Russian Folk Melodies in *The Rite of Spring*

By RICHARD TARUSKIN

In an article of 1931 entitled "The Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music"—one of several illuminating essays on a favorite theme—Béla Bartók modestly refrained from adducing his own works as examples, but focused instead on those of a famous contemporary:

> Stravinsky never mentions the sources of his themes. Neither in his titles nor in footnotes does he ever allude to whether a theme of his is his own invention or whether it is taken over from folk music. . . . Stravinsky apparently takes this course deliberately. He wants to demonstrate that it does not matter a jot whether a composer invents his own themes or uses themes from elsewhere. He has a right to use musical material taken from all sources. What he has judged suitable for his purpose has become through this very use his mental property. . . . In maintaining that the question of the origin of a theme is completely unimportant from the artist's point of view, Stravinsky is right. The question of origins can only be interesting from the point of view of musical documentation. Lacking any data I am unable to tell which themes of Stravinsky's in his so-called "Russian" period are his own inventions and which are borrowed from folk music. This much is certain, that if among the thematic material of Stravinsky's there are some of his own invention (and who can doubt that there are?) these are the most faithful and clever imitations of folk songs.

Bartók then went on to characterize the type of folk song utilized by Stravinsky and its influence on his style:

> It is also notable that during his "Russian" period, from *Le Sacre du Printemps* onward, he seldom uses melodies of a closed form consisting of three or four lines, but short motives of two or three measures, and repeats them "à la *ostinato.*" These short recurring primitive motives are very characteristic of Russian music of a certain category. This type of construction occurs in some of our [i.e., Hungarian] old music for wind instruments and also in Arab peasant dances.[1]

[1] Benjamin Suchoff, ed., *Béla Bartók's Essays* (New York, 1976), p. 343.

From our vantage point it may seem oddly naive that the proposition Bartók chose to defend was that some of Stravinsky's themes were actually of his own invention. And this shows how thoroughly our view of Stravinsky has been colored by his innumerable interviews and published writings (not to mention those of his various biographers and spokesmen), which have included so many suggestions and outright assertions completely at variance with the view Bartók advanced.

The same year Bartók's essay appeared, so did the biography of Stravinsky by André Schaeffner, which contained the revelation, imparted to the author by the composer himself, that the opening bassoon melody in *The Rite of Spring* was taken from an anthology of Lithuanian folk songs[2] compiled by a Polish priest named Anton Juszkiewicz. The clear implication was that this citation was the unique instance of its kind in the ballet. One is tempted to think, in fact, that Stravinsky made his disclosure expressly to create this impression. He was in the midst of his "neoclassic" period, loudly proclaiming his fealty to the values of "pure music" and busily revising his past. With *Chroniques de ma vie*, his "autobiography" that was largely ghostwritten by the Diaghilev acolyte Walter Nouvel, Stravinsky's career as self-mythologizer reached an early peak. The chronicle passed over the music of *The Rite* with scarcely a comment save the half-apology that "the omission is deliberate; it is impossible, after a lapse of twenty years, to recall what were the feelings which animated me in composing it."[3] Later on, however, when dealing with *Mavra*, the work in which he had so decisively and controversially switched his musical allegiances with respect to the Russian past, the composer unleashed an attack on the musical milieu in which he had been brought up:

> Was not the difference between [Diaghilev's, Chaikovsky's, and Pushkin's] mentality and the mentality of The Five, which had so rapidly become academic and concentrated in the Beliaev circle under the domination of Rimsky-Korsakov and Glazunov, that the former was, as it were, cosmopolitan, whereas the latter was purely nationalist? . . . This nationalistic, ethnograph-

[2] *Melodje ludowe litewskie* (Cracow, 1900). Schaeffner cites it by its alternate German title, *Litauische Volks-Weisen*. Stravinsky's model is no. 157, "Tu, manu seserėlė."

[3] Igor Stravinsky, *An Autobiography* (New York, 1936), p. 48. Much of the discussion of *The Rite* here is an attempt to disavow the interview entitled "Ce que j'ai voulu exprimer dans Le Sacre du Printemps," published in the Paris arts magazine *Montjoie!* on the day of the premiere. The authenticity of this once widely circulated document—perhaps Stravinsky's most revealing disclosure of the esthetics of his "Russian" period—is, however, not to be doubted. See Vera Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents* (New York, 1978), pp. 522–6, which includes a translation of the piece by Edward Burlingame Hill.

ical aesthetic which they persisted in cultivating was not in reality far removed from the spirit which inspired those films one sees of the old Russia of the tsars and boyars. What is so obvious in them, as indeed in the modern Spanish "folklorists," whether painters or musicians, is that naive but dangerous tendency which prompts them to remake an art that has already been created instinctively by the genius of the people. It is a sterile tendency and an evil from which many talented artists suffer.[4]

This passage is an echo of a theme to which Stravinsky returned obsessively in newspaper interviews of the period, for example this one, which appeared in *L'Étoile belge* on May 22, 1930, that is, even before Bartók's essay was written:

Some composers have found their most potent inspiration in folk music, but in my opinion popular music has nothing to gain by being taken out of its frame. It is not suitable as a pretext for demonstration of orchestral effects and complications, and it loses its charm by being uprooted *(déracinée)*. One risks adulterating it and rendering it monotonous.[5]

Such a statement can easily be read as an attempt specifically to downplay the folklorism of *The Rite of Spring*, a demonstration of complicated orchestral effects if ever there was one. By the time we reach Stravinsky's last period, that of his serial music and his conversations with Robert Craft, the reversal is complete and explicit. Now the composer has no hesitation in speaking of the music of *The Rite*, and in asserting outright that "the opening bassoon melody . . . is the only folk melody in that work." With reference to his Russian-period music generally, Stravinsky explains that "if any of these pieces *sounds* like aboriginal folk music, it may be because my powers of fabrication were able to tap some unconscious 'folk' memory."[6] His use of the inappropriate and culturally loaded word "aboriginal" here is revealing, as is his self-conscious reference to his "powers of fabrication." These locutions seem to betray a squeamishness that can be traced most likely to the same, no doubt extremely painful, cultural and esthetic *volte-face* of the 1920s, already alluded to in the passage from the autobiography quoted earlier. The reorientation in question was not Stravinsky's alone. His conversion to the anti-folkloric, cosmopolitan, modernist-cum-classicist posture by which we know him best was really a reflection of the abrupt shift in esthetic policy that took place

[4] *An Autobiography*, p. 97.
[5] *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents*, p. 202.
[6] Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (Garden City, 1960), p. 92.

within the Ballets Russes in the years following the Russian revolution, a repudiation of past values in which the composer was led and taught by the example of Diaghilev and, less directly, of Cocteau.[7]

In the sharpest possible contrast to Bartók's assumptions about him, it came to matter to Stravinsky far more than a jot whether his themes were regarded as his own or as "taken over from folk music." Folklorism, as a matter of fact, began to have for Stravinsky in the years of his Western European exile some very evil associations. In common with many "white émigrés" of the period, he equated it with elements in Russian political and social thought that had led to disaster. The prime document in this connection is the series of lectures given at Harvard in 1939, in which the hidden hands were those of Alexis Roland-Manuel and Pierre Souvtchinsky. These were later published as the well-known *Poetics of Music*. Here is how Stravinsky characterized the famous St. Petersburg group that included his teacher:

The Five, Slavophiles of the populist variety [!], were to set up as a system

[7] That Diaghilev led Stravinsky to every one of his "neoclassic" enthusiasms can be seen by a glance at the list of productions mounted by the Ballets Russes from 1917 on. Where previously Stravinsky's "folkloristic" ballets had been presented alongside operas and ballets by Nikolai Cherepnin, Rimsky-Korsakov, Balakirev, Musorgsky, Maximilian Steinberg and Liadov, these composers all disappeared from the boards after the Revolution (with the sole exception of the rather anomalous *Night on Bald Mountain* of 1926), to be replaced by Scarlatti-Tommasini, Rossini-Respighi, Cimarosa-Respighi (preceding Pergolesi-Stravinsky); the epochal London *Sleeping Beauty* of 1921 (prefiguring *Mavra* and *Apollo*, to say nothing of *Le Baiser de la Fée*); French composers from Gounod and Chabrier to Satie, *Les Six* and Sauguet (but *not* Debussy or Ravel, whose ballets came before the war), all representatives of "objective" art. "The relics of *fin de siècle*, the pseudo-Oriental, the folkloristic, the last vestiges of the picturesque which saturated Diaghilev's first repertory [were] abandoned for Cocteau's 'rehabilitation of the commonplace.' " (Lincoln Kirstein, review of Richard Buckle's *Diaghilev*, *New York Review of Books*, November 8, 1979.) This new French esthetic of "things in themselves" was crucial to Diaghilev's artistic volte-face, and Stravinsky's. Compare Diaghilev to Boris Kochno (July 21, 1924): "Not long ago, an apple orchard would have suggested to Rimsky-Korsakov, or even to the young Stravinsky, a secret, mysterious place, an impenetrable jungle, whereas in our day the poet seeks an ordinary apple on Olympus, an apple without artifice or complications, which is the most flavorful kind." (Boris Kochno, *Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes* (New York, 1970), p. 226.) Or, on a more abstract plane, Stravinsky: "Il y a différentes manières d'aimer et d'apprécier la musique. Il y a, par exemple, la manière que j'appellerai l'amour intéressé, celle où l'on demande à la musique des émotions d'ordre général, la joie, la douleur, la tristesse, un sujet de rêve, l'oubli de la vie prosaïque. Ce serait déprécier la musique que de lui assigner un pareil but utilitaire. Pourquoi ne pas l'aimer pour elle-même?" ("Quelques confidences sur la musique" (1935), in Eric Walter White, *Stravinsky: The Composer and His Works* (Berkeley, 1966), p. 539.)

this unconscious utilization of folklore [that had marked Glinka's music]. Their ideas and their tastes inclined toward a kind of devotion to the people's cause, a tendency which, of course, had not yet taken on the vast proportions that it has in our day in conformity with the instructions of the Third International.[8]

To Stravinsky, from "kuchkism" it was but a step to

the dark period of the years 1860 to 1880, the period of the Chernyshevskis, the Dobrolyubovs, the Pisarevs [social thinkers canonized in the Soviet Union as proto-Bolshevist "revolutionary democrats"], when a perfidious wave that defiled the true foundations of culture and the state [and now it is Stravinsky who sounds like a Slavophile] welled up from the milieu of false intellectuals, morally disinherited and socially uprooted, and from the centers of atheistic seminarists and flunked-out students.[9]

And from this a further step takes us to the "dancing kolkhoz" and the "Symphony of Socialism"[10]—the musical emblems of the Red Russia Stravinsky abhorred, where an art "national in form and socialist in content" (in Stalin's words) was the enforced cultural shibboleth of the day.

Stravinsky's esthetic attitudes of the twenties and thirties, then, were inseparable from his right-wing politics and social snobbery of the period.[11] When he came to America, social snobbery was replaced by his more familiar intellectual snobbery. But this did not make him any more eager to acknowledge his roots in the Russian past, a past whose stock was not valued very highly by Western intellectuals, to say the least. One might also mention at this point the influential analyses of *The Rite* by Messiaen and Boulez, which concentrated solely on technical innovations while completely ignoring matters of style. No doubt extremely flattering to Stravinsky, these analyses certainly played their part in winning him over to the serial cause.

[8] *Poetics of Music in the Form of Six Lessons* (New York, 1959), p. 97.

[9] *Poetics*, p. 103.

[10] *Poetics*, p. 122.

[11] Stravinsky's favored company of the period, to judge by innumerable photographs—e.g., those in the recent compendium by Mme. Stravinsky and Craft (see n. 3)—were the wealthy and the titled. The composer's lectures at Harvard were very much in the nature of a "society" event (see Alexis Kall, "Stravinsky in the Chair of Poetry," *The Musical Quarterly*, XXVI (1940), pp. 283–96; and especially Frederick Jacobi, Jr., "Harvard Soirée," *Modern Music*, XVII (1939–40), pp. 47–8. Usually forgotten today are the attacks on Stravinsky and his esthetics on ideological grounds that came not only from Soviet but also from Western "progressive" musicians: see *inter alia* Marc Blitzstein, "The Phenomenon of Stravinsky," *The Musical Quarterly*, XXI (1935), pp. 330–47.

For many reasons, then, Stravinsky was increasingly at pains to dissociate his great ballet from any taint of folklorism, and even from its very subject. In an account originally entitled "A propos *Le Sacre*," which was given wide play on its appearance and even recorded by the composer for Columbia Records before being incorporated into one of the conversation books, he stressed the work's absolute, "symphonic" character, asserted that "very little immediate tradition lies behind [it]," and professed to "prefer *Le Sacre* as a concert piece."[12] To place these attitudes beside Bartók's admiring appreciation of the early thirties, then, is a study in irony—an irony brought full circle when we read what Stravinsky had to say about Bartók in the first book of conversations. "I never could share his lifelong gusto for his native folklore," said the Russian of the Hungarian. And what is more, "I couldn't help regretting it in the great musician."[13]

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That Stravinsky's many memoirs and manifestos contain much willful distortion and myth-making has never been doubted, but a corrective must rest on a documentation that until recently has not been available. In the last ten years, however, enough material relating to the composer's Russian period has come to light to permit the beginnings of a fresh perspective. Much of it has come from Soviet archives, whose Stravinsky holdings have begun to be tapped as the master has been slowly rehabilitated as a "Russian classic" since his eightieth-birthday-year visit, and especially since his death. The new documentation has taken various forms. One particularly vivid bit is a photograph taken at Ustilug, Stravinsky's summer home until 1914, and the place where he began the composition of *The Rite of Spring*. It shows the composer transcribing the song of a blind mendicant folk singer who is accompanying himself on a hurdy-gurdy (Fig. 1).[14] This

[12] Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Expositions and Developments* (Garden City, 1962), pp. 165, 169.

[13] Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Conversations with Stravinsky* (Garden City, 1959), p. 82.

[14] When Craft saw this photograph in October 1962 at the home of Stravinsky's niece Xenia Yurievna he thought it the most "striking" bit of Stravinskiana encountered in the course of the composer's visit to his homeland (*Dialogues and a Diary* (Garden City, 1963), p. 256, where the instrument played by the "moujik" is misidentified as a concertina). The picture has since been published in Theodore Stravinsky's photographic study of his parents, *Catherine and Igor Stravinsky* (London, 1973). It was presumably given Theodore by Xenia when they met in August 1970 at Evian, France, where both were visiting the dying composer during his last visit to Europe. One minor correction to Craft's account of the visit to Xenia's apartment will

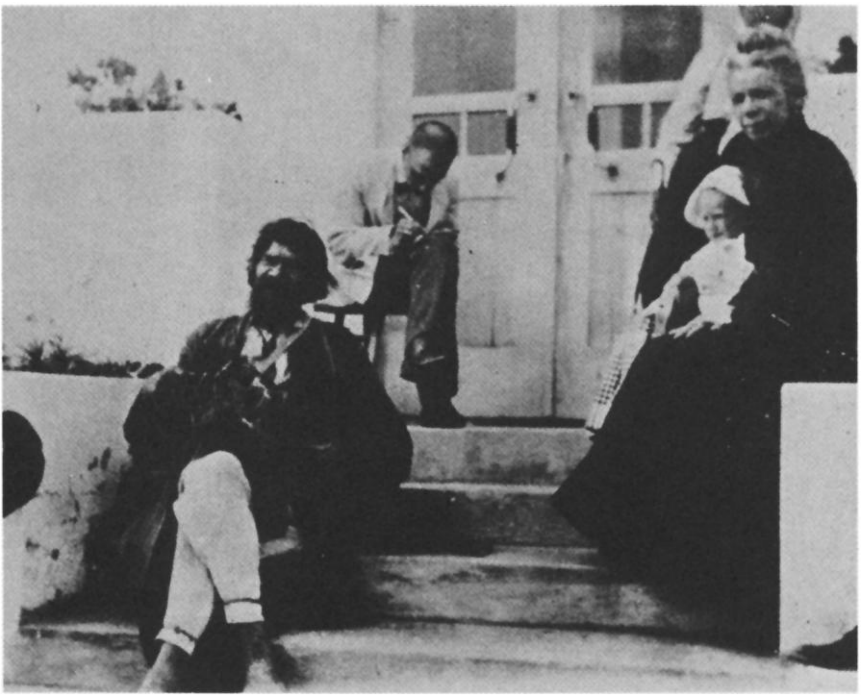

Figure 1
Ustilug, c.1910. Published in Theodore Stravinsky, *Catherine & Igor Stravinsky, A Family Album*, with the caption, "On the porch at Oustiloug: Igor takes down the song of a blind moujik. On the right: his mother with her grandson Theodore on the lap."
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single tantalizing glimpse of Stravinsky in the role of musical ethnographer à la Bartók is as it were corroborated by the composer's interest in the work of professional Russian ethnographers as revealed in recently published letters home dating from his Swiss years. In one, to his mother (double dated February 10/23, 1916, according to the Old and New Styles), Stravinsky makes the following request:

Send me please, and as quickly as possible (you'll find them at Jurgenson's), the folk songs of the Caucasian peoples that have been *phonographically* trans-

be appropriate here since it concerns documentary materials. The "packet of letters from I. S. to [his brother] Yuri" referred to there (*Dialogues*, p. 256) was almost certainly, instead, the letters from Yuri's daughter Tatiana, who stayed with her uncle's family in Nice in the mid-1920s before returning to the Soviet Union. These letters have now been published by Xenia Yurievna in a book of memorabilia, *O I. F. Stravinskom i ego blizkix* (Leningrad, 1978).

cribed. Others, non-phonographic, you needn't pick up. And while you're at it, if Jurgenson has any other phonographically transcribed songs, get them as well. Keep in mind that I already have the first installment [St. Petersburg, 1904] of "Great Russian Songs in Folk Harmonization" (as transcribed phonographically by Linëva). Have there been any further installments?[15]

When we consider that this quickened interest in authentic Russian and Georgian folk harmony coincides precisely with the height of Stravinsky's work on *Les Noces*, a highly promising line of investigation beckons.

But the most important documentary source relating to Stravinsky's Russian period that has appeared in recent years is, of course, the facsimile of the sketchbook for *The Rite of Spring*.[16] As might be expected, the sketchbook provides a wealth of fascinating insight into the gestation of Stravinsky's masterpiece. One can learn from it, for example, the order in which the sections of the ballet were originally composed, and by studying the work in the order of the sketches one gains many new perceptions both on the thematic interconnections that unify it, and on the progressive evolution of Stravinsky's rhythmic techniques. But no less interesting are the insights the sketchbook imparts into the relations between the ballet and the world of Russian folk music on which it draws. These, it turns out, are manifold, and by no means as generalized or abstract as previously assumed. Their investigation will provide not only a corrective to Stravinsky's own statements about the work, but will also suggest a new perspective on the ballet in the context of the considerable immediate tradition that lies behind it, both "folk" and "art."

One of the sketchbook's most noteworthy features is its economy. Stravinsky's usual method is to develop his material for a given dance on a page or two of the sketchbook and then plunge right into a conti-

[15] L. S. Dyachkova, ed., *I. F. Stravinskij: Stat'i i materialy* (Moscow, 1973), p. 488 (one of sixty letters edited by Igor Blazhkov). There was indeed a second volume of Linëva's transcriptions (St. Petersburg, 1909), which was presumably sent to the composer.

[16] London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1969 (published by Boosey & Hawkes with the cooperation of its then owner, the late André Meyer). Interestingly enough, one of the photographs in Theodore Stravinsky's collection (taken at Clarens in 1912) shows his father at work on this very sketchbook. The facsimile has been used already in the following studies of *The Rite*, among others: Roger Smalley, "The Sketchbook of The Rite of Spring," *Tempo*, CXI (1969–70), pp. 2–13; Boris Yarustovsky, "I. Stravinskij: Èskiznaja tetrad' (1911–1913 gg.), Nekotorye nabljudenija i razmyšlenija," in *I. F. Stravinskij: Stat'i i materialy* (see n. 15); and, most recently and most extensively, Allen Forte, *The Harmonic Organization of The Rite of Spring* (New Haven, 1978). But see my review of the last-named in *Current Musicology*, XXVIII (1979), pp. 114–29.

nuity draft (often followed by a short score) that differs remarkably little from the final version. Also remarkable is Stravinsky's seeming infallibility in judging when he had enough material. The pages of jottings rarely lack anything that appears in the final form, nor are there many jottings that will be unfamiliar to anyone who knows the published score. In a way all this is disappointing, because we rarely can observe a true shaping process, save in a few exceptional instances (notably the introduction to Part II), where the material proved refractory. This situation is clearly the result of Stravinsky's well-known working methods. 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.

The compensatory advantage of this economy of material is the attention it draws to those few entries that do not have a direct relationship to the finished product. There are actually only four such instances in the entire sketchbook. In all four cases I have been able to relate the unfamiliar entries both to folk music and to the music of the finished ballet, and so to gain a rare insight both into Stravinsky's creative methods and into the nature and extent of his dependency on folk melodies. And although in only one instance was it possible to identify the specific melody on which Stravinsky drew, the other three can be identified by type to a degree that seems to rule out the mere influence of "folk memory," however rich the composer's "powers of fabrication"; for to fabricate such melodies for the precise purpose at hand would have taken someone with formal training in musical ethnology. In all cases, then, Stravinsky's jottings can be related to known classified folksong prototypes whose aptness to the scenario demonstrates both their authenticity and Stravinsky's unsuspected sensitivity to matters ethnological. In at least one instance, too, it will be found that Stravinsky's source belongs to a melodic type indigenous to the area surrounding Ustilug, which suggests strongly that the composer to an undetermined extent actually "drew from life," as the photograph mentioned earlier already suggests, and that there are very likely many more actual folk melodies in his works than will ever be documented from published sources. And because of the nature of Stravinsky's sketch methods, it is impossible to tell whether transformation processes of the kind we shall be tracing also stand behind the many motives and phrases that make their first appearance in the sketches in their familiar, finished form. In short, we may be sure that the handful of folk melodies to be treated here are not the only ones in the sketchbook. They are merely the ones whose initial

appearance is sufficiently different from their ultimate form in the ballet to put us on the scent.[17]

In fact, this has already been proved by Lawrence Morton, who had the inspired idea of checking the ballet against the source of the one acknowledged folksong citation, and was able to show that Stravinsky appropriated material from the Juszkiewicz collection—a mammoth anthology containing no less than 1,785 melodies—for the Augurs of Spring, the Ritual of Abduction and the Spring Rounds as well as for the Introduction to Part I.[18] There is no doubt still much to be discovered by this inductive method.[19] Its obvious limitation is that it is by nature something of a fishing expedition, and that—in

[17] The 1930 memoir, by *The Rite*'s co-scenarist and designer Nicholas Roerich, of his collaboration with Stravinsky is far more detailed and informative than the laconic account included by the composer in *Memories and Commentaries*. (N. K. Roerich, "Vesna svjaščennaja," in *N. K. Rerix: Iz literaturnogo nasledija* (Moscow, 1974), pp. 359–60. I am indebted to Susan Cook Summer of the Stravinsky-Diaghilev Foundation, New York City, for bringing this source to my attention.) Stravinsky visited the artist at Princess Tenisheva's museum-estate at Talashkino, near Smolensk, in Central Russia, in the summer of 1911, and according to Roerich, noted down a number of folk tunes from the lips of the singer and gusli player S. P. Kolosov. It is impossible to say at this point which, if any, of these tunes may have found their way into the ballet, of course, but the likelihood seems good. Why, after all, should Stravinsky, who cared enough for authenticity in matters of ritual and costume to consult Roerich in the first place ("Who else knows the secret of our ancestors' close feeling for the earth?" Dec. 15, 1912, to N. F. Findeisen: see *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents*, p. 77), have been cavalier in his attitude towards his own contribution? Resonances from Kolosov's renditions may in fact reach beyond *The Rite* to such other gusli-influenced pieces of the Swiss years as *Les Noces* and, particularly, *Renard*.

[18] Lawrence Morton, "Footnotes to Stravinsky Studies: 'Le Sacre du Printemps'," *Tempo*, CXXVIII (1979), pp. 9–16. Almost all the melodies which Morton has associated with the Juszkiewicz collection are found on a single page (p. 7) of the sketchbook, which was entered at Ustilug in the summer of 1911, even though the Ritual of Abduction was not sketched further until Stravinsky had returned to Switzerland. Its sketches begin on p. 29.

[19] The best known study of this type concerning Stravinsky's music is F. W. Sternfeld, "Some Russian Folk Songs in Stravinsky's *Petrouchka*," which appeared first in *Music Library Association Notes*, II (1945), pp. 98–104, and was reprinted by Charles Hamm in his edition of the ballet for the Norton Critical Scores (New York, 1967), pp. 203–15. Sternfeld noted that "the five songs given here probably do not exhaust the native material in *Petrouchka*," and indeed, it is possible to identify at least two additional songs in the ballet, perhaps more. The organ grinder's tune at figure **12** (clarinets) is a *protjažnaja*, or lyrical song, of urban origin, called *Pod večer, osen'ju nenastnoj* (" 'Twas on a rainy autumn night"). The music-box tune that joins the organ grinder's melody at **15** is a song of similar origin called *Čudnyj mesjac plyvët nad rekoju* ("A wondrous moon plays upon the river"). Both songs were imparted to the composer by Andrei Rimsky-Korsakov, to whom Stravinsky wrote for them on December 3/16, 1910 from Beaulieu, recalling how Andrei and his brother Vladimir used to sing them for amusement (*I. F. Stravinskij: Stat'i i materialy*, pp. 451–2). Irina Vershinina, in her monograph on Stravinsky's early ballets, has convincingly demonstrated

view of the possibility of independent invention within an area of general stylistic similarity—one must guard against possibly subjective interpretations of the evidence by ruling out all concordances between finished composition and putative source except those melodies that are incorporated without significant change of any kind. It is precisely the most creative uses of folk song—such as, for example, Glinka's use of *Vniz po matuške po Volge* ("Down by Mother Volga") as an ostinato bass accompaniment to the dramatic climax of *A Life for the Tsar* (of which we have knowledge thanks to the composer's autobiographical notes[20]—that must necessarily escape notice when this method is employed. In the present instance, Morton came back from his fishing expedition with a satisfying catch, but there is no telling how many got away, or how big they may have been.

The present investigation, which begins not with the finished work but with sketch material, hopes to reap the benefits of the inductive approach while going further by attempting to build a bridge from the folk model to its transformation into some of the most strikingly novel musical constructs in the ballet. This is the opportunity that the evidence of the sketchbook uniquely provides. For in all cases to be examined, the melodies in question are not displayed in the

the close relationship between the opening motive in the first tableau and actual St. Petersburg street vendors' cries collected by Alexander Kastalsky. She has also pointed to considerable similarities between the main theme of the "Russian Dance" and the khorovod tune, *Aj, vo pole lipin'ka* ("A linden tree stood in the meadow") included (as no. 54) in Rimsky-Korsakov's *One Hundred Russian Folk Songs* (1877), as well as in his *Snegurochka* (*The Snow Maiden*, 1882). (*Rannye balety Stravinskogo* (Moscow, 1967), pp. 72–3. The composer is said to have endorsed this book.) Finally, Vera Bachinskaya, in *Narodnye pesni v tvorčestve russkix kompozitorov* (Moscow, 1962), associates the mummers' and maskers' music at **121** and **122** of the fourth tableau with the Shrovetide song, *A my maslenicu dožidaem* ("As we await the Shrovetide"), which also appears both in Rimsky-Korsakov's folk song collection (no. 46) and in his *Snegurochka*. In the last two instances, the relationship between the songs and Stravinsky's music is plausible, but by no means certain. Another approach to the question of the relationship between folk and art music seeks to establish general stylistic affinities involving such features as mode structure, rhythmic pattern, and formal design, rather than specific identifications. Bartók's essays are excellent examples of this kind. Particularly detailed and full of insight into his own creative methods are the lectures he delivered at Harvard in 1943 (Suchoff, pp. 354–92). With reference to Stravinsky, we may mention, besides the article cited in n. 1 above, an essay of 1920 ("The Influence of Folk Music on the Art Music of Today"), in which the fourth of the *Pribaoutki* is analyzed for traits characteristic of Russian folk music (Suchoff, pp. 316–19). Two recent Soviet studies which attempt to do this for *The Rite of Spring* are S. Skrebkov, "K voprosu o stile sovremennoj muzyki ('Vesna svjaščennaja' Stravinskogo)," and G. Grigorieva, "Russkij fol'klor v sočinenijax Stravinskogo," both in *Muzyka i sovremennost'*, VI (Moscow, 1969).

[20] See M. I. Glinka, *Memoirs*, trans. Richard B. Mudge (Norman, Oklahoma, 1963), p. 101.

finished product, but are absorbed into Stravinsky's musical fabric to such an extent that without the sketchbook their presence could never be suspected. And this is perhaps the most valuable lesson to be learned from this particular sketchbook: it allows us to witness for the first time that oft-assumed abstraction of stylistic elements from folk music that marked such a watershed in Stravinsky's development as a composer. The sketchbook shows in graphic detail how Stravinsky, at the onset of full maturity, used Russian folk music as an instrument of self-emancipation from the constricting traditions of Russian art music—the academic post-kuchkist milieu described so disparagingly in *Chroniques de ma vie*—in which he had been brought up, and which he had at first so docilely accepted. In *The Rite*, however, he attacked that milieu not from without (as he was to do, for example, in *Mavra*), but very much from within.

These findings are "biographical," to be sure.[21] But great works of art, no less than their creators, have "lives" and "biographies." Knowing that *The Rite of Spring* utilizes many folk melodies; knowing something of the nature and function of those melodies in their natural habitat; knowing how the melodies have been transformed in the process of composition and to what musical constructs in the finished ballet they have contributed—all this cannot help profoundly altering our direct apprehension of the work, our knowledge "of" it, not merely our knowledge "about" it. And here we may take slight issue with Bartók, for whom "questions of origin can only be interesting from the point of view of musical documentation." For over and above what our findings suggest about Stravinsky's relationship to his musical heritages, both "folk" and "art"—that is, the biographical and documentary component—they give us a new perspective on the relationship between the music of *The Rite* and its subject and scenario, a relationship that the various purely musical analyses of recent years have ignored and even obscured, which partially accounts for what I consider to be their sterility. For Stravinsky's music is not only organized sound. It is motivated from without, and it has meaning and significance on many other levels than the purely musical.

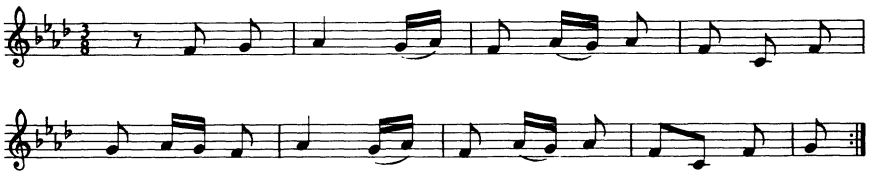
Spring Rounds

On page 8 of the published sketchbook facsimile, there appears a melody (Ex. 1) that at first sight seems unrelated both to the neighboring

[21] Cf. Douglas Johnson, "Beethoven Scholars and Beethoven's Sketches," *19th Century Music*, II (1978), pp. 3–17, and responses in the same volume, pp. 270–9.

Example 1

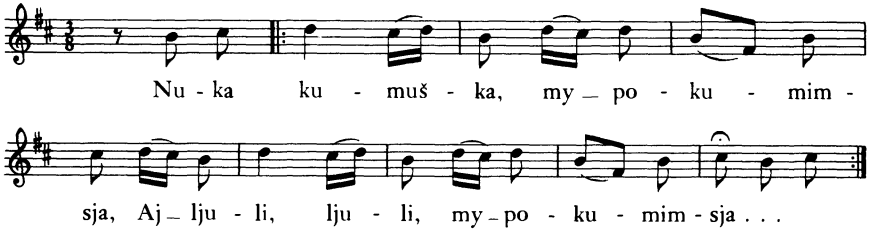
Sketchbook, p. 8 (entry made at Ustilug, summer 1911)



sketches and to the finished ballet. Its very appearance is enough to set it apart: in contrast to virtually all the other entries in the sketchbook, it is closed off with a double bar and even a repeat sign, and it is written in an unusually neat, unhurried hand. In the booklet of commentary accompanying the facsimile, Robert Craft writes of the tune that it "is so unlike any I can imagine Stravinsky composing in 1911 that I suspect (and the composer does too) it may have been copied from a folk-music anthology."[22] Indeed it was, and from a source that should have been easy to guess. The tune, entitled *Nu-ka kumuška, my pokumimsja* (Ex. 2), is no. 50 in Rimsky-Korsakov's collection of 1877, the "more or less good" anthology Stravinsky mentioned (alongside "excellent" ones by Chaikovsky and Liadov) as among those known to him in his Russian years in response to a question by Craft some years before the sketchbook was published.[23] He had in fact drawn upon Rimsky's collection more frequently than upon any other both for *Firebird* and for *Petrushka*, as one might only have expected from one who was at the time a still-loyal former pupil. Nor was *Nu-ka kumuška* a fortuitous choice from among Rimsky's wares. It is one of thirty

Example 2

Rimsky-Korsakov, *One Hundred Russian Folk Songs* (1877), no. 50 (piano accompaniment omitted)



[22] Igor Stravinsky, *The Rite of Spring: Sketches 1911–1913*, Appendix, p. 6.
[23] *Memories and Commentaries*, p. 91.

songs classified by the compiler as *pesni igrovye*—game songs. These belong in turn to the general classification *pesni obrjadnye* (ceremonial or ritual songs), or *kalendarnye pesni* (seasonal or calendar songs), which is to say songs proper to a given season or feast day. The ceremonies whose observance they accompany, though now most often associated with Christian holidays, reach back for their origins to pagan times. Rimsky-Korsakov himself pointed to them with particular emphasis for their qualities as source material for composers of the Russian national school.

> The whole cycle of ceremonial songs and games to this very day rests on the ancient pagan sun-worship which lives unconsciously in the people. The people, as a nation, sing their ceremonial songs by force of habit and custom, neither understanding nor suspecting what really underlies these ceremonies and games.

He wrote further that by using such songs in his opera on Gogol's *May Night*, "I managed to connect, with a subject I adored, that ceremonial side of folk-life which gives expression to the survivals from ancient paganism."[24] This, it hardly needs stressing, was even more overtly Stravinsky's aim in *The Rite of Spring*.

Nu-ka kumuška is a *semitzkoe*, that is, a song associated with "semik," the Thursday before Trinity, or, by pagan reckoning, the Thursday of the seventh week after the first full moon in springtime. This was a holiday of celebration at the emergence of the first green vegetation (the whole week of which *semik* was a part—*semitzkaja nedelja*—also went by the name of "green week"). Tatiana Popova, in her definitive monograph, *The Musical Creations of the Russian Folk*, describes green week in a way that even out of context would immediately recall *The Rite of Spring:*

> The ceremonies and customs of *semitzkaja nedelja* were bound up with the ancient cult of vegetation, and also with the cult of ancestors. They were most widespread in Great Russian localities, with the exception of the far north, in Belorussia, and in several northeastern localities in the Ukraine.[25]

The tune Stravinsky copied into his sketchbook had particular relevance to the ceremony known as *semitzkoe kumlenie*. Again, we quote from Popova:

[24] Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *My Musical Life*, trans. Judah A. Joffe (New York, 1923), pp. 207, 208.

[25] Tatiana Popova, *Russkoe narodnoe muzykal'noe tvorčestvo*, I (Moscow, 1955), p. 71.

In certain central Russian localities on the Thursday of *semitzkaja nedelja*, young people would perform a custom known as *kumlenie*. *Semitzkoe kumlenie* was one form of the ancient custom of *pobratimstvo* [cf. "blood-brotherhood"], widespread among the Slavic peoples. The custom of *kumlenie* was carried out by two girls (more rarely, by two boys or a boy and a girl) who kissed each other through a wreath of birch branches, while a special song was sung about *kumovstvo*.[26]

Nu-ka kumuška is just such a song. Popova goes on to relate the custom of *kumlenie* to the practice of divination and the dancing of the khorovod, or round dance. The exact coincidence of all this with the scenario of the first part of *The Rite of Spring*, and particularly of the Spring Rounds, is self-evident.

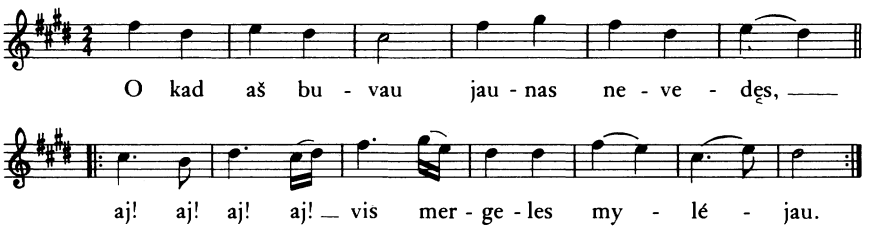
But how, exactly, did this source melody from Rimsky-Korsakov find its way into the ballet? According to Lawrence Morton it "was apparently not used,"[27] and according to Craft it is "fundamentally different" from the finished music of the Spring Rounds "metrically, and in the intervals of the fourth measure."[28] If Morton is correct, then we are dealing with the single instance of unused material in the entire sketchbook, one of the most striking of whose characteristics, as we have seen, is its amazing economy. The impression created by an examination of the whole is that Stravinsky entered nothing into the book until he had a very good idea of how he was going to use it. As to Craft's points, the first is immaterial. The very first thing Stravinsky changed in adapting his source melodies was invariably their meter. A good example is the transformation, discovered by Morton, of two melodies from the Juszkiewicz collection, which Stravinsky combined to produce the incantatory melody that frames the Spring Rounds. Example 3 gives the two original melodies, followed by the sketch that links them (which is actually labelled "Khorovod Incantation" by the composer), and finally their ultimate incarnation at figure **48** in the finished score. And Craft's second objection, concerning the melody's intervallic content, is ill-founded, as we shall see.

Stravinsky extracted at least two important motives from the melody he received via Rimsky-Korsakov. The first is the phrase played by the oboe and bassoon first at four bars after **49**, and in more extended form three bars later, to introduce the main khorovod melody. As Example 4 shows, even the main khorovod tune might conceivably be a derivation from *Nu-ka kumuška*, though less certainly, since the

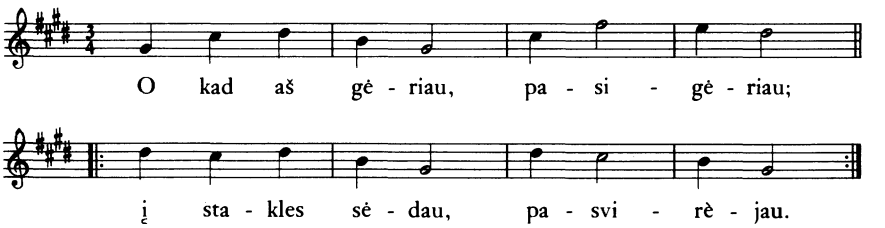
[26] Popova, p. 73.
[27] Morton, p. 16.
[28] *Sketches*, Appendix, p. 6.

Example 3

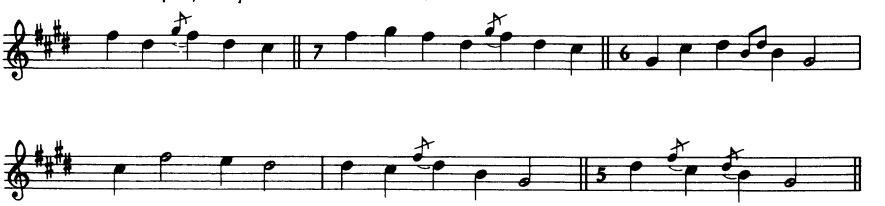
a. Anton Juszkiewicz, *Melodje ludowe litewskie* (Cracow, 1900), no. 249



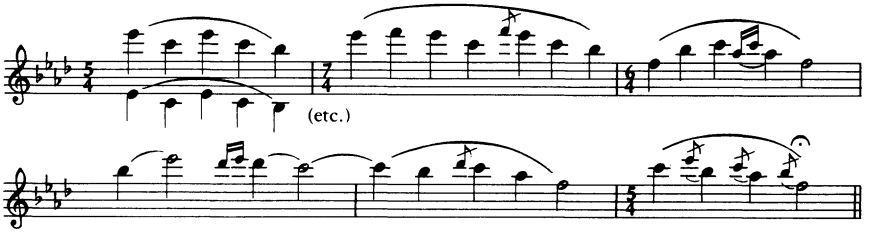
b. Juszkiewicz, no. 271



c. Sketchbook, p. 7, *Zapevanie xorovodnoe* ("Kohorovod Incantation")



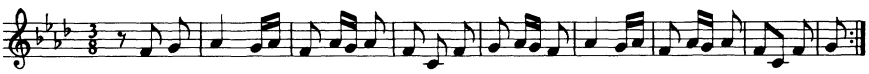
d. *The Rite of Spring*, fig. **48** ("Spring Rounds"), E♭ clarinet and bass clarinet



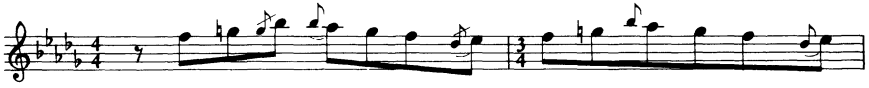
khorovod appears in the Spring Auguries, and in its sketches, before the Rimsky-Korsakov tune is entered in the sketchbook. At four after **49** the seventh degree is substituted for the lower fifth, several of the source melody's internal repetitions are pruned away, and an upper neighbor is inserted which seems to have had its origin in Stravinsky's characteristic decorative grace notes, but the relationship between

Example 4

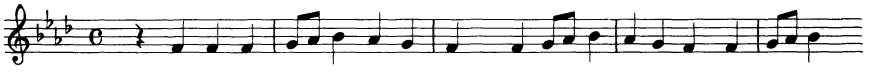
a. The source melody (Sketchbook, p. 8)



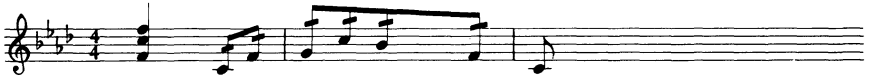
b. *The Rite of Spring*, 7 mm. after fig. **49**



c. *The Rite of Spring*, fig. **51**, transposed



d. *The Rite of Spring*, 1 m. after fig. **54** ("Vivo"), transposed

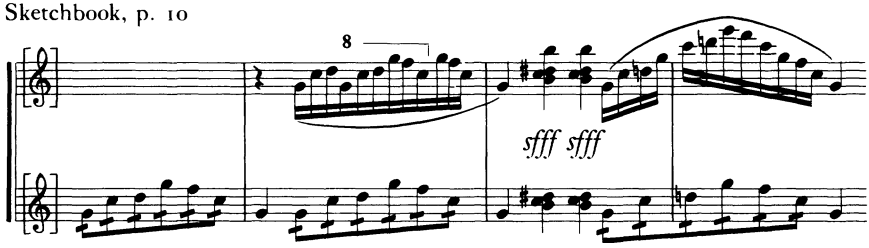


source and derivative is clear. It is made the more convincing by the fact that the source melody, although it conforms in every notational detail to the version in Rimsky's collection, has been transposed to the pitch of Stravinsky's version. It is possible that the composer intended at first to use the tune more or less as he found it.

The intervallic content of the fourth bar of *Nu-ka kumuška* (repeated at the end), which struck Craft as "fundamentally different" from the melodic content of the finished khorovod, seems actually to have been the jumping off point for the section marked "Vivo" from one bar after **54** to **56**. Here the last three notes of the folk tune are abstracted and mirrored by a retrograde starting from the upper octave. There is an entry on page 10 of the sketchbook which seems to confirm this interpretation (Ex. 5). When Stravinsky first sketched the

Example 5

Sketchbook, p. 10

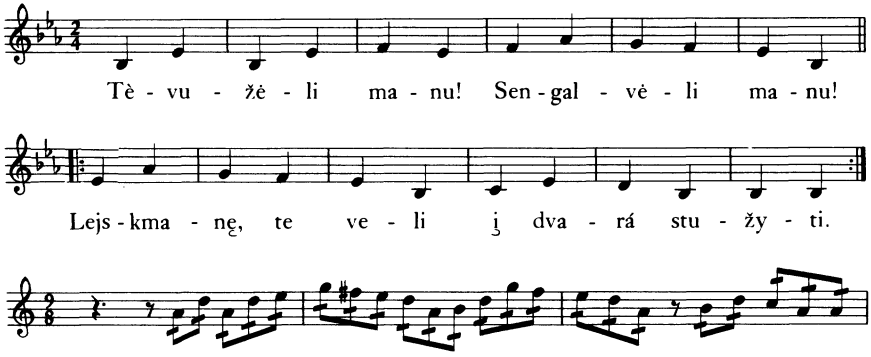


upper-voice counterpoint in diminution, he began by immediately repeating the three notes we are attributing to the source melody, and then repeating the retrograde. The addition of the "8va," turning the passage into a two-octave arc, seems to have been a second thought (on most subsequent appearances the notes are written out at their actual pitch despite the necessity of ruling leger lines).

It may be objected that the Vivo section seems to be a development of the Ritual of Abduction theme, which Morton has shown to have been derived from a tune in the Juszkiewicz collection (Ex. 6). And indeed, the passage in question seems to be literally prefigured at one bar after **47** (Ex. 7). But the sketchbook reveals that the Ritual of

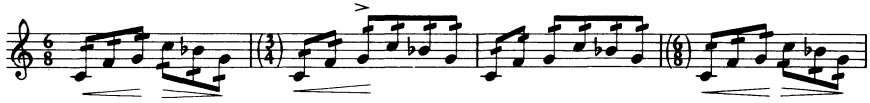
Example 6

Juszkiewicz, no. 142, compared with *The Rite of Spring*, 3 mm. after **37** ("Ritual of Abduction"), piccolo trumpet in D



Example 7

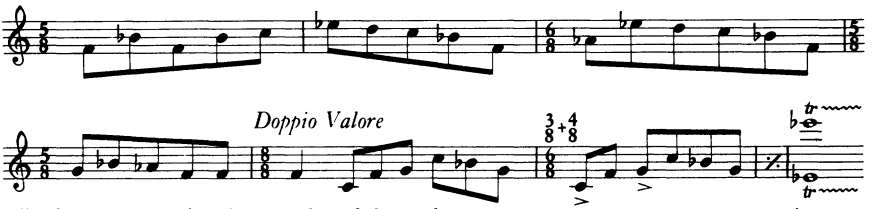
The Rite of Spring, 1 m. after Fig. **47**, violins II



Abduction was composed not only later than the Spring Rounds, but in fact only after yet another major section, the Ritual of the Rival Tribes, had been composed, and was transferred to its present position in the score at some later stage of composition. The sketches for the passage at **47** only appear in the sketchbook on page 30, some twenty pages later than the sketches of the passage they appear to prefigure (Ex. 8). When one notices that these sketches include the flute trills that introduce the Spring Rounds, and also the scribbled

Example 8

Sketchbook, p. 30



The last measure has been reduced from three staves to one. i zapev

indication "and the incantation," referring back to the sketches on page 7, one is led to the conclusion that the connection between the two sections of the ballet, along with the decision to place the Ritual of Abduction in its present position, probably occurred to Stravinsky when he himself noticed, on page 30 of his sketchbook, the relationship between the Juszkiewicz-derived tune and the one received from Rimsky-Korsakov.

The identification of the green-week melody in the sketchbook shows Stravinsky at this point thinking very much like a "kuchkist," much as he had in *Petrushka*. That is, he was on the lookout for ethnologically appropriate source melodies—for natural artifacts, one might say—as a means of giving his music authenticity. Nor, as we shall see, is this the only example of such fastidiousness. But most un-kuchkist, of course, is the license with which he treated the borrowed tune. It is not recognizable in its new contexts, and what is more, its intervals (especially in the Vivo passage) are not only abstracted as a melodic find, but generate the quartal-secundal harmony as well.

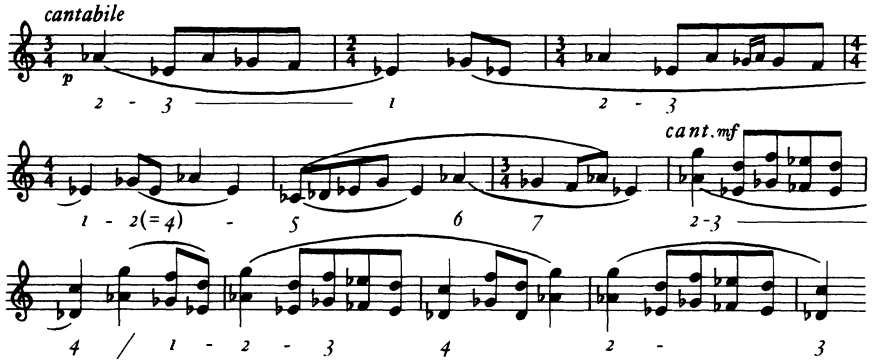
Mystic Circles of the Young Girls

The very first notation for Part II of *The Rite of Spring* comes on page 50 of the sketchbook facsimile (Ex. 9, second stave). It eventually became the music for alto flute, later two clarinets at the major seventh, and still later the strings, beginning at figure **93** in the Mystic Circles of the Young Girls. The development of this idea has been traced in some detail by Roger Smalley in a perceptive article on the *Rite* sketches.[29] But Smalley unaccountably omitted from all mention the notation at the bottom of page 53, which is obviously related to the opening sketch on page 50 (Ex. 9, first stave). Once again we seem to

[29] See n. 16.

Example 9

The Rite of Spring, 5 mm. after Fig. **93** ("Mystic Circles of the Young Girls"), alto flute solo, then two clarinets (measure numbers refer to Ex. 11.a below)



be dealing with a "naked" source melody, complete with double bar. It appears to interrupt the train of Stravinsky's musical thought, and perhaps for this reason Smalley decided not to pause over it. Craft, too, found it puzzling, and the composer, to whom he appealed for clarification, was, predictably, of no help to him—or to us. Here is part of Craft's commentary to page 53 of the sketches:

> March 2 records an amount of exploratory harmonizing and scoring of the Khorovod tune [NB: When Stravinsky resumed work on the *Rite* sketches following a break for the London performances of *Petrushka*, he began dating his work for a while; the sketches for the Mystic Circles occupied him from March 1 to March 11, 1912], but no final stages are attained, and the melodic form itself remains suspensive. Do these difficulties account for the appearance of the unembellished melody at the foot of the page? I mean, could the composer have written it in this pure form for his own guidance? And is it, in fact, an original melody, or a Lithuanian folk tune of the type with which *The Rite* begins? Stravinsky no longer remembers, in any case, probably because the question of originality, of fabrication or ethnological authenticity, is of no interest to him.[30]

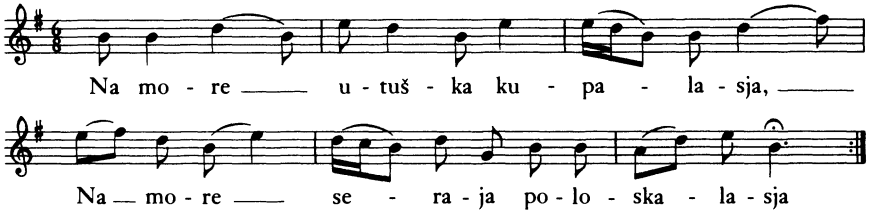
Why Stravinsky entered the melody here rather than three pages earlier is a question that cannot be answered, and might as well not be asked. But that the tune on page 53 is a source melody, and that it is an authentic Russian folksong, can be verified beyond doubt, even though it has not yet been traced to any published anthology that Stravinsky might have seen. It belongs to a family of folk songs—a

[30] *Sketches*, Appendix, pp. 15–16.

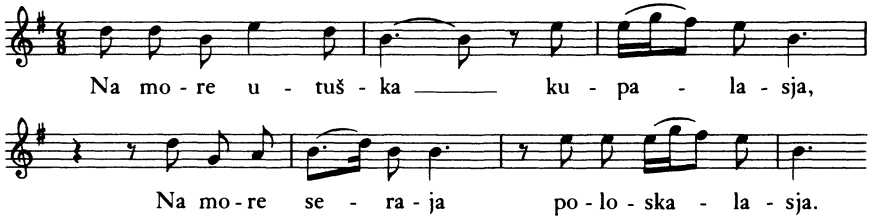
Example 10

a. Modal paradigm

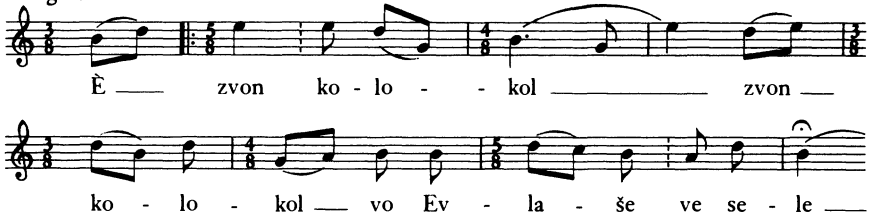
b. Rimsky-Korsakov, *One Hundred Russian Folk Songs* (1877), no. 88, ***Na more utuška kupalasja*** ("On the sea there swam a little duck")



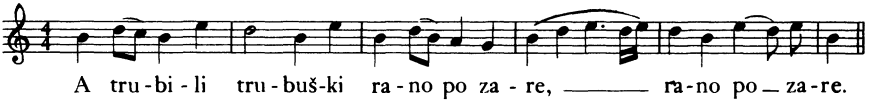
c. Rimsky-Korsakov, no. 89 (a variant of the same)



d. Rimsky-Korsakov, no. 72, *Zvon kolokol v Evlaševe sele* ("The chiming bell at Yevlashev village")



e. Tatiana Popova, *Osnovy russkoj narodnoj muzyki* (Moscow, 1977), p. 77: ***A trubili trubuški*** ("The trumpets sounded"), transcribed from a Smolensk folk singer, A. Glinkina.



All melodies here have been transposed to the pitch of Stravinsky's sketch entry to facilitate comparison.

very definite and specific family—many other of whose members have been transcribed and published, and used by other Russian composers of art music, we might add. A selection of them is given in Example 10.

These are all wedding songs, and all suitable for khorovod dancing. Three of them were published by Rimsky-Korsakov,[31] while the fourth was very recently collected. Rimsky-Korsakov's no. 89, a particularly famous song, was also published in an arrangement by Chaikovsky,[32] who used it almost without alteration in a very well known chorus of young girls from his opera *The Oprichnik* (1872).[33] These wedding khorovods share a distinctive modal structure: built for the most part on a minor or Phrygian tetrachord, they descend "plagally" once or twice to the lower third. It is safe to say, then, that Stravinsky's melody is a wedding khorovod of the *Utuška* type.

The identification of the source melody as an authentic folk song puts a new complexion on Stravinsky's manipulations of this theme. In Example 11, sixteen variants, taken in order of their appearance in the sketchbook, are arranged under the source melody. Some interesting points emerge from considering them (see Ex. 11):

1. (c) already shows Stravinsky applying the rhythm of measure 5 of his source melody to the pitches of measures 2 and 3. This rhythmic change was retained in the final versions of the melody.

2. In (d) Stravinsky discovers that by reversing the first two measures

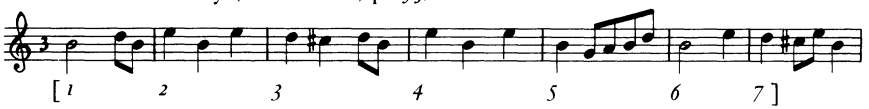
[31] For an amusing account of Rimsky's difficulty in transcribing the rhythmically elusive no. 72 from the singing of Borodin's maid, see *My Musical Life*, p. 165. The meter shifts he finally adopted have a decidedly "Stravinskian" appearance.

[32] P. Chaikovsky, *50 russkix narodnyx pesen, obrabotka dl ja fortep'jano v 4 ruki* (Moscow: Jurgenson, 1869), no. 23. The source for both Chaikovsky and Rimsky-Korsakov was apparently Konstantin Villebois's collection of 100 songs published in 1860, following a collecting trip along the Volga in which Alexander Ostrovsky took part. Stravinsky knew Chaikovsky's piano duet arrangements well, and remembered having taken the famous "Down St. Peter's Road" melody from it for *Petrushka* (*Memories and Commentaries*, p. 91). But whether he got it from Chaikovsky, or from Rimsky-Korsakov's arrangements of *Forty Russian Folk Songs* as sung by Tertii Filippov (1882), as both Sternfeld and Bachinskaya think, he found it with the name *Ja večor mlada vo piru byla* ("Quite early one evening I sat down to a feast"). There is no published version under the name Stravinsky cites. His memory was probably influenced by a famous recording of Chaliapin's. Stravinsky speaks of only one Chaikovsky collection, but there were two, and he knew and used the other as well (see Sternfeld, "Some Russian Folk Songs," in Norton Critical Scores, pp. 214–15). Incidentally, and quite uncharacteristically, Stravinsky acknowledged having used three folk melodies in *The Firebird*, while Russian scholars have identified only two (both from Rimsky-Korsakov—see Bachinskaya, p. 179).

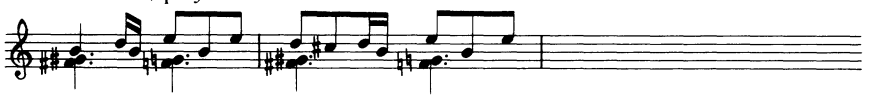
[33] Act I, no. 3 (*Na more utuška kupalasja*). This was one of the numbers incorporated whole from Chaikovsky's first and (during his lifetime) suppressed opera, *The Voyevoda* (1869). It therefore also found its way into Anton Arensky's *Son na Volge* (*A Volga Dream*, 1890), which was written to *The Voyevoda*'s libretto (by Ostrovsky). Rimsky-Korsakov used *Utuška*, too, in *Tsar Saltan* (1900).

Example 11

a. The source melody (Sketchbook, p. 53)

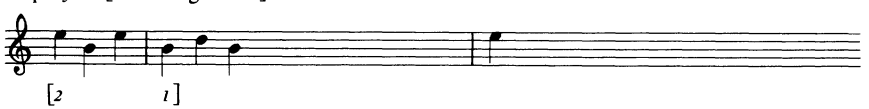


b. Sketchbook, p. 50

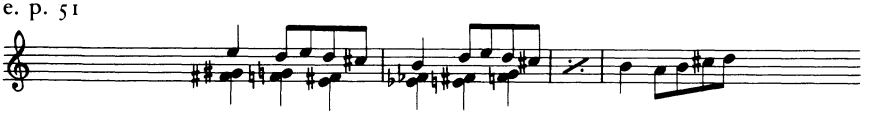


c. p. 51

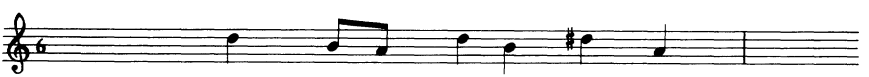
d. p. 51 [cf. "Auguries"]



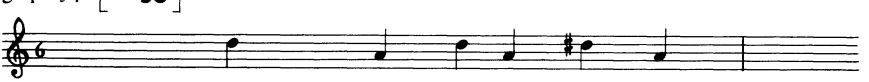
e. p. 51



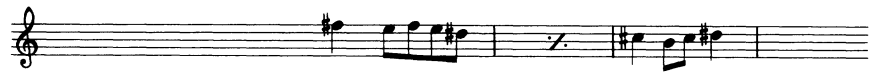
f. p. 53



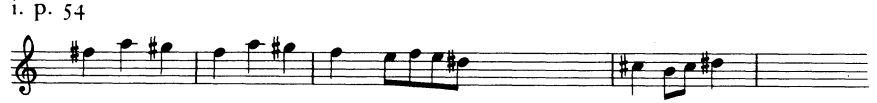
g. p. 54 [= **98**]



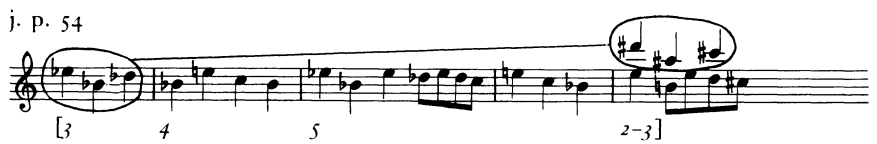
h. p. 54



i. p. 54

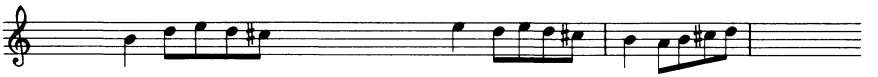


j. p. 54

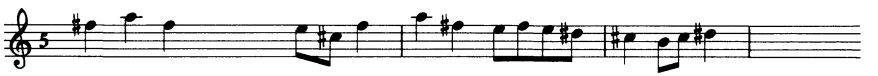


Example 11, continued

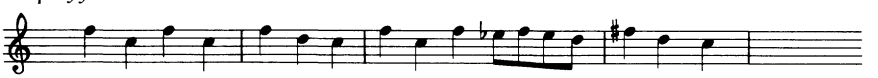
k. p. 55



l. p. 55

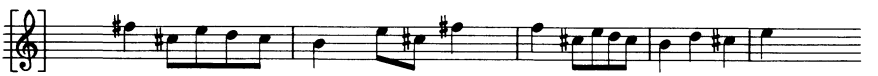


m. p. 55

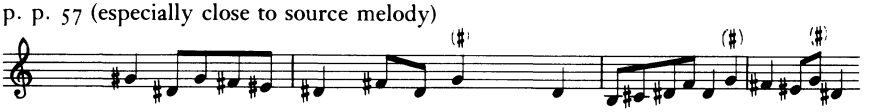


n. p. 56 (cf. fig. **97**)

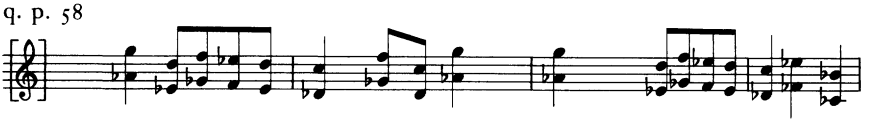
o. p. 57



p. p. 57 (especially close to source melody)



q. p. 58



and ironing out the rhythm, a link is forged with the ostinato of the Augurs of Spring. This link was not exploited in the finished score (perhaps rejected as too obvious), but it did furnish Stravinsky with material for experiment, with interesting by-products. Another brief flirtation was with the transformation of the perfect fourth into a tritone (as in (f) and (g)). This became the flute music at **98**, which acts as a retransition to the khorovod melody at **99**. These two ideas—the reference to the earlier ostinato and the tritone expansion of the fourth—are combined in (j), a fascinating sketch which, though a failed experiment, seems to have given Stravinsky the idea of parallel doubling at the major seventh. First he transposes the ostinato materi-

al to the pitch of the Auguries in Part I. Then, by the use of the tritone expansion he opposes the E-flat pitch of the Auguries with the original pitch of his source melody. After four measures of this he apparently gives up on the idea and recasts the pitch opposition in vertical terms: he returns the source melody (that is, mm. 2–3) to its original pitch, with the rhythm of measure 5 as noted above, and sounds the Augurs of Spring ostinato against it at *its* original pitch, producing the now famous parallel sevenths.

3. In (i) and in (l), Stravinsky seems to attempt a kind of modal inversion, placing a minor third above the stable tetrachord instead of a major third below. In so doing, he recasts the melody in another mode equally widespread among wedding khorovods, and, incidentally, one which was to figure prominently in *Les Noces*.

4. Finally, in (p) and in (q), Stravinsky arrives at the pitch levels and essentially the melodic patterns of **93** and **94** of the finished score. (p), especially, is remarkably close to the original tune, thanks mainly to the reinstatement of the plagal contour in the penultimate measure.

Returning now to Example 9, where the melodies at **93** and **94** are given for comparison with the source tune, we call attention to the numbers beneath the staves corresponding with the measures of the source. It is apparent that Stravinsky created the final version in mosaic fashion: individual melodic elements are treated like tesserae, subject to the most varied rejuxtapositioning, internal repetition, and, in the case of the melody at **94**, of independent transposition. Such procedures are common in the development and extension of melodies within the finished score (recall for example the treatment of the main khorovod theme in Spring Rounds, e.g., from **53** to **54**, or, most famously, the individual measures of the Sacrificial Dance). It is enlightening to see the same process ("the growth of cells," as Boulez would say) at work at the sketch stage.

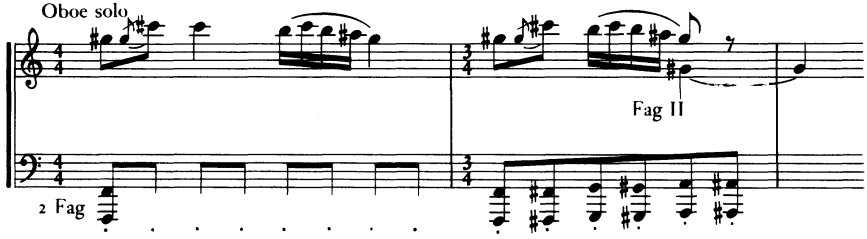
Ritual Action of the Ancestors

The passage at **132** in the published score (recapitulated almost immediately in the massive tuttis at **134** and **138**—one of the loudest moments in *The Rite*), went through an unusual number of preliminary drafts in the sketchbook, almost as many as the record-holding Mystic Circles khorovod described above. This gives rise immediately to the suspicion that once again a folk song model may have been

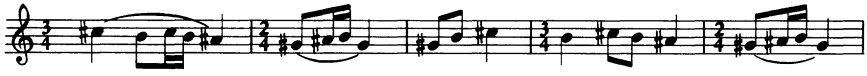
adapted, although this time there is no entry in the sketchbook in the form of a "naked" single-line source theme. Nonetheless, a putative source melody can readily be found. The first entry in the sketchbook that relates directly to the passage in question is for a solo oboe accompanied by two bassoons (one of them apparently a contrabassoon). In Example 12, this sketch is given along with the melody as it appears at ***132*** in the finished score.

Example 12

a. Sketchbook, p. 78



b. *The Rite of Spring*, fig. ***132***
(Three trumpets in octaves, *con sordini*)

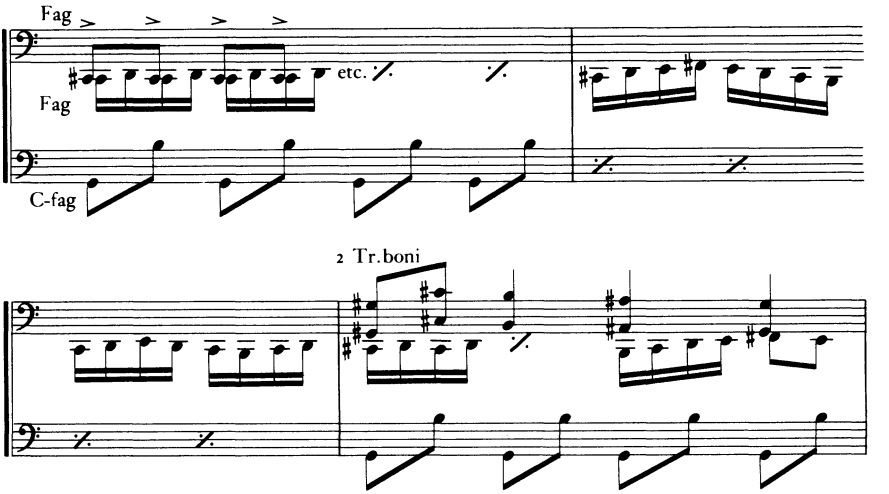


The oboe melody is comprised of the same notes as the one played by the three muted trumpets in octaves in the final version, but the order of notes and their rhythm differ considerably from that of the published score. In the next sketch, to which Craft and other commentators have called attention for its wide divergence in register from the final version, the three essential elements of the finished texture—the main melody, the undulating countermelody, and the eighth-note vamp—have been brought into successful conjunction. The oboe melody—transposed, interestingly enough, from an octave higher than its ultimate destination to an octave lower—has been reassigned to the trombones and has been simplified and rhythmically augmented (Ex. 13). Two sketches later the registers as well as the pitches of the vamp in the final version have been found and the theme is extended (Ex. 14).[34]

[34] This sketch runs up the side of the page rather than across it, and—though it is hard to judge from a photographic reproduction—it seems to be entered in slightly darker ink than the rest of the entries on the page. Both of these observations tend to suggest that the sketch was entered at a different sitting from the rest, perhaps on a different day. Further evidence supporting this conclusion is the fact that the pitches of the eighth-note vamp are those of the final version (B♭ and D), while Stravinsky continued to use his first device (G and B♮) through two more pages of sketches.

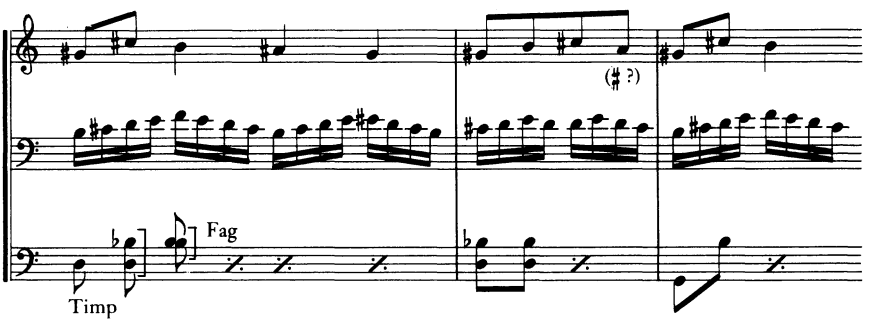
Example 13

Sketchbook, p. 78, the next sketch



Example 14

Sketchbook, p. 78, two sketches later (running up the side of the page)



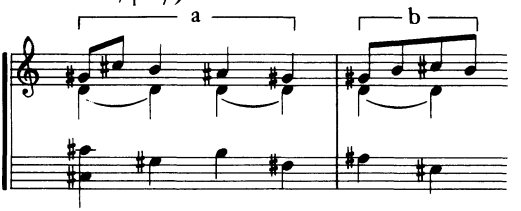
Stravinsky stayed with the theme in this form for a long while. He sketched both the passage at ***132*** and the one at ***134*** with it, rather than the final form of the theme, which makes its debut (its single appearance in the sketches, actually) only three pages later.[35]

One particularly interesting sketch, given in Example 15, seems to disclose the derivation of the trumpet-trombone counterpoint at ***134***

[35] This sketch is followed by another that continues to use the older version of the tune. This fact would seem to cast some doubt on the assumption shared by every commentator on the sketchbook up to now, that Stravinsky filled up the pages in an orderly left-to-right, top-to-bottom fashion. As additional evidence against this view we may cite, for example, pp. 46, 75, and 116, on each of which there is but a single entry, and it is located in some other position than the upper left.

Example 15

Sketchbook, p. 79



from this preliminary version of the theme: the initial rising fourth is reversed and then applied sequentially in the bass to the ensuing descending steps of the melody. The procedure, evidenced here, of accompanying the melody with a variant or development of itself is obviously related to heterophonic practices, and again suggests a linear source for some of *The Rite*'s dissonant harmony. If the melody under discussion here could be identified as a folk song, we would have a striking measure of the depth to which the folk influence reached in the formation of Stravinsky's new modernistic musical language.

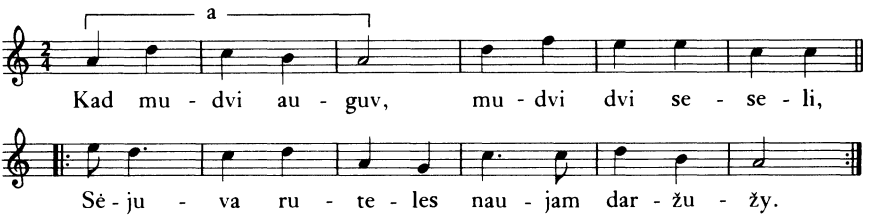
As it happens, the likelihood that in the present instance we are dealing with a genuine folk melody, or perhaps with a group of related "motives" as Bartók would have called them, seems very great. The tetrachordal structure of the tune is extremely common in Slavic folk music. In Example 15 I have labelled the two phrases of the melody "a" and "b." Juszkiewicz's anthology, on which we know Stravinsky to have drawn extensively, contains tunes beginning with each of these phrases (Ex. 16). It may be, then, that this preliminary form of the theme of the Ritual Action is a composite of two tunes from Juszkiewicz, like the "Khorovod Incantation" from Spring Rounds.

But actually, I think we can do much better in this case than to make a tenuous connection with a known specific source. More compelling and significant is the direct and vital connection that can be drawn between Stravinsky's melody and a more generalized repertoire, which once again will be found to be uncannily appropriate to the dramaturgical context, and which has, over and above that, a very special relationship to the composer himself.

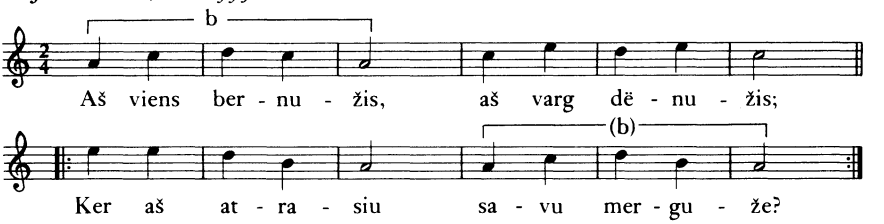
Melodies whose compass is limited to four tones (unlike the Juszkiewicz tunes in Ex. 16, which only begin that way) are to be found in great abundance among the *kalendarnye pesni* (seasonal songs) to which we have already referred. The use of the particular tetrachord we find in Stravinsky's theme (T–S–T) is particularly endemic to two types: the *Kolyadka* and, especially, the *vesnyanka*. Kolyadki are often thought

Example 16

a. Juszkiewicz, no. 834



b. Juszkiewicz, no. 1553



of as Christmas carols, since these songs are often sung by groups of adolescent boys or girls (they do not mix) on Christmas Eve. The name actually goes back to *Koledà*, the ancient Slavic holiday of the New Year, when the sun god was reborn after the winter solstice. Rimsky-Korsakov is eloquent on the symbolic associations of these quasi-pagan songs, which he exploited so fruitfully in his opera *Christmas Eve* after Gogol.[36]

Vesnyanki, or springtime songs, are of course especially relevant to the action of Stravinsky's ballet. To quote once more from Popova:

> From the remotest antiquity the Western Slavs have attached to the early spring a comprehensive cycle of song-observances: ceremonies, games, khorovods and lyrical singing. The young greeted the spring joyfully. . . . In South Russian regions and in the Ukraine the traditional springtime game songs were known as *tanòchnye pesni;* the ritual action itself was known as *tanòk.* Spring khorovod dancing of *tankì* usually started soon after the conclusion of Lent and in most places went on for seven weeks, that is until the so-called *semitzkoe nedelja* [cf. the discussion of Spring Rounds above].[37]

We may amplify these remarks with some observations by Izalii Zemtsovsky in his definitive study of the *Melodic Characteristics of Seasonal Songs:*

[36] See *My Musical Life*, pp. 343–4.

[37] *Russkoe narodnoe muzykal'noe tvorčestvo*, I, p. 61.

In Russian scholarly writing the term *vesnyanka* has taken on generic status: it is used in the narrow sense of an "invocation" to spring, and in the broad sense to cover the whole complex of springtime songs, games, and khorovods. . . . [Various accounts] bear witness to the magic function of the movements, the incessant movements of the springtime songs, whose purpose was to facilitate the quick awakening of nature—the growth of grass, the opening up of the rivers, the flight of birds, and so on. . . . These descriptions make clear *the connection between the performance of the spring invocations and some form of action* [italics original]: they are never declaimed in a stationary manner. . . . Vesnyanki were performed chorally (or, often, with choral responses), very loudly, from high places (so that their call carried the better). They took the form of short little phrases, usually repeated several times in a row, like melodic formulas. . . . Eyewitnesses report as follows, setting a poetic atmosphere for the old-time performance of vesnyanki: young girls on the rooftops "sing a series of vesnyanki, concluding every verse with the call, 'Gu!' " Such a manner of singing vesnyanki went among them by the name *vesnu gukati* [i.e., "calling 'gu' to the spring"]. . . . The primordial meaning of *gukanie* was, apparently, . . . that it fulfilled the function of a collective conjuration, a magical influence on the forces of nature. Such *gukanie* is justifiably treated in the scholarly literature [not as musical but] as ritual exclamation.[38]

From these descriptions it becomes clear that vesnyanki are in fact a "ritual action" of ancestral times. And no less noteworthy is the fact, as Zemtsovsky put it, that "vesnyanka invocations took hold in Russian territory by no means everywhere: there emerge two main regions of their existence—West Russian areas (Smolensk and Bryansk and their environs), and Central Russian."[39] The Smolensk and Bryansk regions border on Belorussia and the Ukraine respectively, and as Popova points out, the Russian vesnyanki had and still have direct connections with the musical rituals of more westerly Slavic groups, extending westward as far as the eastern Polish region known as Volhynia, part of the area that was Russian until 1917, Polish until the Nazi–Soviet pact, and Ukrainian since. And this, of course, is where Ustilug is located. Example 17 gives two of the dozen or so vesnyanka tunes Zemtsovsky quotes in the chapter from which we have quoted him. All the tunes in the chapter have the modal structure of the Ritual Action sketch. Following the two vesnyanki are a pair of Belo-

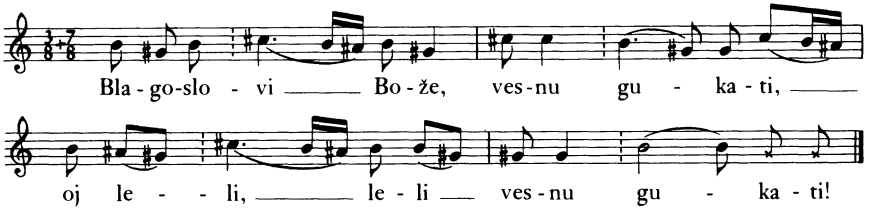
[38] *Melodika kalendarnyx pesen* (Leningrad, 1975), pp. 78–81, condensed. The source from which Zemtsovsky quotes in the passage cited is E. Romanov, *Belorusskie narodnye melodii* (Vilna, 1912), a book precisely contemporaneous with *The Rite* sketches. On the matter of the status of *vesnyanki* as "ritual" rather than "music," compare the amusing reply made by a peasant singer to a Soviet ethnomusicologist who asked what he was singing, as related by Gerald Seaman in his *History of Russian Music*, Vol. I (New York, 1967), p. 238: "Singing? We aren't singing! . . . We're calling in the spring. That isn't singing!"

[39] Zemtsovsky, pp. 78–9.

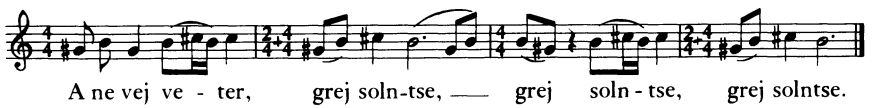
Example 17

a. Modal tetrachord

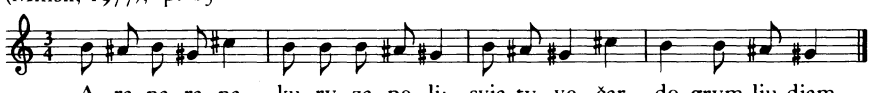
b. *Vesnyanka*, quoted in I. Zemtsovsky, *Melodika kalendrarnyx pesen* (Leningrad, 1975), p. 82



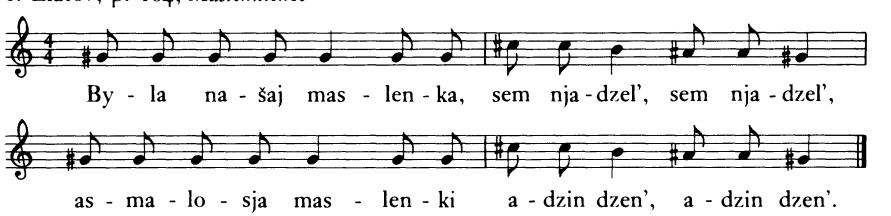
c. *Ibid.*



d. Kolyadka quoted from Victor Elatov, *Pesni vostočno-slavjanskoj obščnosti* (Minsk, 1977), p. 85



e. Elatov, p. 104, *Maslenničnoe*



Melodies transposed as before.

russian melodies of related types (a kolyadka and a shrovetide song or *màslenničnaja*) as published in a very recent study by Victor Elatov,[40] who supervised their collection in an area cross-cutting the boundaries of Western Russia, Belorussia, and the Ukraine.

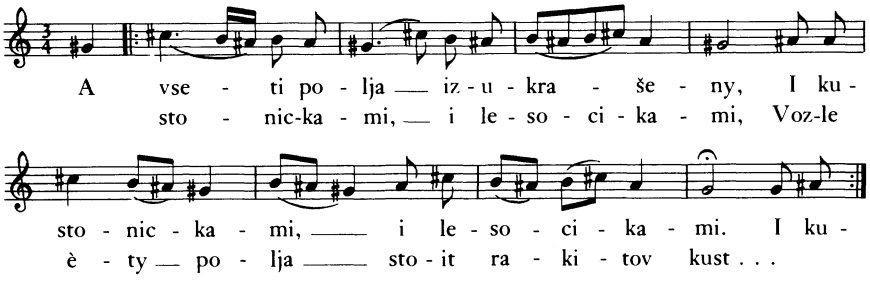
An additional vesnyanka closely related in its modal structure to Stravinsky's sketch is found in a published folk song collection there is good reason to believe Stravinsky knew well.[41] He drew on it for a

[40] *Pesni vostočno-slavjanskoj obščnosti* (Minsk, 1977).

[41] Fëdor Istomin and Sergei Liapunov, eds., *Pesni russkogo naroda, sobrany v gubernijax: Vologodskoj, Vjatskoj i Kostromskoj v 1893 godu* (St. Petersburg, 1899).

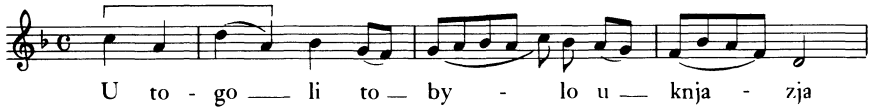
Example 18

F. Istomin and S. Liapunov, *Pesni russkogo naroda, sobrany v gubernijax: Vologodskoj Vjatskoj i Kostromskoj v* 1893 godu (St. Petersburg, 1899), p. 252



Example 19

Istomin-Liapunov, no. 32



melody in *Petrushka* that appears in no other published anthology (Ex. 18).[42] As it happens, the Istomin–Liapunov collection contains an "historical song" entitled *Vanja kljušniček*, which begins with the four-note motive familiar to all the world as the ostinato of the Augurs of Spring in *The Rite* (Ex. 19). Morton[43] traces the Augurs ostinato to a tune in the Juszkiewicz anthology. It would appear, though, that the melodic figure in question is too widespread in Slavic folk music to warrant positive identification of any one putative source.

To return to the Ritual Action sketch, perhaps closest to it of all folk songs I have been able to discover is the vesnyanka in Example 20, offered here in my own transcription from a field recording[44] of a performance by A. Glinkina, the same Smolensk folk singer who furnished Popova with the wedding khorovod we have quoted above as Example 10(e).

The resemblance of all the melodies given in Examples 17, 18 and 20 to the Ritual Action theme in its primordial sketch form is obvious, and one is tempted to imagine Stravinsky collecting the tune directly

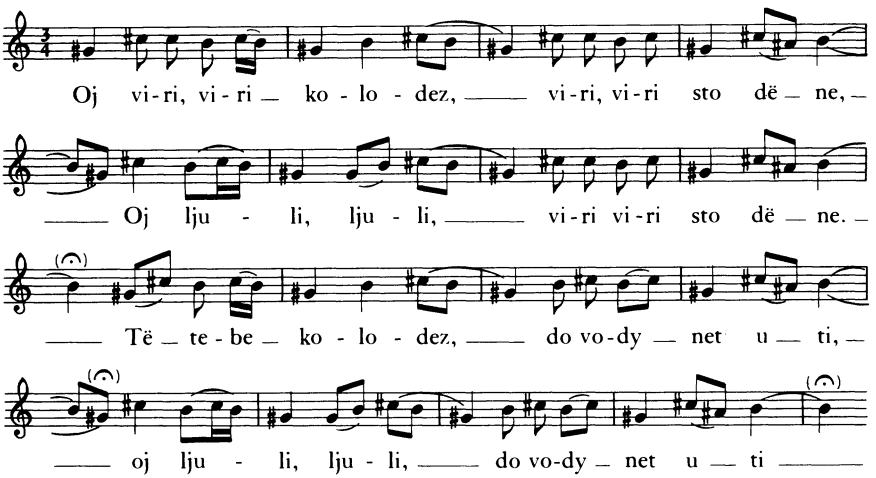
[42] See Sternfeld, "Some Russian Folk Songs" (Norton Critical Scores reprint), pp. 208–9, where, however, the Istomin–Liapunov collection is confused with a somewhat earlier anthology by Istomin and Diutsh.

[43] Morton, p. 14.

[44] "Pojut narodnye ispolniteli," Melodiya D-24901, first band.

Example 20

Oj vir, vir kolodez: Field recording of A. Glinkina



from the lips of some Volhynian "moujik," as he is depicted doing in Figure 1, or from Kolosov at Talashkino near Smolensk (cf. n. 17). But wherever he got it, it is beyond doubt a genuine article, for it symbolizes, epitomizes, and in kuchkist terms "validates" the action of the ballet at the point where it appears. Are not the strident tuttis at ***134*** and ***138*** the very "choral responses" shouted from the rooftops in the traditional ritual of *gukanie* as Zemtsovsky describes it? Zemtsovsky's account is in large part based on those of nineteenth-century folklorists, including, most conspicuously, the writings of Alexander Afanasiev, whose *Poètičeskie vozzrenija slavjan na prirodu* (*The Slavs' Poetic Outlook on Nature*, 1869) had been Rimsky-Korsakov's main authority in the matter of *kalendarnye pesni*, and whose *Narodnye russkie skazki* (*Russian Folk Tales*, 1855–64) was to be the source of Stravinsky's own *Soldier's Tale* and of many of the Russian songs of the Swiss period.[45]

The Dance of the Earth

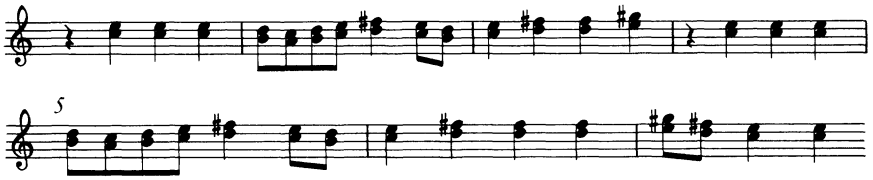
Last, let us take a fairly close look at what may be the most interesting group of pages in the sketchbook, the ones tracing the evolution of the dance that concludes the first part of *The Rite of Spring*. These begin on

[45] Rimsky-Korsakov, *One Hundred Russian Folk Songs*, no. 46, on which Stravinsky may have drawn for *Petrushka* (see n. 19), is a *maslennična ja*, or Shrovetide song, that falls exactly into the modal type under discussion here.

page 35 with the heading *Vypljasyvanie zemli*, literally, the dancing-out (in the sense of wearing out) of the earth—a neologism Stravinsky coined himself, and of which he remained proud. Immediately beneath the heading we find the entry given in Example 21.

Example 21

Sketchbook, p. 35: *Vypljasivanie zemli* ("The Dancing-Out of the Earth")



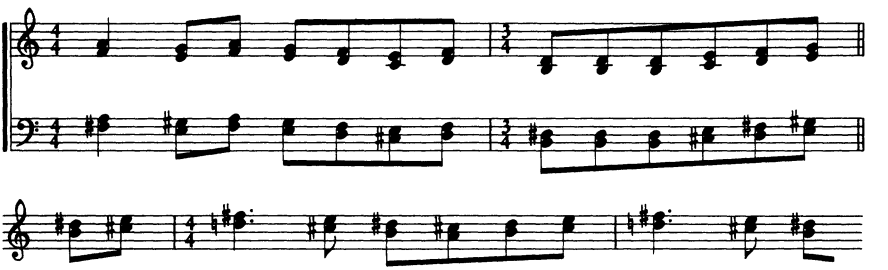
Both Craft and Boris Yarustovsky have noted that this fragment seems another folk-derived source melody. Craft has gone on to describe it as having "a slow, choral character,"[46] but he seems to have misunderstood it, for it belongs in fact to the genre of dance-until-you-drop vocal and instrumental ostinato dance tunes of the type most famously represented in art music by Glinka's *Kamarinskaya*. These songs are often improvised in thirds, as in Stravinsky's sketch.[47] Parallel doubling of this sort can be found in many parts of *The Rite*, notably in the *Ritual of the Rival Tribes*, two of whose themes the Dance of the Earth source sketch clearly resembles (Ex. 22). If we consider the lower diatonic voice in Stravinsky's sketch to be the original tune—the *vox principalis*, so to speak—we have a melody that is quite similar to the well-known wedding dance tune *Letal golub vorkoval* ("The dove flew cooing"). In Example 23 Stravinsky's lower voice is set above a recently published transcription from a field recording of *Letal golub*, in which the parallel thirds of authentic folk practice are given. The resemblance to Stravinsky's sketch is remarkable. We might add that the incorporation of wedding dance tunes, thirds and all, into art-music contexts has a tradition in Russia that reaches back to pre-Glinka times. In Example 24 we give a dance tune of this type as it is found in the opera *Fedul and His Children*, a work jointly composed in 1791 by Vicente Martin y Soler, the Spanish-born composer

[46] "Genesis of a Masterpiece," in *The Rite of Spring: Sketches*, p. xxiii.

[47] The upper voice of the sketch, with its whole-tone chromaticism, seems unrelated to folk practices at first sight. But there are in fact a significant number of *kalendarnye pesni* that are built on the whole-tone tetrachord. Several are included in Anna Rudneva, *Folk Songs of the Kursk Region* (Moscow, 1957). I am grateful to Mr. Dmitry Frishman for bringing this source to my attention.

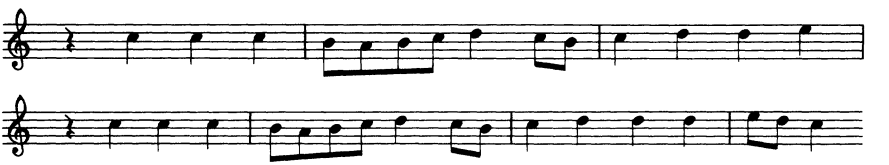
Example 22

The Rite of Spring, 2 mm. after fig. **57**; fig. **60** ("Ritual of the Rival Tribes")

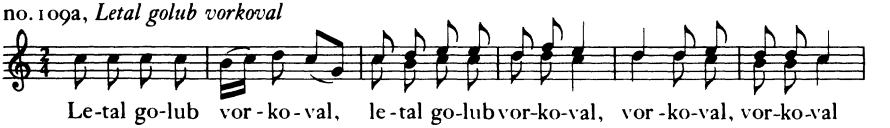


Example 23

a. Lower line of source sketch (Ex. 21)

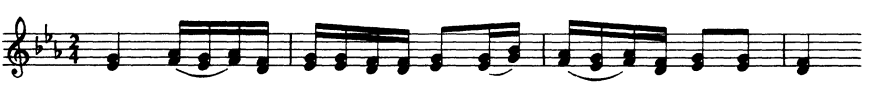


b. V. Bachinskaya, *Narodnye pesni v tvorčestve russkix kompozitorov* (Moscow, 1962), no. 109a, *Letal golub vorkoval*



Example 24

Martin y Soler and Pashkevich, *Fedul s detmi*, Act I, no. 5 (theme in orchestra)



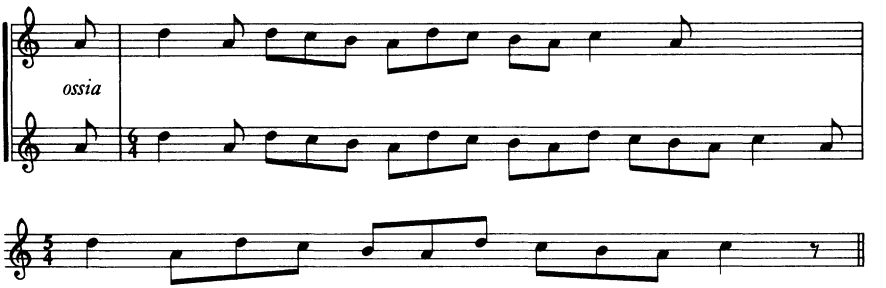
of Italian opera employed by the Russian court, and the native composer Vasily Pashkevich, to a libretto by Catherine the Great.

Also on page 35 of the sketchbook is another ostensible source melody, given in Example 25. These three versions of a single motive bear a distinct resemblance to the demonstrably folk-derived Ritual of Abduction theme (cf. Ex. 6 above).[48] Yarustovsky has pointed to an

[48] And indeed it may have retroactively determined the flatting of the leading tone by which the Ritual of Abduction melody differs from its source in Juszkiewicz. See Morton, "Footnotes to Stravinsky Studies," p. 13.

Example 25

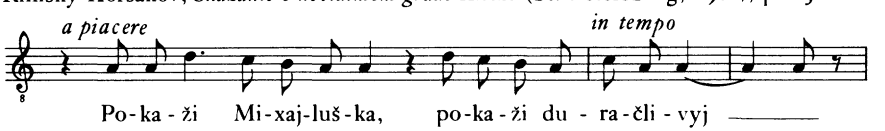
Sketchbook, p. 35



even closer possible forebear,[49] and one with which Stravinsky was familiar beyond doubt: the cries of the bear trainer at the beginning of Act II of Rimsky-Korsakov's *Tale of the Invisible City of Kitezh* (1904), completed precisely as Stravinsky was beginning his lessons with the older composer (Ex. 26). Rimsky's recitative-like setting already has Stravinsky's freely alternating groups of two and three eighths, and Yarustovsky's suggestion is all the more plausible because Stravinsky's entry is at Rimsky's pitch, although the ultimate destination of the motive was a half-step higher, as we shall see.

Example 26

Rimsky-Korsakov, *Skazanie o nevidimom grade Kiteže* (St. Petersburg, 1906), p. 63



The two source melodies on page 35 provided Stravinsky with literally all of the material out of which he constructed the Dance of the Earth.[50] The seven sketch pages devoted to this dance are a perfect paradigm of his usual practice in the sketchbook: a leaf of jottings and a preliminary continuity draft (pp. 35–6); a particell that differs from the final version only in details (pp. 37–9, 47, 49).[51] On page 36 (re-

[49] *I. F. Stravinskij: Stat'i i materialy*, p. 188.

[50] Immediately below the first source melody and to the left we find an additional derivation from its lower line (m. 2, transposed), that was to surface as the ostinato that begins in the second violins 5 measures before figure **76** in the published score.

[51] Between pp. 39 and 47 some sketches for *The Nightingale* and a single entry for the Introduction to Part II of *The Rite* intervene.

produced in Fig. 2), Stravinsky, in a burst of enthusiasm generated by his own ostinati, scrawled a motto that might well serve as that of *The Rite of Spring* as a whole: "There is music wherever there is rhythm, as there is life wherever there beats a pulse."

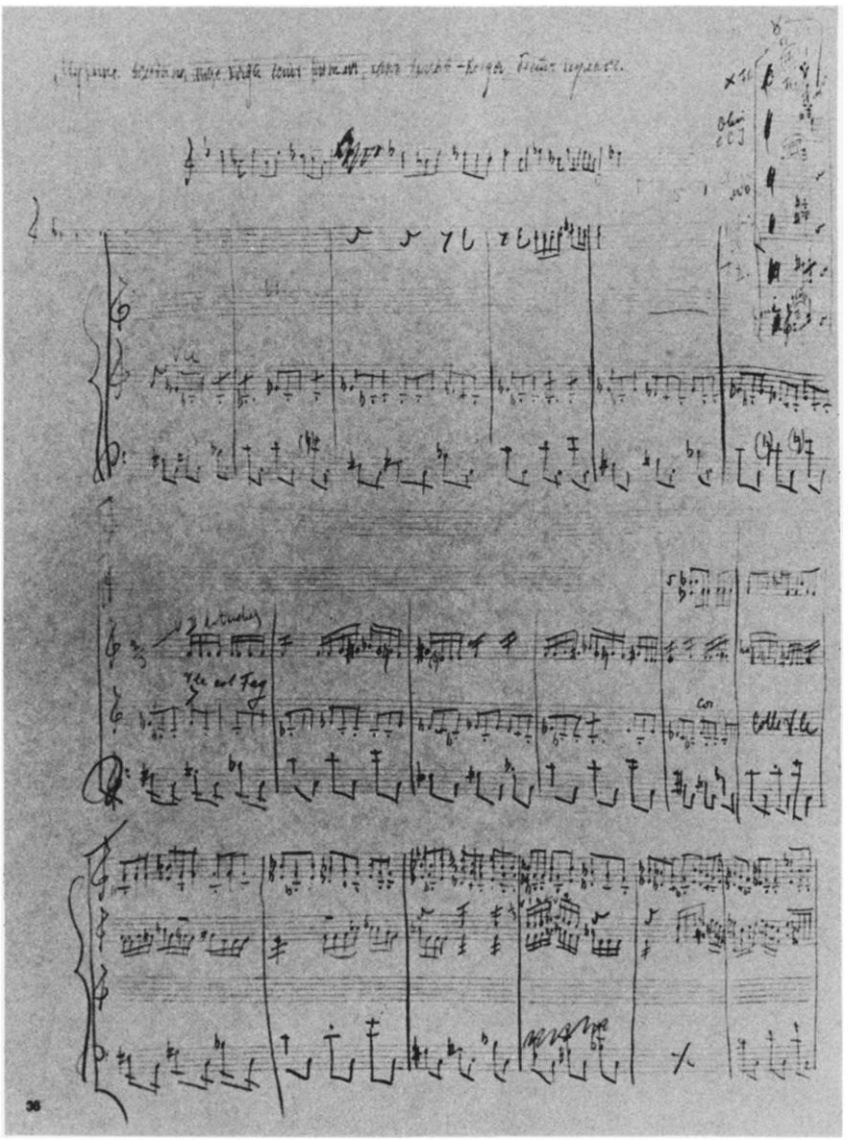


Figure 2
Igor Stravinsky, *The Rite of Spring: Sketches* 1911–1913, p. 36.
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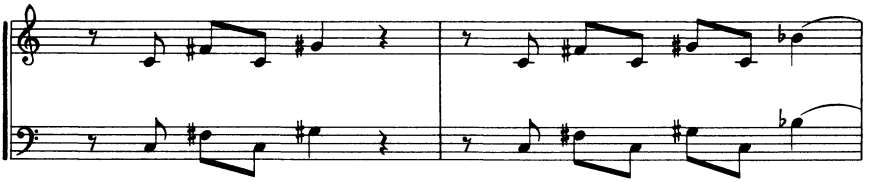
On page 35 itself, the composer works three striking transformations of the first source melody. Immediately below and to the right, he derives from it—by alternating the tonic C with the chromatic notes of the upper voice—the whole-tone ostinato that will run through the whole movement in the low strings and woodwinds (Ex. 27). Note that this is done in two stages. In the first phrase Stravinsky

Example 27

Sketchbook, p. 35

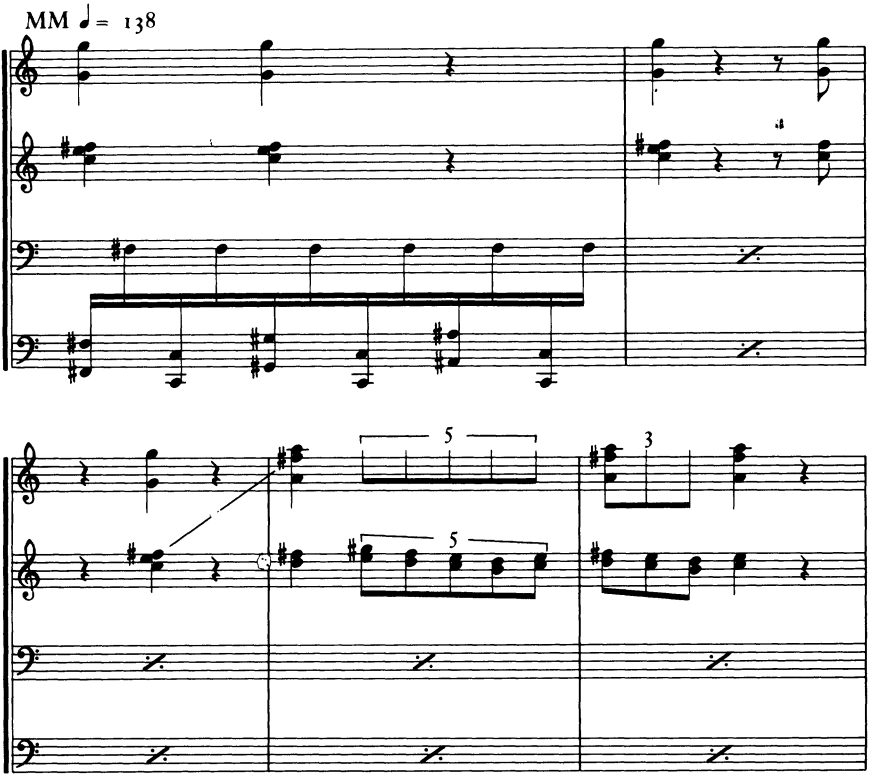


goes only as far as G sharp, the highest note reached in the source sketch. By adding the B flat (thereafter often respelled A sharp), Stravinsky arrives at a complete whole-tone scale divided by implication into two trichords, one beginning on C and the other on F sharp. This fundamental polarity is exploited throughout the movement with increasing insistence. It is expressed first in the opposition of the kettledrum's jackhammer F sharps against the ostinato bass note C already present (though without any indication of instrumentation) in the rough continuity draft at the bottom of page 35 (Ex. 28). By the next page of sketch, Stravinsky has had the idea of extending the ostinato so as to make explicit the division of the whole-tone scale into the two trichords mentioned above, as appears in the final score two bars after figure **75** (see Fig. 2). An interesting correction toward the end of the sketch shows Stravinsky beginning to play with the regularity of the alternation of the two trichords by withholding one of the appearances of the C-D-E trichord—an imposed irregularity that contributes tellingly to the movement's mounting tension. Or, alternatively, the sketch may show an attempt—immediately discarded—to combine the two trichords vertically.

The punctuating chord that runs through the movement is also derived from source melody no. 1. The continuity draft at the bottom of page 35 shows, in its division into two staves, how Stravinsky conceived of it (see Ex. 28). The lower staff shows the opening third of the source melody combined with the first chromatic tone of the upper voice. The sketch for the voicing of the chord in the strings, entered in the left margin presumably after the continuity draft was begun, disguises the derivation of the chord by distributing the three notes of the

Example 28

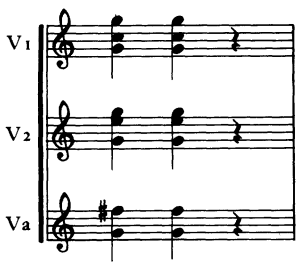
Sketchbook, p. 35



lower staff among the two violins and viola (Ex. 29). Each of the notes is associated independently with the G natural, which pitch seems to have its origin in a hypothetical diatonic version of the whole-tone doubling in source melody no. 1, designed to contradict and clash

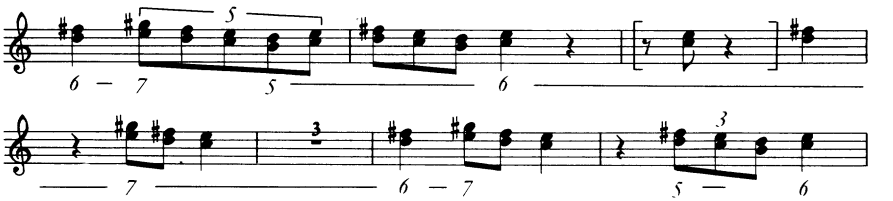
Example 29

Sketchbook, p. 35



Example 30

Sketchbook, p. 35 (measure numbers refer to Ex. 21 above)



sharply with the pitches of the ostinato. The continuity draft on page 35 also contains a characteristic rhythmic and note-order transformation of the source melody, shown in Example 30, where the measure numbers indicate the relationship of the version heard in the ballet to the original tune as given in the sketchbook. The original source melody never appears in the finished ballet, but Stravinsky did make a single attempt to work it into a sketch, that is, the continuity draft on page 36 from which we have already quoted the ostinato. Figure 2 gives the full page.

It is evident that the unsuitability of the unaltered quotation of the source melody was apparent to Stravinsky almost immediately, for it breaks off abruptly, and the staff containing it (as well as the one below) contains one of the rare instances in the sketchbook of erasure and palimpsest. What Stravinsky did achieve in this sketch was the superimposition of an ostinato derived from source melody no. 2 to run alongside the one previously derived from the first source melody. The transposition of the second source tune was evidently chosen to provide a characteristic double inflection (E flat versus E natural) over the pedal C. The next ostinato to enter is yet another derivation from source melody no. 1: a chromatic transformation of the lower line of the parallel thirds. In its appearance in the sketches on page 36 it differs significantly in its orthography from the final version (and from its previous sketch entry on the preceding page of the sketchbook). The A flat of the published score is spelled G sharp—in other words, Stravinsky seems to have gone out of his way to spell the motive in terms of the pitch content of the ostinato running beneath. The motive, in its curious mixture of perfect and diminished intervals, seems to mediate between the chromatic whole-tone ostinato and the sturdily diatonic second source melody. A transposition of the ostinato based on source melody no. 2 at the upper fifth begins four measures later, and beginning with the last system of the sketch, the two lines run in parallel fifths on the upper staff.

Stravinsky now has all his material in hand, and he is ready to

begin the final orchestral draft, which he does on page 37. For three pages the draft hardly differs from the version finally published, except for a sustained, texture-cluttering C in the bassoon to complement the timpani's reiterated F sharps, which Stravinsky deleted from the final version. This sketch links up with the one already described on page 36.[52]

The ending is sketched on pages 47 and 49 (48 is blank). Stravinsky, now altogether sure of himself, reverts to a practical shorthand. Of the four components of the texture, only the ostinato from source melody no. 2 and the one derived from the upper line of no. 1 are written out in full. The main ostinato, derived from the upper line of source melody no. 1, is first reduced to black note heads, then to mere letter names, while the punctuating chord is represented by vertical arrows. On the last page of the sketch, reproduced in toto in Figure 3, two interesting observations can be made. First, we note (as did Craft) Stravinsky's original intention to end the Dance of the Earth with a sustained version of the punctuating chord in the full brass, *crescendo al possibile*. My guess as to the reason this striking idea was cancelled is twofold. It would have made too obvious an ending to a section whose whole character is one of ceaseless and essentially undifferentiated activity. The ending finally decided upon, that is, merely an abrupt and shocking halt, emphasizes in retrospect that very ceaselessness. Moreover, the bass note of the sustained chord—an octave G in the tubas—confuses the very clear bipolar tonality of the movement based on oscillations between C and F sharp, as derived from the implications of the source sketch. Of even greater interest is the second observation, that the measured timpani roll on this page is explicitly altered from a continuous F sharp, as it had been throughout the movement, to alternations of F sharp and C, ending with the latter. In the final published version this alternation is pushed back as far as the section beginning at figure **75** (corresponding to the sketch on page 36), where the explicit alternation of trichords derived from an extension of source melody no. 1 begins. The effect is that of reinforcing the tonally unifying function of the tritone alternations.

What seems of greatest moment in our analysis of the sketches for the Dance of the Earth is that such a basic structural factor as the underlying tonal progression—to say nothing of the form-generating ostinati—has been derived from the source melody, which, as we have seen, is very likely a genuine folk artifact, and possibly even one taken

[52] The material from figures **74** to **76**, which mainly extends ostinati already set in motion, was interpolated at a later stage of composition.

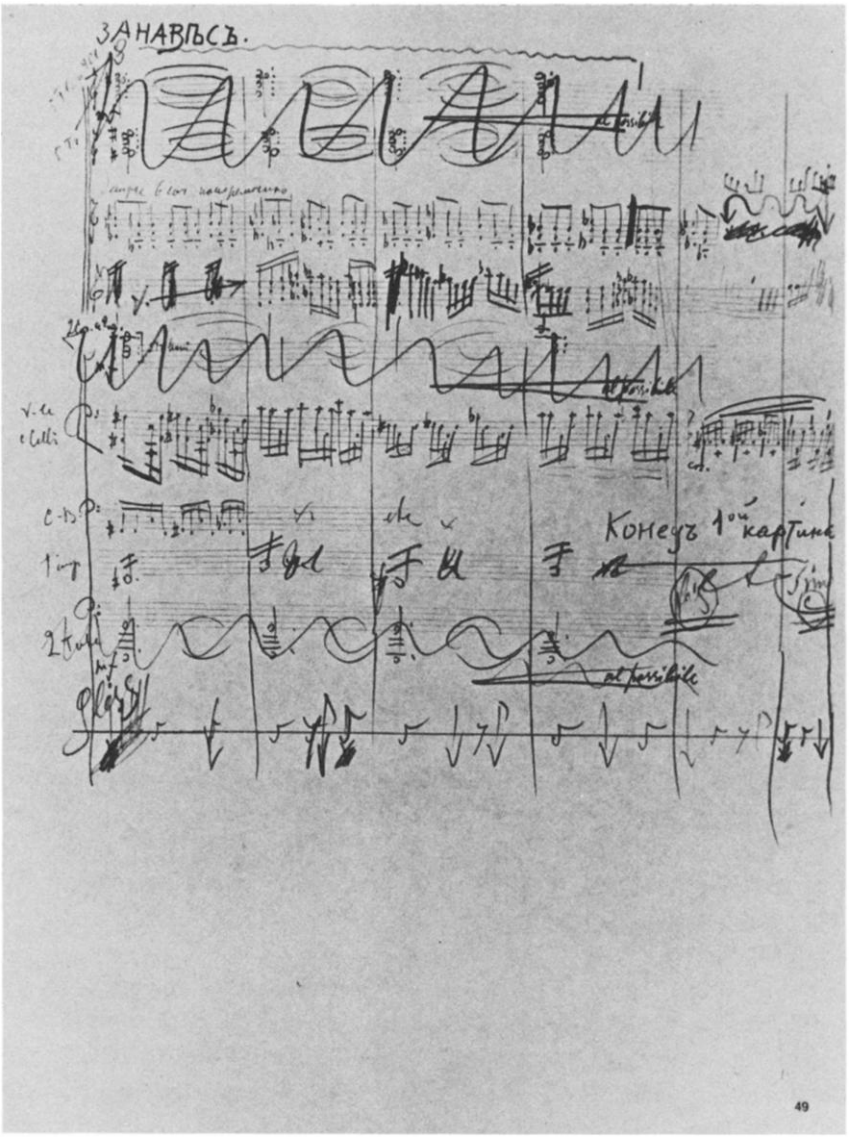


Figure 3
Igor Stravinsky, *The Rite of Spring: Sketches* 1911–1913, p. 49.
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down directly "from life." When we add to that the novel harmonies derived from verticalization of pitches presented successively in the source melodies, and also Stravinsky's derivation of melodic motives from the quasi-serial reordering of the constituent notes of the source tune (a process that has an obvious analogy in the hexachordal "rota-

tions" of Stravinsky's last period), we begin to see at what a profound level the composer's musical imagination was stimulated by the manipulation of elements abstracted from folk songs, and to what an extent many of the most pregnantly original of *The Rite*'s technical innovations have their origins in this new and radical approach to received material. The Dance of the Earth is at once one of the most radical sections of *The Rite*—surely by far the most radical in Part I—and the dance most fully based on folk-derived source melodies.

We have seen that Bartók already recognized that the "primitivistic" device of ostinato as Stravinsky employed it in *The Rite of Spring* was related to the practices of Russian folk song. But just how concrete that relationship was has, I think, never been fully appreciated, owing to the lack of data, to which Bartók also referred. The epoch-making innovations of Stravinsky's ballet were given an important impetus by an investigation of the properties of folk music, and by a selection of source melodies that in turn was governed by considerations of ethnological and historical appositeness that bring to mind the best traditions of the "kuchka," particularly as practiced by Rimsky-Korsakov in *May Night*, in *Snegurochka*, in *Mlada*, and in *Christmas Eve*. The difference, of course, was that Rimsky-Korsakov sought in the songs of Russian folk ceremonial only thematic material, which he then subjected to a treatment in the style of the mainstream of European art music that became, as his career wore on, increasingly conventional, even academic. Stravinsky, by seeking in folk songs something far more basic to his musical vocabulary and technique, was to use them as part of his self-liberation from that artistic mainstream, and as things turned out, its downright subversion.

Columbia University

Versions of this paper were read at the national meeting of the American Musicological Society, New York, November 1979, and at Brown University (Marshall Woods Lecture), May 1980.

[Footnotes]

[11] **Stravinsky in the Chair of Poetry**
Alexis Kall
The Musical Quarterly, Vol. 26, No. 3. (Jul., 1940), pp. 283-296.
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0027-4631%28194007%2926%3A3%3C283%3ASITCOP%3E2.0.CO%3B2-5

[11] **The Phenomenon of Stravinsky**
Marc Blitzstein
The Musical Quarterly, Vol. 21, No. 3. (Jul., 1935), pp. 330-347.
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0027-4631%28193507%2921%3A3%3C330%3ATPOS%3E2.0.CO%3B2-A

[16] **Serialism for Today**
Roger Smalley
Tempo, New Ser., No. 90. (Autumn, 1969), pp. 2-7.
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0040-2982%28196923%292%3A0%3A90%3C2%3ASFT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-K

[18] **Footnotes to Stravinsky Studies: 'Le Sacre du printemps'**
Lawrence Morton
Tempo, New Ser., No. 128. (Mar., 1979), pp. 9-16.
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0040-2982%28197903%292%3A0%3A128%3C9%3AFTSS%27S%3E2.0.CO%3B2-I

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[19] **Serialism for Today**
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Tempo, New Ser., No. 90. (Autumn, 1969), pp. 2-7.
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[27] **Footnotes to Stravinsky Studies: 'Le Sacre du printemps'**
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http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0040-2982%28197903%292%3A0%3A128%3C9%3AFTSS%27S%3E2.0.CO%3B2-I

[43] **Footnotes to Stravinsky Studies: 'Le Sacre du printemps'**
Lawrence Morton
Tempo, New Ser., No. 128. (Mar., 1979), pp. 9-16.
Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0040-2982%28197903%292%3A0%3A128%3C9%3AFTSS%27S%3E2.0.CO%3B2-I

[48] **Footnotes to Stravinsky Studies: 'Le Sacre du printemps'**
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Tempo, New Ser., No. 128. (Mar., 1979), pp. 9-16.
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http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0040-2982%28197903%292%3A0%3A128%3C9%3AFTSS%27S%3E2.0.CO%3B2-I