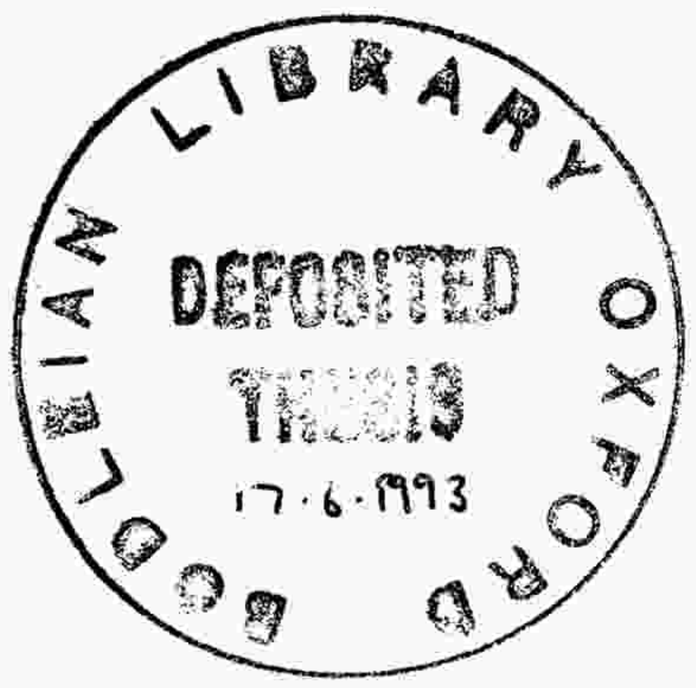
STRAVINSKY AND HIS SKETCHES: THE COMPOSING OF AGON AND OTHER SERIAL WORKS OF THE 1950s

Volume I



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ABSTRACT

Stravinsky and his Sketches: The Composing of *Agon* and Other Serial Works of the 1950s

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This thesis takes as its starting point the unpublished source materials--musical sketches, manuscripts and archival material--that relate to Stravinsky's stylistic transition in the 1950s, during which serial principles were gradually incorporated into his musical language. Drawn mainly from the Stravinsky *Nachlass* at the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Basel, and available for research there only since 1986, these previously unexplored sources offer an unusual and flexible approach to Stravinsky's early serial works.

After a brief consideration of the basic aims of musical sketch studies and the relatively recent appearance of this type of inquiry in Stravinsky research, the rich and complex sketches for the ballet *Agon* (1953-7) are the principle concern of the thesis. Of all the source materials for Stravinsky's works of the 1950s, these are perhaps the most extensive in their coverage of his working methods, most intricately developed, and most illustrative of wider issues in his compositional technique. Throughout the thesis, analytical observations are prompted almost exclusively by information contained within the sketches. The procedures and preoccupations reflected in these materials are related to those in other 1950s sketch collections, particularly *Canticum Sacrum*, allowing Stravinsky's working methods to be assessed not only in evolutionary terms, but also in terms of recurring compositional premises, or *procedural* constancies.

Evaluated in conjunction with corroborative evidence in the archival material of the *Nachlass*, these sources offer an unrivalled opportunity for a re-examination of statements made by Stravinsky on his own compositional method, and of certain interpretations of *Agon* in secondary sources. Systems of classification of source materials are developed in the thesis, and an Appendix gives detailed listings of the contents and physical characteristics of the *Agon* and *Canticum Sacrum* sketchleaves in the Stravinsky *Nachlass*.

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Among the many people who contributed in various ways to the writing of this thesis, I would like to thank in particular John Milsom of Christ Church, whose encouragement and advice were greatly appreciated throughout, and the staff of the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Basel, for their warmth, patience and invaluable assistance during the months I spent there, with special thanks to Harriet, Sabine and Judith in the library and to Felix Meyer, Ulrich Mosch, André Baltensperger and Ingrid Westen for all their efforts on my behalf. I am also indebted to Paul Sacher himself and to Christ Church for their generous research grants, to Chloe Paver for casting her eye over my German translations, and to my parents, not only for their support but also for the lively interest they continue to take in my research.

Finally, without Seamus this thesis couldn't have been written; it is dedicated to him.

Musical transcriptions are reproduced by kind permission of the Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel; I am especially grateful for permission to include a few facsimile excerpts from Stravinsky's original sketchleaves. Extracts from printed scores are reproduced by kind permission of Boosey & Hawkes Music Publishers Ltd.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

General

PSS	Paul Sacher Stiftung
B&H	Boosey & Hawkes

Bibliographic

References to certain well-known periodicals use the following abbreviations:

19CMus	*19th Century Music*
JMc	*The Journal of Musicology*
MQ	*The Musical Quarterly*
PNM	*Perspectives of New Music*
Score	*The Score and I.M.A. Magazine*

Abbreviations for specific secondary sources are usually introduced with their first citations; a complete list is given in the Bibliography, p. 295.

PREFACE
EDITORIAL AND TRANSCRIPTIONAL POLICY

Classification of musical sources[1]

i) Sketchleaves for *Agon* and *Canticum Sacrum*

All *Agon* and *Canticum Sacrum* sketchleaves--whether or not they feature in the text--are assigned a number prefaced by an abbreviation which indicates the title of the work (**A** for *Agon*, **CS** for *Canticum Sacrum*). Appendix A (page 264) lists these sketchleaves according to reference number, tabulating their characteristics as follows: the microfilm number and slide number of the sketchleaf as photographed by the Paul Sacher Stiftung, a physical description of the sketchleaf, a non-specific reference to its position within the loose manuscript folders and a brief description of its contents.

ii) Sketchleaves for other works

Since references to sketchleaves for other works of the period are much less frequent, these are not tabulated systematically in Appendix A. Instead, these sketchleaves are identified by the number of the microfilm on which the sketchleaf has been photographed by the Stiftung, followed by the specific slide number occupied by the sketchleaf. Thus, sketchleaf 113-0412 may be found at slide number 0412 on film number 113. The context of such references always specifies the title of the composition.

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[1] Unless otherwise specified, primary musical and non-musical sources are those of the Stravinsky archive or *Nachlass*, owned by the Paul Sacher Stiftung; see Chapter 1.

Classification of non-musical sources

Non-musical sources (such as correspondence, newspaper clippings or programme notes) in the Stravinsky *Nachlass* are classified according to the number of the box in which the composer originally placed them. References to such sources cite the relevant box number followed by their specific microfilm slide number, the two being separated by a colon. The microfilm number is itself given by the first two digits of the slide number. Thus 42:450692 refers to an item whose original manuscript is found in Box 42, photographed on microfilm no. 45, slide no. 450692.

Transcriptions

Musical examples may be found in Volume II.

All transcriptions are essentially diplomatic. They aim to reproduce the original sketches as faithfully as possible, with a minimum of editorial intervention, in accordance with certain basic transcriptional principles:

1. the original layout and content of the sketches is retained, even to the point of reproducing minor errors (such as durational discrepancies or the omission of time signatures), but system breaks may occur at different points;

2. no material that appears within the original is omitted in the transcription, regardless of its degree of relevance to the current discussion;

3. no additions to the musical material are made without comment except clefs (though added clefs are always shown in square brackets);

4. where the precise nature of a pitch or an accidental is in doubt, the transcribed interpretation encloses the dubious element in square brackets.

Where the transcriptions fail to represent the original is in matters of calligraphic style and variation: spacing of notes, relative heaviness, potential indicators of haste and/or

confidence, such as the slant or clarity of the stroke; precise sizes of notes; erasures or overlaying of revised notes or values (though material that is crossed out is, of course, shown).

Bibliographic references in the text

Secondary sources are indicated by author and year of publication. In those cases where a source cited in the main text is not the first edition, the date of the edition used is shown together with a numerical prefix to identify the edition itself. Square brackets may enclose the year of first publication. Hence, a book whose date is given as ([1960] 3/1978) was first published in 1960, but the edition from which extracts are taken is the third, published in 1978.

References to published musical scores

To specify the exact position of musical material, references to published scores give the bar number first, followed, after a colon, by the 'beat' number as defined by the time signature of the bar (if the time signature were 3/8 the suffix :3 would indicate the third quaver beat of the bar, whereas with a 3/4 time signature the same suffix would indicate the third *crotchet* beat of the bar). Thus a reference to bars 67:3-68:2 specifies the material from the third beat (as defined by the time signature) of bar 67 to the second beat of bar 68, inclusive. If no suffix is given, the reference includes the whole bar.

Serial nomenclature

Row forms are indicated by the standard abbreviations P (prime, original), I (inversion), R (retrograde), RI (retrograde inversion) and--where appropriate--IR (inverted retrograde). Transposition levels are indicated by a superscript figure

following the abbreviation: '0' refers to an untransposed row, figures from '1' to '11' refer to successive upward transpositions by a semitone.

INTRODUCTION

An appreciation of musical sketches as research tools depends, to a certain extent, on our awareness of *why* we are looking at them in the first place. By way of introduction to the more detailed discussions of the following chapters, this section considers the nature of sketch studies and outlines the premises upon which this thesis is based. Two further issues ensue: the usefulness to Stravinsky research of the composer as author and co-author, and a brief preliminary overview of Stravinsky's 1950s sketch collections up to and including *Agon*.

I. SKETCH STUDIES: AIMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

The past quarter century has witnessed a resurgence of musicological interest in composers' sketches, fragments and drafts, variously approached in pursuit of differing goals. The rapidly-growing discipline of 'modern' sketch studies--so labelled by Joseph Kerman to distinguish it from the surveys of Beethoven's sketchbooks pioneered in the late nineteenth century by Gustav Nottebohm--was, however, not without its share of teething problems.[1] For many years modern sketch studies survived an uneasy co-existence with scepticism and heated debate over the fundamental significance of the sketches themselves as research tools. Most controversial of all was the relevance of sketch studies to analysis, or the assessment of how much new information sketches could reveal about the content of a finished work.

Objections to sketch studies on the grounds that material 'external' to the finished work is intrinsically of no value to musical analysis have been more or less

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[1] Joseph Kerman's essay 'Sketch Studies' (Kerman, 1982) dates the beginnings of 'modern' sketch studies to the mid-1960s. For a discussion of the writings of Gustav Nottebohm and his successors in the field of Beethoven sketchbooks, see Douglas Johnson (1978).

confuted, over the past decade, by the increasing volume of new research involving sketches that includes analytical information among its conclusions. Certainly, a contributory factor has been the simultaneous, gradual move away from what Sieghard Brandenburg (1979, pp. 272-3) terms '*Gestalt*-analysis', which sentences the finished work to analytical attention as a self-sufficient entirety, divorced from the circumstances and details of its creation and apparently consisting of little more than the establishment of internal relationships. Douglas Johnson's pessimistic evaluation of sketch studies, which embraces the view that the usefulness of 'compositional choices documented in the sketches' must necessarily be limited to 'the realm of biography', with only 'indirect implications for our study of individual works', is typical of this '*Gestalt*-approach' (see Johnson, 1978, p. 13). But if the corollary even of *Gestalt*-analysis is some sort of interpretation of the internal relationships thus established, such a separation of analysis from 'biography' is not possible; a piece of music cannot be dissociated from its historical context.

If our conception of analysis is broadened to include factors 'external' to a work itself but intrinsic to the process of composing that work (factors that may also be considered 'biographical' or 'contextual'), then the sketches are often relevant and important for our understanding of that work; the potential contribution of sketch studies to analysis, then, is partly dependent on the breadth of our definition of analysis. But without retracing the history of the debate in detail, this complex issue cannot be evaluated fully; at this stage, then, let us simply assert that certain sketch sources are indeed beneficial to analytical considerations, leaving to the following chapters the task of illustrating several contexts in which this may be so.

Recent sketch-based research generally makes no mention of those questions of validity considered so crucial by early critics, a situation that implies an acceptance of sketch studies as a discipline *per se*, liberated from the hampering need for self-

justification. As the novelty of using sketches to musicological ends has gradually subsided, so the temptation merely to observe or describe has, on the whole, been overcome, with source material of this kind generally invoked in support of specific arguments. Research into composers' working methods now extends well beyond Beethoven to embrace Mendelssohn, Schumann, Berlioz, Wagner, Schoenberg, Webern, Stravinsky and many others. With such a roll-call, any lingering doubts over the integration of sketch studies into the apparatus of musical scholarship would appear to have been dispelled.

Musical research that centres on sketches and drafts has four basic, readily identifiable goals, any or all of which may be tackled in individual studies. The primary goal of such research is also, perhaps, the most elusive: to further our knowledge of the creative or compositional process. Second, sketches are evaluated in order to enhance our understanding of specific works, the nature of the information yielded being both 'external' (biographical, contextual) and 'internal' (analytical). In practice these two main aims of sketch studies are interconnected, since in most cases compositional process and development can be demonstrated only through the medium of specific works, even if incomplete or unpublished. Before addressing the third and fourth goals of sketch studies, let us consider these first two a little more closely.

The information offered by a composer's sketches may allow us to build a general impression of the creative process, indicating, for example, whether this process is convoluted, with material frequently deemed unsatisfactory in some respect and subsequently revised or rejected, or assured, the steady progress of the work aided by its creator's clarity of vision. We may find evidence of composition taking place at the keyboard, factors that suggest a particular chronological sequence for the sections of a work, or manifestations of a specific external influence (which may or may not have been suspected previously). Sketch sources may cast a new perspective on the nature

of the collaboration between composer and librettist, choreographer or commissioner, or on the relationship between a work and its subject or scenario, all of which may be disregarded by purely musical analyses. Richard Taruskin's (1980) disclosure of Russian folk melodies in *The Rite of Spring*, for example, was prompted initially by their discrepant appearance in Stravinsky's sketchbook, and Taruskin's account did much to stimulate the present energetic and exciting research--whether sketch-based or not--into Stravinsky's relation to his Russian roots.

The information offered by sketches may be of more localized significance, illustrating the creative process in a particular context: the nature of the initial ideas, the intricacies of their development and combination, and the types of transformation applied. Disclosures of this kind allow us, in Robert Craft's words, 'to examine ... the nascent conception, and to trace it as it develops, transmutates, crossbreeds, or serves as a springboard to other directions ... [in short] to follow the mind's footsteps'.[2]

In examining the means by which sketches seek solutions to problems posed during composition, we witness the composer's acts of self-criticism. Without recourse to the stale issue of the 'intentional fallacy', then, we are able to speculate as to the composer's intentions. Similarly, sketch sources may reveal self-imposed limits within which the composer is operating, some of which may be immediately palpable, implied by the existence of schemes or outlines drawn up in advance. (Structural or durational plans were plotted for certain of Stravinsky's works--among them *Orpheus*, *Agon* and *The Flood*.) Other forms of restriction are expressed less directly, emerging only after careful comparisons have been made of successive versions of an idea or passage; a defined harmonic structure, for example, retained through several different reworkings of a passage may be understood as a factor 'limiting' the composition of that passage.

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[2] Robert Craft, 'Genesis of a masterpiece', in Igor Stravinsky/Boosey & Hawkes (1969), p. xv.

Joseph Straus's discussion of the sketches for Stravinsky's opera *The Rake's Progress* (Straus, 1991) centres on the invariance of a two-element motive throughout the sketches and in the final score. The appearance of this motive in many differing dramatic and musical contexts--both rejected and retained--suggests that its presence actually became a compositional desideratum; the motive is 'subjected not to the traditional process of transformation and development, but to a series of contextualizations and reinterpretations' (Straus, 1991, p. 185).

Sketches have a potentially profitable capacity for alerting us to interesting structural features, suggesting new relationships or prompting us to re-examine relationships which had seemed of little analytical value. Often, it is the revisions themselves that are most significant. In directing attention to those aspects of the composition that were difficult to formulate or to which the composer returned, they force us to consider possible reasons for the alterations. The physical presentation of sketchleaves, too, is sometimes of use: the grouping or alignment of ideas may emphasize the relationship between them, or, conversely, the isolation of a idea may reveal it to be a guiding structural precept. Recurring motives or patterns may be signalled yet more clearly by means of brackets, colours or labels--a commodity that has proved particularly advantageous in serial analysis. Ethan Haimo's consultation of recently-available Schoenberg sources enabled him to observe that the sketch material 'often presents most explicitly the twelve-tone structures worked out in the music' (1990, p. 3). And Stravinsky himself was captured on film examining a (regrettably unidentified) passage from *Agon* and assuring Robert Craft that 'it's much more clear in my sketches'.[3]

The third of the four broad 'goals' of sketch-based research is essentially

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[3] National Broadcasting Company (NBC) archive film, produced and directed by Robert D. Graff; PSS video 77. The film is particularly interesting in the context of this thesis, since it was shot in June 1957--just as Stravinsky was completing *Agon*.

positivistic: to ascertain more about the chronology of finished works using palaeographic techniques originally directed at complete autograph scores: among others, Alan Tyson has proposed many revisions to the accepted chronology of Mozart's works on the basis of different paper types and watermarks.[4] While the possibility of directing such research toward sketches has also been recognized--Douglas Johnson's thesis[5] redates many early works by Beethoven on the evidence of shared physical characteristics such as watermarks, in sketches and complete manuscripts--these techniques are less appropriate to composers of the paper-logged and extensively-documented twentieth century. In Stravinsky's case the surfeit of biographical information all but obviates the need for the establishment of chronology in this way. Nonetheless, some interesting chronological conclusions have been produced as a result of access to the sketchleaves of his contemporaries. Adopting a more critically-oriented stance and examining the contents of the sketchleaves rather than their physical characteristics, Jan Maegaard has provided much new information on the chronology of Schoenberg's compositions, particularly those movements dating from the crucial years 1920-24.[6] Similarly, sketch sources have offered important new information on the chronology of Webern's first experiments in twelve-tone writing. For example, Hans Moldenhauer's monograph *Anton von Webern: A Chronicle of his Life and Work*

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[4] Tyson has calculated, for example, that the first section of the autograph of Mozart's Piano Concerto in A, K. 488, was actually composed between March 1784 and February 1785--well over a year earlier than the March 1786 completion date in the composer's *Verzeichnüss*. During the intervening period clarinets were added to Mozart's orchestra. Tyson's revised chronology, therefore, may explain why in the autograph the instrumentation is altered such that the original oboes are replaced by clarinets. See Alan Tyson, *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores* (London & Cambridge, MA, 1987), p. 19.

[5] Douglas Johnson, *Beethoven's Early Sketches in the 'Fischhof' Miscellany, Berlin Autograph 28*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of California at Berkeley, 1978.

[6] See especially Jan Maegaard, 'A Study in the Chronology of op. 23-6 by Arnold Schoenberg', *Dansk Aarbog for Musikforskning* ii (1962), pp. 93-115, which uses source materials now housed in the Arnold Schoenberg Institute (UCLA).

includes a facsimile reproduction of a sketchleaf dating from late July 1922, for the fourth of the *Fünf geistliche Lieder*, op. 15 ('Mein Weg geht jetzt vorüber'), which were not published until late 1924.[7] The sketchleaf clearly shows the composer experimenting with a twelve-tone row and its retrograde, inversion and retrograde inversion, but, despite using one version of the row for the first twelve pitches of the vocal line and working short segments into the texture, in its final form the song is not serial. Whatever the reason for Webern's rejection of the twelve-tone technique for this setting, the sketchleaf is important for indicating not only that his first experiments with this technique pre-dated his earliest twelve-tone piece--the tiny *Kinderstück* of autumn 1924--by over two years, but that they also pre-dated Schoenberg's formal announcement of his method to a group of associates in February 1923. (Moldenhauer discredits the idea that Schoenberg may have discussed the new technique with his pupil in advance.)

Finally, sketch material is occasionally put to more pragmatic ends. Sketches, drafts, fragments and early versions have long been examined with a view to completing and performing unfinished works. Two formerly unknown Webern pieces dating from 1925--*Klavierstück* and *Satz für Streichtrio*--were discovered in a sketchbook and considered sufficiently complete to be edited and published posthumously in 1966 (see Moldenhauer, op. cit., p. 314). (The few works that Stravinsky left unfinished, however, are surely too patchily sketched to attract such attention.[8])

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[7] Moldenhauer, op. cit. (New York & London, 1978), p. 311.

[8] Stravinsky left incomplete sketches for an orchestral piece dating from 1966-7, some of which are reproduced in *SPD*, pp. 484-5; a sequence of photographs in Arnold Newman's *Bravo Stravinsky!* (Newman, 1967, pp. 13-21) shows the composer sketching a string passage apparently intended for this work. In an interview of early 1968 Stravinsky referred to 'my first solo-piano piece since 1925' (*T&C*, p. 131); this was presumably the same piano opus as that mentioned in Craft's diary entry of 25 January 1968 (*Chron.*, p. 343). (See Bibliography under 'Abbreviations', page 295, for full references.)

Equally important is the use of such sources in the preparation of critical editions, by comparing them with published scores and attempting to reconcile the various discrepancies that arise. The lack of a scholarly collected edition for Stravinsky is regrettable, but isolated articles have at least started to tackle the problem of error-ridden scores. Robert Craft, for instance, proposes corrections to the scores of the *Symphonies of Wind Instruments*, the *Sonata*, *Serenade* and *Concerto for Two Pianos* on the basis of evidence supplied in the sketches, and Joseph Straus, using Stravinsky's original serial charts, has suggested two 'mistakes' in certain chordal structures of the 1965 *Introitus*.[9] (Appendix D gives a list of possible misprints identified on the basis of the sketches examined in this thesis.)

II. STRAVINSKY AS LITTERATEUR: FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH?

As a by-product of research based on sketches and other archival material, the information yielded may supply the means to authenticate or dispute a composer's writings (by illustrating an account of his own working methods, for instance) or, secondarily, to question critical opinion and analytical statement. This possibility is particularly welcome in the field of Stravinsky research, where widespread recognition of the unreliability of his published writings, their many contradictions and unresolved questions of authorship, often takes the form of a well-intentioned caveat advocating scepticism. To take a single example, a recent collection of essays is prefaced with this prudent reminder:

> A critical, even skeptical approach must be taken in attempting to correlate his writings with his music, always remembering how conscious Stravinsky was of his public image and recognizing how such consciousness can shape and direct

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[9] Robert Craft, 'A. On the *Symphonies of Wind Instruments*; B. Toward corrected editions of the *Sonata*, *Serenade* and *Concerto for Two Pianos*; C. The chronology of the Octet', *PNM* xxii (1983-4), pp. 448-63; Joseph N. Straus, 'Two "Mistakes" in Stravinsky's *Introitus*', *Mitteilungen der Paul Sacher Stiftung*, iv (1991), pp. 34-6.

the content of such comments.[10]

There are, indeed, ample grounds for caution. First, we are confronted by Stravinsky's own fallibility--his occasional inconsistencies and lapses of memory, his awareness of his 'historical' position, and the fact that his attitudes, understandably enough, were liable to change over the long period of his creative career. This last factor is exemplified in a letter of 16 July 1959 from his solicitor Arnold Weissberger to Columbia Records, penned in response to a request to cite a passage from Stravinsky's *Autobiography* (1935-6) in connection with a proposed 'Beethoven Reader'. Having consulted the composer, Weissberger informed the Columbia spokesman that 'Mr Stravinsky advises me that he does not wish current use made of any quotations from his Autobiography because his opinion today is not necessarily that of 35 years ago' [*Nachlass* 101:621912]. (Reference systems used throughout the thesis are outlined in the Preface.)

Less understandable than a changed opinion is the calculated misguidance over authorship, which initially took the form of ghostwriting (by Walter Nouvel in the *Autobiography*, by Roland-Manuel with contributions from Pierre Suvchinsky in the *Poetics of Music*).[11] Later, the exact role of Robert Craft--Stravinsky's assistant, companion, meticulous chronicler, unfailing champion and literary collaborator--in the series of four 'conversation' books and their more discursive successors, was never adequately explained by either participant.[12]

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[10] Preface, Haimo and Johnson (1987), p. viii.

[11] Nouvel was a mutual friend of Stravinsky and Diaghilev, 'Roland-Manuel' a pseudonym for Alexis Manuel Levy (1891-1966) and Suvchinsky a lifelong friend of Stravinsky (despite a period of estrangement in the 1950s), writer and editor.

[12] *Conversations with Igor Stravinsky* (hereafter *Conversations*), first published in 1959, was followed in 1960 by *Memories and Commentaries* (*M&C*), in 1962 by *Expositions & Developments* (*E&D*) and in 1963 by *Dialogues and a Diary* (hereafter *D&D*). The last two collections, entitled *Themes and Episodes* (*T&E*; 1966) and

In the first three books (*Conversations*, *M&C* and *E&D*), Craft's role, besides that of interviewer, appears to have been editorial; there is little reason to doubt that the largely autobiographical material reflects the true thoughts of the composer. But suspicions of more significant intervention arise in the next volume (*D&D*), which contains the first of many published extracts from Craft's diaries. In addition, one investigator (Bailey, 1978) finds material previously published in Craft's name and here attributed to Stravinsky: the table of differences between Schoenberg and Stravinsky (*D&D*, pp. 107-8) is reportedly an expanded version of part of an article by Craft written for the October 1952 issue of the journal *The Musical Courier* (see Bailey, 1978, p. 49). Bailey also detects Craft's voice in the later collections (*T&E*, *R&C*) and provides other, similarly disturbing examples of unacknowledged transfer of authorship.

Craft's own writing has done much to fog the issue. Apparently torn between conflicting desires--to reaffirm the 'authority' of the conversation books yet wishing to stress the importance of his position in Stravinsky's life--his accounts fluctuate considerably in their claims. A diary entry for 6 June 1970 reports the circumstances of writing:

> I would lean over [Stravinsky's] shoulder as he wrote, each of us acting as the other's intercessory, contributing words or phrases, suggesting changes, beginning sentences which the other would finish. ... For this reason I can go through my journals and point to words and expressions that were his; and go through his writings, stumbling on phrases (flippancies and pomposities, all too frequently) that were actually mine. In short, ... a merger (exchange, symbiosis) *has* taken place between the senior and the junior, the creative and imitative components of our firm. (*Chron.*, p. 374)

Retrospectives and Conclusions (*R&C*; 1969), were revised, condensed and combined for an English edition, the only volume published in Stravinsky's name alone: *Themes and Conclusions* (*T&C*; 1972). Full references may be found in the Bibliography under 'Abbreviations', p. 295.

Craft's emphasis on the word 'has' almost implies that a 'merger' between the two authors was his very aim. Later, aware that his claims could be open to criticism, Craft reproduced Stravinsky's handwritten draft of some comments about Musorgsky (published in the earliest collection, *Conversations*, pp. 43-4), apparently to reassure the reader that

> Stravinsky *did* write the books, and most of the language, with its more foreign than English vocabulary [?], *was* his. The 'presentation' was the work of the present writer [i.e. Craft].' (*SPD*, p. 439)

Extraordinarily, this version of events accompanies an extract from a completely contradictory letter from Stravinsky to Deborah Ishlon of Columbia Records, who was acting as his agent in the publication of the conversation books:

> [Craft] did write the book, it is his language, his presentation, his imagination, and his memory, and I am only protecting myself in not wanting it to appear as though I write or talk that way. It's not a question simply of ghost writing but of somebody who is to a large extent creating me. (Letter of 15 March 1958, *SPD*, p. 438-9)

Given the many factors that warn against relying too heavily on the various writings attributed to Stravinsky, how are these sources to be used profitably, and without undue mispresentation, in Stravinsky criticism? The texts cited in this thesis are approached from different viewpoints, according to the circumstances of their conception. For present purposes the *Autobiography*, which covers events in the composer's life up to 1934, is largely irrelevant. But the *Poetics*, whose lectures contain some important perspectives on Stravinsky as a composer, cannot be dismissed so readily. Fortunately, Stravinsky's shorthand notes for the six lectures--approximately 1500 words--have been translated and published (in Craft, 1982-3, pp. 496-501), partially enabling us to evaluate the final, ghostwritten text in relation to the composer's original ideas.

Selections have been made freely from the first three conversation books; while the subject matter of the extracts may be questioned, the composer's voice is regarded as authentic. Statements from the later Stravinsky-Craft volumes are approached more circumspectly. Since these collaborations date from the late 1950s and the 1960s, there is reason to suppose that the attitudes expressed are those of Stravinsky the serial composer; consequently, where misrepresentations occur, they are most likely to relate to his early period. This conjecture finds support in Richard Taruskin's fascinating essay 'Stravinsky and the Traditions: Why the Memory Hole?' (1987), in which the composer's depiction of his relation to Russia and her musical tradition is questioned. Taruskin's reaction to the conversation books is a succinct assessment of the problem caused by this shifting perspective:

> Their attractions are considerable and undeniable. Their language is colorful and memorable, their content provocative, their authority patent--but only as *primary* source material on the mind of the Stravinsky who coauthored them (that is, the Stravinsky of the serial period) and his views on many subjects, his own past among them. *That* Stravinsky was altogether remote from the music and the aesthetic concerns of his youth. (Taruskin, 1987, pp. 14-15)

There is some justification, then, for turning to this material to broaden our knowledge of Stravinsky's attitudes in the last two decades of his life; but as a precautionary measure the quotations included in the following chapters are usually assessed in relation to information presented in musical sketch sources or other documentary material in the Stravinsky archive.

III. PRESENT AIMS

The above discussion notwithstanding, the veracity of Stravinsky's various writings is not of primary concern in this thesis; whatever conclusions we may draw on this subject, they are understood as a corollary to the examination and interpretation of the

composer's sketches.

With reference once again to our fourfold classification of the basic goals of sketch studies, present aims encompass the first two categories: to learn more about the composer's working methods than is evident from published sources alone, and to gain further insight into specific works (see below) and the circumstances under which they were created. As intimated earlier, these objectives cannot be segregated; progress in one area fuels progress in another. Hence, it is not possible to nominate either the *process* or the *product* as the fundamental objective of the research presented here.

IV. THE PATH TO AGON

For Stravinsky, the 1950s were a 'period of adjustment' (*T&E*, p. 23). The 'adjustment' was stylistic, the composer gradually progressing from a language in which serialism as a 'system' played no conscious role to one in which serial principles were the very foundation of his compositional process. To judge by the profusion of sketches dating from this period, the integration of these new techniques into his existing musical vocabulary was not without difficulty; but the composer's experience, coupled perhaps with an instinct for self-protection, dictated that each new challenge presented by the transition was approached carefully and the validity of each new development tested thoroughly. Accordingly, the products of this 'period of adjustment'--the sequence of works stretching from the 'Ricercar II' of the 1952 Cantata to the *Movements for Piano and Orchestra* of 1959--document successive stages of Stravinsky's growing involvement with serial technique.[13]

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[13] This thesis deliberately refrains from providing a potted history of Stravinsky's adoption of serial methods on the grounds that the subject has been extensively investigated in other, readily-available sources. Later chapters, however, do incorporate analytical information that is relevant to their discussions of sketch material. The Bibliography lists many monographs, dissertations, essays and articles in which analyses of Stravinsky's proto-serial and serial compositions appear.

The sketches for these works are a fascinating record of Stravinsky's compositional struggle. Here, to a greater extent than in the printed scores, we are able to witness how he developed solutions to the unfamiliar problems that confronted him and how he operated within the restrictions imposed by each new set of circumstances. The 'slow climb through the 1950s', as Stravinsky later dubbed it (*T&E*, p. 23), is charted in his sketches as fully as Schoenberg's own processes of experimentation in his earlier serial works are traced in *their* sketches; though the problems facing the two composers were very different, the following extract from Ethan Haimo's description of Schoenberg's 'serial odyssey'--the formation and refinement of his twelve-tone method up to the comic opera *Von Heute auf Morgen*, op. 32--could almost apply to Stravinsky's own development as a serial composer:

> Such a period of stylistic development is a unique laboratory. In it we are given an opportunity to understand Schoenberg's compositional process as well as his own mechanisms for self-criticism. When Schoenberg drops one method of manipulating his material and substitutes another, we can do far more than identify the time and place of this change. We can delve into the underlying compositional reasoning, speculate about the features he found unsatisfactory in the discarded approach, and offer educated hypotheses about the compositional significance of the change. ... Except for a few hints, discussions of these stylistic changes are absent from Schoenberg's writings and public statements. However, the music itself, examined chronologically, shows a continuous and thoroughgoing process of stylistic development, the product of the most rigorous and merciless self-criticism. (Haimo, 1990, p. 5)

It comes as no surprise, then, to find that in Stravinsky's early serial works there exists a general correlation between the scope of a work and the degree to which its sketches represent the composer's experience in creating it; that is, the further-ranging and more progressive the compositional perspective of the work, the more the sketches may be expected to reveal. Thus the limited use of 'serial' principles in the 'Ricercar II' of the Cantata was not representative of such progress or change in Stravinsky's language that it provoked any evident compositional questioning; the rational and

rather unremarkable sequence of sketches concentrate no more on the serial aspect of the piece than on any other. But the greater challenge presented by the problems of integrating proto-serial procedures (closely related to the constructive principles of canon) and nonserial techniques in the Septet (1953) is reflected in Stravinsky's careful and studied working-out of relationships, and the more exploratory nature of many of the formative notations.

In the *Three Songs for William Shakespeare* which followed the Septet in the autumn of 1953, Stravinsky began to experiment with short series (four notes in the first song, seven in the second) that were independent of a supportive canonic framework. Unfortunately, the songs appear to be represented by only eleven sketchleaves containing music, of which just one is comprised of rough sketches (as opposed to drafts). Though the drafts do bear signs of revision, indicating that Stravinsky was still composing the songs at this stage, the regrettable lack of rough sketching makes difficult any comprehensive evaluation of his compositional process. The more generative methods of serial extension with which Stravinsky experimented in the *Three Songs* were developed further and with greater confidence in his next completed work, *In Memoriam Dylan Thomas*. Written in February to June 1954, the memorial piece actually interrupted work on the nascent *Agon*, which had been started in the late autumn of 1953. (The consequences of this interruption for our understanding of Stravinsky's serial development will be explored with reference to relevant sketches in Chapter 3, and a more detailed chronogical survey of events relating to the composition of *Agon* is presented in Appendix B.)

In Memoriam Dylan Thomas was Stravinsky's first entirely serial--though not twelve-tone--composition, based on a short chromatic series of five different pitches contained within the span of a major third. Robert Craft's observation that 'beginning with *In Memoriam Dylan Thomas* (1954), rhythm was the secondary consideration,

pitch the primary one' (*SPD*, p. 361), is reflective of the greater structural role played by serial principles; the seminal and guiding influence of the chosen note-row, above all else, is everywhere apparent in the sketches. There are several preliminary notations pitting fragments of text against serial forms represented by isolated note heads, implying a deliberate postponement of rhythmic consolidation until pitch levels had been selected. A sketchleaf for the central 'Song' [*Nachlass* 109-0696] is headed by two serial forms with a box drawn around them, acting as an immutable point of reference for the various sketches that follow, and in general more attention is paid in the early stages to the working-out of the vertical alignment of row forms. Revisions are few, and very rarely affect pitch-classes. The serial labels and brackets on the sketchleaves are far more systematic and conspicuous than in earlier sources, and, despite the beautiful crafting and the personal reason for composing the work, it retains something of the character of an exercise in serial construction, especially in the flanking 'Dirge-canons'.

Though neither of the much larger-scale compositions of the mid-1950s, the ballet *Agon* (1953-7) and the *Canticum Sacrum* (1955-6), were serial throughout, it was in these formative works that serial principles (including twelve-tone writing for the first time) became deeply and irrevocably integrated into Stravinsky's musical vocabulary. Their sketches were described by Robert Craft as

> more voluminous, more complicated, and more a record of growth than any earlier lot. Their pages are erasure-smudged and littered with scaffoldings of serial orders and transpositions of series groups. (Craft, 1957a, p. 10)

Of all the sources that date from this period of stylistic evolution, those for *Agon* and *Canticum Sacrum* are the most compelling, most extensive in their coverage of the composing process, and most illustrative of wider issues relating to Stravinsky's working methods. The composition of *Agon*, resumed in the summer of 1954, was interrupted for a second time six months later by the Venetian commission *Canticum*

Sacrum, in which Stravinsky both furthered his progress toward full twelve-tone serialism (including his first completely dodecaphonic movement) and resorted once again to tonally-oriented, nonserial writing. But it was the prolonged and broken genesis of *Agon* that provided Stravinsky with an opportunity to explore many possibilities of stylistic combination: pure diatonic writing, diatonic and serial writing combined, diatonic and twelve-tone writing combined, pure twelve-tone writing, and complex serial techniques in which manipulations are applied to shorter units such as hexachords and tetrachords, whose extensions may then themselves be treated serially. Not surprisingly, given the richness and complexity of the ballet's conception, both the volume and content of the sketches are indicative of greater compositional difficulty; the methods charted are more generative, the notations more developmental and the ballet's interrelationships more intricate than in other works of the period.

For these reasons, *Agon* has been selected as the most flexible and interesting vehicle for discussion. Detailed analysis of the abundant source materials dating from its three-and-a-half year gestation comprises the bulk of this thesis, but certain preoccupations manifest in these materials are also related to those observed in other works dating from the period 1953-9 (especially *Canticum Sacrum* and *Threni*). In short, the composing of *Agon* is the medium through which the developments--both procedural and material--of Stravinsky's early serial period are gauged.

CHAPTER 1
STRAVINSKY AND HIS SKETCHES: THE COMPOSITIONAL STRATEGY

I. THE NACHLASS

In later life, Stravinsky developed an insatiable appetite for interviews. Happy to offer his thoughts on a wide variety of topics ranging from T.S. Eliot to genetic engineering, his output of new music during the last decade of his composing career was rivalled by his seemingly indefatigable production of prose. But Stravinsky, despite his acquiescence to editors' requests, actually disclosed very little in the various reports, reminiscences, opinions and pronouncements about the way he worked. Preferring to discuss individual compositions and occasionally the ideas behind them, the composer was circumspect and--unless he spotted an opportunity for digression--reluctant to discourse at length when faced with questions of process.

Craft's attempts to apprise the musical public of Stravinsky's working methods yielded more information, but of an essentially biographical nature. Although Stravinsky's study and daily routine were revealingly described in the article 'A Personal Preface' (Craft, 1957a), the account was devoid of specific musical illustration. And Craft's regular analyses of the works that Stravinsky produced during the years of their association detailed where and when the different sections had been completed, but gave away little else that could not be discovered from the published scores.

During the twelve years following Stravinsky's death in April 1971 Craft enjoyed more or less sole access to the vast archive of musical and non-musical source materials amassed by the composer. In addition to three hefty volumes of correspondence, he published analyses based on the sketches and early versions of several works, including *L'Histoire du Soldat*, the *Symphonies of Wind Instruments*, *Concerto for Two Pianos*, the Octet and *The Rake's Progress*, while individual sketchleaves for these and

many other compositions were reproduced in sources such as *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents* (*SPD*), published jointly in 1979 with the composer's widow Vera, and *A Stravinsky Scrapbook, 1940-71* (Craft, 1983).[1]

Elsewhere, significant research into Stravinsky's compositional methods was practically precluded by the lack of available source materials. The earliest Stravinsky sketch source to become generally accessible was the beautifully-produced facsimile of the *Rite of Spring* sketchbook (Stravinsky/Boosey & Hawkes, 1969). The sketchbook attracted the widespread academic interest it deserved, and was to prove a vital catalyst in the growth of this promising area (as reflected in the studies by Smalley, 1970, and Taruskin, 1980, among others; many publications not primarily concerned with the sketchbook also drew heavily on its material, such as Toorn, 1987).

But the greatest stimulus to research into Stravinsky's creative process was the purchase of the composer's entire archive (commonly referred to as his *Nachlass*) by the Paul Sacher Stiftung, based in Basel.[2] After a brief period of residence in the New York Public Library, following the death of the composer's widow Vera in September 1982, the *Nachlass* was transferred to Basel in August 1983. The exhibition *Strawinsky: Sein Nachlass, Sein Bild* and its sumptuous catalogue (Kunstmuseum Basel, 1984) served to emphasize the richness and variety of the archive. Before the exhibition scholars could only speculate as to the wealth of material still owned by Stravinsky at the time

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[1] See Robert Craft, ed., *Stravinsky: Selected Correspondence*, volumes I, II and III (London, 1982, 1984 and 1985 respectively), hereafter *SSC-I*, *SSC-II* and *SSC-III*; '*Histoire du Soldat* (the musical revisions, the sketches, the evolution of the libretto)', *MQ* lxvi/3 (1980), pp. 321-38; 'A note on the sketches and the two versions of the libretto', in Paul Griffiths, ed., *Igor Stravinsky: The Rake's Progress* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 18-30; and the surveys of the *Symphonies of Wind Instruments* and other works detailed above in note 9, page 8.

[2] The collection of Paul Sacher, the Swiss conductor and devoted patron of twentieth-century music (b. 28 April 1906), already boasted several Stravinsky manuscripts, including materials for the two works that he himself had commissioned: *Concerto in D* (1946) and *A Sermon, a Narrative, and a Prayer* (1962).

of his death, for the only published listing of the manuscripts (containing no mention of the non-musical documents) was the deficient 'Catalogue of manuscripts (1904-1952) in Stravinsky's possession', compiled by Robert Craft in 1954 and printed as an appendix to Eric Walter White's monograph ([1966] 2/1979, pp. 599-618); its incompleteness was emphasized both by the dates in its title and by the accompanying disclaimer: 'Not a catalogue in the sense of Köchel or Rufer, but a directory intended for Stravinsky's personal use' (p. 599, n. 1).

No further listings appeared until the 'provisional checklist' prepared by John Shepard (of the New York Public Library), which, despite coinciding with the start of the exhibition in Basel, was issued independently (Shepard, 1984). It is surprising, then, to learn that no fewer than three separate inventories had been drawn up in the intervening period: the first, dated February 1967, by Stravinsky's son-in-law and secretary during the 1950s, André Marion, the next on microfilms made in 1967-8 at the composer's home in Hollywood, and the third a hastily-compiled and error-ridden inventory drawn up in January 1970 by Sigmund Rothschild, the 'appraiser' appointed by Stravinsky's attorney Arnold Weissberger.[3]

With the formal opening of the Paul Sacher Stiftung on 28 April 1986, the *Nachlass* became generally available to scholars for the first time (though the New York Public Library had granted restricted access during the period January to August 1983) and the full extent of its contents could, at last, be appreciated. The *Nachlass* contains over 200 music manuscripts, extensive sketch material, reductions and proofs, film material, hundreds of items from Stravinsky's private library (many with

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[3] See 'Die Nachlass Strawinsky und seine Inventarisierung' in the Paul Sacher Stiftung's own inventory (1989, pp. 6-9), which, needless to say, supersedes all earlier listings. The Stiftung now owns the microfilm inventory of 1966-7. Robert Craft's account of 'The Stravinsky *Nachlass* in New York and Basel' (*SSC-III*, pp. 513-21) also describes the three unpublished inventories before pointing out errors in Shepard's (1984) 'checklist'.

annotations in the composer's hand), plus 116 boxes of documentary material whose contents were slotted originally into folders bearing descriptive titles (with free resort to the category 'Miscellaneous'). Stravinsky was not a patient librarian, however, and the ongoing cataloguing of the boxes is one of the more challenging consequences of ownership. His reported reluctance to discard any of his papers is reflected in the diversity of the boxed documentary archive, which includes copious quantities of correspondence--both business (with publishers, record companies, lawyers, prospective commissioners and concert administrators) and personal--together with concert programmes, assorted clippings and reviews, photographs, libretti, typescripts, royalty statements, and all the other trappings of a busy life spent in the public eye.

The *Nachlass* was supplemented in September 1990 by the donation of the *Sammlung Robert Craft* (see Paul Sacher Stiftung, 1991), comprising additional items connected with Stravinsky's life and works which had either been bequeathed to Craft or were still in his possession after playing a role in his many publications. The collection includes musical sketches, autograph fair copies, corrected proofs and further items from Stravinsky's library, as well as selected documents (Craft's correspondence, text manuscripts, notes) concerning Stravinsky's works.[4]

Although the *Nachlass* collections contain no musical materials for certain of Stravinsky's compositions (*Persephone* and the *Requiem Canticles*, for example), and no sketches for some other works (such as the 1924 *Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments* or the original 1911 ballet version of *Petrushka*), the number of works thus

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[4] At the time of writing the *Sammlung Robert Craft* is not fully catalogued and hence largely unavailable for consultation (a microfilm containing correspondence of the Stravinsky family and of Robert Craft, plus certain books from the composer's library, are exceptions). However, I am grateful to the staff of the Paul Sacher Stiftung for their willingness to supply information about the collection: though it includes a list of corrections for Boosey & Hawkes, there are no sketches for *Agon* further to those of the *Nachlass* itself, and for *Canticum Sacrum* there is a single short sketch and a typed version of the text.

unrepresented is remarkably small. Stravinsky was not unwilling to sell his autograph full scores (several sales are listed in *SPD*, pp. 575-6), and the donation of a manuscript sometimes formed part of a commission. Some sketches for early works were lost in Russia during World War I, and one or two complete sketchbooks--perhaps considered to have the status of full score manuscripts--were given away (the *Rite of Spring* sketchbook was originally given to Stravinsky's friend Misia Sert) or sold (a *Petrushka* sketchbook dating from 1910 was sold in the late 1940s). These apart, Stravinsky generally kept his sketches in his personal archive. The *Nachlass* sketch collections contain several small scraps of paper with jottings in Stravinsky's hand, implying that notations, however insignificant they may appear, were never discarded. This welcome implication is echoed elsewhere; Roger Smalley announces that since the First World War Stravinsky 'has kept all his sketches himself and only occasional pages have been reproduced in books and magazines' (Smalley, 1970, p. 3); similarly, André Marion's reply to a request for a sketch or fragment explained that

> Maestro Stravinsky never gives away the sketches of his works keeping them for himself and leaving to his dealer (of rare books and manuscripts) the care to sale [*sic*] his manuscript-scores.[5]

Among many possible reasons for this hoarding was Stravinsky's tendency to check his manuscript scores for errors against the sketches; certain photographs in Arnold Newman's album (1967, pp. 60-61) portray the composer apparently occupied in this way. Less ambiguous is a short note, in Stravinsky's hand, found among the documents relating to the engraving of *Threni* and containing the following pertinent reminder:

> April 25th [1958] I sent B. & H. [Boosey & Hawkes], Attention Mr. J. Andrewes, a package of mistakes found in full score of THRENI after 3 days careful checking up (with the sketches) and the text (typewrited [*sic*]). [*Nachlass*

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[5] Letter of 16 March 1959 [*Nachlass* 101:621239], André Marion to Wesley Wehr (of the University of Washington's music library).

99:612100]

The importance of the *Nachlass* sketch collections is greatly enhanced by Stravinsky's helpfulness in preserving all his sketches; in considerations of compositional method, for instance, the ability to consult a collection that is complete, as far we know, is extremely valuable.

II. MODUS OPERANDI

Stravinsky's preference for composing at the keyboard is well known. Craft refers to the instrument as 'the centre of all musical discussion' (1957a, p. 10), while the composer himself acknowledges it as 'the centre of my life and the fulcrum of all my musical discoveries' (*E&D*, p. 47) and admits that it 'helps to push my imagination into position' (*T&C*, p. 131). The indispensable, formative role played by the piano is emphasized in eye-witness accounts of Stravinsky at work, such as Nicolas Nabokov's 'Christmas with Stravinsky':

> I stood behind him and watched the short, nervous fingers scour the keyboard, searching and finding the correct intervals, the widely-spaced chords and the characteristically Stravinskyan broad melodic leaps.[6]

It is further underscored by film material portraying 'the maestro at work', such as the National Broadcasting Company documentary filmed in June 1957, which contains a scene showing Stravinsky and Craft standing at the piano in the composer's Hollywood studio. Their conversation runs as follows:

> I.S.: We have to *touch* the music not only to hear it.
> R.C.: Do your ideas always occur to you at the piano?
> I.S.: Mostly on the piano, mostly when I touch the instrument I am looking for some distance of my fingers which corresponds to intervals and these

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[6] Nicholas Nabokov, 'Christmas with Stravinsky', in Edwin Corle, ed., *Igor Strawinsky* (New York, 1949), pp. 123-68, extract from p. 146.

intervals are really musical ideas.
R.C.: Then there's chance involved?
I.S.: Of course. Sometimes chance and sometimes my will.

Stravinsky's desire to 'touch the music' caused certain practical difficulties, since it demanded some sort of substitute for a desk or table. A photograph of the composer's piano in the 1960s, reproduced in the second plate section of *SSC-II*, shows the rather elaborate apparatus that enabled him to secure his sketchleaves onto an upright board attached to the music rack. Large sheets, pinned up in the centre of the board and onto which sketches, short scores or drafts were progressively inscribed, were generally surrounded by smaller sketchleaves containing more fragmentary ideas or the 'reference' notations described by Vera Stravinsky as 'the navigation charts of serial orders, the transposition tables, the calculations of permutations'.[7] Alternatively, if the composition of a particular section were still at a comparatively early stage, the large sheets themselves might contain a complex network of sketches. Though he did buy and use printed manuscript paper, Stravinsky displayed a marked preference for the unlined sheets that allowed him to rule the required number of staves using the five-wheeled rastrum that was his own patented invention (the 'Stravigor'). On the whole the favoured medium was lead pencil, but Stravinsky made imaginative use of coloured pencils in order to add brackets showing motivic interconnections, to record serial orders and labels, to insert instructions to himself or arrows clarifying the pathway through the sketches, or to indicate details of instrumentation.

There is no evidence of systematic progression from one paper type to the next

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[7] Vera Stravinsky, 'Letters to a cousin in Moscow', *T&C*, pp. 298-313; citation from p. 304. So well does this account complement Craft's (1957a) exposition of Stravinsky's working habits that one cannot help but notice how its prose style at times inclines suspiciously toward the unmistakeably studied erudition of Craft's own writing: '[Stravinsky's] frontal lobes are almost delinquently low and concave, the glabella and jaw are unheroically recessive, and the nether lip is too thick--a cranial picture that ... seems to resemble the simian prototypes Igor refers to (and pronounces) as "aps"' (*T&C*, p. 311).

during the composition of a work, or from one size of rastrum or style of pen to another; paper, rastra and pens were freely mixed at all stages, and hence cannot be used as an aid to chronology. (The classification of sketchleaves in Appendix A lists the many different paper types found in the sketches for *Agon*.)

The source materials are peppered with reminders of their keyboard-based gestation. Quite apart from localized manifestations such as the occasional appearance of piano fingerings (for example in the draft of the 1924 Piano Sonata, first movement, reproduced in *Sein Nachlass, Sein Bild* (Kunstmuseum Basel, 1984, pp. 102-3)), Stravinsky's composing at the keyboard had other, more fundamental, consequences. The processes of exploration and adjustment that occurred there--described by the composer as the 'exploration of possibilities' (*Conversations*, p. 15)--acted not only as a requisite stimulus to his musical imagination, but also proved to be an economical time-saver, reducing quite considerably the number of intermediate stages that required notation in some form or other.

For each work, more original compositional thought generally remained transitory and unwritten than was recorded, an imbalance that is reflected in the sketch sources in several ways. First, there are many 'missing links' between early and more advanced notations, where intermediate ideas had apparently been tested at the keyboard and unsatisfactory solutions discarded. According to Charles Joseph (1983, p. 250), Soulima Stravinsky recalls that his father 'would often repeat a chord over and over, adjusting a voice, an octave register, a doubling, before notating it'. This process had been suspected by observers of the earliest Stravinsky sketch source to become available to scholars, the *Rite of Spring* sketchbook. Richard Taruskin, for example, examining the sketchbook for evidence of Russian folk melodies, noted that

> The real development of material took place empirically at the keyboard, and by the time an idea was entered in the sketchbook, it had no doubt already gone

through many unrecorded stages of crystallization. (1980, p. 509)

We are often in a position to distinguish between ideas that have been worked over in this way and those ideas, far less frequently encountered, that reach their final form only after extensive processes of modification on paper; as Tom Gordon characterized it in his brief overview of sketches for the 1919 *Piano-Rag-Music*, a distinction between 'finger-dictated' and 'composed' materials.[8] The comparative scarcity of developmental workings--especially in many sources that predate the serial works under scrutiny in this thesis--is often reflected by Stravinsky's seemingly unshakeable conviction in compositional decisions:

> Stravinsky's working habits are best studied in his sketch books. These calligraphically beautiful volumes are not sketch books in the same sense as Beethoven's; no struggling, contradictory, organic, development process is revealed in them. Rather, they are remarkable for the few differences they show when compared with the published version. There are many revisions but they are rather like the changes found between editions. Barring sometimes differs in the final product, usually for the sake of easier performance. ... But on the whole Stravinsky's creations appear to have been born full grown. (Craft, 1957a, p. 10)

The information that a large proportion of Stravinsky's sketches and drafts record solutions to compositional problems that have been worked out at the keyboard, and consequently differ little from the printed scores, initially appears somewhat discouraging to those working on the premise that material rejected is potentially more interesting (in considerations of compositional method) than material retained. Yet even when the material presented is familiar, much is to be learnt from the manner of that presentation: about the order of composition, where this can be ascertained, about Stravinsky's 'mosaic' style of composition, so closely related to his use of block structures, about juxtapositions of material that occasionally indicate an unexpected

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[8] Tom Gordon, 'Stravinsky's Great Rag Sketches', *Mitteilungen der Paul Sacher Stiftung*, i (January 1988), pp. 24-5.

relationship or the use of one idea as a model for another, and much more.

Craft's mention, in the extract above, of 'sketch books' alerts us to the possibility that he is referring primarily to an earlier phase of Stravinsky's creative career. By the 1950s Stravinsky had stopped writing in bound sketchbooks, which, though attractive and convenient for keeping his workings together, were presumably more cumbersome than single sheets to fix above the piano keyboard. Bound sketchbooks had last been used in the late 1930s and early '40s, for *Danses concertantes* (1939-42) and the *Circus Polka* (1941-2) [*Nachlass* Sketchbook XI]. Well before this time, however, and with increasing frequency during the 1920s and '30s, Stravinsky developed the habit of composing on individual sheets of paper. Anything that came to hand was eagerly pressed into service, and his choices became ever more eccentric: from jotting pads to expensive printed orchestral manuscript paper, from the backs of tiny receipts from piano-hire companies to the stationery printed specially for Vera Stravinsky's gallery 'La Boutique', scraps torn from the margins of magazines or newspapers, or napkins from airline meals. Needless to say, this practice resulted in some very motley collections.[9]

The sketchleaves and sketchbooks do, of course, contain many hundreds of notations that were rejected, modified or painstakingly developed; Stravinsky's creations were not all born as effortlessly, as 'full grown', as Craft's description implies. Many works were indeed represented, as far as we know, exclusively by the notations contained in a single sketchbook, but for others there exist additional sketchleaves upon which much preliminary, developmental work took place. Craft duly alters his

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[9] From the early 1960s on Stravinsky began to paste the smaller notations into scrapbooks. Several photographs of the scrapbook containing sketches for the 1966 *Requiem Canticles* have been published in *Bravo Stravinsky!* (Newman, 1967, pp. 48-61). The pictures reveal that Stravinsky had supplemented the sketches with other items pasted into the scrapbook, such as obituaries of friends or acquaintances who had died during the piece's composition (Edgard Varèse, Alberto Giacometti and Evelyn Waugh).

approbation to acknowledge this:

> [E]arly foundations, melodic and motival 'jottings' and sketches of patterns were usually written on small scraps of paper, a stage before the sketch book score; ... the sketches themselves have been a good deal subject to erasure. (1957a, p. 10)

The sketchbook for the original ballet version of *Pulcinella* (1919-20), for example, is comprised mainly of drafts and short scores, with only occasional sketches to clarify isolated compositional ideas.[10] In terms of musical content, the differences between the sketchbook versions and the final versions of individual movements are minimal; details of instrumentation are often abundant, though there are few indications of dynamics or expression markings. The paucity of early workings in the sketchbook itself (which is not a particularly flattering demonstration of Stravinsky's considerable calligraphic skills) is accounted for by the fact that the preliminary musical sketches were made directly onto the source materials provided by Diaghilev (manuscript copies, in various hands, of pieces by Pergolesi, Gallo, et al.), accompanied by twelve individual sketchleaves.[11]

Wherever they appear, on individual leaves or in sketchbooks, the notations that differ most from the published scores are undoubtedly the most instructive of the musical components of the *Nachlass*. The general economy of the sketch sources serves to throw into relief the occasional problematic area or creative cul-de-sac. Evaluated in conjunction with the corroborative evidence offered by the abundant documentation

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[10] This bound sketchbook, manuscript 94 in the Stefan Zweig Collection at the British Library, contains 121 pages of musical workings.

[11] The sketches and all but two of the 'Pergolesi' copies annotated by Stravinsky are now owned by the Paul Sacher Stiftung, together with other materials including the autograph full score and sketches for the orchestral suite of 1922. For an excellent description and identification of the source materials used by Stravinsky, see Barry S. Brook, 'Stravinsky's *Pulcinella*: the "Pergolesi" Sources', in *Musiques, Signes, Images: liber amicorum François Lesure*, ed. J.-M. Fauquet (Geneva and Paris, 1988), pp. 41-66.

and letters pertaining to each work, these sources are unparalleled in their ability to draw our attention to specific and varying compositional concerns, and to contribute to our more general knowledge of Stravinsky's working methods. Moreover, since most of his sketches have been available to scholars only since 1986, such research is still in its infancy.[12] The archive, as yet comparatively untapped, is a treasure-trove awaiting further investigation.

III. CLASSIFICATION OF MUSICAL SOURCE MATERIALS USED IN THIS THESIS

The development of an adequate and reasonably systematic classification of unpublished musical source materials is virtually inseparable from the processes of comparing and interpreting these sources. Since Stravinsky's autograph full scores generally differ only in minor respects from the printed scores, the notations that concern us most are those completed prior to the autograph full score; intended for no eyes other than the composer's own, such notations are inevitably not classified in any way by their creator. Clearly, an imposed classification must be flexible, accessible in its terminology, and appropriate to the sources under consideration. Yet there are fundamental difficulties in establishing such a system, which serve to emphasize the complexity and intricacy of the compositional process:

1. the notations do not necessarily represent defined stages in the compositional process;

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[12] Of the 396 abstracts in James Heintze's comprehensive bibliography of postgraduate theses on Stravinsky (Heintze, 1988), only one or two mention unpublished source material of the sort available in the *Nachlass*: one refers to letters from Stravinsky in another private archive, another makes mention of the early unpublished versions of *Les Noces*. With the exception of studies of the *Rite of Spring* sketchbook and the occasional account by Robert Craft, only recently have the first fruits of such research started to appear. See, for instance, Sherr (1988); Straus (1991); André Baltensperger and Felix Meyer, eds, *Igor Strawinsky: Symphonies d'Instruments à Vent: Faksimileausgabe des Particells und der Partitur der Erstfassung (1920)* (Wintherthur, 1991).

2. each notation is unique in its aim and its contribution;

3. it is impossible to establish unequivocal lines of demarcation between categories;

4. subjective and objective judgements tend to apply in equal measure.

In order to achieve the fullest possible documentation of a work's genesis, our classification should aim at greater specificity than does the typical broad division into 'sketch' and 'draft', with its tacit assumption of understanding as to the nature of each. The fourfold categorization proposed below seeks to reduce the scope for subjectivity while recognizing the need to rationalize to a certain extent.

i) Sketch

Usually the earliest notated stage of composition for any particular section, a sketch is a fragmentary testing of ideas. It is characterized first by its brevity rather than by any criteria of incompleteness, and therefore the term refers not only to early foundational jottings and *aides-mémoires* (row permutations, embryonic melodic conceptions and so on) but also, in certain cases, to short blocks of a more advanced nature--material that has perhaps been explored at the keyboard before notation. Alternatively, a sketch may be required to clarify an isolated musical area that is causing problems during the working-out of a longer passage (a 'clarifying sketch').

In general, transcription of the sketches is not a particularly formidable task, since Stravinsky's manuscript remained fairly clear even in his most hurried jottings. Occasionally, however, an isolated pitch or duration is ambiguous, and its 'correct' value not necessarily inferrable from the context. A greater problem is presented by the density of the notations that cover certain sketchleaves; unless the content of the individual sketches is sharply differentiated, it is sometimes difficult to determine the boundaries between them.

After Stravinsky's shift of preference from bound sketchbooks to individual

sheets of paper, his sketches are divided more or less equally between assorted scraps of paper and larger sheets; wherever they occur, there is very rarely any attempt to pinpoint the material on a broader plan, or any clue--besides their actual musical content--to indicate the order in which they were completed. Adjacent notations may represent successive workings of the same material, or they may record different and often nonconsecutive ideas.

Sketches that give instrumental cues are comparatively rare; Robert Craft's assertion that 'instrumentation is outlined in all of Stravinsky's sketches' (1957a, p. 10), is staggeringly misleading. Those notations (whether sketches, short scores or drafts) that do suggest instrumentation often build on earlier sketches that betray their pianistic origins. This state of affairs was also diagnosed by Charles Joseph (1983), basing his judgement on the limited number of sketchleaves then available through facsimile reproductions in secondary sources (but including the *Rite of Spring* sketchbook):

> The contention is not that Stravinsky possessed no inkling of what he might desire in terms of an orchestral sound, but rather that often he had not yet decided, even as the compositional process moved forward. Even in those relatively few instances where no preliminary piano sketch previews an instrumental draft, one must not conveniently assume that Stravinsky immediately envisioned a specific orchestral idea. For it is unlikely that the composer in any case did not initially and sensorially (meaning both tactilely and aurally) repeatedly test his ideas at the piano before notating them. (Joseph, 1983, p. 249)

ii) Short score

This abundant form of notation, resembling a piano reduction, presents longer passages of musical material on two or three staves. Stravinsky occasionally referred to such workings, on the outsides of folders or envelopes containing them, as 'summary sketches', a term that conveys their usual nature: an outline, indicating both the basic

shape of the musical material and the sequence of events. Owing to the diversity of contexts, however, the preferred term here is 'short score' as it refers simply to presentation and carries no implication of a specific, summarizing function. A short score incorporates sketches in their original or developed forms, and usually adds new material. It is concise, only occasionally offering details of proposed instrumentation, and its material is frequently subject to abbreviation (for example, Stravinsky sometimes used a 'chordal shorthand' consisting of vertical strokes through the staves, positioned to indicate the reiterations of a chord shown earlier; rests between the chords are usually not shown).

iii) Sketch draft

The difference between the two categories of short score and sketch draft depends on both presentation and content. The sketch draft may reveal significant progress over the short score (where both exist for the same passage), or it may represent roughly the same stage of the compositional process (whether or not a short score exists). Workings are classified as sketch drafts if they imply the distribution of musical material by the use of several different staves, often with instrumental cues, for the individual lines. Existing material may be revised or extra material added, usually as a result either of this new preoccupation with distribution ('linear' additions arising from doublings of selected notes or whole lines) or of the process of drawing together the various sections that are already partially worked out (additions arising from problems of 'linkage'). Even at this fairly advanced stage of composition, Stravinsky occasionally introduces an important musical event. Sketch drafts are often untidy, with entries on fragmented staves, and may lack certain musical features or lines. The material presented is generally accurate with respect to pitch, but not all aspects of rhythm, metre, instrumentation or performance indications are finalized.

iv) Full draft

The most developed form of draft, usually with one stave for each musical line and conforming in most details to the final score, is designated a 'full draft'. The distinction between sketch and full drafts may be partly subjective, but the full draft is more comprehensively and carefully integrated. It was almost certainly this type of notation which prompted Craft's reassurance that

> If all the Stravinsky scores were to disappear tomorrow, they could be recreated from his sketch scores, which indicate every instrument, every single detail that goes into the finished work.[13]

This position is perhaps a little optimistic, since errors and omissions are still noticeable, but on the whole Stravinsky's full drafts are extraordinarily accurate. The culmination of all that has gone before, they also add any missing material, complete the process of instrumentation, and introduce extra dynamics, expression markings and accents. Doubling lines are indicated by stave-labels, additional cues, the directions of stems and occasionally by colour-coded note heads.

Despite the completeness of these documents, they are, nevertheless, still drafts; they do contain revisions, they are sometimes ambiguous in matters of orchestration, and reflect Stravinsky's economy of time and paper (for example by their use of shorthand or by different lines sharing the same stave). Moreover, the proportion of material represented in full draft notation is small; it is far more common to find Stravinsky leaving a section or movement at the sketch draft stage. All these considerations made it necessary for the composer to prepare a neat, definitive autograph full score that could be sent to his publishers for engraving.

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[13] Robert Craft, interviewed by Jay S. Harrison, *New York Herald Tribune* (20 December 1959), section IV, p. 5 [*Nachlass* 102:630237-8].

In drawing these distinctions between the four categories of unpublished musical source material, this system of classification is forced to simplify the complex web of interrelationships that exists among the sources for each of Stravinsky's works. Nonetheless, the classification is necessary and useful for the description of compositional process.

It remains to emphasize that an unvarying path through all the different categories--from rudimentary sketch to a more sustained development of ideas in short score, and then to sketch draft and full draft--is the exception rather than the rule. Any of the stages may be omitted in the composition of a section: ideas traceable to a sketch might not reappear until the full draft, new material is sometimes introduced in a sketch draft, the short score stage may be bypassed in favour of direct progression to the sketch draft, a sketch draft may predate a short score of the same passage, and so on. New sketches were worked out at any stage, in some cases 'clarifying' a compositional decision taken in a draft, and therefore representing simultaneous areas of work or even reversing the accepted relationship of antecedent (sketch) to consequent (draft). Stravinsky rarely dated sketchleaves other than those containing sketch drafts or full drafts, which generally contained whole movements or substantial sections of a work. Craft's article 'A Personal Preface' (1957a, p. 10) is again misleading, for we are informed that 'Most sketch entries are dated and it is possible to determine in them exactly what was composed on what date'. But in the sketches for *Agon*, for instance, only ten of the 134 sketchleaves--many with notations on both recto and verso--give dates, and these are often no more specific than the month and year. Propositions of the order of composition among the sketchleaves for each movement must be based, therefore, primarily on analysis of their content.

CHAPTER 2
THE BACKGROUND TO AGON

I. THE COMMISSION

The earliest mention of the commission that would result in *Agon* occurred on the day after the première of Stravinsky's previous ballet, *Orpheus*. On 29 April 1948 Lincoln Kirstein, who, together with the choreographer George Balanchine, had formed the New York City Ballet, wrote to Stravinsky suggesting a 'third act' in their collaborative ventures, of which *Apollo* (1927-8) and *Orpheus* formed the first two acts.[1] Throughout 1948 and 1949 Kirstein's letters to Stravinsky are peppered with various reminders about the projected commission, but his hints elicited no more positive response than that the composer was bearing it in mind. Kirstein changed his approach, and over the next two years patiently suggested specific scenarios with the aim of firing Stravinsky's imagination. He was rewarded with half-hearted and transitory flickers of interest. Among the subjects that Stravinsky rejected were T.S. Eliot's *Sweeney Agonistes*, W.H. Auden's suggestion of 'the Hero as Builder of Cities; Aesculapius, the doctor; or Amphion the architect', and a project entitled 'Terpsichore', in which Zeus was to preside over a reception of deities, in a 'vast ballroom in space, between the stars'. (Appendix B gives extracts from this absorbing correspondence.)

From the end of November 1951 until August 1953 nothing more was said about the ballet. Of the many other proposals considered by Stravinsky during this interval, two were offers of operatic commissions. Discussions for the earlier of these began in late 1951 with representatives of the Aspen Festival, Colorado; it was intended as a second collaboration with the librettists of *The Rake's Progress*, W.H. Auden and Chester Kallman. By the time negotiations collapsed in February 1952, both the

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[1] Original in *Nachlass* [42:450650]; *SSC-I*, p. 271.

theme--'a kind of celebration of Wisdom in a manner comparable to Ben Johnson's masks'--and the performing forces had been decided.[2] The librettist of the second speculative opera (to be commissioned by Boston University) was to have been Dylan Thomas, whose untimely death on 9 November 1953 occurred while he was travelling, via New York, to meet Stravinsky to discuss possible ideas for the commission. The composer later gave some clues as to the stage their discussions had reached:

> It would have been simple, no conceits and no poetic indulgence. We had talked of an allegory--perhaps the discovery of language. Or a man and a tree, and their relation. It was all very vague. Thomas was so gifted and so versatile that he could have evolved a new form.[3]

Dylan Thomas was also the librettist suggested for the second of two film proposals, both based on the *Odyssey* and to be produced by Michael Powell. The prospect of a collaboration with the Welsh poet appealed to Stravinsky far more than had Powell's first proposal (with a libretto by Simon Harcourt-Smith), and negotiations proceeded from January 1952 onward. One year later the intended subject matter had been narrowed down to the Nausicaa episode, about which Stravinsky was extremely enthusiastic, even deliberating over the outline of the music in a letter of 16 January 1953 to his publisher Ernst Roth (*Nachlass* [11:332079], reprinted in *SSC-III*, p. 373; see Appendix B below, pp. 279-80); Powell, on the other hand, lost interest when Stravinsky requested a fee of $12,000.

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[2] Stravinsky describes the plans for the masque in a letter of 8 January 1952 to Betty Bean, then vice-president of Boosey & Hawkes (*Nachlass* [11:331964-5]; different portions of the letter are reprinted in *SSC-III*, p. 353 and *SPD*, pp. 204-5). Despite the failure of the Aspen commission to materialize, Auden and Kallman completed the libretto, *Delia*, and sent it to Stravinsky in the spring of 1952 (*SSC-III*, p. 353, n. 22).

[3] From an interview with Albert Goldberg, *Los Angeles Times* (8 August 1954), part IV, p. 6 [*Nachlass* 94:600800]. The *Nachlass* contains further correspondence relating to the Boston University commission, and preserves Stravinsky's immensely valuable correspondence with Dylan Thomas in Box 36 [*Nachlass* 36:430283-90]. Two letters from Thomas are reprinted in *Conversations*, pp. 79-81.

When Kirstein resumed the ballet-commission dialogue in August 1953, with a doubled fee and a reversion to the theme of 'Apollo Architectons: builder of shelters and bridges', Stravinsky was more amenable and accepted the offer, requesting only the details of the scenario so that he could begin work.[4] But before Kirstein could respond, Stravinsky, still deploring the untapped potential of the Nausicaa episode, had appropriated Powell's idea and offered it, in a letter of 28 August 1953, as an alternative plot for the ballet.[5] In an ironic reversal of roles, it was now Balanchine and Kirstein who proved resistant to a suggestion from the composer.

It is impossible to predict how seriously Stravinsky would have taken the ballet commission had Dylan Thomas lived, for even as he was signalling his acceptance to Kirstein he was still deeply involved in rather scheming negotiation with the intended librettist of the Boston University opera, the completion of which Stravinsky anticipated would take two years or more:

> Of course we should not tell anybody about it ... but my suggestion is that we could very well get things started (in secret) right away, and if the Boston deal goes through we would have things already well under way (but never tell them that we have actually begun to work until all contracts are signed). On the other hand, if the Boston project is a failure, then we would have something of our own to produce and for which we should well be able to find an underwriter, either here or in Europe.
>
> (Stravinsky to Dylan Thomas, 26 August 1953 [*Nachlass* 36:430286])

The culmination of the simultaneous correspondence relating to *Agon* was a letter of 31 August 1953 from Lincoln Kirstein, which, despite the absence of Nausicaa, seems to have restored Stravinsky's faith in the project. Here we find the earliest

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[4] Kirstein's letter of 26 August 1953 [*Nachlass* 42:450689] is reprinted (and erroneously dated 27 August) in *SSC-I*, pp. 285-6. Stravinsky's reply, 27 August 1953 [*Nachlass* 42:450690] is reprinted (dated 28 August) in *SSC-I*, p. 286.

[5] *Nachlass* [42:450691], reprinted (and erroneously dated 29 August 1953) in *SSC-I*, p. 286.

record of suggestions attributed directly to Balanchine:

> [Balanchine] would like a ballet which would seem to be the enormous finale of a ballet to end all the ballets the world has ever seen--mad dancing, variations, pas d'actions, pas de deux, etc. with a final terrific and devastating curtain when everyone would be exhausted. He suggested a competition before the gods; the audience are statues; the gods are tired and old; the dancers re-animate them by a series of historic dances, the correct tempi of which you can quite ignore--but they are called courante, bransle, passepied, rigaudon, menuet, etc. etc. It is as if time called the tune, and the dances which began quite simply in the sixteenth century took fire in the twentieth and exploded. It would be in the form of a suite de danses, or variations, numbers of as great variety as you pleased.
>
> (Quoted from the original [*Nachlass* 42:450692], reprinted in *SSC-I*, pp. 286-7)

In an inspired attempt to emphasize the potential of this attractive proposal by illustrating the 'historic dances', Kirstein enclosed a modern edition of Fernand De Lauze's 1623 dance manual, *Apologie de la danse*.[6] His letter continues:

> I am sending you a rather interesting book which may possibly interest you along these lines. There are others like it--the Arbeau and the Rameau (no relation to the composer)--and I can get them for you; but certainly you don't need them. Balanchine sees a marvelous theatricalized cosmic space in an architectural frame, more like Palladio than baroque; your music is the drama; his dances would attempt to stage dramatic tensions entirely in terms of dancing--but the characters would be dressed with some reference to historic styles.
>
> Does this appeal to you? You are the boss.
>
> (Quoted from the original [*Nachlass* 42:450692], with slight alterations to punctuation; reprinted in *SSC-I*, pp. 286-7)

Stravinsky's reply, dated 9 September 1953, shows that he had at last made up his mind over the question of plot--there would be none--and declared his intention of composing a 'Concerto for the dance' (see citation below). Nevertheless, the final score does retain some of the less fanciful of Balanchine's ideas: the ballet's title (Greek for

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[6] Translated and with a commentary by Joan Wildeblood (London, 1952), with added transcriptions of musical illustrations from Marin Mersenne's treatise *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris, 1636).

'contest') may have been suggested by the 'competition before the gods', and the idea of a 'series of historic dances', supported by the gift of the dance manual, became a formative structural element. The reference to Palladio--presumably the Italian architect Andrea Palladio (1508-80), who, in reviving classical architecture, emphasized the ancient Roman ideals of symmetrical planning and harmonic proportions--was echoed in the recurrent allusions to architecture in Kirstein's later correspondence with Stravinsky (see Appendix B), and, perhaps, in the many symmetries of form in *Agon*.

The decisive tone of Stravinsky's reply (9 September 1953) suggests that Kirstein's letter had achieved its objective of stimulating his musical imagination, though whether it was the letter or the contents of the book itself (which he professed to be 'studying ... "poco a poco"') that had prompted this response is open to debate. More significantly, Stravinsky's letter explains that the repeated deferral of the commission was due not to any lack of enthusiasm but to his need for a definite framework upon which to base his work:

> Limits are precisely what I need and am looking for above all in everything I compose. The limits generate the form.
>
> I will compose a kind of 'Concerto for the dance' and for which George [Balanchine] will create a matching choreographic construction ... we can well imagine how successful he will be if given something specially composed for the purpose of the ballet.
>
> Don't you think we should stop here, stick to this idea, and let me get to work? ... Are you in a position to close this whole deal now? I would like to start working on it without further delay. This would enable me to deliver the new ballet to you sometime in November or December 1954.
>
> (*Nachlass* [42:450693], partially reproduced in *SSC-I*, p. 287)

This response is curious precisely because the kind of pre-compositional restrictions Stravinsky claimed to require--stipulations of character, form and duration--had been rendered still more remote by the rejection of any semblance of a plot. Accordingly, when he eventually commenced work on *Agon* in October to December 1953, after

finishing the *Three Songs from William Shakespeare*, he found he could not sustain the new composition beyond the completion of a ten-bar opening Fanfare (later reworked and expanded) and a few ideas that would find expression in the Double Pas-de-Quatre.[7] Distracted by Dylan Thomas's death, he abandoned the new work in order to compose a short tribute to the poet.

In the summer of 1954, with *In Memoriam Dylan Thomas* finished, the composition of the ballet was finally to receive the stimulus it so desperately needed. While on tour with the New York City Ballet in Los Angeles from 5 July to 14 August, Balanchine paid several visits to the Stravinsky household (the exact dates of which are recorded in Vera Stravinsky's diary entries: see Vera Stravinsky, 1985, p. 175). The composer eagerly reported these events to Lincoln Kirstein:

> During George Balanchine's stay here for his Greek Theatre[8] engagement I had several meetings with him during which we laid down and established the whole structure of my new ballet.
>
> (Letter of 13 August 1954 [*Nachlass* 42:450699], reprinted in *SSC-I*, p. 289)

A more detailed account was later provided by Balanchine:

> We discussed timing and decided that the whole ballet should last about twenty minutes. ... We talked about how many minutes the first part should last, what to allow for the *pas de deux* and the other dances. We narrowed the plan as specifically as possible. ... We also discussed in general terms the character each dance might have and possible tempos.[9]

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[7] Stravinsky's letter of 27 October 1953 to Kirstein (*Nachlass* [42:450697], reprinted in *SSC-I*, p. 288 and quoted in Appendix B, p. 281 below) indicates that this Fanfare was conceived from the outset as an integral part of *Agon*, and at no point had been intended, as 'a complete piece ... that can be performed separately' (Craft's words, *SPD*, p. 428).

[8] Except where it is obviously wrong, Stravinsky's spelling is retained in all citations from the *Nachlass*; correspondence reprinted in *SSC* corrects the composer's orthography and substitutes American spellings.

[9] George Balanchine and Francis Mason, *Balanchine's Festival of Ballet* (London, 1978), p. 13.

The result of these discussions was a number of sketchleaves, all in Stravinsky's hand, covered with hastily scribbled 'stick' men and women representing the performing forces of the dances, plus the titles of the dances, their proposed durations and calculations of accumulative timings. Of these, one sketchleaf stands out both for its size and the close correspondence of its structural plan to the final form of the ballet.[10] Formed from five leaves of lined paper stapled one beneath the other to form a long 'Leporello', the undated sketchleaf **A**001 would prove to be an indispensable point of reference during the composition of *Agon*. Although the information given is of a non-musical nature, it is perhaps the most significant of all 134 sketchleaves in the *Agon* folders of the *Nachlass*, for its structural, choreographic and durational plan provided precisely the kind of limitation to which Stravinsky had referred a year earlier when he confessed that 'Limits are precisely what I need and am looking for above all in everything I compose. The limits generate the form'. Figure 2.1 provides a complete transcription of sketchleaf **A**001.

The outline accounts for all the dance movements of *Agon* in their correct order; it also estimates several durations, and the casting is prescribed by the slightly comic figures drawn in the appropriate positions on the sketchleaf. At this stage, the specific dances of the two Pas-de-Trois have apparently not been chosen; the titles 'Gaillarde' and 'Saraband', added in red crayon (together with the blue crayon duration 1'15", which replaces the earlier estimate 'c. 50'), stand in conspicuous contrast to the prevailing lead pencil of the other dance titles and timings, a fact that suggests they

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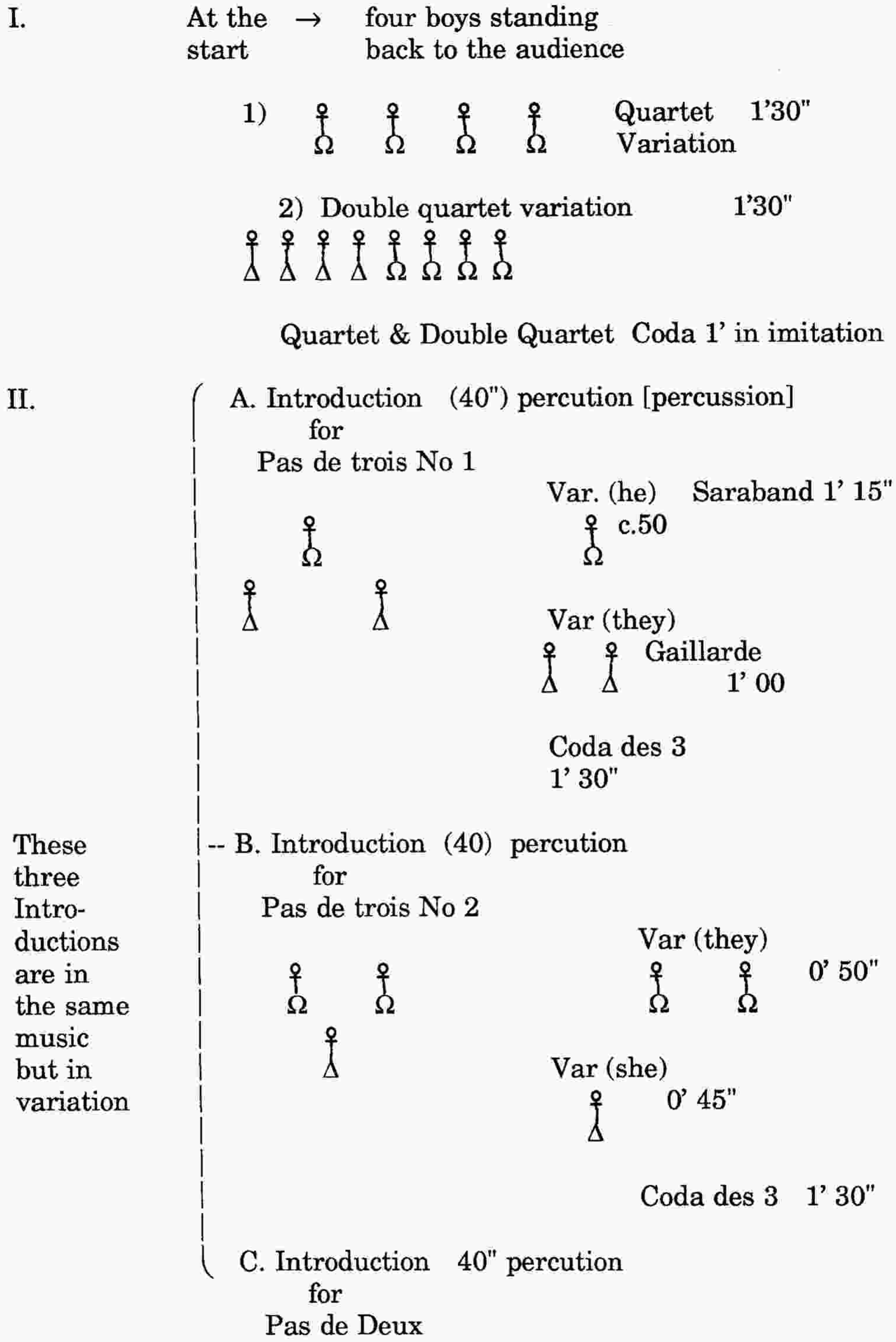
[10] This sketchleaf has been reproduced in black-and-white facsimile in the programme to the New York City Ballet's 1982 *Stravinsky Centennial Celebration* festival. More accessible is the reduction in Irene Alm's article on 'Stravinsky, Balanchine, and *Agon*' (Alm, 1989), which gives information on Balanchine's original choreography. Laurence Sherr's (1988) thesis also provides valuable and interesting material on the commissioning of the work, its choreography, and the foundation and history of the New York City Ballet.

were later additions to the sketchleaf.

Figure 2.1: sketchleaf A001



(Figure 2.1, cont.)

	Adagio	♀ ♀
Pas		Ω Δ
de	Variation	(he)
deux	"	(she)
	Coda	(both)

III. 1) Danse des 4 Pairs (quartet of 4 Pairs)

♀ ♀ ♀ ♀ ♀ ♀ ♀ ♀
Ω Δ Ω Δ Ω Δ Ω Δ

2) Danse des 4 Trios (male and two females)

♀ ♀ ♀ ♀ ♀ ♀ ♀ ♀ ♀ ♀ ♀ ♀
Δ Ω Δ Δ Ω Δ Δ Ω Δ Δ Ω Δ

3) <u>Coda des 3 quartets in imitation</u> 1' 00
same as before
with a short conclusion to give time to the 8 girls <u>to leave</u> and to the 4 boys <u>to go back</u> to their original position (back to the audience)

Stravinsky refers to the opening two dances with English titles--'Quartet Variation' and 'Double quartet variation'--while the next dance is conceived as a 'Coda' to this opening section (this term still stands at the head of the printed score of the Triple Pas-de-Quatre, though the qualifying 'in imitation' has been dropped). The only specifically choreographic instructions written on the sketchleaf, at the beginning and end of the plan, later found their way into Stravinsky's autograph manuscript and even into the printed score; were these, then, the contribution of the composer?

The Prelude and Interludes (labelled A, B and C) are designated 'Introductions'

to the following dances, an identification that profoundly alters our interpretation of their function and that carries significant implications for the coherence of the large-scale formal design. Down the side of the page, with a bracket extending from A to C, Stravinsky has noted 'These 3 Introductions are in the same music but in variation'. We could receive no clearer signal that the use of repetition to articulate form was an early compositional decision, taken prior to the musical working-out. (Similarly, the final Coda is marked 'same as before', revealing that the return to the opening material at the end of the ballet was another preconceived structural device.) The obscure indication 'percution' next to each Introduction is transcribed by Alm (1989) and Sherr (1988) as 'percussion', the only obvious explanation for the word being its reference to the extensive use of timpani and tom-toms in these sections.[11]

II. THE TRIPARTITE CONCEPTION OF AGON

The single most revealing feature of the plan is its division of the ballet into three large sections, clearly delineated by the use of capitalized Roman numerals--in direct contravention of the usual perception of the work (for example White, 2/1979; Vlad, 3/1978; van den Toorn, 1983) as a four-part structure whose sections are spaced by the Prelude and its varied repetitions as Interludes. Figure 2.2 compares the original three-part structure devised by Stravinsky and Balanchine (though substituting the final movement titles) with the symmetrical structural analysis usually encountered.

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[11] This interpretation is somewhat supported by the fact that *Agon*'s use of percussion is extremely restricted, so the Prelude's timpani motive may perhaps be seen as justifying a reference on the early plan. The timpani reappear in the Gaillarde, in the Pas-de-Deux's Coda and in the final chord; otherwise, Stravinsky permits only the use of xylophone in the Saraband and, of course, the Bransle Gay's castanet.

Figure 2.2

	Stravinsky/Balanchine: Three-part conception	Secondary sources: Four-part perception
I.	Pas-de-Quatre Double Pas-de-Quatre Coda [Triple Pas-de-Quatre]	I. Pas-de-Quatre Double Pas-de-Quatre Triple Pas-de-Quatre Prelude
II.	*First Pas-de-Trois* A. Introduction [Prelude] Saraband Gaillarde[12] Coda *Second Pas-de-Trois* B. Introduction [Interlude] Bransle Simple Bransle Gay Bransle Double *Pas-de-Deux* C. Introduction [Interlude] Pas-de-Deux	II. *First Pas-de-Trois* Saraband-Step Gaillarde Coda Interlude III. *Second Pas-de-Trois* Bransle Simple Bransle Gay Bransle Double Interlude IV. Pas-de-Deux
III.	Four Duos Four Trios Coda	Four Duos Four Trios

The fact that the musical score was conceived also in terms of dance movements is, unfortunately, all too often forgotten in formal analyses. Yet the large-scale formal design of the music is expressed most clearly when the music is considered in conjunction with Balanchine's original 'matching choreographic construction'. Both Alm (1989) and Sherr (1988) concentrate on the choreographic aspects of the Stravinsky-

[12] The spelling 'Gailliarde' in the printed score is a mistake that derives from Stravinsky's own, overlooked misspelling in the autograph full score. Throughout the sketches, he uses the correct spelling ('Gaillarde').

Balanchine collaboration, describing, for instance, how Balanchine reflected certain features of the musical structure and character without attempting a direct translation into corresponding and associative dance movements (a quality of his work, incidentally, that Stravinsky valued highly). On an immediate level the ballet's formal scheme is reflected in the casting of the dances: in general, larger ensembles are required for the outer sections (I and III), while the long central section is composed of smaller performing groups (solos, duos and trios) drawn from the twelve dancers. The substantial and complex Pas-de-Deux--now readily comprehensible as a climactic point in the ballet--assumes its rightful position with the solos and intimate ensembles of section II. In addition, the tripartite scheme is supported by Stravinsky's treatment of the orchestra, as Alm explains:

> Stravinsky used full orchestra only in conjunction with the large ensemble numbers at the ballet's opening and close. In the central section, small chamber ensembles of unique instrumental combinations ... complement the solo, duo, and trio dances. Instrumentation also serves to delineate form within pieces, and, to a certain extent, characterizes the dance roles. In general, brass instruments accompany the men and woodwinds are used with the women, although Stravinsky also employs many more subtle nuances. (1989, p. 262)

The adherence to traditional classical ballet forms, familiar to Stravinsky from his life-long association with dance, provided valuable structural guidance during the working-out of the music. He was well aware, for instance, that a classical pas-de-deux consists of an opening adagio, followed by solos for each dancer (the male first) and concluded by a Coda for both; this, of course, was the outline noted for the Pas-de-Deux on sketchleaf **A**001 (the term 'variation' is used in its choreographic sense as a solo or duet), though in the final score he chose to elaborate this frame by including a second male variation. Similarly, the reference to the forms of seventeenth-century court dances in the two Pas-de-Trois would supply an immediate framework within which Stravinsky could compose. The significance of the twin affiliations to classical ballet

and to Renaissance dance-forms in relation to the schema that Balanchine had originally envisaged will be considered below, while the extent of the influence of the French court dances--a somewhat controversial issue--is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Musically, the two-part Prelude is articulated by different layers of cyclically repeating fragments; each is independently diatonic, but when the fragments are heard in combination a diatonic-chromatic framework results, closely associated to that of the Pas-de-Quatre movements.[13] In its subsequent near-repeats as Interludes, the music of the Prelude is elaborated slightly with an extra augmented version of the prominent rising motive in certain lower strings' lines (first Interlude) and again with tremolo minor triadic figures in the trumpets (second Interlude). But since our present concern is with the large-scale formal design of the ballet, the internal structure of these movements will not be analysed in further detail; the structural plan on sketchleaf **A001** urges a revaluation of the much-misunderstood role of the Prelude and Interludes, which, in turn, will justify our rejection of the four-part symmetrical division of the ballet.

Interpretations of *Agon* as a four-part structure have invited criticism of the Prelude and Interludes as irrelevant to the overall musical development from diatonicism to serialism, inserted as a transparent attempt to reconcile the serial and nonserial parts of the ballet with 'unifying' references to the musical idiom of the opening section. Eric Walter White, for example, dismisses them as 'caesural, and their

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[13] In his discussion of the internal structures of the Prelude and Interludes, Pieter van den Toorn (1983, pp. 397-400) offers varying interpretations of the rhythmic-metric scheme defined by the different repeating fragments, and analyses the pitch articulation in terms of octatonic-diatonic interaction. Most important here, however, is his isolation of a particular tetrachordal pitch-class set arising from this interaction, which assumes an increasingly functional role in later, serial movements of the ballet--especially the Pas-de-Deux--and which is further characterized by its fixed pitch identity (B♭-B-D♭-D). See Chapter 7, especially section 7.I.

contribution compensatory' (2/1979, p. 491), and even van den Toorn--who identifies relationships between their pitch-class articulation and that of both diatonic *and* serial parts of the ballet--understands the Prelude and Interludes as 'buffers or "spacers" in the delineation of [*Agon*'s] large four-part framework', that appear 'increasingly irrelevant' (1983, p. 393). Two factors oppose this negative interpretation: the fact that the large-scale structural repetition was planned from the first (as indicated by Stravinsky's note to repeat 'the same music but in variation'), and the choreography. The extent to which the three 'Introductions' were originally integrated into the structure is reflected by the summary that appeared in the programme booklet to the stage première, in which they are not listed as separate movements at all.[14]

Balanchine choreographed each 'Introduction' in accordance with the performing forces suggested on the structural plan; that is, the Prelude was danced by the combined performing forces (one male and two female) of the First Pas-de-Trois that followed, while the Second Pas-de-Trois and Pas-de-Deux, similarly, were each introduced by an Interlude performed by the appropriate dancers; the fact that the three inner divisions of part II commence with the same music creates a refrain serving to unify this long central section. Far from an uneasy existence as 'buffers or "spacers" in the delineation of [*Agon*'s] large four-part framework', the Prelude and Interludes are revealed as integral *internal* structural features of the central section of a tripartite entity.

This original conception of the structure was echoed in the numbering of the

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[14] *Playbill* i/8 (25 November 1957), pp. 27-8 [*Nachlass* 98:610924-5]. According to Sherr (1988, pp. 107-8), this listing still appears in the same abbreviated format whenever the New York City Ballet performs *Agon*. Productions by other ballet companies also reflected the original tripartite conception of the work's structure, as is evident from the reviews of the various premières that took place throughout Europe in 1958. (See, for example, David Hunt's report of the Royal Ballet's British première performance at Covent Garden (20 August 1958), with choreography by Kenneth MacMillan, in *Dance and Dancers* ix/10 (1958), pp. 7-11.)

dance movements on certain other sketchleaves. When composing the first 'Introduction' in October 1954, Stravinsky chose the new name 'Prelude' (to reflect its status as the start of the central section of the ballet), inscribing the title and date--as was his usual practice--on the back of a draft of the movement:

IStr Oct/54
Part II
1) Prelude [sketchleaf **A**017v]

The introductory nature of the Prelude was clearly indicated by Stravinsky's numbering. A month later, a completed sketch draft of the Saraband was labelled as the *second* dance of part II:

Part II IStr Nov 54
2) SARABAND-STEP [sketchleaf **A**008v]

Stravinsky reached the group of Bransles that forms the Second Pas-de-Trois in the spring of 1956, after the long interruption caused by the *Canticum Sacrum* commission. By this time he had decided to revise his numbering system such that the 'title pages' of the three Bransles number the dances from one to three (sketchleaves **A**013v, **A**009v and **A**012v respectively). In other words, no provision has been made in the Second Pas-de-Trois for the introductory Interlude (a name not used in the sketches).

The timing and precise locations of subsequent revisions to the movement titles during the preparation of the full manuscript and the printing of the score are traced in detail in the first Appendix to Sherr's thesis.[15] The twofold effect of these revisions was, first, to separate the Prelude and Interludes from the generic titles (Pas-de-Trois, Pas-de-Deux) that follow, and ultimately to prompt the misrepresentative division of the ballet, in purely musical analyses, into four equal sections. Stravinsky's intention

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[15] Sherr (1988, pp. 105-18): 'Appendix A: The Grouping of Movements and Perceptions of Formal Structure in *Agon*'.

in isolating the Prelude and Interludes was not to undermine the ballet's tripartite nature, but arose simply in realization of his own interpretation of the introductory pieces as purely orchestral, whether or not he had originally thought of them as dance movements (this is ambiguous on sketchleaf **A**001); hence, their classification as part of a balletic Pas-de-Trois (or Deux) was no longer strictly accurate. For the stage première, however, Balanchine remained faithful to his recollection of the original balletic scheme, in which the 'Introductions' were danced. Perhaps grasping the structural logic of this presentation, which emphasizes the tripartite form, Stravinsky made no objection to the choreographed Prelude and Interludes when he attended some of the ballet rehearsals during a visit to New York in the first half of November 1957. According to Alm, 'Stravinsky, at age 75, is even seen demonstrating steps to the cast' (1989, p. 269).[16]

III. THE INFLUENCE OF THE STRUCTURAL PLAN IN THE COMPOSING OF AGON

This discussion has devoted considerable space to a choreographic interpretation of the structural plan drawn up so early in the genesis of *Agon*, in view of its relevance to the ballet's formal design. We must now reverse our priority and assess Stravinsky's personal contribution, both in terms of its relationship to the prescribed dance forms, and as independent musical constructions. Some of the compositional implications of the structural plan have already been mentioned--such as the structures of classical ballet providing the composer with a formal framework--and others will appear at later points throughout the text.

Bearing in mind Stravinsky's professed need for compositional restriction, it

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[16] Some of the photographs taken by Martha Swope at these sessions are reproduced in the sequence 'The Making of Agon' in Bernard Taper, *Balanchine: A Biography* (New York, 1984), pp. 264-72.

would be surprising indeed if the structural plan did not also contain several important implications for the internal, strictly musical development of the score. For example, since the plan identifies the final dance of each Pas-de-Trois as a coda in which the cast of the preceding dances are brought together, we assume that in the Second Pas-de-Trois it is the Bransle Double that must take on this role. Stravinsky devised an ingenious solution to the problem, in which his handling of row forms in the three Bransles reflects compositionally the synthesis of choreographic forces. The fundamental serial units of the Bransle Simple and Bransle Gay are two separate (primary) hexachords, joined for a short time in each movement by two subsidiary hexachords. In the summational Bransle Double, the amalgamation of the performing forces of the two preceding dances is echoed by the combination of their primary hexachords (at different transpositional levels) into a single twelve-tone series. (These serial interrelationships are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6 below.)

The pre-compositional proposition of durations should also be viewed as a factor within the network of limitations presented by the completed structural plan. Such a preoccupation was by no means peculiar to *Agon*, but formed a familiar and deeply-rooted procedure in Stravinsky's working habits, as both Craft and Balanchine have observed:

> Stravinsky was obsessed with determining the exact timings of his music, before as well as after he composed it. (*SSC-I*, p. 349n.)
>
> Stravinsky, as a collaborator, breaks down every task to essentials. He thinks first, and sometimes last, of time duration--how much is needed for the introduction, the *pas de deux*, the variations, the coda. To have all the time in the world means nothing to him. 'When I know how long a piece must take, then it excites me.'[17]

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[17] 'Balanchine on Stravinsky', in Goldner (1973), pp. 21-9, extract from p. 29; originally published as 'The Dance Element in Stravinsky's Music', *Dance Index* vi/10-12 (1947), pp. 250-56.

And further evidence is provided by the *Nachlass*, which contains similar durational schemes for several more of Stravinsky's staged works; included in Box 42, for example, are his timing charts for *Orpheus* (1947-8) [42:450795], while in the *Sammlung Robert Craft* is an early, typed synopsis of *The Flood* (1962), prepared by Craft, containing approximate (pre-compositional) timings for the various movements, to which Stravinsky later adhered with remarkable accuracy. The working-out of such schemes not only reflected his great sensitivity to the proportions of each work's large-scale structure, but also exerted a tangible influence over the actual process of clothing the durational frame in developed musical material. This influence, of course, is discernible in the sketches only under certain conditions: a particular amendment must have the effect of bringing the duration of a movement (or section thereof) closer to the value initially chosen, and the revision must have no other obvious musical function. Any *Agon* sketches that meet these criteria will further support our interpretation of the structural plan as a determinant of limitation that served to stimulate Stravinsky's creative imagination.

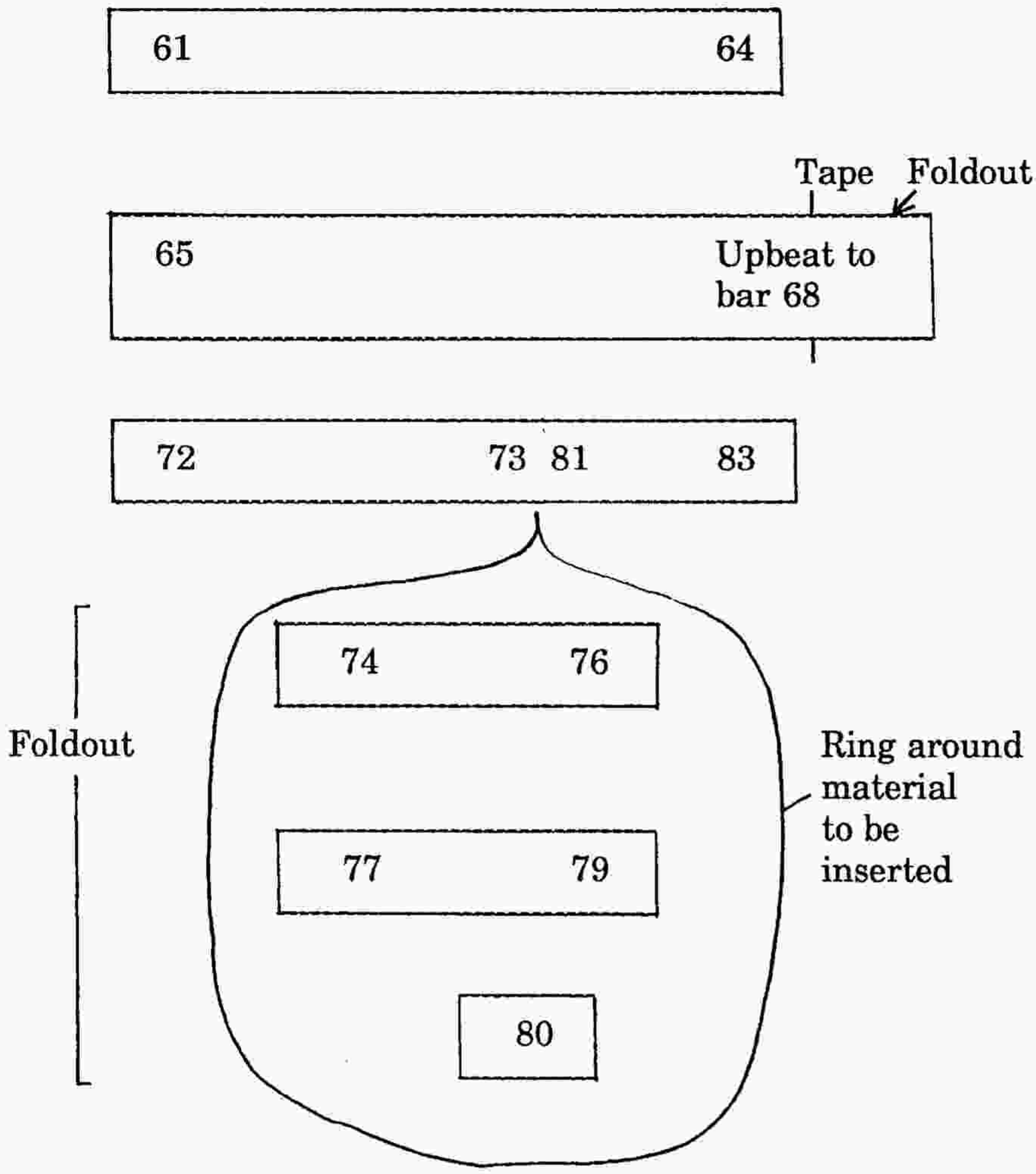
Let us examine the sketching of the Double Pas-de-Quatre (the 'Double quartet variation'), in order to ascertain whether steps were taken during composition to ensure that it met--more or less--the initial requirement of a minute and a half (1'30"). Using the tempo indication given in the score (quaver = 116), the final version of the Double Pas-de-Quatre may be calculated as lasting just over 1'20"--a fairly insignificant deviation from the 'target'. But in order to reach this total Stravinsky had been forced to lengthen a complete sketch draft by several bars.

The Double Pas-de-Quatre sketch draft covers two sketchleaves, the first (**A020r**) showing bars 61 to 83, the second (**A021**) bars 84 to 95. As it stands, it is interesting on two counts. First, although no material is omitted or added to that of the final version, Stravinsky noted the duration at the end as 1'30", not 1'20". The reason

for this miscalculation is unclear; perhaps the composer was basing his arithmetic on a slightly slower tempo (quaver = *c.* 104 gives a total duration of almost exactly 1'30") but there is no tempo indication on the draft, and the only sketchleaf for this dance to give any such indication--**A**125, a short score of bars 81-94--shows the correct marking, quaver = 116. Whatever the reason, Stravinsky was evidently satisfied that the dance stayed within the original constraints. Second, and more significantly, he has attached two 'foldouts' to the first page of the draft, effectively inserting bars 68-71 and 74-80 to an earlier, condensed version. Figure 2.3 (overleaf) gives a plan of this sketchleaf, with added bar numbers referring to those of the final score.

In contrast to the intensively-developed passage beginning at bar 81, the first section of the Double Pas-de-Quatre had received very little attention by the time Stravinsky constructed the draft. The material recorded on the two foldouts, while drawing heavily on the content of earlier workings, had not been sketched separately elsewhere--a fact that implies the new bars were indeed added with the express purpose of lengthening the movement. Stravinsky has carefully tailored each end of the two insertions to make the joins as inconspicuous as possible; the last three beats of bar 73, for instance, are identical to the last three beats of bar 80, so the second insertion (bars 74-80) simply represents a diversion before arriving at the same point in the musical material. The two insertions bring the total duration twenty-three seconds closer to the target duration shown on the master-plan, prompting the addition of the triumphant (but somewhat wishful) '1'30"'. (It seems safe to assume that Stravinsky had not recorded this duration on completion of the first attempt at the draft, which was a full eleven bars shorter; this early version would have had a duration of 1'30" only if the tempo had been quaver = *c.* 74, a comparatively slow tempo and one unsuited to the character of the dance.)

Figure 2.3: schematic representation of sketchleaf A020r



Stravinsky's frequent inaccuracy in calculations of timings seems curiously paradoxical when we recall the fastidiousness with which these durations are originally planned. The indications inscribed at the end of drafts tend to err rather too freely towards the target durations, as in the case described above. But if the final durations of the individual dances are compared to the times estimated on sketchleaf **A**001, it is only the Coda of the First Pas-de-Trois and the Bransle Double that deviate by more than ten seconds (falling short of their target durations by around fifteen and twenty seconds respectively), while certain other movements (the Prelude and Interludes, the

Gaillarde and the Bransle Gay) are exact to within a couple of seconds.[18]

By the time Stravinsky and Balanchine drew up the formal design of *Agon* on sketchleaf **A001**, almost a year had passed since Lincoln Kirstein had written to the composer with Balanchine's latest ideas on the ballet's content (letter of 31 August 1953, cited on page 38 above). *Agon* dispensed with the overtly dramatic substance of Balanchine's original proposal, while retaining the inspirational and structural underpinning--a modern reinterpretation of historic dances--that was its main strength. Into this scheme would be incorporated allusions both to the Renaissance court dances described in the *Apologie de la Danse* and to traditional 'pure' balletic forms whose identity depends equally on musical-choreographic form and the number and gender of the dancers involved. A dual stylistic allegiance, however loosely interpreted, was therefore an integral part of the original conception documented by Kirstein's letter and the structural plan, as Stephen Walsh observes:

> The idea of an interaction between antique musico/choreographic imagery and a modern abstract or constructivist setting was built into the original scheme. (1988, p. 229)

The compositional value of the structural plan lay in its imposition of limiting factors. Stravinsky now knew what was expected of him: the number and sequence of dances and hence the large-scale formal design, delineated by structural repetition, of the whole, plus the dancers required, a little about the style of the dances (for instance, the reminder 'in imitation' appears twice), and, perhaps most important of all, the timings of the individual sections: 'When I know how long a piece must take, then it excites me'. At least eight months had elapsed between Stravinsky's first tentative notations for *Agon* (in late 1953) and the crucial visits from Balanchine; it was only

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[18] It is more difficult to evaluate the durational accuracy of the dances from the Pas-de-Deux onward, since several conflicting (and often unidentified) estimates appear on different sketchleaves.

when confronted by the constraints represented in the plan that Stravinsky was able to overcome the mental barrier that had been preventing him from focusing his attention on the ballet. From August 1954 composition progressed swiftly, so that by the time *Agon* was interrupted by the *Canticum Sacrum* commission in December of that year Stravinsky had completed half of the dance movements: all three Pas-de-Quatre movements, the music of the Prelude (and therefore of the Interludes), the Saraband, the Gaillarde and the First Pas-de-Trois Coda. Stravinsky had regained that compositional 'freedom' that, for him, was attainable only through an imposed restriction of the field of possibilities:

> ... human activity must impose limits on itself. The more art is controlled, limited, worked over, the more it is free. ... If everything is permissible to me, ... if nothing offers me any resistance, then any effort is inconceivable, and I cannot use anything as a basis, and consequently every undertaking becomes futile. (*Poetics*, p. 63)

> My freedom ... consists in my moving about within the narrow frame that I have assigned myself for each one of my undertakings. (*Poetics*, p. 65)

CHAPTER 3
THE PAS-DE-QUATRE MOVEMENTS

I. THE 'FANFARE'

The earliest musical material composed for *Agon* was a short Fanfare for three trumpets, dating from the end of 1953. (Contrary to the inexplicable assertions of White (2/1979, p. 491), Vlad (3/1978, p. 198) and van den Toorn (1983, p. 392), the Fanfare was not originally written for three trombones.) Though it was almost certainly intended as an introduction to the ballet rather than as a separate piece--Stravinsky informed Lincoln Kirstein on 27 October 1953 that '"our" work is getting its start' (see Appendix B, p. 281)--a separate fair copy was produced, signed and dated 'IStr Dec/53' (sketchleaf **A**126).[1] It was therefore completed before the meetings of August 1954 between Stravinsky and Balanchine that inspired Stravinsky's extended burst of compositional activity in August to December of that year. The structural plan (sketchleaf **A**001) that resulted from these meetings made no provision for a short opening movement, and Stravinsky decided to rework the original material of the Fanfare into the longer Pas-de-Quatre.

The series of dates given by Robert Craft in *SPD* (pp. 428-9) upon which the various parts of *Agon* were completed suggests that Stravinsky composed the individual dances one by one. This is indeed indicative of his progress, but not fully representative of the pattern of composition. Craft hints at a more disruptive--and potentially more interesting--genesis in his article 'Ein Ballett für zwölf Tänzer' (1957b, p. 284), written

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[1] This fair copy is reproduced in Craft (1983), p. 42.

over twenty years closer to the reported events.[2] Here Craft reveals that the important second section (bars 81-95) of the second dance, the Double Pas-de-Quatre, was also sketched during these very early stages of composition in October to December 1953. His contention is supported by two large sketchleaves (**A**046 and **A**047), whose inclusion of workings both for the Fanfare (in its earliest formulation) and for the second section of the Double Pas-de-Quatre indicates that Stravinsky began work on *Agon* with simultaneous sketching for the first two movements. Though he sometimes noted down precursory ideas for a movement or section which had not yet been started, while ostensibly engaged on a different movement, the number of occasions on which Stravinsky actually developed material for two movements simultaneously is small. Sketchleaves **A**046 and **A**047, together with Craft's testimony, clearly issue a challenge to the accepted chronology of the early compositional stages; furthermore, these two foundational sketchleaves provide evidence of a musical nature that alters our perception of the role of serialism in *Agon*.

Very few sketches record preliminary ideas for the ten-bar Fanfare, although the two sketchleaves that concern us here both feature sketch drafts. Of these, **A**047 appears to represent a slightly earlier stage of composition; its material corresponds roughly to the first five bars of the Fanfare fair copy, before disintegrating to a single line and continuing thereafter with repeated notes for the first trumpet alone. Also on this earlier sketchleaf are a couple of small workings which shape the prominent melodic figure of the the second bar of the fair copy and, later, of the final dance movement, plus an attempt to work this figure into the texture. The second draft, on sketchleaf **A**046, draws very close to the fair copy of the Fanfare; it 'corrects' many

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[2] Sherr (1988, p. 91, n. 6) quotes a personal communication of 8 January 1988 from Craft, which refers to this *Melos* article: 'my *Melos* article is probably reliable because [it was] written at the time, because I kept notes, and because I was very close to the day-to-day work on *Agon*'.

differences that existed between the earlier draft and the final version, and disentangles the frequently crossing paths of the second and third trumpets by means of connecting lines running between the staves.

The manuscript fair copy of the Fanfare is joined, in the *Nachlass Agon* folders, by an annotated photocopy showing a circled, two-stave insertion after the second bar, which repeats the outline of the second bar and adds a concluding 'open fifth' chord (sketchleaf **A**127);[3] in this annotated version of the Fanfare, given in Example 3.1, Stravinsky begins to lay greater emphasis on the sustained fifth-containing chords that conspicuously interrupt the busy trumpet texture of the completed Pas-de-Quatre (bars 7, 19 and 35). This photocopy, then, probably represents one of the first reworkings of the original Fanfare material into the expanded and developed version with which the ballet commences. Comparing the two versions, we note that the first two bars of the Fanfare show a strong resemblance to bars 1-4 of the final score (and near repeats), while the quick, staccato trumpet lines formed from repeated notes with occasional chromatic changes of direction, and the insertion shown in Example 3.1, are obvious further points of similarity.

Stravinsky made no more drafts of the opening material until he was in a position to write out a sketch draft of the whole of the Pas-de-Quatre (sketchleaves **A**018r-**A**019), which, though untidy and revised during composition, records a tremendous leap toward the final version.[4] Because of its advanced nature, we must assume that most, if not all, of the other sketches for the Pas-de-Quatre were worked out between the Fanfare fair copy and this draft (and probably during September 1954, the month after Balanchine's visit). But what is most noticeable about the Pas-de-

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[3] This photocopy has not been photographed with the other *Agon* sketches on microfilm 108.

[4] Sketchleaf **A**018r is reproduced in Kunstmuseum Basel (1984), p. 160.

Quatre sketches is the absence of *generative* sketching: they reveal very little about the process of reshaping the early Fanfare into the dance movement with which we are familiar, although our comparison of Example 3.1 with the final score shows that such work clearly took place. Instead, the Pas-de-Quatre sketches, rather disappointingly, tend to show short three- or four-bar fragments, usually with one instrumental line per stave and often with cues; they are generally complete as regards musical content (pitch, register, distribution, rhythm), are delineated by barlines, and occasionally even include such indications as 'pizz.' or 'harm.'.

II. THE DOUBLE PAS-DE-QUATRE: RE-EXAMINING STRAVINSKY'S EARLY SERIAL DEVELOPMENT

Let us return to sketchleaves **A**046 and **A**047, both penned during the first stages of composition in October to December 1953, and both containing not only early drafts of the Fanfare but also foundational workings for the passage that became the second section of the Double Pas-de-Quatre (bars 81-95). If, as seems to be the case, bars 81-95 were composed almost a year before Stravinsky began work in earnest on the ballet, we may reasonably ask whether there is any evidence of stylistic change between these bars and the other parts of the dance, and, if so, what is at the root of this discrepancy.

The first section is introduced by chromatic figures in the woodwind that depend heavily on an alternation of tones and semitones, with frequent changes of direction, over a string ostinato-pedal that establishes a D-polarity (despite the E^{b}'s of the violins). In bar 64 the violins start a chromatic ascent, though still anchored by the weight of the D's in the cello line; the violins reach and centre on A at bar 67:3, then supported by the shift from D to A in the 'ostinato' cello line. The A-pedal continues while the violins resume their gradual chromatic ascent. This broad movement from

a tonal centre of D to one of A may be interpreted as reflecting the customary move from tonic to dominant in the first section of a traditional dance form; bars 72-3, however, show a 'premature' return to the opening polarity of D. If we recall that the last few bars (74-80) of this first section were conceived as a late extension to the material of the Double Pas-de-Quatre--ostensibly to lengthen the movement's duration in accordance with the structural plan on sketchleaf **A**001--any deviation from the harmonic structure of the earlier version would be as unexpected as it would disruptive. Hence, this added passage retains the basic D-polarity reached in bars 72-3 with a repeat of material from the opening bars of the movement.

The fact that we are able to establish definite polarities in this first section of the dance--and polarities comparable to such traditionally strong areas as tonic and dominant--reinforces the implicitly nonserial nature of this first section. This characteristic has led several commentators to classify the whole movement as belonging to the exclusively nonserial parts of the ballet: Pieter van den Toorn (1983, p. 397), for example, considers the Coda of the First Pas-de-Trois (beginning bar 185) to be the first dance to exhibit serialism. But it is the second half of the Double Pas-de-Quatre, starting at bar 81, that exhibits the first use of serial technique in this score: Stravinsky combines serial manipulations with a nonserial interplay of motives, some of which are drawn from the first section.

The appearance of a hexachordal series (row X below) is noted briefly by Craft (1957b, pp. 284, 286) and Vlad (3/1978, pp. 201-2). Otherwise, the 'standard' secondary literature is curiously reluctant to explore the extent of non-dodecaphonic serial procedures in *Agon*. There are, in fact, no fewer than three series operative in this passage, shown in Example 3.2 as rows X, Y and Z. It would appear that all three have been fully identified on only two occasions: Sabine Jahnke (1971, p. 597) listed them without further elaboration in the journal *Musik und Bildung*, while Charles

Wolterink's very thorough thesis (1979) on harmonic structure in Stravinsky's early serial works discusses them in a little more detail. Wolterink also considers the tetrachord spelt out by violas and cellos in bars 81-5 as a fourth series (prime form A-B-C#-C). This tetrachord, admittedly, recurs several times and is at one point transposed (cellos, bar 85), but it has the manner of a recurrent motive rather than of a series; it is neither retrograded nor inverted, whereas rows X, Y and Z are all subject to one or both of these standard serial manipulations. (The identity of the recurrent tetrachord's intervallic structure with the last four elements, retrograded, of row Z is nowhere acknowledged in the sketches.) Wolterink's identification of this fourth independent 'series' persuades him to accept bars 84-5 of the Double Pas-de-Quatre as the first completely serial (though not twelve-tone) passage in *Agon*, but if we consider that Stravinsky's use of the viola/cello tetrachord is not serial in intent, this interpretation does not hold. The Coda of the First Pas-de-Trois retains the honour of presenting not only *Agon*'s first fully serial passage, but also the earliest passage in Stravinsky's oeuvre based entirely on a single *dodecaphonic* row (see Chapter 4).

The three series are set against a background of rising arpeggio figures and (from bar 86 on) motivic fragments drawn from the first section of the movement. For ease of reference, Example 3.3 presents bars 81-9 in a reduced score (no doubling parts are shown), upon which are marked the various serial statements. Unlabelled brackets on the example indicate the lower strings' recurrent tetrachord. In the last six bars of the movement (not shown), row X reappears in bars 91:3-92:1 (XP^1, clarinet 1), bar 92:3-92:5 (XP^1, violins 1), bars 93-4 (XR^8, oboe 1/clarinet 1) and bars 93:3-94 (XRI^{10}, flutes 2 and 3), while row Y reappears in bars 89:4-90:4 (YI^1, bass clarinet) and bars 90:4-92:1 (YR^7, bass trombone).[5]

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[5] Vlad (3/1978, p. 201) forges a link between row X and the woodwind chords of bars 69-73. The idea is tempting but untenable on various grounds: it requires the addition of an absent pitch-class (D), but more important are questions of context, for

Serial tendencies in the first movement of the Septet

Structurally the Double Pas-de-Quatre passage given in Example 3.3 bears similarities to the bridge passages and development of the Septet's first movement, at figures 3-9 and 12-13, composed only just over a year before the early workings for *Agon* (the completed sketch short score of the first movement of the Septet is dated 8 August 1952 [*Nachlass* 113-0390]). Here, too, Stravinsky uses a nondodecaphonic series within a contrapuntal, diatonic framework. Its seven-tone prime form, retrograde and inversion are all spelled out in the five bars before figure 4, and the prime becomes the subject of the fugal development that begins at this point. (The evidence of the sketch short score suggests that the first two pitches of the viola's statement of the fugue subject at figure 4 should read F-G, thereby completing another full statement of the subject and of the prime form of the series.) The seven-note series used in the Septet's first movement, structurally related to the opening theme, is shown in Example 3.4, together with a representation of the various serial statements that occur in the bars leading into the fugal development.

As fugal subject, the series will inevitably dominate this development section to a great extent, but that the specifically *serial* connotations of the passage were deliberate is implied by three factors: (i) the integration of the subject (series) into the contrapuntal texture in retrograde and inverted forms; (ii) the introduction of the series and its permutations before the beginning of the fugue, and its inclusion in the corresponding reprise of the bridge passage at figures 12-13; and (iii) by Stravinsky's treatment of the series in the sketches--where individual statements are often emphasized by their isolated positions on the sketchleaves--and in the drafts, where

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the linear presentation in bar 81 has the character of a Stravinskian first exposition, and it is only in the second half of the dance that serial relationships are explored in any depth. Furthermore, the sketches for the chords give no indication that Stravinsky saw any connection between them and the hexachordal series.

his habitual bracketing carefully records the serial forms.[6]

Considered independently, Stravinsky's handling of each row form in the first movement of the Septet is straightforward; the often isolated linear presentations show none of the principles of serial linkage or combination that are found in certain later sections of *Agon* and beyond. Though the ballet's Double Pas-de-Quatre is free of fugal structuring, the concept of using a short series within a diatonic framework is reminiscent of the earlier piece. Now, however, Stravinsky employs not just one, but three rows in combination with nonserial figures, and the dense motivic complexity that results is reflected in the sketches.

Signs of serialism in the Double Pas-de-Quatre sketches

This discussion will be restricted, initially, to the two large sketchleaves (**A**046 and **A**047) that are known to have been sketched simultaneously with the early Fanfare in October to December 1953. Both contain short sketches for the Double Pas-de-Quatre in the upper half of the page and a draft of the Fanfare in the lower half. Our comparison of the two drafts suggested that, of the two, **A**047 was completed first; this interpretation is reinforced by closer examination of the Double Pas-de-Quatre sketches.

The first workings on sketchleaf **A**047 are brief diatonic notations that bear no immediate relation to any material in *Agon*, but in the second half of the fifth sketch in the cluster, the foundations of the hexachordal row X are laid: see Example 3.5a. The sketch defines an early form of row X in which the fourth element returns to the pitch level of the second, lending an almost pedal-like flavour to the succession. The

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[6] Stravinsky's understanding of the correspondences between serial and canonic or fugal principles explains his observation in the score of his first fully serial work, *In Memoriam Dylan Thomas* (1954), that 'Here my music is entirely canonic', while the sketches for the work are riddled with serial labels.

fourth element of the hexachordal row has yet to be transposed down by four semitones, thereby eliminating pitch-class repetition in the row. Since this early variant of row X is retained through several sketches, it will be convenient to label it row [X]. For reference, row [X] is extracted from Stravinsky's sketch in Example 3.5b. Slightly further on, Stravinsky made the single-stave sketch shown in Example 3.6, which transposes row [X] up a tone to start on E, isolates its prime form in the first bar, and develops it in characteristically Stravinskian fashion through the repetition of fragments. The two formative sketches shown in Examples 3.5a and 3.6 are concealed among a sequence of (discarded) tonally-oriented sketches which provide a thematic context for the shaping of the hexachordal row. In later workings, Stravinsky would need to *extract* the pitch sequence of row X from a previously-fashioned theme in order to recognize its serial potential; the sketches therefore imply that the hexachord was not originally conceived as a serial unit, though it would assume that role as composition progressed.

At this point Stravinsky turned his attention to the Fanfare draft on the lower half of sketchleaf **A**047, as described above, but among the sketches squeezed in around the draft is one more for the Double Pas-de-Quatre: a short reworking of the material of Examples 3.5a and 3.6, now showing ideas for its instrumentation (see Example 3.7). The course of the first five elements of row [X] may be traced in the second to third bars (top stave, pitches 1-3: E-B-D; bottom stave, pitches 4-5: B-E^{b}), but the anticipated sixth pitch, A^{b}, is not present. Although this particular passage does not appear in the final version, it establishes both the time signature of 5/8 and the idea of the lower strings' pizzicato, which would eventually prove profitable in bars 81-5.

If the evidence provided by the two Fanfare drafts is to be relied upon, Stravinsky turned next to sketchleaf **A**046. Here, the first Double Pas-de-Quatre notation supports our proposed chronology, for it takes up and develops the tortuously-

derived row [X]. In Example 3.8 (which adds four brackets to Stravinsky's original sketch) row [X] once again starts on D, as in Example 3.5a, but now gives way to running semiquaver figures; these represent the starting point for accompanying material, later variously transposed, such as that of the flutes in bars 86-7 (shown beneath bracket (a) in the example), the first oboe's *expressivo* phrase beginning in bar 90 and a version of the flutes' counterpoint to this phrase (shown as brackets (b) and (c) respectively). These same figures would also provide much of the material of the first section of the movement. Significantly, the material of row [X] is still treated thematically rather than serially.

Close by and set obliquely across the sketchleaf is another working, transcribed in Example 3.9, that draws heavily upon the rising 'major 3rd-perfect 4th' ending of row [X]. In what is still an essentially thematic development, running semiquavers are elided with this rising figure in a manner that anticipates the combination of the oboes' semiquavers in bars 82-3 (actually row Z) with the statement of row X in the flutes (bars 83-4).

One critical step was necessary before these thematically-derived experiments could be considered to contain any evidence of serial thought: the demonstrable identification of row X *as a potential series*. This step is taken on sketchleaf **A**048, whose workings represent a direct progression from those we have already examined, and which is likely, therefore, to belong to the earliest phase of composition. The regrettable absence of a date or any datable material (such as the Fanfare drafts on **A**047 and **A**046) means that the sketchleaf cannot be placed with absolute certainty, but in the first notation Stravinsky is clearly building on Example 3.7. Example 3.10 reproduces the relevant part of the original sketchleaf in reduced facsimile and transcribes it beneath (with two added brackets). Despite the obvious compositional advance represented by this sketch, the passage was not used directly; instead, it

served as a springboard to the derivation of a serially-inclined hexachord. The top stave introduces row [X] at transpositional level 0, first as an incomplete 3-note fragment and then, starting in the third bar, in its fuller but still early formulation with the fourth element returning to the pitch level of the second pitch, B.

The second stave of Example 3.10 is more revealing, for it shows Stravinsky beginning to apply serial operations to the hexachordal row. The third and fourth bars invert the pitch sequence of the row that appears in the stave directly above. This is followed in the next two bars by another statement of the inversion of row [X], whose use of unstemmed note heads hints for the first time at a typically serial orientation towards pitch-class as the primary consideration. The added bracket (a) on the transcription indicates how Stravinsky incorporated the material of Example 3.9: now transposed down a minor seventh, the implication of the repeated rising figure of the earlier sketch is fully expressed as the conclusion of a statement of row [X].

In bar 6 of Example 3.10 there is a meaningful interruption of the sketch's progress when Stravinsky suddenly breaks off to work out and circle a bar containing the inversion of row X, now in its final form with the fourth element modified so as not to repeat the second. In other words, Stravinsky has *actively selected* the definitive note row. The emphasis given to the series by the circle is significant, since it implies that it was only at this point that Stravinsky decided to extract the motive for use as a hexachordal series, a motive to remain embedded in the texture but also to be treated independently with serial operations (as charted in Example 3.3 above).

It is a matter for debate whether Stravinsky's initial working-out of his note rows always depended on some prior thematic sketching; to judge by his description of the composition of the tiny *Epitaphium* (1959), he had no desire to be branded an 'athematic' serialist:

> I heard and composed a melodic-harmonic phrase. I certainly did not (and never do) begin with a purely serial idea ... . After I had written about half the first phrase I saw its serial pattern, however, and then perhaps I began to work towards that pattern. (*M&C*, p. 105)

While this account could almost apply to the development of row X in *Agon*'s Double Pas-de-Quatre, it is Stravinsky's parenthetical addition 'and never do' that is open to question. In those cases where note rows appear suddenly and fully formed among the sketches and without obvious roots in other, non-serial workings, we cannot discount the likelihood of preliminary trials at the keyboard; but the possibility of Stravinsky actually inventing a series 'from cold' for immediate compositional application must at least be acknowledged. This is a theme to which we shall return in the following chapters; the present sequence of sketching, at least, supports Hans Keller's assertion that 'Stravinsky abstracts his rows from tunes which he invents in the first place'.[7]

If sketchleaves **A**046, **A**047 and **A**048 were indeed among the first to be completed, as seems probable, serial techniques were present from the outset of the ballet's composition. Among the many significant implications of this interpretation of the sketches must be a reassessment of *Agon*'s position in relation to Stravinsky's serial development.

The use of non-dodecaphonic series in conjunction with nonserial material was a principle Stravinsky had explored in all three movements of the Septet (1952-3) and again in the *Three Songs from William Shakespeare*, which were completed just before the first sketches for *Agon* in the late summer and autumn of 1953. The use of similar techniques in the Double (and, as we shall see, Triple) Pas-de-Quatre therefore implies far greater continuity in his progress towards the use of a full twelve-tone series than that with which he is usually credited; it means that not one of the three large divisions of the ballet is entirely devoid of serial thought, despite the diatonic

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[7] Hans Keller, 'The Contemporary Problem', *Tempo* lxxxiii (1967-8), 24-5.

orientation of pieces such as the Pas-de-Quatre or the Gaillarde. Composition of the ballet was interrupted by *In Memoriam Dylan Thomas* (January-June 1954), and it was to the Pas-de-Quatre movements that Stravinsky returned in August 1954. Hence, the Double and Triple Pas-de-Quatres--and not *In Memoriam Dylan Thomas*--provided the final testing ground for non-dodecaphonic serial writing before Stravinsky attempted the full-scale use of twelve-tone series in the later ballet movements and the middle movements of the 1955-6 *Canticum Sacrum*.

Example 3.10 has more to offer. Having circled the series that became row X, Stravinsky switched his attention to the material shown in the transcribed version under bracket (a). First, in blue, he writes a more chromatic version of the original bracket (a) semiquavers (see bracket (z)), which turns out to be an accurate and fully-formed statement of row Z. Thus the heptachordal row Z is revealed as another derivative row, drawn from developmental sketching of material worked out in advance. The three-stave extension tucked in at the end of the system may have been a slightly later addition; misaligned, untidier and in a larger script, it simply repeats the material of bracket (a), adding its inversion and a transposition beneath. These all refer to the early version of row X (i.e., row [X]), a 'mistake' that is quickly rectified in a small sketch found above the main system that shows the full and final version of row X: this sketch is transcribed in Example 3.11, again with added brackets. Stravinsky uses row Z (omitting the first note) to introduce row X, as he would eventually do in bars 82:4-84:2 (oboes, flutes). The final form of row X is confirmed in two small hexachordal jottings further down the page, which outline two transpositions of the hexachord in its RI/IR configuration: see Example 3.12.

Stravinsky, now more confident, starts a draft that combines the elements of the preceding sequence of sketching and that bears a stronger resemblance to the final passage than do any of the sketches discussed above. Example 3.13 is a facsimile of

Stravinsky's original manuscript version (also from sketchleaf **A**048, reduced to 70% of original size), followed by a transcription. Rejecting a short segment of his first attempt, although ultimately making use of the motives that it has introduced, Stravinsky directs himself to the much fuller version below; the few bars left intact at the end of the first 'system' are early notations for the end of the movement. The composer himself marks on three red brackets (labelled (x) in the transcription) which serve to highlight the occurrences of row X, but fails to bracket the clear statement labelled (x').

Among the more significant advances of the revised version over previous sketches and the rejected upper system are the four appearances of the newly-developed chromatic row Z, which are circled in red in the original sketch, and bracketed (z) in the transcription. Stravinsky's circling only once admits row Z in its full seven-note form (the second of the two (z) brackets on the lowest stave); he marks the three other statements as *six*-note rows--note that the statement immediately following the arrow head repeats its E#--and it seems that a firm decision concerning the number of elements in row Z has yet to be taken.

Also of interest in this sketch is the revision that splits the statements of row Z between octaves, giving them their characteristically disjunct character, and the sudden introduction of the five-note row Y, acknowledged by blue circling (bracket (y)). Row Y apparently evolved as the inversion of a figure occurring in the rejected upper system of the sketch (see 'row y, inverse' in the transcription; not marked in the original). Bracket (y') shows an 'incorrect' inversion of row Y--circled by the composer--whose first interval is a downwards fifth instead of the true inversion's downwards fourth. (This is altered in the final version, trumpet 1, bars 85-6.) The repetitions of the lower strings' A-B-C#-C tetrachord (final score, bars 81-5) have yet to be added; this motive occurs only once in the sketch, unbracketed, at the beginning of the third

rejected system.

The bracketing or encircling of row forms (or highlighting by other means, such as different colours) was a characteristic feature of Stravinsky's sketching, and his own markings often draw attention to the use of recurrent motives or series and the manipulations to which they are subjected. As Example 3.13 shows, this is certainly the case for the three rows operative in the second section of the Double Pas-de-Quatre.

On a separate sketchleaf (**A**123) Stravinsky tests out various serial permutations of row X, noting down several forms including P^0, P^1, R^0, R^{10} and IR^0 (the inverted retrograde to which Stravinsky habitually referred, as opposed to the retrograde inversion; the two are simply transpositions of each other). These notations fill all available space around the edges of the page, inviting speculation that Stravinsky was now considering an entirely serial movement. But this tempting theory is proved invalid by the sketch surrounded by the serial scaffolding, which is not totally serial, and which became the end of the Double Pas-de-Quatre (see Example 3.14, an early version of bars c. 92-5). The rising arpeggio figures that formed much of the nonserial accompanying material in bars 81-3 have been developed into chains of rising major or minor 6ths that sound against the statements of row XR^8 in the top stave (cf. oboe 1, clarinet 1, bars 93-4), P^1 in semiquavers at the start of the middle stave (cf. violin 1, violas, b. 92), and RI^{10} in the lower stave (cf. flutes 2 and 3, bars 93-4). The sketch, therefore, outlines a predominantly serial passage with an interpolated nonserial chain of notes.

Next Stravinsky writes a short score, incorporating all he has worked on so far (sketchleaf **A**125; bars 81-94). When compared with the final score, however, the short score is by no means complete in all musical details. It omits the equivalent of one whole bar (89:4-90:3, thereby excluding the bass clarinet's inversion of row Y) and several other prominent motives such as the first trumpet's presentation of row Y in

bars 81-2 and the first bassoon's retrograde statement of row Z in bars 85-6. The *Nachlass* also contains a photocopy of this short score (**A**128) with many annotations in pencil or in red, green or black ink; these changes are largely concerned with details of instrumentation, but in one or two places extra material is added. Perhaps most interesting, though, is the addition of colour-coded brackets that confirm our interpretation of Stravinsky's serial/motivic workings: he brackets the occurrences of row X in red, row Y in blue and row Z--now recognized throughout as a seven-note series--in green.

Up to this point in the sketching of the movement there is nothing to suggest that bars 81-95 would be introduced by new and contrasting material. Indeed, the first system of the short score on sketchleaf **A**125, starting at bar 81, is indented as for the beginning of a movement, and carries both time signature and tempo indication (quaver = 116). If, at this stage, Stravinsky regarded bars 81-95 as representing the whole movement, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the short score was completed *before* Balanchine's visit in the summer of 1954--that is, during the first phase of sketching, in October to December 1953--on the grounds that its duration falls far short of the planned length of movement as determined by the choreographer and composer together. However, the only dated sketchleaf for the Double Pas-de-Quatre is the 'title page' (sketchleaf **A**020v):

ΑΓΩΝ[8]
Part Ib
Double Pas-de-Quatre
(8 female dancers) IStr Sept
[1954; no year given]

This is written on the verso side of a draft of the entire movement, and implies nothing

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[8] Stravinsky wrote the ballet's title in Greek letters throughout the sketches, and originally wanted it to be printed in Greek in the published score.

more than the fact that Stravinsky completed its final form in September [1954]; it certainly does not discredit the possibility that the short score of the partially-serial second section of the Double Pas-de-Quatre (nowhere thus named in the musical sketches so far examined) was an early product in the composition of *Agon*. Could it have been that Stravinsky originally intended to compose a ballet that was partially or totally serial throughout, a work that would show no 'reversion' to earlier 'neoclassical' lines of thought?

The first indication that the movement would be extended backwards occurs on the same sketchleaf, **A**043, as the next draft of bars 81-6, where there is a brief notation for the string lines in bars 63-4. The earliest sketch for the first section's often fragmented, chromatic woodwind lines is found on a different sketchleaf, **A**101, which (as will be seen below) also provided some of the seminal ideas of the Triple Pas-de-Quatre. These pages, therefore, may represent the point at which Stravinsky resumed his sketching for the Double Pas-de-Quatre after the composition of *In Memoriam Dylan Thomas* and after Balanchine's visit.

III. MOTIVIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE TRIPLE PAS-DE-QUATRE

In the sketches, the Triple Pas-de-Quatre was known simply as 'Coda'. This early designation--which still stands at the head of the movement in the published score--suggests a closer link between the Double and Triple Pas-de-Quatres than does the latter's eventual title, and indeed, both the structural plan and Craft (1957b, p. 286) disclose that Stravinsky considered the third dance movement an 'imitation' of the second. The sketches for the Triple Pas-de-Quatre illustrate the growth of formative ideas out of the material of the earlier movement, and suggest links, more explicitly than does the final score, between the two.

Like the preceding movement, the Triple Pas-de-Quatre combines serial and

nonserial writing, but here, too, interpretation of the movement as partially serial has been anything but widespread. Again, the movement is divisible into two sections (bars 96-103 and 104-21), and is once more delineated largely by motivic or 'thematic' material which may or may not be manipulated serially. Stylistically, the opening is an unmistakable 'imitation' of the Double Pas-de-Quatre; similar chromatic melodic fragments, rhythmic ostinati and pizzicato strings suggest a polarity of D, but somewhat more ambiguously than before.

A vital structural feature of the melodic lines in this dance--even more than in the Double Pas-de-Quatre--is the alternation of the intervals tone/semitone. This is illustrated in Example 3.15, which gives the first violin line (doubled by cellos) of bars 97-102. Each bracket encloses the motivic cell represented by the intervallic pattern tone-semitone-tone, applied regardless of the direction of the intervals. The density of the brackets reflects the extent to which this intervallic succession saturates the texture. Despite Stravinsky's own extensive bracketing of this tetrachordal unit in the Triple Pas-de-Quatre sketches and drafts, the different intervallic spans of these bracketed units on the sketchleaves and in Example 3.15 imply that they cannot all be attributed to serial permutations of one single, referential tone-semitone-tone note row.[9] The span of the unit is either a minor third (tone-semitone-tone with one change of direction, as in the E^{b}-D^{b}-C-D tetrachord at the beginning of Example 3.15, or with two changes of direction, as in the E^{b}-F-E-F# unit at the beginning of bar 98), or a perfect fourth (tone-semitone-tone with no changes of direction, as in the E-F#-G-A succession, over the barline of bars 100-101). Since the distance between successive statements of the tetrachords is a semitone, an unbroken sequence of alternating tones and semitones results.

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[9] But serial permutations of certain tetrachordal outlines *are* acknowledged on some sketchleaves: see the discussion of Examples 3.22 and 3.23 on pp. 77-8 below.

The first section of the Triple Pas-de-Quatre makes continued use of the hexachordal series introduced in the second half of the previous movement, row X. Our attention is immediately drawn to a conspicuous occurrence of this row among the sketches, isolated on the back of a small catalogue card which has been commandeered for use as a sketchleaf (**A**124). Complete in its rhythmic outline and with instrumental cues, the sketch comprises the first five notes of the transposed inversion (I^9) of row X: see Example 3.16. This brief woodwind comment is heard in bar 100--a 'late' recurrence of row X that hints at further appearances in the Triple Pas-de-Quatre. In the first section of the dance the following well-concealed statements may be observed:

bars 96-9	flutes/trumpet 1 = XP^{10} (last two notes in common with flutes' bar 100 statement);
bar 100	flutes/piccolo = XI^9;
bars 100-101	clarinets/bassoon 1 = XRI^9;
bars 100-101:3	trumpet 1/horn 1 (doubling violins 2/viola) = XRI^9;
bars 101:3-103	horn/trumpet 1 = XI^9 (first note in common with preceding trumpet 1/horn statement).

This serial constant between the two dances is reflected in the layout of the sketches, for several sketchleaves contain material for both--much as earlier sketchleaves had contained workings both for the Fanfare and the Double Pas-de-Quatre.

Row X does not reappear in the second section of the Triple Pas-de-Quatre. Instead, against the same background of tone-semitone-tone tetrachords, a fully-fledged theme (but one that is subject to serial permutation) assumes precedence. The contextual importance attached to the cellos' statement of this material (starting in bar 107) disguises its true identity as the *inversion* of a statement that has already appeared, less ostentatiously, in bars 104-6 (trombones, bassoons), and which will hereafter be termed row W: see Example 3.17. Much of the significance of the second section of the dance lies in Stravinsky's treatment of this very thematic-sounding motive in a quasi-serial manner (compare his handling of the eleven-note theme of the

Cantata's 'Ricercar II' a couple of years earlier). The reappearance of the technique provides a timely reminder of the compositional problems that the composer felt compelled to tackle at this stage in his career; it may even imply that there was a certain experimental element to the composing of this first part of *Agon*, with Stravinsky investigating how far the integration of the serial with the non-serial could be taken. The present combination of interlocking tetrachordal motives and serial manipulation of non-dodecaphonic themes was an ingenious but temporary solution to the delicate question of the nature of the musical components in such a texture.

The sketches for the development of the 'theme' itself (row W) suggest once again that the note row was not conceived as such, but was shaped little by little among sketches which may or may not have suggested the material of the row itself. The point of departure is a notation on sketchleaf **A**101, mentioned above, for the chromatic semiquaver figures of the oboe and bassoon in bars 64-7 of the preceding movement. The end of this sketch is presented in Example 3.18. It consists of two aligned staves, the lower one at first simply spelling out the inversion of the upper before continuing alone as an unbroken row of alternating tones and semitones. By the time Stravinsky reaches the point where the two staves become independent (just before the hurried wavy line through the upper stave) the prolongation of this intervallic alternation seems to have become a compositional desideratum; after the wavy line he extracts a few notes and makes sure that they conform to this self-imposed prerequisite. Still not satisfied, Stravinsky subjects this fragment to further permutation lower down the same sketchleaf and tests ideas for its continuation: see Examples 3.19a, b and c. All of these sketches work towards consolidating the (by now) exclusive use of tone-semitone alternation, and the shape of the eventual thematic presentation of row W is gradually assuming some sort of identity.

The development of Stravinsky's intervallic experiments into a thematic idea

may be observed on another sketchleaf, upon which the end of Example 3.19b's pitch sequence is combined with the distinctive rhythm that is beginning to take shape in Examples 3.19a and c: see Examples 3.20a and b, which occur next to each other (as transcribed) on sketchleaf **A**100. If we extract the pitch sequences employed in the two parts of Stravinsky's sketch, the second part is revealed as an expansion of the first. Their interrelationships are shown in Example 3.21, and may be summarized as follows:

(i) the first four notes of the expanded version Example 3.20b (A^b-G^b-G-A) replace the first two (B-A) of Example 3.20a;

(ii) Stravinsky inserts the pitches C#-B into 3.20b, making its second tetrachord a transposed RI of its first. More importantly, this second revision is significant in terms of intervallic succession, since it corrects a momentary interruption in the tone-semitone ordering of Example 3.20a (two adjacent tones, marked by asterisks in Example 3.21) to make an unbroken sequence of alternating tones and semitones;

(iii) from the next pitch on (C), the two parts of Stravinsky's sketch share an identical pitch-class segment, indicated by dashed-line brackets.

By now the essential ingredients of row W, presented as a theme, have been established: the tone-semitone alternation and the emphatic rhythm, which is somewhat reminiscent of fugue in its character and usage (the rhythmic outline is retained unaltered for the first three statements of the row and entries are a fifth apart). The next stage of development of row W occurs in a dense, aligned sequence of five sketches on **A**100, shown as Example 3.22. Starting with a near-inversion of Example 3.20b, Stravinsky draws closer to the first thematic statement of row W in the trombone and bassoon lines of bars 104-107:1. The last four notes (G-G#-F#-G) are those with which the trombones conclude this statement (bars 106-107:1), and the only adjustment necessary to achieve the 'definitive' version of the theme is the insertion

of another tone-semitone-tone tetrachord (G-A^{b}-G^{b}-F) before these last four notes. Not yet completely satisfied, however, Stravinsky sketched a variant (Example 3.22b); this appeared to convince him that the first sketch was somehow preferable, for he immediately returns to his original idea (see Example 3.22c), which now approaches its final rhythmic outline.

An interesting feature of sketchleaf **A**100 may help to explain this brief excursion. To one side of this series of sketches are four tiny tetrachordal notations which show the prime, retrograde, inversion and retrograde inversion (not so named on the original) of the pervasive tetrachordal tone-semitone-tone motive, whose influence in the Triple Pas-de-Quatre sketchleaves has grown steadily. Stravinsky draws constellations of lines between the tetrachords to show the retrograde relationship between P and R, I and RI: see Example 3.23. Re-examining Example 3.22 in terms of the tetrachords so neatly clarified by Stravinsky, we discover that the discarded Example 3.22b uses the sequence prime--inversion (untransposed)--prime, whereas the retained pitch sequence of Examples 3.22a and **c** is prime--inversion (transposed)--retrograde (transposed). The retained version is therefore more varied, making use not only of transposition to create a more dynamic line, but involving three of the four possible permutations of the basic tetrachord. As if to confirm the tetra-chordal conception of the row, in the next sketch in the sequence (Example 3.22d) Stravinsky brackets the first two four-note groups. The fifth and last sketch in this sequence begins to record early ideas for the theme's instrumentation.

The first indications of serial treatment of row W as a whole (as opposed to serial permutations of its constituent tetrachords) occur on the same sketchleaf as the final consolidation of its thematic presentation, sketchleaf **A**059r: after writing out row W, Stravinsky also notes down its inversion and retrograde, thereby summarizing the serial permutations of the row that will be used in the remainder of the movement. See

Example 3.24. Row W is expanded to its full length by the insertion of the tetrachord missing from Examples 3.22a-e (this tetrachord is indicated by an added brace in Example 3.24), and the correct rhythmic outline is found. The short fragment that comprises the lower stave at the beginning of the sketch works out the octave dispositions that form the basis of the bassoon line. Most informative are Stravinsky's serial labels. He clearly marks the inverted statement ('INV') of row W which starts as the original statement ends, and which would be assigned to the cellos in bar 107ff. The inversion is itself followed by a retrograde statement, labelled 'R', as in the violas, bar 110ff.

Stravinsky was now in a position to work these manipulations of row W into a series of sketch draft fragments that ultimately would be assembled into a draft of the whole movement. But the earliest of these fragments, on sketchleaf **A**121 and showing bars 107-8, unexpectedly omits the prominent cello line. The horn lines, which double certain notes of the cello theme, are also missing. The omission of such important material suggests that this draft fragment may in fact have been completed before the theme itself (row W) was fashioned in the sketches described above, and even invites speculation as to whether Stravinsky started to sketch the Triple Pas-de-Quatre solely on the premise of using the same material as the Double Pas-de-Quatre. Remembering that the first section of the movement draws heavily on elements from the second movement (especially row X), and that it is only in the second section that the new row is introduced, could it be that Stravinsky found he could not, after all, sustain the movement exclusively on material shared with (or 'in imitation' of) the Double Pas-de-Quatre?

Regrettably, there is no evidence in the sketches to pursue this matter, but it is interesting to observe that while the cello theme is present in another sketch draft (on sketchleaf **A**117; bars 107-12), the first bar and a half are actually crossed out.

Deletions, never undertaken lightly in Stravinsky's sketches, are positively rare at so advanced a stage as the sketch draft, and this one may indicate some difficulties over the integration of newly-derived material. If the row W material did constitute a late addition, it follows that during the period between the first fragmentary sketch draft of these bars (sketchleaf **A121**) and the longer sketch draft with the deleted material (sketchleaf **A117**), Stravinsky had decided to develop a new row form, to be used thematically, and it was therefore during this same period that the evolution of the new row, as traced above, took place.

IV. AGON AS A UNIFIED CONCEPTION: SOME PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

The conclusions drawn in this examination of the sketchleaves for the Double and Triple Pas-de-Quatres carry significant implications for the question of *Agon*'s large-scale coherence. The most important of these--the introduction of non-dodecaphonic serial techniques from the very earliest stages of composition--has already featured in our discussion, prompting a reassessment of the role played by the early dances in Stravinsky's serial development. These techniques, of course, are one agent through which the later, serial stages of the ballet are linked to the early movements. The connection would be strengthened further by the recurrence of certain intervallic preoccupations in the later dances. Among these we may include the long chain of alternating tones and semitones in Stravinsky's first dodecaphonic row (in the Coda to the First Pas-de-Trois: see Chapter 4), and the systematic use of a fundamental tetrachordal unit and its extensions in the Pas-de-Deux (see Chapter 7), which recalls the intervallic working of the Triple Pas-de-Quatre.

Equally important for our consideration of *Agon* as a many-faceted but unified design is the evidence contained within the sketches that dispels certain misconceptions about the composing of the ballet. The following citations are typical, implying

not only that Stravinsky reworked the early dances with the express purpose of relating them more closely to the later serial dances, but also that the compositional stages predating the *Canticum Sacrum* interruption (during 1955 and early 1956) were totally devoid of serial thought:

> When Stravinsky returned to *Agon* in 1956, he found he had to recast some of the early numbers so as to link them with the minimum of disturbance to the serial technique that by then was rapidly becoming his current idiom. (White, 2/1979, pp. 491-2)

> In the case of the initial pieces written for *Agon*, he recast them in such a way that without changing their original diatonic-modal flavour he was able to link them organically with the new works he was writing in accordance with his personal approach to the use of serial twelve-note technique. (Vlad, 3/1978, p. 199)

Since serial techniques were well represented in the dances composed before this break--by the idiosyncratic application of serialism in the Double and Triple Pas-de-Quatre and, more explicitly, by the twelve-tone row of the First Pas-de-Trois Coda--there was no compelling need to 'recast' the early numbers to this end. With the exception of certain late changes to the instrumentation of the Pas-de-Quatre, including some doublings of lines originally sounded by the harp alone and the exchange of the fair copy's guitar for the final score's mandolin (a link to the Gaillarde rather than to the later serial movements, though both White and Vlad cite this in support of their theory), there is no evidence in the sketches to suggest that any such revision took place.[10]

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[10] The instrumental changes, incorporated during the engraving of the full score in April-May 1957, made necessary the re-copying of the first eight pages of the full score. Stravinsky sent new pencil transparencies to Boosey & Hawkes in New York on 3 May 1957 (his explanatory letter [*Nachlass* 13:341331] is reprinted in *SSC-III*, p. 403). He kept the original Pas-de-Quatre manuscript fair copy, which bears a copyright date of 1954 (sketchleaves **A**024-**A**031), as well as photocopies of these pages upon which he marked the subsequent changes of orchestration and a few corrections (sketchleaves **A**054r-**A**057v).

The abolition of these assumptions clears the way for a re-evaluation of *Agon*. The undeniable stylistic variations were not, in any sense, a result of the long interruption, and neither did they prompt any reworking of material composed before the break; they stem instead from the original conception of the whole work, discussed in Chapter 2, as a planned interaction of historic forms with an abstract idiom, in which Stravinsky was free to explore, on his own terms, the new elements in his musical vocabulary.

CHAPTER 4
THE FIRST PAS-DE-TROIS

I. METHODS OF BLOCK COMPOSITION: THE SARABAND-STEP AND THE GAILLARDE

In the First Pas-de-Trois Stravinsky combines the least progressive of *Agon*'s dances in terms of his subsequent compositional development--the Saraband-Step and the Gaillarde--with the most progressive of the dances so far: the First Pas-de-Trois Coda, in which he makes use of a twelve-tone row for the first time in his career.

Despite their titles, neither the Saraband-Step nor the Gaillarde refers directly to the manual of seventeenth-century court dances sent to Stravinsky by Lincoln Kirstein in August 1953. Paradoxically, however, these two dances are outwardly closer to traditional models than are the three Bransles of the Second Pas-de-Trois, which *were* variously influenced by the De Lauze volume. (The influence of De Lauze and Mersenne on the Bransles will be considered fully in Chapter 6.) A scribbled description of the nature of a Gaillarde, found on the tiny sketchleaf **A**103, shows Stravinsky apparently taking an interest for the first time in the etymology and character of his historical precedent:

> Gaillarde
> Gagliarda
> - Saltarello
> - Romanesca
>
> Le pas de danse qu'on nomme "pas de gaillarde",
> est composé d'un assemblé, d'un
> pas marché et d'un pas tombé.
> Diction[n]aire de la langue Francaise. E. Littré

As Stravinsky's reference observes, his definition of a Gaillarde is a direct quotation from the second volume of Littré's huge, four-volume *Dictionnaire de la langue*

française (Paris: Hachette, 1873-85), one of the many dictionaries in the composer's library. If we recall that the names 'Saraband' and 'Gaillarde' were probably late additions to the structural plan on sketchleaf **A**001, this research is likely to have been carried out after Stravinsky had completed the three Pas-de-Quatre dances, but shortly before he embarked on the composition of the Gaillarde. The structural plan originally allowed only for two 'Variations', one for a single male dancer (the Saraband) followed by one for two female dancers (the Gaillarde).[1]

The sectional form of Stravinsky's Gaillarde follows earlier models; its combination of compound duple and triple times marries traditional alternatives, its frequent hemiola rhythms pay stylistic tribute to Renaissance counterparts, and the distinctive timbre of the mandolin lends a Renaissance flavour. Stephen Walsh's description encapsulates the delicate character of the dance:

> Stravinsky seems deliberately to freeze the dance into a statuesque pose through a specific use of harmony, register, a broad pulse, and an essentially unbroken tapestry of sound. This is very much the seventeenth-century galliard deciphered through the inadequate notations of de Lauze and Mersenne ... . (Walsh, 1988, p. 231)

Reminiscent factors in the Saraband, besides the name and the stately, restrained character of the dance, include its slow triple meter, the bipartite structure of two eight-bar sections (plus a two-bar coda)--the second derived largely from the material of the first and preserving the rhythmic contour of the first--and the movement from what may be thought of in simplified terms as the 'tonic' polarity of $B^{\flat}$ to the 'dominant' polarity, F, at the close of the first section, and back again. (Stravinsky disguises this harmonic structure throughout the dance by enriching the basic polarities with chromatic ambiguities and frequent 'major/minor' conflicts.)

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[1] The full name 'Saraband-Step' was introduced on the musical sketchleaves **A**008r and **A**008v, and retained thereafter.

As in the opening Pas-de-Quatre, there is very little by way of generative sketching for the Saraband and Gaillarde when compared to the extensive workings and reworkings of the Double and Triple Pas-de-Quatre material. This discrepancy may reflect the difference in scope between the various dances in terms of technical development: in the Saraband and Gaillarde Stravinsky attempted no compositional advances of the significance of the nonserial/serial combinations of the Double and Triple Pas-de-Quatres or the development of fully twelve-tone procedures in the First Pas-de-Trois Coda and beyond. Indeed, these two dances may be considered the most 'neoclassical' of the entire ballet. Even their briefest sketches seem to have been conceived more or less as self-contained units, almost all presenting three or four musical lines in short score. Though such sketched blocks were characteristic of Stravinskian methods of construction, they were usually preceded by more fundamental workings such as the forging or modification of thematic ideas and motivic gestures; here there is nothing to offer any such reference.

Once the blocks themselves had been written, the main compositional task facing Stravinsky was the linking of these blocks in an ordered sequence. He occasionally hinted at the significance of this method of construction in his compositional process:

> The idea of work to be done is for me ... closely bound up with the idea of the arranging of materials ... . (*Poetics* p. 52)

This being so, one might expect to find among the sketches certain notations concerned exclusively with planning this 'arranging of materials'. But this is not the case. Instead, it seems that Stravinsky possessed the ability to retain a clear conception of the eventual direction of a movement's constituent building-blocks, referring inwardly to whatever structural principle obtained during the sketching of that movement--'moving

about within the narrow frame that I have assigned myself for each one of my undertakings', as he expressed it in the *Poetics* (p. 65)--but without recourse to written structural *aides-mémoire*.

The Gaillarde and Saraband workings, certainly, echo Craft's assertion (in *SSC-III*, p. 515) that 'the sequence of the sketches was never in doubt in his mind'. Collectively, their source materials give the impression that Stravinsky was simply writing down, for future reference, segments of pieces conceived on an altogether broader scale; we surmise that the *initial* testing-out of ideas had taken place at the piano, to remain unrecorded on paper until incorporated into the blocks from which each movement would later be constructed. Hence the main body of sketching provides a chronicle of Stravinsky's attempts to link these blocks together--'the arranging of materials'--rather than his attempts to shape their substance.

Working methods characterized by their concentration on musical blocks remained a constant throughout Stravinsky's career. Many movements of *Pulcinella*, for instance, were composed in an apparently arbitrary sequence of blocks, which were later arranged in an order dictated by the eighteenth-century 'originals' upon which the ballet was based.[2] The same preoccupation with blocks--this time with no such imposed organization--is reflected in the sketches for the second movement (*Arioso*) of the 1946 Concerto in D for string orchestra, about which Volker Scherliess observes

> daß Strawinsky nicht von Anfang an entwickelt, nicht die Gestalt des Werkes pflanzenhaft wachsen läßt, sondern daß er seine Bauelemente versatzstückhaft ... schablonenhaft aneinanderreiht und kombiniert. (Scherliess, 1983, p. 174)[3]
>
> that Stravinsky does not develop [his material] right from the beginning, and

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[2] This is shown clearly in the *Pulcinella* sketchbook, British Library MS Zweig 94.

[3] Chapter IV, 'Arbeitsweise', of Scherliess's monograph (1983, pp. 155-75) gives a detailed account of both sides of a large sketchleaf, tracing the development of ideas for this movement.

> does not allow the form of the work to grow organically, but that he mechanically strings together and combines his building-blocks as set-pieces.

Let us examine this process with respect to *Agon*'s Gaillarde. The extent to which Stravinsky sketched his material in the form of multilinear musical blocks is illustrated by the fact that only one short segment of the near-continuous imitation between mandolin and harp appears in isolation as an unaccompanied melodic line: see Example 4.1 from sketchleaf **A**015. This melodic segment presents the mandolin line in bars 173:3-175:3 (though with different barring), and, since it is tucked into the top right-hand corner of the sketchleaf, it is likely to have been written out as a 'clarifying sketch' during the construction of the draft that covers most of this page. This short excerpt apart, the Gaillarde sketches take the form of short score segments, usually one or two bars in length and showing all five or six musical lines. Despite the fact that at least one layer of the musical texture--the mandolin/harp imitation--is clearly a horizontal, not a vertical, conception, the sketched blocks generally begin and end abruptly and lack incipits or other reminders of their eventual position in the chain.

By the time Stravinsky tackled the first, fragmented sketch draft of the movement, he was able to refer to the following previously-sketched segments:

bars 164-7	(sketchleaf **A**109)
bars 170:7-9	(**A**104)
bars 171:2-172:3	(**A**107)
bar 176	(**A**110)
bars 179-80	(**A**112)
bars 182-4	(**A**113)
bars 183:4-184	(**A**108).

Bearing in mind that bars 168-70 are an almost-literal repetition of bars 164-6 and therefore did not require separate sketching, the only segments of the dance unaccounted for in the early short score sketches are bars 172:4-175, 177-8 and 181. The lack of preparation for these sections apparently caused a number of problems when Stravinsky came to piece together the first draft of bars 164-78, on sketchleaf

A015. The original versions of certain passages in this draft were rejected by the simple expedient of pasting in their replacements over the top, and so effectively that it is impossible to decipher the material beneath. Nonetheless, it is interesting that the passages treated in this way correspond to bars 173-5 and 177-8--the very sections for which there were no short score sketches to guide the composer.

Figure 4.1 (overleaf) is a schematic representation of the contents of sketchleaf A015; it indicates the eventual bar numbers of the various passages sketched and the relative placement of the notations transcribed in this chapter.

The sketchleaf reflects the difficulties Stravinsky encountered in fitting together the segments into a sequence, for all available space around its edges is crowded with peripheral workings for the link passages. The transition at bars 166:7-167 between the end of the first imitative phrase and the beginning of its repeat (at bar 168) proved especially problematical and received a disproportionate amount of attention. Example 4.2 shows the final version of this brief transition, in reduced score, in order to establish the harmonic structure toward which the sketches progress; note the six-note segment E-F#-D-C-B-A (bracketed), which appears against its own augmentation and which is derived from the last six notes of the canonic subject itself (as in the harp line, bars 165:4-9). Harmonically, the passage is complex and 'polytonal', with G, A and C providing the strongest polarities. The last two beats of bar 167 imply an A^7 chord, but still retain a polytonally-conceived D from the preceding (implied) 'I-V^7' progression in C (marcato, bar 167:4-7).[4]

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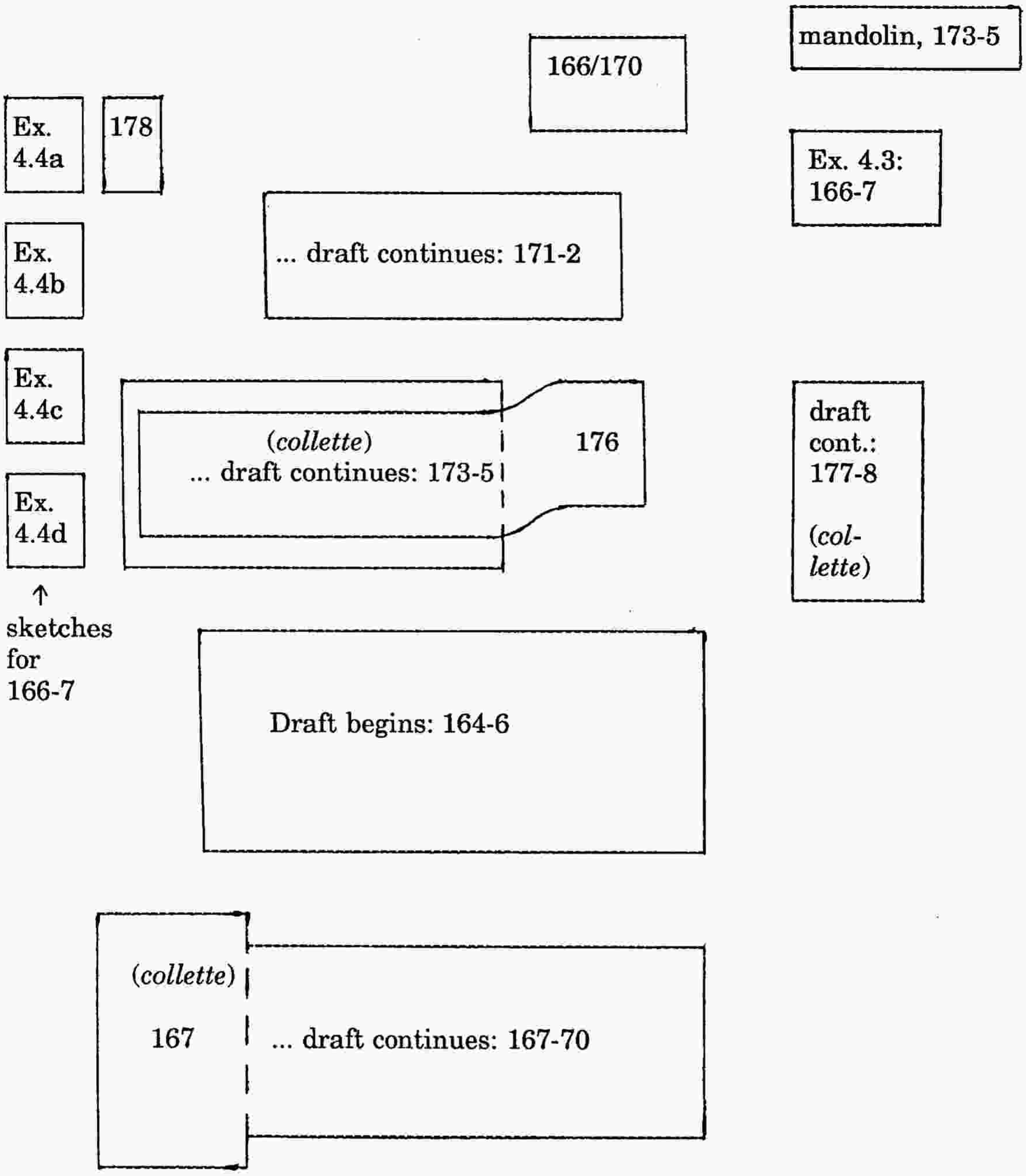
[4] Charles Wolterink discusses the harmonic progression of this passage in some detail (1979, p. 269).

Figure 4.1: sketchleaf A015



The first attempt at sketching this passage occurs near the top right-hand corner of sketchleaf A015: see Example 4.3. In this early formulation the passage is condensed, the augmentation of the six-note motive identified in Example 4.2 is not

present, and the progression leads directly to three pure A major chords. Next, a series of four brief sketches--whose appearance suggests that they were the products of experimentation at the keyboard--runs down the left-hand side of the sketchleaf: Examples 4.4a-d. The movement towards E (minor) in the first of these was quickly abandoned, and the second sketch returns to and develops the earlier Example 4.3; it adds the augmentation of the six-note motive and the G-flavouring to the first two minim chords in the second bar, but the passage still cadences on an unadulterated A major chord. Example 4.4c repeats the second bar with a revision to the inner quaver line, while in the last sketch of the sequence another alteration to this line finalizes one strand of the two-part quaver movement in the score (bar 167). This last revision also introduces a C-natural (which would be retained) against the C# (which would not) at the end of the first bar of Example 4.4d, and the sketch marches firmly towards the G major chord at the beginning of the following bar.

The transition is further developed in the context of a short score version of the Gaillarde's first four bars on sketchleaf **A**109; the harmonic structure of the link passage has by now been consolidated, and the outline differs very little from that of the final score. Example 4.5 extracts the relevant section from sketchleaf **A**109.[5] The last two beats of bar 167 (barred in 6/4) now feature the seventh chord on A, incorporating a typical Stravinskian 'major/minor' ambiguity, and a brief incipit indicates the beginning of the second rendition of the imitative phrase.

If we consider the various stages of composition of the Gaillarde in terms of their locations on the sketchleaves, the difficulties that Stravinsky encountered in the process of block linkage are thrown into relief. The layout of sketchleaf **A**015, as represented in Figure 4.1, implies that the sketch draft actually *predated* the sketches

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[5] The question mark and brackets around the F# at the end of the first bar of Example 4.5 are on Stravinsky's original manuscript.

(Examples 4.3 and 4.4), while the exact position in the chronology of the short score (Example 4.5; sketchleaf **A**109) remains obscure. The most plausible explanation is that Stravinsky wrote the various completed musical blocks into the draft before tackling the link passage in a number of brief sketches written around the edges of the sketchleaf; the struggle necessitated a fresh attempt on sketchleaf **A**109, whose short score develops and clarifies the direction of the sketches. Once this awkward link passage had been worked out separately, Stravinsky was able to incorporate the short score's material into the sketch draft in the form of another *collette*.

The early sketch draft on sketchleaf **A**015 was followed by another, fuller draft, dated 'Nov 29/54' and occupying no fewer than three large sketchleaves (**A**114, **A**115r and **A**016r). Here the musical content of the entire movement is written out, though not yet in a fully orchestrated form.

Only four sketchleaves are devoted to the working-out of the Saraband, but these are enough to reveal a principle of construction similar to that observed in the Gaillarde: discrete short score segments of the first section of the dance are worked out independently before Stravinsky attempts to link them together in a sketch draft. The contrapuntal lines of the second eight-bar section (which adheres rigorously to the rhythmic outline of the first) are actually derived from the contrapuntal lines of the earlier section according to an inconsistently applied principle of the inversion of fragments at various transpositional levels, with simultaneous lines often transposed by different intervals. The sketches for this second section of the Saraband, however, show disappointingly little evidence of the complex inversional-transpositional procedures in which it originated.

In general, the sketches for the Saraband and the Gaillarde exhibit processes of assemblage and transformation rather than generation. Stravinsky's energy is devoted to building longer sections out of short blocks conceived thematically--probably

at the keyboard--in advance of written documentation, and to the successful linkage of these blocks. Having completed these traditionally-conceived dances, in late November 1954, Stravinsky's preoccupation with techniques integral to serial composition once again came to the fore. Serial thought had become ingrained in his compositional make-up; it was to be taken up once again, far more systematically, in the Coda of the First Pas-de-Trois.

II. EXPLORING TWELVE-TONE SERIALISM: THE CODA

The Coda of the First Pas-de-Trois presents Stravinsky's earliest fully-formed twelve-tone row, and the first of the three separate twelve-tone rows used in *Agon*. Despite his experimentation with serial principles during the initial phase of composition in 1953, in workings for the second half of the Double Pas-de-Quatre, there is nothing among the sketches or on the structural chart drawn up with Balanchine to betray any precompositional planning for this deployment of dodecaphonic rows.

The use of the Coda's row in combination with material that is nonserial in conception is typically unorthodox; this partnership of twelve-tone and nonserial writing within a single movement is unique in his output. The association of serialism of a *non*-dodecaphonic nature and nonserial writing had been investigated in the Septet and the *Three Songs from William Shakespeare*, and more recently in the Double and Triple Pas-de-Quatres. But perhaps the most richly-developed combinations of techniques were yet to appear: the texture of the Pas-de-Deux in the later stages of the ballet is woven largely--though not exclusively--from intricate serial permutations and extensions of a tetrachordal row, while in the Four Trios these tetrachordal manipulations are combined with a related twelve-tone series, itself reducible to the same tetrachordal units. *Agon* gathers together the different branches of Stravinsky's current musical vocabulary into a compendium of possible combinations.

The row of the First Pas-de-Trois Coda, given in Example 4.6, is constructed almost entirely on the principle of alternating tones and semitones. Its intervallic structure therefore recalls strongly the formative structural element of much of the motivic working of the Triple Pas-de-Quatre: the violins' ubiquitous winding demisemiquavers, for example, or row W, first stated by the trombones and bassoons in bars 104-6, whose wide leaps disguise its derivation from the all-pervasive tone-semitone-tone tetrachord.

A linear scale composed entirely of alternating tones and semitones is, of course, an octatonic scale, the important role of which in Stravinsky's oeuvre has been thoroughly explored by van den Toorn (1983). In the Coda's row, elements 3-8 outline a linear octatonic succession of six tones whose pitch content in its prime manifestation is a Collection 2 segment (P^0(3-8): G# F# F E^b D C).[6] In other words, the tone-semitone-tone alternation is now expressed octatonically, as opposed to the earlier *unordered* intervallic patterning of the Double and Triple Pas-de-Quatres, which are only fleetingly affiliated to van den Toorn's octatonic collections. Octatonic components in the later parts of the ballet, though not of primary concern, will be mentioned in later chapters; the significance of the inclusion of this octatonic succession in the row of the

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[6] The octatonic scale is, to borrow Messiaen's term, a mode of limited transposition (Messiaen's second mode): a collection which can be transposed semitonally only a limited number of times (in this case, three times) before its pitch content repeats that of the original level. This characteristic enables van den Toorn to classify the three possible octatonic collections according to their specific pitch content, as follows (the example arbitrarily uses the semitone-tone scalic ordering of the octatonic collections; intervals are measured in semitones):

Intervals	1	2	1	2	1	2	1
Collection 1:	C#	D	E	F	G	A^b	B^b	B
Collection 2:	D	E^b	F	G^b	A^b	A	B	C
Collection 3:	D#	E	F#	G	A	B^b	C	C#

The same classification applies if the scales are rotated by one element (or read 'backwards' in a descending sequence) to appear in their 2-1 ordering, since the pitch content of each collection remains stable. Van den Toorn's first detailed exposition of the premises upon which his thesis of octatonic partitioning is built appears on pp. 48-51 (1983).

Coda rests, as van den Toorn observes, with Stravinsky's 'turning, at the outset of the serial excursion, to an accustomed articulative habitat' (1983, p. 387).

Two factors support the classification of the prime form proposed in Example 4.6 above, with which certain observers disagree.[7] First, the serial labels on the sketchleaves consistently identify the form shown in the example as the prime (a clear illustration occurs on sketchleaf **A**038, transcribed in Example 4.10 below). Second, though the debate is purely terminological and does not affect how the piece sounds, with the classification proposed in Example 4.6 this dance refers only to the five *untransposed* forms of the series--P^0, I^0, R^0, IR^0 and RI^0--from which Stravinsky's serial writing, particularly in his early twelve-tone works, is most characteristically spun, whereas with the 'ascending' form of the row as P^0 two of the row statements in the Coda would necessarily be represented as transposed forms (the rows represented here as IR^0 would become R^2).

Throughout his serial period Stravinsky's marked preference for untransposed set forms is habitually expressed with reference to the IR rather than the RI form (the difference between the two forms is transpositional: the IR^0 form of the Coda's series, for example, is identical to its RI^2). It is usually the inverted retrograde that joins the other permutations--inversion and retrograde--of a basic series on sketchleaves that map out nothing but row forms, though their author adds the label RI regardless. On certain occasions, too, Stravinsky weaves his serial fabric from manipulations of row forms that he evidently understands to be untransposed--to judge by the procedures charted in the sketches and his own serial labels--although conventional serial analysis of the score yields a pattern of both transposed and untransposed rows. (Two such cases, from *Canticum Sacrum*'s tenor solo 'Surge, aquilo' and *Agon*'s Bransle Double,

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[7] Morton (1957), Pousseur (1972), Beecroft (1983) and van den Toorn (1983) give the inversion of this row as the prime form.

will be examined in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively.)

Figure 4.2 is a schematic diagram of the serial and formal structure of the movement, which is tripartite (A A' B) with an introduction. The introduction and the two A sections mix twelve-tone and nonserial writing, as discussed above, but in the B section Stravinsky takes his next, inexorable step toward full twelve-tone serialism: this is the first discrete formal unit in his entire oeuvre in which the pitch organization is determined exclusively by a twelve-tone row.

The nonserial material of the introduction and A sections may be divided roughly into two types: long sustained pitches, usually arranged as perfect fifth 'drones', which appear in the introduction (bars 185-91, on C/G) and in the short concluding passages of the first two larger formal divisions (bars 208-11, on F/C; bars 231-3, on B^b/F), plus the lilting, chromatic double-stopped lines for solo violin (bars 193-208, 213-29).

Figure 4.2: serial and formal structure of the Coda

Introduction C/G 5th
(bars 185-191:3) I^0

A section nonserial----------F/C 5th
(bars 191:4-211:3) I^0---------P^0/I^0----P^0----P^0/I^0(1-4)------RI^0----
(b.198) (b.206) (b.208)

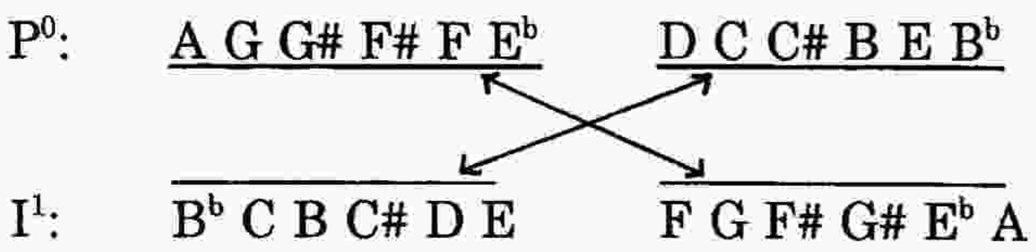
A' section nonserial----------B^b/F 5th
(bars 211:4-233) I^0---------P^0/I^0----P^0----P^0/I^0(1-4)------RI^0-----
(b.219) (b.227) (b.229)

B section P^0/IR^0----------P^0/IR^0----------R^0/IR^0 chords
(bars 234-253) I^0----------I^0----------
(b.236) (b.242) (b.245) (b.249)

As noted above, Stravinsky refers only to untransposed row forms. I^0 functions almost as a 'ground', repeating cyclically--though in different rhythms and in different octaves--throughout the entire movement except the chordal coda in bars 249-53. This serial repetition provides a subtle delineation of form in that each of the major formal divisions of the dance begins with a fresh statement of I^0, a feature that necessitates curtailing the last I^0 statement in each of the A sections to its first four pitches. Abbreviated row forms, whether or not dictated by formal constraints, became characteristic of Stravinsky's serial technique; the present inclusion of incomplete row fragments as independent units may be viewed as a precursor of his later preoccupation with permutations of individual hexachordal fragments.

Let us examine the intervallic structure of the Coda's series a little more closely. The tritone separation between the first and last elements of hexachord (a), A and E^b, ensures identical 'boundary' pitch classes of this hexachord under inversion. Despite the numerous pairings of P^0 and I^0, and the pairing of R^0/IR^0 in the final chords, however (see Figure 4.2 above), Stravinsky does not emphasize this relationship at all. In bar 198ff., for example, the forms P^0 and I^0 begin successively at the distance of a bar, offering a perfect but unexploited opportunity to feature the prominent tritone relationship, but the different rates of unfolding of the rows preclude any such compositional emphasis.

Another feature of the series is that P^0 and I^1 are complementary, or identical in 'opposite' hexachordal pitch class content:



But the Coda does not refer to I^1 at all, and therefore cannot take advantage of this relationship. Such 'missed opportunities'--if they can be so termed--do not necessarily indicate that the composer was unaware of the properties of the row he had sculpted (though neither does I^1 put in an appearance among the sketches); rather, they imply that Stravinsky preferred to rely on his own, unbiased musical judgement rather than feel obliged to capitalize on a particular serial relationship simply because it existed. As late as 1966, referring to the *Requiem Canticles*, Stravinsky observed:

> I continue to believe in my taste buds and to follow the logic of my ear, quaint expressions which will seem even quainter when I add that I require as much hearing at the piano as ever before. (*T&E*, pp. 23-4)

These sentiments were echoed in an interview reprinted in *R&C* (p. 14), in which Stravinsky commented, 'I regard my feelings as more reliable than my calculations'. Although his eclectic reading included various discussions of serial method, and source materials as early as those for *Agon's* Second Pas-de-Trois do begin to show signs of increasingly complex serial manoeuvres, Stravinsky's 'taste buds'--his sense of combination and balance--were never ignored. Robert Craft recalls that 'he did not keep abreast of developments in academic serial theory, simply borrowing what he required in order to write masterpieces'.[8]

The serial treatment in the Coda, despite the bold unconventionality of its simultaneous reference to material that is not serially governed, does in fact betray a certain unfamiliarity with the twelve-tone idiom. When we compare the confident manner in which the three Bransles explore possibilities of hexachordal linkage and combination, or the sophisticated tetrachordal structures of the Pas-de-deux, the first Pas-de-Trois Coda's approach to serialism is still implicitly 'thematic' in conception,

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[8] Robert Craft, 'My Life with Stravinsky', *The New York Review of Books* (10 June 1982), pp. 6-10; extract from p. 6.

displaying a marked lack of emphasis on row-form technicalities that nonetheless lends to the movement an attractive and refreshingly 'unacademic' stance.

In what ways, if at all, does the intervallic structure of Stravinsky's first twelve-tone row determine features of set usage or larger-scale organization in the Coda itself? Though their influence is limited, internal relationships between row forms do indeed play a part in serial selection and succession; more consequential for the serial/compositional fabric of the movement than the complementary row forms noted above is the simpler relationship between P^0 and its inverted retrograde, IR^0. Dividing the row into two segments, one of ten pitches and the other of two, highlights the fact that the ten-element segments of P^0 and IR^0 are identical, while the two-element segments necessarily present the remaining two pitch classes. This property, which is illustrated below, is best viewed as a corollary of the regularly alternating tones and semitones of the first ten pitches of the series.

	10-note segment	
P^0:	A G G# F# F E^b D C C# B	E B^b
IR^0:	B^b E	A G G# F# F E^b D C C# B
		10-note segment

The relationship between the two rows creates a potential for interaction which is worked out in the last section of the movement (the B section, bars 234-53). In the solo violin and solo cello counterpoint in bars 244-8, for example, the violin initially follows the pitch sequence of P^0 and the cello IR^0, but halfway through bar 247 the two exchange rows (see Example 4.7). The decision to implement this exchange was apparently taken comparatively late in the composition of the movement, for on sketchleaf **A**041, a four-stave sketch draft (without cues) of the B section, the unfolding of each row remains undisturbed until the last three notes of IR^0 move to another

unmarked stave.

Stravinsky did not realize his opportunity to weave together the second hexachords of the two rows until he came to work out a later draft of the B section of the movement on sketchleaf A004. Here, bars 246-7 are actually circled, extracted and revised in a separate sketch below the draft, in which Stravinsky introduces the same interchange of row forms between solo violin and cello as occurs in the final score. This part of the draft is transcribed in Example 4.8, with the addition of serial labels and numbering.[9] The combination of the two row forms is not complex, yet it does hold certain consequences: pitches 3-7 of IR^0 echo pitches 1-5 of P^0 (both spell out the segment A-G-G#-F#-F), and the last two elements of IR^0 (C#-B, in the violin) echo the same pitch succession in positions 9-10 of P^0 (cello).

Stravinsky's inclusion in the Coda of the IR^0 form, in addition to RI^0, brings about another subtle delineation of large-scale form, since the first two sections of the movement refer to the RI presentation while the third and only completely serial section switches to IR; this deliberate shift of emphasis also enables Stravinsky to exploit the similarity between the two untransposed rows P^0 and IR^0, as discussed above. The Coda, therefore, provides a clear illustration of the functional involvement of both the IR and RI row forms, and indicates that the composer was fully aware of the relationship between them.

It is clear that the combination of a row and its inversion plays a strong role in the serial fabric of the movement. Referring once again to this association, Stravinsky makes further use of the inverted retrograde form, now fused with the retrograde, in the closing chords at bars 249-53. In Example 4.9, which gives the chords in short

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[9] The P^0 form as it appears in the draft and in the final score omits its eighth pitch element, C. Notes in the example with the added label [Trb] are marked in red in the original; above the first red note at the beginning of the draft there is a written cue for trombone.

score, the pitches of R^0 are numbered normally while the serial numbers of IR^0 are circled; notes sustained from earlier chords are indicated in brackets. The example shows how the two row forms are simultaneously divided into segments of 3 + 2 + 4 + 3 pitches, and subsequently arranged 'vertically' into four chords.[10]

On sketchleaf **A**038 Stravinsky provides a lucid, step-by-step account of the compositional procedure he followed. First is a reminder of the prime form of the twelve-tone row, with its inversion written out directly beneath and labelled 'INV'; next he adds the retrograde and inverted retrograde (labelled 'R. INV'). This sketch--one of many notations confirming which form of the series Stravinsky considered the prime and which the inversion--is shown in Example 4.10. With all four serial forms thus represented Stravinsky uses vertical strokes to divide the lower two staves into the very segments from which the closing chords of the movement are constructed.

The segmentation of the two rows is reflected compositionally in the next notation on sketchleaf **A**038, transcribed in Example 4.11. In an arrangement clarified by reference to Examples 4.9 and 4.10, the top stave presents the chords formed from the combined segments. Next to each combined segment, Stravinsky extracts certain pitches for the solo violin and marks them in blue--the small, stemmed notes on the top stave in Example 4.11--while the sustained chords in the flute and trombone lines are derived from the remaining pitches. Though the distribution would be revised, these instrumental cues give some indication of the early stage at which the composer began to develop a sense of the desired timbral qualities of the material he was sketching. The documenting of the relevant row forms at the head of the sketchleaf and the carefully charted evolution of the chords suggest that, uncharacteristically for Stravinsky, they were conceived and consolidated on paper (though his choice would

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[10] This segmentation of row forms is also discussed in Craft (1957b, p. 287).

almost certainly have been 'tested' at the piano). Stravinsky's growing involvement with serial technique is beginning to exert a stronger influence on his compositional process.

The formation of chords on sketchleaf **A**038 is the first instance of 'vertical serialism' in *Agon*. The precise location of this forward-looking step in the larger context of Stravinsky's corpus of twelve-tone works has provoked certain differences of critical opinion; the most commonly-held view nominates the introductory chords of 'Surge, aquilo', the second movement of *Canticum Sacrum*, which are verticalizations drawn from the retrograde form of the appropriate series. Milton Babbitt states this position clearly:

> In the ... second [movement] of the *Canticum Sacrum*, ... the very first measure offers the first instance of vertical serialism in Stravinsky, the four-part chords being simultaneous statements of the elements of the successive tetrachords of the set, to be next presented in a purely linear performance by the tenor. ([1964] 2/1972, p. 177)

The same viewpoint is held, among others, by Perle (1962, p. 59) and van den Toorn (1983, p. 498, n. 23). But the Coda of *Agon*'s First Pas-de-Trois was completed before Stravinsky postponed composition of the ballet in order to concentrate on *Canticum Sacrum* (as disclosed by the draft of the Coda which covers sketchleaves **A**003r and **A**004, both with December 1954 dates). Thus the process of chord derivation illustrated in Examples 4.10 and 4.11 enables us to associate Stravinsky's earliest experiments in vertical twelve-tone serialism with this Coda; furthermore, the Coda's verticalization process is more complex than that of the opening chords in 'Surge, aquilo', for the latter example makes use only of a single row form.[11]

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[11] Wolterink (1979, p. 137) identifies an 'intermediate' technique between linear and fully chordal serial presentation, in which a row is passed back and forth between two lines such that adjacent pairs of notes are heard simultaneously. He ascribes the first occurrence of this technique to the eighth variation (starting at figure 22) of the 1953 Septet's Passacaglia, to which he also traces the origins of simultaneous (vertical)

Approaching the Coda sketches as a collection, it is tempting, perhaps, to anticipate some evidence of compositional struggle in this first experiment with a twelve-tone row--some hints, for instance, of a tortuous evolution of the internal form of the series itself. But this, decidedly, is not the case. None of the sketches shows the series in embryonic form; instead, it emerges fully developed in preparation for the working out of the movement. The lack of formative sketching for the series--the germinal idea of the movement--enables us to reach back through Stravinsky's career and draw a parallel with *The Rite of Spring*, about whose sketchbook Roger Smalley remarks:

> These sketches are emphatically not the record of a search for ideas, but of the search for the essence of each idea. (Smalley, 1970, p. 4)

The sketches for the Coda of the First Pas-de-Trois must be approached on the same assumption. The row appears to have been conceived well in advance of the actual composition of the movement, for the earliest sketchleaves draw on the various row forms with an ease that suggests ready familiarity.

At the head of sketchleaf **A**034 Stravinsky writes out the untransposed inversion in the bass clef, ostensibly to act as a guide for the lower line of a sketch immediately beneath, for the passage first heard at bars 198 to *c*.205. This sketch is transcribed in Example 4.12. It uses the inverted note row as a sort of 'ground' (and hence lays the foundations for the cyclical piano/trombone repetition of I^0 in the final version of the dance) against confident presentations of the prime form of the row in the upper stave. Stravinsky's bar numbering suggests that he may have been considering opening the movement with this passage. (The unaccountable non-serial

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presentation of pitches in chordal formations: consecutive pitches of the sixteen-note series occur simultaneously within individual instrumental lines. Wolterink, surprisingly, does not tackle adequately the question of the first instance of 'vertical' serialism in specifically twelve-tone movements.

material of the top stave in 'bar 9' is replaced in a separate sketch of 'bar 6' onwards, on sketchleaf **A035**, by the statement of the P^0 form of the series eventually heard in the mandolin line, starting in bar 205ff.)

The nonserial double-stopped violin material appears on the middle stave of Example 4.12. Despite its chromaticism, this is the most overtly 'melodic' material in the dance, constructed, like the series itself, from linear successions of tones and semitones. From the fourth bar of the sketch, for example, the upper line of double stopping makes exclusive use of the tetrachordal tone-semitone-tone collection A-B-C-D (as in final bars 202:4-207:3 and near repeat at bars 223:4-228:3). Attempts have been made to divide the final form of this solo violin line systematically into tetrachordal units, for example by Beecroft (1983, p. 149), but its intervallic progressions are obstinately irregular. In contrast to his practice during the composition of the Double and Triple Pas-de-Quatres, Stravinsky does not bracket tetrachordal segments in the Coda sketches since the nonserial strata of this dance adhere to no more rigid intervallic principles than those of tone-semitone alternation (as in the A-B-C-D tetrachord of the sketch and the more chromatic semitonal successions seen, for instance, in the lower line of bars 196-7).

The significance of Example 4.12, however, lies not in its preview of the violin line, but in its illustration of Stravinsky sketching both serial and nonserial material simultaneously--and apparently not at all troubled by doing so. The bar numbers, the unrefined rhythms and the crude bass line all indicate that the sketch was an early one, and we may surmise that at no point--despite the early working out of the row--did the composer intend the Coda to be a totally serial movement. Elmer Schönberger and Louis Andriessen muse on the dichotomy between the serial and the non-serial in this movement:

> To Stravinsky, this coda is not an end but a beginning: for the first time in his music, a complete twelve-tone row appears. But this beginning also sounds like an end: like a mocking farewell to composing 'mit zwölf Tönen'. These tones are played like a German march: *eins*, *zwei*, *drei*, *vier*, on and on up to *zwölf*. It has already become unbearable by the fourth note and the violin (again) starts playing an Italian gigue, the real coda. When the violinist obeys the laws of 'twelve-tone music', the music starts sounding like a satire: exactly in tempo, a trill here, a glissando there .... The violinist imitates a violinist playing Webern. (1989, pp. 213-4)

It is difficult to see Stravinsky's intention as satirical, even when the violin, in the third section of the dance, abandons the 'gigue' to take part in the fractured serial manipulations, yet there may be some truth in Schönberger and Andriessen's implication that Stravinsky was seeking to lighten the rigidity of the row's unfolding by countering it with immediately attractive, nonserial progressions (without going so far as to condemn the Coda's serial presentations as 'unbearable'). In any case, such was the swiftness of Stravinsky's assimilation of serial technique and gain in confidence that by the time he wrote *Agon*'s later, fully serial movements (particularly the group of three Bransles) he had no cause to resort to nonserial devices to lend lightness and grace to his serial constructions, if indeed we accept this as a reason for their presence in the Coda.

Perhaps the single most important principle acting during the composition of the Coda concerned a process that may be described as 'thematic sculpting' from the already-developed row form. On numerous occasions in the sketches Stravinsky starts by writing out a row form, which then acts as a point of reference for subsequent workings; the principle was illustrated in Example 4.12. More often than not these workings simply involve the shaping of a rhythmicized, linear presentation of the row, with any further modifications or complications being added in later sketches of the same passage (as occurred in the exchange of row forms between violin and cello in bars 246-7). Such methods illustrate the composer's undeniably elementary application

of serial principles at this stage. In certain places, Stravinsky simplifies this process of thematic sculpting even further by applying a rhythm devised earlier for another musical line to the chosen row form. This technique occurs on sketchleaf **A**039, where a brief, single-stave sketch for the upper flute line of bars 235-41, based on IR^0, is developed with reference to the lilting rhythm previously developed on sketchleaf **A**034 (Example 4.12) for the solo violin in bars 193-7. The version for flute is given on the uppermost stave of Example 4.13; beneath this new manifestation of the familiar rhythm Stravinsky revises its material slightly--rhythm included--in the context of a sketch draft fragment of bars 234-41.

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Stravinsky's sketch draft for the A sections of the Coda, on the large sketchleaf **A**003r, is a complicated document with four main systems that vary in depth from two to five staves. Very much a 'working draft', it is covered with insertions, deletions and instructions that indicate the final pathway through the material. Several short passages are omitted, and the draft's progress is constantly plagued by revisions to material that had earlier been marked as straightforward repeats, necessitating further arrows and reminders. The overriding impression of haste is reflected in the unusually large number of 'clarifying sketches', in which revisions to the musical material finalize details of rhythm, orchestration and expression markings. Sketchleaf **A**042r consists of sketch draft fragments, written hurriedly but with greater confidence, for bars 185-91, 198-200, 208-11 and 229-33, while on separate sketchleaves we find further workings for bars 185-93:1 (**A**037), 229-33 (**A**040) and 216-20 (**A**033), each of which contain sufficient revision to the material of the draft to be placed after the draft in the compositional chain.

Evidently, Stravinsky had become impatient during the composition of the Coda and had attempted to pull the constituent blocks of the movement together into a draft before he was in a position to do so with ease; by the time he tackled the draft on sketchleaf **A**003r he had apparently not yet completed enough preliminary sketches even to form a recognizable sequence. The clue to Stravinsky's uncharacteristic impetuousness lies in the date that appears at the end of this draft: '5 Dec.54'. His negotiations with the Venice *Biennale* over the commissioning of the work that would become *Canticum Sacrum* had been gathering pace during the composition of the First Pas-de-Trois (see Appendix C), and the composer finally agreed to the commission on 4 December 1954 [*Nachlass* 97:610671]--the day before he wrote the untidy first draft of the Coda. It seems likely that the rush to complete the dance was due in no small measure to Stravinsky's excitement at the prospect of the new commission, which had appealed to him since the idea was first mooted (officially in April 1954, though Giovanni Ponti, then President of the *Biennale*, had made plain the festival's desire for another Stravinsky première--following *The Rake's Progress*--as early as December 1952).

In the later stages of composition Stravinsky seems to have taken heed of his experience with the draft of the introduction and A sections of the Coda, since the final (B) section received careful attention in preliminary sketches (some of which are described above) before its first representation in draft form on sketchleaf **A**041. His restored concentration was also due, no doubt, to the important status of the B section as the first fully twelve-tone passage in his music. The date recorded on the later of the two drafts for this closing section, '23 Dec/54' (sketchleaf **A**004), indicates that the composer's habitual rationality had returned; Stravinsky had devoted a further two-and-a-half weeks to the unhurried completion of the First Pas-de-Trois Coda.

CHAPTER 5
THE COMPOSING OF CANTICUM SACRUM

I. 'SURGE, AQUILO'

Seven months after putting *Agon* to one side, Stravinsky wrote to his publisher Ernst Roth with details of the new project which, for the moment, claimed his full attention:

> I have finally got the right title: *Canticum Sacrum, Ad Honorem Sancti Marci Nominis* in five movements (with a Dedicatio as a short prelude) for two solo voices (tenor and baritone), mixed chorus and different groups of instruments. The text is in Latin. I composed it after the Vulgata; phrases of the first and last movements are those of St. Marcus gospel's last verses, the parting words of Christ to the Apostles. The text for the other movements is taken from the Old Testament, fragments of Canticum Canticorum, Deuteronomy and Psalms.
>
> (Letter of 27 July 1955 [*Nachlass* 11:332179], this part reprinted in *SSC-III*, p. 390)

Stravinsky had been prevented from starting work on the new piece until early June 1955 by a concert tour in Europe and the crippling inability of the interested parties (the Venice *Biennale* and himself) to agree on the terms of the commission.[1] Since then, however, progress had been reasonably swift, and by the time Stravinsky wrote his informative letter to Roth, he had planned the large-scale structure of the whole piece and had composed to the end of the second movement.

The new work was dedicated to the city of Venice and intended specifically for performance in the Byzantine Basilica of San Marco. There are no tell-tale notations among the sketches confirming whether or not the architecture of St Mark's exerted a direct influence on the structure of the work, but we may assume that Stravinsky's familiarity with Venice and her churches would have precluded the need for any such reference, if (as seems likely) the correspondences were intentional. The Basilica itself

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[1] These events are chronicled more fully in Appendix C, 'The Troubled Genesis of *Canticum Sacrum*', page 285.

consists of five domes linked by arches to create a Greek cross; three central domes span the altar to the main door, portraying scenes showing the virtues (Faith, Hope and Charity) around Christ.[2] *Canticum Sacrum*'s large-scale form does reconstruct the Basilica to a certain extent: it, too, is in five main parts, with a long central movement entitled 'Ad Tres Hortationes Virtutes' and subdivided into three sections, 'Caritas' (Charity), 'Spes' (Hope) and 'Fides' (Faith).

There is some evidence on sketchleaves for the first movement ('Euntes in mundum') and the retrograde-related last movement ('Illi autem profecti') that the resonant acoustic of the prospective venue influenced certain musical details. Several revisions were made at the sketch draft stage to simplify the texture of these nonserial, tonally-oriented outer movements and so to heighten their dramatic impact. For instance, the reiterative brass and wind semiquavers that punctuate and accompany the heavy chordal statements were originally sketched as running scalic and arpeggio figures; these are illustrated in Example 5.1, which shows bars 13-16 in an early formulation, excerpted from a longer sketch of the first choral section on sketchleaf **CS26**.[3] Fortunately, Stravinsky soon realized that this busy texture would have disastrous consequences in performance; he duly altered the semiquavers to the simpler patterns of the printed score in a subsequent sketch draft on sketchleaf **CS25**.

Similar considerations prompted changes to the cadential chords of the movement. The final chord, for example, was originally sustained by the full complement of brass and chorus right up to the double barline after bar 45 (on

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[2] See Jennifer Waelti-Walters, 'The Architectural and Musical Influences on the Structure of Michel Butor's *Description de San Marco*', *Revue de Littérature comparée* liii (1979), pp. 65-75; and Heinrich Lindlar's 'Strawinsky's Sakraler Gesang: Zur Uraufführung des Venezianischen *Canticum Sacrum*', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* cxvii/10 (1956), pp. 548-52, which even includes a groundplan of St Mark's.

[3] Appendix A, part II (page 273) lists the *Canticum Sacrum* sketchleaves (prefix **CS**), summarizing their physical characteristics and contents.

sketchleaves **CS**19r and **CS**85r). Only later, on sketchleaf **CS**24v, did Stravinsky decide to cut short this *forte* contribution at the beginning of the bar, leaving a soft chord held by the organ with low strings and bassoons; as Craft (1956, p. 38) points out, this softer chord absorbs some of the echo.

Turning to the sketches for the inner, serial movements of *Canticum Sacrum*, we encounter a collection that is not only captivating in its own right, but which forms an invaluable complement to the *Agon* sources. The very different circumstances and details of *Canticum Sacrum*'s commission presented new challenges to the composer, and the sketches with which he responded consequently highlight different aspects of his current stylistic and compositional concerns. The two works could not be further apart in mood: one is a powerful expression of faith, the other a celebration of dance. Together they paint a fascinating and comprehensive picture of Stravinsky's working methods during this important phase in his creative career.

The second movement of *Canticum Sacrum* is the tenor solo 'Surge, aquilo', on words taken from the fourth and fifth chapters of the Song of Songs (Vulgate version). It was the first fully twelve-tone piece that Stravinsky had written, but was not, as is sometimes stated, the first time he made use of a full twelve-tone series. As noted in Chapter 4, the sketch draft of *Agon*'s First Pas-de-Trois Coda (sketchleaf **A**004) is dated '23 Dec/54', several months before the *Canticum* commission actually became concrete; since much of the material of the Coda is derived from a twelve-tone series--though still combined with plenty of non-serial material--the dance represents a landmark of equal significance to that of 'Surge, aquilo' in the development of his serial technique.

The text as structural guide

Stravinsky's widely-acknowledged need for various forms of limitation to restrict the freedom of composition is often reflected tangibly in his works of the 1950s and beyond,

when the discipline of serialism provided a further factor in the network of constraints with which he habitually sought to surround himself. While the effects of this new twelve-tone influence on Stravinsky's working practice in 'Surge, aquilo' will be examined below, it is important not to overlook the many other tactics with which he endeavoured consciously to limit the scope of his creative vision.

The larger-scale instrumental works of the period generally follow an immediate structural framework, such as that provided by dance-forms (the Septet and *Agon*) or variation form (the 'Passacaglia' of the Septet, the 1964 *Variations*); sometimes Stravinsky followed the dictates of a groundplan and/or durational scheme prepared in advance (as in *Agon* or *The Flood* [1962]). But the formal guidance to which he most often turned was textual, and the large number of vocal works dating from the 1950s and 1960s bears witness to the fact that a tightly-structured text acted as a powerful stimulus to his musical imagination.

During the composition of these vocal works, Stravinsky invariably typed or wrote out the full text of each movement, to be kept close by for constant guidance. The *Sammlung Robert Craft* (PSS) includes seven pages giving the complete text of *Canticum Sacrum*, while in the main Stravinsky *Nachlass* there is a small sketchleaf (**CS**70) containing nothing but the written text of 'Surge, aquilo'. With this reference sheet at hand, the composer could extract individual lines, phrases or even words for musical setting without needing to remember or record the order in which the fragments should appear. As a result, the early sketches for 'Surge, aquilo' consist almost entirely of row forms and single-stave settings of fragments of the tenor line. Following a procedure similar to that observed in the construction of *Agon*'s Gaillarde, at some point Stravinsky took a large sketchleaf, **CS**77, intending to assemble the many building-blocks into a draft version of the complete tenor line. It is impossible to ascertain exactly how many of the early vocal line fragments had been worked out in

advance--quite possibly some were sketched in parallel with the draft--but by the time the large sketchleaf was full the entire tenor line could be traced snaking its way around the page, surrounded by shorter segments and serial forms.

While textual structures exerted an obvious and direct influence over the large-scale formal schemes of Stravinsky's vocal and choral movements, we may occasionally identify details of textual structure that affected more localized aspects of his text setting. The syntactical similarities of the lines 'comedi favum meum cum melle meo' and 'bibi, vinum meum cum lacte meo' (bars 79:7-85) encouraged Stravinsky to provide them with the same litany-like musical setting. Accordingly, on sketchleaf **CS**77 he simply writes the musical setting once, adding both lines of text and inscribing the chords of bars 82 and 85 beneath the shared last word, 'meo'.[4] The double-texted presentation of this sketch calls to mind the idiosyncratic practice described by Richard Taruskin in his essay 'Stravinsky's "Rejoicing Discovery" and What it Meant: In Defense of his Notorious Text Setting'; in stanzaic vocal pieces Stravinsky habitually established a 'model' verse consisting of the first group of lines to be set, generally 'irreproachable from the prosodic standpoint', to which 'other lines were fitted purely syllabically, not accentually'.[5] This is simply the application of the same technique as that observed in the small *Canticum Sacrum* sketch--in which the setting of one portion of text modifies the setting of another--on a more profound and systematic scale. And while it was the sketches for *Renard* (1916) that suggested this technique to Taruskin, its manifestations are encountered time and again in sketches for the late works. A fuller and particularly clear illustration occurs on a large sketchleaf for the

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[4] All sketches and drafts including the tenor line of bar 81 (sketchleaves **CS**65, **CS**69, **CS**76 and **CS**77) prefix its penultimate pitch with a natural sign. They therefore confirm a suspected misprint in the printed full score, where, contrary to the expected form of the IR^6(a) hexachord, this natural sign is missing. (The piano-vocal score is correct.)

[5] In Haimo and Johnson, eds (1987), pp. 162-99; extracts from p. 193.

tenor solo's Ricercar II of the 1952 Cantata [*Nachlass* 108-0561], where the texts of the five odd-numbered 'canons' crowd in above and below a single presentation of their (shared) music. With such a layout, the text setting of the third, fifth, seventh and ninth 'canons'--at least on the draft--is dependent upon melodic structures ostensibly worked out with reference to the words of the first canon only; when he came to write out the full score, Stravinsky altered nothing but minor details.

The important structural role played by the text of 'Surge, aquilo' is further highlighted by the scarcity of sketches for the accompaniment. Although the chords of bars 46, 82 and 85 are not the earliest examples of 'vertical serialism' in Stravinsky's output (see Chapter 4, page 101), the composer was nonetheless still sufficiently unversed in such techniques for the chords to warrant special compositional attention: the only 'Surge, aquilo' sketches which are not affiliated to the tenor solo but which may still be placed with near certainty before the draft of the movement (covering sketchleaves **CS**75, **CS**76 and **CS**78r) all experiment with 'vertical' presentations of the retrograde row form. (Some tiny sketches on sketchleaf **CS**66 for the instrumental interlude in bars 56-7 were probably completed after the draft, since a separate notation at the top of this sketchleaf gives a short section of the tenor line (bars 72 to 74:2) that had been omitted, presumably in error, from the draft itself.)

The full accompaniment, then, was sketched only when the vocal line had been more or less finalized. The very appearance of the draft supports this conjecture, for the tenor line is neat and elegantly spaced, with expression markings and brackets to indicate the serial workings; without doubt, it had been written out first. Two staves were ruled below for the instrumental lines, which, though written in a more sketchlike hand, differ from the final version only in the odd octave transposition or

rhythmic detail.[6] But his apparently spontaneous addition of serial counterpoint was, no doubt, dependent on the proximity of the keyboard. With a definitive vocal line acting as a point of reference around which Stravinsky could weave his delicate instrumental motives, the addition of extra lines posed few problems.

Serial patterning as structural guide

The construction of 'Surge, aquilo' was not guided by the text alone. Stravinsky also established a particular sequence of row forms that acted as a recurring, referential pattern in the vocal line, against which certain compositional choices could be evaluated. Such processes have been succinctly characterized by Bayan Northcott:

> Stravinsky had always composed by setting up tight, even perversely restrictive sets of rules for himself, which he then proceeded to submit to or sin against according to the dictates of that ultimate arbitrator, his idiosyncratic ear.[7]

Certainly, Stravinsky's adoption of serialism presented him with the challenge of turning that system's inherent restrictions to his own compositional advantage, and his various answers enabled him to regulate the degree of serial control.

Figure 5.1 illustrates the serial structure of the movement, with the recurring serial pattern bracketed. (No attempt has been made to represent the overlapping of row forms in the accompaniment.)

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[6] This layer-by-layer technique for composing accompanied vocal pieces, whether solo or duet, was deeply-rooted in Stravinsky's musical past: the vocal pieces of the *Pulcinella* sketchbook of 1919-20 (British Library, MS Zweig 94) show even more clearly this habit of adding an accompaniment to a tidy vocal line that is to all intents and purposes complete.

[7] From a review of Walsh (1988), in *The Musical Times* cxxx/2 (1989), p. 84.

Figure 5.1: serial structure of 'Surge, aquilo'

[Section 1]

Tenor:	$\mathbf{P}^0$	$\mathbf{R}^0$(a)	$\mathbf{IR}^6$(a)		$\mathbf{R}^0$			
Bar no.:	47	50:2	51:2		52:3			
Accomp.:	$\mathbf{R}^0$	$\mathbf{IR}^0$	$\mathbf{R}^3$			$\mathbf{R}^0$	$\mathbf{I}^{11}$	$\mathbf{IR}^0$
Bar no.:	46	48:2	50:4			53	54:4	56:4

[Section 2]

Tenor:	$\mathbf{I}^8$	$\mathbf{R}^0$(a)	$\mathbf{IR}^6$(a)		$\mathbf{R}^0$	
Bar no.:	58	63:3	66		68:4	
Accomp.:	$\mathbf{IR}^0$(cont.)	$\mathbf{P}^0$	$\mathbf{I}^0$		$\mathbf{RI}^0$	$\mathbf{I}^0$
Bar no.:		63	64:4		68:5	70:5

[Section 3]

Tenor:	$\mathbf{P}^0$	$\mathbf{R}^0$(a)	$\mathbf{IR}^6$(a)	$\mathbf{R}^0$(a)	$\mathbf{IR}^6$(a)	$\mathbf{I}^1$	$\mathbf{P}^0$	
Bar no.:	74:2	79:7	81:2	83	84:2	86	88:2	
Accomp.:	$\mathbf{I}^2$	$\mathbf{P}^0$	$\mathbf{R}^0$		$\mathbf{R}^0$	$\mathbf{I}^9/\mathbf{I}^5$(1-10)	$\mathbf{P}^8$(1-2)	
Bar no.:	73	75:3	82		84:4	86	90:3	

Notes:
1. (a) or (b) signifies the use of the 1st or 2nd hexachord only. No parenthetical indication is given where a complete row form is sounded.
2. Since IR^0 occurs more frequently than does RI^0, the figure expresses relevant row forms in terms of IR. (IR^0 is identical to RI^2.)

The most notable feature of the serial succession, and the one upon which this sectional division depends, is the tenor's repetition of the unit R^0(a)-IR^6(a)-R^0. Example 5.2 extracts the pitch succession of this repeated unit. But did Stravinsky actually keep this serial scheme in mind as he sketched the tenor line? Several factors suggest that

he did. First, the tripartite serial scheme of the movement is too regular to have arisen simply by chance. Second, Stravinsky was perhaps building on his recent experience of delineating structure by serial means in the First Pas-de-Trois Coda of *Agon*, in which each of the major formal divisions of the dance began with a fresh statement of I^0 (see Figure 4.2, page 95). Third, and most conclusively, there exist certain notations among the 'Surge, aquilo' sketches that imply a pre-compositional working-out of the serial scheme, and others that are apparently worked out with reference to this scheme.

Each occurrence of the serial unit is introduced by a complete row form: P^0 in the outer sections and I^8 in the middle section. In the third and last section, the R^0(a)-IR^6(a)-R^0 unit is developed to R^0(a)-IR^6(a)-R^0(a)-IR^6(a) and is followed by a statement of I^1--not, as in the earlier sections, by a full R^0 form (this discrepancy will be discussed below). The impression given by the repeated unit R^0(a)-IR^6(a)-R^0 is that of a melodic line doubling back on itself before continuing and progressing, a type of row-form succession that became characteristic of Stravinsky's early serial technique, identifiable not only in *Canticum Sacrum* but in *Agon* too (for example in the trumpet duet of the Bransle Simple). As Pieter van den Toorn observes,

> There is a tendency to double back on an initial set-statement (presumably P) through its retrograde (presumably R), with P's concluding (and R's initiating) set-factor as the pivoting 'common tone'; and then to return, obviously, to P's initial set-factor. (The scheme might be reversed with respect to P and R.) (Toorn, 1983, p. 390)

But in 'Surge, aquilo' this impression is not given by the immediate retrograding of a hexachord before continuing with the same hexachord once more in its 'forward' direction. Instead, Stravinsky skilfully creates the same effect while substituting a different hexachord for the 'backwards' part of the sequence. Example 5.3, taken from the large sketchleaf **CS**77 (discussed above), shows the working for this sequence. The

example retains Stravinsky's brackets and arrows but replaces the composer's highly individual terminology for serial operations with conventional labels; the original labels will be restored in Example 5.8 below. Stravinsky's colour-coding is represented as follows: a blue bracket in the original is represented by a dashed-line bracket, a red bracket by a horizontal brace. The sketch's ordinary lead pencil brackets, arrows and circles are unchanged.

The observer's attention is drawn immediately to the hexachordal division of row forms. The manipulation of hexachords divorced from their original twelve-tone contexts became an important characteristic of Stravinsky's mature twelve-tone music. Developed further in *Agon*'s Second Pas-de-Trois, this characteristic eventually culminated in the process of hexachordal 'rotation' used for the first time in the *Movements* of 1959.

The complete sequence of hexachords shown in Example 5.3 is R^0(a), R^0(b), IR^6(a), P^0(b) (or R^0(a) read backwards), IR^7(b). The composer's careful system of coloured arrows and brackets highlights not only the connections between these hexachords but also--and more importantly--his own understanding of these connections. For example, the red brackets (braces) and the arrow linking the two hexachords R^0(a) and IR^6(a) are indicative of the many correspondences between them. The first and last pitches of IR^6(a) are the last and first pitches, respectively, of R^0(a). Though Stravinsky almost certainly realized that the inversion of *any* row-form, transposed to start on the final pitch class of the prime form, leads back to the pitch class with which the prime began, his recognition of this characteristic in the present sketch prompted him to investigate further the intervallic similarities between the two hexachords. His reversal of R^0(a) to form the hexachord P^0(b) makes more explicit the extraordinary correspondence between this reversed hexachord and IR^6(a): pitches 1-2 and 5-6 are identical in both, while pitches 3-4 follow the same intervallic pattern of an ascending tone. See Example

5.4. Thus, by replacing P^0(b) (R^0(a) reversed) by IR^6(a) in the movement's repeated serial unit such that R^0(a)-R^0(a) reversed-R^0 becomes R^0(a)-IR^6(a)-R^0, Stravinsky preserves the impression of a single twelve-tone series doubling back upon itself before proceeding, while enriching the serial succession with his inclusion of a different hexachord.

The tightly-constructed pitch sequence of Example 5.3, the confidence with which it was sketched, and the brackets and arrows showing Stravinsky's complete understanding of the relationships between the hexachords are all indicative of preliminary working elsewhere. Sketchleaf **CS**74v contains workings both for the 'Dedicatio' (which was completed *after* the first movement, 'Euntes in mundum') and for 'Surge, aquilo', a unique conjunction that suggests it was at least among the first sketchleaves for the tenor solo, if not the very first. Here we find an illuminating cluster of sketches for the words 'et fluant aromata illius'--Stravinsky's first notations often involved fragments later found in the middle of a movement rather than at its beginning--in which an essentially melodic conception is developed into a twelve-tone series.

The first musical idea is a melisma on the syllable 'flu-', shown in Example 5.5a. As yet no serial intent is evident, though the pitch sequence of the melisma is, in fact, that of the hexachord IR^6(a) joined by one common pitch (A) to the beginning of R^0, exactly as in Example 5.3. The next sketch, Example 5.5b, aligned as shown, is probably a continuation of the melisma; it sets the second half of the word 'fluant' to the segment R^0(5-12), assuming that Stravinsky's omission of flat-signs from the first two pitches was simply an oversight due to haste. Though the absence of any serial identification on the sketchleaf makes it impossible to establish whether Stravinsky was actively searching for a twelve-tone row in these early stages (Examples 5.5a-b), the next two workings indicate that he now recognized their serial potential: see

Examples 5.5c-d, in which the twelve-tone row that became R^0 is consolidated. The preliminary experiment shown as Example 5.5c displaces the eighth pitch of R^0 (G^b) to position 10, but this spelling of R^0's second hexachord is immediately revised in the next short sketch, Example 5.5d, a setting of the words '[aro]mata illius' (bars 54:2-55).

The fact that it was the retrograde form of the 'Surge, aquilo' series that was fashioned first is perhaps significant in view of the extraordinary relationship between this twelve-tone row and the inversion of the series of *Agon*'s First Pas-de-Trois Coda. The pitch sequences of the two rows are given below:

Agon, Coda, I^0: A B B^b C D^b E^b | E F# F G D A^b

Canticum, Surge, R^0: A B C B^b D^b E^b | E F# D F G A^b

The hexachordal content of the two rows and the hexachordal boundary pitches are identical. There are two segments held in common (the two-pitch segment at the beginning and the four-pitch segment across the boundary of the (a) and (b) hexachords, both underlined), while the remaining segments display the same segmental pitch content. Despite these correspondences, there is no evidence to suggest that the 'Surge, aquilo' series was actually derived from the pitch sequence of the Coda's row, either on sketchleaf **CS**74v or anywhere else. The serial relationship, then, appears to have been free of demonstrable compositional intent, but with a mere six months separating these first two essays in twelve-tone technique it is possible that the intervallic structures to which the 'Surge, aquilo' sketches naturally inclined were indeed conditioned by Stravinsky's familiarity with the pitch- and interval-successions of the earlier piece.

In this first essay in full twelve-tone serialism the succession of row forms in the tenor line is governed primarily, as has already been illustrated, by the simple

principle of pivotal notes. This method of linkage and the associated linear conception of set presentation lent themselves particularly well to the contrapuntal structures that became characteristic of Stravinsky's serial thought during the 1950s. In 'Surge, aquilo', the principle of serial succession through pivotal notes is applied in part through extensive use of the obvious connections between untransposed set forms. In addition, the tailored insertion of $IR^6(a)$ into the recurring serial succession demonstrated the importance of initial and concluding pitch elements of hexachords and full twelve-tone rows as pivots. But Stravinsky's concern to make use of pivot notes between row forms is also reflected in certain other revisions charted in the sketches, several of which gain in significance when considered in the context of the recurring serial scheme in the tenor line.

On sketchleaf **CS**72, for example, there is an early setting of the words 'comedite, comedite amici' (destined for bars 86-7, in the third section of the movement as defined by Figure 5.1 above): see Example 5.6. The serial plan and melodic succession established in the first two sections of the movement creates an expectation that the $R^0(a)$-$IR^6(a)$-$R^0(a)$-$IR^6(a)$ succession presented in the third section (bars 79-85) will be followed by a complete and untransposed retrograde, and at this early stage, to judge from the choice of row form in Example 5.6, this expectation seems likely to be fulfilled. But in the final version these words are set to a transposed inversion (I^1). While no sketch showing the actual moment of revision exists, the revision had certainly been made by the time Stravinsky wrote out the entire tenor line on sketchleaf **CS**77.

A comparison of the pitch sequence of the rejected setting on R^0 (Example 5.6) to that of the preferred version using I^1 reveals that this potentially substantial revision has, in fact, altered the contour of the melodic line very little: see Example 5.7. Both rows contain three prominent ascending three-note motives (although in each case

the new row form reverses the tone-semitone intervallic succession of the motives to semitone-tone), the two rows display identical hexachordal content, and in both cases the first and last pitch-classes are A and A^b respectively (this last feature permitting the use of pivot notes to bridge the gap between the IR^6 hexachord and the untransposed prime form with which the movement ends). But if R^0, too, possessed the same properties, why was it replaced with I^1? Perhaps the simplest explanation is also the most probable. Stravinsky had employed the full R^0 statement to conclude the two earlier sections of the piece, and possibly felt it inappropriate to allow the same row form to herald the conclusion of the whole movement prematurely. Instead, the transposed form I^1 at this point actually propels the music forward--a suitable choice for the setting of the exhortation to friends to eat and drink, 'comedite amici, et bibite'.

Stravinsky's serial terminology

Example 5.8 reproduces the sketch shown above as Example 5.3, with Stravinsky's own unconventional serial labels now reinstated. The sketch illustrates his adoption, in the works up to *Threni* (1957-8) and occasionally beyond, of the old term 'cancrizans' (misspelt with an 's' and often abbreviated to 'canc.' or 'C') to denote a retrograde, and his frequent (but inconsistent) use of the confusing term 'Riverse' (or 'Riv' or 'R' for short) to denote an inversion; alternatively, an inversion could be indicated by the labels 'I' or 'Inv'. Prime forms were simply represented by 'O' ('Original'). During the composition of *Threni* Stravinsky bowed to convention and--with occasional lapses--employed standard serial abbreviations. But the issue became more complicated in the sketches for the later serial works, starting with *Movements* (1959), when the composer's development of the system of hexachordal transposition-rotation called for new terminology; here, too, the term 'Riverse' resurfaced, but now more often represented a retrograde than an inversional form as before. (Chapter 9 investigates

Stravinsky's rotation-transposition terminology a little more closely.)

Example 5.8 also illustrates Stravinsky's tendency to apply serial labels that refer only to the row or row-fragment *currently* under manipulation, rather than to any 'master-chart' of definitive serial forms--a practice that may be best understood as a reflection of his habitual treatment of hexachords segregated from their twelve-tone contexts. (In such cases, though not in this sketch, the hexachord from which the serial excursions are launched may be designated the 'theme', or 'T', regardless of its 'correct' label.) Thus each 'Riv' label in Example 5.8 signifies not an inversion of the movement's twelve-tone series, but an inversion of the hexachord to which the 'Riv' hexachord is connected by means of an arrow. The label 'A-Riv' (originally blue) at the far right of the sketch refers to the inversion, starting on A, of the other hexachord enclosed by a dashed-line bracket in the example (a blue bracket in the original manuscript). In conventional terminology this 'A-Riv' hexachord is IR^7(b) (or RI^9(b)), which does not feature in 'Surge, aquilo'.

Stravinsky's identification of transpositional levels in Example 5.8 (and below in Example 5.10), though limited, is nonetheless enough to mark out these two sketches as somewhat exceptional among the sources prior to *Threni*. Elsewhere, his greatest concession was the addition of the term 'transp.'. Even among *Threni*'s more conventionally annotated sketchleaves, the occasions on which he grudgingly records row transpositions are extremely limited: the qualifier 'transp.' (or 'trnsp.') appears on certain sketch drafts, he twice adds the labels '3rd higher' or '3rd lower' [*Nachlass* 114-0850 and 0852] and once the more cumbersome indication 'RI in transp of a fifth' [*Nachlass* 114-0829].

Robert Craft also considered Stravinsky's serial labels to be wayward, and on two occasions during the composition of *Canticum Sacrum* either sought to 'reform' the composer or else simply to enlighten him as to the differences between his nomencla-

ture and the standard serial abbreviations. On sketchleaf **CS**68 (shown in Example 5.9), in Stravinsky's hand, are the four row forms that he habitually wrote out for reference: P, R, I and IR. The arrows simply indicate the common starting note of a form and its inversion ('Riv'). Much more interesting are the two columns of serial labels written down the right-hand side, all of which, except for the stubborn little 'canc.' (for 'cancrizans'), are in *Craft's* spidery hand. The authorship of the labels explains the headings at the top of the two columns: 'me' (Craft) and 'S' (Stravinsky). Craft himself evidently uses the four standard abbreviations O, I, R and RI (he does not distinguish this last from IR, which is the notated form); these are contrasted with Stravinsky's own terms 'Original', 'Riverse', 'Cancrizans', and 'Cancrizans Riverse'. A similar exercise is carried out on sketchleaf **CS**41, where the various forms of the second twelve-tone row used in *Canticum Sacrum*--the series of the third and fourth movements--are displayed, once again accompanied by the two columns of labels headed 'I' (Craft) and 'S'. But Craft's presumably didactic efforts had no immediate impact, for Stravinsky, at least until he had completed *Canticum Sacrum* and *Agon*, ignored conventional terminology and defiantly continued to use his own method.

Despite their irregularities, Stravinsky's serial labels and their attendant arrows and brackets sometimes carry valuable musical implications. The annotations in Example 5.8 above hint at the composer's own understanding of the techniques he was using, and hence record the very foundations of the transformations identifiable in the published score. Occasionally the annotations found in sketches are still more symptomatic of Stravinsky's interpretation of his serial structures. The passage shown in Example 5.10 has been extracted from the only complete sketch draft of 'Surge, aquilo' (sketchleaves **CS**75, **CS**76 and **CS**78r; extract from **CS**75). Based on the recurring serial unit R^0(a)-IR^6(a)-R^0 worked out in Example 5.3/5.8, it presents the tenor line of bars 50-55. Once again, blue brackets in the original are shown as dashed-

line brackets, the single red bracket as a brace. First Stravinsky adds an unmarked blue bracket to the retrograde form starting in bar 50; this is left open, pointing forward. The red bracket that follows, labelled 'Riverse from [i.e. inversion on] E^{b}', encloses the IR^{6}(a) hexachord; from here a red arrow points back to the first hexachord, to indicate exactly what has been inverted. Finally a backward-pointing blue bracket encloses the complete retrograde that starts in bar 53, significantly marked 'Resume'.

The arrangement of brackets in Example 5.10 enables us to suggest how Stravinsky interpreted the function of the IR^{6}(a) hexachord. The composer apparently viewed the repeated serial succession in terms of forward and reverse musical progression, expressing this through the doubling-back of the series upon itself. That the IR^{6}(a) hexachord was seen as an interruption, a temporary digression from the more important path of the retrograde, is implied by the use of the word 'resume' at the beginning of the third bracket, from which point the full retrograde is finally allowed to run its course.

*

The sketches of 'Surge, aquilo' are especially revealing; they do not simply document the composer's serial choice, but shed some light on his own interpretation of the methods observed and indicate the alternatives that he considered. When these processes are examined with reference to a serial scheme that, if not pre-determined, at least acquired during composition a referential status capable of exerting influence, they suggest that once again Stravinsky was operating within self-imposed limits. In this case, then, the framework that was so necessary to trigger his creative imagination was implemented by the dual constraints of text and serial structure; the form of the following movement, 'Ad Tres Virtutes Hortationes', would be generated by a different type of compositional framework.

II. 'AD TRES VIRTUTES HORTATIONES'

Rhythmic repetition as structural guide

The third movement of *Canticum Sacrum* is divided into three shorter sections, each named after one of the three hortatory virtues of the movement's title: 'Caritas', 'Spes' and 'Fides'. This movement and the fourth are both completely serial, employing a twelve-tone series that is new but indirectly related to that of the second movement.[8] The serial identification adopted here is that of the sketches; Example 5.11 reproduces Stravinsky's 'reference' sketchleaf **CS**41, which is the second of two sketchleaves with added columns of serial labels in Craft's hand (compare Example 5.9 above). The *Canticum Sacrum* source materials themselves make no mention of row transpositions, but if P^0 is considered to start on C, as here, a large proportion of the row forms in the movement are presented at their untransposed levels.

The initial development of series 2 is uncharted by the sketches; two sketchleaves (**CS**29 and **CS**34) that contain early notations for 'Caritas'--the first of the three sections to be written--both use complete statements of the row with no evidence of preliminary row-form sketching. Once again, the keyboard had provided the testing ground for the development of the row.

'Caritas' is introduced by a simple thematic statement of the retrograde inversion of the new series, played by the unaccompanied organ. This theme returns in different transpositions to introduce the 'Spes' and 'Fides' sections, and, in the strings, to conclude the entire movement. It exerts a powerful influence over the course of the third movement: not only does it introduce the new series that governs the melodic aspect of the movement, but its rhythm, too, is used as a twelve-note rhythmic 'cantus firmus' (Stravinsky's own term) that pervades the texture of all three sections.

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[8] The segments RI(9-12) of series 2 and R(8-11) of series 1 share the same intervallic sequence; likewise, P(7-10) of series 2 corresponds to I(9-12) of series 1.

This rhythm is shown in Example 5.12.

In 'Caritas', three statements of the rhythmic theme follow one another without a break (the initial statement in the organ, bars 94-9, is followed by two bass trombone statements in bars 99-106 and 107-15), before the three-voice choral canon that starts at bar 116, supported by trumpet, gradually disrupts the pattern. But even in the canon the overlapping entries maintain a constant reference to the cantus firmus rhythm, as the first six notes of the subject refer directly to the first six values of the rhythm, and the point of entry for each voice occurs just where the previous entry begins to deviate from the rhythmic theme. An augmented form of the same six-note extract supports the canon in the accompanying trumpet lines.

The rhythmic cantus firmus is repeated cyclically through the whole of the central 'Spes' section, while in 'Fides' there are only two brief interludes (bars 204-18 and 237-8) that offer any respite from its pervasive presence. There are obvious similarities between this arrangement and the isorhythmic motet of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in which a repeated rhythmic pattern--the *talea*--was used as a formative structural element. The sectional division of the text of 'Ad Tres Virtutes Hortationes' provided an ideal vehicle for this type of structural organization, and allowed Stravinsky to accommodate other characteristic techniques of the isorhythmic motet, such as proportional diminution or augmentation of the *talea*. To judge by Stravinsky's admiration for early music (expressed in many an interview from the 1950s on, and to be discussed more fully below) and by his correspondence, he must have been acquainted with early isorhythmic music; in a letter dated 4 August 1954 (reprinted in *SSC-III*, p. 382), the composer asks Edgar Bielefeldt (of the Bonn office of Boosey & Hawkes) to 'find out *urgently* from Musikantiquariat Hans Schneider' if an unnamed volume of Machaut's works were still available.

Approaching the sketches for the movement, we would expect this extensive use

of a cantus firmus rhythm to have had a profound effect on Stravinsky's composing processes. Furthermore, the contour of the theme would probably have been determined at an early stage. These suspicions are soon confirmed, for by the time the two early 'Caritas' sketchleaves mentioned above (**CS**29 and **CS**34) plus an intermediate sketchleaf (**CS**33) were complete, the rhythmic pattern was firmly entrenched in Stravinsky's current creative ethos; no sooner had he consolidated its form than the restrictions imposed by the cyclic repetition of this pattern began to exert a tangible influence over the structures worked out in the 'Virtutes' sketches.

For reasons of space, this discussion will be restricted to the influence of the rhythmic pattern in 'Spes', since this section is where it is used most systematically. In this central section of the movement the rhythmic cantus firmus acts as an ever-present, cyclically repeating ground beneath the messages of trust and hope proclaimed by the solo duets and choral phrases. Figure 5.2 (overleaf) summarizes the structure of 'Spes'.

Figure 5.2: structure of 'Spes'

Bar nos.		Series	Rhythmic organization
130-35	Introductory organ theme	RI^{10}.....	cantus firmus
Contrapuntal instrumental section			
135:3-141	bass trumpet	P^{8}.....	cantus firmus
136-41	bassoons/organ	P^{0}	
141:3-147	double bass/violas	P^{6}.....	cantus firmus
142-47	oboe/cor anglais	R^{9}	
Vocal Duet 1			
148-53	tenor/baritone	R^{11}/I^{5}	
148-53	bass trombone	RI^{0}(4-12).....	cantus firmus
152-53	trumpets/harp	RI^{9}	
Choral Section 1			
154-58:2	discantus	P^{0}	
154-58:2	alto	R^{0}	
154-61:1	oboes/tenor trombone	R^{2}.....	cantus firmus
158:3-162	discantus	I^{11}	
158:3-162	alto	R^{6}	
161:2-162	bass trombone	RI^{0}(1-3).....	cantus firmus (beginning)
Vocal Duet 2			
163-68	tenor/baritone	R^{11}/I^{5}	
163-68	bass trombone	RI^{0}(4-12).....	cantus firmus (conclusion)
167-68	trumpets/harp	RI^{9}	
Choral Section 2			
169-74:3	discantus/alto	I^{11}/R^{6}	
169-76:1	oboes/tenor trombone	R^{2}.....	cantus firmus
174:4-177	discantus	RI^{10}	
174:2-177	alto	R^{10}	
176:2-177	bass trombone	RI^{0}(1-3).....	cantus firmus (beginning)
Vocal Duet 3			
178-83	tenor/baritone	R^{11}/I^{5}	
178-83	bass trombone	RI^{0}(4-12).....	cantus firmus (conclusion)
182-83	trumpets/harp	RI^{9}	

As in the medieval isorhythmic motet, the greatest compositional benefit of the cantus firmus is its capacity for formal organization. Together with the guidance provided by the pre-determined text, this repeating rhythmic pattern supplied an immediate framework, ready to be dressed in serial clothing: a formal scheme that negated the need for further material records of large-scale planning. The fact that Stravinsky tended to sketch the three musical textures (solo duet with accompaniment, choral writing with accompaniment, instrumental counterpoint) in discrete blocks, before drawing together all the elements into a sketch draft, suggests that the division of the text into its alternating solo and choral passages had taken place at an early stage.

Planning on a smaller scale takes place on sketchleaf **CS**40, where, down the left-hand side, Stravinsky writes out the texts of the choral sections and notes the number of syllables in each:

Sustinuit anima mea in verbo ejus	14
speravit " " " Domino	12
a custodia matutina usque ad noctem	14

The brackets connecting the first two and last two phrases are indicative of the distribution of these phrases in the choral interjections and implies the repetition of part of the second phrase. Beneath, the composer sets the text of the first phrase to the pitches of P^0 to give the descant line as it appears in bars 154-7 of the printed score, with barlines. The right-hand side of sketchleaf **CS**40 deals with the three duet sections for tenor and baritone, whose settings differ only in details dictated by the nuances and rhythms of the different lines of text. The versions presented here are dependent on earlier workings recorded on sketchleaf **CS**39v, in which the texts of the first two duets (bars 148-53 and 163-8) were set to the row forms R^{11} and I^5; the simplest of the preliminary sketches is shown in Example 5.13. From these rudimentary beginnings, the workings on sketchleaf **CS**39v gradually develop the two solo

melodic lines rhythmically, at the same time allowing the row forms to become progressively more interwoven. The three more advanced duet sketches on sketchleaf **CS**40, written out one beneath the other, highlight this serial interweaving by means of connecting lines running between the staves and the use of a pink pencil to distinguish the inverted form from the lead pencil of the retrograde inversion. Most noteworthy, though, is the inclusion of an empty stave in the first duet, prominently labelled:

'Cat. Frm. Row in ♪· = 72'.

This sketch is transcribed in Example 5.14. The inscription 'Cat. Frm. Row' is, of course, Stravinsky's cue for the recurring rhythmic pattern, complete with a specification of the durational unit.

The need to accommodate the duet sections within the constraints dictated by the repeating cantus firmus rhythm had certain consequences for the serial organization of 'Spes'. On an extra stave ruled below the baritone line in Example 5.14 Stravinsky follows his own instruction, adding the end of an accompanying RI^0 row form in the rhythm and duration specified (whose extension beyond the double barline would later necessitate a corresponding extension of the final pitches of the vocal lines). But the full cantus firmus rhythm, expressed in these note values, would be too long for the duet sections that Stravinsky had just sketched; accordingly, he devised an uncomplicated solution to the problem that sheds some light on why the accompanying RI^0 in the first duet omits its first three pitches.

A more advanced sketch for the vocal duets (on sketchleaf **CS**06) extends back the RI segment shown in Example 5.14 until all twelve values of the cantus firmus had been assigned one of the twelve pitches in the series. This meant that the first three values actually preceded the entry of the solo tenor and baritone, and appeared at the end of the preceding choral section. But as there was no choral section to precede the

first duet, and the duet's cantus firmus could not be overlapped with the end of the previous statement in the instrumental introduction (lower strings, bars 141-7), Stravinsky simply omitted the problematical first three elements of the cantus firmus and of the RI series. In the two choral sections that introduce the second and third duets, however, he took care to ensure that the cantus firmus statements, supplied by oboes and tenor trombone, ended precisely at the point where any following statement must begin if it is to sound in its entirety; thus, the RI forms that accompany the second and third duets begin 'early', in bars 161 and 176 respectively.[9]

In the sketching for the choral sections themselves, the melodic settings were governed to an even greater extent by the cantus firmus rhythm. A clear illustration of this influence occurs on sketchleaf **CS**04r, where Stravinsky works out the descant line 'speravit anima mea in Dominum [*recte* Domino]': see Example 5.15. The barring of the second attempt and the lack of oscillation across a perfect fourth on the word 'Domino' (cf. bars 171-2) indicates that the sketch is for the earlier of the two settings of this line, at bars 158-62. The sketches present the full I^{11} row form, whose seventh pitch, E^{b}, would later be exchanged for that of the altos' R^{6} row form (A-natural, bar 160:1). It is clear from Example 5.15 that these two early attempts were worked out against the reference rhythm, notated as unpitched rhythmic values. Stravinsky set this final phrase of the first choral section against the appropriate portion of the cantus firmus rhythm--the last five values, labelled [8] to [12] in the example--and even represented the beginning of the accompanying (RI) cantus firmus of the following duet. In the first attempt this cue takes the simple form of an extra crotchet appended

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[9] The bass trombone's C in bar 161 is a misprint for C#/D^{b} tied to the D^{b} at the beginning of bar 162; this is suggested by the RI^{0} row form, by the bass trombone's pitches in the corresponding bars 176-7, and by all relevant drafts and sketches (one of which is shown in Example 5.15). The error is introduced in the autograph full score manuscript (copy at Boosey & Hawkes archive), apparently as a result of an erasure on sketchleaf **CS**81 that partially obliterates the '#' sign before the bass trombone's C in bar 161.

to the rhythmic outline, but in the fuller sketch below Stravinsky draws on the working of sketchleaf **CS**40 to fill in the pitches of the new RI form, and adds an incipit for the following duet (carelessly giving the words of the *first* duet). The tempo change is fastidiously marked in.

Such extracts from the source materials of 'Ad Tres Virtutes Hortationes' emphasize the extent to which the composing of the movement was dominated--or even motivated--by the preservation of a tightly-controlled isorhythmic scheme. Although the next movement, the baritone solo 'Brevis Motus Cantilenae', is free of the cantus firmus itself, an interesting legacy of Stravinsky's recent rhythmic preoccupation occurs among its sketches.

The baritone solo, very different in mood from the preceding 'Virtutes', is characterized by its arioso style of delivery, with echo effects provided by the chorus in the early phrases of the movement. Similarities between this and the third movement include their comparable density of counterpoint--the baritone solo is interrupted by a brief fugato section for chorus (bars 274-80)--and their reference to the same twelve-tone row. We encounter a less direct but perhaps more interesting correspondence between their compositional strategies when Stravinsky, at a late stage in the creation of the fourth movement, retrospectively calls on the vigorous rhythm of its fugato section to enliven the two instrumental passages that occur at bars 250-53 and 262-5. Examples 5.16 and 5.17 present the early versions of these two passages, extracted from a very rough sketch draft of the first section of the movement (bars 250-73, sketchleaf **CS**55).

The foundational sketch for the introduction, Example 5.16, is the earliest indication that the baritone would be ushered in by a brief instrumental passage based on the row form P^{11}, while the early form of the interlude at bars 262-5, Example 5.17, uses the correct row form but the 'wrong' transposition: R^{9} instead of R^{7}. The revision

to R^7 establishes the pitch G as a pivot between this row and the next (the inversional row form of the vocal entry in bar 265), a fact that suggests a possible reason for the change.

Both early sketches are rhythmically unexciting when compared to the corresponding passages as represented on the next draft of the movement, which covers sketchleaves **CS**84, **CS**56 and **CS**57r and which otherwise approaches the final form of the movement in all but minor detail. The draft itself records some of the intermediate and developmental workings to which Stravinsky resorted, for its first page (**CS**84) boasts two *collettes* taped over the very passages with which we are concerned. It is just possible to peer behind the first *collette* to ascertain the form of the introduction as it originally appeared, only a little more advanced than in its earlier formulation in Example 5.16; see Example 5.18 (with Stravinsky's serial numbering retained from the original). Despite a degree of rhythmic elaboration, the internal rhythmic structure of the introduction still seems almost unrelated to its final presentation.

Only when the draft--without the *collettes*--was ostensibly finished did Stravinsky contemplate further, but disguised, means of unifying the fourth movement, whose application forged a procedural link with the third. Taking another sketchleaf (**CS**08), he worked out a new version of the instrumental introduction, shown in Example 5.19. This sketch bears witness to the composer's realization that here, too, a rhythmic pattern could be used to provide a point of reference: the redistribution of the early introductory material takes place exclusively within the framework imposed by a reference rhythm that Stravinsky bears in mind throughout, and which is jotted in above the system. The energetic rhythm that is guiding the composer is, of course, that of the tenor's first entry in the fugato section at bars 274-5, but with a slightly curtailed ending. An immediate local revision at the end of the system effectively

removes this discrepancy, such that the resultant rhythm of the passage becomes identical to that of the first fugato entry.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to view behind the second *collette* on sketchleaf **CS**84 to witness a similar evolution occurring in the instrumental interlude at bars 262-5, and there are no other sketches of this passage besides the early version shown in Example 5.17. But in the final score it, too, is constructed according to the same fugato rhythm, exposed more prominently than in the introduction (largely on account of the distinctive accenting in the violas, bar 263) and relying on the entry of the baritone itself to provide the brief concluding motive. For reference, Example 5.20 compares the final versions of the introduction and the interlude, given in short score, to the guiding rhythm of the tenor line in the fugato section.

Though these internal rhythmic correspondences within the fourth movement are to a large extent overshadowed by the dramatic impact of the 'più agitato' arrival of the fugato itself, the two late revisions witnessed here do lend sharper rhythmic definition to the various textures in the first half of the piece; the instrumental passages and choral fugato, all governed by the same distinctive rhythm, provide an effective contrast to the other, more lyrical vocal entries.

Canonic structures in Canticum Sacrum[10]

The preliminary notations for the fugato section in 'Brevis motus cantilenae' are all found on two small sketchleaves, **CS**11 and **CS**15, that contain nothing but row forms; they simply record Stravinsky's serial selection for three of the four initial vocal entries in the fugato (there is no sign of the descants' RI^0). The sketches give no further

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[10] The terms 'canon' and 'canonic' are understood in their usual sense as referring to a strictly imitative contrapuntal form whose musical lines may all be reduced to a single line; the definition is taken to admit prime, retrograde and inversional forms of a single twelve-tone series as equivalent canonic subjects (as occurs in Stravinsky's serial canons).

evidence of working before the whole section appears, fully developed, in the final draft of the movement on sketchleaves **CS**84 (as discussed above), **CS**56 and **CS**57r.

This lack of preparatory contrapuntal workings among the sketches for the fourth movement, though surprising, might pass unnoticed were it not for the fact that there is a similarly remarkable paucity of sketching for *Canticum Sacrum*'s other, more rigorously canonic passages. Developmental materials for the three-voice choral canon of 'Caritas' (with augmented instrumental lines) are conspicuous by their absence; the canon is represented by a single sketchleaf, **CS**32, containing little more than discarded settings of isolated phrases. For the four-voice choral canon of 'Fides', also supported by augmented instrumental lines, Stravinsky simply tested the feasibility of setting the choral phrases to the familiar cantus firmus rhythm (on sketchleaf **CS**45, which also contains an interesting but discarded serial experiment that is discussed in Chapter 9, pages 255-6) and made a brief sketch of the chords formed from the instrumental lines in bars 225-30 (sketchleaf **CS**49v). Despite this spectacular lack of preparation, Stravinsky was able to construct an untidy but comprehensive sketch draft on sketchleaves **CS**51 and **CS**52.

Since Stravinsky habitually kept all the workings for any one composition together in a folder labelled with the work's title, and, as noted in Chapter 1, was extremely reluctant to part with his sketches, it is unlikely that sketches for these canonic sections have simply gone astray.[11] In short, the wealth of canonic and quasi-canonic writing in the score of *Canticum Sacrum* is not matched by any comparable presence of canonic workings among the sketches. But how are we to account for the apparent ease of contrapuntal invention implied by these lacunae in the sketch materials?

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[11] The *Sammlung Robert Craft* (PSS), at the time of writing unavailable for direct consultation, apparently contains only one musical sketch for *Canticum Sacrum*, a setting of the words 'Jesus autem' for the start of the baritone solo.

Stravinsky had been drawn toward contrapuntal, imitative and canonic principles on several occasions earlier in his career--for instance, in the 'Double Fugue' of the *Symphony of Psalms* (1930), the concluding 'Preludio e Fuga' of the Concerto for two solo pianos (1932-5), and the imitative 'Pleni sunt' in the Sanctus of the Mass (1948)--but the application of canon and fugue before the 1950s was, as Glenn Watkins observes in his essay 'The Canon and Stravinsky's Late Style', 'limited and localized' (Watkins, 1986, p. 244). But in the series of works beginning with the Cantata of 1952, Stravinsky embraces contrapuntal forms with increased vigour: of his twelve original compositions from the Cantata to *A Sermon, a Narrative, and a Prayer* (1961), only three lack fugal and canonic structures: *Three Songs from William Shakespeare* (1953), *Movements* and the tiny *Epitaphium* (both 1959).[12]

Stravinsky's deeper involvement with strict musical form and techniques may be viewed as yet another reflection of his frequently-expressed need for order. In his original shorthand notes for the *Poetics of Music*, for example, he records the following ideas:

> Order. As rule and as law; external and internal orders. Order and disorder. The realm of necessity and the realm of liberty. [*In Russian*] Dialectics supposes that art is synonymous with free creation, but this is not so. Art is more free when it is more limited, more finished, canonical, dogmatic. (*SSC-II*, p. 513)

Later, in the final text of the *Poetics*, Stravinsky betrays his susceptibility to the attractions of inherently 'ordered' musical forms:

> [W]e can make use of academic forms without running the risk of becoming academic ourselves. The person who is loath to borrow these forms *when he has need of them* clearly betrays his weakness. ... I myself have ... often borrowed academic attitudes with no thought of concealing the pleasure I found in them. (*Poetics*, pp. 83-4, emphasis added)

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[12] The other nine original works are: Cantata (1952), Septet (1953), *In Memoriam Dylan Thomas* (1954), *Greeting Prelude* (1955), *Canticum Sacrum* (1956), *Agon* (1953-7), *Threni* (1958), *Double Canon* (1960), *A Sermon, a Narrative, and a Prayer* (1961).

The passage implies that Stravinsky himself occasionally 'had need of' these forms. But the coincidence of his adoption of serial methodology in the 1950s with the markedly stronger emphasis on 'academic' forms is still more telling; does the conspicuous presence of canonic principles in Stravinsky's serial output imply a greater creative 'need' than before?

Stravinsky later recalled the 'slow climb through the 1950s' (*T&E*, p. 23), and, indeed, this period of assimilation and consolidation of new techniques was nothing if not protracted and challenging. Furthermore, he felt his present music to be 'denser', containing 'three times as much music for the same clock length'--speaking of *Agon*--as some of his earlier music (*Conversations*, p. 25). This opinion is expressed at greater length in a letter of 11 February 1956 to Alessandro Piovesan, in which Stravinsky explains why *Canticum Sacrum* was so much shorter than the *Biennale* committee had expected:

> ... the contrapuntal line of my music today--which is by no means an unknown fact makes it a must to keep the duration of a composition strictly within rigid limits [*sic*]. This is due to the requirements and possibilities of the human ear and because this kind of music is of the densest kind. [*Nachlass* 97:610708-9]

The attitude expressed is simultaneously defiant and slightly defensive, almost as if Stravinsky were seeking to pre-empt criticism of the growing contrapuntal element in his music. To some extent, his increasing reliance on canonic principles must be attributed to their intrinsic potential for structural extension; after Stravinsky's renunciation of the tonally-orientated forms of his 'neoclassical' works, the problem of prolonging the musical material of a work became more acute. His manifold response, as we have observed elsewhere, was to construct different types of compositional framework whose very restrictions acted as a stimulus, and it is in this context that his greater emphasis on canonic writing is most readily understood. Indeed, the curious

lack of sketching for the canonic sections of *Canticum Sacrum* almost implies that Stravinsky was actually taking refuge in rigour, and that he considered the serial clothing of the chosen canonic structures (undertaken in earnest only at the sketch draft stage) to be a comparatively undemanding means of sustaining large-scale form. The late decision to repeat the canon in 'Caritas' is a case in point. Included, we are told, to accommodate a late insertion of text, this repeat seems rather to have been implemented solely as a means of lengthening the work after Stravinsky had been warned of Piovesan's dismay over the brevity of the piece (see Appendix C, events of October and November 1955, pages 289-90). By the time the composer sent the repeat of the 'Caritas' canon to Boosey & Hawkes, he had completed 'Spes', 'Fides' and the fourth movement (hence the awkward 'bis' numbering in the score); the repeat actually contributes nothing to the musical flow of the movement, while the new text itself merely amplifies the message of the first statement of the canon.

Leaving aside Stravinsky's endorsement of canonic principles for purely structural purposes, his keen interest in contrapuntal means of composition is a direct reflection of his recent 'discovery' of much older contrapuntal traditions. As early as 1952, in an interview with Jay S. Harrison of the *New York Herald Tribune*, Stravinsky himself associates his very contrapuntal Cantata of 1952 with his new esteem for early music, especially that of Isaak, explaining that

> As never before, I am today interested in purely contrapuntal music. ... Dufay, Machaut, and most of all Heinrich Isaak. ... He is my hobby, my daily bread. I love him. I study him constantly. And between his musical thinking and writing and my own there is a very close connection. ... I came to him *poco a poco*. It is his contrapuntal mentality that interests me. ... Every note contributes to the total effect and especially fascinating for me are the intervals. ... I have always been interested in intervals.[13]

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[13] *New York Herald Tribune* (21 December 1952), section IV [*Nachlass* 93:592822]. Jay S. Harrison's rare status as a reporter whom Stravinsky apparently trusted is suggested first by the many important interviews granted him by the composer and later carefully preserved in the *Nachlass*, and secondly by the fact that

And later in the same interview:

> I have tremendous respect for the discipline imposed upon the twelve-tone man. It is a discipline that you find nowhere else.

But Stravinsky was soon to find the same discipline in the contrapuntal tradition of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. The connection between serial and contrapuntal composition becomes more explicit in *Conversations*:

> The rules and restrictions of serial writing differ little from the rigidity of the great contrapuntal schools of old. ... The serial technique I use impels me to greater discipline than before. (*Conversations*, p. 25)

The association is taken to its logical conclusion in the scores of *Canticum Sacrum*, *Threni* and the tiny *Double Canon*, where the serial forms are distributed according to the precepts of imitative part-writing.[14] Glenn Watkins (1986) understands Stravinsky's present use of canonic techniques as a central synthesis between serial and older contrapuntal schools:

> Stravinsky, whose historical sense was acute, no doubt understood that the compatibility of the canon with the series made it a natural agent for the dissolution of old boundaries and for a technical reconciliation with powerful historical implications. A composer always in search of rules whereby he might play the game, Stravinsky in the 1950s found in canon a wedge to the future as well as a bridge to the past. (Watkins, 1986, pp. 245-6)

But his seemingly insatiable appetite for earlier music was not confined to the

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these clippings have not been defaced with the usual impatient marginal annotations or exclamation marks accompanying any perceived banality.

[14] In this respect, too, Stravinsky's coupling of the première of *Canticum Sacrum* with music by Schütz and Monteverdi (see Appendix C, pp. 292-3) is interesting; in a letter to Ernst Roth, Craft explained that 'old music came to be the program filler and specifically old music that Mr Stravinsky regards as stylistically kin' (letter of 6 June 1956, B&H archive).

Renaissance: an encounter with the recent past, as embodied in the works of Anton Webern, stimulated a musical relationship that was to develop and flourish in Stravinsky's music of the latter half of the decade. Stravinsky's introduction to the music of Webern--which was effectively stage-managed in the early 1950s by Robert Craft--is reflected above all in the Pas-de-Deux of *Agon* (and hence will be discussed much more fully in Chapter 7), but several commentators have also detected the influence of Webern in the composition of *Canticum Sacrum*, suggesting in particular the model of his Second Cantata, op. 31 (1941-3) for the 'Caritas' canon. Craft informs us that 'Stravinsky was familiar with the sound of the Webern Cantatas and of the instrumental songs at a time when some of these works had not yet been performed in Europe' (1957a, p. 13), and the *Sammlung Robert Craft* (PSS) contains a memento of this familiarity in the form of a pencil copy, in Stravinsky's hand, of the canonic final movement of Webern's Second Cantata. Both Craft (1956) and Vlad (3/1978) single out this sixth and final movement in connection with Stravinsky's 'Caritas' canon, though the Cantata's third movement, too, is saturated with canonic structures. Certain features of the canonic writing in 'Caritas'--such as the wide intervallic leaps in the individual lines--are indeed reminiscent of Webern, but it was the fundamental principle behind a serial canon, as applied by Webern, that appealed to Stravinsky: a rhythmically-strict canon that allowed any permutation of a given twelve-tone row as subject.[15] The technical similarities between the two composers' serial canons are, however, outweighed by their different sound worlds, Stravinsky's more thematic in their melodic shape and rhythmic form, more 'harmonic' in their counterpoint, and Webern's more motivically conceived and presented.

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[15] A draft of the choral canon of 'Caritas' (sketchleaf **CS**36) bars each voice independently, in doubled note values (minim = 72), according to its own metrical phrasing. It therefore recalls the appearance of the sixth movement of Webern's op. 31 more strongly than does the final, printed version of Stravinsky's canon.

Interviewed in 1959, Robert Craft recalled Stravinsky's first dodecaphonic experiments with the following words:

> At first the twelve-tone system seemed to him like a strait-jacket, but he likes strait-jackets, likes to conquer the artistic problems they impose. And he did conquer the problem of the serial technique, which soon began to suggest all kinds of design and structural possibilities to him.[16]

And although Stravinsky's twelve-tone journey was still in its early stages, the work he wrote in 1955 for the Venice *Biennale* already shows something of the diversity of these 'design and structural possibilities'; in addition, the composing of *Canticum Sacrum* had nourished Stravinsky's growing confidence in the language of dodecaphony, and long before its première he had taken up the postponed ballet *Agon* with renewed vigour and a readiness to attempt more sophisticated serial structures.

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[16] Interview with Craft by Jay S. Harrison in the *New York Herald Tribune* (20 December 1959), section IV, p. 5 [*Nachlass* 102:630237-8].

CHAPTER 6
THE SECOND PAS-DE-TROIS

I. THE BRANSLE SIMPLE

Stravinsky, De Lauze and the Bransle Simple

Returning to *Agon* after the interlude devoted to the Venetian commission, Stravinsky began work on the group of three bransles that forms the ballet's Second Pas-de-Trois. None of the sketchleaves for the first bransle (the Bransle Simple) is dated, but Stravinsky signed the sketch draft of the next dance (the Bransle Gay) on 8 June 1956; almost certainly, composition of both these dances followed Stravinsky's arrangement of the Bach chorale-variations *Vom Himmel hoch* in the spring of 1956, as Robert Craft affirms (1957b, p. 284). There is no evidence to support Sabine Jahnke's claim (1971, p. 594) that the first bransle stemmed from the same phase of composition as the early Fanfare (that is, around December 1953). Furthermore, some sketchleaves have Bransle Simple workings on one side and material for the Bransle Gay on the other (for example, **A**133 and **A**132), suggesting that the two dances were chronologically close.

It was during the working-out of this section of the ballet that Stravinsky first made significant use of the manual of seventeenth-century French court dances sent by Lincoln Kirstein in August 1953, ostensibly to stimulate the composer's enthusiasm for the project.[1] Of the individual dances mentioned by name in Kirstein's enticing

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[1] *Apologie de la Danse*, published in 1623 by the French dance master Fernand De Lauze; as noted in Chapter 2 the copy sent to Stravinsky was not the original but the modern English version, translated, edited and with a commentary by Joan Wildeblood, and subtitled *A Treatise of Instruction in Dancing and Deportment* (London, 1952). This modern edition presents De Lauze's original French text on the verso sides with the English translation on the facing rectos, and adds a valuable section of illustrative musical transcriptions (prepared by Eduardo M. Torner) from Marin Mersenne's huge and influential treatise, *Harmonie universelle*, published seven

accompanying letter (31 August, quoted in full in Chapter 2, page 38), only the bransle found its way into the final ballet score:

> [Balanchine] would like a ballet which would seem to be the enormous finale of a ballet to end all the ballets the world has ever seen--mad dancing, variations, pas d'actions, pas de deux, etc. ... He suggested a competition before the gods; ... the gods are tired and old; the dancers re-animate them by a series of historic dances, the correct tempi of which you can quite ignore--but they are called courante, bransle, passepied, rigaudon, menuet, etc. etc. ... It would be in the form of a suite de danses, or variations, numbers of as great variety as you pleased.
>
> (Quoted from the original [*Nachlass* 42:450692], punctuation altered; reprinted in *SSC-I*, pp. 286-7)

Although it was only a few days after receiving this letter and the dance manual that Stravinsky had decided to compose a 'Concerto for the dance' (as he explained in a letter of 9 September 1953 to Kirstein [*Nachlass* 42:450693]), the presence in the completed ballet of the seventeenth-century French court dances described by De Lauze cannot be discerned on a purely audible level; we must delve deeper into the compositional history of the dance movements to discover how and to what extent Stravinsky incorporated elements of the old into the new.

The only passages in *Apologie de la Danse* that the composer took the trouble to annotate are those relating to the group of dances known as bransles. In those portions of the text by De Lauze himself, we find, a little disappointingly, no more than one or two isolated underlinings in passages concerned with certain characteristic steps of the Bransle Gay. But Stravinsky paid closer attention to the commentary section 'Simplified instructions, with notes and comparisons with contemporary documents for deportment and dancing' supplied by De Lauze's modern editor, Joan Wildeblood. On page 194 Stravinsky underlined information on the names, order and relative tempi of the first two dances in the *Suite* of bransles described by De Lauze. Such a *Suite*,

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years after De Lauze's manual (Paris, 1636).

Wildeblood suggests, was customarily used to begin a Ball, always (in De Lauze's time) following the same sequence of dances: five Bransles rounded off by a 'Gavot'.[2] As in Stravinsky's shorter 'suite', the first dance (Bransle Simple) was fairly slow and was followed by a quicker Bransle Gay. Stravinsky did not annotate the instructions for the third and fourth dances, but represented them with his own Bransle Double nonetheless; the original dances were the Bransle de Poitou (slightly quicker than the Bransle Gay and known also, we are told on page 204, as the Bransle à Mener--a snippet acknowledged by further underscoring) and the Bransle Double de Poitou, which was quicker still. The fifth dance was the very fast Bransle de Montirande, while the last in the full suite of six dances, the much slower 'Gavot', allowed the dancers to catch their breath; these failed to engage Stravinsky's attention, either editorially or musically. The overall metric scheme moved from a duple metre (Bransle Simple) to triple metre for the next three dances and back to duple for the last two. It comes as no surprise to find that *Agon*'s bransles retain the very structural features--tempi, order and metres--described by the seventeenth-century instructor via his twentieth-century editor.

Stravinsky's specific interest in bransles is again reflected in the appended section of musical examples transcribed from Marin Mersenne's treatise, in which only three dances, all of them bransles (the Bransles Gay, de Poitou and Double de Poitou) receive any attention from Stravinsky's red pen. As expected, Mersenne's dances

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[2] As opposed to the *Suite* described in Arbeau's treatise *Orchésographie* (Langres, 1588), which describes the fashionable French society dances of the sixteenth century. Thoinot Arbeau--the pen-name of Jehan Tabouret (1519-95)--describes a *Suite* of four Bransles: Bransle Double, Bransle Simple, Bransle Gay and 'Bransle de Bourgoyne', with other dances to follow. The content, order, names, tempi and metres of the *Suite* of Bransles given in Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle* are identical with De Lauze's (Mersenne, unlike De Lauze, supplies the name of the fifth dance, the Bransle de Montirande): see 'Proposition XXIV: Expliquer toutes les sortes de Bransles dont on use dans la France, tant aux Balets, & aux Bals, qu'aux autres recreations', in *Harmonie universelle*, Première partie (*Traitez de la voix, et des Chants* [third 'Traitez']), Livre second ('Des Chants'), pp. 167-9.

reinforce the metrical information supplied in the text. Once he had arrived at a representative selection of bransles for inclusion in his own curtailed suite, Stravinsky's research provided him with a ready-made framework for the Second Pas-de-Trois.

Among the *Agon* source materials is a substantial rhythmic sketch which, despite the handwritten heading 'Bransle Simple', cannot be related to any part of the final score. Such is the scarcity of sketchleaves that show completely unused material that an outside factor may be suspected; and indeed, despite certain minor discrepancies there can be little doubt that this sketch was undertaken as a rhythmic transcription of the (unannotated) Bransle Simple given in the dance manual. Example 6.1 shows an excerpt from the beginning of this dance, together with the corresponding excerpt from Stravinsky's rhythmic transcription (in its original layout, sketchleaf **A**132v).

The motive behind this transcription is obscure. A comparison of the Mersenne example with *Agon*'s own Bransle Simple soon rules out any question of direct transplantation of rhythmic features from the older dance, and even the intriguing bracket--beneath which Stravinsky carefully numbers the three minim beats, as though this rhythmic fragment were being singled out for some important future role--remains undeveloped both in the subsequent series of sketches and in the complete score of the ballet. The Bransle Simple rhythmic transcription, then, was an unrewarded labour; Stravinsky would find the De Lauze/Mersenne collaboration more fruitful in the second and third bransles, which will be examined fully below.[3]

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[3] It is possible that Stravinsky retained one further feature of the seventeenth-century Bransle Simple described by De Lauze; according to Craft (1957b, p. 285) an engraving showing two trumpeters accompanying a Bransle Simple inspired the trumpet duet of Stravinsky's version. But in the manual the dance depicted is identified only as 'a bransle' and Stravinsky has not indicated in any way that the engraving caught his attention. Andriessen and Schönberger (1989, p. 210) state that 'The two trumpets that play [the canon] in *Agon* come from yet another seventeenth-

Hexachordally-conceived serialism in the Bransle Simple

Having laid aside any plans to base his Bransle Simple on an earlier dance model, Stravinsky produced a fascinating sequence of sketches that chart some of the many twists and turns of his developing serial technique. The serialism displayed in the first two bransles is rooted in presuppositions of dodecaphony, but neither dance is fully twelve-tone in any conventional sense. Stravinsky's handling of hexachords as autonomous serial units is carried to much greater lengths than in *Canticum Sacrum*, and this new direction in his compositional method lends to the Second Pas-de-Trois sketches a flavour of experimentation; his increasing awareness of the structural possibilities of serial combination and relationships of internal patterning is reflected in a greater concentration on simple and complex note-row manipulations.

The first two bransles take two separate hexachords as their respective 'primary' series. The primary hexachord of the Bransle Gay is the complement, transposed up a tone, of the Bransle Simple primary hexachord. (The Bransle Double realizes the veiled twelve-tone potential of these two primary hexachords as they are combined--again at different transpositional levels--into a single series, thus making this third bransle the first entirely dodecaphonic movement in the ballet.) In addition, the Bransle Simple and the Bransle Gay both make brief use of (different) 'subsidiary' hexachordal series. The relationships between row forms and the rather complicated sequences of derivation are clearly set out in the sketches to be discussed below.

The various series of the Second Pas-de-Trois are shown in Example 6.2, which uses the following terminology:

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century French book on dance', though they neither name this other manual nor cite the source of their information.

sP^0 = Bransle Simple, primary hexachord
sS^0 = Bransle Simple, subsidiary hexachord (and **s**SI^0 = inversion of subsidiary hexachord, etc.)
gP^0 = Bransle Gay, primary hexachord
gS^0 = Bransle Gay, subsidiary hexachord
P^0 = Bransle Double, primary twelve-tone series

(P^0(a) and P^0(b) signify the first and second hexachords of P^0)

The method of serial identification adopted here aims to distinguish between the hexachords of the Bransles Simple and Gay by adding to their serial forms the prefixes **s** and **g** respectively. This nomenclature also seeks to avoid--on account of the ambiguity invited by the different transpositional levels--connotations of complementarity between the hexachords of the Bransle Simple and those of the Bransle Gay. The designations (a) and (b) are reserved for the obviously-complementary first and second hexachords of the Bransle Double's twelve-tone series. The absence of a prefix from the Bransle Double series is intended to stress P^0's standing as a conjunction of hexachordal forms from the first two bransles. The alternating tones and semitones of **s**P^0 and P^0 once again bring to mind the busy motivic material of the Double and Triple Pas-de-Quatres and the intervallic structure of the first twelve-tone series of *Agon* (employed in the First Pas-de-Trois Coda), and in so doing extend a unifying thread that runs through the ballet.

The ternary structure of the Bransle Simple is outlined by the return of the memorable opening trumpet canon in an embellished reprise that heralds the final section of the movement; its ABA' form is immediately recognizable. To emphasize this structure still further, the same cadential formula is retained for each of the three sections. Stravinsky's criteria for serial choice are easily detected in Example 6.3, which gives the A section in reduced score, for the various hexachords are quite clearly linked according to the twin principles of shared pivotal pitches and invariance of pitch class content.

In the opening $\mathbf{s}P^0$-$\mathbf{s}I^9$-$\mathbf{s}P^0$ sequence, the transpositional level of the inversion preserves the D-B intervallic span of the prime form and allows an uninterrupted return to the first element (D) of $\mathbf{s}P^0$, ready for the second, more extended flight. The correspondence of these opening hexachords is strengthened by the number of shared, or invariant, pitch classes: four, which is the maximum invariance under inversion for this hexachord. The maximum invariance under transposition is three pitch classes, and it is perhaps significant that two of the remaining successive row pairs in this sequence, $\mathbf{s}P^0$-$\mathbf{s}P^7$ and $\mathbf{s}P^7$-$\mathbf{s}R^6$, exhibit this condition.

The development of the trumpet canon, from the first fragmentary jotting to its final form, occurs on a single, important sketchleaf (**A**014r). The first notation is brief, resembling the opening of the trumpet canon but using a different ordering of the primary hexachord: see Example 6.4a (serial labels added). This fragmentary thematic idea is abandoned before all six pitch classes of the hexachord have appeared--perhaps on account of the undesired reappearance of the E--and a hurried wavy line through the staff ushers in the inevitable note rows (now with the 'correct' pitch sequence).[4] The procedure we are witnessing illustrates Stravinsky's revealing comments in the first chapter of *Conversations* ('About composing and compositions'):

> When my main theme has been decided I know on general lines what kind of musical material it will require. I start to look for this material, ... sometimes starting directly to improvise rhythmic units on a provisional row of notes (which can become a final row). I thus form my building material. (p. 16)

If this sketchleaf represents all the preliminary ideas for the Bransle Simple's primary hexachord, the origins of the 'final row of notes' are slight indeed. But the intervallic

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[4] Both here and on sketchleaf **A**133v Stravinsky gives a transposed form of the retrograde inversion: $\mathbf{s}RI^9$ [=$\mathbf{s}IR^3$]. This was presumably in recognition of the boundary pitches, D and B, held in common with the primary hexachord $\mathbf{s}P^0$. It is somewhat surprising, then, that the rich potential of the $\mathbf{s}RI^9$ form is exploited neither in the sketches nor in the final version of the dance.

sequence of this hexachordal note row has appeared elsewhere in Stravinsky's oeuvre: it is a direct replica of the first six elements of the seven-tone row identified in certain sections of the Septet's first movement (see Chapter 3, pages 63-4). Example 6.4b, which presents the Septet's heptachordal row against sP^0, highlights the extraordinary resemblance between them. Interestingly, the two rows both make use of the initiating D-E-F-G tetrachord or, expressed numerically, the (0 2 3 5) *octatonic* segment (where 0 refers to the lowest pitch contained within the tetrachord, its other three elements being measured in semitones above this 'base' pitch), whose appearance in Stravinsky's 'Russian' pieces van den Toorn (1983, pp. 66-9) deems to be characteristic. This is the octatonic tone-semitone-tone ordering also identified in *Agon*'s first twelve-tone row, in the Coda, and echoed in the row of the tenor solo in *Canticum Sacrum*.[5]

Again, there is nothing in the sketches to indicate active derivation of the later series (the Bransle Simple hexachord) from the earlier row. But whether this hexachord had been 'borrowed' knowingly from the Septet or had been 'invented' anew, the giving way of the thematic to the sternly serial on sketchleaf **A**014r is rather symbolic of Stravinsky's changing compositional perspective; by now serial writing not only sustained a greater proportion of the musical argument, but was becoming fundamental to his methods of generation. Only when the note rows had been clarified, first in his mind and then on paper (as in Example 6.4a), was Stravinsky able to construct and bring the trumpet canon to life: the next, two-stave sketch on **A**014r records the complete trumpet canon, as yet not entirely finalized rhythmically but with confident serial labels. The brief, tentative sketch for the canonic theme that precedes the note rows of Example 6.4a scarcely acquits Stravinsky of contradicting his assertion that 'I certainly did not (and never do) begin with a purely serial idea' (*M&C*, p. 105),

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[5] Van den Toorn discusses octatonicism in the set of Bransles in terms of pitch-collectional affinities (1983, pp. 400-403, 406-8).

for he now appears to rely more heavily on the note row as a central source from which early sketches are developed. The principle of 'thematic sculpting' from a given note row, applied extensively during the working-out of the First Pas-de-Trois Coda, is subtly becoming integral to Stravinsky's working method. But the sketches for the Bransle Simple expose another technique that represents a new compositional departure for him. In addition to deriving contrapuntal or accompanimental material from a note row, we now observe him for the first time manipulating a primary series in order to produce a subsidiary series, which would in turn be used as a basis for further thematic sculpting.

The subsidiary hexachord of the Bransle Simple is introduced as a bass clarinet counterpoint to the trumpet duet in the A' section of the movement (bars 298-304). This new series is developed on **A**014v--the verso of the trumpet canon sketching described above--and the whole leaf taped down the length of its side to the only draft of the Bransle Simple (**A**013r). Although it is impossible to determine when the two sketchleaves were joined, a tempting notion is that Stravinsky fixed the earlier sketchleaf **A**014 into position before starting the draft, for ease of reference during composition. This idea becomes plausible when we take stock of the contents of sketchleaf **A**014: on one side the primary hexachord and its other manifestations, as shown in Example 6.4a, together with the trumpet canon and an early sketch for the clarinets' repeated cadential phrase (bars 285:4-287, 294:4-297 and 305:4-308), and on the verso, intricate hexachordal workings that result in the generation of the subsidiary hexachord before expanding through further permutation into successions of related hexachords. The two sides of this rather small sketchleaf therefore contain the essence of the whole movement except the first half of the B section (roughly, bars 288-93), and could well have acted as a guide during the construction of the draft.

The serial structures on sketchleaf **A**014v confirm that the subsidiary hexachord

sS^0 was actively derived from the hexachordal collection complementary to the primary hexachord **s**P^0; its origins in this complementary collection imply that Stravinsky may even have considered **s**S^0 to satisfy some personal condition for (pseudo-)dodecaphonic completeness. The same source collection would also furnish him with the primary hexachord of the Bransle Gay, and therefore forms a fragile bond between the two dances. The intertwining of their serial relations is expressed by Charles Wolterink as follows:

> ... the subsidiary row of the 'Bransle Simple' is a transposition and permutation of the primary row of the 'Bransle Gay', and the subsidiary row of the 'Bransle Gay' is a transposition and permutation of the primary row of the 'Bransle Simple'. (1979, p. 281)

Example 6.5 presents **s**P^0, its complementary hexachordal collection and the subsidiary hexachord **s**S^0. The subsidiary hexachord is formed from a reordering of the complementary collection, transposed up four semitones.

In the sketches for the Bransle Simple this process of derivation is illustrated more fully. Near the top of sketchleaf **A**014v are four brief and obviously interrelated sketches; numbered from (i) to (iv) for ease of reference, these are shown in Example 6.6, which preserves the spacing and positioning of the original notations. The abandoned sketch (i) is likely to have been the first attempt at ordering the hexachordal collection complementary to **s**P^0. As this is the first time that the pitches of this collection have appeared (in a hexachordal context) among the sketches, Stravinsky is simply arranging the elements of a hexachordal *collection* rather than *re*arranging the elements of a known, ordered hexachord. The subtraction of **s**P^0's pitch classes from the full twelve-tone chromatic has left six pitch classes still 'available' and ready for manipulation. Here the resulting pitch sequence is less important than the fact of the composer making rules for himself: the adoption of the principle of complementarity,

however momentary its application, reflects his ever-present need to form some sort of rationale for his compositional method.

A second attempt at ordering the six-note collection follows in sketch (ii) of Example 6.6. But for the reversal of the first two pitch elements, A^b and B^b, the intervallic sequence now resembles that of the subsidiary hexachord **s**S. The necessary alteration is made in sketch (iv)--probably the next to be completed--to reach the evidently satisfactory interval succession of row **s**S, though the transposition level of the prime form **s**S^0 has not yet been consolidated. In sketch (iii), Stravinsky tries out a different transposition, starting on C#, but this pitch level would also soon be rejected. The degree of rhythmic correspondence to the opening of the trumpet canon increases through the sequence, so that sketches (iii) and (iv) are identical rhythmically and metrically with the **s**P^0 statement with which the canon begins.[6] This correspondence invites speculation that Stravinsky was planning either a second canon or a double canon, perhaps for the B section of the dance, taking the subsidiary hexachord as subject but retaining the rhythm of the original trumpet canon. But such conjectures are dispelled by the next sketch in the sequence, Example 6.7, which appears a little further down the page; though still based on hexachord permutations, pitch and rhythm are now divorced. This latest sketch also transposes the subsidiary hexachord up one semitone further to reach its final transpositional level, starting on D, a revision that appears to reflect considerations of pitch class invariance between the various hexachords deployed in the dance. Were the subsidiary hexachord **s**S to start on C#, as in sketch (iii), it would share three pitch classes with the primary hexachord **s**P^0 (B, F# and F), whereas with a prime transpositional level on D, **s**S^0 has no fewer than four

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[6] The rhythmic outline of the canon's opening **s**P^0 statement and of sketches (iii) and (iv) is jotted at the top of sketchleaf **A**014v, probably to confirm rather than to guide, since sketches (i) and (ii) do not conform to this outline.

pitch classes invariant with $\mathbf{s}P^0$ (D, E, F and G). Its close degree of correspondence with the primary hexachord is emphasized still further by their shared first pitch element. In other words, the revision strengthens the relationship between the two Bransle Simple series and therefore affects the unity of the whole dance.

The serial sequence shown in Example 6.7 adds to the newly-found $\mathbf{s}S^0$ hexachord its own inversion, transposed to begin on the final pitch element of the prime: $\mathbf{s}SI^2$. The inversion of any series so transposed will lead back to the very pitch with which the prime had started. This juxtaposition of prime and inversion was especially appealing to one so enamoured of linear serial presentation, for it made possible an immediate, overlapping repeat of the untransposed prime. Stravinsky uses this type of construction twice during the course of this short movement: in the opening $\mathbf{s}P^0$-$\mathbf{s}I^9$-$\mathbf{s}P^0$ chain of the trumpet canon, whose serial structure is discussed above, and later in the subsidiary serial sequence $\mathbf{s}S^0$-$\mathbf{s}SI^2$-$\mathbf{s}S^0$ heard as a bass clarinet/harp counterpoint to the repeat of the canon (bars 298-304). The subsidiary sequence, given at sounding pitch in Example 6.8, quite clearly originates in the sketch shown as Example 6.7. In addition to its set linkage capacities, the inversional component of this succession ($\mathbf{s}SI^2$) shows properties of close pitch class invariance with both the primary and the subsidiary hexachords of the movement: four pitch classes are held in common with $\mathbf{s}S^0$ and five with the primary hexachord $\mathbf{s}P^0$.

Because the intricate selective procedures charted in the sketches result in a greater emphasis on the similarities between the various row forms of the dance, they imply that Stravinsky intended the subsidiary hexachord to be understood as directly related to the primary hexachord, despite its rather complex and obscure derivation from the latter's complement. The progress represented in the many scaffolds of note rows in the Bransle Simple sketches suggests that the seventy-five year old Stravinsky welcomed the increasing degree of complexity in his serial method, that he regarded

his fast-developing new techniques as something of a challenge to his own creative resources, and that he found serial composition ever more rewarding.

Lower down sketchleaf **A**014v, the subsidiary hexachord **s**S^0 is subjected to further manipulation in another intriguing sketch, reproduced in Example 6.9 (the arrows and numbers are on the original). Stravinsky's fascination with the properties of set linkage offered by transposed inversions is again apparent in an extended chain of such constructions which provides as clear an example as any of how he arrived at his final choice of hexachord transpositions: the concluding pitch of a row form dictates the transpositional level at which the next will start. Hexachords 1 and 2 are **s**S^0 and **s**SI^2 respectively (as in Example 6.7); hexachord 3 is **s**SR^{10}, or as Stravinsky saw it in this context, an inverted retrograde of hexachord 2, starting on the final pitch of that hexachord. Finally he adds **s**SIR^0, or rather an inversion of hexachord 3, starting on the final pitch of that hexachord. Each hexachord is conceived in terms of its relation to the one preceding it in the chain, in a derivative method of development that is so characteristic of Stravinsky's sketches of the 1950s; this method often led him to label the operation (inversion, retrograde, etc.) that must be applied to the previous note row in order to yield the present one, rather than the serial operation as applied to the untransposed prime.

In Example 6.9, the numbers assigned to the four hexachords and the arrows indicating potential pivotal pitches between hexachords represent the order in which the row forms should be sounded for maximum continuity. In a process similar to the earlier shaping of the trumpet canon, Stravinsky was in a position to fashion a musical line or whole passage from this chain of manipulated, interlocking hexachords; once again the approach is one in which considerations of pitch are fundamental. This time, however, the sequence was not used in its entirety in the final score. Despite their ability to extend the serial chain, hexachords 3 and 4 are not called upon to follow the

partnership of hexachords 1 and 2 in bars 298-304 (and Example 6.8).

Having consolidated the forms and methods of application of the two basic hexachords, the working-out of the Bransle Simple's B section was a simpler affair for Stravinsky was able to use material already sketched for the A sections as a basis for development. The process begins on sketchleaf **A**129 with the single-stave sketch shown in Example 6.10 (serial labels added). The serial forms are those of the first few bars of the dance, varied rhythmically and with a 'wider' intervallic distribution that became intrinsic to the B section, as Pieter van den Toorn notes:

> There is in the ... 'Bransle simple' a quite deliberately controlled fluctuation between a 'tight' and a 'loose' positioning of the set's intervals. This fluctuation coincides with its ABA structure, the canonic trumpeting of the A section giving near-exlusive vent to tighter arrangements (indeed, the tightest possible), the contrasting B or middle section to looser or more widely spaced interval-delineations. (1983, p. 403)

In its present state the musical line bears little resemblance to anything in the B section, but it was soon taken up and expanded in a second sketch (on **A**133v) that is unmistakeably a forerunner of bars 287:4 to 290. See Example 6.11, in which the serial numbers, though not the row form labels, are Stravinsky's. The pitches of the earlier version (Example 6.10) are modified in two ways to yield the material of the upper stave: the initial $\mathbf{s}P^{0}$ statement is transposed down a minor third to $\mathbf{s}P^{9}$, while the $\mathbf{s}I^{9}$ hexachord that followed does not end up on $\mathbf{s}I^{6}$ as might be expected, but is changed to $\mathbf{s}R^{8}$--a revision that seems to have been undertaken solely for the sake of variation. In addition, an accompanying line for which there is no preliminary sketching is added. The composer himself explains the serial structure of the sketch by numbering the elements of all but the first row form. The four hexachords represented in this simple structure account for the total musical fabric of the first half of the B section (up to and including bar 290), although note doublings, sustained tones and modifications of

rhythm lend to the final version a more complex texture. Stravinsky now had only to find a hexachord that would link the passage shown in embryonic form in Example 6.11 with the cadential passage (bars 293:4-298) transplanted from the A section. This was accomplished with the choice of row $\mathbf{sI}^{10}$, whose first two elements, C-B^{b}, are those with which the $\mathbf{sR}^{8}$ hexachord ends.

The sketch draft of the Bransle Simple (sketchleaf **A**013r) is the complete record that might be anticipated from all the meticulous working-out and prior documentation of the dance. It begins as a two-stave short score, rather oddly on the right-hand side of a double-page spread, adding staves as the number of musical lines increases and moving across to the left-hand side of the sketchleaf at bar 298. Despite becoming progressively untidier, the musical content of the draft differs only in minor details of duration or instrumentation--with one exception--while the promise of detailed dynamics and expression markings carried by the initial marking 'Var. (two male dancers); [minim] = 84; 2 trp stacc.' is fulfilled. In addition, Stravinsky labels several of the row forms and numbers their constituent pitches.

The one notable discrepancy between the draft and the final score concerns the placing of the subsidiary series counterpoint to the trumpet canon, discussed above with reference to sketchleaf **A**014r. On the draft, this bass clarinet theme was originally introduced during the *first* occurrence of the trumpet canon (A section, bars 278-84), in addition to its more familiar position beneath the repeat of the canon in the A' section (bars 298-304).[7] Stravinsky's original intentions were at some point overturned in favour of postponing the entry of the counterpoint; its first statement, on the right-hand page of the draft, is circled faintly in green with the inscription 'for the 2nd time (Cl. bass) 2nd [i.e. subsidiary] hexachord' and an arrow leading to the

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[7] In both its appearances in the draft, the fourth pitch (F) of the counterpoint's $\mathbf{sS}^{0}$ hexachord is assigned to the bass clarinet rather than to the harp (cf. final score, bars 300:2 and 303:4). This apart, the draft presents the theme fully fledged.

beginning of the reprise of the trumpet canon. The revision results in a subtle enrichment of the second canon through the addition of new material, ensuring that the listener's interest is sustained right to the end of the dance.

II. THE BRANSLE GAY

The second dance in the suite of three bransles displays that mastery of concision which had proved itself a powerful compositional tool many times in Stravinsky's career, and whose centrality to his musical language would continue to grow throughout his late years until it reached its ultimate expression in the exquisite miniatures of the 1966 *Requiem Canticles*.

In accordance with the guidelines laid down by De Lauze (to whom we shall be returning), the tempo has quickened and the underlying metre shifted from duple to triple time. Again the framework is provided by an ABA' format (bars 310-19; 320-331; 332-5), but whereas the A sections of the Bransle Simple were sustained by linear presentations of no fewer than eight different hexachords, here the A sections restrict themselves to a single row: the untransposed primary hexachord, $\mathbf{g}P^0$ (shown again in Example 6.12), presented harmonically throughout. With the forward motion provided by simple linear set linkage thus rejected, Stravinsky characteristically substitutes an alternative technique dependent on the play of conflicting rhythms. Paradoxically--bearing in mind its limitation of material--the dance seems more highly concentrated as a result; perhaps the Bransle Gay was one of the passages Stravinsky had in mind when he observed:

> I know that portions of *Agon* contain three times as much music for the same clock length as some other pieces of mine. (*Conversations*, p. 25)

Contrasted in many ways with the previous dance, the epigrammatic Bransle Gay

nonetheless enjoys the same lightness of touch, due in part to the delicate and widely-spaced chordal configurations, the subtly-placed accents and fleeting moments of silence, and, above all, to the delightful contradictions of the rhythmic motives of the flute and bassoon set against the unvarying triple-time castanet ostinato.

Stravinsky made few preliminary sketches for the musical content of the Bransle Gay, though hexachordal manipulations do cover two small sketchleaves, **A**130 and **A**132r. A useful guiding principle (though by no means an immutable law), borne out on numerous occasions by comparisons of relevant sketches, is that hexachordal workings which appear in isolation on a sketchleaf generally predate the main working-out of the movement concerned. Such notations either chart the development of the particular series itself (as in the shaping of the Bransle Simple's **s**S^0 hexachord on sketchleaf **A**014v, discussed in section 6.I above) or record selected forms of the series to act as an *aide-mémoire* during future compositional events. In later stages of composition, if the hexachords are written out again or have undergone new serial transformations that require notation, they generally share the same sketchleaf as the sketch draft (or whatever) which is occupying the composer at that stage. Although Craft's reference to sketchbooks in the following extract from 'A Personal Preface' implies a concern with sketching procedures earlier than those under scrutiny here (as discussed in Chapter 1), we may perhaps class purely hexachordal notations along with the 'early foundations' to which he refers:

> ... early foundations, melodic and motival 'jottings' and sketches of patterns were usually written on small scraps of paper, a stage before the sketch book score ... . (Craft, 1957a, p. 10)

We may predict, then, that the isolated hexachordal workings found on sketchleaves **A**130 and **A**132r were completed before Stravinsky began work on the musical substance of the Bransle Gay. Both sketchleaves are headed by row-form

orderings related to the Bransle Simple hexachords, strengthening our argument that the mutual serial interdependence exhibited by the two dances had been planned in advance. In this respect the fact that Stravinsky's rhythmic transcription of Mersenne's Bransle Simple occurs on the verso of the more complex of these two Bransle Gay sketchleaves, **A132**, assumes greater significance. For ease of reference, Example 6.12 shows the primary and subsidiary hexachords of the Bransles Simple and Gay once again.

Sketchleaf **A130** contains four hexachords, given in Example 6.13 (roman numbering added), all based on the six-note collection complementary to the Bransle Simple's **s**P^0 hexachord. The three rows labelled (i) share the same pitch class succession but with varying octave distributions, while hexachord (ii) is simply an unused reordering of the same pitches. Comparing Example 6.12, the primary hexachord of the Bransle Gay (**g**P^0) is revealed as row (i) transposed two semitones higher; alternatively, row (i) may be expressed as **g**P^{10}. Although these brief jottings disclose little about why Stravinsky chose this particular intervallic sequence for his new primary hexachord, they do confirm that this hexachord was not a 'free' or independent conception, but one initially derived from an earlier six-note row that is itself absent from this dance.

The second sketchleaf devoted almost exclusively to note rows (**A132r**, shown in its entirety in Example 6.14) gives similar information about **g**S^0, the new subsidiary hexachord. Again, Stravinsky follows a procedure of hexachordal selection, transposition and rearrangement, but this time the transposition is complete before he puts pen to paper. The first hexachord in Example 6.14 is **s**P^2, with elements 4 and 5 reversed; this is the pitch collection from which **g**S^0 is drawn. The hexachord marked 'T' for 'Theme' is **g**P^0, or Example 6.13's row (i) transposed to reach the prime level. Together the first two hexachords on sketchleaf **A132r** comprise the total chromatic; **g**P^0 and **g**S^0

are complementary.

Following row 'T' are its retrograde ($\mathbf{g}R^0$, on the same stave), inversion ($\mathbf{g}I^0$ beneath, labelled 'I') and inverted retrograde ($\mathbf{g}IR^0$, following 'I'). A large arrow leads from the final element of the inversion to the first element of another hexachord below; labelled 'C' for 'cancrizans', this is the retrograde of $\mathbf{g}I^0$, i.e. $\mathbf{g}RI^0$. Another arrow, leading obliquely from the final element (C^b) of this row down to the first element of the next, does not signify a retrograde but the twin processes of inversion and transposition to start on the final element of the earlier row; as suggested by Stravinsky's label--'CI' for 'cancrizans, inverted'--this final hexachord is actually a transposed inversion of the 'cancrizans' hexachord ($\mathbf{g}RI^0$) above: $\mathbf{g}R^1$.

Once again, the sketches show Stravinsky linking row forms through pivotal pitches, either by simple retrograding or by transposition plus inversion. But did he make use of this sequence, either in part or in its entirety, in the final score? Certain components of the hexachordal chain are found in the first seven bars of the B section (bars 321-7): the elegant flute melody with which the section begins is based on the row labelled 'cancrizans' ($\mathbf{g}RI^0$), while the row that follows in Example 6.14 ('CI' or $\mathbf{g}R^1$) enters in bar 324 (second flute, concluded by second clarinet). The 'early' entrance of 'CI' or $\mathbf{g}R^1$ disguises the pivotal C^b/B link shown so clearly in the sketch. The first clarinet contributes $\mathbf{g}P^0$ (bars 325:4-327:1). Only two rows in this passage are not accounted for by sketchleaf **A**132r: the $\mathbf{g}R^2$ hexachord of clarinet 2, bar 326, and the flutes' $\mathbf{g}P^{10}$ (bars 326:5-328:1), which leads up to the first statement of the subsidiary row $\mathbf{g}S^0$ in bar 328, and which had been amply represented on sketchleaf **A**130.

In contrast to the Bransle Simple, where the subsidiary row is used linearly to accompany the primary row in the second unfolding of the trumpet canon, the Bransle Gay confines its two rows to discrete blocks; the subsidiary row $\mathbf{g}S^0$ appears both linearly and chordally to build the total fabric of the short passage from bar 328:2

(ignoring the B^{b} held over by the second flute) to 331.

An early version of the first presentation of the subsidiary row is worked out in a tiny sketch--the only one on sketchleaf **A**132r to show rhythmic relationships--in the lower right-hand corner. It rearranges the elements of the first hexachord of Example 6.14 to produce a configuration that would be developed on the 'working draft' of the movement (see Example 6.15 below). The precise order of pitches in $\mathbf{gS}^{0}$ is slightly ambiguous even in the final score, as the pitch E sounds once in combination with G# as the third or fourth element (clarinets, bar 328) and once as the pivotal sixth element in the prime-retrograde succession (flutes/clarinets, bars 329-31). As the draft on sketchleaf **A**005 presents the subsidiary row no fewer than three times in the order C# A G# E G F#, this is the ordering followed in Example 6.12, though the hexachordal content of $\mathbf{gS}^{0}$ must be considered more important than the ordering of its elements.

However revealing the serial manipulations on these two sketchleaves, it is to the 'working draft' (**A**005) that our eyes are irresistibly drawn, for it is here that most of the compositional progress is recorded. This document, which fortuitously has been reproduced in *SPD*, p. 429, is interesting on several counts. An early version of the B section (starting bar 321) occupies the first system, continuing onto the second half of the system below; bars 329-31 are still relatively confused, but the constituent elements--linear and chordal statements of $\mathbf{gS}^{0}$--are present. Example 6.15 gives an extract from this early version (bars 327:3-*c*.330; the deletion is Stravinsky's).

The distinctive opening motives of the movement are sketched for the first time at the beginning of the second system on sketchleaf **A**005: see Example 6.16. The feature of the draft fragment that instantly commands attention (besides the unvaried 'reference' rhythm of the castanet, sketched above and below the system) is the fact that the components of the 'block', delineated by its barlines and changing metre, occur in a different order to either of its appearances in the published score (bars 311-14,

316-19). This passage has been singled out by van den Toorn as an example of the first of his so-called 'rhythmic-metric types'--a stimulating and apposite classification developed to explain two contrasting types of rhythmic organization frequently encountered in Stravinsky's works.[8] 'Type 1' passages are constructed, like the Bransle Gay, according to the principle of contrasting, alternating blocks of material; such passages are recognized by

> a changing (often rapidly changing) meter in which the fragments, lines, or parts, fixed registrally and instrumentally in repetition, share the same irregular rhythmic-metric periods as defined by the changing meter, and are hence synchronized unvaryingly in vertical (or 'harmonic') coincidence. ... [I]t is really this subtle lengthening and shortening of the rhythmic-metric periods of these reiterating fragments--upon successive (near) repeats of the blocks in question--that account for 'development' ... . (1983, pp. 138-9)

The contrasting 'Type 2' is usually characterized by a steady metric regularity that records the stable rhythmic-metric period of one repeating motive, while other motives (which are again fixed registrally and instrumentally, but which may or may not be of constant duration) repeat independently according to their own cycles. Their harmonic or vertical alignment, therefore, is constantly changing. (An example is the 'Procession of the Sage' from *The Rite of Spring*, where the 4/4 meter records the stable period of the tuba motive at figures 64-70.)

Van den Toorn identifies the juxtaposed blocks in the Bransle Gay as the repeating chordal statements in the flute, bassoon and harp (within which the irregular metre records the constituent 'cells'), and the punctuating solo castanet (bars 310, 315 and 320).

> The novelty, however, is that 'background' regular metric periodicity is imposed in the form of a *notated* (barred) second meter: from start to finish, a regular 3/8

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[8] See van den Toorn (1983, pp. 405-6, and 1987, p. 97ff.) for his discussion of the Bransle Gay's rhythmic-metric construction and (1983, pp. 138-9, 216-8 etc.) for the classification of rhythmic 'Types'.

metric pulse in the castanet. (1983, p. 405)

The foreground irregularity that qualifies the passage for its 'Type 1' badge may be expressed, for the first chordal block, as 7 + 5 + 5 + 7. At their subsequent appearance starting at bar 316 the four constituent cells of the block, unchanged instrumentally and registrally, are reordered so that the second pair of cells (originally bars 313-14) precedes the first pair, giving an 'inverted' metric scheme that may be expressed as 5 + 7 + 7 + 5. As van den Toorn notes (pp. 405-6), the 'cadencelike finality' of the concluding cell (bar 314) of the first block is thus avoided; the repetition is rendered more open-ended and conducive to the imminent arrival of new material (the B section).

Returning to the early formulation of this material in Example 6.16 from sketchleaf **A**005, we note that while the constituent cells are more or less fully developed (the connecting lines in the second bar, incidentally, confirm the pitch sequence of $\mathbf{g}P^0$), the notated metric scheme yields a different pattern of 5 + 5 + 2 + 5 + 5 + 2; or, expressed in the more familiar larger units, 5 + 7 + 5 + 7. Even at this early stage the passage has been carefully worked out against the castanet ostinato to ensure that the irregular chordal cells of 5 and 7 would arrive 'on time' with the reiterating triple-time fragment at the end of the block. This being so, why did Stravinsky take the trouble to rearrange these irregular cells into the 'mirror' schemes of the final score? First, we should note that the number of possible reorderings is limited by certain factors. Let us assume that each two-cell unit is required to contain one '7' and one '5' in order to regain metric coincidence with the reiterating castanet fragment at the start of the next unit, as is the case both in the sketch and in the score; in addition, the 'bridging' second bassoon line (see bars 313-14) makes necessary the preservation of this particular two-cell (5 + 7) unit. Two considerations follow. The

stability of the sketch's 'closed' metric pattern 5 + 7 + 5 + 7, which admits little innate sense of forward motion between the harmonically undifferentiated cells, is undesirable (as would be its reverse, 7 + 5 + 7 + 5); accordingly, the pattern is revised to 7 + 5 + 5 + 7 (cf. bars 311-14). Keeping in mind the restrictions outlined above, we are left with just one logical reshuffle of metric cells--to 5 + 7 + 7 + 5--on repetition of the block (cf. bars 316-19).

Another glance at sketchleaf **A**005 is enough to show that its riches are far from exhausted. The third system rearranges and expands the elements of Example 6.16 to form a sketch draft of the opening A section of the Bransle Gay. Now labelled 'cast. dance', this represents a great advance over the earlier sketch, notating the castanet ostinato in triple time throughout while following the newly-revised metrical schemes within the chordal blocks (as indicated by prominent single-number time signatures, '7's and '5's). Despite this progress, further compositional difficulties presented themselves in the form of pacing. Since the draft originally omitted the solo castanet interjections of bars 310, 315 and 320, the two statements of the four-bar chordal block were directly juxtaposed, together making for too lengthy a phrase. Fortunately, Stravinsky recognized the need for punctuation and remedied the situation immediately by indicating the insertion of the castanet fragments that follow each chordal block (the introductory bar 310 was added at a later stage). This inserted castanet material is accompanied by two interesting written annotations, both giving specific choreographic instructions. Beneath the first castanet solo interjection Stravinsky writes 'dancer only[,] <u>turning her head</u> to one of the male dancers'; beneath the second, 'solo dancing [*sic*] her head - to another male dancer'.

In his caption to the photograph of sketchleaf **A**005 in *SPD* (p. 429), Robert Craft says 'the page reveals that Stravinsky visualized choreographic movement as he composed; the *Agon* sketches include diagrams of the positions of the dancers at the

beginning of each movement'. Throughout his long career Stravinsky did indeed retain a strong love of and interest in dance, and his sensitivity to the needs of choreographers and dancers was attested on many occasions by that most prestigious of judges, George Balanchine--for example when announcing the New York City Ballet's 1972 Stravinsky Festival:

> [Stravinsky] made *musique dansante*. There have only been three who could do it. Delibes, Tchaikovsky, and Stravinsky. (Cited in Goldner, 1973, pp. 13-14)

Such tributes notwithstanding, Craft's caption implies a higher level of choreographic consideration *during composition* than Stravinsky actually gave, for sketchleaf **A**005 is the only one in the entire *Agon* collection to show both musical working and choreographic indications. True, Stravinsky and Balanchine had together drawn up their large structural plan (sketchleaf **A**001) in August 1954, but at that time Stravinsky had not yet started composition of the ballet 'proper' and the plan itself contains no musical notation (though the short 'Fanfare', later incorporated into the material of the Pas-de-Quatre, had been written the previous December). While the traditional forms of classical ballet and the Renaissance dance forms of the two Pas-de-Trois did influence formal and musical aspects of the ballet's composition, this is a different matter from 'visualizing' their actual choreographic gestures.

Presumably it is to the large structural plan that Craft's second rather misrepresentative assertion--that 'the *Agon* sketches include diagrams of the positions of the dancers at the beginning of each movement'--refers, for none of the later, musical sketchleaves give any indication of the dancers' starting positions. Even on the structural plan, the only dances to have such specific instructions are the opening Pas-de-Quatre ('At the start -> four boys standing back to the audience') and the final Coda of the Four Trios ('Coda des 3 quartets in imitation[:] same as before with a short

conclusion to give time to the 8 girls to leave and to the 4 boys to go back to their original position (back to the audience)'). As suggested in Chapter 2, these instructions were perhaps the composer's own contribution (the whole sketchleaf is in Stravinsky's hand), for they reappear, rather ostentatiously and in an edited form, in the published score at the beginning of the Pas-de-Quatre and towards the end of the final Coda respectively. For the other dances, Stravinsky simply draws 'stick' men and women on the structural plan to indicate the proposed performing forces. Similar shorthand representations of the performing forces for the individual dances are found on sketch-leaves **A**061 and **A**062, but again these are *pre*-compositional (they even predate the structural plan) and, disappointing though it is, give no evidence of Stravinsky 'visua-lizing choreographic movement as he composed'.

A re-examination of the De Lauze dance manual is more fruitful. In the section entitled 'On the Second Bransle' in De Lauze's 'Method for Gentlemen' (pp. 82-124), Stravinsky underlines the title of the second bransle (Bransle Gay) and the somewhat curious phrase 'both heels in rising on to the toes', and draws a box around 'rising on to the toes':

> The second [Bransle] is named the Bransle Gay, which is composed of four steps, and in order to get the cadence better begins with the last, by bending the knees a little so as to join both heels in rising on to the toes. (Wildeblood, 1952, p. 105, with Stravinsky's underlining)

Could it be that this phrase, which clearly struck a chord with the composer, in some way suggested the neatly-stepped rising flute lines of the chordal blocks? The idea is perhaps a little fanciful, yet there seems no other obvious reason for his careful annotation.

Less ambiguous is the direct influence of rhythmic features whose point of departure was the seventeenth-century Bransle Gay as described and illustrated in the

dance manual. The commentary section provided by Joan Wildeblood, within which most of Stravinsky's annotations are found, discusses Mersenne's belief that poets, musicians and composers of ballets and dances should study the ancient Greek rhythms in order to apply them to their own songs and dances (see pp. 195-6); his original 'Table des mouvemens, ou pieds mesurez' for Airs and Dances contains rhythmic feet based on the long and short syllables of the Greeks.[9] Mersenne finds an unlikely but willing disciple in Stravinsky, who, over the first few bars of the Bransle Gay given on page 155 of *Apologie de la Danse*, inscribes a series of rhythmic feet that reflects both the pattern of four steps mentioned by De Lauze in the extract above and the Greek rhythm that Mersenne identifies as appropriate to the dance; these bars are shown in Example 6.17 (Stravinsky is also responsible for the slurs). Just as Mersenne intended, Stravinsky uses the type of foot known as the ionic, here consisting of a short-short-long-long pattern (classical prosody also admits the 'greater' ionic: two long followed by two short syllables). His application of the rhythm is on a different scale to that suggested by Mersenne, who advocates one ionic foot to *two* bars of triple time (Wildeblood, p. 196)--though it is actually rather difficult to see how the ionic rhythm could fit the example from *Harmonie universelle* any more logically than Stravinsky's solution. This discrepancy, however, is unimportant beside the significance of Stravinsky's discovery of the 'correct' Bransle Gay rhythm, for it is, of course, this very pattern that sounds as an ostinato throughout his own version of the dance. With the composition of the movement at a comparatively advanced stage, Stravinsky inscribed a single ionic--again adopting the rhythmic notation used to represent Greek prosody--as an isolated working idea in the top left-hand corner of sketchleaf **A**005, clearly betraying the origins of his castanet ostinato.

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[9] The table appears in *Harmonie universelle*, Première partie, Livre second ('Des Chants'), p. 179, together with Mersenne's advocacy of the Greek rhythms.

III. THE BRANSLE DOUBLE

De Lauze, Mersenne and rhythmic structuring in the Bransle Double

As composition of *Agon*'s Second Pas-de-Trois progressed, Stravinsky grew steadily more inclined towards reinterpreting certain features of the seventeenth-century prototypes described by De Lauze and illustrated by Mersenne. In section 6.I we observed that his annotations in the dance manual were concerned almost exclusively with the information on bransles, and that many outward characteristics of his own 'Suite' of bransles--the Second Pas-de-Trois--were determined after consulting the commentary section supplied by De Lauze's editor, Joan Wildeblood. The last in this group of three dances, the Bransle Double, represents the seventeenth-century dances known as the Bransle de Poitou and the Bransle Double de Poitou. Though Stravinsky did not annotate the descriptions of these dances (third and fourth in the original *Suite* discussed by De Lauze), his markings on the relevant musical transcriptions from Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle* were the most extensive and carefully worked out in the manual. His Bransle Double relies on the manual not only for 'external' characteristics such as relative tempo and placement within the suite, but also, to a greater extent than does the preceding dance, for the fundamental compositional principle behind its rather complex rhythmic structuring.

The Bransle Double is essentially an elaborated ternary structure: AA'BA + Coda. The A sections of the movement, characterized by their linear serial presentations, each comprise an eight-bar phrase shared between trombone and trumpet against a widely-spaced violin counterpoint; the A' section (bars 344-51) adds a double counterpoint in the lower strings. In contrast, the texture of the central B section (bars 352-64) is determined by block-like alternation between reiterated verticalizations of one hexachord and repeated linear fragments of a second hexachord. The Coda (bars 373-86) returns to linearity, with a denser texture produced by the

simultaneous unfolding of several hexachordal layers, and lacks the rhythmic vitality that characterizes the rest of the dance.

On the unmarked page 196 of the *Apologie de la Danse* we find a short passage that would prove crucial to the structuring of the A section sketches. In discussing the different types of rhythmic feet (or patterns of steps) that identified the various dances, Wildeblood mentions that the rhythmic patterns were not always reflected by the musical divisions:

> These rhythmic feet were probably not always confined within the bars, as, for instance, in the Bransle Gay, where the rhythm is given as *short*, *short*, *long*, *long* for two bars of triple time, and in the Bransle de Poitou when *the rhythm is counted in five beats whilst the measure is triple*. (p. 196; the final emphasis is added)

This significant disclosure concerning the Bransle de Poitou's ambiguous rhythmic identity is corroborated by the description of metrical feet used in the bransles as given by Mersenne (discussed by Wildeblood on page 203, with the same information tabulated on page 218). The dance steps of the third Bransle (de Poitou) apparently used a sequence of 'peoniques', or five-beat rhythms, as follows: fourth peonique (short-short-short-long), first peonique (long-short-short-short), fourth peonique again; further, according to Mersenne (quoted on page 203), 'its measure is *sesquialtere*, or *hemiola*'.[10] Louis Andriessen and Elmer Schönberger's informed but fickle account of *Agon* touches upon this:

> Stravinsky stylizes the hemiola that Mersenne mentions (two times three beats divided into three times two beats) by having the trumpet and trombone continually play after the beat--or before the beat, or in four, or in leaving out the beat, in short, anything to trip up the 3/2 metre. (1989, p. 211)

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[10] 'Le troisiesme se nomme *Bransle à mener*, ou *de Poitou*, sa mesure est sesquialtere, ou hemiolia [*sic*] ... sa mesure est peonique'; Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, Première partie, Livre second, p. 167. Mersenne's 'Table des mouvemens, ou pieds mesurez' (p. 179) classifies the peoniques among the 'Mouvemens co[m]posez' (as opposed to the 'Mouvemens simples de deux & trois temps').

Their portrayal of the brass instruments as subverters of the triple metre descriptively captures the resultant rhythmic effect generated by Stravinsky's 'stylization' of Mersenne, but it does not begin to tell the full story.

The double-edged idea, derived from the early Bransle de Poitou, of a five-beat pattern expressed as a hemiola (rather than the iambic or short-long pattern of the Bransle *Double* de Poitou) provided Stravinsky with an initial compositional stimulus, although he applied the principle of a five-beat unit in his annotations to both dances.[11] Stravinsky's markings on Mersenne's musical examples provide ample evidence that he had read and digested the explanatory text, for his first objective is to reinterpret Wildeblood's statement that a five-beat rhythm could be counted despite the triple metre. Accordingly, he brackets together groups of notes perceived as containing five stressed beats. Example 6.18a shows the single bracket added to the first phrase of Mersenne's 'Bransle à Mener ou de Poitou'; the slur within the bracket is another Stravinskian addition, designed to make clear the duration of the fourth beat in the rhythmic unit. Example 6.18b gives Mersenne's 'Bransle Double de Poitou' in its entirety, again with slurs and brackets added by Stravinsky; the slur within the last bracket serves to emphasize the correspondence between this rhythmic pattern and that highlighted in Example 6.18a. The varying durations of the groups and the numbering within the brackets indicate that Stravinsky valued the property of quintuple-divisibility more highly than that of equal duration of the five constituent

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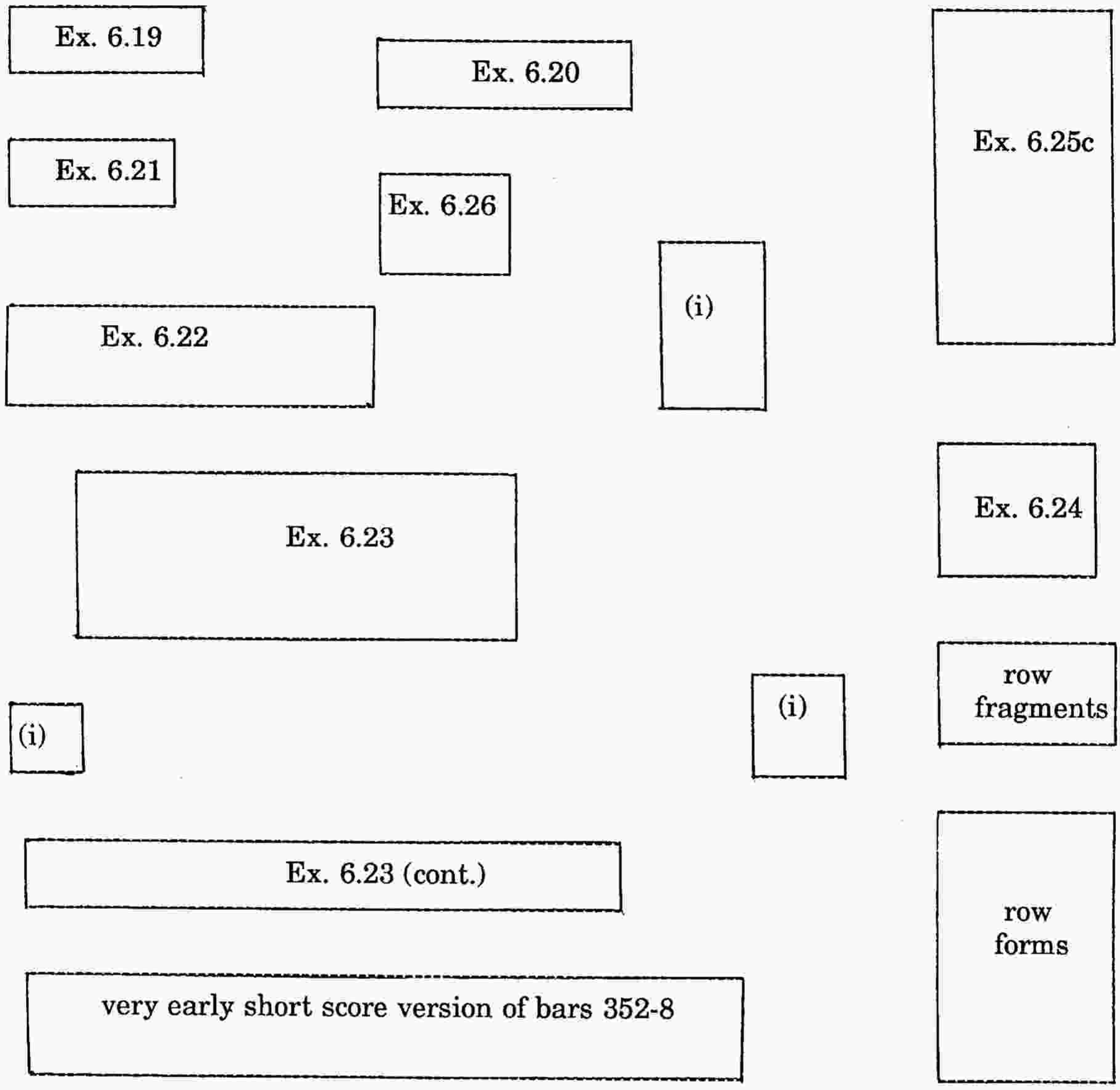
[11] Significantly, the earliest sketchleaf (**A**010) to carry any indication of the dance's name has 'Bransle de Poitou' written firmly at the start; only when Stravinsky came to label the verso of the final draft (**A**012v) did he refer to it as 'Bransle Double (de Poitou)', by which title it was entered in the programme for the New York première; to judge by the darker pencil and more slanting handwriting, the word 'Double' and the brackets around 'de Poitou' were added later. In the autograph full score the title 'BRANSLE DE POITOU' has been erased and replaced with 'BRANSLE DOUBLE' [*Nachlass* 122-0065], though the B&H archive photocopy still gives the 'DE POITOU' affiliation. All these factors indicate that the title change was a late revision.

elements--a conjecture that is confirmed in later sketches.

Though the internal rhythms of these five-beat units were not transcribed directly onto the relevant sketchleaves as working ideas, the underlying principle of retaining a five-beat rhythm against a triple metre proved immensely fruitful. This principle was taken up and developed in the dense workings of sketchleaf **A011v**. Since many of its sketches are discussed in the following pages, the whole sketchleaf is represented diagrammatically in Figure 6.1 (overleaf); added labels refer to Examples 6.19-6.26 and show their relative positioning on the leaf.

The concise rhythmic sketch shown in Example 6.19 appears at the top of the sketchleaf; somewhat overshadowed by the larger workings beneath, the sketch is nonetheless of great importance to the development of the rhythmic and structural subtleties of the Bransle Double. Here, Stravinsky effects a rationalization of the irregular five-beat rhythms of Example 6.18 by transferring their brackets and numbers to a new, regular five-beat rhythmic unit capable of being expressed within a steady 8/4 time signature. The hemiola noted by Mersenne is introduced and forcefully underscored by the addition of the conflicting triple time (3/2) metre of the original Bransle de Poitou. Only a simple calculation is required to work out the number of repetitions of each metric unit needed to bring them back into phase: three 8/4 units have the same duration as four 3/2 (or 6/4) units. The A sections of the final score (as in the first section of Mersenne's Bransle Double de Poitou) simply double the length of this early sketch to yield a phrase structure of eight 3/2 bars.

Figure 6.1: sketchleaf A011v



Note: (i) signifies short sketch related to chordal structures of B section.

The time had come for Stravinsky to assign pitches to his basic rhythmic scheme and thereby to establish a degree of independence from the seventeenth-century lead thus far followed. This step is lucidly illustrated in the first of a sequence of related sketches on sketchleaf **A**011v: see Example 6.20 (which omits Stravinsky's serial labels; they will be restored in Example 6.25b). On the upper stave the three occurrences of the five-beat unit are bracketed and numbered as before, while the slight elaboration of Example 6.19's rhythm brings the trombone/trumpet line initially heard in bars 336-43 clearly into focus. The whole sketch is written one semitone lower than in the final score, a discrepancy that will be discussed below; for the moment our concern is with the rhythmic working-out. A new bracket (above the stave) acknowledges the 8/4 metric implication of Example 6.19, and subdivides this five-beat rhythmic unit into groupings of 3 + 2 + 3. Stravinsky adds only one such bracket, but adheres to this pattern of subdivision throughout the entire passage.

Beneath, the lower stave records Stravinsky's first attempt to add the triple-time (3/2) counterpoint, at this stage writing only the second hexachord of the (transposed) twelve-note series in minims, plus an unpitched extension. (All of these workings draw on hexachordal permutations displayed systematically down the right-hand side of sketchleaf **A**011v.) Before tackling the continuation of Example 6.20, Stravinsky made a brief preliminary sketch of bars 340-41--still at a transpositional level one semitone lower--as shown in Example 6.21; the 3 + 2 + 3 subdivision of the five-beat, 8/4 unit is plainly visible.

A little further down the sketchleaf Example 6.22 resumes the working of Example 6.20, beginning with a more assured version of Example 6.21's early formulation of bars 340-41. Stravinsky's serial labels are again temporarily omitted. Barlines again chart the 3/2 metric outline of the (as yet unpitched) accompaniment--later the leaping violin counterpoint--and the brass duet is fast approaching its final

form.

Let us assess the current situation. The five-beat units initially derived from irregular note groupings marked on the Mersenne bransles are now expressed in terms of a large-scale 8/4 pattern, metrically subdivided into smaller groupings, and rhythmically so refined as to be unrelated to their intermediate, regular five-beat model (Example 6.19). In contrast, the underlying triple metre which would eventually gain notational precedence over the 8/4 groupings is represented only embryonically in terms of a rudimentary metric counterpoint.

This rather uneven state of affairs is to some extent balanced in the next substantial notation on sketchleaf **A**011v. Transcribed in Example 6.23, this comprises a short score of the first four bars of the dance, into which the first serial statement of the violin line is finally incorporated, followed by an unaccompanied extension showing the remainder of the brass duet. Still barred in 8/4 with dotted barlines to indicate the subdivisions, the brass duet has now attained its definitive rhythmic form except for the positioning of its last pitch; in the published score this final pitch is delayed in order to overlap with and inaugurate the immediate repeat of the first eight bars (at bars 344-51). Stravinsky again refers to the note rows on the far right-hand side of the sketchleaf in altering the triple-time violin counterpoint to make use of the full twelve-tone series, instead of the second hexachord alone as proposed rather tentatively in the sketch transcribed in Example 6.20. (The twelve-tone row of the Bransle Double is discussed in relation to the hexachords of the Bransles Simple and Gay in section 6.I above, and illustrated in Example 6.2. In brief, P^0(a) is identical to the primary hexachord of the Bransle Simple (**s**P^0), and in close formation P^0(b) shares the same intervallic structure as the primary hexachord of the Bransle Gay (**g**P^0).)

The metric interaction generated when the violin line is extended by the full retrograde inversion of its initial series (in bars 340-43) is anticipated in a brief sketch

whose position among the row forms down the right-hand edge of the sketchleaf renders its chronological position uncertain. Shown in Example 6.24, this sketch illustrates the familiar preliminary step of pitting the regular minim beats of the projected 3/2 violin material against the 3 + 2 + 3 subdivisions of the larger 8/4 units of the brass duet. The violin material is not worked out, however, until it appears fully fledged in the context of a much longer short score of bars 336-61 on sketchleaf **A**010, constructed with the aid of the appropriate retrograde inversion row form sketched to one side. Here again we witness the opposed metric schemes of the brass duet and the violins' counterpoint, but Stravinsky is still holding a rhythmic trump card up his sleeve; he plays it at bar 344, introducing the new lower strings' counterpoint on a separate stave, barred neither in 8/4 nor in 3/2, but in 2/2. (The prior development of this lower strings' line and the revised transpositional levels on sketchleaf **A**010 must, temporarily, await fuller discussion.)

Stravinsky persists in barring the trumpet/trombone line according to its 8/4 metre right up to the last sketchleaf for the Bransle Double (**A**012r), despite a separate revision that subjects the (previously 2/2) lower strings' counterpoint to the triple-time notation of the violins. This discrepant barring, pursued to such a late stage in the composition of the movement, implies that his intention was perhaps to repeat the *notated* dual metre of the previous dance, the Bransle Gay, in the score of the Bransle Double. But in the full manuscript of *Agon*, as in the published score, the separate musical strata are all subsumed by the triple metre as Stravinsky gives a final courteous nod of assent to the dance manual.

And here, it seems, the profitable but disguised influence of De Lauze's *Apologie de la Danse* comes to an end. Stravinsky made no further annotations in his copy of the manual, and there are no correspondences between its contents and those dances of *Agon* yet to be composed. Significantly, the titles of the remaining dances--Pas-de-deux,

Four Duos and Four Trios--like those of the opening Pas-de-Quatres, specify performing forces rather than seventeenth-century prototypes.

Stravinsky himself was careful not to acknowledge too great a debt to the dance manual, and yet despite his own prudence we encounter insistent assurances to the contrary from others ever eager to credit him with some compositional novelty. The following extract from the programme note that accompanied *Agon*'s stage première on 1 December 1957 is typical. Its author is Robert Craft, whose privileged position in the Stravinsky household kept him up to date with the latest developments in the composer's work,[12] and from whom, therefore, we should not have received so complacently misguided a reading:

> The AGON pieces were all modeled after examples in a French dance manual of the mid-seventeenth century. (*Playbill* (1957), pp. 27-8)[13]

In some exasperation, Stravinsky has circled the misleading word 'all' in his own copy of the programme [*Nachlass* 98:610924], allowing the circle to lead into a large, curling question mark. A review clipping of the première, which actually understands the mention of seventeenth-century influence to refer to the choreography, is similarly treated:

> Both Stravinsky and Balanchine have remained a little inscrutable with regard to the inspirational underpinning of their work, despite their obvious efforts to give the public a clue. It is stated in the program notes that the *Agon* pieces were modeled after examples in a French dance manual of the mid-seventeenth century. But, in the choreography, only an occasional flicker of courtly gesture, a sudden, unexpected movement in the language of manners, give any hint of

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[12] The National Broadcasting Company's archive film of Stravinsky on the eve of his seventy-fifth birthday (PSS video 77) shows the composer and Craft together examining the sketches for *Agon*. Note too Craft's observation that 'I was very close to the day-to-day work on *Agon*' (letter of 8 January 1988 to Laurence Sherr, quoted above in Chapter 3, page 58, n. 2).

[13] Much of the programme note was incorporated (in German) in Craft (1957b), p. 285.

the seventeenth century.

(Lester Trimble in *The Nation*, 4 January 1958, p. 20 [*Nachlass* 98:611056])

Here Stravinsky underlines the words 'pieces were modeled after' and adds the interesting marginal annotation 'To[o] little! to be worth to speak about it--only the names, like Bransle[,] Gaillarde[,] Sarabande'.[14] The composer's denial is possibly a little over-vehement, bearing in mind those rhythmic and metric features whose origins lie in the dance manual. He would perhaps have been well-advised to make public his objection to assertions of substantial influence, if only to prevent the perpetuation of exaggerated claims; *viz.* Craft, as late as 1986:

> The *Apologie* includes musical and choreographic models for most of the dances in *Agon*. (1986, p. 352)

On the whole, the most valuable judgements are to be found in those reviews that greeted the programme note with a certain scepticism and questioned the nature and extent of the dance manual's influence. The *Nachlass* contains one such clipping, by John Martin of *The New York Times* (28 November 1957); entitled 'Ballet: World Premiere of "Agon"', it reviews the Polio Foundation Benefit performance that had taken place on 27 November (before the 'official' stage première on 1 December):[15]

> Somewhere in the remote subconscious of both the agonists [Stravinsky and Balanchine] are some court dances of the seventeenth century--bransles, sarabandes, galliards--and from time to time when either of them chooses, we are shown whiffs of style and hints of form that are wittily reminiscent of these sources. But they constitute no more than a bare excuse for devious adventures in formal construction. [*Nachlass* 98:610910]

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[14] Sherr (1988, p. 96, n. 40) also mentions this annotation, but misquotes it as 'only the *manner* ...'.

[15] Balanchine and Stravinsky decided to mount this Benefit performance after the choreographer's wife Tanaquil Leclercq, one of the leading dancers in the New York City Ballet company, contracted polio during a tour of Denmark in October 1956.

In the light of the 'devious adventures in formal construction' recorded in the sketches, it comes as little surprise to find Stravinsky endorsing this account; in a letter of 4 December 1957 to his attorney Arnold Weissberger he describes it as 'the most interesting to me [of all the reviews]' [*Nachlass* 98:610950].

Harmonic structure and serial tendencies in the Bransle Double

As is evident from the sequence of sketches transcribed in Examples 6.20 to 6.24, the A sections of the Bransle Double were originally conceived one semitone lower than their final pitch level. The subsequent upward transposition takes place on sketchleaf **A**010, whose short score also completes the violin line and introduces the new lower strings' counterpoint, as mentioned above. The reason for the revision remains somewhat unclear, but a possible explanation is that Stravinsky simply wished to vary what would otherwise have been a very stable 'harmonic' orientation. In the early stages of composition--before he reached the crucial sketchleaf **A**010--much of the A section, characteristically, was based on *untransposed* hexachordal permutations of the twelve-tone series (if we understand the prime form to begin on D, as given in Example 6.25a). To illustrate this, Example 6.25b is a reminder of the pitch sequence of the trumpet/trombone line extracted from Examples 6.20 and 6.22 above (later assembled to give Example 6.23), all from sketchleaf **A**011v, with Stravinsky's original serial labels and brackets now reinstated. Typically, the first hexachord in the chain is designated the 'Theme'; it is followed by its own retrograde inversion ('C.I' in Stravinsky's parlance), then by its inversion ('T.I' or 'Theme, inverted'), and finally by its retrograde ('C' or 'cancrizans').

Example 6.25c shows the cluster of hexachords aligned one beneath the other down the right-hand side of sketchleaf **A**011v, from which the material of Example 6.25b was woven. Appropriately enough, P^0(a) and P^0(b) are labelled '1st hexachord' and

'2nd hexachord' respectively, and the additional label 'T' is applied to P^0(b). Referring to these hexachords, the serial sequence of the brass duet as represented in Example 6.25b is P^0(b)--P^0(b)--IR^0(a)--I^2(b)--R^0(a).[16] But since Stravinsky considered the first hexachord in the chain, P^0(b), to be the 'theme' of the brass duet, he would doubtless have understood its direct inversion 'T.I.' (I^2(b) in conventional terminology) to be another untransposed hexachord. Hence, the early versions of the brass duet reveal it to have based entirely on serial orders that--at least according to the composer's idiosyncratic nomenclature--were untransposed.

Concurrently with the composition of the A section of the Bransle Double, Stravinsky developed material for the contrasting B section (bars 352-64) and the concluding Coda (bars 373-86); various sketches and drafts for these occur on sketchleaves **A**011v, **A**010 and **A**012r, all of which featured in the discussion above (there are further short scores on sketchleaf **A**011r). The B section and the Coda are based exclusively on untransposed permutations of the two hexachords of the twelve-tone series, and, unlike the material of the A sections, neither underwent any grand transposition from an earlier pitch level. The whole movement, therefore, was originally conceived in terms of untransposed hexachord manipulations. Perhaps it was the very sustained concentration on the basic permutations of a single pitch sequence, and the attendant danger of this concentration becoming *too* intensive or even monotonous, that prompted Stravinsky's raising of the entire A section and its repeat by one semitone when he came to assemble the short score on sketchleaf **A**010.

The explanation outlined above is valid only if the untransposed prime form of the twelve-tone series begins on D. Taking the pitch sequence of the violins in bars

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[16] The Bransle Double series is unusual in that RI^0 and IR^0 start on the same pitch, A^b--a consequence of the tritone separation of the boundary pitches of P^0. Stravinsky himself certainly did not worry over any such terminological niceties, interchanging the abbreviations 'I.C.' and 'C.I.' throughout his sketches.

336-43 as their cue, several commentators (among them van den Toorn and Wolterink) give C as the initial element of the series, but this orientation seems a little short-sighted in view of the unrelieved operations upon the untransposed D-initiated collection in the B section and Coda. (In fact, the series beginning on C occurs only in the violin line of the A sections.)

New serial permutations

At certain points in the sketching of the Bransle Double Stravinsky gives early indications of a budding interest in the permutation of row forms through segmentation and reordering of their elements. Again, it is the extraordinarily rich sketchleaf **A011v** that provides the earliest evidence: isolated among the workings for the opening brass duet in the top half of the page is the small notation shown in Example 6.26, the circle around it perhaps indicative of Stravinsky's awareness of its compositional significance. The lower stave of the sketch records the innovative step, in which the pitches of P^0(b) are subjected to trichordal reversal--elements 4-6 precede 1-3--in a highly condensed form of bars 361:4-364:2 at the end of the B section. The sketch reflects the movement's extensive use of separate hexachordal divisions of the dodecaphonic series on a smaller scale, in a trichordal division of the relevant six-note set.

This latent tendency toward permutation based on the reordering of serial segments (in this case trichords) reaches an early fulfilment on sketchleaf **A085v**, in a short sequence of sketches that eventually bore fruit as part of the lower strings' counterpoint in bars 344-51. Two preliminary jottings--Examples 6.27a and 6.27b--prepare the way, the first based exclusively on P^0(a), the second exclusively on P^0(b). In the third and final notation on this sketchleaf, Example 6.27c, Stravinsky makes the unprecedented move of dovetailing the two hexachords in the same way that he might have shuffled a pack of cards, slotting the trichordal components of one collection in

among the components of the other. The direction of the note-stems represents their hexachordal allegiance--ascending for P^0(a), descending for P^0(b)--and the brackets above and below the stave further clarify the arrangement.

Next, the resulting sequence of pitches was directly transcribed to the working short score of the movement on sketchleaf **A**010, discussed above in connection with the revised transposition levels and conflicting metres of the A section. At first Stravinsky's most pressing concern was simply to insert this prized pitch sequence (still with its explanatory brackets) as fast as possible, however plain its presentation. But as the task neared completion he added another stave below the short score, upon which to develop a far more impressive exploitation of this new permutation of the twelve-tone row, and duly obliterated its hurried precursor. The whole process is charted in Example 6.28, which extracts bars 344-51 from the short score of sketchleaf **A**010; all annotations except bar numbers and clefs in square brackets are Stravinsky's. The elaborated version on the lowest staves of the second and third systems boasts not only written confirmation of its ancestry, but even (on the original sketchleaf) coloured note heads: red for pitches derived from P^0(a), blue for those from P^0(b).

Although this permutational derivative occurs only once in *Agon*, Stravinsky's current interest in such processes foreshadows his greater concentration on row form segments in the Pas-de-Deux, and the more intensive exploration of segmentation and permutation in his first completely dodecaphonic work, *Threni* (1957-8); with the benefit of hindsight, it is even possible to predict the culmination of his efforts to find ever new but rationalized interval relationships between the elements of a row in the generative system of hexachordal rotation developed in the next major work, *Movements* of 1959, and used thereafter. (Some of the compositional experimentation relating to these developments is illustrated and discussed in Chapter 9.) In sum, the

fascinating and complex Second Pas-de-Trois of *Agon* not only provided a context for the consolidation of Stravinsky's present serial language, but also proved to be an exhaustive testing ground for many of the techniques that would eventually find expression in the late flowering of his creative career.

CHAPTER 7
THE PAS-DE-DEUX

I. TETRACHORDAL STRUCTURING IN THE PAS-DE-DEUX

Of all the *Agon* sketches, those for the last large division of the ballet, from the Pas-de-Deux to the Four Trios, are without doubt the most intricately conceived, the most minutely developed and the most formidable to decipher. Formally, the dance is simple enough, following the traditional choreographic outline of the romantic Pas-de-Deux, which was originally jotted down by Stravinsky and Balanchine on their preliminary chart as follows:

	Adagio	♀	♀
Pas		Ω	Δ
de	Variation	(he)	
deux	"	(she)	
	Coda	(both)	

[sketchleaf **A**001]

Though liberally spiced at a later stage with sections labelled Più lento, Più mosso and Doppio lento, its complexity lies not in its outward structure but in its microcosmic sound world of concentrated intervallic gestures, its internal pitch-class patterning, reducible to the smallest common serial denominator deployed in the whole score.

Tetrachord T

Despite the unfolding of a complete twelve-tone row in the introductory bars 411-13 (obscured by the inevitable oscillations between pairs of notes), this is not a dodecaphonic movement; as Stephen Walsh says, the Pas-de-Deux 'is not as serial as it sounds' (1988, p. 231). The initial series never resurfaces in its entirety, but instead spawns a tetrachordal unit, which is itself subject to the serial transformations of

inversion, retrograde or both, and from which, in various transpositions and extensions, almost all the musical material up to the return of the Pas-de-Quatre in the final Coda (bar 561) is constructed. (The suggestion that the twelve-tone series of the Four Duos and Four Trios is also the serial basis of the Pas-de-Deux is untenable, as any attempt to discover the complete Duos' and Trios' series in the earlier dance will show. Presumably it was the identification of the first seven elements of the Duos' and Trios' dodecaphonic row with the seven-tone row of the Coda (see below) that led commentators such as Craft (1957b, p. 288), White (2/1979, p. 495) and Vlad (3/1978, p. 205) to make this assumption.)

Example 7.1 presents the four standard serial forms of this tetrachordal serial unit. In its 'closest' disposition, the interval order of this tetrachord may be described as two semitones separated by a tone, or represented intervallically by the pattern (0 1 3 4).[1] Hereafter, any tetrachord conforming to the intervallic pattern (0 1 3 4) will be classified under the generic term 'tetrachord *T*'. Thus the label tetrachord *T* will be attached to a group of four tones consisting of F, F#, G#, and A, appearing in any order; the sequence A-F#-G#-F is just as much tetrachord *T* as the same elements in 'close' formation, F-F#-G#-A. The term is also used adjectivally, usually in the form of the prefix '*T*-', as in 'the *T*-tetrachord F-F#-G#-A'. Though the musical material of the Pas-de-Deux is generated largely from the serial forms of this tetrachord as presented in Example 7.1 (together with certain 'nonserial' elements of different origin), the term 'tetrachord *T*' is not applied solely to these serial permutations; by covering both

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[1] Van den Toorn (1983, especially pp. 261-4) sees manifestations of (0 1 3 4) or (0 3 7/0 4 7) 'major-minor' partitioning of the octatonic collection, interacting with diatonic, C-scale material, as characteristic of Stravinsky's 'neoclassical' oeuvre. But this is not to undermine its serially-manifested importance in *Agon*; on the contrary--as with the (0 2 3 5) configurations of the various rows heard in the First Pas-de-Trois Coda, the tenor solo of *Canticum Sacrum*, and the Bransles Simple and Double--it may be interpreted as another compositional 'constant' in Stravinsky's music, expressed in terms of underlying intervallic preference.

collectional and--if appropriately qualified or inferred from the context--serial statements of the unit, the term gains a greater versatility that will prove useful to the following discussion.

Presented linearly, the pitch sequence of the twelve-tone introduction to the Adagio conceals the pervasive presence of tetrachord *T*, with the exception of the one occurrence highlighted below:

```
                    ------T------
B♭ C♭ C D D♭ G E F# E♭ A♭ F A                    [bars 411-13]
```

But if the rhythm, instrumentation and distribution in the score justify a slight regrouping of the row elements, in which the double basses' E♭ is affiliated to the first five elements of the series, then the *two* concluding (overlapping) occurrences of tetrachord *T*, sounded by the first violins, fall into perspective:

```
                    ------T------
B♭ C♭ C D D♭ E♭ G E F# A♭ F A
                           -------T----
```

Most crucial, however, for the later development of the movement is the central verticalization (across the barline, bars 412-13) of elements 1-2, 4-5 of the row to form tetrachord *T* (B♭-B-D-D♭). Prior to this point, this particular tetrachordal pitch collection is interrupted by the violas' C-natural (element 3); the significant omission of the C in the verticalization gives the first subtle hint of the referential nature of the B♭-B-D-D♭ tetrachord that develops later in the movement, as explained by Pieter van den Toorn in the following extract:

> ... so persistent is this (B♭ B D♭ D) realization, through the stretches of violin solo at mm. 417-22, 427-9, and 437-46 ... and then as a boundary or concluding sonority of repose at mm. 411-12, 427-29, and 458-62 (nearly the only instances in which all four members of the (0 1 3 4) unit are sustained in simultaneity), that it acquires the character of a 'home base' in the Adagio, a point of

> departure and return, and serially the character of a Prime with an initial 0-1-4-3 ordering in terms of B^{b}-B-D-D^{b}. It is from this primal B^{b}-B-D-D^{b} unit that the serial excursion is launched, that routine in set-form selection is gauged, and that, by such routine, the delineation of larger serial units in the form of (0 1 3 4) extensions are apprehended. (1983, pp. 408-9)

As any tetrachordal collection will yield twenty-four possible configurations of its elements, it is significant that Stravinsky restricts himself (as van den Toorn implies) to the four orderings (or transpositions of these orderings) that may be derived serially from his prime tetrachord. In other words, despite the prolonged allusions to the 'referential' tetrachord B^{b}-B-D-D^{b} in the Pas-de-Deux, these pitches are always treated serially rather than simply as an unordered collection. To illustrate both the referential nature of tetrachord *T* expressed as B^{b}-B-D-D^{b} and the pervasiveness of the tetrachord in any serial formulation (and in anticipation of our future discussion of the composition of this passage), Example 7.2 shows from bar 417:3 to the beginning of the '1ma volta' bars.

Since the (0 1 3 4) intervallic pattern of tetrachord *T* in its closest formation is symmetrical, it follows that one inversional form will have a pitch content identical to that of the prime, P^{0}: this inversion is I^{4} (the same relationship exists, of course, between R^{0} and RI^{4}). It is through the use of these particular content-related serial derivations, shown in Example 7.3, that Stravinsky is able to sustain the passages based on the 'referential' tetrachordal collection without the pitch sequences becoming repetitious.

Both Wolterink and Beecroft identify a different ordering of the elements of the 'referential' tetrachord as the prime form of the Pas-de-Deux's four-tone serial unit: B-B^{b}-D^{b}-D. As this ordering is, in fact, a transposed retrograde inversion of the prime given in Example 7.1, their identification, too, will accommodate all the serial statements of tetrachord *T* in the dance. It is of no tremendous import, then, which of

the two interpretations we use, as both are equally valid. However, the classification outlined in Example 7.1 enables us to identify statements appearing at key points throughout the movement as the *untransposed* prime form: the successive verticalization and sustaining of pitches in bars 427-9 (at the beginning of the '1ma volta' bars) and their repetition leading into the '2da volta'; the marcato expressivo (bar 438) that launches the following new material; and, most significantly, as the initial tetrachord of the prime forms of the seven-tone, thirteen-tone and twelve-tone extensions of tetrachord *T* (to be discussed in more detail below) from which, respectively, are constructed the Coda (beginning bar 495), the dense concluding section of the Adagio (bars 452-62) and the Four Duos and Four Trios (beginning bar 520).

Since the final say in the matter should rest, if possible, with the composer himself, it is appropriate to mention at this point a small sketchleaf (**A**068) containing nothing but four numbered serial forms of tetrachord *T*, as transcribed in Example 7.4. Although the transposition level differs from P^0 as identified above (a fact whose significance will be considered below), it does not seem too precipitate to suggest that tetrachord number 1 corresponds to the 'prime' configuration, while the remaining three tetrachords, accordingly, are the retrograde (2), inversion (3) and inverted retrograde (4). That Stravinsky recognized these interrelated tetrachords as the most elemental building-blocks of his musical material is attested by a small sheet of paper, folded carefully around the tetrachord sketchleaf **A**068, upon which he has written the words 'From Pas-de-Deux to the end'.

Interestingly, neither on sketchleaf **A**068 nor on any other relating to this part of the ballet does Stravinsky bestow conventional serial labels (prime, inversion, etc.) on the tetrachords, despite his treatment of them as ordered and often bracketed pitch collections. His rather surprising avoidance of serial identification hints at an

alternative--and perhaps more apposite--reading of the compositional working.[2] The processes of tetrachordal manipulation, transposition and linkage that are the most powerful presence in the sketches of the Pas-de-Deux, and, by extension, of the Duos and Trios, provided Stravinsky with an ideal opportunity to exercise his preferred method of working, which he characterized as 'composing with intervals'; his comments on this subject are directly related to the overriding *intervallic* concern reflected in the Pas-de-Deux sketches. Stravinsky frequently returned to the theme of 'composing with intervals', as the following citations attest:

> Composing, for me, is putting into an order a certain number of these sounds according to certain interval-relationships. (*Poetics*, p. 37)

> ... always I have been interested in intervals. Not only horizontally in terms of melody, but also the vertical results that arise from the combinations of intervals. That, by the way, is what is wrong with most twelve-tone composers. ... They are indifferent to the vertical aspect of music. The intervals of their horizontal counterpoint I approve of and admire. But they are terribly deaf to the logic of vertical combination.[3]

> There's nothing to it; I've always composed with intervals.[4]

The complex workings for the Pas-de-Deux reflect these preoccupations more clearly than do any other sketches for the early serial works, and the following discussion explores both horizontal and vertical 'interval-relationships' with this interpretation of his compositional process always in mind. The sceptical might argue

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[2] For the sake of accurate reference, this discussion will continue to use the serial labels assigned above to identify different forms of tetrachord *T*.

[3] From an interview with Jay S. Harrison, *New York Herald Tribune* (21 December 1952), section IV [*Nachlass* 93:592822].

[4] Personal communication from Stravinsky to Milton Babbitt, quoted in Babbitt, *Words about Music*, ed. Stephen Dembski and Joseph N. Straus (Madison, Wisconsin, 1987), p. 20.

that all serial composition is necessarily a manner of 'composing with intervals', or even that composition *per se* is nothing more; but this is to carry the connotations of Stravinsky's expression to too-literal extremes, and to admit tautological overtones that, surely, were unintended by the composer. It will be more profitable to restrict our application of the expression to the techniques employed in the construction of a movement like the Pas-de-Deux, where small-scale intervallic considerations account for a significantly large number of the compositional decisions taken.

Patterns of tetrachordal linkage and extension

One of the primary ways in which this intervallic concern manifests itself is in the patterns of linkage through which tetrachord *T* generates extended 'melodic' lines. The passage shown in Example 7.2 above (bars 417:3-429) exhibits the frequently-used formula of common-tone overlap between tetrachords: the solo violin line of bars 417:3-422 and bars 425:4-429 is constructed exclusively on this principle, with overlaps consisting of either one or two tones. In addition to the typically Stravinskian repetition of notes or pairs of notes, this system of extension allows for the close recurrence of pitches through the adjacency of different serial forms of tetrachord *T*, whose selection, in turn, offers a means of emphasizing the 'referential' tetrachord B^{b}-B-D^{b}-D. Linkage through common-tone overlap bears obvious parallels with the processes at play in some of the more straightforward serial passages earlier in the ballet: the hexachordal linkage in the Bransle Simple's trumpet canon, for example, or in the violins' leaping, twelve-tone accompaniment to the brass duet at the start of the Bransle Double.

Van den Toorn identifies two modes of tetrachordal linkage or vertical association, the first of which he describes as 'wholly octatonic in conception': two *T*-tetrachords are brought together on the basis of common adherence to a particular

octatonic pitch collection.[5] In Example 7.2 this occurs in bars 423-4, where the violin's B-B^{b}-C#-D and F-E-G-A^{b} tetrachords together form a complete 'Collection I' succession; further, this reference to Collection I is extended by the next two tetrachords, A^{b}-G-B^{b}-B and B^{b}-B-D-D^{b}. Persuasive, indeed, are the many other examples furnished by van den Toorn in his bid to demonstrate octatonic intent in Stravinsky's tetrachordal choice, but we must also recognize that the (0 1 3 4) pitch structure of the serial unit is intrinsically conducive to the identification of octatonic pitch collections, whose fundamental criterion of alternating tones and semitones produces two *T*-tetrachords per eight-tone collection; a complete octatonic collection results, therefore, whenever the highest pitch of one *T*-tetrachord is separated from the lowest pitch of another *T*-tetrachord by a whole tone. This is illustrated below, using the pitches of bars 423-4:

```
-----T------   -----T-----
  1  2   1 (2)  1 2  1        (intervals measured in semitones)
B♭-B-C#-D---E-F-G-A♭          (Collection I)
```

Even with this proviso in mind, a brief notation found at the top of a sketchleaf (**A**065r) covered in dense working for bars 443-62 of the Pas-de-Deux Adagio alerts us to the possibility that Stravinsky did admit octatonicism as one of several factors potentially capable of determining tetrachordal selection and linkage; this notation is given in Example 7.5. It can be read either as a complete octatonic tone row (Collection 2) or as two disjunct *T*-tetrachords (B-C-D-E^{b})--(F-F#-G#-A). Stravinsky's system of brackets indicates the first and last elements of four 'close formation' statements of tetrachord *T*, the last of them read cyclically:

```
 1  2  1
B  C  D  E♭
D  E♭ F  F#
F  F# G# A
G# A  B  C
```

---

[5] See Chapter 4, p. 93, n. 6.

The sketches immediately beneath this octatonic jotting do not refer in any significant way to the restricted pitch class content of Example 7.5, but further down sketchleaf **A**065r, on the right-hand side, we find a boxed, two-stave sketch containing a partial outline of bars 455-6: see Example 7.6. On the lower stave is a clear statement of the same ascending octatonic scale (Collection 2), now 'rotated' to begin on D. No such preliminary presentation of resources exists for the upper stave's D#-E-G-F# tetrachord, assigned at a later stage to the violas in bars 454-6, but van den Toorn (p. 409) points out that this, too, forms an octatonic succession with the preceding tetrachord, A-B^{b}-C#-C (bars 452-4, violas): a self-contained Collection 3 stratum.

Informative though these observations may be, the knowledge that Stravinsky, in his published writings and conversation books, did not once openly acknowledge or even refer to any influence of octatonic thought in composition rather dulls our curiosity about further 'pockets of octatonic cohesion' in the Pas-de-Deux--most of which (if not all) have in any case been identified by van den Toorn himself; besides, we cannot help but feel slightly perturbed by the many lengthy passages totally devoid of octatonicism. Van den Toorn freely admits (p. 409) that another mode of tetrachordal linkage is of greater significance.

A single tetrachord with an intervallic span of four semitones (a major third) necessarily omits one of the pitches contained chromatically within this span; in the case of the (0 1 3 4) tetrachord *T*, this is the central pitch (number 2), intervallically equidistant from the two boundary pitches. Stravinsky recognizes the compositional potential of this feature of his basic serial unit at an early stage, and exploits it as a further factor in the processes of serial selection and succession. Specifically, the situation involves two *T*-tetrachords, overlapped by means of a single common tone,

with the chromatic 'gap' of the first tetrachord conveniently plugged by the second element of the second tetrachord. (Similarly, the fifth element of the five-tone set of the 1954 *In Memoriam Dylan Thomas*, prime form E-E^{b}-C-C#-D, plugs the chromatic 'gap' left by the first four elements, which together comprise a (0 1 3 4) tetrachord.) Of greatest compositional consequence in this regard are the conjoinings of RI-related tetrachords (P-RI/RI-P or I-R/R-I) to form a seven-tone row whose boundary pitches are separated by a tritone and which contains all the chromatic pitches within this tritone. Such a row is given in Example 7.7.[6] Because of these structural features, the row is its own retrograde inversion, displaced by the interval of a tritone.

The P-RI seven-tone row, leading directly into its own retrograde, forms the vigorous, widely-spaced motif of the Pas-de-Deux's Coda (at bar 495), shown in Example 7.8. With the exception of two overlapping statements of tetrachord *T* at the end of bar 496, the first section of the Coda (to bar 503) is constructed entirely from this one transposition of the seven-tone row and its retrograde (see section 7.V). The last section of the Coda (the Quasi stretto at bar 512; see section 7.VII) returns to this seven-tone row, inaugurated by the G upon which the preceding Doppio lento ends, and the whole Pas-de-Deux concludes with the one statement of the row's inversion (bars 515:4-518). (Serially, the lone C-natural in bar 519 belongs to the opening dodecaphonic row of the Four Duos.)

Stravinsky's penchant for overlapping carefully-chosen serial units into longer lines is not limited to tetrachord pairings. In the last section of the Pas-de-Deux Adagio (bars 452-6), two statements of the seven-tone row itself are overlapped, the second

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[6] Since the seven-tone row contains the total chromatic of a tritone, it cannot be drawn from a single octatonic collection; the two tetrachords must differ in their octatonic collectional affinity. Nonetheless, van den Toorn's discussion of this mode of tetrachordal linkage (1983, pp. 409-12) almost implies that this unavoidable collectional interchange acquired, for Stravinsky, the character of a compositional prerequisite, rather than arising simply as a by-product of the construction.

transposed to start on the concluding element of the first. The tritone separation of the boundary pitches ensures that the second of the seven-tone rows eventually leads back to the initial element (D) of the first, that this D is the only pitch-class that appears twice in the resulting thirteen-tone row, and that the whole structure is an untransposed retrograde inversion of itself: see Example 7.9. As in the Coda, a single serial extension remaining at one transpositional level dominates an entire section of the movement, but for two musical areas: the viola line of bars 452-6, whose two disjunct statements of tetrachord *T*'s prime form echo the beginning of the seven- and thirteen-tone rows (and together comprise a complete octatonic collection, as mentioned above), and the nonserial 'major/minor' chords in the upper strings at bars 457-8 (which will feature in the discussion below).

Significantly, when Stravinsky came to construct the dodecaphonic series of the Four Duos and Four Trios, he did not simply omit the initial or concluding element of the thirteen-tone row--which would have undermined its total dependence on tetrachord *T*--but instead created a new extension, still based on tetrachord *T*, for the familiar seven-tone row. Since the central overlap now comprises two common tones, the dodecaphonic row is still capable of containing four overlapping statements of tetrachord *T*. The orderings of all except the fourth of these are serially-derived; the correspondence of the fourth tetrachord to our original (0 1 3 4) unit depends upon a collectional, rather than serial, identity: see Example 7.10.

As with tetrachord *T* itself, the identification of what Stravinsky himself considered to be the prime form of the twelve-tone row depends on a number of factors; most important is that its first seven elements retain the intervallic sequence of the seven-tone set used independently in the Pas-de-Deux Coda and extended by means of overlapping repetition into the thirteen-tone row of the Adagio. In addition, it is the form given in Example 7.10 that is developed as the canonic subject of the Four Trios,

and, among the sketches, from this particular form that the inversion, retrograde and inverted retrograde twice appear to be derived (on sketchleaf **A**051). Lastly, with this row as prime, all the serial statements in the Four Duos may be expressed as untransposed forms (remembering Stravinsky's habitual deployment of IR^0 in preference to RI^0). Pousseur (1972, I, p. 41) takes the inversion of Example 7.10 as the prime of the twelve-tone series, and consequently has to admit the presence of nominally transposed row forms in the Four Duos.

This brief survey does not provide a complete inventory of the Pas-de-Deux's musical ingredients--proper mention has yet to be made of the tetrachordal variant found in the central Più mosso, or of the occasional deviations from recognizably serial manipulations of tetrachord *T*--but these features will be more profitably considered with reference to the sketches.

'Major/minor' elements in the Pas-de-Deux

The functional role of tetrachord *T*, which has so far dominated our discussion of the Pas-de-Deux, is at the root of a pitch orientation whose debt to Webern is widely acknowledged. The first and still most detailed assessment of this influence is Henri Pousseur's long, bi-partite article 'Stravinsky by way of Webern', in which the Pas-de-Deux is hailed as 'almost a literal pastiche' of the Viennese serialist. I do not propose to examine the Webernian bias of the movement extensively, as any such investigation would be in danger of becoming almost a literal pastiche of Pousseur, but shall instead consider certain of his observations and add a few new ones.

The (0 1 3 4) configuration defined by tetrachord *T* is simply a partitioning of the interval of a major third into the smaller units of semitone and minor third ((0 1 4) or (0 3 4)), as shown at the head of Example 7.11. Both Pousseur and, more recently, van den Toorn discuss how crucial this 'major/minor' partitioning is to Webern's serial

structures--especially in the Concerto, op. 24, the orchestral *Variations*, op. 30, and the Cantata No. 2, op. 31. Of these, it is the twelve-tone set of the *Variations* which immediately commands attention by its notable similarity to the serial extensions of the Pas-de-Deux and the Four Duos and Trios; Stravinsky's seven-tone set (with which both the thirteen- and the twelve-tone rows commence) is, in fact, an intervallic replica of the first seven elements of Webern's row. The specific intervallic characteristics of this seven-tone succession, then, described above in terms of tetrachordal linkage through the plugging of a chromatic gap, were originally a product not of Stravinsky's but of Webern's ingenuity.

The set of the *Variations*, like Stravinsky's thirteen-tone row, consists of two overlapping statements of the seven-tone row. To break matters down further, Webern's set comprises four overlapping statements of tetrachord *T*, with a central overlap of two common tones. Likewise, as noted above, Stravinsky's two longer series both consist of four *T*-tetrachords, with, in the thirteen-tone row, a single common tone between each pair, and in the twelve-tone row a central overlap of two common tones.

Besides the remarkable similarity of Webern's *Variations* set to Stravinsky's twelve- and thirteen-tone rows, the former even offers the clue to the origins of those few passages in the Pas-de-Deux's Adagio which do not refer to serial permutations of tetrachord *T*. The middle four-note segment of Webern's set, which results from the central overlap of the second and third *T*-tetrachords, forms a different tetrachordal structure whose closest intervallic disposition (displayed here) is minor third-semitone-minor third, represented numerically as (0 3 4 7). The explicit 'major/minor' partitioning of this segment reinforces the similar implications of tetrachord *T* itself, as illustrated at the top of Example 7.11 above. And although it is in their middle segments that Webern's set and Stravinsky's thirteen-tone set differ (Webern's B-D-D#-F# configuration is in Stravinsky's example expanded to a five-note segment, E-G-A^{b}-A-

C), it is nonetheless, as Pousseur (1972, I, p. 28) observes, the major/minor (0 3 4 7) tetrachord that governs the 'irregularities' of Stravinsky's Adagio. Further evidence of Stravinsky's preoccupation with the major/minor segment displayed so prominently within the *Variations* set is provided by his subsequent sculpting of the dodecaphonic series of the Four Duos and Trios: the central interlock between tetrachords is condensed to a four-note segment by the introduction of a two-tone overlap, forming, exactly as in Webern's set, an explicit statement of the (0 3 4 7) tetrachord: G-B^{b}-C^{b}-D.

The most prominent interruptions of texture by the (0 3 4 7) tetrachord occur in the second half of the Adagio. The passage shown in reduced score in Example 7.12 (bars 443-50) illustrates how this figure may accompany the various serial statements of tetrachord *T*: solid brackets indicate the (0 3 4 7) tetrachords and dashed brackets the *T*-tetrachords. In bars 447-50, the major/minor combinations of the tremolo violins comprise two (0 3 4 7) structures (E-G-G#-B turns into G-B^{b}-B-D), shortly to be echoed by the sustained, overlapping pitches of a third such unit in the lower strings (F#-D#-D-B); against this the solo lines defiantly persist with linear presentations of tetrachord *T*.[7] More isolated are the two disjunct major/minor (0 3 4 7) groupings which provide rhythmic interest in bars 444-5, across whose junction is formed a third such tetrachord:

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A F F# D            E♭ C♭ C A♭
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Collectively, the pitches in this succession are those of an octatonic scale conforming to van den Toorn's Collection 2 (C^{b} C D E^{b} F F# A^{b} A), the very collection

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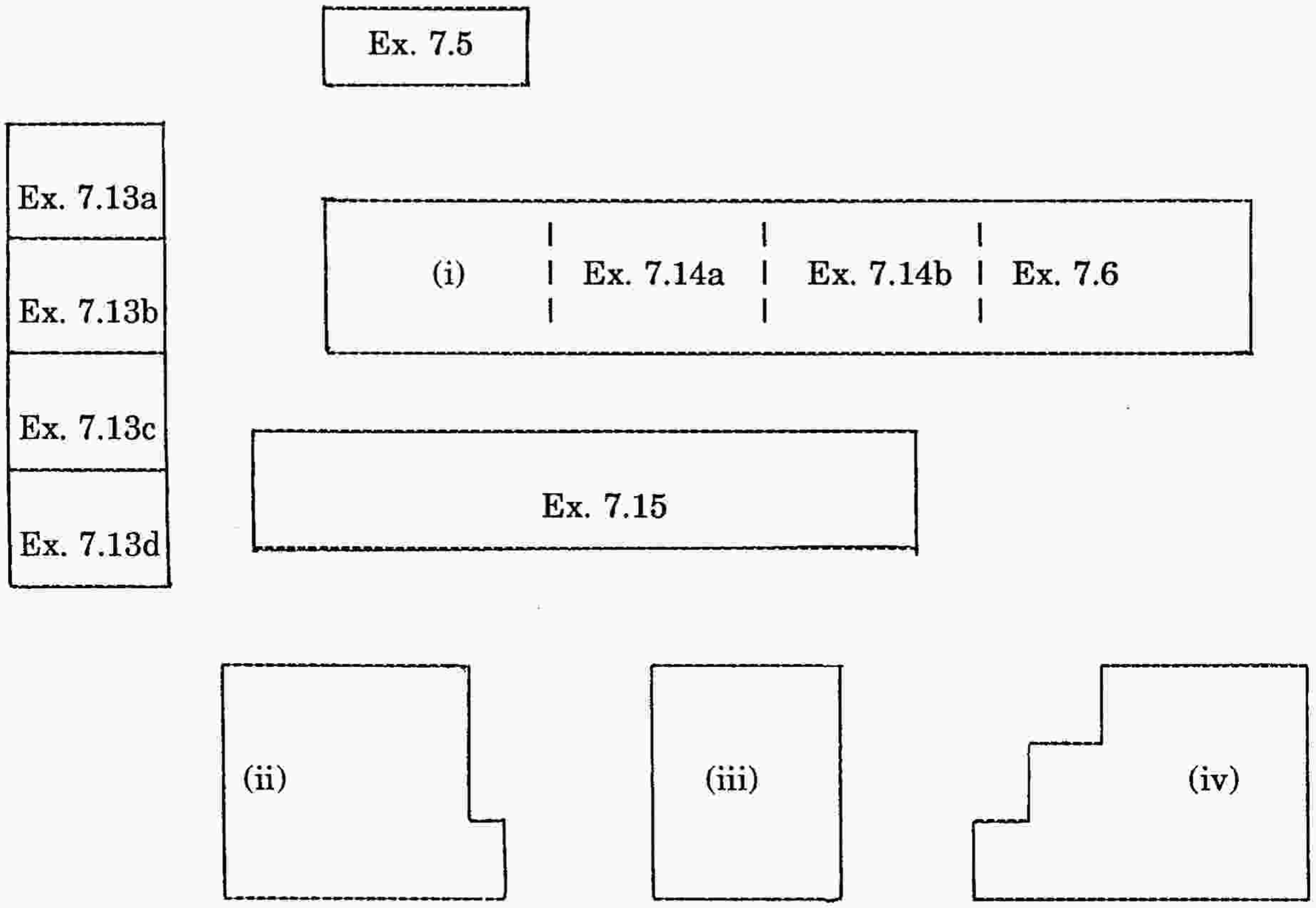
[7] Bars 457-8 are constructed along similar lines, with the major/minor chords of the upper strings spelling out two overlapping statements of our (0 3 4 7) tetrachord to form a potentially cyclic succession, C-E^{b}-E-G/E-G-G#-B, above a linear unfolding of the thirteen-tone row. Less explicitly, the major/minor tetrachord accounts for the 'nonserial' flourish of the solo strings in bars 416-17, whose structure is discussed in more detail below with reference to Example 7.16 and Figure 7.2 (pages 201-3).

jotted at the top of sketchleaf **A**065r and shown in Example 7.5 above. In the context of the sketchleaf this octatonic collection was apparently related not to any (0 3 4 7) configuration but to the tetrachord *T*-based sketch of bars 455-6 (Example 7.6); however, the presence on the sketchleaf of the full collection to which the major/minor configurations of bars 444-5 refer does alert us to the possible subverting influence of this second tetrachord type, and, with this in mind, the major/minor articulation of a significant proportion of the remaining sketches on the sketchleaf comes into focus. Figure 7.1 (overleaf) is a schematic representation of the various notations found on this large and complex page, showing relative positions of transcribed and un-transcribed sketches. In addition, Examples 7.13-7.15 from this sketchleaf are accompanied by facsimile extracts from the original.

After the brief octatonic notation, Stravinsky completed a number of sketches that appear one beneath the other down the left-hand side of the page, transcribed in Example 7.13. These reveal a preoccupation with verticalizations of the (0 3 4 7) tetrachords that would eventually form the basis of certain pitch collections in bars 447-50. In the first sketch, shown in Example 7.13a, two vertical (0 3 4 7) tetrachords (F#-A-B^{b}-C# and A-C-C#-E) are followed by a (0 2 3 5) (A-B-C-D) collection. Significant-ly, this (0 2 3 5) 'misfit' is abandoned in the next attempt, Example 7.13b. Here, a new major/minor collection (C#-E-E#-G#) replaces the second chord of the first sketch. The (0 2 3 5) structure is replaced by a new third chord, which, were it not for the C-natural, would be the enharmonic equivalent of the second; the discrepant C-natural would be omitted (and the uncomplicated major/minor structure of the chord thus restored) in the more elaborate sequence of the next sketch, Example 7.13c. This longer third sketch combines the major/minor elements of the two preliminary sketches as follows: after a repeat of the first vertical pitch collection of sketch 7.13b, Stravinsky reinstates the temporarily-omitted second vertical collection of sketch 7.13a, followed

by the second collection of 7.13b. He appends two new chords of the same (0 3 4 7) tetrachordal structure (E^b-G^b-G-B^b and G-B^b-B-D), such that the sequence now comprises no fewer than five verticalized (0 3 4 7) tetrachords.

Figure 7.1: sketchleaf A065r



Untranscribed sketches

(i) contains a clarifying sketch of Ex. 7.13c and an early representation of the *T*-tetrachords in bar 446

(ii) is an incomplete sketch short score of bars 453-62, omitting bar 460

(iii) is a slightly later version (clarifying sketch) of Ex. 7.15

(iv) is a slightly later version of (ii), with bar 460 inserted

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In the final sketch of this series, Example 7.13d, Stravinsky reduces his working to note-heads only, all the better to concentrate on the internal intervallic relationships

of the tetrachords. Values that were written as minims in the previous sketch are now represented as crotchet note-heads, indicating that Stravinsky's concern--typically--is to clarify each resulting verticalization of intervals; the sketch brings to mind once again the composer's own description of his compositional technique as 'composing with intervals'. The tetrachordal succession as it now stands retains the first three collections of Example 7.13c, but a new fourth chord introduces a collection conforming to the 'foreign' whole-tone intervallic pattern (0 2 4 6) (C#-E^{b}-F-G). As occurred earlier in the group of sketches, the 'misfit' collection would later be abandoned--but not before Stravinsky had transposed the entire sequence up a fifth in the second half of the Example 7.13d.

Starting just to the right of these tetrachord verticalizations is a hand-rastrated 'system' running across the width of sketchleaf **A065r**. This contains several more short sketches, one of which has already been transcribed as Example 7.6 above. At the start of this system is a clarifying sketch (sketch (i) in Figure 7.1) that repeats the chordal structures of Example 7.13c. Next, we find a small but significant sketch--shown as Example 7.14a, to which tetrachordal brackets have been added--which reveals a development in Stravinsky's preoccupations with the (0 3 4 7) tetrachord. Its uppermost stave hints at an interest in interlocking major/minor tetrachordal structures that would be reflected at certain points in the final score (for example, the marcato chords of bars 457-8, discussed in terms of their major/minor structures in note 7, page 195 above; compositional workings to be discussed shortly chart the development of the same type of articulation within the violin lines of bars 447-8 and the wide-ranging solo violin and viola figures in bars 416-7).

The combination of interlocking (0 3 4 7) tetrachords in the top stave of Example 7.14a with an early, fragmentary notation for bar 456 below suggests that, although tetrachord *T* would later reign alone in this bar, it was perhaps this sketch that

prompted the eventual challenge of (0 3 4 7) structures to the thirteen-tone row based on tetrachord *T* in the next two bars (i.e., bars 457-8). The significance of the sketch, then, lies in its demonstration of how a working idea that governs or is derived from preliminary notations could be integrated into the score in many different guises, despite the absence of direct transcription.

Only in the next sketch on the 'system', which brings together and develops the material of the various sketched fragments, do we recognize a complete musical unit that relates tangibly to the final score. Shown in Example 7.14b, the sketch is a germinal form of bars 446-50. On the upper stave Stravinsky records an early version of the prime (D-E^{b}-G^{b}-F) and on the lower the inversion ([G]-F#-D#-E) of tetrachord *T* that appear in bar 446, followed after a slight break by an essentially chordal succession transplanted directly from the second half of Example 7.13d.

Not only the tetrachordal allegiances of the passage but its major/minor implications, too, are carefully documented in an advanced version of the same bars found on the next system of sketchleaf **A**065r: see Example 7.15 (whose final version and tetrachordal structuring may be seen in the reduced score of Example 7.12). In the first bar of Example 7.15, the two linear occurrences of tetrachord *T* (cf. bar 446) are indicated by means of horizontal brackets, while the subsequent course of two additional, overlapping statements of tetrachord *T* is traced on the original by means of blue connecting lines and blue note heads, and represented on the example by dashed connecting lines and an added dashed-line bracket (cf. the RI-P sequence, solo viola 1, bars 445:4-450). Most important, however, is the system of vertical bracketing by which Stravinsky clarifies the major/minor articulation of the second and third bars of the passage. Vertical brackets shown as dotted lines in Example 7.15 are emphasized on the manuscript sketchleaf by the use of red ink. Looking closely at the pitches thus linked, we obtain the pattern

G# B D
E G B^b,

whose two interlocking tetrachords, E-G-G#-B and G-B^b-B-D, were the very ones contained within the chain of interlocking major/minor structures that Stravinsky had recorded higher up the sketchleaf (Example 7.14a). The red (dotted) vertical brackets, therefore, may be interpreted as representing a *quasi*-linear form of major/minor patterning. But the passage's reference to this (0 3 4 7) tetrachord is not yet exhausted: solid vertical brackets--ordinary grey lead pencil on the original--enclose the two vertical statements (C#-E-E#-G# and E-G-G#-B) derived from the first two transposed chords of Example 7.13d. The dependence of the next vertical collection (G#-B-C-D# in the earlier sketch) on the (0 3 4 7) tetrachord is now undermined by the omission of the pitch C; hence the lack of a vertical bracket enclosing the first chord of bar [448]. A similar fate has befallen the inexplicable 'foreign' whole-tone vertical collection (A^b-B^b-C-D) at the end of Example 7.13d: pitches A^b and C are omitted, leaving the elements D and B^b to be incorporated into the interlocking linear chain identified above.[8]

Though Stravinsky has not highlighted its presence in any special way, the linear fragment on the lowest stave spells out yet another major/minor tetrachord, F#-D-D#-B, whose pitch collection actually extends the *quasi*-linear chain of interlocking major/minor tetrachords:

E-G#-G-B
G-B-B^b-D
B-----D-D#-F#

This final tetrachord is later assigned to the lower strings in bars 448-50, and overlaps by means of one common tone (B) with the retrograde statement of tetrachord *T* that

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[8] The intervallic pattern of the 'whole-tone' tetrachord, close formation (0 2 4 6), would later form the basis of the variant of tetrachord *T* heard in the 'male dancer' sections of the Più mosso: see section 7.IV.

follows (B-C-A-G#, bars 449:4-451).

The sketch shown in Example 7.15, therefore, is a near-complete representation of bars 446-50 that draws together the various strands of development in the upper half of the sketchleaf; the only material still absent is the RI statement of tetrachord *T* by the second solo viola in bars 448-9. This omission is immediately rectified in the next working of the passage (sketch (iii) in Figure 7.1), which is little more than a clarifying sketch. Interestingly, both in this later sketch and in the second of two sketch drafts of the Pas-de-Deux Adagio (on sketchleaf **A**052r), Stravinsky emphasizes the interlocking chain of (0 3 4 7) tetrachords by drawing circles around its constituent major and minor thirds.

*

Among the *Agon* sketchleaves there are few workings that cannot, after a little musicological detective work, be related with some conviction to a specific segment of the ballet. The identification of sketchleaf **A**089v, however, poses certain problems. The other side of the leaf--whose consultation forms a familiar and automatic part of our routine--contains an incomplete short score of the Pas-de-Deux's Coda, an observation that supplies no clues. It is, rather, the tetrachordal structure of the single notation on **A**089v itself, as transcribed in Example 7.16, that suggests its provenance among those Adagio sketches showing a concern with interlocking (0 3 4 7) and (0 1 3 4) tetrachords. This short but intriguing working seems not to have any direct descendant in the published score, but its construction nonetheless embodies the compositional principle that guided Stravinsky in the slow evolution of bars 446-50.

This time, the presentation of the sketch gives the clearest possible indication of its tetrachordal groupings. The unstemmed note-heads spell out two major/minor (0

3 4 7) tetrachords, distinguished from each other by the presence or absence of connecting lines: C-A-A^{b}-F (traced by the lines) and E-G-G#-B. The 'base' pitches of these two groups when arranged in close formation, F and E, are separated by one semitone. In addition, two serial orderings of tetrachord *T* (0 1 3 4) are defined and differentiated by their stems. The interest of Example 7.16 lies in its illustration of Stravinsky's attempt to disguise these tetrachordal affiliations using a pattern of interlocking that is perhaps more complex--on account of the exclusively linear orientation of the constituent groups--than much of the interaction evident in the final version.

The pattern approached most closely by the sketch is concealed deep within bars 416-18:1, whose pitch configuration is represented schematically in Figure 7.2 below. (The pitches of the lower strings, which are irrelevant to the present discussion, are not shown: their E^{b} and sustained A^{b} simply prolong the fourth elements of the two *T*-tetrachords in the preceding bars, while the cello's C^{b} in bar 417 doubles the solo viola.) As mentioned above (page 195, n. 7), the solo flourishes in bar 416 are comprised of more major/minor structures. The (0 3 4 7) affiliations of the solo violin's A-C-F-A^{b}-F^{b}-D^{b} sequence are disclosed more clearly when the line is represented as F-A^{b}-A-C/A^{b}-F-F^{b}-D^{b}; similarly, the viola's D-F-F#-A-B^{b}-D^{b} can be read (without rearrangement) as two (0 3 4 7) tetrachords whose 'base' pitches are defined by the pitches D and F#. Of these, the tetrachords highlighted in Figure 7.2 provide our initial point of contact with the structure of the unidentified sketch, for their 'base' pitches, F and F#, are separated by a semitone, as were those of the two (0 3 4 7) tetrachords in Example 7.16.

Figure 7.2

| | | |

In other words, the collectional relationship between the two major/minor tetrachords shown in the sketch is preserved in the solo string lines of bar 416, though the tetrachords appear a semitone higher than their original transpositional levels.

Any such correspondence between the (0 1 3 4) units is precluded by the knowledge that only one such collection is used at this point in the score, whereas the sketch includes two. We may note, however, that the single statement bridging bars 417 and 418--a retrograde inversion ordering of the referential tetrachord--is a faithful transposition, again one semitone higher, of the first sketched (0 1 3 4) figure in Example 7.16 (with ascending stems); thus another collectional relationship inherent in the sketch is incorporated into the final version. Whether or not Stravinsky actually modelled the unique patterning of bars 416-18:1 on the sketch itself, the structural analogies have been drawn simply to illustrate further his present, unswaying adherence to tetrachordal principles of organization. Once again it was the intervallic *conception* reflected in a preliminary compositional experiment--rather than an exactly-transplanted pitch or interval sequence--that found expression in the ballet score.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF WEBERN

The purpose of this lengthy discourse on the functions of what I have termed 'tetrachord *T*' (or the (0 1 3 4) unit) and the 'major/minor tetrachord' (or the (0 3 4 7) unit) in *Agon*'s Pas-de-Deux is to focus attention on the saturation of its musical texture by those structural elements that also define the partitioning within the set of Webern's *Variations*, op. 30. This is not to suggest that Stravinsky intended a 'literal pastiche'--to coin Pousseur's phrase--of Webern, but merely to underline the extent to which his compositional thinking at this time (late 1956-early 1957) was permeated by the influence of Webernian means of expression.

Pousseur begins his discussion of 'Stravinsky by way of Webern' (1972) with an

extended polemic against Pierre Boulez's implication, in the 1966 collection *Relevés d'Apprenti*, that Stravinsky, having 'reflected', simply 'changed his mind' about the validity of serial composition, and consciously assimilated into his own technical resources the methods of Webern.[9] This is vigorously refuted by Pousseur, who asks:

> Couldn't it be also that, or rather because, an extraordinary relationship was revealed to him [Stravinsky] ..., because his own language ... contained *in its very nature*, in its most *fundamental principle* ... potentials of absorption and development fecundated and exalted by contact with the work of the Viennese musician? (1972, I, p. 17)

By way of an answer, Pousseur embarks on his protracted analysis of Stravinsky's harmony, by which he understands the 'treatment (horizontal as well as vertical) of intervals and groups of intervals'in *Agon* and *The Rite of Spring*. Here, it is the 'potentials of absorption and development' contained within the 'very nature' of Stravinsky's language (which Pousseur does not define as fully as we might anticipate from the extract above) that are our immediate concern. If it can be shown that Stravinsky's harmonic language--understanding harmony in the broad sense as interpreted by Pousseur--*characteristically* tended towards articulatory procedures based on major/minor structuring (to consider but one factor in the network of influences), then the intensive development of the 'Webernian' major/minor techniques in the Pas-de-Deux may indeed be considered to have been stimulated (though certainly not instigated) 'by contact with the work of the Viennese musician'.

We do not have to retreat far from *Agon* to find examples of Stravinsky's earlier

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[9] See Boulez, 'Une conjonction--en trois éclats', which originally appeared in 1958 in the collection *Avec Stravinsky* (Robert Craft et al., Monaco), reprinted in *Relevés d'Apprenti* (Paris, 1966); new English translation by Stephen Walsh, *Stocktakings from an Apprenticeship* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 217-19. Pousseur also refers to the essay 'Trajectoires: Ravel, Stravinsky, Schoenberg', from this collection (pp. 188-208 in the English translation).

preoccupation with major/minor structures.[10] In the first movement of *Canticum Sacrum* (and, necessarily, the retrograde-related last movement), the importance of G 'major/minor' (often without its root) and B^b 'major/minor', for example in the choral passages, is expressed by means of G-B^b-B-D^b-D articulations. Wolterink discusses the central role of the conflicting major/minor triads contained within this axis, G-B^b-B and B^b-B-D:

> In a sense, the emphasis placed on the B^b/B natural and D^b/D natural conflicts might be understood as the triumph of the 'third'-heavy registration of which Stravinsky was so fond; the 'thirds' have become so pronounced that the root is completely obscured. (1979, p. 233)

Without the G, the remaining pitches form a (0 1 3 4) tetrachord, B^b-B-D^b-D, coincidentally (we assume) possessing an identical pitch content to that of our 'referential' tetrachord *T* in *Agon*'s Pas-de-Deux. But in the outer movements of *Canticum Sacrum*, the partitioning of this (0 1 3 4) tetrachord into its two overlapping major/minor (0 1 4/0 3 4) triads (B^b-B-D and B^b-D^b-D) is functionally more prominent, defining shifts of polarity within the framework of the choral passages. Indeed, Wolterink considers the overlapping of major/minor triads to be the harmonic basis of the whole work, a theory supported by their frequency as vertical sonorities and their ability to establish relationships among the various polarities found in each movement.

In the context of major/minor patterning, Wolterink notes two further significant uses of the (0 1 3 4) tetrachord, now employed in a linear capacity: the emphatic A-B^b-C#-C orientation of the theme of the 1923 Octet's 'Tema con Variazioni', and the fugue subject of the second movement of the 1930 *Symphony of Psalms*; the celebrated status of the 'third' relationships in the whole of the *Symphony of Psalms* perhaps owes something to the composer's own reference, when discussing the first movement, to the

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[10] Fuller discussions may be found in Wolterink (1979) and Straus (1982b).

'sequences of two minor thirds joined by a major third, the root idea of the whole work' (*D&D*, p. 45).

Joseph Straus (1982b) also cites the *Symphony of Psalms* as illustrative of his theory that Stravinsky frequently used a 'tonal axis' as an organizational principle. The relevance of Straus's theory to the present discussion is contained within the first stipulation of the following extract:

> A tonal axis is a nucleus of pitches with three defining characteristics: 1. It must consist of overlapping major and minor triads, for example, E G B D ... 2. It must function in the piece as a referential sonority ... 3. It must embody a conflict or polarity between its two constituent triads. (1982b, p. 265)

Among his many examples of such axes, Straus shows how the axis E-G-B-D governs the tonal direction of the first movement of the *Symphony of Psalms*, with a shift from the elements of the minor triad E-G-B to those of the major triad G-B-D. In the final movement, he identifies not one but two interacting axes, primary and secondary (C-E/E^b-G-B^b and A-C/C#-E-G respectively), both embodying major/minor conflict.

Without delving further, then, it is readily apparent that the use of major/minor structures, both on a small scale (intervallic structuring) and, equally, on the larger scale of tonal direction, was a long-established component of Stravinsky's musical vocabulary--one reason, perhaps, why his compositional technique was to prove so receptive to the influence of Webern (and, possibly, one of the 'potentials of absorption and development' to which Pousseur so tantalizingly refers).

But in the context of the Pas-de-Deux, the usefulness of these observations hinges on one crucial issue: whether Stravinsky can actually be credited with a detailed knowledge of Webern's scores at the time of composition. Certainly, it is not only *Agon* that suggests such familiarity, if we are to judge by contemporary reviews and programme notes for his earlier serial works. Robert Craft finds traces of Webern in

the 1953 Septet:

> The eight-bar Passacaglia theme is divided in its first phrase ... somewhat in the manner of a *Klangfarbenmelodie*. ... To some listeners [the] last variation might seem reminiscent of the manner of Webern.[11]

And Arthur Berger identifies a deepening of this influence in the *Three Songs from William Shakespeare*, composed later in the same year:

> Passing affinities to Webern in the rather Baroque Septet, such as those at the end of the Passacaglia, now characterize the whole first song, 'Musicke to heare.' It is tenuous and sparse, with the typical wide skips in wisps of melody that may originate in the flute, only to break off promptly and be continued by clarinet and viola.
>
> [In the] other two songs, 'Full Fadom Five' and 'When Dasies pied,' ... the voice and instruments ... emerge as a single instrument of vastly contrasting timbres, somewhat as they do in Webern.[12]

Herbert Eimert (1955, p. 35) describes Stravinsky's technique in these Songs as 'decisively Webernian in the germ and core of the intervals' [*mit dem entscheidend Webernschen Ansatz im Keim und Kern des Intervalls*]. In June 1955 Stravinsky wrote his short but well-known tribute to Webern, published as a foreword to the second volume of *Die Reihe* (1955; English edition, 1958), in which he hails the Viennese serialist as a 'great composer' and a 'real hero'. After this, it is hardly surprising to find that more and more critics detected the influence of Webern in Stravinsky's own works, so that by the time of *Canticum Sacrum* references to this influence were becoming almost commonplace:

> All three contrapuntal movements are based on dodecaphonic technique, and, notably in the instrumental writing of the tenor song 'Surge, aquilo,' the

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[11] From Craft's programme notes for the Septet première at Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University (24 January 1954) [*Nachlass* 94:600494].

[12] From Arthur Berger's review of the Songs' première at Harvard University: 'New Shakespeare Songs Show Stravinsky's Vigor', *New York Herald Tribune* (30 May 1954) [*Nachlass* 94:600158].

influence of Webern is particularly evident.[13]

But what, specifically, of the influence of the *Variations for Orchestra*, op. 30? Interestingly, it was not *Agon* but *Canticum Sacrum* that prompted the first mention of such a parallel: Roman Vlad's programme notes for the première tour of the *Canticum* identify the occasional 'instrumental disposition which betrays an acquaintance with Webern's Variations for orchestra'.[14] Returning to *Agon*, it comes as something of a surprise to learn that Pousseur, despite his discussion of Stravinsky's reworking of elements conceivably suggested to him by the *Variations*, could neither corroborate nor refute Vlad's suggestion; remarkably, in view of the conviction with which his arguments are formulated, Pousseur was at that time cheerfully ignorant as to whether Stravinsky knew the earlier work at all:

> I do not know if [Stravinsky] had analysed Webern's Variations. If he did so, he could not help but have been struck by what he found there. Otherwise, the coincidence is all the more striking! (1972, I, p. 23)

By the mid-1960s, when Stravinsky was referring publicly to the *Variations* as one of Webern's 'greatest achievements',[15] his knowledge of that score had been confirmed by secondary sources. In 1957 Craft recalled that Webern's Quartet op. 22 was the first work to have stimulated any abiding interest on Stravinsky's part--and it is this

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[13] From a review by Peter Heyworth of the première of *Canticum Sacrum*: 'Stravinsky in Venice', *The Observer* (16 September 1956), p. 15 [*Nachlass* 97:610800].

[14] Programme of concert in the Accademia Filarmonica Romana (Rome), 29 November 1956 [*Nachlass* 97:610415]. A translation of these notes appears in Vlad (3/1978, pp. 183-4).

[15] In the interview 'A Decade Later' (1965) at the University of Washington, subsequently published as the introduction to Hans Moldenhauer, comp., and Demar Irvine, ed., *Anton von Webern: Perspectives* (Seattle & London, 1966; reprinted New York, 1978), pp. xix-xxvii; reprinted in *T&E*, pp. 115-23. When the interview was revised slightly for the English edition *T&C* the *Variations* were further commended as 'the tallest of all' (p. 96).

account of events that is usually cited:

> Stravinsky's first deep impression of [serial] music came from the *Quartet* opus 22 by Webern which he heard several times in January and February, 1952. ... In the years between 1952 and 1955 no composer can have lived in closer contact with the music of Webern. Stravinsky was familiar with the sound of the Webern *Cantatas* and of the instrumental songs at a time when some of these works had not yet been performed in Europe. The challenge of Webern has been the strongest in his life. ... And his own uses [of serial technique] have already produced little masterpieces like the *In Memoriam Dylan Thomas*, the *Virtutes* in the *Canticum*, and the latter parts of *Agon*, music which discovers Stravinsky anew and which gives a new unity to all his work. (Craft, 1957a, pp. 12-13)

But in his review article 'Stravinsky Centenary', Craft describes how, during a visit to Baden-Baden in 1951, Stravinsky was

> stunned by Webern's Orchestra Variations, asking to hear the tape three times in succession and again the next day ... before then Stravinsky had neither heard nor seen any music by Webern.[16]

The impression created in 1951 by the *Variations* was evidently profound.

Of Craft's own role in the famous *volte-face* much has been written, and, no doubt, the depth of his influence will continue to attract attention. Could a composer with Stravinsky's receptivity and appetite for learning really have remained indifferent to Craft's infectious enthusiasm for the music of the Second Viennese School? Surely the young conductor's active promotion of this music and that of its *avant-garde* descendants in the Los Angeles organization 'Evenings on the Roof', and his ongoing project to direct recordings of Webern's entire oeuvre for Columbia Records could not have been anything but instrumental to this 'conversion'?[17] In short, it is difficult to

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[16] Robert Craft, 'Stravinsky Centenary', in *Small Craft Advisories: Critical Articles, 1984-1988* (London, 1989), pp. 157-76; quote from p. 175.

[17] Some of Vera Stravinsky's diary entries in September 1954 to February 1955 record occasions on which Craft's rehearsals for the Webern recordings actually took place in the Stravinsky household; see Vera Stravinsky (1985), pp. 175, 177. And in an informative interview with Jay S. Harrison about his relation to and work with

accept that the seventy-year-old Stravinsky would *independently* have pursued with such vigour his new-found acquaintance with the serial discipline had the logistics of the conversion not been eased by his accomplice's keen desire to share this world of musical expression. Despite all this, Craft issued repeated disclaimers, many of them wryly stressing Stravinsky's stubbornness:

> I suppose I led the horse to water, but no one in the universe could make that horse drink if he didn't want to. No one influences Stravinsky: he chooses his own. He is not concerned with the preoccupation of other composers: he just absorbs what he thinks is best for his own music.[18]

Later, however, Craft was more categorical in his reminiscences:

> Perhaps the time has come for me to say, as I have not done before, that I provided the path and that I do not believe Stravinsky would ever have taken the direction that he did without me.[19]

The *Nachlass* itself furnishes us with information of a more factual nature concerning Stravinsky's burgeoning serial involvement. For instance, in his correspondence with Edgar Bielefeldt of the Bonn office of Boosey & Hawkes, through whom Stravinsky requested and purchased several additions to his theoretical musical library and his collection of scores, we learn of several items of interest, such as Herbert Eimert's *Lehrbuch der 12-Ton Technik* (requested in a letter of 9 August 1955 to Bielefeldt, reprinted in *SSC-III*, pp. 390-1). Also of note is Stravinsky's possession of Humphrey Searle's article 'Webern's last works' (in the December 1946 edition of *The Monthly Musical Record*), and the second Webern special issue of *Die Reihe* (1955),

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Stravinsky, Craft said, 'When I recorded the complete works of Webern for Columbia he attended every rehearsal, every session, every moment of editing' (*New York Herald Tribune*, 20 December 1959, section IV, p. 5 [*Nachlass* 102:630237-8]).

[18] From the interview mentioned in note 17 above.

[19] Robert Craft, 'My Life with Stravinsky', *New York Review of Books* (10 June 1982), pp. 6-10; extract from p. 10.

containing the introductory tribute by Stravinsky mentioned above.[20]

Most compelling, however, is the exchange of letters that took place between Stravinsky and Bielefeldt in the autumn of 1955, through which Stravinsky procures a replacement score of Webern's orchestral *Variations*. The initial appeal from Stravinsky, dated 29 September 1955 and in English, is reprinted in *SSC-III*, p. 391:

> May I ask you today to send me Anton Webern's *Variationen für Orchester*, Op. 30. I cannot find [it] in my library; I probably lent it to somebody [which] means that I have to consider it as lost.

By this the matter would seem to be settled: Stravinsky did indeed know the *Variations* and even deplored the absence of his score; we surmise that he was taking an active interest in the work in the period preceding the composition of *Agon*'s Pas-de-Deux. Bielefeldt evidently carried out his mission successfully, to judge by a brief note of thanks from Stravinsky, dated 12 October 1955 and reprinted in *SSC-III* (p. 392; original in German): 'Many thanks for the score of Webern's Orchestra Variations, which I received today'.[21]

Regrettably, the *Nachlass* itself contains no material evidence of Stravinsky actually settling down to an analysis of any of Webern's scores. But an analytical interest is attested by a small sketchleaf slotted into Stravinsky's copy of the *Variations*, upon which he has written out the appropriate row form, and by his own pencil copy of the final movement of Webern's Cantata No. 2, op. 31 (both in the

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[20] See Craft (1986).

[21] The letter to Bielefeldt of 27 October 1955 reprinted in *SSC-III* (p. 393) provides further evidence of Stravinsky's interest in all things Webernian: 'One more favor: Can you find and send me Anton Webern's edition of the second volume of Heinrich Isaak's *Choralis Constantinus* in the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* (1909) publication?' (original in German).

Sammlung Robert Craft).[22]

III. THE SKETCHING OF THE PAS-DE-DEUX ADAGIO

Sketchleaf **A065r**, upon which Stravinsky worked out the interaction of the fundamental tetrachordal structures in bars 446-50 of the Pas-de-Deux Adagio, contains an unusually large proportion of material that was either rejected or significantly modified before its incorporation into the (more-or-less) final formulation of the passage in the sketch transcribed as Example 7.15. This unaccustomed concentration on developmental procedures--which characterizes the sketching of the Pas-de-Deux as a whole, and even extends to the composition of the following Duos and Trios--perhaps reflects Stravinsky's initial uncertainty and difficulties with his new language of Webern-influenced serialism. Certainly, the intensive and complex manipulation of small units represents a departure very different in its priorities to the primarily linear, twelve-tone serial processes at work in *Canticum Sacrum*.

The extent to which the composing of these final sections of the ballet was founded on uncharacteristically developmental methods is exemplified on an early sketchleaf, **A063**, which contains intricate intervallic workings for the beginning of the Pas-de-Deux. The various fragments occupying Stravinsky's attention do not, at first, appear in the 'correct' order, but in the lower half of the page they are modified and reshuffled, elements of certain fragments merging with or influencing the development of others, until Stravinsky is able to join them together into a longer and more familiar sequence. This was not the usual technique for one about whom Robert Craft could state 'the sequence of sketches was never in doubt in his mind' (*SSC-III*, p. 515), but

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[22] It was presumably the row form and the pencil copy that Craft recalled when he wrote 'I have Stravinsky's annotations (analysis) of Webern's Opus 31 and (if I remember) Opus 30, 3 or 4 sheets of manuscript' (private communication from Robert Craft, dated 6 April 1990).

a treatment of material made possible by its system of generation from one basic tetrachordal unit, tetrachord *T*.

Among the first notations on sketchleaf **A063** is Stravinsky's remarkably successful initial attempt to find a suitable introduction for the Pas-de-Deux, shown in Example 7.17. Already the distinctive oscillation of B^b and C^b forms one musical line above the pitch sequence C-D-D^b. The last section of the sketch suddenly presents the entire introduction in an eminently recognizable format, in which the order and pace of pitch appearance corresponds to those of the final version (if we allow the 'which-comes-first' ambiguity between the bass E^b and the grace-note A^b in the penultimate bar to be resolved in favour of E^b). The sketching of the short introduction, then, provides no hint of the rather laboured--for Stravinsky--expansion, contraction and reshuffling of fragments that would follow.

The introduction is comparatively independent of the later, pervasive presence of tetrachord *T*, and in Example 7.17 the composer refrains from drawing attention in any way to the hidden occurrences of this serial unit. However, any temptation to speculate that this is due to an earlier date of creation (or that the introduction predated Stravinsky's decision to give hegemony to the tetrachord over the twelve-tone row) is dispelled by the contents of the rest of the sketchleaf. Particularly interesting are some isolated workings found immediately above Example 7.17, so close as to be almost part of the same sketch. These fragments are given in Example 7.18; the square brackets are features of the original sketch, while the added, numbered braces highlight certain configurations that would shortly be incorporated into more extended sketches, to be considered below in relation to Example 7.21. At this stage of composition the role of the fragments shown in Example 7.18 is minimal, but Stravinsky's square brackets at least indicate his awareness and acceptance of tetrachord *T* as a potentially generative unit.

The introductory row has itself been interpreted as a summary of the tetrachordal relations that are the essence of the Pas-de-Deux's Adagio. In his eighteen-page 'note' [*sic*] entitled 'Tetrachordstrukturen als Ansätze zu einer System' ('Tetrachord structures as the beginnings of a system'), Mikis Theodorakis denies that the introduction's dodecaphonic row is in any sense structurally separate from the material that follows, and presents the pitch sequence of this row as a complex formed from the interlocking of the two tetrachordal structures to which the musical fabric of the entire Adagio may be reduced (1987, p. 204). Example 7.19 gives Theodorakis' illustration of the introductory row as a vehicle for the presentation of two statements of the (0 1 3 4) tetrachord *T*--labelled [1] and [3]--interrupted by the elements of a single 'nonserial' major/minor (0 3 4 7) tetrachord, [2]; hence, the introduction is understood as a parallel to the texture of the Adagio. Theodorakis' theory is attractive, but the 'system' to which his title refers is perhaps applied a little over-enthusiastically; his identifying of two *T*-tetrachords is plausible on the grounds of the subtle emphasis they acquire in the score through such factors as verticalization, register and instrumentation, but since there is no similar attempt to group the nonadjacent elements of the major/minor tetrachord, it seems unlikely that Stravinsky intended it to be heard as such.

Before the promise of a texture governed by serial manipulations of tetrachord *T* became a reality, Stravinsky flirted briefly with the more conventional idea of using the twelve-tone row that he had just worked out (in Example 7.17) as a point of departure. In Example 7.20, the first five-note segment of the row (B^{b}-C^{b}-C-D-D^{b}) is developed in a manner similar to the treatment eventually accorded the referential tetrachord in the solo violin passages, with a rubato-style emphasis on the major seventh. This initial excursion of the introductory series as a direct compositional resource also appears to have been its last; on the stave below, Stravinsky made a

simple but significant adjustment that was to prove decisive in dissociating the serial basis of the movement from the authority of the dodecaphonic row and simultaneously elevating tetrachord *T* to its position of prominence. Having written out the introduction--in its final form, though as yet unrefined by niceties such as accents or expression markings--Stravinsky proceeded to eliminate the central C-natural from the five-note segment extracted from the opening of the introductory row, thereby laying bare the 'referential' tetrachord B^{b}-C^{b}-D-D^{b}: see Example 7.21, which begins with the compressed segment (and whose lowest stave contains further consolidation of this referential tetrachord in the form of a retrograde statement expressed in note heads).

Despite the omission of the 'nonserial' bars 416-17:2 (which, we may recall, are based on major/minor tetrachordal configurations), Example 7.21 is an early conception of the material which Stravinsky intended as a continuation of the introduction. Its lower staves draw heavily on certain fragments from Example 7.18, correspondences which are indicated on both examples by the added, numbered braces; the square brackets added by the composer again elucidate some, but by no means all, of the occurrences of tetrachord *T*. Here, too, a small and experimental revision to the pitch sequence forges another statement of tetrachord *T*: by altering the final note of fragment (1) from G to A, in the fragment labelled (1a), Stravinsky is justified in adding a serial bracket to mark the inversional form of the tetrachordal series, C-B-G#-A. But this experiment was evidently not considered a great success, for the revised version does not feature in the published score.

There are several points of contact between Example 7.21 and the final score, such as the fourth and fifth full bars of the sketch (which represent the configurations of bars 421-2) and the following G-A^{b} oscillation (which would find expression in the pizzicato/arco articulation of bar 426). But at this early stage of composition the many

differences present themselves with equal force: the sketch's opening is more readily identifiable with the 'seconda volta' solo violin passage (bars 438-40) than with the corresponding passage earlier in the movement (bars 417:3-420:1), and the brief section inserted by means of arrows contains material that--though based on overlapping *T*-tetrachords--would later be rejected. But more relevant to a consideration of Stravinsky's currently developmental compositional process is the ordering of fragments, which still deviates from that of the final version. The second 'system' of the sketch, for example, begins with the G-A^{b} oscillation of bar 426 leading into the intervallic sequence of bar 423 (the segment G-A^{b}-F-E-E^{b}-F#-G is as yet in need of an upward transposition by a fifth); the following 3/8 bar containing fragment (1a) does not survive beyond the sketches, while the last bar on this stave presents the pitch sequence of bar 425.

Stravinsky makes some progress toward consolidating the final arrangement of the fragments in the next large sketch on sketchleaf **A**063, shown in Example 7.22, in which he again relies on short extensions of material on extra stave fragments, whose exact point of insertion is indicated by arrows. At first there is little change from the lower half of Example 7.21, but towards the end of the passage Stravinsky expands the segment G#-G, whose potential had remained unfulfilled in the earlier sketch: the RI tetrachord is completed by the addition of the segment B^{b}-B and also developed internally by means of the ubiquitous minor 9th oscillations. Stravinsky encounters some difficulty in finding the precise form of this expansion, to judge by the replacement sketched on the uppermost stave for the circled 'arco spiccato' version, and by the extra insertion that follows, but the sketch does confirm the position of the repeated arco/pizzicato G#-G of bar 426 in the chain of assembled fragments; it remained for the composer to delete the too-similar opening fragment. At the end of the sketch we witness for the first time since the introduction the verticalization of the

referential tetrachord, as in bar 427.

Next, short sketches concentrate on revisions to the pitch sequence that *precedes* the oscillations of bar 426. Having discarded the initial fluctuating G-A^{b}, augmented the following segment and transposed the resulting sequence, Stravinsky arrives at the configuration shown in Example 7.23. At last, and not without considerable effort, Stravinsky has sculpted an outline of bars 423-7 with which he was not dissatisfied.

The last substantial sketch on **A063** continues the process of pulling together elements derived from earlier sketches: see Example 7.24.[23] Great emphasis is laid on the referential tetrachord at the beginning of this sketch, prolonged by the insistent D-D^{b} reiteration originally developed in Examples 7.20 and 7.21. The initial statement of this tetrachord in the uppermost stave would later be transposed down a fourth to give the F-G^{b}-A-A^{b} tetrachord of bars 414-15 (violin solo moving to double bass), a revision that forged a stronger link both with the immediately-preceding, content-related F#-A^{b}-F-A fragment at the end of the introduction (violins, bar 413) and with the first pitch, A, of the violin's sextuplet that follows in bar 416. As before, the treatment of Example 7.24's 'referential' tetrachord extension bears a greater resemblance to the 'seconda volta' bars than to any earlier passage, but the material with which the sketch continues and a later sketch draft of the Pas-de-Deux Adagio (on sketchleaf **A053**) both suggest that this passage was indeed intended to follow the introduction. (The 'nonserial' sextuplet and quintuplet figures of bars 416-417:2 would be added during the construction of the sketch draft on sketchleaf **A053**.)

The point marked by an added asterisk on Example 7.24 corresponds to bar 417:3; from here up to bar 428 the identification with the published score is

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[23] The accidentals omitted on the manuscript sketchleaf, enclosed in square brackets in the example, were minor oversights that probably arose as a result of a late addition of barlines; they may all be inferred from the context (repeated notes, tetrachordal bracketing, and so on).

unmistakeable. To an even greater extent than in the score, the 'referential' tetrachord functions as a point of departure and return; the extensions of this figure at the start of the sketch--further prolonged by a small circled insert whose bracketed contents refer to bar 420--eventually lead back to the successive verticalization of the elements of this same tetrachord, via material derived in turn from Examples 7.21 and 7.23.

Considering sketchleaf **A**063 in a wider context, its most significant contributions to the sketching of the Pas-de-Deux are the growing importance of tetrachord *T* and the development of the role of the 'referential' ordering. After an introduction that could almost have been conceived independently of the influence of tetrachord *T*, were it not for the tell-tale brackets on nearby notations, Stravinsky revises or eliminates from the ensuing sequence of sketches any pitch configurations that do not conform to serially-derived structurings of his selected tetrachordal unit. Meticulous rearrangement and modification of the various fragments thus forged, a developmental procedure untypical of Stravinsky, yields a large proportion of the Adagio's material. Up to this point in the sketching of the Pas-de-Deux, Stravinsky has been been content to fashion his musical texture from relatively unordered patterns of overlapping and interlocking tetrachords, free from the dictates of systematic principles of extension; the introduction of such principles in the seven- and thirteen-tone rows that would shortly be brought into play represents another significant step in the composition of this complex movement. First, however, the Più mosso introduces a new tetrachordal unit that is also accorded strict serial treatment.

IV. THE PIU MOSSO: A WHOLE-TONE TETRACHORDAL VARIANT

Let us recall again the simple outline of the Pas-de-Deux on Stravinsky and Balanchine's original plan:

	Adagio	♀	♀
Pas		Ω	Δ
de	Variation	(he)	
deux	"	(she)	
	Coda	(both)	

[sketchleaf **A**001]

Choreographically speaking, the variations for male and female dancers alone--collectively the Più mosso--represent the central section of the Pas-de-Deux. Stravinsky's music forcefully reflects this choreographic division, most obviously by the sudden change to emphatic, leaping canonic lines assigned to the 'masculine' combination of horns and piano in the two outer sections, and the contrastingly gentle middle section in which the flutes weave a sinuous melody over soft, unvarying chords in the strings. The division is also reflected by a deep-rooted variation in the internal musical fabric of the Più mosso, for it is only in this section that the supremacy of tetrachord *T* is significantly challenged. Though the composition of its central section will not be discussed in detail, this survey of the Pas-de-Deux as a web of tetrachordal interaction would be incomplete without some mention of the two variants of the movement's fundamental serial unit.

The serial unit of the male dancer variations, still tetrachordal, is essentially a 'whole-tone variant' of the serial form of tetrachord *T*, obtained by augmenting each interval of the original series by a semitone: thus, instead of an interval succession consisting of semitone-minor third-semitone (B-B^{b}-D^{b}-D), the whole-tone version consists of tone-major third-tone (C#-B-D#-E#). Expressed in its closest formation the variant is a (0 2 4 6) tetrachord, or a segment of the whole-tone row; it is shown in Example 7.25, together with a summary of its usage in the first and third variations.[24] In each of these variations the 'canonic subject', distributed among the horns,

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[24] Craft (1957b, p. 288) and Vlad (3/1978, p. 205) both suggest for the Più mosso an eight-note series corresponding to the pitch sequence of the horns in the first male dancer variation (bars 463-72), but this longer serial unit is not valid for the second

is formed from two disjunct statements of the whole-tone tetrachordal variant, while the piano follows at the fourth below.

In contrast to the outer sections of the Pas-de-Deux (the Adagio and the Coda) the composition of the Più mosso was extremely fluent, with most of the musical development confined to a single sketchleaf (**A**065v). Stravinsky appears to have encountered no difficulty in working out the male dancer's whole-tone variant or the canonic treatment to which it is subjected. Having summarized the pitch sequence of the horns (in the first canon) in a small, circled notation on sketchleaf **A**065v, Stravinsky finds the rhythm, the distance between voices in the canonic lines and the interval of the canon as he pieces together a short score of the passage. The same procedure, recorded lower down the sketchleaf, yields the canon of the second male dancer variation and the subsequent return to tetrachord *T* in a short concluding passage of triple counterpoint (bars 490:3-493, horns and flute 1).

The flute melody of the central, female dancer variation is also based on serial orderings of tetrachord *T*. It makes no reference to the 'whole-tone variant' of the male dancer sections, but echoes the surrounding canons in its incorporation of an imitative line in double augmentation (flute 3, bars 474-82), again at the fourth below. The accompanying strings' chord (G-A-B^{b}-C in close formation), whose soft reiterations are well under way by the end of the preceding section, refers to a third tetrachordal type, (0 2 3 5). Although (0 2 3 5) structures played a prominent role in the earlier note rows of the First Pas-de-Trois Coda and the group of Bransles, Stravinsky left no clues among the relevant sketches in the form of rejections, revisions, labels or brackets as to the origins of the verticalized (0 2 3 5) collection in this part of the ballet.

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such variation (bars 484-94).

V. EXTENSIONS OF TETRACHORD *T* TO FORM AUTONOMOUS SERIAL UNITS: THE PAS-DE-DEUX CODA

Let us return to tetrachord *T* and its development in terms of systematic extension, by means of imbrication, to form longer units that themselves function serially. Such extensions dominate the tetrachordal succession during two substantial passages in the Pas-de-Deux: the conclusion of the Adagio (bars 452-62) and the Coda (especially bars 495-503 and 512-18). Of these, the Coda has by far the more interesting gestation, despite its construction from seven-tone, as opposed to thirteen-tone, tetrachordal extensions, and it is consequently this passage that will be examined in detail. (These serial extensions are discussed briefly in section 7.I above; see too Example 7.9, which reveals the Adagio's thirteen-tone row to consist of nothing other than two overlapping transpositions of the seven-tone unit.)

The Coda's opening section may be reduced to four statements, rhythmically and instrumentally varied, of a pitch sequence comprising the seven-tone extension of tetrachord *T* and its immediate, overlapping retrograde. This regular pattern of seven-tone extensions is interrupted only once, by the tetrachordal configuration at bar 496:3 (piano with brass). Despite the consistent overlapping of the seven-tone row with its retrograde to form the repeated thirteen-element pitch succession, the serial unit of the Coda will continue to be termed the *seven*-tone row, both in recognition of its autonomy within the larger palindromic structure and to distinguish it from the separate and non-palindromic thirteen-tone row of the Pas-de-Deux Adagio (bars 452-62).

The construction of the first section of the Coda was disproportionately trouble-some. Rather unexpectedly, the earliest recognition of its fundamental seven-tone unit occurs at the top of the Più mosso sketchleaf, **A**065v, before Stravinsky became side-tracked by the development of variant tetrachordal material for that section. In this first sketch, shown in Example 7.26, the two overlapping *T*-tetrachords that together

form the seven-tone row (in its forwards direction) are bracketed and followed by the row's retrograde. The fifth tone (C^b) plugs the chromatic 'gap' of the first tetrachord, and the two initial tetrachords stand serially in the relation P-RI. The full pitch sequence produced by the doubling-back of the seven-tone row, therefore, contains all four serial forms of tetrachord *T*: P-RI-I-R. The derivation of this row from the tetrachords of sketchleaf **A**068 (originally reproduced in Example 7.4 and shown again as Example 7.27)--around which was folded the note 'from Pas-de-Deux to the end'--is implied in Example 7.26 both by the identical transpositional and registral level, and more specifically by the use of the same numbers to identify the serial forms of the first two constituent tetrachords. The correspondence of this seven-tone sequence to the series of Webern's *Variations* (cf. Example 7.11) is made all the more striking by Stravinsky's choice of transposition level, which is identical to that of the Webern row. Was Stravinsky actively using the *Variations* set as a model for his tetrachordal manipulations, or was this correspondence purely coincidental? At the time of the Pas-de-Deux's composition Stravinsky was undoubtedly well aware of the equivalence of his own tetrachordal extensions and their Viennese forerunner, and the fact that he wrote out the row of the *Variations* on a separate sketchleaf, now slotted into his copy of the Webern score (*Sammlung Robert Craft*), certainly suggests more than a passing interest.

Though the sketching of the central Più mosso--and hence the representation on sketchleaf **A**065v of the serial unit shown in Example 7.26--did not necessarily precede the composition of the Pas-de-Deux's Coda, there can be no doubt that this tetrachordal sequence was fully-shaped and conceived as a serial unit before Stravinsky began work on the Coda itself. Consequently the development of the Coda again involved the principle of 'thematic sculpting' from a given row, but this is not to imply that the procedures followed are devoid of interest; on the contrary, the intricate

workings uncover sometimes surprising relationships among the different ingredients of the Pas-de-Deux's score.

At the head of sketchleaf **A066**, which records his first concerted effort to fashion the material of the Coda, Stravinsky once again inscribes the seven-tone row, still starting on A, followed not by its retrograde but by a single pitch, G^{b}, whose presence completes a major/minor (0 3 4 7) tetrachord: B-D-E^{b}-G^{b}. To judge by the tetrachordal groupings indicated by the stems, however, the G^{b} looks set to inaugurate a third tetrachordal unit rather than conclude a projected eight-note row. This version of the row is immediately superseded by a second, extended notation showing the 'definitive' series formed from the familiar seven-tone series and its retrograde. Both notations are given in Example 7.28, in which all the serial brackets and labels are added.

The sketches that follow draw heavily on the retrograded seven-tone sequence. In a rather uninspired dotted-rhythm version sketched below and to one side, the final pitch, A, is sustained (an idea that would find expression in the repeated harp notes of bars 502-3) above a condensed sketch containing several ideas later worked into the Doppio lento section. After a slightly fuller version of this sketch he postponed further development of its material until the potential of the seven-tone row had been explored more thoroughly in working for the Coda's opening section.

There are several irregularities in the first attempt to formulate the initial serial statement of the Coda (Example 7.29, again with added brackets showing tetrachord *T* and its seven-tone extension), despite its similarity to the final version in both rhythm and contour. The pitch sequence at the beginning of the sketch resembles the retrograded seven-tone row jotted at the top of the leaf, but, whether by accident or design, the retrograde segment of the succession omits its third and fourth pitches (B-C), thereby upsetting the otherwise exclusive adherence to tetrachord *T*.

Subsequent revisions to this unrefined version include significant changes in pitch content that bring about the passage's eventual uninterrupted conformity to the seven-tone row. The next two sketches in the chain, side-by-side on the system below, differ in their rhythmic presentation but share the same pitch sequence. Of these, the version at the beginning of the system is more relevant to future developments, and it is this one that is presented in Example 7.30 (the solid brackets are Stravinsky's, the dashed-line brackets added). Stravinsky inserts the two 'missing' pitches (B-C) into the opening sequence to complete a full statement of the retrograded seven-tone row. In the second statement of this sequence the composer himself brackets the occurrences of its fundamental tetrachordal unit, but the progression reaches no further than its eleventh pitch, D^{b}, before breaking off to repeat the central two tetrachords (RI-I); from here the sequence proceeds uninterrupted to its conclusion. Alternatively, we might consider this second statement of the retrograded seven-tone row to have reached its eleventh element and simply doubled back on itself, an equally valid interpretation made possible by the palindromic nature of the full sequence. Whatever the analysis, a lonely D^{b} is left at the point of interruption with no tetrachordal affiliation; it remains unbracketed.

In the next incarnation of the passage this last obstacle in the path of a sequence governed exclusively by tetrachord *T* is removed: the unattached D^{b} is replaced by a rest of equal duration, enabling Stravinsky to account for the whole succession by his tetrachordal brackets. This is also the stage at which he decided to transpose the passage down a tone to reach its final pitch level; the sketch is transcribed in Example 7.31, which also includes the composer's own reminder of the (now-transposed) retrograded seven-tone row. If we recall the identity of registral level between Stravinsky's original tetrachordal extensions (as in Examples 7.26-7.30) and the set of Webern's *Variations*, it is possible that this transposition was undertaken

partly to make the reference to Webern slightly less explicit.

Although sketchleaf **A**066 does contain a separate early working for the prolongation of this material (corresponding roughly to bars 499:3-502:2), it was the reworking of Example 7.31 alone that continued to preoccupy Stravinsky on two other sketchleaves. On sketchleaf **A**088r, though he twice varies the rhythmic and registral details of the early, condensed opening of the Coda (as represented in Example 7.31), Stravinsky still felt the need to make further adjustments to the tetrachordal pattern. Having written out the retrograded seven-tone row twice in succession to form a linear, semiquaver note row, a subsequent working elaborates this note row rhythmically. While it resembles earlier versions of the passage in contour, this latest attempt omits the repetition of the central tetrachords (RI-I) in the second statement of the serial unit, simply presenting the full sequence twice. It therefore draws closer to the serial inclination of the final score, in which there is no reiteration of any fragment as large as a tetrachord. Furthermore, and despite the continuation of this material that he had sketched on sketchleaf **A**066, Stravinsky appears at this stage to have considered this condensed version of the opening passage to represent the entire span of the Coda's first section: in a short score on another sketchleaf (**A**089r) it is this version, slightly modified, that leads directly into a section marked 'molto meno mosso (tranquillo)', which became the second part of the Coda (the Doppio lento).

Still dissatisfied, Stravinsky now recalls the material he had sketched and abandoned on sketchleaf **A**066, containing workings for the prolongation of the striking opening statement. This is shown, retrospectively, in Example 7.32. Serially the passage breaks no new ground, consisting once again of two complete and uninterrupted statements of the retrograded seven-tone row, and again with tetrachordal bracketing by the composer. But the G-A^{b} oscillation (cf. bars 498:3-500:1) is sustained for the first time, and the final pitch, A-natural, refers back to the early sketches

higher up the same leaf (and mentioned briefly above) from which the excursions of the Doppio lento would shortly be launched.

On yet another sketchleaf, **A**087, Stravinsky expands the first section of the Coda by fusing this new material with the condensed version of the opening. He carefully inserts the material of Example 7.32 into the condensed version after the latter's first statement of the retrograded seven-tone row, so as not to disrupt the cyclic unfolding of this serial extension. The result is shown in Example 7.33, in which the added asterisk indicates the point of insertion (all brackets, expression marks and other annotations are Stravinsky's).

The progress achieved by this revision puts us in a position to identify positively the segments of the final score represented in Example 7.33. The material of bar 495:1-2 is followed immediately by bars 497:3-503:2; expressed differently, the sketch represents the whole of the first section of the Coda except bars 495:3-497:2. This omission is partially remedied by an immediate working-out on sketchleaf **A**087 of the piano line in bar 496 (which, though still based on serial permutations of tetrachord *T*, provides the only deviation in the Coda's opening section from the seven-tone serial unit). The strings' lines in bars 495:3-496:2, though not sketched separately, are easily fashioned from similar material developed here or elsewhere (for instance, they are almost identical to bar 498). The appearance of the complete and fully-formed Coda in a later short score (sketchleaf **A**073) therefore comes as no surprise.

VI. THE DOPPIO LENTO: SHARED TETRACHORDAL STRUCTURES

The concluding A-natural of the Coda's first section originated as the final pitch of the retrograded seven-tone row, in an early sketch that also gave fragmentary hints of the ensuing Doppio lento (sketchleaf **A**066; not transcribed). But since all the material derived from the seven-tone row was transposed down a tone in the intervening

development, Stravinsky's reintroduction of this sustained A (in Example 7.32) is both unexpected and serially inexplicable. Harmonically, though, this sudden A-orientation at the threshold of the Doppio lento signals the end of the strict serial bearing of the preceding section, with its unvaried reference to G as a point of departure and return. And when, at the end of the Doppio lento (bar 511), the various tetrachordal pathways converge on G in readiness for the imminent return of the seven-tone serial extension, this slower central section assumes more forcefully the character of a development, providing necessary harmonic excursions.

Before leaving sketchleaf **A**066, Stravinsky made two extended sketches that build on the rudimentary foundations of the Doppio lento. As space permits only a limited foray into the evolution of this central section, Example 7.34a extracts the upper stave of the more developed of these two workings. Though barred differently and as yet unorchestrated, the sketch corresponds to bars 504-10; for reference purposes, the transcription adds dotted barlines and square-bracketed bar numbers corresponding to those of the score. With the exception of one segment (in bars 4-6 of the sketch, bars 507-8 in the score), this extracted stave contains the outline of the mandolin and solo strings' lines combined. Only once does its musical content differ significantly from its eventual form: the very first *T*-tetrachord (for which Stravinsky suggests an alternative registral disposition on a stave fragment above) would be revised from the RI^2 form shown in the sketch to I^5. This apart, and disregarding future doubling lines, the sketch neither omits nor adds any material to that of the score. The tetrachordal change is inconsequential in terms of forming any recognizable serial extension such as the seven-tone row, but may have been incorporated in order to forge a link with the harp line that sounds at this point (bar 504). Figure 7.3 compares the mandolin's pitch sequence as given in the sketch (Example 7.34a) with its final form:

Figure 7.3

	---RI^2-----	---P^{11}------
Sketch:	A G# B C	A B^b D^b C
Final version:	---I^5------- E^b <u>D B C</u>	---P^{11}------- <u>A</u> B^b D^b C

The underlined segment in the final version is an emphatic reference to the A-C-B-D segment sounding simultaneously in the harp, and this correspondence is further stressed in the score by the relegation of the initial E^b to the status of a grace note.

Stravinsky's brackets, colour-coded on the manuscript sketchleaf, are the most eye-catching feature of the sketch. The brackets in Example 7.34a, originally drawn as a colourful combination of red and blue, record the various serial permutations of tetrachord *T*. Example 7.34b divorces these tetrachords from their original context in order to reveal the hidden presence of the seven-tone serial extension that figures so prominently in the opening section of the Coda; the end of the sketch even refers to the full sequence of the seven-tone row leading into its own retrograde. But in contrast to the Coda's opening section, the Doppio lento score obscures these references by its contrapuntal texture, instrumentation and octave displacements.

The transpositional level of the seven-tone serial units shown in Example 7.34b is familiar from those early versions of the Coda's opening section that were completed before the wholesale downwards transposition in Example 7.31. There is, in fact, an almost uncanny resemblance between the pitch sequence of the Doppio lento sketch (Example 7.34a) and that of the earlier sketch given in Example 7.30. This is illustrated in Example 7.34c, which aligns and brackets the segments held in common. After the initial tetrachord of the later sketch the two sequences run almost exactly in parallel, the most significant divergence being caused by the Doppio lento sketch's

omission of the repeated row segment (which, we may recall, was later abandoned even in the Coda). The striking analogy between the two successions, coupled with the fact that they appear on the same sketchleaf and not far distant from one another, suggests that Stravinsky's working-out of the Doppio lento material actually involved recasting the pitch sequence of the comparatively undeveloped Example 7.30--which had subsequently been overtaken by a tide of revision and transposition--for use in a different, but necessarily related, context; the procedure may perhaps be viewed as an advanced form of 'thematic sculpting'. If indeed this were the case, the exploitation of a previously-sketched pitch sequence goes some way toward explaining the huge evolutionary leap between the first, embryonic ideas for the Doppio lento and the advanced state of the next representation (whose upper stave is given in Example 7.34a).

Such comparisons between different stages of the composing process, where applicable, realize what may be regarded as the full potential of the sketches, not only for penetrating this often elusive 'process', but also for throwing into relief previously disguised or even unsuspected relationships; in short, though it is a dangerous expression, for offering analytical insights.

VII. THE QUASI STRETTO

The short Quasi stretto, starting at bar 512, is the third and final part of the Pas-de-Deux's Coda. Its pitch sequence echoes the opening of the Coda at bars 495-6, and thereby implies a level of ternary structuring within the Coda itself. In its construction Stravinsky once again appears to adopt the technique employed during the shaping of the Doppio lento's 'melodic' line: he draws inspiration from a previous stage of sketching, transplanting to a new context early ideas that have since been superseded. Since the passage involved takes the same formative seven-tone unit as its model, the

validity of this claim depends on a repetition of factors other than pitch sequence alone.

An assured presentation on sketchleaf **A**064 of the Quasi stretto in short score, prepared by no preliminary sketching except a summary of the pitch sequence of bars 512-19 on sketchleaf **A**080--which may well have been noted down later--suggests a derivation from the early condensed versions of the Coda's opening section, as recorded in Example 7.33. In Example 7.35 the remarkably accurate documentation of the Quasi stretto (or 'A la strette', as it is currently termed) on sketchleaf **A**064 is pitted against the first two bars of Example 7.33, in order to demonstrate the similarity of contour between the retrograded seven-tone row statements with which both sketches start. (Stravinsky's enthusiastic bracketing of tetrachords confirms that he considered the G of the preceding 'seconda volta' bar 511 to be the initial element of the seven-tone row of the Quasi stretto.) The pitch sequence that overlaps with and follows this row's retrograde in the Quasi stretto short score continues the reference to the opening of the Coda, in that it repeats the first five pitches of the piano line in bar 496 (final score).

Did Stravinsky intend the Quasi stretto to be understood as a conclusion (a coda within a coda), as a transition to the next movement, or even as the new movement's introduction? On two out of the three sketchleaves upon which it is represented, this passage is grouped exclusively with the material of the following Four Duos. The pitch sequence on sketchleaf **A**080 is followed immediately by a faint sketch showing the initial IR^0 dodecaphonic series of the ensuing Four Duos, while sketchleaf **A**064 is more emphatic in its association: the 'A la strette' version shown in Example 7.35 actually inaugurates a sketch short score of the entire Four Duos and part of the Four Trios, and a title in the top right-hand corner of the sketchleaf reads 'Dance of the FOUR DUOS'. And in Robert Craft's listing of the ballet's various dances (1957b, p. 285), the 'A la Strette' is given as a separate movement which introduces the third and final

large division of the ballet; furthermore, Craft adds the modifier 'für Orchester', thereby forging a strong link with the Prelude and Interludes (which function as introductions to the First and Second Pas-de-Trois and the Pas-de-Deux and which are also described specifically as orchestral pieces).[25] However, these factors are balanced somewhat by the earlier sketch short score of the complete Pas-de-Deux Coda (sketchleaves **A**073-**A**074r), which runs on to give a brief incipit for the Quasi stretto.

Serially, the use of the seven-tone row connects the passage to the earlier material of the Coda, as does the placement of this row's initial element G in the final bar of the preceding Doppio lento. But the final pitch of the Quasi stretto, C, belongs to the Four Duos' opening series. In its tempo, metre and return to simple rhythms after the preceding complexity, the Quasi stretto is closely allied to the Duos, but these factors, too, are offset by the recapitulation of intervallic contours initially sketched for the Coda.

In summary, though the Quasi stretto may originally have been intended as an introduction to the final part of the ballet, in the final score Stravinsky intends its status to remain ambiguous; its simplicity belies a skilful fusion of compositional considerations that makes it at once a conclusion, a transition, *and* an introduction.

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[25] Sherr (1988, p. 120, n. 12) notes that the original choreographic Pas-de-Deux ended at bar 511, just before the Quasi stretto.

CHAPTER 8
THE FOUR DUOS AND FOUR TRIOS

I. SERIAL COMPONENTS AND PATTERN COMPLETION

The short Four Duos section opens the third large division of *Agon*. It introduces the Four Trios and inaugurates the approach to the 'resolution' of the entire ballet. Taking up the simple rhythms and unharmonized texture of the Quasi stretto passage at the end of the Pas-de-Deux, its intervallic material is closely connected to that of the preceding dance.

The fundamental unit is once again the (0 1 3 4) *T*-tetrachord, but the Four Duos express this unit solely in terms of a dodecaphonic series, whose prime form is given in Example 8.1. As discussed in section 7.I above, the dodecaphonic series is related to the seven- and thirteen-tone serial extensions of the Pas-de-Deux in several ways. Most audible is the identity of its opening segment with the seven-tone row formed from overlapping P and RI forms of tetrachord *T*. Its third tetrachord suggests the commencement of a new, interlocking statement of the seven-tone row, exactly as in the thirteen-tone row of the concluding passage of the Pas-de-Deux Adagio (bars 452-62). But the possibility of this serial recapitulation is denied by two factors: the central overlap, now comprising two common elements, condenses the series to twelve tones, and the final tetrachord unexpectedly breaks away from the seven-tone model to give a non-serial--though still (0 1 3 4)--tetrachord. The resulting dodecaphonic row, as Pousseur (1972, I, p. 41) observes, differs very little from that of Webern's *Variations*, op. 30; specifically, the first nine elements of both rows define an identical intervallic succession, and the similarity may be extended to the entire set if the last three

elements of Stravinsky's row are retrograded.[1]

Despite the remarkable affinity to Webern's series, Stravinsky's exploitation of his dodecaphonic series in the Four Duos is far less 'Webernian' than the concentrated intervallic manipulations in the preceding dance. Almost as if Stravinsky felt that the possibilities of segmentation, tetrachordal combination and extension that were explored so fully in the Pas-de-Deux had been more or less exhausted by the time he reached the Four Duos, he now opted for a simple exposition of the twelve-tone row, any intended evocation of Webern being provided by the intervallic succession alone. A serial pattern consisting of two pizzicato string statements unfolding in a steady crotchet beat, followed by a trombone series which is rhythmically more complex, occurs twice. At the end of the movement, in the only passage of actual two-part writing, the strings add another serial statement (I^0, inexplicably missing its fifth element, E^b) to the concluding bars of the trombones' second interlude, ostensibly to act as a bridge to the Four Trios; though the last two elements (G-B^b) of the inverted form stand at the head of the Trios, the 'attacca' indication renders this distinction no more than notational.

The modest compositional premise of the Four Duos--the orchestration of baldly-stated serial forms--resulted in a sequence of sketches that offers little more information than does the final score. By inscribing the IR^0 form with which the Four Duos commence on the same small sketchleaf as a jotting for the end of the preceding Quasi stretto (A080), Stravinsky implies that the dodecaphonic series had been conceived in advance of the actual development of the Four Duos material. Armed with his serial unit, the only preparation he found necessary before constructing two sketch

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[1] With Pousseur's serial identification, which takes the IR^0 form of Example 8.1 as the prime, the order of the *first* three elements must be reversed to yield an intervallic succession identical to that of Webern's row. Both possibilities exist because Webern's row is its own inverted retrograde. The serial classification adopted here enables us to account for the whole of the Four Duos in terms of untransposed rows.

short scores of the Duos (on sketchleaves **A**079 and **A**064) was to isolate certain pitch-sequences in fragmentary notations and work out the rhythms of the trombone statements; there is now very little bracketing of tetrachords.

These two short scores are of less interest than the lower halves of the two sketchleaves, which both contain additional sketches for one of the most remarkable passages in *Agon*: the transition, after the fugal exposition of the Four Trios, back to the diatonic material with which the entire ballet opens (bars *c.* 552-61). As this passage has, understandably, attracted considerable attention, our analytical comments here will be confined to a minimum.

The Four Trios begin (at bar 539) with a four-part fugal exposition, whose components are a dense mixture of dodecaphonic and tetrachordal manipulations. These are organized according to the hierarchical principle that all entries of the fugal subject (including the simultaneous augmented version of the fourth entry in bar 549) refer to statements of full twelve-tone rows, while the contrapuntal accompanying lines are more fragmentary, based on serial forms of tetrachord *T* or its familiar seven-tone extension (both of which, of course, are also subsumed by the twelve-tone series).[2] The conception and assembly of the fugue's components presented few compositional problems. Stravinsky's contrapuntal labours were for the most part recorded on a single large sketchleaf, **A**067, among whose fragmented structures we find permutations and extensions of tetrachord *T* (often bracketed), dodecaphonic row forms and isolated short score notations. The various serial structures are all marked on Example

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[2] A serial statement of the full thirteen-tone unit of bars 452-62 of the Pas-de-Deux Adagio is not heard in the Trios, despite Wolterink's and Beecroft's assertions to the contrary. The prominent structure in bars 547-9 (trombones, cello, double bass), which at first ambiguously resembles a new entry of the subject, is, however, related to the thirteen-tone extension: its tetrachordal sequence is R-I-R-I, a structure that again comprises two overlapping statements of the seven-tone row, but one which can be produced only by applying serial operations to its individual tetrachords, rather than by a single serial permutation of the earlier thirteen-tone unit.

8.2, a short score of the whole fugal exposition (bars 539-53, with all lines given at sounding pitch). If, as seems likely, the second trumpet's B^b in bar 551 (enclosed in square brackets) is a misprint for C^b or B natural, the pitches shown beneath the dashed-line bracket form an interlocking prime form statement of tetrachord *T* (G-A^b-C^b-B^b). (The pitch is notated slightly ambiguously in the manuscript full score [*Nachlass* 122-0088], which probably explains why it was engraved incorrectly, but it nonetheless resembles a C^b rather than the B^b of the published score; in the manuscript piano reduction [B&H archive] the pitch is clearly written as C^b.)

As Example 8.2 shows, each element of the horns' chord in bar 553 also functions as the final element of one of the serial manipulations that contribute to the fugal texture of the preceding bar. In this way Stravinsky is able to rationalize the sudden 'diatonic' orientation of the horn chords, whose initially gentle but insistent reiterations are punctuated by untransposed pizzicato row forms (I^0 followed by R^0) that serve to modify the transition. To the four elements of the repeated horn chord (A G E C) of the transition passage (bars 553-60) Stravinsky simply needs to add a fifth element, F, to recapture in bar 561 the opening chord of the Pas-de-Quatre; accordingly, for the final row statement of the transition passage, Stravinsky selects a form (R^0) whose last element is F, thereby achieving his objective through familiar means. In this way the anticipatory horn chords lessen the impact of the returning Pas-de-Quatre material in the final Coda.

The weighty presence of this passage among the sketches suggests that Stravinsky's greatest concern was to prepare a smooth and logical transition to the material of the Coda. To judge by the frequency of its development on sketchleaves shared with material for the Duos (four leaves in all), this concern began to emerge when composition of the Four Duos was nearing completion; the transition was worked out either simultaneously with or immediately after the Duos, and almost certainly

before the fugal opening of the Four Trios.

Sketchleaf **A**051 documents the conception of the transition and supports the notion that Stravinsky worked 'backwards' from the arrival of the Coda, working out the transition passage before moving back to insert the vigorous contrapuntal writing of the short fugal section. Example 8.3, whose serial labels have been added, shows the whole of the sketchleaf except for a second record of the four series at the foot of the page. Stravinsky begins by writing out the serial forms, then derives a sequence of pitches from them: the third stave of the example contains a five-note segment from the end of I^0, followed, as indicated by Stravinsky's connecting lines, by the full R^0 sequence. This retrograde sequence is extracted and reworked on the lowest stave; time signatures are assigned and the final element (F) is expressed in a chordal context together with octave C's. These significant revisions reveal the passage to be an early version of bars 558-61, ending with the F- and C-containing chord that announces the reprise of the Pas-de-Quatre. (Temporarily abandoned, the I^0 segment that initiates the unbarred pitch sequence on the third stave would later be reinstated in its original position before the retrograde; cf. strings, bars 553-7.)

Sketchleaf **A**079, as mentioned above, contains a short score of the Four Duos and material for the Trios' transition to the final Coda. Its early version of the transition passage, representing bars 553-61 and transcribed as Example 8.4, is clearly based on Example 8.3 from sketchleaf **A**051. The emphasis remains on the serial approach to the Coda, but the passage now boasts instrumental cues (the distribution at the end is almost finalized), a double barline and correct time signatures. The next attempt at the passage, on sketchleaf **A**064, retains the bass clef I^0-R^0 pitch sequence while concentrating on the rhythm of chordal reiteration in the upper register.

The musical reprise had been planned from the start. On sketchleaf **A**001--the early structural and choreographic chart drawn up by Stravinsky and Balanchine--the

final Coda had been entered as follows:

> Coda des 3 quartets in imitation 1' 00
> same as before
> with a short conclusion to give time to the 8 girls
> to leave and to the 4 boys to go back to their
> original position (back to the audience)

Since the composer had listed the three opening movements of *Agon* as 'Quartets', the instruction 'same as before' can refer only to the repeat of the Pas-de-Quatre material.

The incipient chord on sketchleaf **A**051 (Example 8.3) is the first documented realization of the musical goal towards which Stravinsky would be working from this point on, but the importance of the whole sketch is further enhanced by its early indication of the methods by which he would approach this goal. With the establishment of a serially-governed *modus operandi*, Stravinsky anticipated the task of finding row forms that gravitate towards the pitches of the repeated horns' chord of bars 553-60. The consultation of notated row forms evidently provided guidance enough for the fulfilment of this challenge, for he appears not to have devoted any sketches specifically to the selection of row-forms in bars 550-51.[3] This puzzling hiatus is made all the more regrettable by Joseph Straus's selection of this very transition passage in his bid (1982a) to identify the same principle of voice-leading--which he terms 'pattern completion'--in Stravinsky's serial (or 'proto-serial') works as that which he considers to be operative in earlier stages of the composer's career. The importance of the transition passage, both on the purely audible level of bringing about the reprise and, more critically, in its raising of larger issues such as the question of unity within the ballet, justifies at least a brief consideration of the principle behind Straus's theory.

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[3] There are, however, ample representations of P^7 and R^7--the two dodecaphonic serial forms whose final elements double as components of the horns' chord--on sketchleaf **A**067, which contains dense sketching for the Four Trios up to bar 550; the sketch short score on sketchleaf **A**064 starts at bar 552.

Pattern completion and its relevance to the Four Trios

Formulated originally as one factor in a wider theory of twentieth-century music that is organized around tone-centres without being tonal in the traditional sense, the principle of pattern completion involves the establishment of an unordered pitch collection, usually a tetrachord, as a 'normative unit' for a composition.[4] This unit or pattern pervades the structure of the music both on a 'surface' level (melodic and harmonic) and on a 'background' level, from where it may direct tonal motion; the pattern eventually becomes so familiar through repetition that its completion, once started, even when inverted or retrograded, is expected by the listener.

> By systematic use of a single normative pattern at all levels of structure, Stravinsky is able to achieve a high degree of musical coherence. By exploiting the need for completion of this single unit, he is able to create directionality, cadential arrival, and, ultimately, tonal centricity as well. Pattern completion thus consists of two fundamental aspects: 1) establishment of a single collection-type or pattern as the normative structural unit for a composition and 2) exploitation of the listener's desire for the completion of that unit. (1982a, p. 107)

Straus's identification of such 'normative patterns' not only in pre-serial works (*Symphonies of Wind Instruments*, the Symphony in C and *Oedipus Rex*) but also in *Agon* seeks to define one of the characteristics of Stravinsky's music that remained constant throughout the apparent stylistic diversities of his career, and which left his music still sounding recognizably 'Stravinskian' even after the adoption of serial technique. This debate--part of the reaction against the familiar division of Stravinsky's oeuvre into the three supposedly distinct periods of 'Russian', 'neoclassical' and 'serial'--has been at the focus of Stravinsky research for the last two decades and more. Straus expresses his present aim as follows:

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[4] Although Straus sees pattern completion as capable of governing tonal motion, he deals with the more specifically 'harmonic' aspect of his theory in another article, 'Stravinsky's tonal axis' (Straus 1982b).

> If *Agon* (and other compositions from the 1950s) can be shown, despite their serial manifestations, to be organized, like *Symphonies of Wind Instruments*, by means of pattern-completion, a more unified view of Stravinsky's compositional language may emerge. (1982a, p. 112)

Agon's normative unit is identified as the (0 1 3 4) tetrachord, or tetrachord *T*, whose role has been the central theme in our discussion of the ballet from the beginning of the Pas-de-Deux to the beginning of the final Coda. Well before the appearance of the horns' chord in bar 553, which heralds the start of the Four Trios' transition passage, this unit has become firmly established as the fundamental unit of the musical surface; and since the texture of the Four Duos and Four Trios up to this point is entirely linear-contrapuntal in conception, any verticalizations arising simply as a result of the superimposition of row forms, the passage lends itself particularly well to interpretation in terms of voice-leading. Example 8.5, in which the slurs encompass both nonserial and serial permutations of tetrachord *T*, reproduces Straus's tetrachordal explication of the structure of bars 549-52; pattern completion is viewed as a means of procuring cadential arrival, of bridging the gap between adjacent serial and diatonic sections of the ballet. Since the final statement of tetrachord *T* in each of the four voices is left incomplete, the four pitches that comprise the horns' chord of bar 553 are explained analytically by their completion of these patterns.

Straus's theory depends on his acceptance of tetrachord *T* as a functional unit when it is expressed as an unordered set. Hence he is justified in bracketing, for example, the final statement of the tetrachordal set in the uppermost stave (G#-B-B^{b}-G); this collection conforms to the (0 1 3 4) structure, but is not a serial permutation of the ordered form of tetrachord *T* whose prime is the 'referential' tetrachord, B^{b}-B-D-D^{b}. It is this inclusion of unordered tetrachord *T* collections as statements of the 'normative' unit that forms the major stumbling-block of Straus's theory of pattern completion in this context.

As we have shown, the contrapuntal workings of the Four Trios are organized according to a twelve-tone row, statements of which define the fugal structure, and according to smaller, *T*-tetrachordal units. The presence of the dodecaphonic row itself is not indicated on Straus's analysis of the passage (though it is acknowledged in the accompanying text). If we compare the serial analysis of the same passage presented in Example 8.2, which takes into account both dodecaphonic *and* tetrachordal statements, it becomes apparent that we are not, in fact, obliged to admit unordered statements of either row: any non-serial statements of the (0 1 3 4) unit are accountable instead to the final segment of the twelve-tone row and need no longer be considered as isolated, unordered statements of the tetrachordal set. Neither have we had to forgo the attractive compositional justification for the elements of the horns' chord, for each pitch may be understood to complete either a twelve-tone or a four-tone unit. And, although there are no brackets on the original sketches of bars 552-3 to suggest Stravinsky's own interpretation of their structuring, the composer's frequent representation of full twelve-tone row forms in the other Four Trios sketches indicates that the restriction of Straus's analysis to tetrachordal units alone does not give the full picture.

There are obvious similarities between the completion of a serial unit, whether dodecaphonic or otherwise, and the completion of a pattern. Straus himself (1982a, p. 112) recognizes the points of contact between serial theory and pattern completion: the concept of a pitch collection that governs the organization of compositional elements and which is recognizable under certain permutations, and the expectation of, or desire for, complete statements of the row or pattern. But he identifies the question of ordering as the 'crucial difference' between serial theory and pattern completion, stating that while the rational ordering of elements is fundamental to straightforward serial composition, the normative unit in pattern completion is an unordered set:

> Stravinsky makes little or no distinction with respect to the order in which he presents the notes in the basic unit. The three-note subsets of a four-note basic unit are felt as being equally incomplete, equally in need of completion. (1982a, p. 112)

This is simply not the case in *Agon*. Without exception, from the original establishment of tetrachord *T* as the fundamental structural unit of the Pas-de-Deux (in bars 414-15 of the Adagio), it is possible to account for the internal ordering of its elements in terms of serial permutations; far from making 'little or no distinction with respect to the order in which he presents the notes in the basic unit', Stravinsky weaves a complicated texture governed by principles which, though typically idiosyncratic, are nonetheless strictly serial in conception. (The other tetrachordal types that feature in the Pas-de-Deux, such as the whole-tone variants of the Più mosso or the major/minor interruptions, bear no more relevance to pattern completion than they do to our interpretation of tetrachord *T* as a serially-manipulated unit, and therefore do not affect our evaluation of Straus's theory.) Straus fails to recognize this property of Stravinsky's treatment of the 'pattern', simply observing that '*Agon* can pose difficult problems to the analyst who approaches it from the standpoint of orthodox serial theory' (1982a, p. 114). Indeed; but if instead we reflect the internal organization of the music and employ *un*orthodox serial theory, we are able to build a more coherent picture of the compositional premises upon which this final part of *Agon* is based. To recognize only the tetrachordal pattern even when systematic extensions of this unit are operative is to deny the functional role of the longer serial units--an inappropriate approach for a movement like the Four Trios, in which twelve-tone forms are the basic structural components of the canon.

In his consideration of *Agon* Straus applies the theory of pattern completion only on the surface (voice-leading) level; in contrast to his analyses of earlier works, there is no attempt to relate the pattern to the large-scale tonal organization, despite the

claim that pattern completion is 'perhaps Stravinsky's most significant technique for forming cadences, directing tonal motion, and articulating structure' (1982a, p. 124). The true analytic significance of pattern completion would seem to lie in its potential for relating both surface and background organization to a common principle, and in the case of *Agon* there is no reason to consider it any more valid than the serially-governed explication proposed here. Our implicit rejection of pattern completion as a *unifying* feature across Stravinsky's entire oeuvre is not intended either to deny its validity in isolated instances or to carry with it a rejection of the many broadly-conceived theories of stylistic consistency in Stravinsky's works; but since even an unadorned listing of such theories would swiftly reach bibliographic proportions, this is certainly too huge an issue to be considered fully here.

II. AGON: 'LANDMARK WORK'

The source materials relating to the creation of *Agon* illustrate many of the compositional challenges that confronted Stravinsky in the 1950s. Not only do the sketches chart in detail the gradual development and refinement of his serial technique during this formative period, but also prompt certain reassessments of this progress: the use of non-dodecaphonic serial techniques in the composing of the Double and Triple Pas-de-Quatres, for example, implies a greater continuity in the incorporation of serial modes of expression into Stravinsky's musical vocabulary than that with which he is generally credited. Equally significantly, access to the sketch sources has encouraged us to draw many parallels, both of content and of procedure, between *Agon* and other works, and between the different parts of the ballet itself. It also permits considerations of the relationship between how Stravinsky worked and what he actually committed to print on the subject. Preoccupations and methods that may be considered typical of him may now be evaluated in the light of these products of the compositional

act; it is possible to retrace his steps in order to learn more about how he expressed his desire for order and self-limitation, his block construction, keyboard-oriented experiments and 'composing with intervals' within the new stylistic idiom that was fast becoming adapted to fit his own creative needs.

The lengthy and interrupted gestation of *Agon* and the variety of stylistic approaches included in its score--not to mention the very nature of the work itself as perhaps Stravinsky's most outstanding achievement of the 1950s--ensure that the material records of its creation are prodigiously rich sources of information which measure up to all expectation and which will continue to withstand all scrutiny. These documents, more than any, provide effective endorsement of Henri Pousseur's opinion of *Agon* as a 'landmark work', in which

> Stravinsky takes and gives the measure of his past as well as of his future, and which, despite the seventy-five years of its author, vouches at once for such exuberant youthfulness, and for a most dazzling (and most *sensitive*) intelligence. (Pousseur, 1972, I, p. 18)

CHAPTER 9
AFTER AGON: CONSOLIDATION AND DEVELOPMENT

I. THRENI, ID EST LAMENTATIONES JEREMIAE PROPHETAE

Even before the New York City Ballet's stage première of the young *Agon*, Stravinsky had begun work on another large-scale commission. The composition of *Threni*, for solo voices, chorus and orchestra, was started in Venice in August 1957 (a sketchleaf for the 'Incipit' [*Nachlass* 114-0862] is dated '29 Aug/57'), and extended through the winter to the following March, when he dated a sketch draft of the final movement 'Str March 21/58' [*Nachlass* 114-0850]. His haste in commencing this new project, his impatience to progress and the short period of gestation for a work of half an hour's duration--compare the three and a half year span demanded by the shorter *Agon*--imply that this first work based throughout on a single twelve-tone row was propelled by a strong creative urge.

The unity of utterance brought about by *Threni*'s unvarying serial referent is reinforced by its unity of religious expression. The text, drawn from the first, third and fifth of the five chapters that form the Lamentations of Jeremiah, outlines a powerful emotional message: from the depths of despair and bitter complaint over the desolation of Jerusalem, it progresses to a burgeoning sense of hope that leads to regained faith expressed in prayer.[1]

Threni's reputation as the natural successor to *Canticum Sacrum* rests not only on spiritual grounds, but also on formal and procedural correspondences between the two works. Most tangibly, its five-part structure, introduced by the traditional, short

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[1] In a recent article on musical settings of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, Bayan Northcott suggests that the work may also have had an extra, personal significance for Stravinsky, who 'included a grisly passage from Jeremiah on the tribulations of old age and set it as a particularly thorny sequence of canons'. See 'Behold and see', *The Independent*, no. 1711 (11 April 1992), p. 38.

'Incipit', recalls the large-scale formal organization of the *Canticum*. Internally, its serial treatment places considerable emphasis on contrapuntal, linear presentations of twelve-tone rows, as in the earlier work, and canonic or imitative passages reminiscent of Renaissance polyphonic techniques are again prominent. Robert Craft's programme notes for the American première observe similarities 'in substance and style' between *Threni* and *Canticum Sacrum*--certain instrumental textures, the tendency toward canonic principles and triplet rhythms, and the dramatic use of the chorus--while reminding the audience of the differences in temper between the two works: the sacred 'concert' *Canticum Sacrum* is about praise, while *Threni*, more liturgical in spirit (yet not intended as a Tenebrae service), is about penitence and prayer.[2]

II. 'THRENI: ID EST REDEMPTIO DODECAPHONICAE LINGUAE'[3]

While Stravinsky's serial practices in *Threni* do not sustain the concentrated intervallic intricacy of *Agon*'s long Pas-de-Deux, they are in no sense a retrogression. *Threni*'s serialism both consolidates the techniques developed earlier in the decade and begins to promote those practices that, systematized and refined, would characterize Stravinsky's later serial output. For *Threni*, too, there is a large collection of sketches that provides considerable information about the genesis of the work. Rather than embark upon a detailed survey of the source materials, this final chapter will simply select and discuss some of the more interesting sketches--both representative and unusual--in order to examine certain serial practices through the medium of their early

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[2] The American première of *Threni*, conducted by Craft, took place in New York on 4 January 1959 [*Nachlass* 100:620042].

[3] This phrase--one of the more original messages of congratulation sent to Stravinsky during the European concert tour that followed the world première of *Threni* in the autumn of 1958--was written on a calling-card from Robert Dunand, music critic of the Genevan newspaper *Le Courrier* [*Nachlass* 100:620193].

notations.

Stravinsky's growing confidence as a serialist is mirrored in the *Threni* sketch collection. Twelve-tone rows and segments of rows again litter the sketchleaves (which initially look more complex than they are, on account of the abundance of serial labels), but, considered as a complete set arranged in ordered sequence, these materials convey a strong sense of progression toward a clearly defined goal, and the same sense of directed purpose that enabled Stravinsky to complete the work in less than a year.

As in *Canticum Sacrum*, the structure of the text was crucial to the actual composing of the work. The sectionalized text, prepared by Stravinsky himself, was ideally suited to the composer's 'block-by-block' approach, while the Hebrew letters of the first and third chapters provided effective formal articulation and the opportunity for textural differentiation.[4] As John Weissmann noted after the first performance of the work, the Hebrew letters

> establish points of rest in the flow of the music and mark off the structural subdivisions in a larger musical entity. Their role is emphasized also by contrasted texture: the prevailingly contrapuntal idiom is punctuated by the harmonies of the letters, taking the form of plain or figured chords. (Weissmann, 1959, p. 105)

Most sketchleaves bear a title giving the Hebrew initial of the verse to which the notations belong, and several also contain the handwritten text of the section defined by their initial; few contain ideas for more than one verse. Together with the typed and annotated text that served as a referential guide [*Nachlass* 114-0770 to 0775], and the hastily-inscribed dates of completion of individual sections, this helpful categorization of sketchleaves implies that Stravinsky completed each section in turn before moving onto the next.

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[4] According to Craft (1986, p. 352), Stravinsky took the text of *Threni* from the *Cantus Lamentationum pro Ultimo Triduo Hebdomadae Majoris Juxta Hispanos Codices* (Desclée & Cie., Paris, 1934).

The effect of this compositional segregation upon the serial orientation of the piece is generally to contain groups of row forms within the boundaries of particular sections. However, some of the Hebrew letters themselves were subject to organizational serial schemes extending over a longer time-span. For example, the three declamations of each initial of the 'Querimonia' and 'Solacium' sections present extracted segments of two intertwined row forms, a technique that is clearly illustrated by Stravinsky's sketches for the 'Beth' settings of bars 173, 175 and 177 [*Nachlass* 114-0799] and for the 'Thau' settings of bars 358-9, 367-8 and 376-7 [*Nachlass* 114-0789], which are shown in Example 9.1. The serial numbers in the 'Beth' settings--Stravinsky's own--chart the derivation of pitches from the row forms P^0 (numbered in red in the original) and I^0 (numbered in blue in the original; circled numbers in Example 9.1). In the 'Thau' settings Stravinsky identifies the row forms as the inversion and the retrograde (both untransposed). Numerous notations for other Hebrew initials (one of which is given below in Example 9.4) record similar patterns of segmentation.

The structure of 'Sensus Spei' is governed to an even greater extent by large-scale serial planning governing the settings of the Hebrew letters. Here, the reiterated Hebrew declamations spell out the pitches of the series IR^9 in the guise of extended pedal points that dominate the texture of the whole of this central section. The success of such a scheme lies partly in the exact correlation of the twelve pitches of the series to the number of syllables in the Hebrew letters: the sequence 'Heth', 'Teth', 'Lamed', 'Nun', 'Samech', 'Ain' (pronounced as two syllables), 'Tsade' and 'Coph' gives twelve syllables. Stravinsky's prepared text contains some evidence that he revised an early conception of the verse-structure of 'Sensus Spei' precisely to achieve this correlation [*Nachlass* 114-0771, 0772, 0774], for among the verses of the third Lamentations psalm originally intended for inclusion in this section were four more, headed by the Hebrew initials 'Iod', 'Caph' (with a different verse to the 'Caph' of 'De Elegia Prima'), 'Mem'

and 'Phe'. Only when Stravinsky had jotted thumbnail sketches distributing the pitches of the IR^9 row form among the eight initials that were retained did he realize the redundancy in the large-scale form of the extra verses, and duly crossed them out. His action is significant, for it shows him now actively using the series to govern not only local intervallic succession and combination, but also larger-scale compositional decisions. Roman Vlad, who wrote the programme notes for the world première in Venice in September 1958 under the indirect supervision of Stravinsky himself, expresses this idea at greater length:

> Thus the series comes to govern even the spatial and temporal arrangement of the patterns derived from it, and to some extent even the shape of the transpositions, infusing life into a typically serial form which is utterly independent of traditional polyphony, let alone sonata form. In other words this piece is, if not the first, at any rate a significant example of the new forms emerging in strict, organic adherence to the spirit of serial technique. (Vlad, 3/1978, p. 217)

Segmentation

However assured Stravinsky's sketches for *Threni* may appear, processes of alteration and experimentation are still reflected in many notations. The first parts of the Lamentations to be set--the 'Incipit' and the 'De Elegia Prima'--were subject to much reworking, and, throughout the score, Stravinsky made numerous small-scale revisions of distribution, text-setting, rhythmic details and other such local amendments. But despite this being Stravinsky's first completely dodecaphonic score, he made remarkably few changes to his initial selections of row form or segment. Again this must be attributed in part to his habitual reliance on the piano as a sounding board, but the preliminary workings now hint that these auditory trials were becoming more likely to be preceded by notated, serially-controlled processes of experimentation that centred on the extraction and combination of segments. This principle, variously

applied, underlies many of *Threni*'s serial idiosyncrasies, its purpose generally taken to be

> to secure rhythm of pitch repetition, of pitch configuration repetition, and specified intervallic succession, and to secure emphases upon pitches through multiplicity of occurrence within a given time period, and to secure new thematic elements which serve to mediate among different such collections of set forms. (Babbitt, 2/1972, p. 180)

As this might suggest, *Threni*'s segmentation is no longer confined to the neat hexachords of *Canticum Sacrum* or of *Agon*'s three bransles, nor to the tetrachords of the ballet's Pas-de-Deux. Stravinsky allows himself the greatest compositional freedom in choosing, juxtaposing and combining independent segments from different row forms, but still, as in the earlier works, out of a desire to set up points of contact between these rows or segments rather than any concern to secure aggregates or complementarity. This approach, as Clare Hogan observes, is 'an example of his tendency to avoid rather than to ensure total chomaticism at all times' (Hogan, 1982, p. 24).

In 'Sensus spei' certain isolated segments acquire an almost thematic significance by means of unaltered repetition at strategic structural points. Each of the three statements of the Hebrew letter 'Teth' (bars 204-216), for example, is marked by independent segments in the solo vocal lines: the emphatic quaver figure in the solo alto, each time beginning with the rising fifth on the words 'Bonum est', is set to the first four pitches of I^2. The three statements of the next initial, 'Lamed' (bars 217-30), are similarly observed both texturally and serially, with the solo basso profundo each time muttering the segment $P^7(1\text{-}4)$.

More than any others, the 'Sensus spei' sketches are a catalogue of segmentation. Though Stravinsky's criteria for segmental extraction and recombination are often obscure, and some of the notations are mystifying in their juxtapositions and

rearrangements, in several cases we may suggest reasons for the composer's choices or identify patterns in the procedures he followed. Sketchleaf 114-0812, which boasts several serial labels, brackets, boxes and numbers, and which is reproduced in full in Example 9.2, records Stravinsky's very thorough exploration of segments and segmental interrelationships for the 'Samech' section (bars 246-59); it is one of the more extended passages of the 'experimental' sketching mentioned above, in which Stravinsky consolidated his choice of row forms for a particular section.[5] (The sustained pedal pitches of the word 'Samech' itself had already, of course, been predetermined by the IR^9 row form that governed all the Hebrew initials in this section.)

Example 9.2 illustrates how interacting segments drawn from different row forms may be strung together to form a single line that ultimately contains intervallic structures not obtainable from any standard serial operation. The serial allegiances of the end-product of the sketchleaf are shown on the bottom stave of the example, which yields the tenor line 'Eradicationem et abjectionem posuisti me' (bars 252-6), followed, as indicated by Stravinsky's arrow, by the end of the second stave (basso profundo, 'in medio populorum', bars 257-9).

Let us examine in more detail the processes that generated these solo lines. By adding full serial labels to the first stave of the sketchleaf, as in Example 9.3a, it becomes clear that Stravinsky began simply by presenting the first tetrachord of each of the four basic serial transformations, before completing the text with the remainder of the retrograde form. A slight revision of the text-setting on the second stave of Example 9.2 was abandoned as Stravinsky hastened to develop the serial principle implied on the first stave: on the third stave of the same sketchleaf, redrawn with serial labels in Example 9.3b, he takes the first tetrachord of one row (IR^0), the second

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[5] The two dashed-line boxes were red on the original sketchleaf, the solid-line boxes were green and the two circles blue.

tetrachord of another (R^0) and the final tetrachord of a third (I^0), before appending the whole of the unaltered prime; the composer's own brackets mark the boundaries of the segments extracted from different rows. The variant of this material written below (fourth full stave of Example 9.2), which includes a 'rotated' segment of P^0, was waived in favour of a return to the original idea (on the lowest stave) of a line beginning with segments from IR^0 and R^0, now followed by an I^0 segment. (The practice of rotating row forms in this way, developed during the sketching of 'Querimonia', will be discussed briefly in the next section.) Now, however, each segment is extended in order to accommodate the solo tenor's full phrase 'Eradicationem ... me', inscribed beneath. Satisfied with the intervallic structures thus produced, Stravinsky clarifies the settings of the words 'Eradicationem' and 'et abjectionem' in two small, boxed sketches in the lower right corner of Example 9.2, and boxes the corresponding parts of the lowest stave to remind himself of their provenance.

The prime form of the series, unbroached in the tenor's succession, is reserved for the basso profundo's completion of the 'Samech' text. Economically filling up all available space on the sketchleaf, Stravinsky directs himself to the unused end of its second stave for a rotated spelling of P^0; the two circles are used to record early and more developed versions of the same material.[6]

Although the solo vocal line worked out in Example 9.2 was determined by no compositional 'system', the question of its validity *as* serial writing--whether these

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[6] The sketch occupying the end of the second stave of Example 9.2 is the first among many (on sketchleaves 114-0810, 0811 and 0812) that give the pitches of the first triplet in bar 258, basso profundo, as G#-**G**-A#, rather than G#-**F**-A# as in the printed score. These sketches, together with the fact that the labelled, rotated serial form prescribes a G for the second basso pitch of bar 258, suggest that the F in the score is a misprint for G. Similarly, according to sketchleaves 114-0812 and 0811, the first two pitches of the basso entry in bar 257 are pitches 9-10 of P^0 and hence should read E-C; the change to G-E occurred at the foot of sketchleaf 114-0811, where Stravinsky apparently overlooked the first two pitches when rewriting the line in the bass clef.

processes actually undermine the spirit of serialism--is academic, for the sketches show unequivocally that Stravinsky's development of such techniques was carried out only with strict and conscientious reference to the possibilities of the series and its basic transformations, and also that he justified each decision or manipulation to himself by applying his own peculiar serial logic; in short, that Stravinsky did understand the 'serialism' of such passages to be governing the procedures, even if, to our ears and eyes, the actual products seem relatively unsystematic. The composer's obvious delight in such intervallic experiments is easily the most engaging aspect of the *Threni* collection.

In addition to the generation of melodic lines in *Threni*, Stravinsky occasionally utilizes whole segments as common ground between serial forms, in much the same way that he had engineered links between row forms and hexachords in *Agon* and *Canticum Sacrum* by means of pivotal pitches. A sketch for the three chordal statements of the Hebrew letter 'Aleph' at the beginning of 'Querimonia' will serve to illustrate this technique. Across the top of sketchleaf 114-0791 is a summary of their serial structures: see Example 9.4 (the serial numbering is Stravinsky's, but the original sketch makes use of green rather than circled numbers to distinguish the elements of the prime form). Beneath the Hebrew initials is an early version of the basso profundo's words 'et non in lucem' from bar 169; as the sketch observes, these words are set to the first eight pitches of I^0. The appearance of the remaining segment (9-12) in the last 'Aleph' statement at bars 170-71 not only adds the final segment of the inversion stated in the choral/trombone interjections, but also completes the basso's inverted row form (as Stravinsky's arrows in Example 9.4 make clear).

Stravinsky's current obsession with segmentation is further reflected in the methods he devised to emphasize the rich diatonic characteristics of the *Threni* set. Not only are the intervals of fourths and fifths celebrated in pedal notes, imitative entries,

and numerous other contexts throughout, but 'diatonic' segments of the set are made prominent by position or by repetition. An example occurs at the start of the twice-restated solo tenor and bugle duet of 'De Elegia Prima', where the repetition of segments places considerable emphasis on the sequence of perfect fourths/fifths contained within the serial structure. These 'diatonic' segments are bracketed in Example 9.5, which gives the bugle and vocal lines of bars 42-5. The insistence on fourth- and fifth-containing segments secured by the halting advance of the chorus through the RI^0 row form is reinforced by the augmentation, in the bugle and tenor solo lines, of the corresponding segment of the circling R^0 forms.

Stravinsky's concern to develop what he once termed 'a kind of "triadic atonality"' (*E&D*, p. 107) in *Threni* even led to the active imposition of structures containing 'perfect' intervals upon otherwise straightforward serial passages. This was achieved, usually retrospectively, by extracting non-adjacent pitches from a contrapuntal texture; since it is a process best described through direct illustration, let us turn immediately to an early sketchleaf for the Hebrew letter 'Caph' of 'De Elegia Prima' (bars 108-11). Sketchleaf 114-0833, shown in Example 9.6, contains an unorchestrated four-stave sketch of the instrumental lines that accompany the 'Caph' statements.[7] At this stage the passage is pitched a semitone higher than it appears in the final score, with two of its three row forms untransposed (the tiny notation beneath the third bar implies that Stravinsky viewed the second-stave F# at the beginning of this bar as representing both element 8 of IR^7 *and* element 10 of I^0). But the real significance of the sketch lies in the notes that were originally emboldened in red (indicated by arrows in the example), for these were the pitches that Stravinsky

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[7] Two sketchleaves are photographed on *Nachlass* slide 114-0833. Since only the lower of the two is discussed here, the slide number, without further qualification, refers only to this lower sketchleaf. The original colours of the serial forms are not represented on Example 9.6; all annotations except the arrows are Stravinsky's.

selected from the instrumental serial forms before him for the staggered choral entries, apparently working on the criterion that they outline successions of fifths.

The nine extracted pitches outline three fifth-containing successions, as is indicated on the uppermost stave of Example 9.7 from sketchleaf 114-0782 (part of a nine-page sketch draft of 'De Elegia Prima'). Several half-visible erasures, not represented in the example, disclose that the passage had been written first at the pitch level of the earlier sketch but that it was transposed down a semitone on the draft itself, possibly to provide relief from the exclusively untransposed presentations of the series in the preceding tenor solo and bugle duet. The appearance of the summary sketch above the main system would seem to confirm that the choral pitches had been chosen deliberately to emphasize certain fifth-relationships present in the interacting row forms. Stravinsky follows the same procedure during the construction of the next Hebrew initial, 'Res(h)', on sketchleaf 114-0848.

Rotation

The origins of Stravinsky's system of transposition-rotation, first explored in *Movements for Piano and Orchestra* (1959) and employed as a primary compositional resource in his last decade, are to be found in the simple rotations of *Threni*. Simple rotation involves a re-ordering of the elements of a serial form, achieved by moving a segment from the beginning of the row to its end (or vice versa). The practice is introduced at the beginning of 'Querimonia', where the basso profundo's words 'Ego vir videns paupertatem meam' are set to the row form IR^0 sounded in the order (3-12)(1-2), and 'in virga indignationis ejus' to P^0 in the order (4-12)(1-3). Bearing in mind the composer's predilection for intervallic experimentation, the development of this technique was likely to have been motivated by a desire for new but related--and serially 'justifiable'--intervallic conjunctions, though occasionally a rotation also secures

a pivotal pitch between row forms. Stravinsky diligently records his rotational procedures in the early stages of sketching, but the notations themselves are often no more enlightening than the final score. Example 9.8, from sketchleaf 114-0800, is representative of such records: it shows Stravinsky's sketch for the middle phrase of the two-voice canon in 'Querimonia' (bar 176), with the serial rotations clearly marked on the leading voice. Stravinsky rotates the first row form (I^0) such that its last pitch is B^b, from which pitch he launches a rotated version of P^0.

Other permutations of serial ordering

The techniques of segmentation and rotation are *Threni*'s most important contribution to Stravinsky's future serial development, but the 'Solacium' section of 'De Elegia Tertia' contains interesting--though isolated--experiments in serial reorderings. In the section headed by the Hebrew initial 'Sin' Stravinsky introduces two permutations of his original serial succession, obtained by 'mathematical' systems of pitch derivation. Bars 345-57, at the beginning of the passage, contain both permutations. The vocal lines present IR^0 and R^0 ordered in an ascending sequence of 'odd-numbered' pitch-classes followed by a descending sequence of 'even-numbered' pitch-classes: 1-3-5-7-9-11-12-10-8-6-4-2. The horn accompaniment, joined by the strings at the end of bar 347, rearranges P^0 to appear in the order 12-9-6-3, 11-8-5-2, 10-7-4-1. Coming at this late stage in the piece, these radical permutations do indeed sound 'foreign', but the fact that the resultant serial orders are produced by a systematic pattern of pitch extraction--as opposed to the unsystematic patterns of segmentation and rotation--is relevant to the imminence of Stravinsky's application of systematic rotational procedures in *Movements*.

Looking back rather than ahead, a discarded sketch among the workings for *Canticum Sacrum* proves to be an alluring precursor of the serial permutations of

'Solacium'. Sketchleaf **CS**45, containing materials for the 'Fides' section of the *Canticum*'s central movement, includes a sketch that sets the text of the four-voice choral canon (bars 219-36) to the familiar cantus firmus rhythm of that movement, expressed in the pitches and durations of the opening organ theme (bars 184-9): see Example 9.9. Stravinsky adds numbering systems above and below the sketch. Above, the descending sequence of numbers refers to the elements of the RI^9 row form (he often numbered retrograde or retrograde inversion forms in this way, thereby clarifying their relationship to the original or inverted forms), while the ascending sequence written below represents the twelve durations of the cantus firmus rhythm. If Stravinsky was considering re-using the organ theme itself as his canonic subject, he abandoned his plan very quickly, for the notation immediately below (Example 9.10) permutes the serial order of the organ theme, still within the rhythmic cast of the cantus firmus, while retaining its serial numbering and transposing the resultant row to the pitch level of RI^0/I^0. Although this experiment bore no fruit in the score of *Canticum Sacrum*--the composer cut short his attempt at further permutation on the lower stave of Example 9.10--it is possible to detect in these serial mutants an early sign of his future compositional practices: the permutation of note-order effected by taking successive pairs of notes and treating them as unalterable with respect to their internal order foreshadows *Threni*'s extensive reference to non-hexachordal segmentation and the unusual serial permutations in 'Solacium'.

Summary

The technicalities of the *Threni* score remain subordinate in performance to its depth of religious expression, yet few observers of the sketches would dispute that what is reflected there above all is Stravinsky's fascination with the various intervallic manipulations discussed above. No previous collection betrays so constant an

awareness of serial procedure, or provides so complete a record of self-explication. The new possibilities in serial handling are explored and recorded with enthusiasm and meticulousness; new methods are assimilated in preparation for future developments. *Threni* marks the end of Stravinsky's protracted serial apprenticeship. The compositional resources that would carry him into his final creative decade were by now in place; they would be recognized and nourished in *Movements for Piano and Orchestra*.

III. MOVEMENTS: THE 'CORNERSTONE'

From the early summer of 1958 to the late summer of 1959 Stravinsky worked on the complex score of *Movements*. His intensive exploration of the possibilities of serially-guided structures is propelled, in certain parts of this piece, by more systematic rotational processes than the simple operations tested for the first time in *Threni*. It was not without a certain glee that the near-octogenarian composer described *Movements* as 'the most advanced music from the point of view of construction of anything I have composed' (*M&C*, p. 106), and neither is it surprising that these processes have attracted exhaustive analytical speculation.[8]

A performance of *Movements* passes with a swiftness and lightness that is far removed from the ponderous choral solemnity of *Threni*; the delicate textures and kaleidoscopically changing combinations of orchestral colour, the chromaticism and the irregular rhythmic vitality of the brief gestures all reinforce the impression of arbitrariness in the choice of pitch. Yet the pitch structures were, of course, anything but arbitrary to their creator, and, however sudden the stylistic difference between *Movements* and its serial predecessors, there existed many procedural similarities in

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[8] See especially the essays of Milton Babbitt (2/1972; 1986; 1987) and Müller (1984).

their working methods.

As in all of Stravinsky's serial works, the utmost care was lavished upon the choice and combination of the serial building-blocks of *Movements* (short segments, hexachords and full dodecaphonic row forms), and again he appears to have derived great satisfaction not only from clarifying, but also from justifying, these compositional choices on the sketchleaves. Stravinsky devises new serial designations to record accurately the permutations to which his row forms are now subjected, and, as usual, takes the trouble to draw out a 'reference' sketchleaf showing all the available serial forms. Example 9.11 has been extracted from the 'reference' sketchleaf 110-0309, and illustrates succinctly--though unfortunately without Stravinsky's explicatory use of colour--his newly systematic rotational operations, as applied to the prime form of the series. 'Alpha' and 'beta' hexachords are those involved in the process of 'simple rotation', in which the individual pitch elements of the hexachords are rotated but remain untransposed from their original levels; throughout the sketches these are distinguished, using labels and colour-coding, from 'gamma' and 'delta' hexachords, whose elements have undergone both rotation and transposition to the level of their starting pitch (the process described earlier as 'transposition-rotation'). As indicated down the left-hand side of Example 9.11, Stravinsky identifies the step-by-step hexachordal products of these processes with capitalized Roman numerals. His almost religious application of this new terminology in the *Movements* sources resolves ambiguities of serial identification and makes possible, should it be desired, a comprehensive serial analysis of the whole score.

Despite the creeping systematization of Stravinsky's serial method, the grids of rotated hexachords are not yet immune to the segmentation that is so evident in *Threni*. Example 9.12 shows the entire contents of a *collette* affixed across the top of sketchleaf 110-0323. This page, the first of an early sketch draft of bars 1-17 of the first

movement (for which preliminary workings had taken place on sketchleaf 110-0363), provides a physical reminder of Stravinsky's habitual block-by-block working, for it is assembled entirely from *collettes*; this, indeed, is literal 'mosaic' composition. In the transcribed sketch, Stravinsky carefully identifies the various 'gamma' and 'delta' segments (now using the capital delta symbol) which together generate the flute melody of bars 13-17, in an arrangement not dissimilar to the juxtaposed segments of Example 9.2 above. The passage was transposed on a later sketchleaf [*Nachlass* 110-0327].

In other notations the extracted segments are linked once again by means of pivotal pitches, a principle observed right from the early days of Stravinsky's serial writing (in the Shakespeare Songs or *In Memoriam Dylan Thomas*, for example, as well as in more mature serial pieces such as the hexachordal successions of *Agon*'s Bransle Simple and the tenor solo in *Canticum Sacrum*). Certain workings among the *Movements* sketches show the same principle of linkage being applied to segments generated by Stravinsky's new rotational techniques. Example 9.13a [*Nachlass* 110-0376] reveals this to be the compositional logic behind the second flute line in bar 89, near the end of the third movement; the line is constructed from a string of retrograded segments selected from rotated 'gamma' and 'delta' hexachords (given in Example 9.13b for reference), whose succession is determined in part by the pivotal pitches circled in this informative sketch. In short, Stravinsky's free handling of the new techniques in *Movements* allows him to incorporate the tendencies of his earlier serial works.

Most of the highly chromatic, contrapuntal gestures in *Movements* are based on linear row-form permutations, but the fifth movement also makes use of 'verticals', or chordal structures read from Stravinsky's serial grids. Such structures may be produced simply by grouping together the pitches that occupy a certain position in the four basic serial forms (that is, the first pitches of P^0, I^0, R^0 and RI^0, or their second,

third, or fourth pitches, and so on). Example 9.14a shows the simple verticals formed from the four untransposed forms of the basic series.[9]

The first few bars of the fifth movement (bars 141-4) run the entire course through all twelve verticals, accompanied by a straightforward, linear statement of R^0. Again, the task of illustration is best left to Stravinsky. In a fairly advanced sketch on sketchleaf 110-0362, shown in Example 9.14b, the composer carefully rings those pitch structures of bars 141-4 that are developed from the verticals. Red circles (represented by dashed lines in the example) demarcate the verticals derived from the first or alpha hexachords of the four row forms (verticals 1-6), while lead pencil circles show the boundaries of the beta-hexachord verticals (7-12). A slightly more complex but related process involves reading vertical structures from *rotational* grids such as those transcribed in Example 9.11 above, though Stravinsky appears not to have used this technique in *Movements*.

A detailed analysis of the score of *Movements* or of its sketches is not the aim of this section; the introduction of systematic hexachord rotation in this work initiates a new chapter in Stravinsky's serial output, and one whose technical premises have been covered in greater depth than is possible here. The few examples discussed above are sufficient to show, however, that the concept of 'composing with intervals' continued to dominate Stravinsky's approach to serialism. The technique of rotation and the derivation of verticals are viewed by Milton Babbitt (1986, 1987) as natural extensions of this concept, since they are determined by, and saturated with, the intervals of the basic series. As in simpler modes of serial expression, it is the intervallic constancies

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[9] 'Verticals' derived in this way and used in the fifth movement were first described by Claudio Spies in his review 'Impressions after an Exhibition' (1972) after he had studied a sketchleaf for *Movements* (probably *Nachlass* 123-0011). Another *Movements* sketchleaf (for the fourth interlude), reproduced on plate 20 of *SPD* (following p. 400; wrongly attributed to *Variations*), is a lucid prototype of the technique. It is currently housed at the Paul Sacher Stiftung with the source materials for *A Sermon, a Narrative, and a Prayer*.

in Stravinsky's rotations that remain recognizable, not the pitch patterns themselves; to quote Babbitt, 'this is an interval kind of syntax and not just a pitch-class syntax--fundamentally and centrally an interval syntax'.[10]

[10] Milton Babbitt, *Words about Music*, ed. Stephen Dembski and Joseph N. Straus (Madison, Wisconsin, 1987), p. 20.

AFTERWORD
EVOLUTION AND CONSTANCY IN STRAVINSKY'S WORKING METHODS IN THE 1950s

Stravinsky described *Movements* as the 'cornerstone' of his late work, the landmark to which the 'slow climb through the 1950s' had brought him (*T&E*, p. 23). But this idea of *Movements* as culmination should be understood, perhaps, only in the sense of technique: the processes developed in this score contain the key to a technical understanding of the works of his final creative decade. Stravinsky's words imply that what he remembered most about the composition of the Septet, *Agon*, *Canticum Sacrum* and the other achievements of the 1950s was their progressively deepening involvement with serial method. His carefully-undertaken process of familiarization with the possibilities of a new language enabled him to mould the serial system to fit his own creative needs, and it is this process, with solutions attempted, rejected and refined, that the sketches are so well equipped to reveal.

As we have seen, a sketch-based analysis of the works of this period places considerable emphasis on the continuity of the development of Stravinsky's serial method. Some notations make a quantifiable contribution to our knowledge of this development by clarifying the exact nature of his serial intent in certain passages, or even by recognizing the latent serialism in passages or movements not generally understood in this capacity (witness the first movement of the Septet and *Agon*'s Double and Triple Pas-de-Quatres, discussed in Chapter 3). As a collection, though, his sketches give a slowly-evolving picture of his actual understanding of the serial technique whose influence in his creative thought gains ground as the decade advances. Since Stravinsky was essentially an empiricist in his working methods, preferring to rely on his judgement rather than on serial theory, the sketches are often absorbing records of his intervallic explorations.

But this element of change in Stravinsky's working methods over the decade is complemented by an equally important element of constancy, various manifestations of which--generally in published scores--have been at the centre of Stravinsky research for a number of years. Our concern here has been less to do with defining identifiable characteristics of expression than with illustrating the retention of certain *procedural* constancies--that is, compositional premises that are reflected in numerous different contexts--and in this respect, too, the sketches are unrivalled in their potential for explication.

The diverse consequences of Stravinsky's need for self-imposed boundaries, for example, are present on many sketchleaves; the establishment of various 'limiting' factors was a constant and essential part of his composing process. Also prominent among these procedural constancies is the approach to serialism captured by Stravinsky's phrase, 'composing with intervals'; this somewhat obscure characterization becomes more meaningful when evaluated in the light of the sketches, since it denotes process rather than product. We have observed, too, several instances and reflections of his habitual 'block' methods of construction in both texted and instrumental works, and of his keyboard-oriented experimentation. His instinctive desire to rationalize the stages of individual operations by adding explanatory brackets, labels, numbers, symbols and arrows is a useful characteristic of his serial workings, and, to judge by the sketches for *Movements*, the more complex the manipulations, the more conspicuously this need for self-justification is manifested.

The documents that record the explorations of style and technique that took place during the 'slow climb through the 1950s' are indeed fertile ground for study; it is from the twin currents of evolution and constancy, reflected so resourcefully in Stravinsky's sketches, that the proto-serial and serial masterpieces of the 1950s derive their potency and their individuality.

APPENDIX A
CLASSIFICATION OF SKETCHLEAVES FOR AGON AND CANTICUM SACRUM

I. INTRODUCTION

This appendix is a summary listing of the *Agon* and *Canticum Sacrum* sketchleaves in the Stravinsky *Nachlass* at the Paul Sacher Stiftung (PSS), designed as a point of reference both for this thesis and for the use of future visitors to the Stiftung.[1] Each sketchleaf for these two works is assigned a reference number preceded by an abbreviation (**A** for *Agon*, **CS** for *Canticum Sacrum*). Each is then listed according to the following characteristics:

- reference number;
- specific slide number of the sketchleaf on microfilm no. 108;[2]
- brief physical description of the sketchleaf (paper, size);
- non-specific reference to its position in the loose manuscript folders (see explanation below);
- brief description of the contents of the sketchleaf.

At the time of writing the loose sketchleaves are kept in large folders (PSS numbers [1], [2], etc.), subdivided first by large sheets of paper and again, if necessary, by folded sheets enclosing a number of sketchleaves. Each sketchleaf, ideally, will remain in the same subdivision, but there can be no guarantee that their original ordering will remain constant. The system of divisions and subdivisions within the manuscript folders is reflected in this Appendix by a hierarchical numbering system: manuscript position 4.1 refers to the fourth large division, first subdivision, of the manuscript folders for a particular work; and 10.2c refers to large division 10, second subdivision, third unit.

Classification of paper types

For ease of reference, the fourteen basic categories of paper used by Stravinsky in the *Agon* and

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[1] The contents of the *Sammlung Robert Craft* are unfortunately not available for inclusion; it contains no further sketchleaves for *Agon* but there is, reportedly, one small *Canticum Sacrum* sketch plus a typed version of the text.

[2] All the *Nachlass* sketches for *Agon* and *Canticum Sacrum* appear on microfilm no. 108.

Canticum Sacrum sketches are classified in this Appendix. It is important to note that two sketchleaves of the same paper 'Type' correspond in the outward characteristics given below but are not *necessarily* from the same source; neither should these paper types be understood as an aid to chronology. No significance should be attached to the order of listing.

Type 1: plain, white or off-white paper; staves are hand-rastrated as needed, using a wheeled rastrum
Type 2: plain, cream; staves are hand-rastrated
Type 3: plain, yellow; staves are hand-rastrated
Type 4: off-white, lined paper from an exercise book; staves are hand-rastrated
Type 5: pale yellow, lined; staves are hand-rastrated
Type 6: pale green; staves are hand-rastrated
Type 7: white orchestration paper from large spiral-bound notebook; printed orchestral staves and clefs (which Stravinsky usually deletes, trims off or ignores)
Type 8: large transparent sheets with printed staves
Type 9: thin, translucent, plain white paper; staves are hand-rastrated
Type 10: ordinary printed manuscript paper, white or cream
Type 11: printed vocal score manuscript paper: three-stave systems with printed clefs (two treble and one bass)
Type 12: plain cream, headed writing paper for Vera Stravinsky's gallery 'La Boutique'; verso blank; staves are hand-rastrated
Type 13: blank verso of printed 'Recordplate Co.' cataloguing cards; large perforations along one edge
Type 14: plain white sheets torn from a commercial notepad bearing the name 'LEO E. NOLTE' printed on the verso sides

Notes

1. A 'title sheet' (usually on the verso of a draft) records the name of the work or movement, and sometimes the date; it contains no musical sketches.

2. Bar numbers are not given in references to whole movements.

3. Where both sides of a sketchleaf are used, the recto side is taken to be that which contains more notations, or which begins a passage that is completed by material on the verso; where no such distinction can be made, the decision is arbitrary.

4. Stravinsky's envelopes, folders and subject dividers are not given reference numbers, but are simply listed according to their slide number on the microfilm.

II. AGON

Abbreviations of movement titles

Pd4 Pas-de-Quatre
DPd4 Double Pas-de-Quatre
TPd4 Triple Pas-de-Quatre
Pd3 Pas-de-Trois
BS Bransle Simple
BG Bransle Gay
BD Bransle Double
Pd2 Pas-de-Deux

(Sketchleaves listed for the 'Prelude' are understood also to refer to the near repeats as 'Interludes'.)

Sketch ref. no.	Film 108 slide no.	MS ref.	Physical characteristics (height x width in mm)	Description of contents (with bar numbers corresponding to final score)
A001	0120 0121	1.1	'Leporello': 5 sheets (Type 5) taped and stapled together (750x203)	Structural planning and choreographic notes
A002	0122	7.a	Type 3 (93x140)	**Prelude** sketch: 128-31
A003v	0123	10.2a	Type 1 (318x484)	**Pd3 Coda** title page
A003r	0124	10.2a	Type 1 (318x484)	**Pd3 Coda** sketch draft: 185-233, one *collette*; sketch: 218-20; dated [5 December 1954]
A004	0125	10.2b	Type 1 (318x484)	**Pd3 Coda** sketch draft, cont.: 234-53; dated [23 December 1954]
A005	0126	12.2	Type 1 (318x484)	**BG** hexachords; sketches: 321-31; 311-14; sketch draft: 311-20
A006r	0128	8.a	Type 1 (*c*.123x485)	**Sarabande** early sketches: cf. 147-53
A006v	0129	8.a	Type 1 (*c*.123x485)	**Sarabande** sketch: 160-1
A007	0130	8.b	Type 10 (305x243)	**Sarabande** sketches: 148-53, 152/160 fragment; sketch draft: 154-7
A008r	0131	8.c	Type 1 (318x484)	**Sarabande** early short score: 146-53 (condensed); sketch draft 146-63)
A008v	0127	8.c	Type 1 (318x484)	**Sarabande** title page, dated [November 1954]
A009v	0132	12.2	Type 1 (318x484)	**BG** title page
A009r	0133	12.2	Type 1 (318x484)	**BG** sketch draft: 321-35, 311-20; dated [8 June 1956]
A010	0135	13.1	Type 1 (318x484)	**BD** sketch short score: 336-61; sketch: 362-3; serial workings
A011r	0136	13.1	Type 1 (318x484)	**BD** sketch short scores: 352-61, 362-6, 373-86; hexachords
A011v	0137	13.1	Type 1 (318x484)	**BD** rhythmic sketch; early sketches: 336-43 (brass duet); sketch: 362-3; short scores: 340-43 (brass), 336-9, 352-60; row forms
A012r	0138	13.1	Type 1 (318x484)	**BD** sketch drafts: 373-86, 337-47
A012v	0134	13.1	Type 1 (318x484)	**BD** title page
A013v	0139	11.b	Type 1 (318x484)	**BS** title page
A013r	0140	11.b	Type 1 (319x484)	**BS** sketch draft: 278-309
A014r	0142	1.2c	Type 7 (182x165) (remains of tape down one side)	**BS** hexachordal workings; sketches: 278-85 (trumpets), 285-7 (clarinets)
A014v	0141	1.2c	Type 7 (182x165)	**BS** hexachordal workings; sketchleaf photographed with **A013r** behind it
A015	0144	9.3a	Type 1 (319x484) with 4 *collettes*	**Gaillarde** fragmented sketch draft: 164-78; sketches: 166-7, 173-5 and 178 (canon only)
A016v	0143	9.3b	Type 1 (318x485)	**Gaillarde** title page
A016r	0145	9.3b	Type 1 (318x485)	**Gaillarde** sketch draft: 179-84; dated [29 November 1954]
A017v	0146	7.d	Type 1 (318x485)	**Prelude** title page; dated [October 1954]

A017r	0147	7.d	Type 1 (318x485)	**Prelude** early sketch draft
--	0148			PSS title sheet: Agon [2]
--	0149			Pale brown board folder with ribbons and elaborately decorated label; brown stencil-like design inside
--	0150		Folded size *c*.300x227	Beige card file/subject divider marked 'AGON/Ballet for 12 dancers'
--	0151		Folded size *c*.321x268	Home-made brown paper folder, green paper inside; front labelled 'AGON/Sketches'
--	0152			Back of paper folder, signed 'Igor Stravinsky'
A018v	0153	4.2c	Type 1 (318x485)	**Pd4** title page; dated [August 1954]
A018r	0154	4.2c	Type 1 (318x485)	**Pd4** sketch draft: 1-38
A019	0155	4.2c	Type 1 (319x485)	**Pd4** sketch draft, cont.: 39-60; omits 43
A020v	0156	5.f	Type 1 (318x484)	**DPd4** title page; dated [September 1954]
A020r	0157	5.f	Type 1 (318x484), 2 smaller leaves attached as foldouts	**DPd4** early sketch draft: 61-83
A020r	0158	5.f	Foldout from right-hand edge: Type 1 (*c*.87x371); foldout from lower edge: Type 1 (191x319)	**DPd4** draft as above, now showing inserted sections (69-71, 74-80) and earlier material below
A021	0159	5.f	Type 1 (319x485)	**DPd4** sketch draft, cont.: 84-95
A022v	0160	6.g	Type 1 (294x485)	**TPd4** title page; dated [September 1954]
A022r	0161	6.g	Type 1 (294x485)	**TPd4** early sketch draft: 96-110
A023	0162	6.g	Type 1 (*c*.292x485) [2 strips pasted together]	**TPd4**: sketch draft (bars 111-21); dated [26 September 1954]
A024	0163	4.1b	Type 8 (359x280)	**Pd4** first fair copy (1954), p. 1
A025	0164	4.1b	Type 8 (359x280)	(cont., p. 2)
A026	0165	4.1b	Type 8 (359x280)	(cont., p. 3)
A027	0166	4.1b	Type 8 (359x280)	(cont., p. 4)
A028	0167	4.1b	Type 8 (359x280)	(cont., p. 5)
A029	0168	4.1b	Type 8 (359x280) [cut horizontally and taped back together]	(cont., p. 6)
A030	0169	4.1b	Type 8 (362x280) [4 leaves taped together]	(cont., p. 7)
A031	0170	4.1b	Type 8 (362x280) [4 leaves taped together]	(cont., p. 8)
A032	0172	5.b	Type 10 (186x243)	**DPd4** early short score: 81-94 (omits 89:4-90:4 and other fragments)
A033	0173	10.1c	Type 10 (130x183)	**Pd3 Coda** early short score, some cues: 216-20
A034	0174	10.1b	Type 4 (*c*.214x168)	**Pd3 Coda** early sketch: 198 ff.; row form
A035	0175	10.1b	Type 4 (*c*.214x168)	**Pd3 Coda** row form sketches; sketch short score: 203-9
A036	0176	10.1b	Type 6 (108x136)	**Pd3 Coda** instrumentation sketch: 191-207
A037	0177	10.1b	Type 6 (108x*c*.245) [2 leaves stapled together]	**Pd3 Coda** sketch draft: 185-93:1

A038	0178	10.1a	Type 4 (*c*.214x168)	**Pd3 Coda** row forms; sketches: 246-7, 249-53
A039	0179	10.1d	Type 4 (173x224)	**Pd3 Coda** early sketches: 235-41, 244-7; sketch draft fragment: 234-43
A040	0180	1.2d	Type 4 (214x166)	**Pd3 Coda** sketch draft fragment: 229-33
A041	0181	10.1e	Type 7 (256x304) [2 leaves stapled together]	**Pd3 Coda** sketch draft: 234-53
A042r	0182	10.1f	Type 7 (257x352)	**Pd3 Coda** sketch draft fragments: 185-91, 198-200, 208-11, 229-33
A042v	0171	10.1f	Type 10 (186x243)	**Pd3 Coda** rough title page
A043	0183	5.e	Type 10 (305x242) [outer page of 4-page booklet]	**DPd4** sketch: 63-4; sketch draft: 81-6
A044	0184	5.e	Type 10 (305x483) [inner spread of 4-page booklet]	**DPd4** sketch draft: 87-95
A045	0185	5.a	Type 1 (319x485, with 105x173 cut from lower right corner)	**DPd4** early sketch: 63-4; short score: 61-7, 71-2
A046	0186	3.c	Type 1 (318x485)	**DPd4** early sketches for note rows of bar 81ff.; **'Fanfare'**: sketch draft
A047	0187	3.c	Type 1 (318x485)	**DPd4** serial workings, early sketches: bar 81ff.; **'Fanfare'**: early sketch draft
A048	0188	5.b	Type 1 (319x485)	**DPd4** serial workings; sketches and early short score: bar 81ff.
A049	0189	2	Type 1 (316x*c*.485)	**DPd4** early motivic sketches, later developed into note rows
A050r	0190	1.1	Type 2 (162x71) [2 leaves taped together]	Tempo calculations
A050v	0191	1.1	Type 2 (162x71) [2 leaves taped together]	Miscellaneous addition sums
A051	0192	1.2b	Type 7 (181x256)	**Pd2** row forms; sketch: 558-60
A052r	0193	13.2b	Type 7 (*c*.580x255) [4 sheets pasted together]	**Pd2** sketch draft: 411-50
A052v	0194	13.2b	Type 7 (*c*.580x255) [4 sheets pasted together]	**Pd2 Adagio** sketches: 447-8, 442
A053	0195	13.2b	Type 1 (318x485)	**Pd2** early sketch draft: 411-28, 437-43 (i.e. omits 1st time bar)
A054r	0196	4.1c|	cream photocopies	**Pd4** annotated photocopy of first fair copy (cont., p. 2)
A054v	0197	4.1c|		(cont., p. 3)
A055r	0198	4.1c|	originally	(cont., p. 4)
A055v	0199	4.1c|	taped together	(cont., p. 5)
A056r	0200	4.1c|	into a booklet	(cont., p. 6)
A056v	0201	4.1c|		(cont., p. 7)
A057r	0202	4.1c|	(all 259x278)	(cont., p. 8)
A057v	0203	4.1c|		
A058	0204	4.1a	Type 8 (200x280)	**Pd4** sketchleaf **A**054v redrawn on account of heavy corrections

A059r	0205	6.c	Type 12 (268x185)	**TPd4** early motivic workings; sketches: 104-5, 107-8, 110-12
A059v	0206	6.c	Type 12 (268x185)	**TPd4** sketch: 99-100
A060	0207	1.1	Type 5 (203x177)	Written notes on performing forces of Pd4 dances, with timings
A061	0208	1.1	Type 5 (196x203)	Early choreographic sketch of performing forces
A062r	0209	1.1	Type 5 (*c*.298x203)	Calculations, early choreographic sketch
A062v	0210	1.1	Type 5 (*c*.298x203)	Untidy early jottings of dancers' positions
A063	0211	13.2b	Type 1 (317x486)	**Pd2** early sketches: 411-13, 417-28
A064	0212	15.e	Type 1 (318x482)	**Pd2** sketch: 512-19; **4 Duos, 4 Trios**: early short scores/sketch drafts: 512-39, 552-62
A065r	0213	13.2c	Type 1 (319x484)	**Pd2** note rows, early motivic workings; early sketches: 453-62; sketch short scores: 443-50, 451-62
A065v	0214	13.2c	Type 1 (319x484)	**Pd2** note rows, motivic workings; sketches: 473-83, 463-5, 484-93; short score: 465-72
A066	0215	14.5	Type 1 (318x484)	**Pd2 Coda** early sketches: 495 ff., 508-9; early short score: 499-502; sketch and short score: 504-9
A067	0216	15.c	Type 7 (249x351)	**Pd2 Quasi stretto** early sketch: 512-15; **4 Trios**: early sketches and motivic working; sketch: 539-550
--	0217 |			[MS short score, photocopy, for part of
--	0218 |			Stravinsky's Gesualdo arrangement, *Tres sacrae cantiones*]
A068	0219	1.2a	Type 2 (with 2nd leaf folded around **A**068) (both 128x76)	**Pd2** tetrachords; on leaf folded around **A**068 Stravinsky writes 'from Pas-de-Deux to the end'
A069	0219	13.2c	Type 2 (75x99)	**Pd2** sketch: 458:3-460
A070	0219	14.1b	Type 2 (76x128)	**Pd2** sketch: 490-92 (horns)
A071	0219	14.1c	Type 2 (76x128)	**Pd2** sketch: 481-3 (flutes)
A072	0219	1.2a	Type 2 (128x76)	?**Pd2**: unidentified sketch
A073	0220	14.4	Type 7 (180x315) [originally taped above **A**074r]	**Pd2** sketch short score: 495-508:1
A074r	0220	14.4	Type 7 (180x317)	**Pd2** sketch short score, cont.: 508:2-513; sketches: 498, 504-5, 507, 512
A074v	0221	14.4	Type 7 (180x317)	Illegible written note
A075r	0222	14.1d	Type 7 (423x255) [2 leaves pasted together]	**Pd2** sketch draft: 463-94
A075v	0223	14.1d	Type 7 (423x255)	**Pd2** sketches: 446-50
A076	0224	14.3a	Type 7 (178x256) [originally taped, right-hand edge]	**Pd2** sketch draft: 495-7
A077	0225	14.3c	Type 7 (181x256) [originally taped, left-hand edge]	**Pd2** sketch draft: 502:2-503
A078	0226 | 0227 |	14.3b	Type 7 (179x256) originally taped down both sides	**Pd2** sketch draft: 498-502:1 (**A**078 photographed twice)

A079	0228	15.d	Type 7 (250x351)	**4 Duos** sketch short score: 520-36; 4 **Trios** sketches: 553-61; 537-9, 553-5
A080	0229	15.b	Type 2 (127x190)	**Pd2 Coda-4 Duos** sketches: 516-17, 520-21; row form
A081	0229	1.2a	Type 2 (128x76)	Small unidentified sketch
A082	0229	13.2a	Type 2 (127x204)	**Pd2** short score: 473-83
A083	0229	14.1a	Type 2 (127x204)	**Pd2** sketch: 457-60
A084r	0230	15.a	Type 2 (127x204)	**4 Trios** sketch: 546-7
A084v	0231	15.a	Type 2 (127x204)	**4 Trios** sketch: 548-9
A085r	0232	1.2a	Type 2 (127xc.152)	Unidentified sketch (**BD**?)
A085v	0233	1.2a	Type 2 (127xc.152)	**BD** serial workings
A086	0234	15.d	Type 7 (250x351)	**4 Trios** row fragments; sketches: 525-8, 552, 554-7, 560-65; early sketch draft: 560-65
A087	0235	14.2	Type 7 (181x318)	**Pd2** sketches: 497-503, 504-6
A088r	0236	14.4	Type 7 (250x254)	**Pd2** sketches: 497-501
A088v	0237	14.4	Type 7 (250x254)	**Pd2** sketch: 506:3-507; early sketch draft: 504-9
A089r	0238	14.2	Type 7 (250xc.254)	**Pd2** short score: early, curtailed version of Coda and Doppio lento
A089v	0239	14.2	Type 7 (250xc.254)	Unidentified sketch
A090	0240	4.2a	Type 3 (c.142x217)	**Pd4** sketch: 55-9
A091	0241	4.2a	Type 1 (100xc.113)	**Pd4** sketch: 60
A092	0241	4.2a	Type 1 (116x139)	**Pd4** sketch: 4-6
A093	0241	4.2a	Type 1 (147xc.209)	**Pd4** sketch: 34-6
A094	0242	4.2a	Type 1 (146x255)	**Pd4** sketch draft fragment: 26-9
A095	0243	1.2e	Type 9 (77x209)	**Pd4** early sketch: cf. bar 50
A096	0243	1.2e	Type 2 (123x182)	**Pd4** sketch draft fragment: 10-12
A097r	0244	4.2a	Type 9 (c.138x209)	**Pd4** sketch draft fragment: 56-9
A097v	0245	4.2a	Type 9 (c.138x209)	**Pd4** early sketch: cf. bar 55
A098	0246	7.b	Type 12 (268x185)	**Prelude** early short score: 136-45; sketch: 144; short score: 128-31
A099	0247	1.2e	Type 3 (93x240)	**DPd4** sketch: 84-5
A100	0248	4.2b	Type 2 (165x319)	**TPd4** early motivic sketches (including material of 104-7)
A101	0249	5.a	Type 12 (268x185)	**DPd4, TPd4**: early motivic sketches (including material of 64-7)
A102r	0250	7.c	Type 10 (305x242)	**Prelude** sketch draft: 136-45
A102v	0251	7.c	Type 10 verso: hand-rastrated staves (305x242)	**Prelude** short score: 141-5
A103	0252	9.1a	Type 2 stapled to Type 13 (76x128)	**Gaillarde** written note about name of dance
A104	0252	9.1b	Type 2 (76x128)	**Gaillarde** sketch: 170
A105	0252	9.1c	Type 2 (76x128)	**Gaillarde** rhythmic sketch
A106	0252	9.1d	Type 2 (76x128)	**Gaillarde** rhythmic sketch
A107	0252	9.1e	Type 2 (76x128)	**Gaillarde** sketch: 171-2
A108	0252	9.1f	Type 2 (76x128)	**Gaillarde** sketch: 183-4
A109	0253	9.1g	Type 4 (c.214x167)	**Gaillarde** early sketch draft: 164-7
A110	0253	9.1h	Type 4 (c.214x167)	**Gaillarde** sketch: 176
A111	0254	7.b	Type 11 with extra stave (hand-rastrated) (318x268)	**Prelude** early short score: 141-5 (condensed) with misplaced incipit (bars 126-9)
A112	0255	9.1i	Type 10 (305x243)	**Gaillarde** sketches: 179-80
A113	0256	9.2	Type 10 (305x243)	**Gaillarde** short score: 182-4
A114	0257	9.2	Type 10 (305x243)	**Gaillarde** sketch draft: 164-9

A115r	0258	9.2	Type 10 (305x243)	**Gaillarde** sketch draft: 169-78
A115v	0259	9.2	Type 3 (93x140) stapled to lower right corner of **A**115r	Calculations of metre/tempi
A116	0260	4.2c	Type 7, yellowed (243x*c*.263)	**Pd4** sketch short score: 26-36; sketch: 49-51
A117	0261	6.f	Type 10 (305x242) [in 4-page booklet]	**TPd4** early short score: 107-12, with 107-108:2 deleted
A118	0262	6.f	Type 10 (305x242) [in 4-page booklet]	TPd4 sketches: 96-7, 100-101
A119	0263	6.f	Type 10 (305x242) [in 4-page booklet]	**TPd4** sketch: 98; sketch draft fragment: 104-5
A120	0264	6.b	Type 7 (174x255)	**TPd4** sketch draft fragment: 113-15
A121	0265	6.d	Type 10 (305x242)	**TPd4** sketch draft fragment: 107-8, omitting cello line
A122r	0266	6.e	Type 7 (260x255)	**TPd4** sketch draft fragment: 110-12
A122v	0267	6.e	Type 7 (260x255)	**TPd4** sketch draft: 112-21
A123	0268	5.b	Type 11 (270x267)	**DPd4** row forms, sketches: 91-4, 88-9
A124	0268	6.a	Type 13 (64x128)	**TPd4** sketch: 100
A125	0269	5.c	Type 2, very thin (345x279)	**DPd4** early short score: 81-94, with omissions as in **A**032
A126	0270	3.a	Type 8 (356x280)	**'Fanfare'** fair copy, signed, dated [December 1953]
A127	--	3.b	Cream photocopy of Type 8 (359x280)	**'Fanfare'** annotated copy of **A**126
A128	0271	5.c	Cream photocopy of Type 2 (359x280)	**DPd4** annotated copy of **A**125
A129	0272	1.2f	Type 10 (78x254)	**BS** sketch: pitch sequence, trumpet canon
A130	0272	1.2d	Type 10 (*c*.95x93)	**BG** hexachords
A131	0272	12.1a	Type 2 (204x127)	**BG** sketch: 326-7
A132r	0273	11.a	Type 3 (128x129)	**BG** hexachordal workings
A132v	0274	11.a	Type 3 (128x129)	**BS** rhythmic sketch
A133r	0275	12.1b	Type 6 (141x255) [section missing, lower right corner]	**BG** sketch short score: 324-31
A133v	0276	12.1b	Type 6 (141x255) [section missing, as for recto]	**BS** early sketches: 287-90; final chord; hexachords
A134	0277	5.d	Type 10 (305x241)	**DPd4** sketch draft fragment: 93-4

III. CANTICUM SACRUM

Abbreviations of movement titles

(i) Dedicatio
(1) Euntes in mundum
(2) Surge, aquilo

Ad Tres Virtutes Hortationes:
(3a) Caritas
(3b) Spes
(3c) Fides

(4) Brevis Motus Cantilenae
(5) Illi autem profecti

Sketch ref. no.	Film 108 slide no.	MS ref.	Physical characteristics (height x width in mm)	Description of contents (with bar numbers corresponding to final score)
--	0613	--	--	PSS title sheet: Canticum Sacrum [1]
--	0614	--	*c.*269x382 (folded)	rust-coloured card folder
--	0615	--	255x337 (folded)	grey envelope
CS01r	0616	8.2a	Type 7 (231x327)	**(5)** full draft: 307-10
CS01v	0617	8.2a	Type 7 (231x237)	**(5)** full draft: 311-20
CS02r	0618	8.2b	Type 7 (198x302)	**(5)** full draft: 321-4
CS02v	0619	8.2b	Type 7 (198x302)	**(5)** full draft: 325-36
CS03r	0620	8.2c	Type 7 (234x302)	**(5)** full draft: 337-9
CS03v	0621	8.2c	Type 7 (234x302)	**(5)** full draft: 340-43; dated [21 November 1955]
CS04r	0623	5.1g	Type 2, darkened with age (217x280)	**(3b)** sketches: 158-62, 178
CS04v	0622	5.1g	Type 2 (217x280)	**(3b)** row forms, sketch: 171-3
CS05	0624	7.1b	Type 1 (128x204)	**(4)** sketch, baritone line only: 295-303
CS06	0625	5.1c	Type 12 (268x185)	**(3b)** sketch: 148-53
CS07	0625	5.1b	Type 2 (76x127)	**(3b)** sketch: 151-2, originally stapled to **CS**06
CS08	0626	7.1b	Type 12 (61x268)	**(4)** sketch: 250-53
CS09	0626	5.1e	Type 2 (*c.*64x258)	**(3b)** sketch: 169-73
CS10	0627	2.1a	Type 10 (108x175)	**(1)** sketch: 10-12 (trombones)
CS11	0628	7.1a	Type 2 (76x127)	**(4)** row form (for canon, 275-7)
CS12	0628	7.1a	Type 2 (76x127)	**(5)** sketch: 326
CS13	0628	7.1a	Type 2 (76x127)	**(4)** rhythmic sketch: 269-70
CS14	0628	7.1a	Type 2 (76x127)	**(5)** sketch: 323
CS15	0628	7.1b	Type 2 (76x127)	**(4)** row forms (for canon, 274-80)
CS16r	0629	2.1c	Type 12 (268x185)	**(1)** sketch: 12-13
CS16v	0630	2.1c	Type 12 (268x185)	**(1)** early sketch: 13
CS17	0631	5.1f	Type 10 (305x171)	**(3b)** short scores: 148-50, 163-5, 178-80
CS18	0632	1.3	Type 10 (203x243)	**(i)** sketches: 1-4

CS19r	0633| 0635|	2.1d	Type 2, darkened with age (280x217)	**(1)** sketches: 41-2 **(1)** sketch: 44-5 (**CS**19r photographed twice)
CS19v	0634	2.1d	Type 2 (280x217)	**(1)** sketches: 26-9
CS20	0636	1.2	Type 10 (305x243)	**(i)** sketch short score and sketch draft; dated [8 June 1955]
CS21	0637	2.1f	Type 10 (305x243)	**(1)** early sketches (correspond to poco meno mosso)
CS22	0638	2.1e	Type 10 (305x243)	**(1)** sketch draft, poco meno mosso (with instrumental cues); early sketches: 10-12
CS23	0639	1.4	Type 1 (319x485)	**(i)** sketch draft; unidentified sketches
CS24r	0640	2.1b	Type 12 (268x185)	**(1)** early sketches: 10-12
CS24v	0641	2.1b	Type 12 (268x185)	**(1)** clarifying sketch: 41-5
CS25	0642	2.2c	Type 1 (311x480)	**(1)** sketch draft: 10-25
CS26	0643	2.2a	Type 1 (318x485)	**(1)** sketches/early sketch draft: 10-16, 17-25
CS27	0644	2.2d	Type 1 (317x483)	**(1)** sketch draft: 26-32; sketches: 26-7, 29-30
CS28r	0645	2.2b	Type 1 (318x485)	**(1)** early sketch draft: 26-31; short score: 26-31
CS28v	0646	2.2b	Type 1 (318x345)	**(1)** title sheet: 'praedicate evangelium omni creaturae' written top right
CS29	0648	4.1e	Type 12 (268x185)	**(3a)** several early sketches: 99-106; row forms; sketch: 112-15
CS30	0649	4.1d	Type 12 (268x185)	**(3a)** sketch: 112-15; short score: 108-15
CS31	0650	4.1c	Type 1 (128x190)	**(3a)** sketch: 112-15
CS32	0651	4.1b	Type 2, darkened with age (*c.*195x217)	**(3a)** early sketches, choral canon: 116-29
CS33	0652	4.1f	Type 10 (305x243)	**(3a)** sketches: 94-7; instrumental lines, 107-15
CS34	0653	4.1a	Type 10 (305x243)	**(3a)** early sketches: 99-106, 112-15, introductory organ ritornello of 'Virtutes'
CS35	0654	4.1g	Type 10 (305x243)	**(3a)** early sketch draft: 99-107
CS36	0655	4.2b	Type 1 (318x484)	**(3a)** full draft: canon (116-29); sketch: 112-15
CS37	0656	4.2c	Type 1 (319x485)	**(3a)** sketch draft: canon (116-29); dated [7 August 1955]
CS38r	0657	4.2a	Type 1 (318x484)	**(3a)** sketch draft: 94-115; short score: 112-15; early sketch: fragment of **(4)** vocal line
CS38v	0647	4.2a	Type 1 (318x484)	**(3a)** title page
CS39r	0659	5.1d	Type 12 (268x185)	**(3b)** sketches: 178-81, 152-3; row form
CS39v	0658	5.1d	Type 12 (268x185)	**(3b)** sketches: vocal lines, 148-53
CS40	0660	5.2a	Type 1 (318x485)	**(3b)** short score, 130-5; note of choral texts; sketch: 154-7; sketches of soli duets: 148-53, 163-8, 178-83
CS41	0662	6.1b	Type 1 (198x149)	**(3c)** row forms
CS42	0662	6.1a	Type 2 (76x127)	**(3c)** handwritten text
CS43	0663	6.1i	Type 10 (305x243)	**(3c)** early sketches: 210-13
CS44	0664	6.1g	Type 12 (268x185)	**(3c)** short score with cues: 237-49; dated [30 September 1955]
CS45	0665	6.1h	Type 12 (268x185)	**(3c)** sketches: 206-9, 184-9 (and permutation); row forms for 204-13; rhythmic sketch for organ ritornello
CS46	0666	5.1a	Type 12 (268x185)	**(3c)** row forms and derivative sketches (unidentified; possibly early ideas for 1st choral entry) **(3b)** sketches: 136-47
CS47	0667	6.1e	Type 2 (76x*c.*235)	**(3c)** sketch: 209-13
CS48	0668	6.1c	Type 2 (76x127)	**(3c)** sketches: 213
CS49r	0668	6.1f	Type 1 (*c.*143x127)	**(3c)** sketch: 239-43

CS49v	0670	6.1f	Type 1 (*c.*143x127)	**(3c)** instrumental chords: 225-30
CS50	0669	6.1d	Type 2 (76x127)	**(3c)** sketch: 212-13
CS51	0671	6.2b	Type 1 (318x485)	**(3c)** sketch draft: 206-30
CS52	0672	6.2b	Type 12 (122x185)	**(3c)** sketch draft, cont.: 231-6 (folds out from right-hand edge of sketchleaf **CS**51)
CS53r	0673	6.2a	Type 1 (318x484)	**(3c)** short score with cues: 184-207
CS53v	0661	6.2a	Type 1 (318x484)	**(3c)** title page
CS54	0675	7.2b	Type 1 (316x485)	**(4)** sketches: 281-306
CS55	0676	7.2a	Type 1 (316x485)	**(4)** early sketch draft: 254-73
CS56	0677	7.2d	Type 1 (315x484)	**(4)** full draft: 278-80
CS57r	0678	7.2e	Type 1 (315x484)	**(4)** full draft: 281-306; dated [2 November 1955]
CS57v	0674	7.2e	Type 1 (315x484)	**(4)** title page
CS58	0680	8.1a	Type 1 (128x204)	**(5)** short score, chorus: 307-11
CS59	0680	8.1b	Type 1 (128x204)	**(5)** short score, chorus: 322-6
CS60	0680	8.1c	Type 1 (128x204)	**(5)** short score, chorus: 337-42, with instrumental chord, 342
CS61	0681	8.3a	Type 1 (*c.*298x484)	[originally taped above **CS**62r] **(5)** sketch draft, beginning
CS62r	0682	8.3b	Type 1 (319x484)	**(5)** sketch draft, conclusion; dated [18 November 1955]
CS62v	0679	8.3b	Type 1 (319x484)	**(5)** title page
CS63	0684	3.1d	Type 14 (43x130)	**(2)** sketch: tenor line, 90-92
CS64	0684	3.1e	Type 14 (108x139)	**(2)** sketch: tenor line, 86-92
CS65	0685	3.1h	Type 14 (*c.*208x139)	**(2)** sketch: tenor line, 74-85
CS66	0686	3.1k	Type 10 (*c.*195x243)	**(2)** sketches: 72-4 (fragments); sketches: 56-7
CS67	0687	3.1c	Type 14 (58x139)	**(2)** sketch, tenor line: 58-60
CS68	0687	3.1b	Type 14 (108x139)	**(2)** row forms
CS69	0687	3.1f	Type 14 (108x139)	**(2)** sketch, tenor line: 80-82, with chords of 82
CS70	0687	3.1a	Type 14 (108x132)	**(2)** handwritten text
CS71	0688	3.1j	Type 12 (268x185)	**(2)** sketch fragments, row forms, sketches for row form verticalizations; sketches, tenor line: 64-73
CS72	0689	3.1g	Type 14 (108x139)	**(2)** row form; early sketches, tenor line: 86-7, 60-62
CS73	0690	3.1i	Type 2, darkened with age (*c.*140x217)	**(2)** sketch, tenor line: 47-9; unused sketches based on row forms
CS74r	0691	1.1	Type 12 (268x185)	**(1)** early sketches: *c.* 12
CS74v	0692	1.1	Type 12 (268x185)	**(i)** sketches: 1-2; unidentified fragment; **(2)** hexachords, sketches: 53-5
CS75	0693	3.2b	Type 1 (319x483)	**(2)** sketch draft: 46-65
CS76	0694	3.2c	Type 1 (318x485)	**(2)** sketch draft: 66-85
CS77	0695	3.2a	Type 1 (319x485)	**(2)** sketch: hexachords, row forms; sketches, tenor line: 47-93, with sketched chords of 82 and 85
CS78r	0696	3.2d	Type 1 (318x485)	**(2)** sketch draft: 86-93; dated [20 July 1955]
CS78v	0683	3.2d	Type 1 (318x485)	**(2)** title page
--	0697	--	--	PSS title sheet: Canticum Sacrum [2]
--	0698	--	--	title sheet: Canticum Sacrum (the hand is probably Craft's)
CS79	0700	5.2b	Type 1 (*c.*252x485)	**(3b)** untidy short score: 130-47
CS80	0700	5.2c	Type 1 (149x485)	**(3b)** short score, cont.: 148-53

CS81	0700	5.2d	Type 1 (*c*.93x485)	**(3b)** short score, cont.: 154-62 [sketchleaves **CS**79-81 originally attached one below the other]
CS82v	0699	5.2e	Type 1 (318x485)	**(3b)** title sheet
CS82r	0701	5.2e	Type 1 (318x485)	**(3b)** sketch draft: 163-83 (beginning)
CS83	0701	5.2f	Type 1 (66x485)	**(3b)** sketch draft: 163-83 (conclusion); dated [10 September 1955]
CS84	0703	7.2c	Type 1 (317x483)	**(4)** sketch draft: 250-77 [with 2 *collettes*]
CS85r	0704	2.2e	Type 1 (317x485)	**(1)** sketch draft: 41-5, with clarifying sketch; dated [2 June 1955]
CS85v	0702	2.2e	Type 1 (317x485)	**(i)**/**(1)** title page, with *collette* showing handwritten text of **(i)**

APPENDIX B
CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF EVENTS RELATING TO AGON AND OTHER WORKS, 1948-1957

Note on Appendices B and C: Letters from Stravinsky are usually typewritten carbon copies with written signatures. They are cited as they appear in the *Nachlass* (with one or two accents added to Stravinsky's French), but no guarantee can be given that the top copies were not altered in any way. Letters addressed to Stravinsky, of course, are originals rather than copies. Correspondence is in English unless otherwise stated.

28 April 1948, New York: première of *Orpheus*, the second of the ballets commissioned from Stravinsky by Lincoln Kirstein and George Balanchine for the newly-formed New York City Ballet (*Apollo* (1927-8) had been the first).

29 April 1948: Kirstein to Stravinsky, with the first suggestion of a third ballet, which he terms a 'third act', to follow *Apollo* and *Orpheus* (*Nachlass* [42:450650], reprinted in *SSC-I*, p. 271).

2 December 1949: Stravinsky to Kirstein: first positive response to Kirstein's suggestions, but at present wishes to concentrate on *The Rake's Progress* (*Nachlass* [42:450659], reprinted in *SSC-I*, p. 273). Stravinsky worked on *The Rake's Progress* from May 1948 to May 1951; proof-checking and rehearsing occupied him until the opera's world première at La Fenice, Venice, on **11 September 1951**, during the fourteenth *Biennale*.

23 August 1950: Kirstein to Stravinsky, again pushing for a third ballet commission. Kirstein's long letter reports T.S. Eliot's tentative suggestion of using his *Sweeney Agonistes* to create a trilogy along the lines of *'Apollo-Orpheus-Architecture????'* (*Nachlass* [42:450662-6, citation from 42:450666], reprinted in *SSC-I*, pp. 274-7).

16 February 1951: Kirstein to Stravinsky: offers $5,000 for a third ballet, 'subject to

be determined'. W.H. Auden had suggested 'the Hero as Builder of Cities; Aesculapius, the doctor; or Amphion the architect' (*Nachlass* [42:450676], reprinted in *SSC-I*, pp. 280-1).

19 February 1951: Stravinsky to Kirstein: though enthusiastic about the commission, he has no desire to be hurried (*Nachlass* [42:450677-8], reprinted in *SSC-I*, p. 282, heavily edited).

28 November 1951: Kirstein to Stravinsky. The two had met in New York between 2 and 7 August 1951 (see letter of 30 June 1951 from Stravinsky, *SSC-I*, p. 284) to discuss possibilities for the ballet. Kirstein now refers to a 'consecutive three-act spectacle' with the prospective title 'Terpsichore'; he even outlines a 'draft sketch for TERPSICHORE', which describes the scenario and suggests dances, characters and possible performers:

Scene: a vast ballroom in space, between the stars. Music of the spheres.
1. Entrance of ZEUS (Hugh Laing): a reception of the gods (Pavane)
(Order not necessarily the one Balanchine will use)
2. (?) *Apollo* and *Terpsichore*: Tallchief and Eglevsky.
3. (?) *Cupid*: Janet Reed
4. (?) *Pegasus*: Patricia Wilde
5. (?) *Prometheus* chained: Francisco Moncion
6. *Orpheus and the Bacchant[e]s*: Nicholas Magallanes. Tanaquil LeClercq
7. *Venus and Mars*: Diana Adams and Herbert Bliss, etc. etc.
leading up to the final dance when the previous pavane, rigaudon, menuet, waltz, tarantella, polka, develops under Jerome Robbins as MERCURY, into a big jazz finale.
ZEUS is Le Roi Soleil as Zeus.

(Original, quoted here, *Nachlass* [42:450786 (letter) and 42:450797 (outline)], reprinted in *SSC-I*, pp. 284-5)

November 1951-February 1952: Stravinsky negotiates with the Aspen Festival over possible operatic collaboration (with Auden and Kallman).

January 1952-January 1953: Stravinsky considers Michael Powell's proposal of writing songs and dance music for a film based on the *Odyssey*; the choice of

possible scriptwriter was changed from Simon Harcourt-Smith to Dylan Thomas.

22 February 1952: Stravinsky to Betty Bean (B&H), reflecting his view that the ballet commission was still uncertain:

> This brings me first to announce [to] you that, while waiting for some commission to shape up or materialize, I have been and am still working on some pieces taken from old English poetry. For these songs I am writing a music for small chamber ensemble.
>
> For the time being I cannot foresee how many such songs I may deal with nor if they will be a group solid enough to make a complete book ('receuil'). It is a kind of project 'at large' and I am working on it very freely while considering different ideas which could be put into use at any later time for a worthy commission.
>
> (*Nachlass* [11:331978], reprinted in *SSC-III*, p. 357, heavily edited)

Stravinsky's settings of Elizabethan poetry became the Cantata, completed in July 1952. Composition had begun in July 1951 with the first Ricercar, 'The Maidens Came', and was resumed in February 1952. Given the Elizabethan flavour and the date of Stravinsky's settings, it is tempting to speculate that they were originally intended for the masque that he had been discussing with Auden and Kallman, but became the Cantata after these plans failed to materialize. The Cantata's première was given on **11 November 1952** in Los Angeles (programme in *Nachlass* [93:592004]).

July 1952-January 1953: Stravinsky fits in composition of the Septet around concert tours. The Septet was not performed publicly until 24 January 1954 at the Dumbarton Oaks Foundation (Harvard University), Washington D.C.

16 January 1953: Stravinsky is still considering the *Odyssey* film proposal. Shortly before the negotiations collapsed he wrote to Ernst Roth (his publisher at B&H), detailing his proposed contribution as follows:

1. Suppose we decide on the Nausicaa scene--which I think is an excellent idea--and the scene lasts 20 minutes, then in this case I could compose circa 12 minutes of music, to be divided into the following numbers: a - Prelude or Interlude; b - Dance, c - Song or Chorus-song, d - 2nd Dance, e - Hymn (chorus).
2. The orchestra would be a small chamber-music ensemble.
3. For this I will ask twelve thousand dollars. ...
4. As Michael Powell is asking this for next January 1954, I have to have an answer immediately. I have other propositions which I will be able to stall off for only a short time. If D. Thomas can finish a libretto by June it would give me enough time.
5. Please tell Michael Powell that D. Thomas is expected in the U.S.A. very soon, and that it would save a lot of time and money for me to discuss the libretto with him while he is here.

(Original, quoted here, *Nachlass* [11:332079]; reprinted in *SSC-III*, p. 373)

March-November 1953: Negotiations with Boston University over possible operatic collaboration (with Dylan Thomas).

August-October 1953: Stravinsky composes his *Three Songs from William Shakespeare*. The songs were proofed and printed by February 1954, and the première took place on **8 March 1954** in the Los Angeles concert series 'Evenings on the Roof' (programme in *Nachlass* [94:600018]).

26 August 1953: Kirstein contacts Stravinsky with an offer from the Rockefeller Foundation doubling the previous $5,000 fee for a new ballet. Kirstein has resurrected the 'old idea' of a work on the theme of 'Apollo Architectons, builder of shelters and bridges', with designs by Pavlik Tchelitchev (*Nachlass* [42:450689], reprinted in *SSC-I*, pp. 285-6, wrongly dated 27 August).

27 August 1953: Stravinsky to Kirstein, finally accepting the commission and (apparently) the Apollo Architectons idea, but requesting more details (*Nachlass* [42:450690], reprinted in *SSC-I*, p. 286, wrongly dated 28 August).

28 August 1953: Stravinsky to Kirstein, changing his mind and now suggesting a plot based on the Nausicaa episode from the *Odyssey* (*Nachlass* [42:450691], reprinted in *SSC-I*, p. 286, wrongly dated 29 August).

31 August 1953: Kirstein to Stravinsky. Troubled by the lack of dramatic consequence in the episode's ending, Balanchine and Kirstein are reluctant to employ Nausicaa as the heroine of the ballet. The new suggestions documented in this letter (see citation in main text, page 38), together with the seventeenth-century dance manual sent with it, would prove significant for many aspects of *Agon*'s form (*Nachlass* [42:450692], reprinted in *SSC-I*, pp. 286-7).

9 September 1953: Stravinsky, a great admirer of Balanchine's 'abstract' choreography, announces in a letter to Kirstein (see main text, page 39) that he will compose a 'Concerto for the dance' (*Nachlass* [42:450693], partially reproduced in *SSC-I*, p. 287).

25 September 1953: Stravinsky informs David Adams (of the New York office of B&H) that he has accepted the commission for a new ballet: 'I plan to compose my music without any blueprint for a plot. I will compose a kind of symphony to be danced' (original, quoted here, *Nachlass* [11:332098], partially reprinted in *SSC-III*, p. 377).

27 October 1953: Stravinsky to Kirstein: 'I am back to my desk [after influenza] and "our" work is getting its start. I will not be able to do an awful lot until my concerts begin because they will start already in two weeks. But things will be taking shape ...'. (Original, quoted here, *Nachlass* [42:450697], reprinted in *SSC-I*, p. 288, heavily edited.)

December 1953: Stravinsky completes the 'Fanfare', dating the fair copy [sketchleaf **A**126] of this short piece 'Dec/53'. Robert Craft (1957b, p. 284) informs us that Stravinsky also worked on the second section of the Double Pas-de-Quatre (bars 81-95) at this time.

February-June 1954: Stravinsky interrupts work on *Agon* in order to compose *In Memoriam Dylan Thomas*. The new piece was premièred in Los Angeles on **20**

September 1954 as the first of the 'Monday Evening Concerts'--the series that succeeded 'Evenings on the Roof'--in a programme that also included works by Gabrieli, Purcell, Willaert, Schütz, Gesualdo and Bach [*Nachlass* 94:600723].

April 1954, Rome: Alessandro Piovesan, acting on behalf of the organisers of the Venice *Biennale*, meets Stravinsky to try to interest him in composing a work 'sur textes évangelique[s] ou biblique[s]'. (From a letter of 13 May 1954, *Nachlass* [97:610660]; Appendix C traces the ramifications of their meeting and the chronology of *Canticum Sacrum* in greater detail.)

5 July-14 August 1954: during the New York City Ballet's summer season in Los Angeles, Balanchine and Stravinsky meet several times to work on the structure and timing of *Agon*. Shortly afterwards, the composer recommences work on the ballet.

12 August 1954: Stravinsky chooses the title *Agon* (*SSC-I*, p. 289, n. 27).

August 1954: draft of Pas-de-Quatre dated 'August 1954' [sketchleaf **A**018v]; the first fair copy of this dance bears a handwritten copyright date of 1954.

September 1954: draft of Double Pas-de-Quatre dated 'Sept' [sketchleaf **A**020v].

September 1954: first draft of Triple Pas-de-Quatre (at this stage entitled 'Coda') dated 'Sept' [sketchleaf **A**022v].

26 September 1954: last page of Triple Pas-de-Quatre draft [sketchleaf **A**023] dated 'Sept 26/54'.

October 1954: draft of Prelude dated 'Oct/54' [sketchleaf **A**017v].

November 1954: draft of Saraband dated 'Nov/54' [sketchleaf **A**008v].

29 November 1954: draft of Gaillarde dated 'Nov 29/54' [sketchleaf **A**016r].

5 December 1954: incomplete draft of First Pas-de-Trois Coda dated '5 Dec/54' [sketchleaf **A**003r].

23 December 1954: final draft of First Pas-de-Trois Coda dated '23 Dec/54' [sketchleaf

A004].

4 December 1954: Stravinsky writes to Piovesan, accepting the *Biennale* commission for a 'Passion selon Saint Marc' ([*Nachlass* 97:610671]; see Appendix C, p. 287). Subsequently, he decides to postpone the première of *Agon* until 1957, telling Kirstein, Balanchine and the set designer Eugene Berman of his revised plans on **24 January 1955** (*SSC-I*, p. 290, n. 29).

June 1955-27 March 1956: Stravinsky works on *Canticum Sacrum*, completing it on 21 November 1955. Next, he makes an arrangement for chorus and orchestra of Bach's chorale-variations *Vom Himmel hoch, da komm'ich her*, to be premièred in the same Biennale concert.

April 1956: Stravinsky resumes the composition of *Agon* with the Bransle Simple (Second Pas-de-Trois).

8 June 1956: date on Bransle Gay sketch draft [sketchleaf **A**009r]. (Stravinsky recorded no more dates until he had finished copying out the full score, which he signed 'IStr April 27/57'.)

August 1956, Venice: before rehearsals begin for *Canticum Sacrum*, Stravinsky works on the Bransle de Poitou (Bransle Double) (Craft, 1957b, p. 284).

13 September 1956, Venice: première of *Canticum Sacrum* at St Mark's, followed by a gruelling European concert tour. Stravinsky suffered a minor stroke in Germany and was confined to hospital from 10 October to 17 November (see *SPD*, pp. 435-6) before proceeding to Italy and London; he arrived back in New York on 21 December 1956, staying until late January 1957.

February-May 1957, California: Stravinsky once again resumes work on *Agon*, composing the Pas-de-Deux, Four Trios and Four Duos, simultaneously copying the full score and making a two-piano reduction.

22 April 1957: Craft informs B&H that the composition of *Agon* is finished, but not

the copying of the full score (B&H archive).

27 April 1957: date at the end of the autograph full score manuscript.

8 May 1957: Stravinsky to Roth, enclosing a new full score of the first eight pages, with recently-introduced mandolin part (*Nachlass* [13:341332], reprinted in *SSC-III*, p. 403).

May-September 1957: engraving, proofing and printing of full and piano scores.

17 June 1957: first concert performance of *Agon* (paired with the American première of *Canticum Sacrum*), University of California at Los Angeles, with the Festival Symphony Orchestra conducted by Robert Craft (programme in *Nachlass* [98:610868]).

August 1957, Venice: Stravinsky begins to compose *Threni* (*SPD*, p. 443); a sketch draft of the 'Incipit' [*Nachlass* 114-0862] is dated '29/Aug 57'.

11 October 1957: European première of *Agon*, Salle Pleyel, Paris, Orchestre du Südwestfunk de Baden-Baden, conducted by Stravinsky. The programme [*Nachlass* 99:612223-43] also included works by Webern, Schoenberg and Berg, conducted by Hans Rosbaud.

Mid-November 1957, New York: Stravinsky attends some of Balanchine's dance rehearsals for *Agon*.

27 November 1957, New York: first public staging of *Agon*, mounted as a Polio Benefit performance, City Center of Music and Drama, with members of the New York City Ballet (Kirstein, 2/1978, p. 367).

1 December 1957: 'official' ballet première, again at the City Center. The programme booklet is *Playbill*, vol. i/8 (25 November 1957), with details of the *Agon* première on pages 27-8 [*Nachlass* [98:610924-5].

APPENDIX C
THE TROUBLED GENESIS OF CANTICUM SACRUM: A CHRONOLOGY

27 December 1952: A letter from Giovanni Ponti (then President of the Venice *Biennale*) to Stravinsky reveals that *Biennale* interest in a Stravinsky première extended back several years:

> I would like to confirm our lively desire to be able to present some new instrumental composition of yours at our Music Festival of 1953, which is scheduled for the month of September. ... This plan is one of our most cherished ambitions, and we feel confident that your attachment to the town of Venice, and the warm sympathy you have always shown to our institution will persuade you to consider the proposal with benevolence. [*Nachlass* 93:592823]

[Undated: late December 1952/early January 1953]: Stravinsky drafted an enthusiastic reply to Ponti's proposal, offering the world première of his Septet or a performance of the new Cantata [*Nachlass* 93:592824], but a large cross through this letter suggests that it was never sent; instead, the *Biennale* received a telegram [*Nachlass* 93:592825] expressing Stravinsky's regret that he would not be travelling to Europe in 1953. The probable reason for this change of mind was the materialization of a more favourable commission for the Septet, negotiated in February and March in an exchange of letters with John Thacher, Director of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection at Harvard University [*Nachlass* 94:600467-9].

The *Biennale* maintained a low profile until **April 1954**, when its musical director Alessandro Piovesan met Stravinsky in Rome to discuss another prospective commission. Piovesan's letter of confirmation (below) implies that they had agreed in principle.

13 May 1954: Piovesan to Stravinsky, in French, presenting the details of the

commission [*Nachlass* 97:610660]. He proposes a première in 'la Basilique' (St Mark's) in September 1954 or 1955, with music by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli in the first half of the concert and a second half devoted to 'une de vos oeuvres chorale-instrumentale sur textes évangélique[s] ou biblique[s]'. Piovesan envisages a piece lasting thirty to forty minutes, but at this stage assures the composer that this guideline is 'elastic'. He also questions Stravinsky as to his fee for such a piece, veiling various hints that the *Biennale* was not terribly well off with appeals to the composer's 'exquise amabilité' and 'sentiment de collaboration spirituelle'.

21 June 1954: Stravinsky to Piovesan [*Nachlass* 97:610662], expressing enthusiasm for the idea ('votre projet ... m'interesse vivement'). He explains that he intends to compose

> une oeuvre de 30 à 40 minutes (comme vous-même l'indiquez) sur un texte des Ecritures (Ancien ou Nouveau Testament). Cette oeuvre serait pour choeur, solistes, et différents instruments courants, mais ne nécessiterait pas nécessairement un orchestre symphonique complet.
>
> [a work of thirty to forty minutes (as you recommended) on a text from the Scriptures (Old or New Testament). This work would be for choir, soloists, and various standard instruments, but would not necessarily require a full symphony orchestra.]

Stravinsky asks $12,000 for composing the work and $3,000 for conducting it. Because of his loaded work schedule, he delays the première until the 1956 *Biennale*.

30 October 1954: Piovesan to Stravinsky [*Nachlass* 97:610666]. Although still unable to make a definite financial commitment, Piovesan is delighted with the news--transmitted by a friend--that Stravinsky is composing a 'Passion according to St Mark':

> The subject is splendid and gives me hope and enthusiasm in succeeding to overcome the financial problems. I would only like to receive your confirmation that the piece is in effect a 'Passion according to St. Mark'. In this case I shall have the possibility of enhancing the particularly symbolical character of the work and thus obtain that which is required to set up your opera in the very finest manner.

5 November 1954 Stravinsky's brusque reply to Piovesan marks the beginning of a protracted dispute over the terms of the commission [*Nachlass* 97:610668]. At this stage Stravinsky is engrossed in *Agon* (see Appendix B) and appears to have every intention of completing the ballet before starting work on the commission that would become *Canticum Sacrum*:

> As far as I am concerned the situation is as follows. For the time being I am working on a commission for a new ballet for Balanchine's New York City Center Ballet. This will be premièred next season.
>
> For Venice it is true that I have in mind something connected with St Mark, either a Passion or Sacred Cantata. But I will not decide anything until I receive the commission, and, to be frank, commission and contract will have to be forthcoming before I complete my ballet.

Despite Piovesan's frequent reassurances, the contract was not finalized and signed until May 1955. Stravinsky, though frustrated by this delay, remained confident throughout that the *Biennale*'s proposal would come to fruition. His next letter, in French and dated **4 December 1954** [*Nachlass* 97:610671], suggests that he had already begun planning the work:

> ... dans les grandes lignes soyez assuré que l'orchestre sera modeste (comme vous savez, je fais de moins en moins de l''orchestre' et de plus en plus de la musique de chambre). Pour les solistes et le choeur rien ne dépassera des limites très raisonnables.
>
> [... as a broad outline you may be certain that the orchestra will be a modest one (as you know, I write less and less for 'orchestra' and more and more chamber music). As for the soloists and the choir, nothing will exceed very reasonable limits.]

On the basis of this insubstantial agreement Stravinsky even decided to interrupt the ballet, whose composition was by now in full flow.

18 April 1955: not long after he had rejected a draft contract from the *Biennale* [*Nachlass* 97:610683], Stravinsky was in Venice, busily testing the acoustics of the Salute basilica and the 'Frari' church with the aid of musicians from the theatre orchestra of La Fenice, in case St Mark's should turn out to be unavailable for the planned première of *Canticum Sacrum* (see *SPD*, p. 430).

21 April 1955: after several delays, a contract presenting terms acceptable both to Stravinsky and to the *Biennale* reaches the composer in Lugano, Switzerland, whilst he is on a three-month European concert tour. Now no title is imposed on the work, which is described simply as 'une oeuvre de caractère religieux' [*Nachlass* 97:610689].

28 May 1955: Stravinsky to Piovesan, enclosing two signed copies of the revised contract, now rewritten in English [*Nachlass* 97:610693-4]. Only now did he start to compose *Canticum Sacrum*.

2 June 1955: Stravinsky dates a draft of the first movement, 'Euntes in mundum' [sketchleaf **CS**85r].

8 June 1955: the 'Dedicatio' is completed [sketchleaf **CS**20].

20 July 1955: the second movement, 'Surge aquilo', is drafted in full [sketchleaf **CS**078r].

27 July 1955: Stravinsky to Ernst Roth (B&H), as cited on page 107 above, enclosing the first section of the full and vocal score manuscripts (*Nachlass* [11:332179], partially reprinted in *SSC-III*, p. 390). The unpublished portion of the letter provides one of many examples in this correspondence of Stravinsky's reluctance to disclose any information concerning his new work:

> Now I am asking you a favor: don't let anybody see this music before it is completed. It is provoking enough peoples' babbling about newly performed works to let them exercise their skill upon not yet completed ones. I hope you will understand my feeling about it and shield my work from the outsiders.

7 August 1955: Stravinsky completes the 'Caritas' section of the third movement, 'Ad Tres Virtutes Hortationes' [sketchleaf **CS**37].

10 September 1955: the 'Spes' section of the third movement is finished [sketchleaf **CS**83].

30 September 1955: the final section of the third movement, 'Fides', is completed [sketchleaf **CS**44].

October 1955 heralded another period of strained relations between Stravinsky and the *Biennale*, this one caused by the brevity of the work. In a letter of **18 October 1955** to Ernst Roth (*SSC-III*, p. 392), Stravinsky predicted that *Canticum Sacrum* would last only about fifteen minutes. Roth, forced to play the mediator, felt it necessary to warn the composer of the problems that might arise; in his reply he quotes (in English translation) a recent letter from Piovesan, sent direct to B&H: 'the first performance of the new work ... should have a duration of at least forty minutes, in order to give the necessary "corposità" to the programme', and comments:

> With this letter and your letter in which you say that the CANTICUM will not last more than fifteen minutes, I feel there may be some difficulty which might need explaining.

(Letter of **31 October 1955** [*Nachlass* 12:340851])

2 November 1955: Stravinsky completes the fourth movement, 'Brevis Motus Cantilenae' [sketchleaf **CS**57r].

The *Biennale*'s anxiety over the conciseness of *Canticum Sacrum*, about which

they had been warned by Roth, was understandable: Stravinsky's fee was large, and had been calculated on the basis of a thirty- to forty-minute work (cf. letter of 21 June 1954, above, from Stravinsky to Piovesan), but more important was the *Biennale* committee's concern that a fifteen-minute work, even one by Stravinsky, could not justify their billing its première as a major musical event. Piovesan attempted to explain this to Roth in another letter, dated 23 November 1955, which Roth later (14 December) forwarded to the composer:

> Would it not be possible with great tact to point out to the Maestro that an international interest will all be looking forward to this new work of his? ... Do you not think, Dr Roth, that in such a case the length may have its importance in the artistic event that might even weigh on the aesthetic value of the work?
>
> If there are four parts could one ask Strawinsky to write a fifth?
>
> [*Nachlass* 12:340854]

(There is no question that the fifth movement of *Canticum Sacrum* was written in response to Piovesan's appeal, for Stravinsky had already completed it; he sent it for engraving on 25 November 1955. Besides, the work had been planned in five movements from the start, as the letter to Roth cited on page 107 shows.)

10 November 1955: Stravinsky to Roth, including a number of measures designed to placate Piovesan (*SSC-III*, pp. 393-4). He suggests performing *Canticum Sacrum* twice at the première concert, and for the first time mentions that he is proposing to make an arrangement for chorus and orchestra of Bach's chorale-variations *Vom Himmel hoch, da komm'ich her*, for the same forces as those required by the *Canticum* and to be performed in the same concert. (This arrangement would occupy him from December 1955 to 9 February 1956 (date inscribed on final page of draft [*Nachlass* 122-0771 to 122-0784]); the manuscript fair copy was completed on 27 March 1956 (*SPD*, p. 434).)

It is possible, too, that the same consideration influenced Stravinsky's sudden decision to repeat the three-voice canon in the 'Caritas' section (bars 116-129, repeated at bars 116*bis*-129*bis*)--as is suggested by the date of the following letter to Erwin Stein (B&H senior editor, 1952-8).

14 November 1955: Stravinsky to Stein, sending the repeat of the canon and suggesting the 'bis' bar numbering. He explains that he 'decided to enlarge this section by repeating it, because of the new text (1st epistle of St. John)' but gives no reason for the insertion of the text itself (*Nachlass* [11:332200], partly reprinted in *SSC-III*, p. 394).

18 November 1955: Stravinsky completes a sketch draft of the fifth and last movement, 'Illi autem profecti' [sketchleaf **CS**62r].

21 November 1955: The full draft of the last movement is finished [sketchleaf **CS**03v].

24 November 1955: Stravinsky signs and dates the end of the autograph full score manuscript (B&H archive).

25 November 1955: Stravinsky sends the full and vocal score manuscripts of the fifth movement to Roth (*Nachlass* [11:332202], reprinted in *SSC-III*, p. 395). The unpublished section of the letter is revealing:

> [T]he fact that the whole work is going to be in your hands before the end of the year will give you ample time to proceed [with engraving]. But I wish to ask you to keep this favorable situation absolutely *secret*.

This desire for secrecy apparently stems from Stravinsky's concern not to be accused of 'short-changing' the *Biennale* with a work that was composed far more quickly than he had foreseen, and that was less than half as long as the *Biennale* had requested. He continues:

> You may remember that my contract with the Biennale provides for immediate payment to me of a sum of $6,000.-- (half of the total commission) as soon as the

work will be in your hands. Nevertheless, because Piovesan & Co. are still worrying about the shortness of *Canticum*, I want to avoid any discussion as to the amount of work I have put into it. By working day and night and refusing a lot of engagements I have been able to complete my task in a few months less than originally scheduled, but this is my own affair.

I will ask you to notify Piovesan on March 31, 1956, that you have received the completed work. In the meantime it will remain our secret.

The 1955 copyright date that Stravinsky added to both the full and vocal score manuscripts was altered, by the publishers, to 1956. Roth reported in a letter dated **2 February 1956** [*Nachlass* 12:340862] that Piovesan was 'extremely upset' about the length of the *Canticum*, and again appealed to the composer to 'smooth things over' in some way. Stravinsky duly wrote to Piovesan on **11 February 1956**:

I seem to understand that you have been deceived by the fact that my CANTICUM SACRUM--to which I am now putting the final touches[!]--will be of a duration of 16 minutes. Apparently this is less than you expected.

If you and your organization ever expected a substantially longer piece it shouldn't have been commissioned from me at this time because the contrapuntal line of my music today--which is by no means an unknown fact--makes it a must to keep the duration of a composition strictly within rigid limits [*sic*]. This is due to the requirements and possibilities of the human ear and because this kind of music is of the densest kind. This incidentally means also that it is the one which takes the hardest work to compose.

[*Nachlass* 97:610708-9]

The 'misunderstanding' prompted Stravinsky to suggest 'two ways out of the present impasse': either they abandon the whole project or re-negotiate immediately. He is willing to accept a smaller fee, but only if the *Biennale* accepts his suggested programme of music by Andrea Gabrieli, Schütz, Gesualdo and Monteverdi, plus the *Canticum Sacrum* (twice) and the new Bach instrumentation. Piovesan, now resigned to the fact that the original contract did not stipulate the duration, is satisfied with Stravinsky's proposal but

requests that Gesualdo be replaced by a Venetian--Giovanni Gabrieli, Cipriano de Rore (evidently an honorary Venetian), or more Monteverdi (letter of **24 February 1956** [*Nachlass* 97:610716]). In his reply, dated **3 March 1956** [*Nachlass* 97:610720], Stravinsky chose Giovanni Gabrieli's 'In Ecclesiis' for eight-part chorus, brass and harmonium.

From this point on the negotiations were, in general, concerned with performance details, though both parties continued to harbour doubts: Piovesan feared that Stravinsky would not conduct the whole of the première concert, while Stravinsky himself was secretly worried that the musicians engaged by the *Biennale* would not be of a sufficiently high standard to do justice to his new work. The *Biennale*'s refusal to fix the date of the première was especially irritating to the composer, who was planning an ambitious concert tour around Germany and Switzerland immediately afterwards; he issued a final, exasperated threat:

UNLESS I RECEIVE IMMEDIATE TELEGRAPHIC ACCEPTANCE ALL POINTS PARAGRAPH 2 MY LETTER MARCH 28 I AM CANCELLING MY VOYAGE TO VENICE STOP YOU HAVE AVOIDED COMMITTING YOURSELVES WHILE I MADE ALL POSSIBLE CONCESSIONS SITUATION MUST END
STRAWINSKY

(Telegram dated **5 May 1956** [*Nachlass* 97:610739]; the letter to which Stravinsky refers contains arrangements for payment and rehearsals [*Nachlass* 97:610725].)

Further confusion ensued over mislaid letters, the date and programme of the première and who (Stravinsky or Craft) would rehearse and conduct which pieces. Eventually, in an exchange of correspondence in mid-June [*Nachlass* 97:610753-4] and July (B&H archive) the concert was set for 13 September.

13 September 1956: Stravinsky conducted the première of *Canticum Sacrum* in the Basilica of St Mark, Venice.

APPENDIX D
LIST OF POSSIBLE MISPRINTS IN PRINTED SCORES

This appendix simply gathers together the possible misprints identified in printed scores, with reference to sketch sources, throughout the thesis. Page references give the location of explanatory text.

Septet

First movement, figure 4, viola: first two pitches should each be transposed down a tone to reach pitch levels F-G (Chapter 3, p. 63)

Agon

Four Trios, bar 551:3, trumpet 2: B^{b} should be C^{b} (Chapter 8, p. 235)

Canticum Sacrum

'Surge, aquilo', bar 81:3, tenor line: natural sign missing from penultimate note (D-natural) (Chapter 5, p. 111, n. 4)

'Spes', bar 161:4, bass trombone: C is misprint for $C^{\#}/D^{b}$ tied to following D^{b} at 162:1 (Chapter 5, p. 130, n. 9)

Threni

'Sensus Spei', bar 257:2-3, basso profundo: first two pitches of entry are a misprint for E-C; bar 258: pitches of the first triplet should read $G^{\#}$-**G**-$A^{\#}$ (Chapter 9, p. 251, n. 6)

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In those cases where a source cited in the main text is not the first edition, square brackets enclose the year of first publication; this is followed by the date of the edition used, usually with a numerical prefix to identify the edition itself. According to this system, a book whose date is given as ([1960] 3/1978) was first published in 1960, but the edition from which any extracts are taken is the third, published in 1978.

Details of translations are indicated separately within each entry.

Unless otherwise stated, the page numbers of extracts cited refer to the English editions.

ABBREVIATIONS

Periodical abbreviations are given in the List of Abbreviations, page vi.

Specific secondary sources cited so frequently as to warrant independent abbreviation are as follows:

Chron.:	Robert Craft (1972). *Stravinsky: Chronicle of a Friendship, 1948-1971* (New York & London)
Conversations:	Stravinsky, Igor, and Robert Craft ([1959] 2/1979). *Conversations with Igor Stravinsky* (London & New York)
D&D:	Stravinsky, Igor, and Robert Craft (1963). *Dialogues and a Diary* (New York) [later reprinted without the 'Diaries' as *Dialogues* (London, 1968, 2/1982)]
E&D:	Stravinsky, Igor, and Robert Craft ([1962] 2/1981). *Expositions and Developments* (London & New York)
M&C:	Stravinsky, Igor, and Robert Craft ([1960] 2/1981). *Memories and Commentaries* (London & New York)
Poetics:	Stravinsky, Igor ([1947] 2/1970), trans. Arthur Knodel and Ingolf Dahl. *Poetics of Music* (Cambridge, MA, & London)
R&C:	Stravinsky, Igor, and Robert Craft (1969). *Retrospectives and Conclusions* (New York)
SSC-I:	Craft, Robert, ed. (1982). *Stravinsky: Selected Correspondence* Volume I (London)
SSC-II:	Craft, Robert, ed. (1984). *Stravinsky: Selected Correspondence* Volume II (London)
SSC-III:	Craft, Robert, ed. (1985). *Stravinsky: Selected Correspondence* Volume III (London)
SPD:	Craft, Robert, and Vera Stravinsky (1979). *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents* (London)
T&C:	Stravinsky, Igor (1972). *Themes and Conclusions* (London)
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LIST OF MANUSCRIPT SOURCES AND DOCUMENTS

I. PAUL SACHER STIFTUNG, BASEL

Cantata (1951-2)

Sketchleaves [108-0528 to 108-0599][1]

Correspondence and documents: boxes 11, 12 (B&H files); 93 (correspondence over commission, miscellaneous correspondence, clippings, programmes); 101 (miscellaneous correspondence)

Septet (1953)

Sketchleaves [PSS folders [1], [2], [3]: 113-0389 to 113-0461]

Autograph full score manuscript, transparencies, 74 pp.
[PSS folder [4]: 113-0463 to 113-0537]

Autograph piano reduction (4 hands) manuscript (transparencies), 36 pp.
[PSS folder [5]: 113-0539 to 113-0574]

Correspondence and documents: boxes 11, 12 (B&H files); 94 (correspondence over commission, programmes, clippings, etc.)

Three Songs from William Shakespeare (1953)

Sketchleaves [114-0727 to 114-0744]

Correspondence and documents: boxes 11, 12 (B&H files); 94 (programmes, clippings)

In Memoriam Dylan Thomas (1954)

Sketchleaves [PSS folder [1]: 109-0691 to 109-0712, 123-0009, 123-0010]

Autograph full score manuscript, 18 pp.
[PSS folder [2]: 109-0714 to 109-0732]

Correspondence and documents: boxes 11, 12 (B&H files); 36 (Dylan Thomas: correspondence and other material); 94, 96 (première negotiations, programmes, clippings)

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[1] References to sources in the Stravinsky *Nachlass* follow the system set out in the Preface, page vii.

Canticum Sacrum (1955-6)

Sketchleaves [PSS folders [1], [2]: 108-0606 to 108-0704]

Correspondence and documents: boxes 11, 12 (B&H files); 93, 97 (Venice *Biennale*); 95, 97 (miscellaneous correspondence); 97 (programmes, clippings)

Agon (1953-7)

Sketchleaves (musical and choreographic) [PSS folders [1], [2]: 108-0122 to 108-0277], including:

> autograph full score manuscript (transparencies) of early version of the Pas-de-Quatre, 8 pp.; photocopies of these transparencies with autograph annotations, 8 pp.;
> autograph manuscript of early 'Fanfare' for three trumpets, 1 p.; photocopy with autograph insertion (arrived March 1988; not on microfilm), 1 p.

Autograph full score manuscript, transparencies, 98 pp. [122-0003 to 122-0100]

Correspondence and documents: boxes 11 (clippings); 12 (B&H files; film proposals); 13 (B&H; Nicolas Nabokov); 23 (miscellaneous correspondence); 42 (Lincoln Kirstein); 94, 97 (clippings); 98 (programmes, clippings); 99 (première negotiations, programmes)

Fernand De Lauze, *Apologie de la Danse: A Treatise of Instruction in Dancing and Deportment* (1623), tr. and ed. Joan Wildeblood (London, 1952); contains Stravinsky's annotations

Threni (1958)

Sketchleaves [PSS folder [2]: 114-0763 to 114-0866], including typed text with autograph annotations, 6 pp. [114-0770 to 114-0775]

Vocal score, first proofs, with corrections by Stravinsky and Craft [114-0867 to 114-0919]

Correspondence and documents: boxes 13 (B&H files); 99 (correspondence over commission, further correspondence with B&H); 100 (the commission and premières, miscellaneous correspondence, clippings, programmes)

Movements (1959)

Sketchleaves [110-0306 to 110-0388; 123-0011]

Correspondence and documents: boxes 13 (B&H files); 101 (correspondence over commission), 102 (further correspondence with Karl and Margrit Weber, programmes, clippings)

II. BOOSEY & HAWKES MUSIC PUBLISHERS LIMITED, LONDON: ARCHIVE

Correspondence and documents, 1956-8: mainly letters from Ernst Roth to Stravinsky; some communications to B&H from the composer, Craft and Vera Stravinsky

Agon (1953-7)

Photocopy of autograph full score manuscript (including early, rejected version of the Pas-de-Quatre, 8 pp.), with engraver's markings

Photocopy of autograph two-piano reduction manuscript, with engraver's markings

Canticum Sacrum (1955-6)

2 photocopies of autograph full score manuscript;[2] note on page 1 of first copy reads 'Stravinsky's corrections of 28.11.55 made to "Euntes in mundo"' (corrections to first and last movements are not in Stravinsky's hand); second copy contains engraver's markings

3 photocopies of autograph vocal score manuscript, one copy with engraver's markings

III. BRITISH LIBRARY, LONDON

Pulcinella (1919-20)

Bound sketchbook, Stefan Zweig Collection MS 94, boards 152 x 252 mm, 121 pp. sketches, 60 pp. blank

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[2] The original full score manuscript was sold in June 1959 to Adriana Panni of the Accademia Filarmonica, Rome, for the equivalent of $600; the *Sammlung Robert Craft* contains correspondence concerning this sale between Stravinsky and his son, Théodore, and a receipt in Théodore Stravinsky's hand [PSS 71:000518-21].