century composer's feet, struggle is evident in Dent's description, and sophistication and insouciance prevail in Laloy's. There will be no reconciling these two reviews, because they come from different people describing different experiences—and for that matter, the reviews from the same performance would reflect similar distinctions.

Historical context also plays into the individual reviews—critics, people with aesthetic and regional biases, certainly have agendas that may play into their writing. In light of this, I would like to further explore the difference between Laloy's and Dent's reviews, because they speak to very

⁹ Dent, "Covent Garden." Emphasis added.

different ways of understanding the same work that, while perhaps attributable to individual difference, also have an element of regional difference (in addition to class and training).

Laloy had a closer relationship with the *Ballets Russes*, was a French nationalist, and was quite familiar with the trend of re-orchestrating earlier music for new ballets. Dent, by contrast, had no such loyalties and it seems likely that his relationship to the French was fraught. He was probably less taken with the French tendency to repurpose old music. Dent's review of *Pulcinella* is particularly interesting because of its ambivalence toward Stravinsky's end product. There seems to be some sense of death and decay, but not from Stravinsky, rather mitigated by him. Unfortunately, Dent feels that Stravinsky was not entirely successful in this endeavor. He writes that Stravinsky's attempts were not quite enough to save this work from being "inert." He wishes for more Stravinsky without the burden of Pergolesi. It seems, then, that he wishes for a Stravinsky he used to hear, but no longer does. In this light, I wonder if perhaps the most surprising moments for Dent, and not for Laloy, were in fact those moments that seemed the most tame, and the least Stravinskyan. After all, *Pulcinella* marks a rapid change in Stravinsky's music, away from the Russian aesthetic of ballets like *Rite of Spring*, *Petrushka*, and even *Renard*. Perhaps, for Dent, then, the striking moment of this piece was not when Stravinsky imposed unexpected dyads or metric changes on the piece—but rather when he didn't.

Despite their differences, these reviews are representative of several common tropes in the early reception of *Pulcinella*: seeing it as witty or ingenious, as satirical, as returning life to Pergolesi, and as slightly diabolical or sacrilegious in its treatment of the original composer. To put these reviews in context, I now turn toward quantitative methods and reprint the word cloud and collocates graphs associated with *Pulcinella* (originally Figures 3.4 and 3.12) for ease of reference in Figures 4.3 and 4.4, respectively.

acceptable.¹⁰ The graphs above also show that relatively little emphasis is placed on Stravinsky's Russianness. The overall view seems to be positive: the words "good" and "new" are quite large, though neither appears in the collocates graph. These reviews are primarily drawn from newspaper archives in the two cities where *Pulcinella* was first performed: Paris and London, though it reached Frankfurt and other parts of Europe within a few years. These reviewers saw different versions of the work, both as a ballet and as an orchestral suite.

To further illustrate how these views are situated within their own time, consider how an eighteenth-century court lady or gentleman might receive *Pulcinella*. Hearing the opening, he or she might recognize the typically galant gestures, but as the work continued the metrical irregularities and dissonances would have been completely incomprehensible. Without the benefit of the intervening centuries' moves toward expanded chromaticism and vernacular music such as jazz, these dissonances would not have the same meaning or emotional tinge that Stravinsky's contemporaries would have understood. Likely, Stravinsky's additions would have sounded as if the orchestra was making mistakes (cf. Dent), or perhaps these dissonances would have been completely incomprehensible. Such a listener might simply hear added dyads and metric manipulation as some kind of noise without the benefit of appropriately developed listening apparatuses. It seems equally likely that we, today, have slightly different understandings of music, dissonance, and the archetypes that undergird them. Certainly, the development of technology has significantly changed the barrier to musical access and diversity—listeners today have much easier access to a variety of recordings, a diverse range of musics.¹¹ An analysis that attempts to bridge the gap between past experiences and the musical surface may illuminate useful additional hearings for present-day listeners.

¹⁰ Note that, since Laloy's review was originally in French, it cannot be included in these clouds or collocates graph. However, his words and these analyses seem to corroborate one another.

¹¹ For more on how technology shapes contemporary listening practices, see Arved Ashby, *Absolute Music, Mechanical Reproduction* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010).

Stravinsky's changes to Pergolesi's score were read in a variety of ways, including, perhaps surprisingly, as a condiment. Henri Prunières, editor of the (then new) *Revue Musicale*, also recognized the difference between source and arrangement, when he wrote "finally, the diabolical *Pulcinella*, with music by Pergolesi and tartar sauce added by Stravinsky."¹² I am particularly intrigued by this idea of "tartar sauce." Quite aside from the somewhat disparaging Slavic reference, the idea that in *Pulcinella* Stravinsky slathers galant-style music with a condiment, changing its flavor and perhaps trying to make it more appealing, has clear analytical implications. Rather than overpowering it, a good condiment complements the food. Similarly, some reviewers say, Stravinsky's music complements his sources. To these writers, this is not music of violent, antagonistic confrontations. As we will see shortly, this contrasts with the way *Pulcinella* has been discussed more recently.

In a later discussion of Stravinsky's work, Prunières becomes more explicit about his understanding of the relationship between Stravinsky and *Pulcinella*: "there are perhaps in the entire score not ten measures which cannot be found in Pergolesi; and yet it is Stravinsky. With his genius for orchestration he has succeeded in transfiguring the material."¹³ Perhaps Stravinsky's "tartar sauce" can be located in orchestration—certainly this is an important aspect, not to be overlooked. Yet, it strikes me that Stravinsky's "genius" extends further: he very carefully chooses the portions of "Pergolesi" he wishes to alter, in order to retain the clear distinction between Stravinsky and Pergolesi that all three reviewers notice.

More recently, analyses of Stravinsky's music focus on their "non-development," their purported "deadness," and, in the case of neoclassicism, the composer's "violent assimilation" of the past. This view, while not entirely antithetical to those brought up by historical listeners (especially

¹² Henri Prunieres, "Chroniques et Notes: Theatres Lyriques," *La Revue Musicale*, November 1, 1920, 49. Translation my own. "Enfin, le diabolique Pulcinella, musique de Pergolèse accommodée par Stravinsky à la sauce tartare" (p. 49.)

¹³ Henry Prunieres, "Stravinsky the Classicist: Composer's Return to Formal Standards Often Obscures His Characteristic Qualities--His Present Style Academic," *New York Times*, September 8, 1929, sec. Arts & Leisure.

the ideas of appropriation and assimilation), is again best understood in reference to specific geographic and temporal contexts. About *Pulcinella*, Joseph Straus writes,

Most accounts of Stravinsky's recompositions, by the composer himself and others, have tended to emphasize his **love** for his source pieces. This emphasis, however, has **obscured** the more profound process whereby Stravinsky engages in an **aggressive struggle** with his source pieces. This struggle frequently involves the **radical reinterpretation** of the pitch structure of his model and reveals not admiration so much as **self-aggrandizement**. This ambivalence is perfectly captured by Stravinsky's remarks about the music used for *Pulcinella* in which his claim of love for it is couched in metaphors of **force, penetration, and possession**.¹⁴

While Straus correctly reads Stravinsky's comments on *Pulcinella* (though they were made many years after its composition), which do include the metaphorical language Straus describes, this understanding of neoclassicism only resonates with a minimal swath of the experiences reported by contemporaneous listeners. Stravinsky wrote, in his *Autobiography*,

Before attempting a task so arduous, I had to find an answer to a question of the greatest importance by which I found myself faced. Should my line of action with regard to Pergolesi be **dominated** by my love or by my respect for his music? Is it love or respect that **urges us to possess** a woman? Is it not by love alone that we succeed in **penetrating** to the very essence of a being? But, then, does love diminish respect?¹⁵

Certainly, some neoclassical works (even Stravinsky's) may be best viewed as opposing the past, even vehemently. And in 1986, Straus notes, almost no one recognized this. Straus's article and subsequent book were seminal in their time, using Harold Bloom's concept of "anxiety of influence" to bring literary theory and historical context into contact with musical analysis.¹⁶ I prefer to read Straus's interpretation as a product of its time in this way, rather than the only productive model of understanding all facets of Stravinsky's neoclassicism.

¹⁴ Joseph N. Straus, "Recompositions by Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and Webern," *The Musical Quarterly* 72, no. 3 (January 1, 1986): 313, emphasis added.

¹⁵ Stravinsky, *Stravinsky: An Autobiography*, 128. Emphasis added.

¹⁶ Straus, *Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition*.

It is difficult to imagine *all* of Stravinsky's neoclassical work as equally concerned with such anxiety, and currently it feels as though the pendulum has swung quite far in the "violent" direction. Even when combatting Straus's notion, Martha Hyde finds herself caught in the language of violence when she speaks about *Pulcinella* as an example of "reverential imitation," which on the surface seems correct—Stravinsky respects his source material, presenting it alongside clearly "Stravinskyan" material without doing violence to either identity. Yet, in her description Hyde writes,

onto this classically tonal structure, Stravinsky superimposes modern ornaments and orchestral effects, adding devices such as diatonic dissonances, extended ostinatos, brilliant orchestration, altered phrase lengths, and so on. However **dazzling**, these devices seldom **threaten** the original tonal idiom.¹⁷

It seems to surprise Hyde that *Pulcinella* is *not* ostensibly violent, as if reverential imitation should contain some sense of masked antagonism or appropriation. As Hyde notices, and I agree, when watching or listening to the ballet, it is difficult to imagine a sinister hand managing "Pergolesi." For many listeners, including the ones present at the premieres, the work seems lively, amusing, and witty, which is difficult to reconcile with this combative model for neoclassicism.¹⁸ The analyses below thus favor readings that emphasize those aspects that historical listeners found most worth mentioning.

4.3 REVIVING PERGOLESI IN ANALYSIS

Since *Pulcinella* is a direct adaptation of extant eighteenth-century works, it is a great place to start cataloguing Stravinsky's deviations from common-practice composition (e.g., the Western

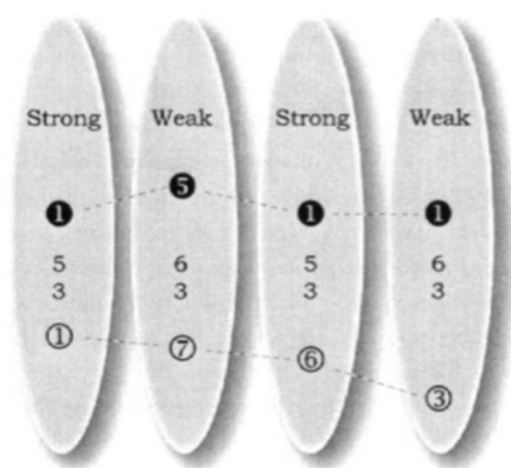
¹⁷ Hyde, "Stravinsky's Neoclassicism," 111. Emphasis added.

¹⁸ "Agon," an aggressive form of playful behavior, might be an interesting idea to explore here. As only one of the four main types of play or interplay, the idea of struggle is only one possibility for playful interactions. Metaphors of play in Stravinsky's work have recently been explored in Andrew Joseph Westerhaus, "Stravinsky and the Ludic Metaphor" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2012). In this view, violence can have a more humorous aspect, and would include things like slapstick humor, which is of course central to the commedia dell'arte tradition that the *Pulcinella* scenario ironically revives. This might allow for some reconciliation between Straus and other listeners—and allow us not to choose one reading over the other.

classical music that neoclassicism makes “neo”). As he was originally asked merely to arrange these works for balletic performance, Stravinsky surely could have combined these pieces smoothly, even if he argued otherwise.¹⁹ Simple orchestration, lithe transitions, and transpositions to ease motion between movements would likely have been enough to create a seamless ballet, which would have placed this work firmly in the category of “arrangement” rather than the more creative act of “composition.” Stravinsky did more: to some, he “modernized” the work for contemporary ears; to others, he made it his own; and to still others, he took an otherwise dead, musty set of musical objects, and in their rearrangement, almost magically coaxed them back to life.

Robert Gjerdingen’s theory of musical schemata draws directly from the same genre of sources that Stravinsky adapts in *Pulcinella*. In *Music in the Galant Style*, Gjerdingen details several different schematic patterns of contrapuntal scale-degree combinations that were commonly used in the partimento tradition.

Figure 4.5: Galant Romanesca schema: Gjerdingen’s figure and notated in G Major²⁰



¹⁹ He writes, “I knew that I could not produce a ‘forgery’ of Pergolesi because my motor habits are so different; at best, I could repeat him in my own accent.” Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Expositions and Developments*, New edition edition (University of California Press, 1981), 112.

²⁰ Reproduced from Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 39.

Figure 4.5, continued



Figures 4.5 and 4.6 illustrate two of the most common patterns found in *Pulcinella*'s sources, showing both Gjerdingen's illustration of the linear pattern and that pattern realized as an idealized musical example. Note that Gjerdingen defines schemata as a series of events, each of which bundles together several features: a contrapuntal relationship between scale degrees in the outer voices, a particular harmonic rhythm, and specific figured bass.²¹ Because schemata are available to listeners at the very least as frameworks for expectation, it seems likely that any changes to these patterns would result in surprise, delight, or disgust in reviews, depending on how Stravinsky chose to alter his models. Stravinsky's modifications often change the harmonic progression of inner voices, disrupting the expected flow of a given pattern. This is not to say that eighteenth-century composers never defied expectations or modified their use of schemata—they certainly did. But it is the particular ways in which Stravinsky chooses to alter the pitch content that contribute to *Pulcinella*'s reception.

Recall that Prunières described Stravinsky's alterations as "tartar sauce." But what, in particular, is "saucy" about Stravinsky's changes to these scores? While some of this new flavor may be attributed to the striking and colorful instrumentation Stravinsky chooses when updating these galant-style sources, an important clue lies in the way in which he alters the galant schemata that are so characteristic of these scores and this style. In fact, the source for *Pulcinella*'s overture, the opening of Gallo's first trio sonata, appears in *Music in the Galant Style* as a prototypical example of a common

²¹ The term "bundle" comes from Gjerdingen's description of his figures: "each schema's individual events are shown as gray lozenges containing a bundle of features." Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 453.

schematic combination: the galant Romanesca followed by a Prinner. Gjerdingen’s analysis is shown in Figure 4.7. He argues that this combination, a “Romanesca” followed by a “Prinner,” is one of the most common galant formulations; in the Gallo, the abstract structures diagrammed in Figures 4.5 and 4.6 are musically realized as the antecedent of a parallel period, as shown in Figure 4.8.

Figure 4.6: Prinner schema: Gjerdingen’s figure and notated in G Major²²



Now, consider how Stravinsky alters these schemata, as illustrated in Figure 4.9. By merely changing a few pitches, occasionally adding notes to inner voices²³—first a G on every beat in mm. 1–2, and A on nearly every beat in mm. 3–4—Stravinsky manages to disrupt a sense of harmonic progression, asserting a rising pedal motion in the inner voices.²⁴ These alterations are occasionally difficult to notice because they do not affect the progression of the outer voices (and it becomes an

²² Reproduced from *Ibid.*, 455.

²³ Added or altered notes have diamond-shaped noteheads.

²⁴ The question of whether these notes are merely added or altered brings up a very important distinction between the ways that Stravinsky treats his source material, and how his listeners respond to it. As will be further explored later in this chapter and to a greater extent in the dissertation as a whole, neither perception is more “correct,” but each is indicative of a different view of Stravinsky’s relationship to his raw sources. While modification indicates deliberate tampering, and may result in people, as we have seen, feeling that the music treats its sources violently, the idea of addition is milder. Addition does not excise, it does not overshadow in the same way that modification does.

issue in certain recordings when the conductor or orchestra chooses not to emphasize them), but the added notes do change the implied harmonies. This is Stravinsky's strategy throughout most of *Pulcinella*, and an important strategy throughout his neoclassical period. The schematic patterns remain audible because Stravinsky's changes do not remove the other necessary components of these patterns: the tonal center, bass/soprano relationship, and harmonic rhythm.

Figure 4.7: Gjerdingen's analysis of Gallo²⁵

The musical score shows two systems. The first system (measures 1-2) is labeled 'ROMANESCA'. The second system (measures 3-4) is labeled 'PRINNER'. Fingerings are indicated by circled numbers: 1, 5, 5, 1 in the first measure; 6, 5, 4, 3 in the second measure; 1, 7, 6 in the third measure; and 4, 3, 2, 1 in the fourth measure. A trill is marked 'tr' in the second measure of the PRINNER section.

Figure 4.8: Gallo, Trio Sonata 1, mm. 1-4

The musical score shows two systems. The first system (measures 1-2) is labeled 'Romanesca'. The second system (measures 3-4) is labeled 'Prinner'. The third system (measures 5-6) is labeled 'Romanesca'. The fourth system (measures 7-8) is labeled 'Converging Cadence (HC)'. Fingerings are indicated by circled numbers: 1, 5, 5, 1 in the first measure; 6, 5, 4, 3 in the second measure; 1, 5, 5, 1, 3, 2, (1, 7) in the third measure; and 1, 7, 6, 5, 4, #4, 5 in the fourth measure.

²⁵ Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 50.

Figure 4.9: Stravinsky, *Pulcinella* Overture, mm. 1–4

The musical score shows four measures of music. Above the staff, four boxes label the measures: 'Romanesca' (measures 1-2), 'Prinner' (measure 3), 'Romanesca' (measure 4), and 'Converging Cadence (HC)' (measures 3-4). Fingerings are indicated by circled numbers 1-7. The bass line includes a sharp sign under the 4th measure.

Stravinsky's consequent in measures 3 and 4 acts as expected, with motion toward the dominant, D Major, through repetition of the Romanesca, which now is followed by a Converging Cadence (a term Gjerdingen uses to describe a half cadence that converges on the major third of the dominant triad via inward stepwise motion). Yet, the harmonic changes that accompany this outer-voice schema manage to disrupt the sense of closure. The pattern is not entirely effaced, but the additional pitches add a tinge of strangeness, a slight taste of tartar sauce, to an otherwise standard, bland gesture. While listeners need not have names for these anticipated patterns when they hear them in the wild, they may be aware that their expectations have not been fully met.²⁶ The antecedent's kinship with traditional galant structures invites listeners to expect specific tonal relationships, but the consequent removes a level of familiarity making it so that expectations are not entirely met. The result is a little surprising, a little impudent, and perhaps, even, a bit witty.

Now, the critical question here is whether Stravinsky's listeners would have been familiar with such patterns as the Prinner or the Romanesca. While eighteenth-century listeners were steeped in music of their own time, it is less likely that audience members in the early twentieth century were as familiar with music written by eighteenth-century, Italian, partimento-trained composers. The problem here, then, is to what degree an audience member in 1920 would recognize these galant

²⁶ As discussed earlier, 1920s listeners would have had opportunities to hear and become familiar with music that used these structures and styles, and thus may have developed expectations associated with such patterns.

formulae and have developed a sense of musical expectation related to them. Yet, the historical performance movement was in full swing, and Stravinsky's music was often performed in concerts that emphasized the connection between newly composed music and newly rediscovered Renaissance/Baroque music.²⁷ Stravinsky himself would likely have been familiar with similar patterns through exercises that his teacher, Rimsky-Korsakov, prescribed.²⁸ Even if these listeners did not have names for the patterns they were hearing, they may have recognized the falling sixths of the Prinner, or the sequential pattern embedded in the Romanesca. What schemata can reveal, though, is that Stravinsky tends not to alter the outer voices. The fact that many of these same schemas are still audible in *Pulcinella* as in its sources stems from this tendency to change only inner voices. Note that all marked alterations in the first movement are, in fact, in these inner voices.

Yet, Maureen Carr writes that “it is important to keep in mind that the level to which Stravinsky reworked his sources in *Pulcinella* was uneven” and suggests that other movements are more heavily changed.²⁹ In particular, Taruskin suggests that comparing the finale to the overture shows that Stravinsky’s “liberties increased as the work progressed,” such that “by the end, the phrase lengths were altered harum-scarum, the form was scrambled, and the harmonies far more thoroughly—and tellingly—adjusted.”³⁰ Figure 4.10 analyzes the schemata at work in the source piece for *Pulcinella*'s finale: the third movement of Gallo's twelfth Trio Sonata, mm. 8–18. Gallo's original music behaves itself. Before the example begins, in mm. 1–8, the audience is presented with an opening gambit in E Major. After a static prolongation of the tonic that converges on a half cadence (mm. 8–9, a Converging Cadence), a modulating Prinner moves to the dominant. After measure 18, several confirming cadences complete the modulation and the first theme is now

²⁷ See Paul C. Echols and Maria V. Coldwell, “Early-Music Revival,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 27, 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2235052>.

²⁸ See, again, Robert O. Gjerdingen, “Gebrauchs-Formulas,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 33, no. 2 (October 2011): 191–99.

²⁹ Carr, *After the Rite*, 202.

³⁰ Taruskin, “Parody as Homage,” in Carr et al., *Stravinsky's Pulcinella: A Facsimile of the Sources and Sketches*, 62.

presented in the dominant, B Major. This time, following the converging cadence, there are repetitions that ascend—another schematic pattern, which Gjerdingen calls a Monte—taking us to the relative minor, where a regular Prinner confirms the key. As befits a development section, the music that follows quickly cycles through F# minor, which becomes a secondary dominant (V of V), which in turn returns to the first theme in the home key. The Prinner now stays in the tonic rather than modulating, and after several more victorious cadences, the movement ends.

Figure 4.10: Gallo, Trio Sonata no. 12, E Major, III, mm. 8–18

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system (mm. 8-12) is labeled 'Converging Cadence'. It features a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. The melody consists of eighth-note patterns. Fingerings are indicated by circled numbers: 4, 3, 2, 1, 2, 1, 7, and 6. The piano accompaniment consists of chords and eighth-note patterns. The second system (mm. 13-18) is labeled 'Prinner'. It continues the melodic and harmonic patterns. Fingerings are indicated by circled numbers: 4, #4, 5, 4, 5, 4, 3, 4, 3, 2, and 1. The piano accompaniment continues with similar rhythmic patterns.

In the finale for *Pulcinella*, Stravinsky transposes the Gallo to C Major to connect more seamlessly with the preceding aria, which was in F Major. From the outset, Stravinsky alters the cadential formula so that the bass descends in thirds, and each chord contains nearly the entire diatonic collection (missing E on the first two eighths, D on the third eighth, and ending with a half-diminished seventh that returns a slight amount of cadential power to the following downbeat). Stravinsky makes up for this with orchestration, having the horns punch these downbeats strongly. The cadential pattern has been humorously altered but maintains its vitality and strength. Figure 4.11 contains Stravinsky's version of the schematic patterns that occurred in Gallo mm. 8–18, now appearing in mm. 11–21. The modulating Prinner has changed significantly, in part because Stravinsky has added three measures of static cadential material that make the contrast between static cadence and flowing parallel thirds even more apparent. The Prinner is fluid and lively. As he has done throughout *Pulcinella*, Stravinsky maintains the outer voices but alters the middle ones, adding sevenths and suspensions to complicate the sense of harmonic progression. The Prinner's sequential pattern now features a root position seventh on every first downbeat, and a root position triad on the second downbeat, removing the alteration between first inversion and root position that was present in Gallo and implied in a typical Prinner.

Figure 4.11: Stravinsky, *Pulcinella* Finale, mm. 11–21

The first aria of *Pulcinella*, “Mentre l’erbetta,” a tenor aria borrowed from Pergolesi’s *Il Flaminio*, features similar alterations. The instrumental introduction is shown in Figure 4.12, and Stravinsky’s pitch additions are again shown with diamond-shaped noteheads. Stravinsky again adds pedal tones, this time in open fifths, disrupting the original sense of harmonic progression. Simply adding the C–G dyad in inner voices changes the otherwise clear galant figure, perhaps a Romanesca, or a *lamento* bass, stagnating the falling viola line and instead emphasizing the stability of the oboe. When the tenor begins to sing, Stravinsky maintains this strategy. In fact, this is the main alteration Stravinsky makes to the body of this aria: outer voices consistently remain unchanged, and Stravinsky remains true to the rhythmic/metric structure. He also modifies the form, changing it

from a simple binary (AB) structure to a ternary (ABA') *da capo* style aria, which further allows him to experiment with these inner voices.

Figure 4.12: Stravinsky, *Pulcinella*, “Mentre l’erbetta,” mm. 1–9

The image displays a musical score for the first nine measures of the piece. It is written for piano in a 12/8 time signature with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The score is organized into five systems, each consisting of a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system (measures 1-2) shows a complex rhythmic pattern in the right hand with eighth and sixteenth notes, and a steady bass line. The second system (measures 3-4) continues this pattern, with a measure rest in the right hand at the start of measure 3. The third system (measures 5-6) features a more active right hand with frequent sixteenth-note runs. The fourth system (measures 7-8) shows a melodic line in the right hand that spans across the system boundary. The fifth system (measures 9) concludes the passage with a final chord in the right hand and a sustained bass line.

In the added A section, Stravinsky’s alterations remain minimal but are more pronounced, as shown in Figure 4.13. In this return, not only does the tenor begin to sing halfway through the introductory pattern, but the inner voices have changed. New rhythms are introduced, and the strings make shivering tremolos underneath his words, which translate to “The shepherdess/all

alone/amid the leafy groves/goes singing/through the forest.” This new timbre, not present in the original source, adds an entirely different, somewhat ominous feel to the aria.

Figure 4.13: Stravinsky, *Pulcinella*, “Mentre l’erbetta,” Return of A section, mm. 24–32

The musical score consists of four systems. The first system (mm. 24-26) shows the vocal line with rests and the piano accompaniment. The second system (mm. 27-28) includes the lyrics "So la - so - let - ta la pas - to -". The third system (mm. 29-30) includes the lyrics "rel - la tra fres - che frisch-che per la fo - res - ta can - tan - do". The fourth system (mm. 31-32) shows the vocal line with a long note and the piano accompaniment.

Of course, pitch alterations are perhaps the least affective (and, arguably, effective) of Stravinsky’s changes to his sources—certainly, Prunières’s 1929 discussion of *Pulcinella* suggests that he felt this way. Almost all the source material derives from trio sonatas for strings and continuo, and even those sources from operas (including Parisotti’s nineteenth-century “Se tu m’ami”) avoid

using winds. Stravinsky chooses to evoke a concerto grosso orchestra with solo and ripieno strings, but also includes winds, and solo voices that would be out of place in a Baroque orchestra. This choice results in some very clear changes in style and affect. The additional timbres allow Stravinsky to take liberties with repetition, contrasting string and wind timbres by using them antiphonally. Perhaps because this music was originally for strings, or because Stravinsky chooses to have many of these statements repeated by double reeds, there is a distinct contrast in beauty and elegance between initial, string statements and their wind-based echoes.

For example, in the very first movement, which, as previously discussed, is drawn from a Gallo Trio Sonata, the opening parallel period relies heavily on the juxtaposition of string, brass, and reed timbres. Stravinsky highlights this change by having the winds play in a lower register during the consequent. The full score is reproduced in Figure 4.14. In this low range, not only are the winds less capable of projecting a clear, beautiful sound, but the juxtaposition of timbres in this echo, from warm to cold (as Stravinsky sees it, at least) seems to take something away from the *galanterie* of the initial statements.³¹ Certainly, the use of winds is out of place in the original works—and Stravinsky takes advantage of that.

³¹ Stravinsky mentions that he sees winds as cold and strings as romantic. See Igor Stravinsky, “Some Ideas about My Octuor,” in *Stravinsky, the Composer and His Works*, ed. Eric Walter White (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979 [1924]), 574–577.

Figure 4.14: Stravinsky, *Pulcinella* Overture, mm. 1–4

The image displays a musical score for the first four measures of the *Pulcinella* Overture by Igor Stravinsky. The score is organized into two main sections: SOLO and ORCHESTRA. The SOLO section includes parts for Oboes (I and II), Bassoons (I and II), and Horns (I and II). The ORCHESTRA section includes Violins I and II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabasso. The tempo is marked 'Allegro moderato, ♩ = 80'. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The score shows the first four measures of the piece, with various rhythmic patterns and dynamics.

Furthermore, one of Stravinsky’s most famous techniques is his use of imbalanced phrases and meters. *The Rite of Spring* is famously rife with unpredictable metric moments and *Pulcinella* is often similarly unstable. Even when Stravinsky ostensibly changes nothing, there are subtle changes in how rhythm and meter are portrayed, in part because of the tempi that the composer prescribes. Stravinsky’s alterations tend to become more extreme as the ballet progresses and it is easy to speculate why this may be: after listeners are introduced into the galant style of the opening, Stravinsky begins to play more and more with listener expectations and wilder deviations from his

source material. As time goes on in the ballet, then, listeners continue to be surprised by deviations from the galant norms that Stravinsky initially established in the Overture. This may contribute to listeners expressing the senses I explored above, as Stravinsky's audacity and wit continually shock them. Take, for example, the *Scherzino* third movement, which Stravinsky takes from the first movement of Gallo's Trio Sonata Number Two in B \flat Major (again transposed to facilitate seamless transition from movement that precedes it). In the original source, Gallo begins on the second half of the measure. Stravinsky shifts this music a half-measure earlier, which has the practical purpose of eliding the cadence between the ending of the second movement and the third. However, this also changes the hypermetric position of important moments. All downbeats now occur halfway through the measure, and prior upbeats on the half-measure level are now downbeats. Stravinsky further emphasizes this change with his usual dyads that resolve, suspension-like in inner voices on his off-beats. This retains some of the strength associated with these moments as downbeats, despite their now metrically weakened position. For the most part, this shift does not accompany a change in how one might entrain to the beat, but simply where the emphasis is placed, both harmonically and rhythmically. Yet again, Stravinsky takes a binary form and makes it ternary, allowing himself the freedom for additional expression in the return of the A section. At the end of the first section, Stravinsky elides the cadence where Gallo would have reached a repeat, moving directly into the developmental B section where more alterations are present. Stravinsky plays with moving back and forth between Gallo's notated meter and his own shifted version.

4.4 CONCLUSION

My goal in this chapter has been to show that the relationship between "Pergolesi" and Stravinsky in *Pulcinella* is multi-faceted and complex. Using schemata to tease out these relationships may reanimate some portion of historical listener experience (however speculatively) for present-day

listeners. This approach also clarifies why so many current analyses of neoclassicism seem unable to mirror the experiences one has while listening to these works: choosing a set-theoretic, scale-theoretic, or Schenkerian approach to analyzing this music privileges either the past, tonal elements, or the present, modernist elements, suppressing one side to express the other. While it is of course possible to write a compelling analysis of Stravinsky's neoclassical works using these methods, many analysts end up writing solely about those elements that their chosen method highlights. If neoclassicism is *about* some other relationship between past and present, then it becomes imperative to study their interrelationship, which requires developing a methodology that can adequately address these features. This widening of potential relationships between *Pulcinella* and its sources allows for a multiplicity of analyses that speak to different aspects of these relationships. It also allows us to draw connections with the very reported experiences that sparked this study. Through bringing analysis and reception history together, it becomes possible to broaden our understanding of *Pulcinella*. By bringing these reactions and analyses into close proximity, there does seem to be an asymptotic approach toward experience-oriented analysis.

Throughout *Pulcinella*, added dissonances, repetition and elision of measures, as well as lively orchestration reanimate our sense of "Pergolesi." I would like to conclude this chapter by suggesting that these tools might be useful in further analyses of works that, unlike *Pulcinella*, are not adapted directly from eighteenth-century sources, and may not have such clear models. Most of Stravinsky's neoclassical works have no direct sources. However, there are almost always clear stylistic referents. Whether on the formal level (say, Stravinsky's modeling this work after a French overture or modifying a sonata form) or on the harmonic, it is usually possible to recognize some sort of musical idea and structure that directly relates to the "Classical" style Stravinsky is adapting. In cases where these are on the contrapuntal level, I would like to suggest that it is possible to extrapolate an implied schema from which Stravinsky takes his material, but these are by no means the only possibilities.

The degree and ways in which he alters these models and presents them to the public are related to the different kinds of reception associated with works such as *Pulcinella* or the Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments, where the changes may have been less palatable. Perhaps Stravinsky's departures from what was expected in this work were more extreme than those in *Pulcinella*. This question will be further explored in the next chapter.

5 EXPERIENCE-ORIENTED ANALYSES

There is a difference, and a subtle one between the writing for the “Concerto” and the “Capriccio.” There are big differences in melodic contour. There can be little doubt that it is a preparation for another big work—some say a Mass or Requiem, others an opera. Whatever it is, the chief interest will be found in part-writing, in the weaving of the texture: questions of rhythm and orchestration, interesting as they always are in Stravinsky’s work, are of secondary importance.

—Andrew J. Browne, “Aspects of Stravinsky’s Work” (1930)¹

5.1 INTRODUCTION

As the epigraph for this chapter suggests, the road from *Pulcinella* (1920) to the *Rake’s Progress* (1951) was long and varied. Stravinsky’s style changed frequently and drastically over the intervening decades, as did the world into which these works were released. While this chapter cannot explore every work or its reception in detail, we will check in with Stravinsky at two stops along this road, the Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments (1924) that began this dissertation’s inquiry, and the *Dances Concertantes* (1942) whose Parisian premiere was the site of a riot of less memorable (but equally vitriolic) proportions to the *Rite of Spring* nearly thirty years prior.² The chapter concludes with analysis of selected moments in *The Rake’s Progress* (1951). As in Chapter Four, the analyses to follow will move between historical, contextual, and musical analyses of the work in question in order to understand more clearly how the relationship between Stravinsky’s use of past musical materials and his audiences’ reception changed with each work. As the epigram indicates, the focus in these sections will be on texture, counterpoint, and part-writing, not because instrumentation, timbre, rhythm, and meter are unimportant, but because it is the former that are especially unique and integral to these works, and these features also seem to be the focus of historical listeners’ responses to these works. Because the goal of the analyses to follow is to use whichever theoretical

¹ Andrew J. Browne, “Aspects of Stravinsky’s Work,” *Music and Letters* XI, no. 4 (1930): 366.

² Leslie A. Sprout, “The 1945 Stravinsky Debates: Nigg, Messiaen, and the Early Cold War in France,” *The Journal of Musicology* 26, no. 1 (January 1, 2009): 85–131.

tool best illuminates this relationship, rather than to illustrate the utility of a specific theory, these analyses may feel eclectic in their methodology, rather, I hope, in the same way that Stravinsky's neoclassicism often unscrupulously moves between styles and quotations drawn from wide swaths of music and music history.³

5.2 CONCERTO FOR PIANO AND WIND INSTRUMENTS

The Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments was first performed at the Paris Opéra on May 22, 1924.⁴ Serge Koussevitsky conducted the Opéra orchestra, and Stravinsky performed as piano soloist.⁵ The Concerto is representative of a shift in Stravinsky's compositional style at this time; while *Pulcinella* was followed by another "Russian" work, *Mavra* (1922), the Piano Concerto was among the first in a series of several instrumental, "absolute" works that foregrounded musical objectivity (to use the composer's own term) through instrumentation and the use of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century "absolute" forms and styles.⁶ The composer's description of performers as "executants" of objectivity rather than subjective interpreters in "Some Ideas About My Octuor" was published earlier the same year, making it likely that Stravinsky employed a similar philosophy while preparing the score and supervising rehearsals for the concerto's premiere.⁷ The concerto also demonstrated the composer's increased interest in controlling every aspect of the musical process:

³ I am not the first to mix analytical models when approaching Stravinsky's music. In one of his most effective articles on Stravinsky analysis, Joseph Straus explicitly flips the usual relationship between theory and analysis, focusing entirely on the works he analyzes, using as many analytical lenses as necessary. See Joseph N. Straus, "Three Stravinsky Analyses: *Petrushka*, Scene 1 (to Rehearsal No. 8); *The Rake's Progress*, Act III, Scene 3 ('In a Foolish Dream'); *Requiem Canticles*, 'Exaudi,'" *Music Theory Online* 18, no. 4 (December 1, 2012), <http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.12.18.4/mto.12.18.4.straus.html>.

⁴ White, *Stravinsky*, 1985, 318.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ The Octet is the first in this series and premiered in October 1923, hence the essay. Eric Walter White, *Stravinsky: A Critical Survey, 1882–1946* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 1946), 108. White mentions later that the Parisian premiere of the Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments was among the first Stravinsky performances he ever attended. Eric Walter White, "Listening to Stravinsky's Music in the 1920s," *Tempo*, no. 81 (July 1967): 32–36.

⁷ The essay was first published on January 1, 1924 in *The Arts*, a British journal. It is also reprinted in Stravinsky, "Some Ideas about My Octuor (1924)."

composing, performing, conducting, and writing about his music.⁸ A certain portion of this decision was likely financially motivated, as Stravinsky received remuneration from publishing scores and essays, royalties from performances, and honoraria for appearing as a performer or conductor, but Stravinsky's "Some Ideas" also showed that the composer wanted to control the specifics of performance and reception. For Stravinsky, no one other than he ought to interpret the work. The composer's intent and prescribed interpretation was the only viable and valid option, and performing the concerto himself provided Stravinsky with the ability to control individual performances and maintain the work's putatively objective qualities.

The concerto's instrumentation was also the result of an attempt to increase "objectivity": Stravinsky was dissatisfied with string timbres' associations with lushness and romanticism in the 1920s, writing in "Some Ideas" that he felt drawn to winds and brass for their relative coldness.⁹ A program for an early performance further noted that Stravinsky thought of this particular combination of instruments as vitally distinct from symphonic, band, or "fanfare" orchestras: it was an "*orchestra d'harmonie*," which was *not* to be confused with a "symphonic orchestra minus strings."¹⁰ The French version of the title, *Concerto pour piano suivi d'orchestra d'harmonie*, thus contains important markers of the composer's intent in using this orchestral grouping that are missing from the English translation of the title.

One might believe, then, that a faithful Stravinskyite ought to perform exactly according to score specifications. But, Stravinsky revised works frequently (sometimes significantly), and there

⁸ In the years prior to composing the Octet, Stravinsky seemed fascinated with writing for the pianola, an instrument that grants the composer full control over performances. See Carr, *After the Rite*, 248. This obsession later extended to recording definitive versions of his work. See Nicholas Cook, "Stravinsky Conducts Stravinsky," in *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky*, ed. Jonathan Cross (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 176–91.

⁹ Stravinsky, "Some Ideas about My Octuor (1924)."

¹⁰ See Carr, *After the Rite*, 256. Carr quotes, at length, the program note from the Carnegie Hall performance in February, 1925, which may have been influenced by Nadia Boulanger's discussion with Stravinsky about these particular orchestral groupings.

remains a great deal of discussion as to whether Stravinsky truly meant what he wrote in “Some Ideas.” As is well known, Stravinsky often relied on ghost writers, whose perspectives certainly permeated Stravinsky’s published writing.¹¹ Furthermore, Stravinsky’s published scores rarely include all the performance directions necessary for a truly “Stravinskyan” interpretation of the work. Soulima Stravinsky, Igor’s pianist son, applied for a grant from the University of Illinois’s Center for Advanced Study on the basis that there was great need for published scores that included all the performance directions that his father used as a conductor and performer (and passed on to his son). It appears that this proposal either went unfunded or the grant was not sufficient, as no such critical editions ever appeared.¹² Yet, the performing scores that still exist support Soulima’s case, as there is often a significant difference between the annotations Igor and Soulima added to their performing scores, and the details that are available in published scores. For example, the performing score for *La Baiser de la Fée* held at Juilliard’s manuscript library includes hundreds of markings that have never been made publicly available.¹³ Since it is likely that a similar number of performance directions have never been added to any of the revisions or published scores of the Concerto, it is difficult to know how it was originally performed.¹⁴ Yet, it is possible to reconstruct some sense of these initial

¹¹ Stravinsky’s use of ghost-writers and tendency to change his public opinions is well-discussed in the literature. Rosamund Bartlett finds it necessary to mention “Stravinsky’s habit of falsifying his own life story” on the very first page of her article in the *Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky*, and this remains an *idée fixe* throughout the varied contributions to the *Companion* and other collections of Stravinsky studies. See Rosamund Bartlett, “Stravinsky’s Russian Origins,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky*, ed. Jonathan Cross, Cambridge Companions to Music (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3. Many writers and musicians, including Robert Craft and Nadia Boulanger were also complicit in constructing Stravinsky’s public identity. See, for example, Nadia Boulanger, “Lectures on Modern Music: III. Stravinsky,” *The Rice Institute Pamphlet* 13 (1926): 178–95; Robert Craft, *Stravinsky: Discoveries and Memories*, 1st edition (Naxos Books, 2013); Francis, *Teaching Stravinsky*.

¹² Soulima Stravinsky’s proposal, and the attendant letter of recommendation from Nadia Boulanger both stress the lack of sufficient performance directions in published scores as the motivation for pursuing this grant. See Soulima Stravinsky, “Soulima Stravinsky. Statement of Project for an Application to the Appointment of Associate in the Center for Advanced Study, University of Illinois,” 1962, Bob. 28148, no. 374, Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Stravinsky Letters.

¹³ Igor Stravinsky, Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky, and Hans Christian Andersen, *Le Baiser de La Fée: Ballet-Allégorie En 4 Tableaux*, 1928. Copyist’s score held at the Juilliard Manuscript Collection.

¹⁴ It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to track down performing scores of the Concerto and reconstruct such performance directions, but critical edition work of this sort would provide a useful resource for Stravinsky scholars. Maureen Carr’s sketch studies and subsequent critical editions of *L’Histoire du Soldat* and *Pulcinella* are excellent

performances through the addition of historical detail (as discussed in Chapter Two), and analysis of early responses to these performances.

As discussed in Chapters One and Three, early responses to the concerto were mixed, as the visualizations in Chapter Three demonstrate. The appropriate word cloud and collocates graph are reprinted here as Figures 5.1 and 5.2, for convenience. The premiere, while eagerly anticipated, had several negative reviews. Eric Walter White recalls that, while he enjoyed the rest of the program, which included suites from *Firebird* and *Petrushka*, he found the Concerto to be “baffling.”¹⁵ Stravinsky’s acolytes continued to praise the work, but many others felt it was less than worthwhile. This mixed response continued after the premiere and publication of the score, and includes Heinrich Schenker’s analysis of the toccata-like first theme, which was explored in Chapter One. At the premiere, Stravinsky seems to have suffered from a bout of vertigo (which may have been purely mental), and struggled to remember the opening of the second movement until Koussevitzky slyly hummed it to him, as noted in the introduction.¹⁶

steps in this direction (Maureen A. Carr, *Stravinsky’s Histoire Du Soldat: A Facsimile of the Sketches*, Music in Facsimile (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2005.); Carr et al., *Stravinsky’s Pulcinella: A Facsimile of the Sources and Sketches*.)

¹⁵ White, “Listening to Stravinsky’s Music in the 1920s,” 32.

¹⁶ Stravinsky says, “Having finished the first part of my *Concerto*, just before beginning the Largo which opens with a piano solo, I suddenly realized that I had entirely forgotten how it started. I whispered this to Koussevitzky. He glanced at the score and whispered the first notes. That was enough to restore my balance and enable me to attack the Largo.” (Stravinsky, *Stravinsky: An Autobiography*, 179.) White notes that the audience likely had no idea that this memory slip occurred. “I was fascinated by his appearance and performance; I noted the long pause at the end of the first movement, during which he dried his hands with one or more handkerchiefs drawn from a little pile placed at the side of the piano; and I never dreamed (nor, do I think, did the rest of the audience) that this pause was being prolonged owing to a momentary lapse of memory on his part.” White, “Listening to Stravinsky’s Music in the 1920s,” 32.

composer has trouble remembering the music he writes, it seems worth exploring. What makes the second movement so difficult to recall? On the surface, the music is quite simple, especially compared to the more virtuosic, contrapuntal, and percussive outer movements. The second movement begins on a first-inversion C Major triad, which would be somewhat unusual in a common-practice work, but seems utterly tame for Stravinsky. In fact, it may recall certain features of the middle movement of Beethoven's first piano concerto. Figures 5.3 and 5.4 contain the opening bars for each of these movements, in which the piano, sparsely accompanied by a small orchestral group (horns for Stravinsky, strings for Beethoven), articulates a stepwise, turning motion around $\hat{3}$, in a duple meter. The rhythmic quality and contour of the melody is the same, and the slow, plodding chords underneath evoke a similar somberness and staidness. In the 1950, revised version of Stravinsky's published score, these movements even share the same tempo marking: *Largo*.¹⁹ Stravinsky's use of a first-inversion tonic triad certainly sets his opening off-balance, as does the nine-measure phrase that mixes meters at its close. But the similarities are audible and visible, and the "romantic" quality of the second movement has often been noted. Indeed, Marc Blitzstein, while generally uninterested in the concerto's outer movements, wrote in 1991 that he found the middle movement to be "thrilling," a statement that seems to bely this sense of the movement's unmemorability.²⁰ Is there, then, something in the music that makes it difficult for a performer to remember while remaining thrilling for an audience member? Does the vertigo described in the above accounts of the Concerto extend to listeners and performers alike, past and present? Do the first movement's extreme differences from the second contribute to this feeling? These are questions to consider as we turn toward exploring the first movement in more detail in the sections below.

¹⁹ White includes a helpful diagram comparing Stravinsky's changes in the 1950 version to the original, including changing the second movement's tempo marking from "Larghissimo" to "Largo." White, *Stravinsky*, 1985, 319.

²⁰ Marc Blitzstein, "The Phenomenon of Stravinsky (1935)," *The Musical Quarterly* 75, no. 4 (1991): 59.

Figure 5.3: Beethoven, Piano Concerto No. 1, Largo, mm. 1–8

The musical score for Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 1, Largo, mm. 1–8, is presented in two systems. The first system (measures 1–4) shows the Piano part with a melodic line in the right hand and a harmonic accompaniment in the left hand. The Strings part provides a steady accompaniment. The second system (measures 5–8) continues the Piano part with a melodic line in the right hand and a harmonic accompaniment in the left hand. The Strings part provides a steady accompaniment. The score is in B-flat major and 3/4 time.

Figure 5.4: Stravinsky, Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments, Largo, mm. 1–9

The musical score for Stravinsky's Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments, Largo, mm. 1–9, is presented in two systems. The first system (measures 1–5) shows the Piano part with a melodic line in the right hand and a harmonic accompaniment in the left hand. The Winds part includes Fr. Horns, English Horn, Clarinet in A, and Trombone Solo. The second system (measures 6–9) continues the Piano part with a melodic line in the right hand and a harmonic accompaniment in the left hand. The Winds part includes Fr. Horns, English Horn, Clarinet in A, and Trombone Solo. The score is in 2/4 time.

5.2.1 Back to Bach: Historical Context and Text Analysis

Boris de Schloezer, a Russian expatriate and writer for the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, was the first writer to apply the term “neoclassical” to Stravinsky. He did so in 1923, while writing about the *Symphonies d’instruments à vent* (1920). While many Stravinsky scholars today do not consider the *Symphonies* to be among Stravinsky’s neoclassical works and, by extension, 1920 is not usually included in musicologists’ description of Stravinsky’s “neoclassical period,” de Schloezer’s work does engage with an important feature of Stravinsky’s music that many critics described as present in his properly “neoclassical” writing: its so-called objectivity.²¹ De Schloezer writes that he finds the *Symphonies* to be neoclassical because the music consists of

only a system of sounds, which follow one another and group themselves according to purely musical affinities; the thought of the artist places itself only in the musical plan without ever setting foot in the domain of psychology. Emotions, feelings, desires, aspirations—this is the terrain from which he has pushed his work.²²

De Schloezer, and perhaps his contemporaries, thus define the term “neoclassical” differently than it is commonly used today: as unemotional, simple, and, again, “objective.” It even seems possible, given Stravinsky’s predilection toward changing his views, that Stravinsky’s later description of his music as entirely objective in “Some Ideas About My Octuor” is influenced by De Schloezer’s description here. Understanding that, for writers like De Schloezer, the primary feature of neoclassical works is their lack of emotion and affect also provides insight into arguments about periodizing Stravinsky’s oeuvre. Richard Taruskin uses de Schloezer as evidence that Stravinsky’s neoclassicism

²¹ Some scholars do cite the *Symphonies* as the first of Stravinsky’s neoclassical works, but equally many scholars cite the Octet or *Pulcinella*. See footnote 13 in Chapter One. The debate as to whether Stravinsky’s music ought to be separated into stylistic divisions of this sort (let alone periodized) is not one I wish to enter here. It will suffice for the moment to say that the works examined in the chapter, among their myriad traits, share an emphasis on clear stylistic references to (and occasionally explicit quotations of) music of a more distant past, along with the relative objectivity that de Schloezer also identifies in *Symphonies*. This combination results in a quality that, while not consistent with de Schloezer’s usage of the term, has come to be called “neoclassical.”

²² Translated and quoted in Messing, *Neoclassicism in Music*, 130.

had nothing to do, at first, with stylistic retrospectivism or revivalism, with “returning to Bach” or with vicarious imperial restorations. It had everything to do with a “style dépouillé,” a stripped-down, denuded style, and with the same neo-primitivist, anti-humanistic ideals that had already motivated *The Rite* and other masterworks of Stravinsky’s late “Russian period.”²³

While periodization is not at issue in this dissertation, the idea that Stravinsky consistently rejected traditionally “romantic,” expressive, subjective, and emotive music in his work in favor of more rigid, “absolute,” and “objective” forms of writing allows analysts to consider the ways in which Stravinsky’s neoclassical writing functions in this sparser state, without fear of crossing periodic boundaries.

The relative “objectivity” of these new works is a topic of conversation not only for Stravinsky’s contemporaries but also present-day writers. Maureen Carr’s exploration of Stravinsky’s composing from 1914 to 1923 suggests that Stravinsky located objectivity in the Concerto and Octet in a return to contrapuntal writing.²⁴ Her study of the sketches indicates that the Concerto’s first movement, completed on December 1, 1923, followed closely on the heels of the Octet.²⁵ Carr describes these two works as the “crystallization” of Stravinsky’s neoclassical style.²⁶ Given the literature’s emphasis on counterpoint as a means of conveying a sense of “objectivity,” the section below begins with an analysis of how Stravinsky’s counterpoint engages with galant schemata, contrapuntal gestures, and traditional four-part voice-leading.

In addition to the linguistic emphasis on the work’s “cold objectivity,” the Concerto is often described as “mechanical.” After the first performance of the Concerto in Hungary, on a program that included *Petrushka* and *Le chant du rossignol*, Ditta Pásztor, Béla Bartók’s second wife, wrote to her mother,

²³ Richard Taruskin, “Stravinsky and Us,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky*, ed. Jonathan Cross, Cambridge Companions to Music (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 263.

²⁴ Carr, *After the Rite*, 249.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 254.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

imagine mama, such a music, in which there is absolutely no room for feelings, in which you can find no part that causes tears to come to your eyes. You know, bare rhythm, bare hammering, bare some-kind-of-timbre.²⁷

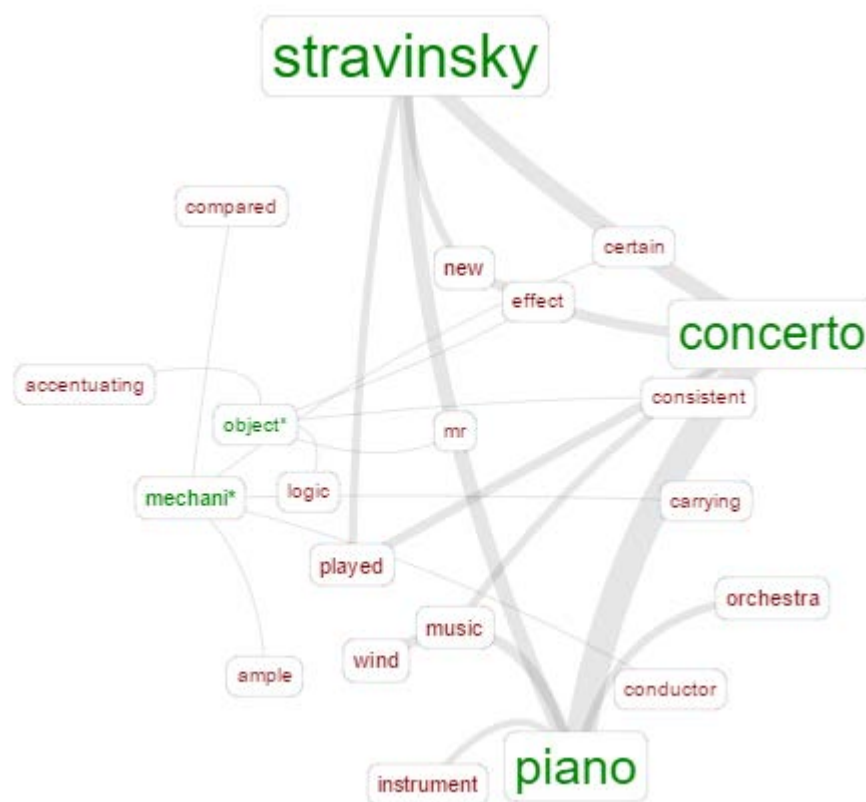
These words certainly imply a level of objectivity (“no room for feelings”) and anti-emotionalism, but also a mechanistic approach to music: “bare hammering” recalls the mechanical and percussive part of the piano, the hammers striking strings, creating a timbre that quickly decays. Pásztorly makes this mechanical metaphor more explicit later in the letter, calling the work “machine music,” a view of Stravinsky’s music that David Schneider has shown was commonplace in Hungary at the time.²⁸ While this letter (translated from Hungarian) and many of the French-language reviews of the Concerto are not included in the quantitative analyses above, due to the issues of translation discussed in Chapter Three, these texts do demonstrate a particular understanding of the Concerto that meshes strangely with the simultaneous interest in borrowings from Bach and other Baroque composers. On the one hand, this could suggest an understanding in the early twentieth-century of Baroque music as similarly mechanical, the creation of an artisan rather than a “romantic” genius. On the other, it appears that it is Stravinsky who is the mechanic, and “Bach” the machine being operated and manipulated. In either case, Stravinsky is manipulating musical gestures, progressions, and patterns in ways that seem to neutralize emotion and increase a sense of motoric, repetitive objectivity.²⁹ A collocates graph that highlights mechanicity and objectivity, as in Figure 5.5, supports the idea that the two are related, and indeed are more closely associated with words of affect and accentuation than text associated with Bach or the title of the work.

²⁷ Translation quoted in David E. Schneider, “Tradition Challenged: Confronting Stravinsky,” in *Bartók, Hungary, and the Renewal of Tradition: Case Studies in the Intersection of Modernity and Nationality* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), 155.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Neutralization is one of the eight ways that Joseph Straus suggests modernist (twentieth-century) composers may engage with past music, and seems particularly apt considering Stravinsky’s emphasis on using this “harmony orchestra” to mitigate any emotional character that string textures might naturally have. See Straus, *Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition*, 17.

Figure 5.5: Concerto collocates graph, search for “objectivity” and “mechani(city)”



5.2.2 A Sheep, in Wolf's Clothing: Unmasking Stravinsky's References

As the quantitative analyses have shown above, many reviewers identify references to Bach in the Concerto, but some find the references to be heavily masked, altered, and, often, poorly done. Further, they find that mechanical motion and objectivity are equally salient. A review of an early London performance of the Concerto notes that

M. Stravinsky has affirmed his undying allegiance to Johann Sebastian Bach, and so, his new work shows, with its recognition of the device of counterpoint, the influence of Bach. Yet what a **travesty** of Bach it is.³⁰

“Travesty” traditionally means “disguise,” and usually refers to a caricatured or burlesque representation. In fact, etymologically, “travesty” derives from the French (*se*) *travestir*, or “to disguise

³⁰ “Queens Hall Concert: Stravinsky and Respighi,” *The Scotsman (1921-1950)*, June 14, 1929. Emphasis added.

(oneself).”³¹ That this writer prefaces the word with “Yet” seems to indicate that the connotation of the word is negative, and the phrasing seems to place the writer’s meaning somewhere in the realm of “caricature.” While it is impossible to know exactly what was meant here, certainly the idea of disguise and parody has analytical resonances that differ in degree (and possibly kind) from those found in *Pulcinella*.

In the concerto, Stravinsky takes on the guise of Bach, but at times, it appears that his Stravinskyan nature shows through, and for some listeners, the distortion was extreme and possibly distasteful. While tracing references to the contrapuntal procedures associated with this “back to Bach” idea will be an important component of any analysis that brings together music reception and music theory in this work, it will be equally necessary to uncover analyses that speak to the ways in which this relationship between Bach and Stravinsky made audience members uncomfortable.

What, then, are the aspects of this work that cause these descriptions of vertigo, a lack of memorability, and unease? As I showed in Chapter One, some of this discomfort is brought about through simple means, taking recognizable, expectation-laden musical gestures, and dismantling them using “wrong-note harmonies” that often take the shape of misaligned tonal gestures and the addition of dissonant, non-harmonic tones. Certainly, this compositional strategy can be seen as a musical equivalent of vertigo, pulling pitches and harmonies off-balance until the entire harmonic structure and pattern is, in Schenker’s words, “piling up dissonances.”³² But, if this were all that Stravinsky did, analysts would not have spilled the considerable ink that they have trying to tease out the Concerto’s complexities and odd relationship to tonal forms and structures.³³ I do not purport to

³¹ “Travesty, Adj. and N.,” *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed April 21, 2017, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.library.nd.edu/view/Entry/205300>.

³² Schenker, *The Masterwork in Music*, 17.

³³ Although the Concerto has not received as much analytical attention as more famous works (such as the *Rite*), it remains a relatively important work to account for in analysts’ discussion of Stravinsky’s neoclassical writing. Many analysts, most recently Donald G. Traut, try to prove Schenker wrong by locating tonal prolongation of various types in this music. See, for example, Traut, *Stravinsky’s “Great Passacaglia”*; Carr, *After the Rite*, 254–59; Roberson, “Stravinsky’s

solve these analytical tangles here (and indeed may add to them), but instead I wish to add additional analytical possibilities to the mix that use the reception described above to guide my choice of analytical tools toward highlighting the experiential ramifications of Stravinsky's compositional choices.

First, consider the ways in which Stravinsky neutralizes common musical progressions. The opening gesture, as shown in Chapter One, effectively “cancels out” many tonal implications, leaving only a vague sense that this usually key-defining gesture (tonic passing to first inversion, followed by an imperfect authentic cadence) is outlining A as a key center. Because of the cross-relations between C and C \sharp , it is unclear whether this gesture is major or minor. These measures, and my recomposition of a possible reference, are reprinted here as Figures 5.6 and 5.7 for ease of reference. Note that this recomposition could go further, to normalize harmonic rhythm: the vii^{o6} in m. 2 arrives too early, anticipating the dominant's arrival in m. 3. One could instead recompose this chord as a predominant (ii^{o6}, perhaps) to suggest a more prototypical progression, but for my purposes, this takes the recomposition farther from the musical surface than I wish to go.

Recomposing Stravinsky's work is controversial, but I never intend to suggest that these recompositions take precedence over or should be heard instead of Stravinsky's complex and satisfying music. Instead, I take my cue from Donald G. Traut, who often employs recomposition to “explore possible tonal models for [Stravinsky's] teasingly familiar musical surfaces.”³⁴ These recompositions, according to Traut, “should not be confused with a value judgements.”³⁵ Similarly, the recompositions employed in this dissertation serve as a sounding-board, a gesture toward a possible reference against which Stravinsky's music can be heard. In this light, I borrow the concept

Concerto for Piano and Winds (1924)”; Traut, “Revisiting Stravinsky's ‘Concerto’”; Morgan, “Dissonant Prolongations, Perfect Fifths, and Major Thirds in Stravinsky's Piano Concerto”; Benjamin, “Tonality without Fifths.”

³⁴ Traut, *Stravinsky's ‘Great Passacaglia,’* 56.

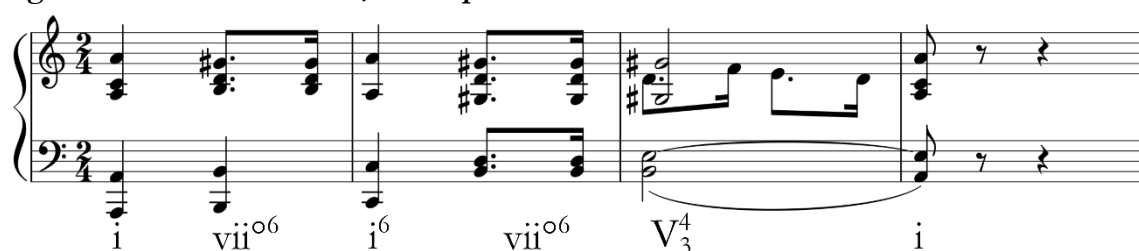
³⁵ *Ibid.*, 60.

of “deformation” from James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy. For Hepokoski and Darcy, deformation is defined as “the stretching of a normative procedure to its maximally expected limits or even beyond them—or the overriding of that norm altogether in order to produce a calculated effect.”³⁶ This term is used without reference to its negative connotation—there is no value judgement implied.

Figure 5.6: Piano Concerto, reduction mm. 1–4



Figure 5.7: Piano Concerto, recomposition mm. 1–4



In the music that follows this gesture, Stravinsky writes something much less clear—something that gestures toward several possible conventional interpretations without fully inhabiting any one. As shown in Figure 5.8, the music in mm. 7–15, while reminiscent of some sort of falling, suspended sequence, is very difficult to recompose as any expected sequence or galant schematic pattern. Yet, each of these recompositions suggests something, contains some resonance, with Stravinsky’s music. While, in Chapter Four, I showed that, in *Pulcinella*, Stravinsky adapts schemata in such a way that their essential features remain intact and audible, there are no such clear-cut correlates here—this move goes far beyond “tartar sauce” and enters a different sphere of deformation that might well be called “travesty.” As Hepokoski and Darcy write, “the expressive or

³⁶ James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types, and Deformations in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Sonata*, Reprint edition (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2011), 614.

narrative point lies in the tension between the limits of a competent listener's field of generic expectations and what is made to occur—or not occur—in actual sound at that moment.”³⁷ The tension here is more extreme than in *Pulcinella*. On the one hand, there appears to be a general reference to a falling suspension chain, perhaps a descending-fifths sequence. On the other hand, it is possible that Stravinsky invokes a Prinner-like sequence that concludes in a Converging Cadence on the dominant of C. After all, the following section repeats the opening cadential gesture on C, and it is common practice in this style of music to introduce some sort of sequential action to destabilize the first tonal center and establish a new one. As shown in Figure 5.9, this pattern certainly approaches the contour, tensions, and tonal direction of Stravinsky's passage, perhaps better than a descending fifths sequence can, but neither the recomposition in Figure 5.10, using the Prinner as a model, nor the one in Figure 5.11, using a descending fifths sequence as a model, seems to accurately represent Stravinsky's work or the “background” reference. Perhaps, to some degree, this passage can be understood as an amalgam of the many ways in which eighteenth century composers used descending, suspended sequential passages to support motion to a new key area.

³⁷ Ibid.

Figure 5.8: Possible tonal references, Concerto for Piano and Winds mm. 7–15

Prinner? Descending Fifths? Converging Cadence?

7

12

Figure 5.9: Prinner to Converging Cadence

Figure 5.10: Partial recomposition, parallel thirds (nearing a Prinner)

Figure 5.11: Partial recomposition, descending fifths sequence

Another option presents itself by way of Traut’s recent monograph on the Concerto. Traut notices that the opening twelve measures contain many elements that are repeated throughout the movement in various guises, including a heavy reliance on the tetrachord [0147]—a tetrachord that more comfortably finds its place in an octatonic scale than a major or minor mode.³⁸ Traut’s analysis of the opening cadential gesture is reprinted in Figure 5.12. This analysis can be taken still further, considering my recomposition of mm. 1–4 in Figure 5.7, which shows that the initial instances of [0147] (both of which happen to be inversions of one another centered on G \sharp) appear in the recomposed phrase where a dominant (or diminished-seventh) chord would appear in a prototypical phrase. The presence of the center-defining tritone D–G \sharp and these two tetrachords’ symmetry around the leading tone of A, G \sharp , further supports the notion that these chords are intended as dominant substitutes. In this light, the combination of octatonic and tonal features in the same work

³⁸ Traut, *Stravinsky’s “Great Passacaglia,”* 66. Traut notes that these repeated elements (“RE”s) appear on an early sketch of the Concerto, and all four of the gestures (three melodic, one harmonic) appear in the first four measures of the Concerto.

gains traction with listener experience: while, many analysts attribute the use of octatonic scales and simultaneities in this music to Stravinsky's Russian background, in this context, the use of multiple scales that do not completely align with one another further contributes to the vertiginous nature of the work. Rather than using an evenly balanced fully-diminished seventh chord, [0369], or a traditional dominant seventh chord, [0258], Stravinsky opts for a tetrachord that shares nearly the same interval content with a dominant seventh chord (interval vector 102111 for [0147], and 012111 for [0258]). The intervallic difference is significant: by choosing the tetrachord that contains a half step instead of a whole step, the [0147] tetrachords might be heard to push toward two centers at once: the first instance of [0147] in this movement, the [G, G[♯], B, D], pushes simultaneously toward an A center through its tritone, and toward G[♯] through its half-step. Perhaps this repeated element accounts for some of the discomfort and vertigo that early listeners reported.

Figure 5.12: Traut's analysis of mm. 1–4³⁹

Example 3.8. Four recurring elements (REs) as first presented in mvt. 1, mm. 1–4.

RE 3:
(0147) Tetrachord

[G, G[♯], B, D] [D, F, G[♯], A]

RE 1:
A-A-A-G-A

RE 2:
A-G-F-E

RE 4:
A-B-C-B-A

While this repeated element does not play a role in the falling suspension chain in mm. 7–12, it does provide Traut with a way of reinterpreting the motion and its reference. Traut, following Schenker's example, shows that the motion that creates the [0147] simultaneities in mm. 1–4 can also

³⁹ Ibid.

be read as temporal displacement of otherwise regular voice-exchange motion.⁴⁰ Following this logic, he reads the dissonant chain in mm. 7–12 as a series of voice exchanges between triads, where the resolution of each exchange occurs slightly too late. Figure 5.13 reprints his analysis, and my reduction of the possible tonal scaffold this analysis suggests follows in Figure 5.14. This gesture, while no more directed than Stravinsky's, suggests a more traditional modulatory purpose to these offset, suspended dissonances—one that supports a reading of this section as a simple move from the opening's centrality in A, using voice-exchanges and chromatic bass ascents to gesture toward a $b\flat$ minor area, perhaps. The major IV and minor v to begin may suggest another key area, such as f minor as it is beginning, but the $vii^{\circ 6}$ –i seem to confirm $b\flat$ before rising again chromatically to confirm C as the new center in measure 13.⁴¹ This reading privileges bass motion more than counterpoint, but easily fits within the voice-exchange structure Traut suggests while retaining sonic resonance with Stravinsky's original. It also makes clear that Stravinsky's references in this work are not singular, nor simple—one's experience and understanding of this work can vary widely.

Following this suspension chain, Stravinsky repeats the opening progression, now centered on C in m. 15, and the suspension sequence leads to a final statement of the march-like theme on A in m. 26. In this last repetition, the progression is elongated, no longer falling, suspension-like into disrepair, but now makes clear that the introductory, funeral march was a long upswing to the appearance of the first theme in m. 30 (rehearsal 5).

⁴⁰ Traut uses Schenker's realignment of Bach's and Beethoven's counterpoint in *Harmonielehre* as a model to suggest similar realignment is possible at several key points in Stravinsky's Concerto. This is notably different from the kind of recomposition Schenker attempts in 1926 and that many, including Joseph Straus, Traut, and I, attempt. Realignment suggests that these pitches are already present in the music, just offset on its surface. Recomposition, on the other hand, alters or adds pitches that were not present in the original. See *Ibid.*, 80–85.

⁴¹ Reading the $b\flat$ triad as a (retrospective) pivot chord is a personal choice, given where I tend to hear the motion shift away from $b\flat$ toward C. It would be equally possible to hear the shift occur later, in the final two measures, as an unexpected chromatic rise from a seemingly settled gesture in $b\flat$. As always, any recompositions and tonal suggestions are simply that—suggestions.

Figure 5.13: Traut's realignment of mm. 8–15⁴²

Example 4.13. Realignment of mm. 8–11.

Example 4.14. Realignment of mm. 12–15.

Figure 5.14: Further reduction of Traut, with possible tonal implications

B^b minor: (V)

vii^{o6} i

C Major: ^bii

v (V⁶ of ^bii) vii^o I

The first theme is reminiscent of a Bach toccata, and is likely the catalyst for many of the references to Bach seen in early reviews. Many analysts have noted the ways in which Stravinsky may

⁴² Traut, Stravinsky's "Great Passacaglia," 85.

invoke Scarlatti instead, but regardless, the rhythmic vigor and *moto perpetuo* of this first theme evokes mid-eighteenth century keyboard music. In keeping with the genre and style, this first theme becomes a ritornello figure in the first movement and the object of Schenker's ire in 1926. Recall that according to Schenker, this section features unresolved dissonances that prevent this section from progressing properly.⁴³ While nothing I say here will contradict this statement—it is true, after all, that Stravinsky's music here does not adhere to the tonal patterns that Schenker would like it to follow—I want to challenge this notion slightly, using an analytical technique that Gretchen Horlacher employs in her book, *Building Blocks*. Horlacher's aim in this book is to contradict the prevailing notion that Stravinsky's music never "develops," that its formation into discrete blocks of sound prevents any sense of continuity or development.⁴⁴ Horlacher turns her attention to the way in which Stravinsky overlaps (or "superimposes") ostinati of different lengths, showing that they tend to change as they repeat, which suggests a kind of development and continuity that belies the block structure under which they are imposed. As different portions of the pattern line up against one another, the music changes in spite of its repetition, and often allows Stravinsky to evade the implied closural moments that each ostinato on its own could suggest. In the first theme of the Concerto, illustrated in Figure 5.15, Stravinsky uses offset patterns to avoid a perfect authentic cadence in A for the right hand, and something that seems to be moving toward D in the left.⁴⁵ Though the example here breaks down quickly—we do not even make it through the second iteration of each pattern before Stravinsky takes the music elsewhere—there is certainly a sense of misalignment, a mismatch of pattern lengths, that keeps this music from being entirely static, continues its push toward new development of material. Perhaps this imbalance contributes to a

⁴³ Traut argues further that Schenker's disdain arises because the Concerto "lacks the strict distinction between consonance and dissonance necessary for successful tonal composition." Traut, "Revisiting Stravinsky's 'Concerto,'" 65.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, vii.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

sense of vertigo, one that later might have pushed Stravinsky off-balance enough that he could not remember the second movement. This is speculation, of course, but plausible.

Figure 5.15: Piano Concerto, rehearsal 5 (piano only)



Figure 5.16: Piano Concerto, ostinato reduction



To add to this effect, Stravinsky’s mixing of meters shifts accents to musical moments that would not traditionally receive such emphasis. As Figure 5.16 shows, it is easy to impose a simple duple meter on this theme, and one could also modify the left hand ostinato pattern to match the right, such that both reach a simultaneous close on A. That these changes are so little removed from the original is revealing—the average audience member would not have to work hard to hear Stravinsky’s music as defamiliarizing and destabilizing an otherwise clear, eighteenth-century toccata figure centered on A. Because moments of closure often act as signposts for listeners, perhaps it is Stravinsky’s evasion of these moments that contributes to the overall ambivalence that listeners feel for this work.

In addition to these surface elements, the Concerto also contains clear references to conventional tonal structures on a larger scale. The forms of each movement, while complicated and difficult to slot into a specific formal category, contain features that approximate those found in

eighteenth-century solo concerti, such as the use of a ritornello figure in the first movement, recurring in solo and tutti versions between each entrance of a new theme group. As Traut notes, this movement contains “a three-part division, very akin to an exposition-development-recapitulation model.”⁴⁶ Indeed, this reference seems intentional—even the slow introduction suggests a late eighteenth-century, early nineteenth-century sonata-allegro introduction, and the first movement’s form is nearly textbook (perhaps literally cribbed from Reicha). Yet, Stravinsky layers formal archetypes, as well: the first 29 measures of the first movement evoke not only a French overture, but also a Chopinesque funeral march. The first theme of this movement suggests both toccata styles and ritornellos, and further fits the mold of an exposition for a sonata, with a contrasting second theme and cadenza in mm. 87–110 and mm. 110–116, respectively. A short developmental section rotates through primary and secondary theme groups, and a forceful recapitulation returns in m. 178, with a flashy cadenza to follow. Perhaps the most unusual feature of this movement is the coda (mm. 313–327), in which the French overture theme returns, embellished, to close the movement with a ringing and nearly triumphant C Major triad. But this, too, seems to be an intentional reference, perhaps to another exemplar of the style: Beethoven’s “Pathétique” Sonata (Op. 13), whose first movement also ends with a coda version of its slow introduction, also a funereal march-like introduction, though this coda only briefly invokes the introduction before closing off with the first theme.

The second movement of the Concerto, a large ternary form offset with solo piano cadenzas, seems to reference multiple slow movements from Beethoven to Rachmaninoff, though the specific references are less obvious. The final movement is in a sort of rondo form, and once again includes

⁴⁶ Traut, *Stravinsky’s “Great Passacaglia,”* 68.

multiple references, including both prior movements.⁴⁷ The movement begins with a dissonant, fugal theme and later evokes ragtime rhythms and contours.

Stravinsky once described the Concerto to Samuel Dushkin, his longtime friend and violinist for many of the 1930s works, as “tractor music.”⁴⁸ The mechanical implications here suggest an autonomous machine, and this has several possible analytical resonances, including the kind of automatic process that results from the layered ostinati shown above, jostling against one another and pushing the process to continue without closure, much in the way that gears push one another to keep going. The first movement’s cadenza in the recapitulation has a particularly mechanical quality to it. As many have mentioned, the cadenza feels uncontrolled, both rhythmically and physically, and the pianist’s rhythmic alternation between hands (broken up only at the frequent metric changes, where a hand will occasionally repeat) becomes an exceptionally mechanical process, gradually becoming louder, faster, chromatically rising, as shown in Figure 5.17. This may be the “machine music” that Pásztor described in her letter to her mother. As Malia Roberson writes in a more recent analysis of the work, this moment seems entirely unburdened by neoclassical reference, and “could also be read as a self-reflection of the composer breaking free of any and all past restraints.”⁴⁹ Certainly, this moment seems less-than-human, “objective,” and vertiginous.

⁴⁷ Traut notes that the opening of the third movement repeats the ending of the second, but changes the instrumentation. *Ibid.*, 113. Furthermore, the coda for the third movement recalls the first.

⁴⁸ Quoted in Carr, *After the Rite*, 254.

⁴⁹ Roberson, “Stravinsky’s Concerto for Piano and Winds (1924),” 117.

Figure 5.17: Piano Concerto, I, cadenza



5.3 DANSES CONCERTANTES

In the decades following the Piano Concerto, Stravinsky continued to write pieces that implicitly (and often explicitly) referenced Greek classical subjects as well as seventeenth- and eighteenth-century musical conventions, making his work “neoclassical” on multiple levels. While he wrote mostly instrumental works during these decades and seemed to be distancing himself from the multimedia aspects of the early ballets, several important ballets and multimedia works prefigure his culminating work in the “neoclassical” style, *The Rake’s Progress*. In 1927, the oratorio *Oedipus Rex* premiered, and several other works on Greek subjects, including the ballet *Apollon Musagète* (1928) and melodrama, *Perséphone* (1933) soon followed. In addition to these explicitly Grecian works, Stravinsky wrote several non-programmatic orchestral works and ballets that continued this dual classicism. One such work, the *Dances Concertantes*, commissioned by Werner Janssen for his Los Angeles-based orchestra in 1941, neatly encapsulates many of the compositional procedures and reception in these intervening decades.

Contextually, the milieu into which the *Dances Concertantes* was released was significantly different from the atmosphere surrounding Stravinsky’s music from the 1920s. Whereas those works were situated between World Wars while Stravinsky was adjusting to Swiss, then Parisian life, the *Dances Concertantes* and its reception are enmeshed with the events surrounding the Second World War and Stravinsky’s related relocation to North America and naturalization as an American citizen

in Los Angeles. Stravinsky, as many writers have noted, supported the fascists, especially Mussolini, and had Anti-Semitic leanings.⁵⁰ While his personal ideals need not color present-day analyses of the work, it certainly did influence how Stravinsky's contemporaries perceived him and his music.⁵¹ Furthermore, Stravinsky experienced a religious crisis in the 1920s, resulting in a re-conversion to Russian Orthodoxy in 1926. In light of his return to religion and the overall political, social, and religious tensions of 1930s Parisian life, Tamara Levitz further suggests that it may be best to read Stravinsky's neoclassical writing from 1926 onward (and its purpose in Parisian life) as an expression of Christian "melancholia," an obsessive return to music of the past as something already lost.⁵² By the 1940s, Stravinsky, now living in Los Angeles, was no longer so closely associated with Catholic Parisian life, and listeners may not necessarily have shared this melancholic perspective, but the religious component did pervade Stravinsky's post-1926 works and should not be overlooked.⁵³ Though there is little in the *Danses Concertantes* that seems religious or melancholic, Stravinsky still regularly composed religious works, culminating in his famous Mass in 1948.

Stravinsky's reputation also changed during the intervening decades. Whereas, in 1920, he was well known for his "Russian" ballets and the shift toward galant styles in *Pulcinella* was relatively unexpected, Stravinsky's use of various "common-practice" tropes in his writing became expected

⁵⁰ See, for example, Max Paddison, "Stravinsky as Devil: Adorno's Three Critiques," in *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky*, ed. Jonathan Cross, Cambridge Companions to Music (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 198.

⁵¹ While this is admittedly speculative, Paddison notes that Adorno, at least, was aware of Stravinsky's prejudices, and believes that this knowledge influenced Adorno's dislike of Stravinsky. See Ibid. Yet, the reviews and letters I have gathered are surprisingly light on discussion of the war—its presence is usually only felt in discussions of censorship or postal misdirection, and rarely becomes an extended topic of either published or unpublished writing to or about Stravinsky.

⁵² Levitz, *Modernist Mysteries: Perséphone*, 480.

⁵³ Consider the *Symphony of Psalms* (1930), the *Mass* (1948), and the *Requiem Canticles* (1966, not strictly "neoclassical" but still religious and somber in tone).

commonplace by 1942.⁵⁴ While some found his neoclassicism to be boring and repetitive, others saw a marked difference and development in Stravinsky's writing style over these twenty years.

In one review following the 1942 Los Angeles premiere of the *Danses Concertantes*, Stravinsky is described as “the most important modern composer to write for ballet.”⁵⁵ This same reviewer describes a stark contrast between the suite based on *Pulcinella* (performed on the same program) and the *Danses Concertantes*. *Pulcinella* is “melodious” and has “a romantic beauty unexpected but there is not the humor of the ‘Danses Concertantes.’” The *Danses*, on the other hand, are “compressed, abrupt, and [move] rapidly from one idea to the another before satiety.”⁵⁶ It appears that, for this reviewer, the frenzied collage of the *Danses* contributes to their humorous affect. Moving to a larger, quantitative perspective, the word cloud in Figure 5.18 suggests that other reviewers may agree that the work is “beautiful,” and seem intrigued, in part, by the variety of movement types (marches, variations, etc.), compositional strategies (“counterpoint”), and newness (“new” and “modern”) that occur in this relatively short, balletic work.

⁵⁴ For example, Olin Downes, who can always be counted on for a poor review of Stravinsky's neoclassical work, wrote in 1943 that “the compositions by Poulenc and Stravinsky were fatiguing to one pair of ears by reason of commonplace formulas, faded futilities, already antiquated, that were considered chic and smart and funny by the snobs and Left-Bankers of the Paris of twenty years ago.” Downes is certainly not alone in finding Stravinsky's neoclassical methods well-worn and overdone. See Olin Downes, “Stravinsky Hears Own New Work: Bows From Platform When ‘Danses Concertantes’ Is Given Here First Time At Fifth of ‘Serenades’ Casadesus, Soloist, in Piano Part of Polenc Composition -- Golschman Conducts,” *New York Times*, April 28, 1943, sec. amusements.

⁵⁵ Isabel Morse Jones, “Stravinsky's Latest Work Introduced,” *Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File)*, February 9, 1942.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

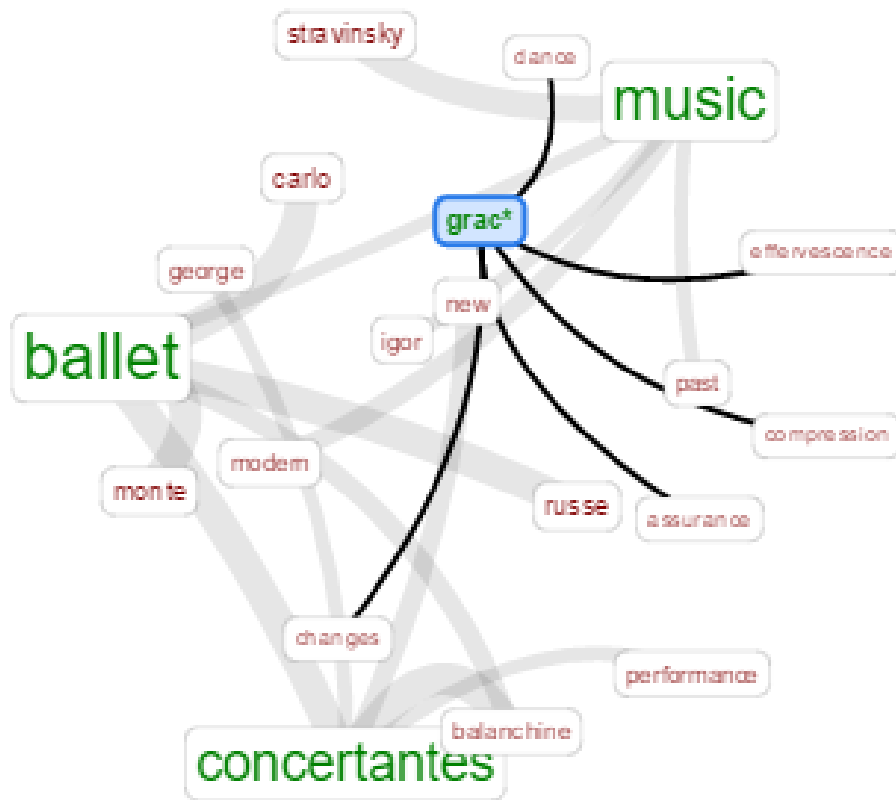
Figure 5.18: *Danses Concertantes* word cloud, minimal stopwords⁵⁷



The collocates graph in Figure 5.19 includes only English stopwords, and focuses on the relationships that the most prominent words have with one another. Adding an additional search term, “grac*,” highlights these words’ relationship to “grace,” which appears as a somewhat large (but not the largest) word in the cloud. It is worth noting that this grace is most often associated with not only “dance,” but also “effervescence,” “compression,” “assurance,” and “changes.” These words express a wide range of ideas that nevertheless do not venture too far from “grace.” These contrasts seem to indicate a degree of variety and change within the music, to which listeners are responding.

⁵⁷ The stopwords added to the usual English stopwords are: “Stravinsky,” “Igor,” “Stravinsky’s,” “ballet,” “russe,” “Russes,” “music,” “dances,” “concertantes,” “musical,” “dance,” “Balanchine,” “Eugene,” “Berman,” “Janssen,” “performance,” “Monte,” “Carlo,” “work,” “composer,” and “dancers.”

Figure 5.19: *Danses Concertantes*, collocates graph, “grace”



The *Danses Concertantes*, as the title implies, contains dance rhythms and references (the third movement is a “Pas de deux”), but originally, this choreography was intended to be an abstract, imaginary accompaniment to the music.⁵⁸ But in 1944, George Balanchine, Stravinsky’s preferred choreographer, created a full, choreographed version of the *Danses* for the *Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo*. Because the music preceded the choreography by three years, the un-choreographed version was the primary way in which many first experienced the work. Given Stravinsky’s predilection to seek many different performance venues for his music, there are likely equally many or more reviewers who are familiar with the music alone as those who are familiar with the ballet. Like *Pulcinella*, then, there are many different versions of the work that a writer may experience—and for the *Danses Concertantes*, some of these versions were very differently received.

⁵⁸ White, *Stravinsky*, 1985, 410–11.

The 1945, Parisian premiere of the *Dances Concertantes*, in its original instantiation for chamber orchestra, is one such watershed moment. Leslie Sprout's reconstruction of this musical moment depicts a mob of angry French composers, students of Olivier Messiaen (a group that included a young Pierre Boulez), who "made prolonged use of the police whistles they had brought with them expressly for [the] purpose" of disrupting the performance of another work on the program, the *Four Norwegian Moods*.⁵⁹ While this protest has often been interpreted simply as early evidence of a Cold War division between serialism (the music of democracy) and neoclassicism (the music of communism or socialist realism), Sprout suggests a more nuanced alternative: that these protestors were not arguing for serialism (whether Schoenberg's or Messiaen's), but for the ability to "play an active role in shaping the postwar future of music in France."⁶⁰ Stravinsky's neoclassicism impeded that vision, as it was "intolerably retrospective."⁶¹ This, after all, is inherent in the definition of the term. This sparked a protracted debate in the press, mostly in favor of Stravinsky.⁶² Because most of this writing is in French, it does not appear in the quantitative analysis above, but this is an important, not-to-be-overlooked moment in the reception and understanding of this work.

Sprout notes that this premiere served as a homecoming of sorts for Stravinsky—it was his first return to Europe since leaving at the outbreak of the war in 1939, and also the first European premiere of any of his works written after 1938.⁶³ Consequently, many of the pro-Stravinsky reviews of this concert contain "hyperbolic praise," praise that obviously was not shared by Messiaen's students and those looking for more progressive music than neoclassicism could provide.⁶⁴ This debate continued in the press throughout 1945, becoming a protracted fight between the

⁵⁹ Sprout, "The 1945 Stravinsky Debates," 86. Parisian listeners had not had access to this music since German occupation began in 1940.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 89.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid., 86.

⁶³ Ibid., 91–97.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 97.

Messiaenists and the Stravinskyites.⁶⁵ The pall that this cast on Stravinsky reception in Paris at the time was palpable. While many continued to laud Stravinsky as a progressive, innovative composer, an increasing number of composers and critics were disenchanted with Stravinsky and his music. In line with this disenchantment, Messiaen himself went to the press to excoriate listeners for supporting Stravinsky as a new music visionary “simply because [he has] shifted a few bass lines in a Donizetti cavatina.”⁶⁶ This description, naturally, has potential analytical implications.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 115.

⁶⁶ Translated and quoted in Ibid., 116.

Figure 5.20: *Dances Concertantes*, mm. 1-5

DANSES CONCERTANTES
I
Marche-Introduction

IGOR STRAVINSKY (1941-1942)

♩ = 96

Flute

Oboe

Clarinet in B♭

Bassoon
f marc. - stacc.

Horns I
in F II

Trumpet in B♭

Trombone
sforzato

Timpani
sf

♩ = 96

6 Violins
divisi
a 2
f

4 Violas
divisi
a 2
f

3 Cellos
divisi
a 3
f

Basses
f

In *Dances Concertantes*, Stravinsky does shift several bass lines. As has been evident since his earliest ballets, Stravinsky often employs multiple ostinati of varied lengths in such a way that they rarely align vertically after their first use; this has been the focus of much of Gretchen Horlacher's published analytical work, as discussed earlier.⁶⁷ Certainly, this layering of ostinati may contribute to a sense of shifted bass lines in the *Dances*, and, one might argue, there are passages in which there are *only* bass lines, such as the opening of the first movement, "Marche-Introduction," which contains several overlapping, repetitive figures, as shown in Figure 5.20, none of which seems especially melodic. While these patterns nearly align, there is enough offset that one may hear this as a confluence of many, subtly offset bass lines.

The first portion of Messiaen's statement is simple to reconcile with the music. Recovering a sense of the "Donizetti cavatina" that Messiaen hears proves more difficult. A cavatina is usually a short, simple aria that contains little or no repetition, though the word is also used in Italian opera to reference a character's first aria. This genre is difficult to square with the five movements of the *Dances*, each of which contains significant repetition (a key feature of Stravinsky's characteristic block juxtaposition) and seem, at least at first, to have more similarities with genres common to Tchaikovsky ballets (certainly, there is a direct invocation in movement titles: "Pas d'action" and "Pas de deux") than *bel canto* operas. To complicate matters further, Messiaen does not suggest which direction bass lines have been shifted, whether they have been transposed vertically or misaligned horizontally. Of course, Messiaen may simply have been making a cutting remark, reaching for the most hackneyed music and composer (in his eyes) with which to compare Stravinsky's.⁶⁸ Yet,

⁶⁷ See, for example, Horlacher, *Building Blocks*; Gretchen Horlacher, "Running in Place: Sketches and Superimposition in Stravinsky's Music," *Music Theory Spectrum: The Journal of the Society for Music Theory* 23, no. 2 (Fall 2001): 196; Gretchen Horlacher, "The Rhythms of Reiteration: Formal Development in Stravinsky's Ostinati," *Music Theory Spectrum: The Journal of the Society for Music Theory* 14, no. 2 (Fall 1992): 171.

⁶⁸ It is possible, too, that Messiaen was aware that *bel canto* opera such as Donizetti's were influential in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Russian opera and Russian music, and is thus making a deeper remark than I suggest above. I do not have any evidence that this is the case. For more on Russian music's Italian influences (and the

searching the ballet with some sense of misalignment between bass and melody can prove fruitful and may change a listener's sense of the work. While, before reading Messiaen's comment, one might listen to or watch the *Danses* and notice a sense of stratification between higher registers that generally behave classically, and lower voices that seem "off" somehow, or notice playful use of rhythm, meter, and block stratification to disrupt any sense of continuity, trying to hear the work through Messiaen's ears provides a slightly different, possibly sharper hearing that emphasizes such displacements.⁶⁹

While I have trouble hearing any section of the *Danses* as operatic, searching for displacements reveals several possible candidates to which Messiaen may have reacted. Some of these occur in the third and longest movement, "Thème Varié," which contains simple, tuneful melodies as well as short, dance-like interludes that may invoke qualities associated with a cavatina. The variation set contains an introduction, five variations, and a *tempo giusto* coda. Also worthy of note are the indistinct boundaries for the third movement—while the second and fourth movements each have either a distinct beginning or ending, the third movement is connected to its surrounding movements by held-over pitches (in a couple of instruments only). This supports an overall reading that the interior movements interrupt an already, always-playing march, of which the introduction and concluding movements are simply ongoing portions. While the third movement is itself neither simple nor non-repetitive, it does contain the most melodic material, and it seems possible that

commercial considerations thereof), see Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 186–237.

⁶⁹ Of course, one may argue, such focus might ruin the intended effect of the ballet. One of the most effective and effusive descriptions of the *Danses* is an experience of a recording, out on a hot summer's day, occasionally daydreaming and out of focus, not always sure of where one is in the "flimflammy" of the music (Louis Andriessen and Elmer Schönberger, *The Apollonian Clockwork: On Stravinsky* (Oxford [England]: Clarendon Press, 1989), 12.). This sense that the music begins and ends *in media res* certainly captures an important and visceral experience of the work, one that highlights the first and last movements' use of the same material, as if the "Marche-Introduction" and "March-Conclusion" were a single movement that had been playing continuously, while the interior movements were the result of signal interference—they briefly interrupted otherwise scheduled (radio?) programming. See *Ibid.*, 11–16.

Messiaen reacted against the introduction to the first variation, in which a flute melody seems to soar above “misbehaving” lower winds, though a specific bass line is difficult to find. This stratification is a key element of the *Dances*, and here seems to highlight the distinction between classical and modern in a similar way to what Messiaen described. A reduction of this introduction appears in Figure 5.21. The clarinet seems to stolidly ignore the flute’s changing harmonic implications, instead exploring its range in a sinuous pedal-point on G in various registers. Meanwhile, the oboe seems somewhat more aware of the flute’s changes, occasionally meeting in unison, fifth, or third, but also (as on the downbeat of m. 2) occasionally arriving perhaps too late or too early, creating sevenths and ninths that, while dissonant, seem nearly accidental in their simultaneity. In addition to this sensation of mismatch between melody and bass, this figure seems to avoid downbeat emphasis, which, in a strictly auditory setting (that is, without choreography to ground the downbeats or otherwise draw the audience’s attention), might have played a role in Messiaen’s description.⁷⁰

Figure 5.21: *Dances Concertantes*, III, mm. 1–5

The musical score shows three staves: Flute (top), Oboe (middle), and Clarinet in Bb (bottom). The time signature is 2/4. The flute part begins with a half note G4, followed by a quarter note F#4, and then a descending eighth-note scale: E4, D4, C4, B3, A3, G3. The oboe part has a half note G4 on the downbeat of m. 1, followed by a quarter rest, and then a half note G4 on the downbeat of m. 2. The clarinet part has a half note G2 on the downbeat of m. 1, followed by a quarter rest, and then a half note G2 on the downbeat of m. 2. The flute melody continues with a quarter note F#4, a quarter note E4, and a quarter note D4. The oboe and clarinet parts continue with their respective notes and rests.

Another potential candidate for Messiaen’s cavatina is the melodic pattern of the first movement, “Marche-Introduction.” The march topic is somewhat hidden until this theme enters: the tonal center at the opening appears to be B \flat , a common key for “Turkish” marches, and while the duple meter and use of timpani carry some militaristic characteristics, the lack of dotted rhythms,

⁷⁰ I am hardly the first to notice Stravinsky’s avoidance of downbeats in this measure. See, for example, White, *Stravinsky*, 1985, 412.

triadic melodies, and brass keeps this topical reference at bay (see Figure 5.20).⁷¹ Finally, at rehearsal 3, when the melody enters in the violins and violas, the march takes off: horns are at last allowed to play, and the melody takes on a triadic, dotted-rhythm shape. Stravinsky also seems to be playing at counterpoint here, in a way that may suggest an offset bass line. Figures 5.22 and 5.23 contain my reduction of this passage, and a reduction of the simplified outer voices, respectively. While the first staff of Stravinsky's simplified bass line maps easily onto traditional harmonic progression (as shown by the roman numerals in Figure 5.23), the second staff contains no such clear-cut correlates. In fact, the cadential bass line in mm. 18–19 seems especially likely to have been shifted. It tonicizes C rather than B \flat , and might sound (to the enculturated listener) as though Stravinsky has, indeed, shifted this bass line up two semitones from its traditional harmonic (or contrapuntal) position. Perhaps this is the relationship that Messiaen heard and so despised.

⁷¹ For more on topical references in Stravinsky and the march topic in particular, see Schumann, "Making the Past Present: Topics in Stravinsky's Neoclassical Works"; Nicholas McKay, "Dysphoric States: Stravinsky's Topics--Huntsmen, Soldiers and Shepherds," in *Music Semiotics: A Network of Significations, In Honour and Memory of Raymond Monelle*, ed. Esti Sheinberg (New York: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2012), 249–62; Raymond Monelle, *Musical Topic: Hunt, Military, and Pastoral* (Bloomington, IN, USA: Indiana University Press, 2006).

Figure 5.22: *Dances Concertantes*, I, mm. 12–19, reduction

Figure 5.23: *Dances Concertantes*, I, mm. 12–19, simplified

Another option presents itself if we consider horizontal, instead of vertical displacements.

Figure 5.24 contains a recomposition where the bass line has simply been shifted one eighth-note leftward. That is, each bass onset is now one eighth earlier than initially written. As we have seen in

the Piano Concerto, this is a common strategy Stravinsky employs to create more dissonance. And, indeed, this alignment highlights the parallels between melody and bass: they nearly exactly align for the first two measures, before diverging into a contrapuntal pattern that makes little more (traditional) harmonic sense than the original. Yet, again, perhaps this is something Messiaen hears as derivative: a shifting of patterns so as to disguise their simplicity and relationship to one another.

Figure 5.24: *Danses Concertantes*, I, mm. 12–19, recomposition: bass shifted one eighth



Of course, it is equally possible that neither of these options is the moment to which Messiaen refers. Yet, through the attempt at hearing through different ears, perhaps, we can see different relationships that more closely mirror what it was like to experience the *Danses*, either at their Los Angeles premiere, at the 1945 riot, or some other, more distant venue.

5.4 THE RAKE'S PROGRESS

The Rake's Progress (1951) is one of Stravinsky's last neoclassical works and his only full-length opera. The libretto, by W.H. Auden and Chester Kallman, is loosely based on a series of eighteenth-

century paintings by William Hogarth, called *A Rake's Progress*.⁷² Figure 5.25 contains the final image in the canvas series from 1732, in which Tom Rakewell, the main protagonist, has been institutionalized after his long descent from virtue into debauchery and, finally, madness. Given the timing of the subject matter, it is no surprise that this opera borrows heavily from eighteenth-century tropes, though Stravinsky chooses a slightly later model in Mozartean *opera buffa*. Stravinsky and Auden attended a two-piano performance of Mozart's *Così fan Tutte* in late 1947, as they were beginning work on the opera.⁷³ Regardless of how much influence this one performance had on the pair, *The Rake's Progress* makes clear musical allusions to eighteenth-century operatic traditions in both its libretto and its score. These allusions range much farther than *Così fan Tutte*, reaching into other Mozart operas (*Don Giovanni*, with its own diabolical plot) and instrumental music (borrowing tropes from the symphonies and piano sonatas), as well as referring to composers ranging in music-historical time from Bach to Brahms.

The artistic team of Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman engaged with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century operatic tropes on multiple levels. In true “classical” fashion, there were clearly divided arias and recitatives, such that one could nearly classify this as a “number opera,” and Nicolas Nabokov reports that Stravinsky told him, “I will lace each aria into a tight corset,” indicating a return to eighteenth-century fashions, including strict divisions between numbers.⁷⁴ Additionally, many of the usual eighteenth-century plot and musical devices are present, if used ironically.

⁷² White, *Stravinsky*, 1985, 451–57.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 458.

⁷⁴ Quoted in *Ibid.*

Figure 5.25: Hogarth, *A Rake's Progress*, 1732, Bedlam⁷⁵



For Martha Hyde, there are two main ways to use anachronistic material in twentieth-century music: either allegorically or metaphorically.⁷⁶ To take the first, “is *The Rake's Progress* using historical music allegorically?” is to ask whether and to what degree Stravinsky is moralizing, both about operatic traditions and present-day issues. Are the florid, Mozartean lines that underscore Tom Rakewell’s decision to be a lazy freeloader (hence, a “Rake”) a commentary on the typical, monarchic characters one finds in eighteenth-century opera buffa, or on the postwar leisure that many young men in the 1950s enjoyed? Is Tom’s decision to trust in Fate (and therefore do nothing) an attack on the way that Fate often acts as an agent more than any human actor in eighteenth-century opera, or a jab at lazy young men? There are certainly elements of both at work here. And yet, more metaphorical readings are also possible. If the historical musical references are instead metaphorical,

⁷⁵ William Hogarth, *A Rake's Progress*, accessed March 5, 2017, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:William_Hogarth_019.jpg. Public Domain.

⁷⁶ Hyde, “Neoclassic and Anachronistic Impulses in Twentieth-Century Music.” Hyde further refines this typology into four categories in Hyde, “Stravinsky’s Neoclassicism.”

to what do they refer? Is the melancholia Levitz describes as part of Stravinsky's 1930s and 1940s neoclassicism present here, or is this work a celebration of eighteenth-century galant music as superior to nineteenth-century subjectivity? In some ways, the answer to all of these questions is "yes"—the *Rake* is many things, and can inhabit contradictory spaces simultaneously. But, also, teasing out the difference between allegory and metaphor can help us to understand the way in which the *Rake* struck its audience. It was not simply an opera to enjoy, not simply a hearkening-back to an uncomplicated age. The Faustian nature of Auden and Kallman's libretto, while rooted in the eighteenth-century Hogarth paintings, alongside Stravinsky's neoclassical borrowings struck 1950s listeners as meaningful in specific ways that may be lost to the average listener today.

The Rake's Progress has now become a relative paragon of mid-twentieth-century opera, and its premiere at the Teatro la Fenice in Venice on September 11, 1951, was generally well-received.⁷⁷ By 1953, it was common to use the harpsichord rather than the piano in the orchestra for the opera, heightening the sense of past-ness. Today, Richard Taruskin writes, "the *Rake* has become a stout repertory item, with more productions, as [Paul] Griffiths has noted, than any other opera written after the death of Puccini."⁷⁸ Stravinsky and Craft note that after the first performance, they were unable to clear the audience from the theater until the middle of the night.⁷⁹

Like many of Stravinsky's works that have a complicated relationship with the past, the composer uses historical references in a variety of ways, including as pointed, ironic commentary on

⁷⁷ Barrett McGurn, an overseas music critic for the *New York Herald Tribune*, whose main reporting strategy seems to have been collecting others' reactions to performances and quoting them, includes descriptions such as "Favorable comparison with the work of Mozart, Massenet, Bizet, Purcell and Donizetti was repeated dozens of times in the outer hall in the intermissions and after the final curtain," and "Stravinsky has come almost full circle. This instead is full of human emotion," though not everyone was so overjoyed, as "some critics objected that the music of the new opera is too cold." See McGurn, "Critics Say Stravinsky Opera Marks His Return to Melody"; Barrett McGurn By Wireless to the Herald Tribune, "Stravinsky's Opera in English Has Premiere in Venice Tonight," *New York Herald Tribune (1926-1962)*, September 11, 1951.

⁷⁸ Richard Taruskin, "Rake's Progress, The," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, accessed August 3, 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.uchicago.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/O904281>, par. 3.

⁷⁹ See White, *Stravinsky*, 1985, 467.

the characters and situations in *The Rake's Progress*.⁸⁰ At times, then, the work fits within Joseph Straus's understanding of neoclassicism as always distancing itself, in some violent way (though this violence may take the form of slapstick comedy, *Three Stooges* style), from its object.⁸¹ The violent aspect, however, rarely appears in early reviews of the opera. As the visualization in Figure 5.26 shows, listeners rarely employed language of violence in their writing. Instead, they focus on composers referenced ("Mozart"), discussions of age ("old," "new," "modern"), positive adjectives ("great," and possibly "simplicity" and "melodic,"), and, perhaps strangely, "dissonance." Yet, as discussed in Chapter Three, word clouds often include false positives: dissonance can easily be prefaced by negative modifiers, as in the review quoted there (and shortened here): "The excesses of dissonance are now long behind us."⁸²

One important question when dealing with references to music of earlier times is the degree to which audience members were familiar with such tropes. While in the early 1920s, Renaissance and Baroque era music was only slowly reentering the mainstream of musical concerts, by the premiere of *The Rake's Progress*, these musics were again prevalent in concert halls, and, rather like today, were performed far more often than newer works. *Così fan Tutte*, whose libretto and music were frequently "updated" and changed throughout of the nineteenth century, only returned to the operatic repertory in its original form after the second World War.⁸³ Stravinsky claimed that this work inspired his own.⁸⁴ Whether the same audience would attend both a Mozart opera and

⁸⁰ Heather Wiebe notes that "the terms on which *The Rake's Progress* engaged with the operatic past have never been very clear," suggesting that these varied reactions center around themes of deadness, memory, and museum. See Heather Wiebe, "The Rake's Progress as Opera Museum," *Opera Quarterly* 25, no. 12 (2009): 7–8.

⁸¹ Straus sees this violence as a reaction to a Bloomian "anxiety of influence" that forces composers to distance themselves from the past (through "deliberate misreading" among other means) in order to carve out a space for themselves. See Straus, *Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition*, 1–20.

⁸² Barrett McGurn by Wireless to the Herald, "Critics Say Stravinsky Opera Marks His Return to Melody," *New York Herald Tribune (1926-1962)*, September 12, 1951.

⁸³ Julian Rushton, "Così Fan Tutte," *Grove Music Online*, accessed January 29, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.uchicago.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/O003389>, par. 4.

⁸⁴ White, *Stravinsky*, 1985, 458.

and “melody.” “Tenderness” and “aesthetic” are most closely associated with “music,” while “gaiety” and “melody” are more closely associated with “Stravinsky,” and “concerted” lands somewhere between “opera” and “Stravinsky.” “Tenderness” and “gaiety” seem easiest to parse as positives, perhaps as commentary on Stravinsky’s treatment of music of the past, but exactly to what these terms refer remains murky. Adding an additional term, “Mozart,” clarifies the graph somewhat. Figure 5.28 highlights the text to which “Mozart” is often associated—and it is neither “tenderness,” nor “gaiety.” Instead, Mozart is connected to other composers (Bach, Purcell), repertoire (arias), and a new word: “adding.” While these graphs can be interpreted many ways, one possibility is that listeners are describing a specific relationship between Stravinsky and his past musical resources: he adds features and moves them around, but rather than creating a sense of deadness (some descriptions of *Pulcinella*), vertigo (Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments), or vapidness (descriptions of *Danses Concertantes*) in this music, Stravinsky creates something that retains a sense of liveliness (“gaiety”) and care (“tenderness”).

Figure 5.27: *The Rake's Progress*, collocates graph

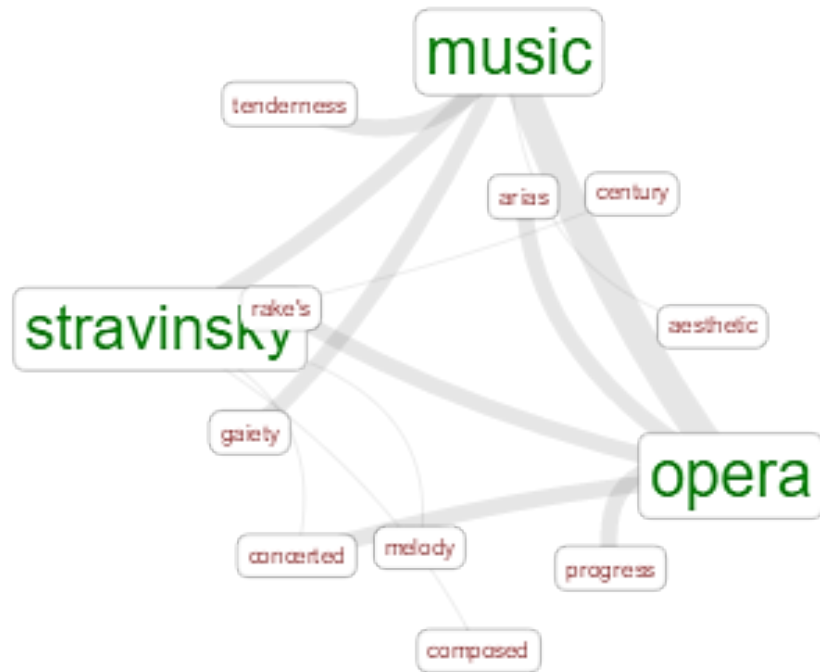
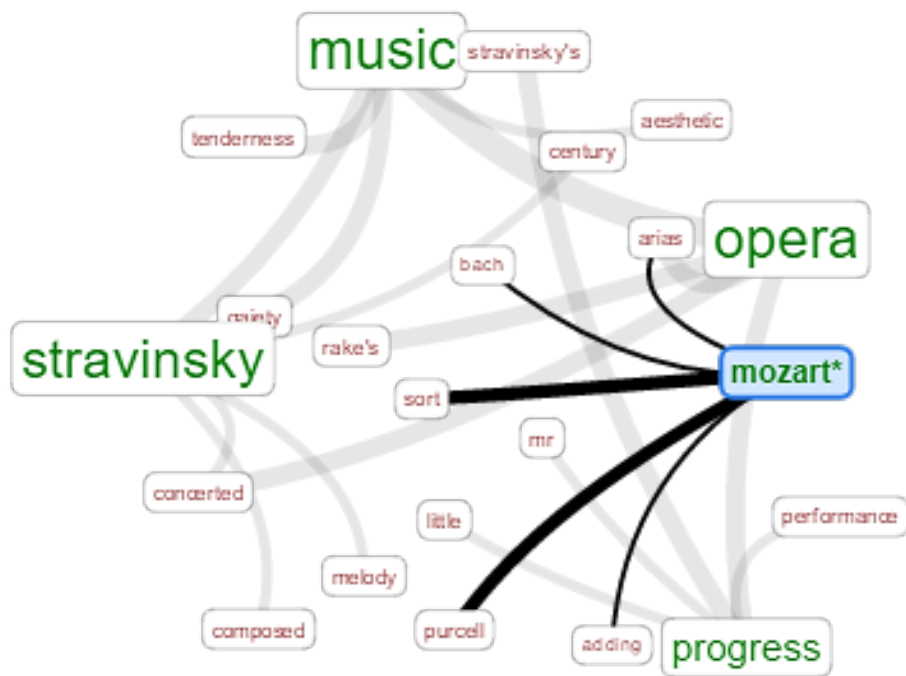


Figure 5.28: *The Rake's Progress* collocates graph, "Mozart"



A review of the premiere by Howard Taubman, contains both adjectives discussed above, in quick succession. He writes:

Stravinsky has accustomed us to expecting unpredictable styles from him. In this opera, which he was two years in writing, he has used for the most part the gallant, elegant style of the eighteenth century. He has composed music that has **gaiety** and **tenderness**, simplicity and brilliance, incisive wit and honest feeling.⁸⁷

Taubman does not mention Mozart explicitly, though the “elegant style of the eighteenth century” certainly invokes opera buffa and such traditions implicitly. Stravinsky, though, is credited with gaiety and tenderness (as well as simplicity, brilliance, and wit), and these aspects are the features I wish to explore the analyses below. To do so, I will again use schemata as a basis for understanding Stravinsky’s use of neoclassical tropes and traditions to convey this tenderness and gaiety.

While the total work’s relationship to tonality and tonal forms is quite varied, and characters’ differing and changing relationships to tonal forms are often indicative of their relationship to reality, looking more closely at some of Anne Trulove’s arias reveals that Stravinsky uses many of the same techniques that he employed three decades earlier, to create some of the most affective, tender moments in the opera (though not necessarily the “gayest”).

To begin, I would like to compare Anne Trulove’s diegetic lullaby in Act III, “Gently, Little Boat” which she sings to Tom Rakewell, the eponymous “rake,” as he withers in an insane asylum, and her cabaletta “I Go, I Go to Him” from Act I when she decides to follow Tom to London. Both are famous moments in the opera that have become common soprano repertoire, and each reflects Stravinsky’s relationship to the Mozartean and common-practice norms that he engaged while writing the opera.

⁸⁷ Howard Taubman, “Stravinsky Opera in World Premiere,” *New York Times (1923-Current File)*, 1951. Emphasis added.

Susan Youens has convincingly argued that “Gently, Little Boat” evokes Schubert’s “Wiegenlied,” which would place this borrowing in the early nineteenth-century (1816), but this is not so distant that schemata would not apply, and Stravinsky is well-known for overlaying multiple borrowings in a practice that Martha Hyde calls “eclectic imitation.”⁸⁸ As we see in Figure 5.29, the relationship between outer voices is one commonly found in partimenti and schemata: a fairly well-hidden Romanesca, this time in a variant where the bass line continuously descends by step.⁸⁹ While there are moments where chromatic motion disrupts the even keel of this boat (as it were), schematically, this works out well: the outer voices converge momentarily on a half cadence. Anne and her accompaniment return three times, exactly the same, though they are interrupted by a Greek chorus of sanitarium inmates singing monotonously in a different key. Certainly, this sing-song purity is intended to have a specific effect when contrasted with the chorus. The lack of deformation, then, allows this lullaby to set itself off from its surroundings as the only diegetic song in the opera and Anne’s mournful parting gift to Tom.

⁸⁸ Susan Youens, “Metamorphoses of a Melody Schubert’s ‘Wiegenlied,’ D. 498, in Twentieth-Century Opera,” *The Opera Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (June 20, 1984): 35–48; Martha M. Hyde, “Stravinsky’s Neoclassicism,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky*, ed. Jonathan Cross (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 98–136.

⁸⁹ It certainly can be argued that, while this passage contains the harmonic and contrapuntal patterns associated with the Romanesca, it does not maintain much of the “feel” of such a pattern. Even if this is the case, these standard harmonic/contrapuntal patterns hearken to a simpler, melodious past that rarely gets such unadorned play in *The Rake’s Progress*, and for this reason, deserves attention. Even if Stravinsky does not reference a Romanesca and listeners do not hear it as such, the sense that this lullaby belongs in the classical past (as Youens argues, an homage to Schubert’s “Wiegenlied,” perhaps) is an important and inherent component of its identity and affect.

Figure 5.29: Stravinsky, *The Rake's Progress*, "Gently, Little Boat," mm. 1–2

The musical score for "Gently, Little Boat" (mm. 1-2) is presented in 4/4 time with a key signature of three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The vocal line is accompanied by piano accompaniment. The figured bass notation is as follows:

Romanesca: 5 (1) 7 5

Converging Cadence (HC): 2 1 7 6 1 6 1

Figured Bass: ① ⑦ ⑥ ⑤ ④ ⑤ #④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑤ ④ #④

The lyrics are: "Gent - ly, lit - tle boat, A - cross the o - cean float, The cry - stal wave di - vi - ding:"

For contrast, examine Anne's first utterance in "I Go, I Go to Him." There is no doubt that Stravinsky invokes operatic norms from Mozart to Verdi here. Anne's relative lack of dissonance in relation to the other female character in the opera, Baba the Turk, and the other, fallen males is especially striking in this movement. The relationship between tonality and Anne's virginal, unassuming nature seems intentional. Unlike in "Gently, Little Boat," however, Stravinsky takes more compositional liberties. Though the tonal center is clearly C, the modality of the piece is often in flux. Stravinsky employs pedal tones that participate in an overall sense of tonal stasis for the movement, and Anne tends to sing descending arpeggiations of both kinds of tonics indiscriminately. Within this ambiguity, however, there are schematic patterns here that may affect the listener's expectations and suggest galant (Mozartean?) allusions. Anne's first phrase, for example, invokes a deformation of a Meyer schema where the pattern is hidden by metric shifts and contrapuntally inverted. Figures 5.30 and 5.31 compare the piano reduction of this opening with an idealized Meyer. What is traditionally a bass line in the Meyer now becomes the soprano line, and

vice versa.⁹⁰ On its own, this would hardly be unusual. But while centrality and voice-leading patterns remain, the harmonic rhythm associated with the Meyer, a weak-strong pairing, is missing.

Stravinsky's movement between major and minor also adds to the ambiguity of this moment. The following two measures in c minor that further throw this question-answer form off-balance, "Cannot desert," can be read as an attempt to re-right the same Meyer schema, now in minor and on a smaller scale. Notice that at that moment, the weak-strong relationship has also been partially returned to this pattern. As I have indicated, this reading requires reimagining the bass line, but the soprano line fits exactly into this schematic pattern, and the harmonic implication of I–V–V–I remains.

Yet, this melody still manages to miss the Meyer mark: the second event is meant to occur in a higher register than the first. Instead, Anne makes an awkward leap down a sixth on "desert." Furthermore, although this pairing of major and minor Meyers is also somewhat common in galant styles—one of Gjerdingen's first examples of the Meyer does this—most examples reverse the mode order (minor becomes major) and show the Meyer appearing at different pitch levels as part of a larger sequence (e.g., a Fonte).⁹¹ Certainly there is a textual reason for Stravinsky's choices here—the descent under "desert" feels appropriate in the minor mode, and an overall change of key is appropriate at this moment in the aria, as we move into a B section. Yet, Stravinsky seems to be playing at will with the common features and ordering of schematic patterns, something that goes beyond simple condiment to tinker with the inner workings and implications of these patterns—but that does not go so far as to make them entirely unrecognizable.

⁹⁰ Of course, because this is triadic arpeggiation, there is a degree to which finding the exact scale degrees for the Meyer schema is contrived. Yet, the question-answer form of the Meyer *is* quite apparent in this opening, and the fact that these scale degrees can be found or reasonably implied is often enough for such an analysis.

⁹¹ Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 115.

Figure 5.30: Stravinsky, *The Rake's Progress*, "I go, I go to him," mm. 8–13

Meyer???

I go, I go to him. Love...

can - not fal - ter, Can - not de - sert;

Meyer

(1) (2) (7)

(7) (1) (1) (2) (4) (3)

(1) (2) (7) (1)

Figure 5.31: Meyer schema: Gjerdingen's figure and notated in C Major⁹²

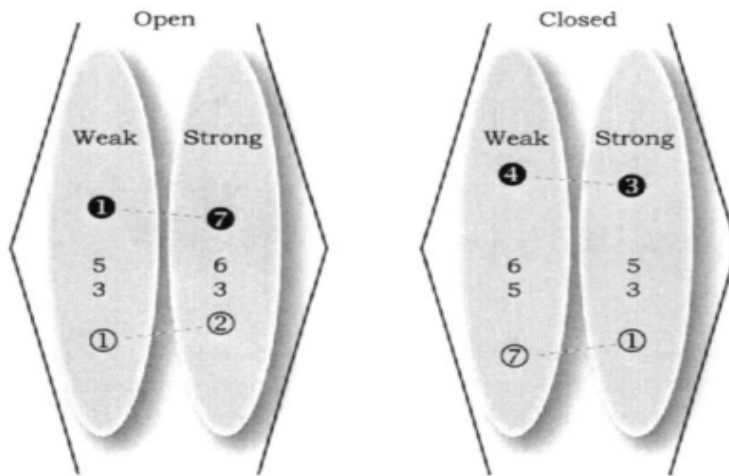


FIGURE 9.1 A schema of the Meyer as open and closed pairs of events



Stravinsky often uses octave displacement, as he did in the Meyer above, to disrupt otherwise common melodic patterns in *The Rake's Progress*. For example, at rehearsal no. 286 in the Epilogue (shown in Figure 5.32), the pattern $\hat{4}-\hat{5}-\hat{2}-\hat{3}$, a common Classical trope with clear tonal implications (PD-D-T) becomes less recognizable and common when the intervals are inverted (seconds become sevenths in the opposite direction, etc.). This procedure is particularly effective because it disrupts surface motion without interrupting the underlying harmonies, which allows the listener to continue sensing a connection with the referenced style, while deforming it in such a way that it may feel strange, alien, or slightly “off.”

⁹² Reproduced from *Ibid.*, 112.

Figure 5.32: *The Rake's Progress*, Epilogue, rehearsal 286

The image shows a page of a musical score for rehearsal 286. The score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes staves for Flutes (Fl. I II), Oboes (Ob. I II), Clarinets (Cl. I II in Sib), Bassoons (Fag. I II), Trumpets (Tr. I in Sib), and Cornets (Cor. I II in Fa). The second system includes vocal parts A, B, R, Sh., and Tr., followed by string parts: Violins (I, VI, II), Viola (Vie.), Violoncello (Vn.), and Contrabass (Cb.). The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics 'From what you saw' are written under the vocal staves. A red oval highlights the vocal line for part A. The rehearsal number '286' is marked at the beginning of the first system and above the string parts in the second system.

It is important to note that it would not be possible to analyze this movement as a series of schemata in the way that I began to do with *Pulcinella*. There simply are not schematic patterns for every musical utterance in the *Rake's Progress*, although at many moments we may hear something recognizably galant. In fact, this is true, to some degree, for all of Stravinsky's neoclassicism. Stylistic

referents and hints of a schematic pattern may remain on the surface, but they are not always as easy to see or hear as the examples I have chosen thus far.

One of the most ironic moments in Act II is Tom's catechistic recitation of his "duties" as a rake. At the close of his sing-song patter on "One aim in all things to pursue: my duties to myself to do," the harpsichord dutifully concludes with a perfect authentic cadence in its most prototypical voicing and register, as shown in Figure 5.33. It may call to mind several similar instances, or, in cleanly finishing the phrase, may ironically inspire an idea of cleanliness, tying everything up with a bow. Of course, Tom's future is anything but clean, and anything but simple. This cadential formula, ironic as it is, highlights Stravinsky's intentional play with operatic tropes and topics. During the opera, Tom is nearly the only character whose recitatives and arias end with such obvious cadences.

Figure 5.33: *The Rake's Progress*, Act II, Scene II, rehearsal 134

Fl. I. II

Fag. I. II

Tr. I
in Sib

Rakewell

One aim in all things to pursue:— My duty to myself to do.
(to Mother Goose)

Sh.

133

Vle.

Vc.

Cb.

134

Fag. I. II

Tr. I. II
in Sib

R.

To sh

Sh.

is thy du-ty to thyself?

134

Cemb.

CONCLUSION

After studying many pages of a certain composer, I begin to sense his musical personality and signature. Like a detective, I reconstruct his musical experience.
—Igor Stravinsky, personal correspondence (1943)¹

The Russian formalist writer Viktor Shklovskii suggests that through the process of making the familiar seem strange, an artist delays audience recognition of the object in the hope of enriching the experience and returning qualities of the object that have become transparent with over-familiarity.² By making the process of recognition more difficult, the focus of art becomes the act of perception, and certain qualities of the object become more visceral and important through this process (e.g., the common example of returning the “stoniness of the stone” by first describing features that do not give away the fact that it is a rock). This process, often called in English “defamiliarization,” can happen to different degrees and with different results.³ While I certainly do not mean to suggest that the degrees and kinds of changes Stravinsky enacts on the patterns discussed in the preceding sections are the *only* way in which these works invite very different experiences and emotions, defamiliarization is at work—and listener response confirms this. By deforming these otherwise simple, familiar patterns, Stravinsky allows the listener to experience otherwise familiar features (e.g., galant style, easily predictable tonal structures, contrapuntal patterns, and even Stravinsky’s own characteristic style) as strange, drawing attention to these elements in such a way that listeners become more aware of the distance between past and present. Whether tartar sauce, travesty, or something in between, these juxtapositions can result in radically different listening experiences, as we see when looking at historical listeners’ responses. By trying to

¹ Quoted in David Diamond, “Stravinsky’s ‘Danses Concertantes,’” *New York Herald Tribune* (1926-1962), April 25, 1943.

² Shklovskii, *Theory of Prose*.

³ Huron, *Sweet Anticipation: Music and the Psychology of Expectation*.

reconstruct these listeners' experiences, we gain access to a brief snippet of their understanding of the music, new analytical possibilities present themselves, and thus, new listening possibilities become available for audiences today.

Defamiliarization is at work in this dissertation on another level as well: by reframing historical listeners' responses as different, perhaps unusual, and using distant reading techniques to pull present-day readers into an unfamiliar situation from which historical experiences may be read and understood differently, the text analyses in this dissertation are meant to amplify the relative strangeness of these past experiences, and thereby, reanimate them for present-day readers. This returns me to the Gadamerian ideas that closed the first chapter of this dissertation, which I would like to more thoughtfully explore here: that the goal of a historical hermeneutics is neither presentist nor historicist, but a dialogue that provides insight into the past without losing sight of the present. This dialogue constantly changes and develops as we interrogate and try to understand the past, even as such an understanding is always filtered by our own positions in the present. While this middle ground is not unproblematic, it does closely match the way that Stravinsky wrote about his own approach to neoclassicism, as quoted in Chapter Two and reprinted (in part) here: "It is impossible for anyone to grasp fully the art of a bygone period...unless he has a comprehensive and lively feeling for the present."⁴ This dialogic approach to neoclassical writing emphasizes relationships between past and present—and although Stravinsky's end result is not intended to be expressive, his conscious marking of elements that signify either past or present music allows listeners space to ascribe ideas and meaning to the music.

⁴ Stravinsky, *Stravinsky: An Autobiography*, 119. For responses to Thomas Christensen's suggestion that a Gadamerian middle-ground is prudent (or even possible) when reconciling presentism and historicism, see Kofi Agawu, "Review of *Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past*, by Christopher Hatch and David W. Bernstein," *Music Theory Spectrum* 17, no. 2 (1995): 268–74; Tim Carter, "Review of *Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past*, by Christopher Hatch and David W. Bernstein," *Music Analysis* 14, no. 1 (1995): 105–12; Joel Lester, "Review of *Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past*, by Christopher Hatch and David W. Bernstein," *Journal of Music Theory* 39, no. 2 (1995): 329–41.

In *Truth and Method*, Gadamer suggests that the goal of hermeneutics need not only be reconstructing the author's intent, but can also include the perceiver's understanding of an artwork's meaning or author's intent. Hermeneutics is a relationship between perceiver and artwork.⁵ He writes, "this is the great power of literature which makes it possible for it to belong (angehört) to its own time and through which its time listens (hört) to it."⁶ I take this to mean that artistic and historical understanding cannot be truly objective—it is always filtered by the perceiver or historian's relationship to the present. As many have noted, this sort of dialogue can be too easy, suggesting that one can unproblematically and simultaneously understand a work of art or historical trace in its past context while also drawing it into the present in order to learn more about oneself.⁷ Yet, the attempt itself, even if destined to fail, seems worthwhile. By building context, reanimating a past experience in order to grasp a brief, cloudy glimpse of a different type of understanding or a different mode of hearing, one can attempt to reshape understanding of a moment, text, or work of art in a historically oriented way, even if such an attempt is always colored by one's position in the present. Certainly, though the contextual and textual analyses in this dissertation attempt to reconstruct the historical moment of early Stravinsky neoclassicism, an attempt to build a sense of early reception, the ultimate result is more present-oriented. By reanimating these experiences, providing a glimpse of the historical, and bringing them into contact with analyses that emphasize related aspects of the experiences, the work in this dissertation converges upon an experience-oriented analysis that is historical in vision, but always mediated by the present.

⁵ It may be worth noting, again, that this is entirely at odds with Stravinsky's "Some Ideas" aesthetics.

⁶ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall, 2nd revised edition (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2004), 498.

⁷ See, for example, Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction*, 72, where he suggests not only that this approach seems not only "considerably too smooth," but also asserts a single, unbroken stream of tradition into which the present-day audience and historical object participate. Such a view does not allow for diversity or difference.

While this dissertation focuses exclusively on Stravinsky, the methods explored here may be useful in exploring a much wider range of musical material and contexts. Music by Stravinsky's fellow neoclassicists, including Ravel, Prokofiev, Satie, and *Les Six* may benefit from similar schematic and recompositional approaches to their writing. The later postmodernist George Rochberg, who often quoted and altered extant music in his work (e.g. *Nach Bach* and *Music for the Magic Theater*) may also benefit from analytical work that separates source from alteration, and uses phenomenological response (whether through texts or some other means) as a guide for new analytical paths. A quantitative analysis of texts surrounding these works might create opportunities to explore alternative hearings.

This dissertation also leaves open several avenues for further research—not least, more complete reception history of Stravinsky's works. While selected works have been studied in more detail (*Rite of Spring*, *Perséphone*), surprisingly little in the vast bibliography on the composer has been dedicated to his audiences. I have attempted to slightly remedy that gap here, but much more remains to be done. Similarly, this dissertation only touches the tip of the iceberg where digital humanities are concerned. The databases can always be larger, the analysis more thoroughly refined, and many more tools exist to be used. It would be fruitful, for example, to use a more robust topic-modeling program to explore larger phrases, to explore how language changes surrounding the composer as one shifts the lens between listeners of different musical training, different classes, and different continents. Similar work exploring responses in other languages (certainly, French) would enhance our understanding of how writers in different areas, with different linguistic backgrounds expressed their experiences. Though this dissertation ends here, I hope future work will continue to develop and extend the possibilities that the digital humanities can offer musicologists and music theorists as they move beyond the canon, toward more decentralized modes of understanding the music we hear and how we hear it. Though there is never a one-to-one relationship between analysis

and experience, the process of orienting analysis toward historical experiences recovers alternative modes of hearing and understanding these works, and provides new possibilities for music analysis.

APPENDIX

Barrett, Francis E. "Opera in London." *The Musical Times* 61, no. 929 (July 1, 1920): 463–65.

For more reasons than one the return of M. Diaghilev's company—generally known as the Russian Ballet—to Covent Garden was most welcome. This enterprising impresario plunged at once into novelty, and on his opening night gave us something entirely new from the old: in other words, his first novelty was an 18th century Neapolitan comedy entitled 'Pulcinella.' The music is, or was, by Pergolesi, until M. Igor Stravinsky took it in hand. He has used Pergolesi and he has used Stravinsky, and the hearer is at liberty to indulge his guessing powers as to which is which. But the result is undoubtedly satisfying. It is the best way in which to serve up gems of the past. Kept strictly to its period it would be dull stuff to the many. M. Stravinsky has not altered the notation of such Pergolesi as he uses, but has here and there added a sixth to a common chord and discoursed undiatonically on the old melodic progression. The piece is quaint—decidedly so in parts—but it is effective as ballet and appealing as music since the ingenious plan is followed of having many passages sung by voices stationed in the orchestra. The whole plan, in which Madame Karsavina and M. Massine have a part, is entertaining, and enables us to make the acquaintance with a classic that otherwise would be lost to us. (465)

Prunieres, Henri. "Chroniques et Notes: Theatres Lyriques." *La Revue Musicale*. November 1, 1920, 46-49.

Enfin, le diabolique Pulcinella, musique de Pergolèse accommodée par Strawinsky à la sauce tartare. Nous aurons sans doute l'occasion de reparler de ces oeuvres dans le cours de l'hiver, car les Ballets Russes reviendront. (49)

Child, William. "New Music." *The Musical Times* 62, no. 936 (February 1, 1921): 104–13.

The publication of a pianoforte arrangement of 'Pulcinella' (Chester) makes one wonder that this delightful work has not been heard in our concert rooms in the form of an orchestral suite. There are many who regard the choreographic and scenic side of the ballet as something of a nuisance when the music is first-rate. The better the music the more one wants to listen to it for its own sake. In the case of 'Pulcinella' we have an intriguing example of musical periphrasis. The title-page tells us that the music is by Stravinsky 'd'après Giambattista Pergolesi.' One immediately expects to find Igor a very long way after Giambattista, but as a matter of fact the two are arm in arm for most of the time. This is mainly because the modern composer has maintained the diatonic character of the original, his additions being mostly in the direction of additional counterpoints. There is something very piquant in this blend of naiveté and impertinence. I would go as far to hear an orchestral suite based on 'Pulcinella' as I would to avoid certain other works in which Stravinsky is after nobody but himself. (104)

G., H. "The Russian Ballet." *The Musical Times* 62, no. 942 (August 1, 1921): 568.

Much more to the general taste was 'Pulcinella,' produced on July 4. Stravinsky's réchauffé [reheating] of Pergolesi is a delightfully impudent affair, though the humour wears thin at the close—'thick' would perhaps be a better word, for at this point the scoring loses its earlier wit and becomes buffoonish; the trombone portamento, so overworked in variety shows, is out of place here. (568)

Guinle, Alexandre. "Lettre a l'infante sur la musique d'aujourd'hui." *Au jardin de l'Infante: revue mensuelle: arts, lettres, philosophie, histoire, voyages, sciences, musique, theatre, modes*, 1924, 34–37.

"La netteté rythmique, la sûreté d'écriture, le goût, très finement classique de Georges Auric ont fait merveille dans Les Fâcheux. Sans doute les plus heureux exemples, les plus parfaits modèles ne lui ont-ils pas manqué, ne fût-ce que l'inégalable Tombeau de Couperin de Maurice Ravel ou l'étourdissant Pulcinella dont Strawinsky n'alla chercher les thèmes défunts dans le propre tombeau de Pergolèse que pour les ressusciter par la puissance magnétique d'une orchestration à la fois caressante et passionnée. Il apparaît même que, tout en ne s'étant pas contenté, comme Strawinsky, d'un simple "arrangement" qui se réduit, en somme, à une éblouissante "fantasie" sur des thèmes textuellement cités, Georges Auric n'a pas craint d'emprunter à divers auteurs du XVIIe siècle quelques airs de ballet plus ou moins oubliés, mais aisément reconnaissables à plus d'un trait de facture que le plus ingénieux pastiche eût été sans doute inhabile à restituer." (35-36)

Bechert, Adolf. "Musical Notes from Abroad." *The Musical Times* 66, no. 988 (June 1, 1925): 553–57.

The Staatsoper has embarked on hard and productive work since Franz Schalk has taken sole charge of its affairs. There have been three premières during a few weeks, and at least two of these claim serious attention. The venue is once more the beautiful old Redoutensaal of the ex-Imperial palace, and here Stravinsky's ballet, 'Pulcinella,' was produced under the baton of Schalk, with stage and scene directed by Heinrich Kröllner. The performance was cleverly devised in an 'impromptu' spirit of witty grotesquerie. The actors carried the purposely primitive scenery on to the stage in full view of the audience. All around were the splendours of the celebrated old hall, which, with its costly tapestries, huge mirrors, and 'stylized' stage, made the visitor feel himself not a spectator in a theatre, but a guest at one of the historically famous Court functions which Mozart once conducted in the same surroundings before Austrian royalty and aristocracy.

Weissmann, Adolf. "Musical Notes from Abroad." *The Musical Times* 66, no. 985 (March 1, 1925): 264–67.

Those who are not on friendly terms with musical modernism awaited Stravinsky's 'Pulcinella' Suite with some trepidation. They were agreeably disappointed. This time the fusion of Stravinsky with Pergolesi and Bach proved convincing for the public, though not for those musicians who decide beforehand to dislike all that is written by him and by Schönberg. This series of eight pieces is a crescendo of good humour, and the audience could not fail to respond to it. The witty use of the wind

instruments proved exhilarating. When the trombone and the double-bass joined in their duet—a bit of rag-time that did no harm to the Suite as a whole—a storm of applause went through the hall. All this happened at the Berlin Philharmonic. Otto Klemperer, an outstanding personality among the German conductors of to-day, replaced the absent Frutwängler, and arranged this little surprise. This conductor's gifts, which are out of the ordinary, were shown again in the D minor Pianoforte Concerto by Brahms, with Artur Schnabel as soloist. Never before have I heard the orchestral part of this work played with such clarity and expressiveness. (264)

Lambert, Constant. *Music Ho! A Study of Music in Decline*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934, 101.

The time traveling of the *Pulcinella* ballet probably provided the impetus for Stravinsky's neoclassical period, which apart from the adoption of eighteenth-century forms and titles, is chiefly noticeable for its attempt to create melody by synthetic manufacture. One cannot create a creature of flesh and blood out of fossil fragments.

It need hardly be pointed out that the sequences, cadences, and other stylistic features of the best classical tunes are not their most important element. They take their place in the scheme of things, they have a formal and even an emotional logic, but they are the façade, not the whole building. It is the easiest possible thing to take four bars out of one of the best-constructed and most moving of Mozart's arias and find that in themselves they have little value. This, in fact, is what Stravinsky often does without, however realizing that he is confusing the periwig with the face beneath it.

Bradley, Lionel. "Bradley Bulletins," October 15, 1943. Royal College of Music.

The second half of the concert was devoted to a nearly complete performance of *Pulcinella*, based on the works of Pergolesi, transmuted by the master of 20th century music, tho' he has left the vocal line of the songs practically untouched. I saw the ballet only one (in Woizokovsky's revival in 1935 when there was only one singer) & had not realised the variety of the work. There are solos for each of the 3 singers, a duet and two terzetti & among the solos is the indescribably lovely "Se tu m'ami". Some of the music is familiar to me from the two orchestral records, but that makes only a fragment of the whole fascinating work. Stravinsky shows himself here more than ever a wizard & the whole is vastly enjoyable. A most successful concert, in which much of the success must have been due to the insight & watchfulness of Walter Goehr.

I think it is a real tribute to the intelligence of the London musical public & real evidence of a genuine interest in music beyond the popular classics that the Wigmore Hall was completely sold out for the above concert.

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