Stravinsky's Sketches for the Great Chorale

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Composed in 1918, *Histoire du soldat* is a transitional work that straddles the boundary between the "Russian" works of Stravinsky's first period and the "neoclassical" ones of his second.[1] Stravinsky and his collaborator Charles-Ferdinand Ramuz adapted and modernized a Russian folk tale based on the perennial Faustian theme of striking a deal with the devil, ultimately creating a work "To be Read, Played and Danced." The piece brings together musical influences from jazz, popular dance music, military marches, and burlesque. Included in this set of small pieces are two chorales, which, by virtue of their distinctive texture, orchestration, and pseudo-tonal harmonies, stand in sharp contrast to the other music in the work. The chorales clearly reference an earlier musical style, yet they do so in a distinctly modern way. They might be regarded as a type of laboratory in which Stravinsky experimented with the material and techniques he would employ repeatedly in the works of his second style period.[2]

In his monumental study *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*, Richard Taruskin discusses two different facets of the Great Chorale that would seem to represent both neoclassic and Russian elements. On the one hand, he notes that the Chorale is "obviously modeled on Luther's "A Mighty Fortress," a clear reference to the musical borrowing typical of the composer's neoclassic period;[3] on the other hand, Taruskin links the Chorale to the Russian period through its pitch content. As part of his discussion, he presents an early sketch for the opening phrases of the piece and compares it to the published version (see Example 1).[4]

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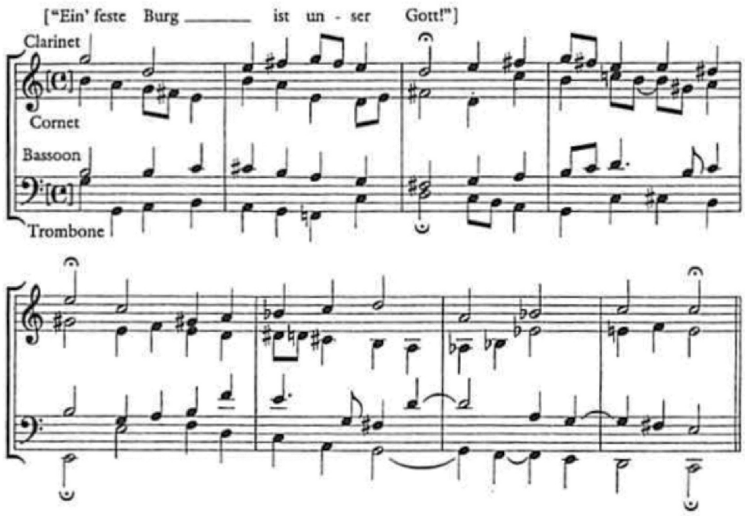
[1] For general information about *Histoire*, see Stravinsky and Craft 1978, 166-75; White 1979, 263-75; and Walsh 1999, 286-93. For a more technical discussion of rhythms and pitch structures, see van den Toorn 1983, chapters seven and eight.

[2] For an extended discussion of neoclassicism, see Messing 1988.

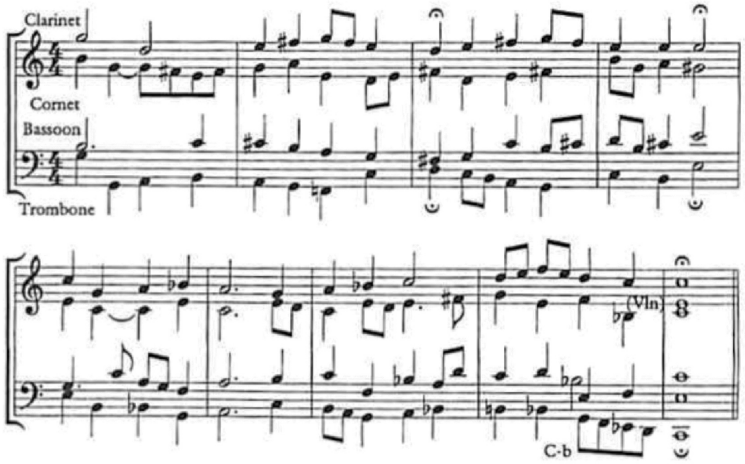
[3] Taruskin 1996, 1317. Taruskin mentions only one author who has previously noted the resemblance of Stravinsky's Chorale and Luther's "Ein' feste Burg."

[4] *Ibid.*, 1316.

Example 1. Taruskin's Presentation of an Early Sketch.



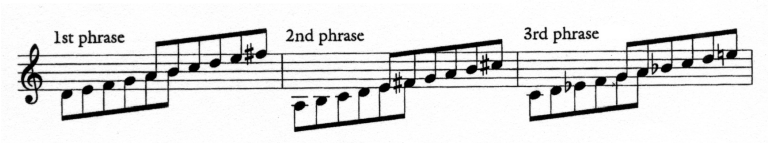
b. *Histoire du soldat,* Great Chorale, mm. 1–9



In this graphic, Taruskin adds text to show the way Stravinsky's tune quotes "A Mighty Fortress," and his analysis of the pitch content draws attention to a technique Stravinsky used in a number of his early songs on Russian texts. Taruskin notes that the pitch content of each of the Chorale's first three phrases is drawn from an 8-tone

collection consisting of two interlocked Dorian tetrachords, as illustrated in Example 2.[5]

Example 2. Taruskin's Synopsis of Pitch Content.



Overlapping Dorian tetrachords on D and A generate a collection that might be regarded as a Dorian collection that includes both F and F♯, the notes which clash prominently in m. 2. The second phrase uses a transposed version of the same collection, accounting for the collisions between C and C♯, and another transposition similarly explains the clashes between E and E♭ (but not those of B and B♭) in the third phrase.

Returning to the sketch, Taruskin argues that it reveals a conscious intention on Stravinsky's part to achieve the relationships he has described with the hexachords:

> [These sketches] show how deliberately the composer worked to clarify this aspect of the harmonization. In the draft, C-sharp is allowed to stand in the bass in the second phrase [m. 4], and the final cadence is approached via a bass E-natural [m. 7].[6]

To be sure, the bass C♯ in m. 4 of the sketch is removed in the final version, leaving the bass C-natural to clash with the tenor C♯.[7] Likewise, the approach to the C cadence in the sketch shows E-natural, whereas the final version shows E-flat. In these instances, it would seem that Stravinsky worked carefully on ways to highlight the semitonal clashes that are characteristic of his Russian song settings; at the same time, this short sketch illustrates a practice that is typical of his later neoclassical compositions. Taruskin notes that

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[5] *Ibid.*, 1317.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] The tenor C♯ in m. 4 of the final version also appears in all of the sketches. The C-natural shown in Taruskin's sketch is an oversight.

Stravinsky replaced the D♯ to E motion in the soprano (mm. 4-5 of the sketch) in later versions, noting "the pains Stravinsky took to purge all the cadences of leading tones."[8] Taruskin's brief treatment of this single sketch raises fascinating questions, and makes it clear that a closer examination of Stravinsky's sketches for the Great Chorale is warranted. In this study, we provide close readings of selected sketches and attempt to present a plausible chronology for them. The extensive sketches and revisions Stravinsky undertook illuminate several aspects of his emerging neoclassical style. First, we will consider how the cadences in the Great Chorale adumbrate certain cadential procedures Stravinsky commonly employed in later works. Second, we take up the question of how Stravinsky appropriated and modified Luther's "Ein' feste Burg" melody, and how its structural features affected the shaping of his own Chorale. Third, we trace Stravinsky's invention and modification of two-phrase "blocks" of material. While it is commonly noted that much of Stravinsky's music exhibits block construction, the sketches for the Great Chorale provide a fascinating look at how these units were juxtaposed, moved, and transposed during the formative stages of composition.[9] The robust tonal plan of the final score emerged only after a long series of changes we shall trace in several stages.

Analyses of the Published Score

Although the Great Chorale has been widely anthologized, most discussions of the work are surprisingly brief.[10] Eric Walter White provides a brief description of the piece and notes that, of the eight fermatas, Stravinsky inserted text at three of them (4, 6, and 7), where the narrator delivers the moral of the story.[11] In his textbook on counterpoint, Harold Owen cites the Chorale as an example of "pandiatonicism," as Stravinsky "purposefully juxtaposes tones of the diatonic scale so as to dilute or destroy the normal chordal

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] See, for example, Horlacher 2011.

[10] See Owen 1992 and Wennerstrom 1988.

[11] White 1979, 269.

functions."[12] Other general features of the piece and its likeness to a Bach chorale are well known; it is "in" G, has clear phrases and cadences, and primarily features a four-voice texture. The present discussion will focus on three main topics: cadential formulae, use of the "Fortress" motive, and the large-scale tonal plan. Each of these will be revisited during the presentation of the sketches.

Given its clear phrase structure and numerous fermatas, the Chorale is an excellent place to study Stravinsky's cadential formations. Owen provides a succinct overview of this element of the piece:

> The cadences resemble authentic, plagal, and half-cadences but are all unorthodox in some way. The half-cadence in m. 3 is IV-V, but the IV has a ninth added (D in the alto), and the V has the leading tone doubled. When ii is reached in m. 6, a B♭ has unexpectedly entered the scene, giving a Phrygian flavor to the cadence. In reaching IV in m. 9, the bass has offered an E♭, causing a cross-relation, and the cadence seems to be Mixolydian. The V chord which ends the phrase in m. 14 comes as a surprise, although it is reached by step in all voices but the alto, which has D as a common tone.[13]

Many of Owen's points coincide with Kofi Agawu's more refined study of Stravinsky's cadential habits in the *Mass*, composed almost 30 years later.[14] As Agawu stated, syntax and gesture are both equal parts of a successful cadence, "but in Stravinsky they are constantly played with, played off against each other, or retained as *Gestalten* of an outdated common practice."[15] In other words, most of the parts of a well-formed tonal cadence are present, but not always in a conventional manner.

Agawu illustrates his points with ten cadential figures taken from the *Mass*; at least three of these figures have close precedents in the Great Chorale and other Stravinsky pieces. Examples 3a, b, and c, are taken from Agawu's discussion of the *Mass*.[16]

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[12] Owen 1992, 339-346.

[13] *Ibid.* 346.

[14] Agawu 1989.

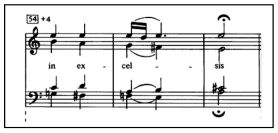
[15] *Ibid.* 142.

[16] *Ibid.*, 144, 144, and 143, respectively. The remaining examples are not from Agawu's article, but are included here as further examples.

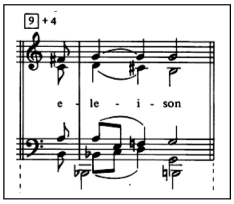
Example 3. Cadential Formulae:
Agawu, "Stravinsky's Mass and Stravinsky Analysis" (a – c);
Stravinsky's Chorale (d – f); Octet (g – h).

Agawu, "Stravinsky's *Mass* and Stravinsky Analysis"

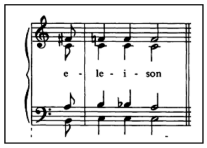
a. Sanctus, mm. 67-69



b. Kyrie, mm. 51-52

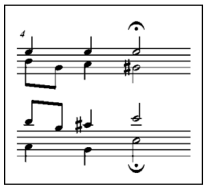


c. Kyrie, mm. 4-5

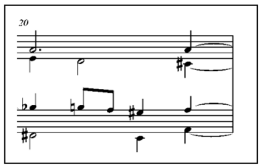


Stravinsky's Chorale

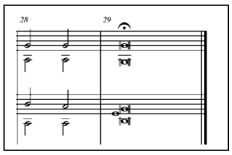
d. M. 4



e. M. 20

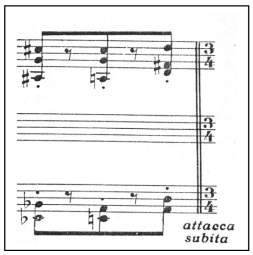


f. Mm. 28-29

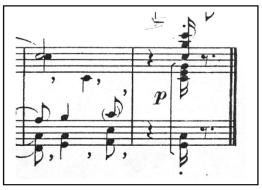


Octet

g. II, end of Theme



h. Finale, final cadence

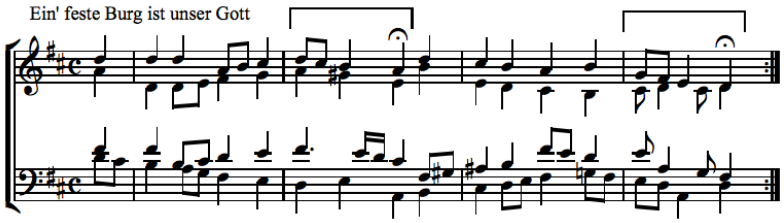


In Example 3a, a $\hat{6}$-$\hat{5}$-$\hat{1}$ motion in the bass creates an "authentic" cadence on A in a similar fashion to arrivals on E and A in the Chorale (seen in Examples 3e-f). In Examples 3b-c, the melody holds the tonic note throughout the cadential motion, creating a cover tone that denies motion to the leading tone and thereby weakens the cadence. This exact technique occurs in the Chorale

(see Examples 3e, f, and g).[17] Another parallel brought to light by Agawu's study of cadences is Stravinsky's penchant for using a six-four chord as a cadential goal. One example from the Mass is shown in Example 3c. Compare the similar cadence from the Great Chorale seen in Example 3g; Stravinsky reuses this technique in the Octet, as shown in Examples 3h and i. This handful of illustrations certainly is not exhaustive, nor do they necessarily demonstrate a pervasive practice. What they do suggest, however, is that these contrapuntal schemes were part of Stravinsky's toolbox, one that he kept close at hand throughout much of his neoclassic period.

In addition to these cadential gestures, there is a strong element of appropriation in the Grand Chorale. As noted above, Stravinsky's chorale tune is clearly indebted to Luther's melody "Ein' feste Burg," a tune that Bach set at least three times; the beginning of one version is shown in Example 4.

Example 4. Bach's Setting of Luther's Tune.



We cannot be sure why Stravinsky chose this particular melody for his purposes. Taruskin speculates that Luther's hymn was "in all likelihood, the only chorale a Russian Orthodox musician would have known."[18] However, Horlacher mentions that the pioneering ethnographer Yevgeniya Linyova compares a setting of this melody to the polyphonic texture of Russian folk singing she recorded phonographically and transcribed in her *The Peasant Songs of Great*

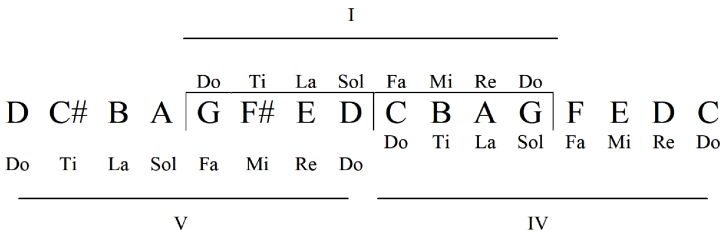
[17] Stravinsky opened his Concerto for Piano and Winds with a very similar gesture. Here a chromatic voice exchange would call for a leading tone, but instead the melody uses the cover tone.

[18] Taruskin 1996, 1317. He might well have known the melody as used in Mendelssohn's "Reformation" Symphony.

Russia.[19] Stravinsky owned a copy of her study,[20] and this might have provided the impulse to parody this particularly emblematic Lutheran melody.

Alternatively, structural features of Luther's melody may have attracted Stravinsky. Two transpositionally equivalent tetrachords (do, ti, la, sol at the end of the first phrase and fa, mi, re, do at the end of the second) are highlighted by identical rhythms (see brackets in Ex. 4). Another attractive element of these tetrachords is that they are members of multiple diatonic scales; as shown in Example 5, by simply attaching another tetrachord onto either end of a G-major scale, a link emerges to the subdominant and dominant key areas.

Example 5. Equivalent Tetrachords.



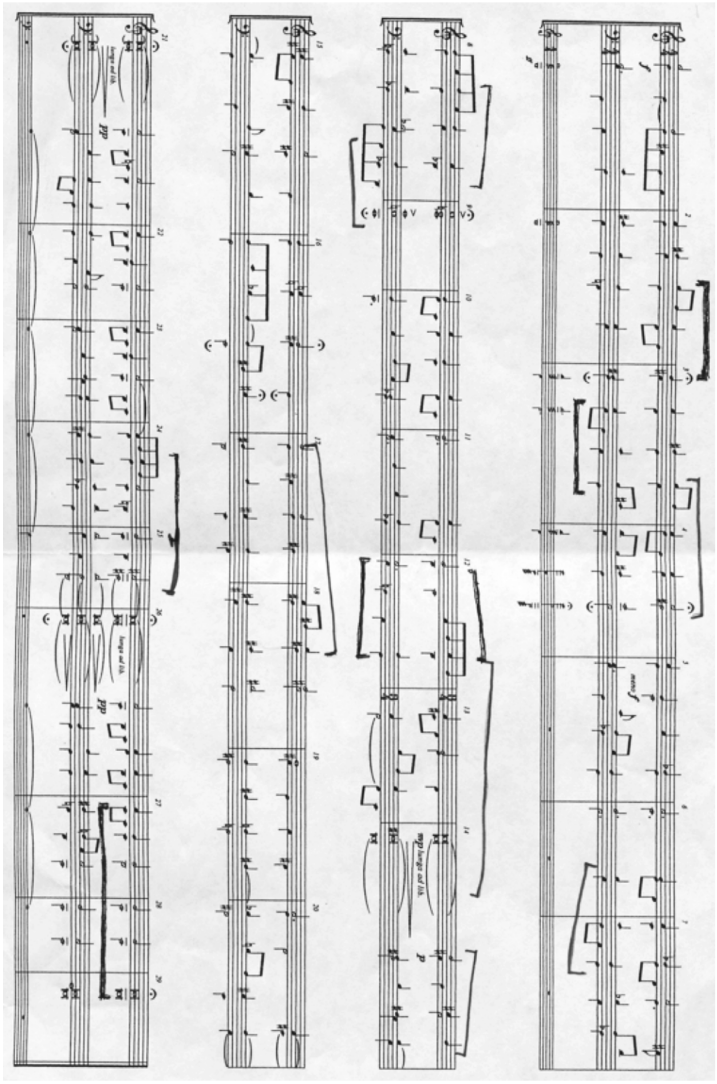
Indeed, G, C, and D are the most prominent keys suggested in Stravinsky's Chorale.

Stravinsky explored the idea of repeating and varying these tetrachords and longer motives built upon them in the melody, as well as in the other voices of his Chorale. As the score reduction in Example 6 shows, Stravinsky saturated his piece with various versions of the idea.

[19] Horlacher 2011, 139.

[20] Taruskin 1996, 727-33.

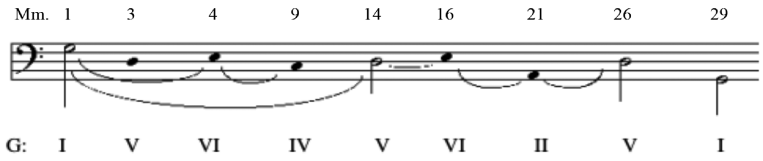
Example 6. Annotated Score of Great Chorale.



This "Fortress" motive often serves as a cadential indicator, just as it did in Bach's version. The truncations and extensions ultimately help the piece take its large-scale harmonic shape. For example, the truncated version in m. 4 leads to a cadence on E, while in mm. 12-14, an extended version leads to D; another extended version in mm. 24-26 also leads to D. Further, the motive sometimes provides connective material between two separate phrases. The soprano statement that leads to the cadence in m. 3 is answered immediately after the fermata in the bass.

Other phrase connections are perhaps more loosely based on the motive. Consider the phrases beginning at m. 5 and m. 10, which are connected by the melodic perfect fourths with which they begin. Interestingly, mm. 14-21—obviously the most chromatic and dissonant section of the piece—feature the fewest statements of the motivic figure. Then, at m. 21, the harmonic turn back towards the dominant, the return of the motive, and the low register all point toward the impending final cadence. Example 7 illustrates how the eight cadential points, marking the ends of phrases, create a clear tonal plan based on G for the Chorale.

Example 7. Harmonic Plan of Chorale.



Also note the pentatonic element of the cadential arrivals: C-D-E-G-A; as organized as this pattern may seem, this particular arrangement and harmonic progression did not coalesce for Stravinsky until quite late in the compositional process, as our account of the sketches will show.

Early Stages of Sketching[21]

The earliest sketches for the Great Chorale occur in a small, vellum-bound book labeled "Soldat Croquis 1918" on the cover. This slim volume contains sketches for various portions of *Histoire*; its final unnumbered page bears the date 1 May 1918. Robert Craft's assertion that "the chronology of the composition (and of the instrumentation) can be traced in a 16-page pocket-size 'croquis'. . ." is highly misleading, for few of the pages are dated, and only a fraction of the work is represented herein.[22] A full reconstruction of the chronology of the composition of *Histoire* is beyond the scope of the present study, but we believe we can present the existing sketches for the Great Chorale in a plausible ordering based on orthographic evidence and their musical content. Suffice it to say, it is surprising that such a brief and relatively uncomplicated movement apparently cost Stravinsky considerable effort. His numerous revisions and backtrackings may suggest uncertainties concerning the way to indulge that "rare form of kleptomania" the composer later admitted he suffered.[23]

Near the beginning of the "Soldat" sketchbook, in the midst of sketches relating to the "Valse," Stravinsky made two entries on one leaf: these are transcribed in Example 8.[24]

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[21] Maureen Carr has published an edition of all the known sketches for *Histoire du soldat*. See Carr 2005.

[22] Craft 1985, 461-474; this quote is from 469.

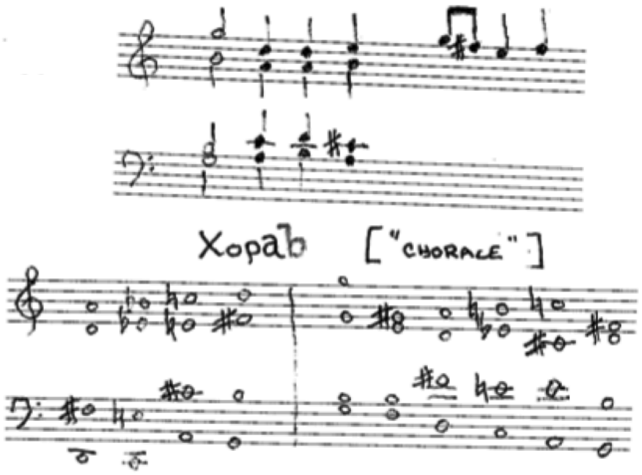
[23] Stravinsky and Craft 1981, 110.

[24] The present essay is illustrated with our transcriptions of sketches that will be identified by references to Carr's Figure numbers as well as their locations on the microfilms held in the Igor Stravinsky Collection in the Paul Sacher Foundation in Basel, Switzerland. The transcriptions presented here have been checked against the original documents in Basel, and the authors extend their sincere thanks to the Foundation for supporting this research and for their permission to publish these transcriptions.

Example 8. An Early Sketch.

a.

b.



The longer entry, which occurs in the middle of the page, bears the label "Chorale" (in Russian). This sketch represents two attempts to reach a G major seventh chord, presumably as a cadential sonority. A vertical line separates the two chordal progressions, which are written entirely in unstemmed, open noteheads, as are many of Stravinsky's exploratory musical jottings for other works. Also quite characteristic is the expansion of the progression: Stravinsky added material to the beginning of the phrase in his second attempt, extending his bass line to descend through an octave.[25] The texture is also made more complex by the crossing of the inner voices in the second sketch. The pure G triad at the beginning of the second progression and the G major 7 chords at both endings foretell the eventual tonic of the Great Chorale, even if very little else here resembles the finished composition.

[25] As shown in Example 4, Bach used a descending octave line to harmonize the opening phrase of Luther's melody. We do not know whether Stravinsky knew this specific harmonization, but he was surely aware of how common such stepwise bass lines are in chorale settings.

The shorter sketch in Example 8a appears at the top left corner of the same leaf. Hints of rhythm are now present, but there are as yet no bar lines. The initial descending leap of a perfect fourth might be heard as a glimmer of Luther's tune, and the last four notes could be related to the rhythm of the cadential "Fortress" tetrachord, but these tentative beginnings only faintly resemble the final product.[26] These sketches are extremely difficult to decipher, for Stravinsky vigorously erased them all.[27] The explicit title and the four-voice homorhythmic textures clearly indicate Stravinsky's inclination toward the chorale genre, but the musical ideas here are undeveloped—mere kernels, hastily sown and soon abandoned. As we shall see, however, certain elements proved remarkably hardy.

Stravinsky resumed work on the Chorale in earnest later in the "Soldat" sketchbook, where he filled three consecutive openings (six leaves) before breaking off just a few pages short of the end of the book. We believe the middle pair of pages (the second opening devoted to the Chorale) bears Stravinsky's first efforts to fashion complete phrases. Examples 9 and 10 present our transcriptions along with the final score. Annotations on the score indicate "blocks" of material that were clearly sketched as a unit; as the sketches reveal, these blocks remain intact and appear throughout the compositional process. Other material on the sketches is for local use, not carried over to other pages. These passages are evidence of Stravinsky trying out several different solutions to a particular compositional problem.

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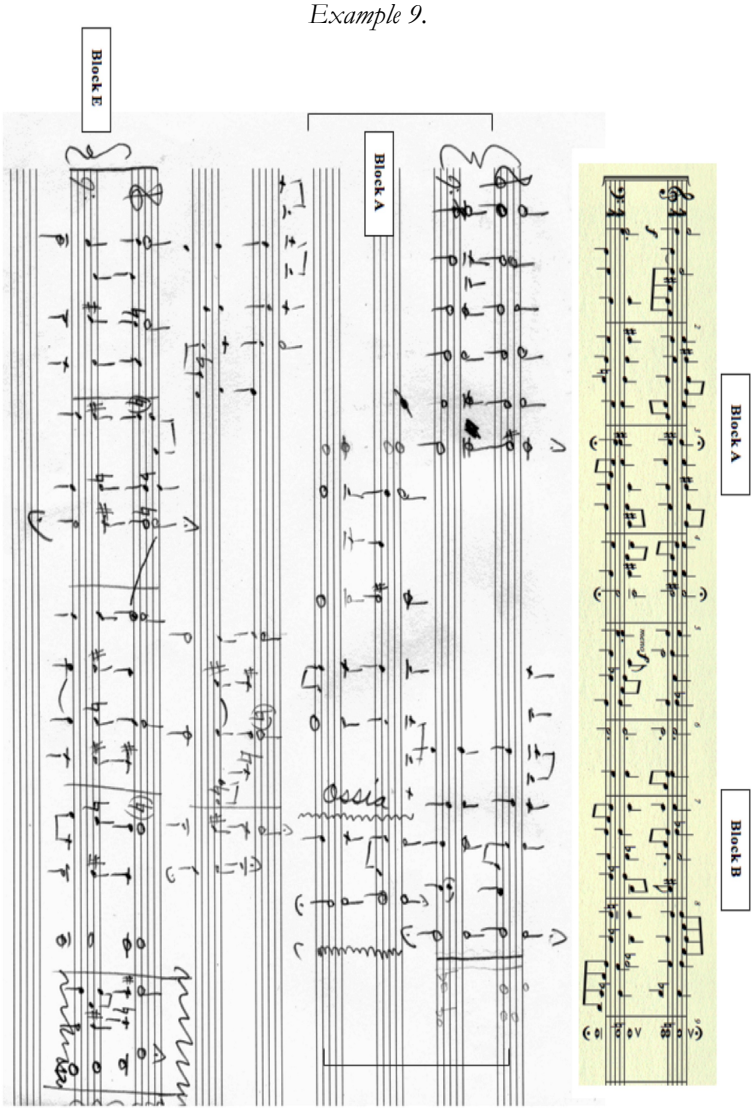
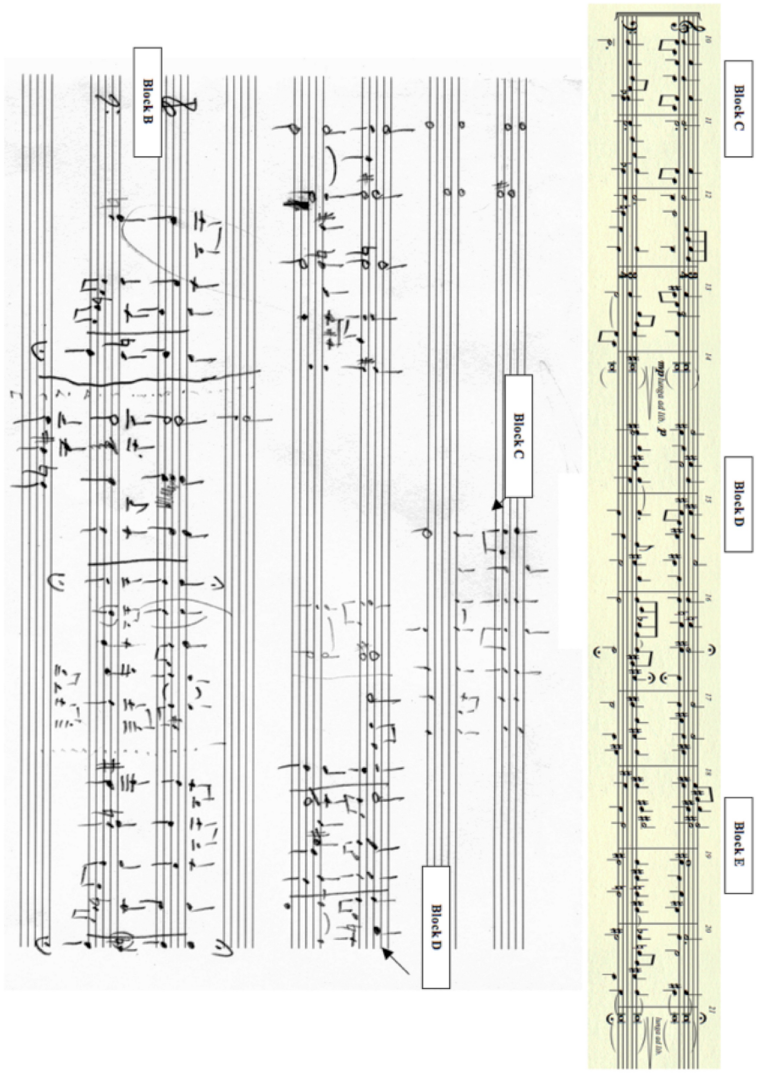
[26] In her facsimile edition, Carr argues that Stravinsky used this "turn-figure" as a unifying motive throughout *Histoire*.

[27] These sketches are almost invisible in the facsimile, and not much easier to see on the originals. Our transcriptions are accordingly somewhat provisional.

Example 9.



Example 10.



On the upper four staves of Example 9, Stravinsky drafted ideas for the first two phrases, labeled here as Block A. The long note values and lack of bar lines are again indicative of an early stage; clearly this music is quite remote from the finished version. Similarities to the sketches shown in Example 8, however, suggest a certain continuity of thought. To wit, the descending fourth G to D in the top voice (now followed by an ascent to and beyond the tonic) and the general idea of a descending bass line are preserved from the earlier sketches. The second phrase originally moved to a cadence on G (at the end of the top system); the revision below, marked "ossia," changes this to an arrival on E in the bass—still supporting G in the melody. Here we find the first example of a trend that will continue throughout the sketches: cadences on G (the putative tonic) are systematically replaced in the published score by cadences on other degrees. The overall effect is of course an attenuation of tonal centricity, and Stravinsky artfully pursued this through both motivic and harmonic means. Note the appearance of the "fa, mi, re, do" version of the "Fortress" tetrachord in the soprano in both the original and the reharmonized versions of this cadence. In the completed score, this tetrachord (C-B-A-G) will appear in the bass at the beginning of the phrase, and the melody drives to an arrival on E (not G) in m. 4.

The sketches on the bottom two staves of Example 9 are labeled Block E because they resemble material that will appear in mm. 17-21. A few notable examples include the use of the ascending "Fortress" tetrachord (C-D-E-F) in the soprano of the first phrase, and its echo (F-E-D-C) in the bass of the second. Stravinsky's revision of the second phrase (on staves 5 and 6) replaces the "Fortress" tetrachord in the bass with a stronger authentic arrival on G. The diagonal line joining the soprano E and the alto E on staff 7 draws attention to a fascinating detail: this octave leap occurs at a point where the melody of the completed version is passed from the clarinet to the cornet at mm. 18-19. Such voice crossing is unusual in Bach's settings (the chorale melody almost invariably remains the highest voice), but it is an important timbral device in Stravinsky's Chorale.

The final short sketch in Example 9 (staves 5 and 6) is another attempt to lead the "Fortress" tetrachord to a G cadence. This short sketch will be addressed on the lower staves of Example 10 (Block B), where it is worked into a strong cadential arrival on G in both outer voices. Stravinsky then added another phrase (leading to a pause on E in both outer voices) and attempted a different approach to a revised version of the G cadence. A comparison with the completed score reveals that all of this music roughly approximates mm. 5 to 9, but is a fifth higher than the final version. Thus, the cadences in m. 6 (on A) and m. 9 (on C) in the score appear in the sketches as arrivals on E and G, respectively.

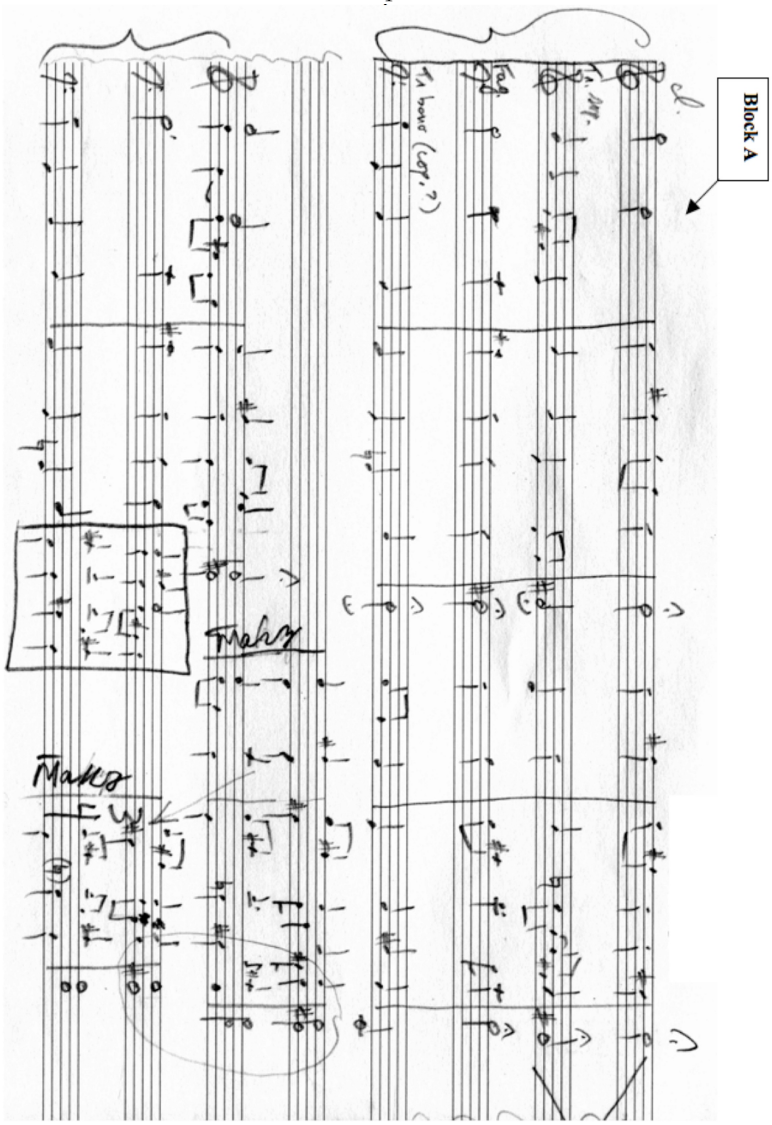
Example 10 also shows early versions of two other blocks of material. At the top right of the page, Stravinsky sketched Block C, which appears in mm. 10-11 of the score—again, the sketched material lies a fifth higher than the finished work. Transposition down by fifth results in a strong tonicization of C in the score, whereas the sketch clearly tonicizes G. Immediately below this, there is a rough sketch labeled here as Block D, which becomes mm. 14-15, pitched a step lower than the score and breaking off at the second beat of m. 15. The sketches at the top left of Example 10 do not correspond very closely to anything in the completed Chorale, though the descending perfect fourth in the melody recalls similar gestures present from the earliest stages, and this interval is neatly inverted in the sketch to the immediate right.

In sum, the five blocks of material on this pair of pages approximate ideas that Stravinsky will employ in the first 21 bars of the Great Chorale. Although none of the music is very close to its ultimate form (i.e., order or transposition levels), there are easily recognizable elements, including some of the Chorale's most characteristic turns of phrase, such as the oscillating fourths of m. 10-11, and the placid melodic curve of mm. 5-6. It is quite remarkable that from the outset, Stravinsky sketched almost exclusively in a four-voice texture, rather than plotting a melody line or drafting a plan for the cadence points. In subsequent sketches, we shall see further evidence of his desire to avoid too much emphasis on G as a centric tone. In these early sketches, no fewer than three cadences on G appear, and all three will be expunged from the completed score.

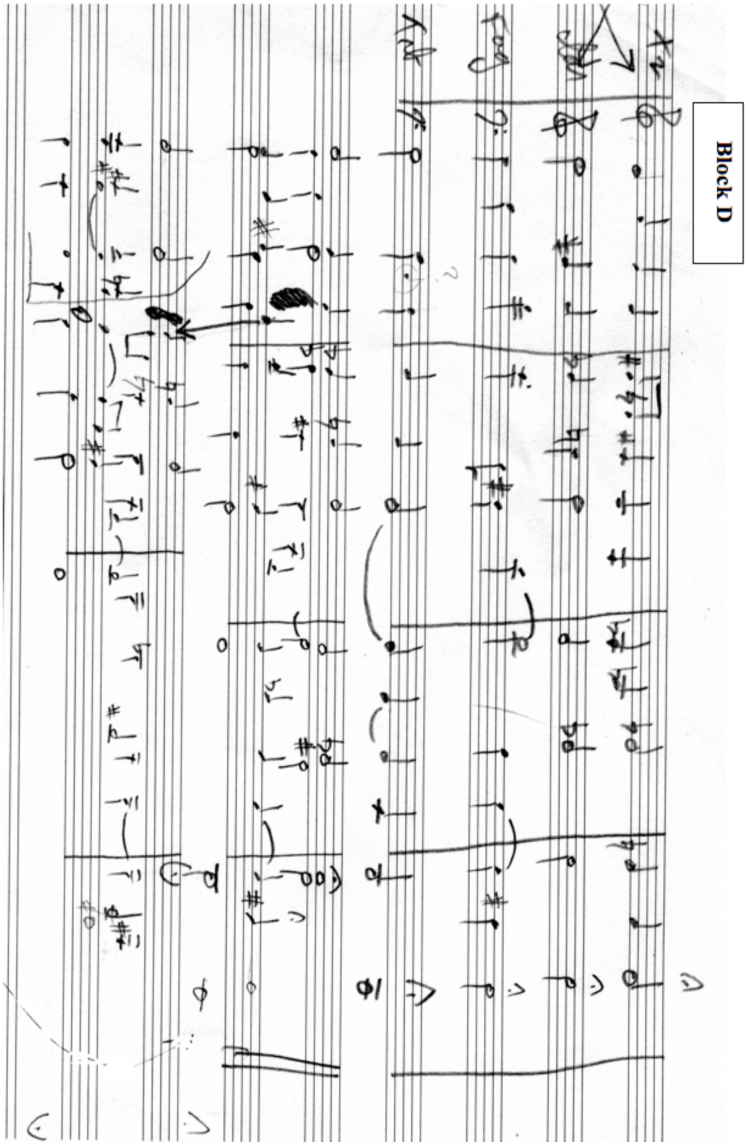
Middle Stages of Sketching

Examples 11 and 12 provide our transcriptions of the opening that immediately precedes the one just discussed.

Example 11.



Example 12.



It was not unusual for Stravinsky to leave a page or an opening blank as he filled a bound sketchbook, especially at points where he was beginning a new section or piece. Even a cursory glance at this pair of pages makes it clear that they were written after those transcribed in Examples 9 and 10. Here, in open score, we have an orchestrated version of the piece's opening. Example 11 is devoted entirely to material from Block A, which, at its outset, corresponds in all but some small details to the published score. Logically, one would assume that the short score sketches on the lower staves, with multiple emendations marked with arrows and the notation "in this way," would have been written before the open score version above. However, a number of changes in the lower draft are closer to the final version, including the bass C natural in the penultimate bar of the second phrase, and the elimination of the D♯ from the melody before the second fermata (both cited by Taruskin in the discussion above). Stravinsky has still not arrived at a definitive solution to the metrical problem in these bars.

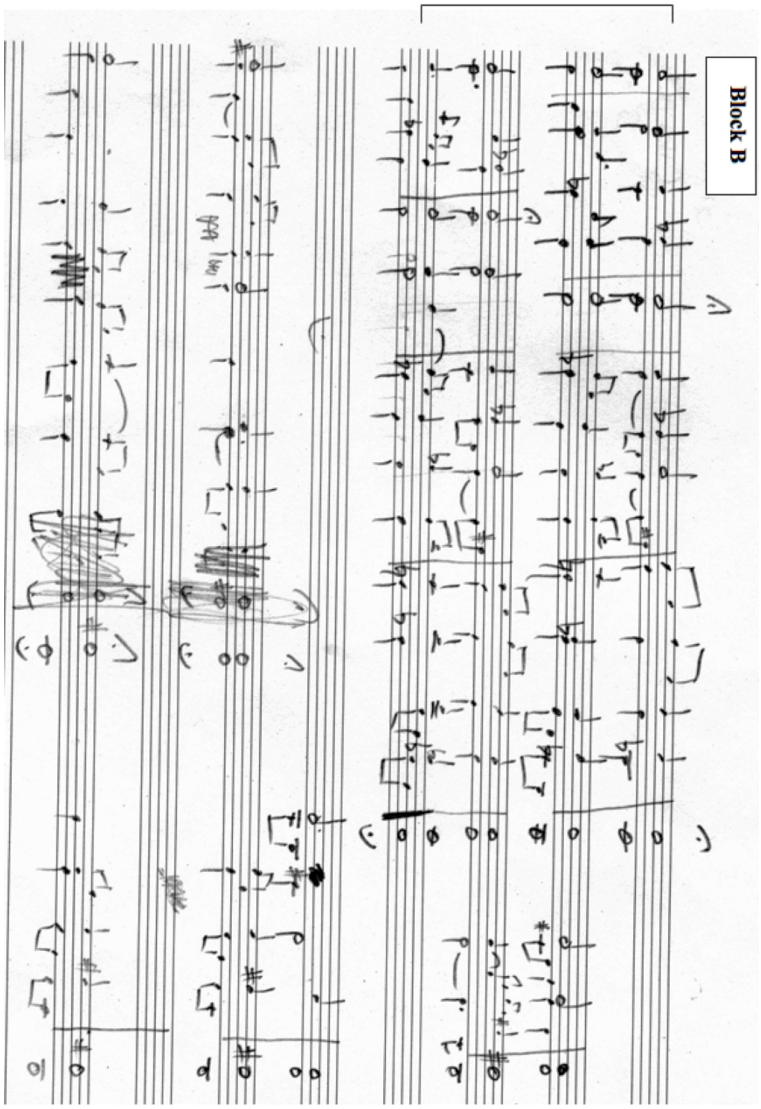
Example 12 is considerably more challenging than the previous page. This page is entirely devoted to Block D, which was originally conceived to follow Block A. In the final score, however, it appears in mm. 17-21. The crossed arrows joining the top staves of the facing pages are simply a reminder that the clarinet and trumpet parts are reversed on the second page. As on the previous page, Stravinsky wrote in open score on the top systems, and worked out alternatives on pairs of staves below. The sketches indicate a considerable ambivalence about the last cadence; the open-score sketch at the top of Example 12 arrives on a C sonority, while the lower part of the page shows an arrival on D, which more closely approximates what will appear in the finished score, albeit a step higher. Here, again, there is evidence of erasures.

Two features of the sketches in Example 12 stand out. First, it is clear that Stravinsky was at this point still very much in the process of finding his way. Although he has already formulated some clear blocks of material, their ordering and their transpositional levels are not yet fixed. Second, the crossed arrows referring to the changing locations of the clarinet and trumpet parts suggest how these instruments will exchange roles in playing the soprano part in the completed chorale (see, for example, m. 10, where the cornet takes over the melodic role as the clarinet descends

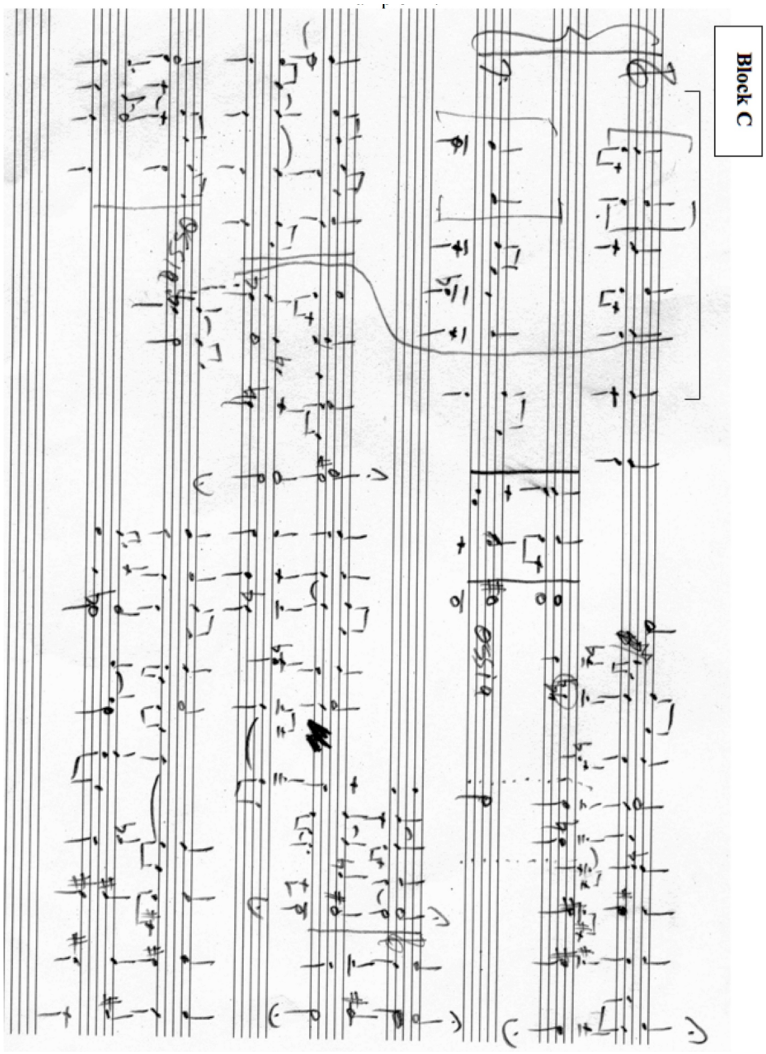
to become an inner voice). This inspired touch is only one of several features that mark the Great Chorale as a deformation of a familiar genre, and we find it highly suggestive that it should be prefigured in these early sketches. Unlike Bach, who worked from a given soprano line that admitted only relatively minor alterations, Stravinsky composed a four-part web of voices from the outset, and he freely reordered these voices as he revised his work. Such exchanges recall the reversal of the tenor and alto parts in the pair of early polyphonic sketches transcribed in Example 8.

The third and final opening in the "Soldat" sketchbook devoted to sketches for the Great Chorale is transcribed in Examples 13 and 14. There are no more indications of instrumentation, and Stravinsky's struggles with the metrical placement of his music are clearly evident here. The upper staves of Example 13 contain versions of Block B (mm. 5-9 of the final score), now at the correct pitch level (these ideas were sketched a fifth higher on the previous page of the sketchbook) and corresponding much more closely to the completed work. Stravinsky eliminated several fermatas as he worked towards his final product, which is in general more continuous and flowing than the sketches. For example, the fermata over the arrival on A in Block B is eliminated in m. 6 of the published score. Also notable is the revision of the bass line at the cadence on C in mm. 8-9: Stravinsky will opt for the lower placement of the bass line shown in Example 13, and indeed this line will be given to the contrabass in the finished score, a highly idiosyncratic bit of orchestration that strikingly complements the wind instruments. This is an example of how Stravinsky's orchestration deforms the chorale genre by bursting beyond the limitations of four voices and the registers employed by most choristers.

Example 13.



Example 14.



The lower half of Example 13 has some interesting features. Down the right hand side of Example 13, we find multiple versions of an arrival on D (corresponding to mm. 13-14 of the score). The topmost of these is most compact and corresponds most closely to the finished score, although the pungent tenor G♯ in the sketches will be modified to G-natural. The lower sketches include a stepwise "walk-down" to D that mirrors a very similar approach to C in the sketches discussed immediately above. Stravinsky's revision in this case eliminates a motivic reference the composer apparently did not desire. The sketches at the lower left of the page represent an effort that does not correspond closely to anything in the completed chorale. Several cross-outs indicate uncertainty, which is most dramatically evident at the cadence: an ending on B in both outer voices is rejected in favor of one with E in the bass, again reached via a stepwise "walk-down." The voicing of the cadential E chord is the same as that of m. 16, but little else matches up with the published score.

Example 14 is complex. At the upper left, Stravinsky began a version of Block C at the pitch level of the completed score, which moves to a cadence on D somewhat like that of m. 14. A curved line connects this sketch to an attempted continuation on the lower staves that leads to an arrival on a dissonant sonority over E that has no exact counterpart in the completed score. The short sketch at the lower left appears to be another attempt to continue the music sketched at the lower left of the facing page (which is also headed for a cadence on E). The remaining sketches in Example 14 represent a jungle of alternative versions of music that just never quite works out acceptably. The "Fortress" motive is presented in several transpositions (C-B-A-G and F-E-D-C are most frequent). Stravinsky appears to be seeking a way to connect his relatively well-formed versions of Block C, where the melodic fourth C to G is repeated, to the arrival on D at m. 14.

On these six pages, Stravinsky has fashioned several versions of almost all the music from measures 1 to 21 of the Great Chorale. Bearing in mind that the final page of the sketchbook is dated 1 May 1918, we may assume that the work done thus far was completed by this day. The blocks of material are not yet in the exact order, nor all at the transpositional level at which they will appear in the score; there also seems to be uncertainty about how to negotiate the terrain

that will become measure 12. What is perhaps most surprising is that Stravinsky has made no sketches pertaining to the ending. On the next page of the sketchbook, he turns to some brief ideas from the Royal March, and on the facing leaf (upside down!) he enters some percussion notations for the Tango.

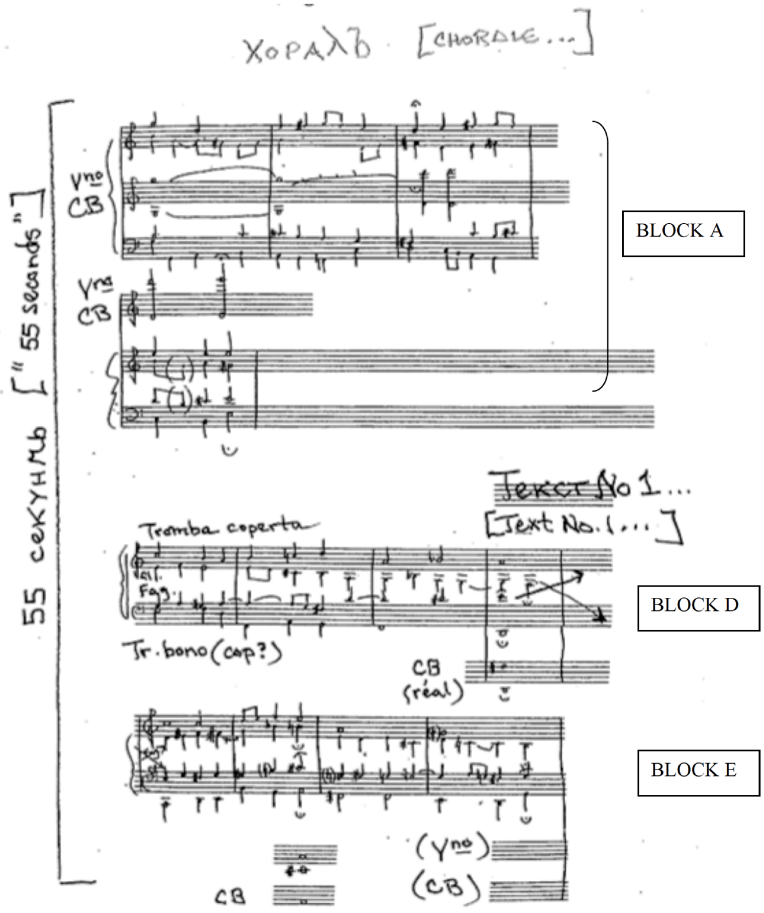
Late Stages

The latest compositional stage for the Chorale divides into two main parts: a move to a new sketchbook, followed by some final changes not seen until the published score. A second set of sketches for the Great Chorale appears in the so-called "Winterthur Sketchbook."[28] On seven consecutive leaves, the sketches are mostly quite close to the final version; as a result, we transcribe only one leaf and simply summarize the content of the others along with commentary on their probable ordering.

The first leaf is transcribed in Example 15. This leaf (Carr's Figure 4.21) bears the title "Chorale" in Russian, with the additional parenthetical notation "Soldier and Princess." At the top, material from Block A is given in a piano reduction, with newly added reinforcing lines for the violin and contrabass—with the latter eventually playing Stravinskian harmonics. The idea of utilizing the full ensemble (excepting percussion) for the Great Chorale was clearly a relatively late revision, and on this same leaf, we see the first clear evidence of the inclusion of the speaker as well. With this stroke, Stravinsky restored a verbal (but not lyrical) element to his chorale. A note in the middle of the page reads "Text No. 1 (during the fermata)" –that is, at the end of the second phrase.

[28] For facsimiles, see Figures 4.21 to 4.27 on pages 215-21 in Carr 2005.

Example 15. First Page of Winterthur



The remainder of the leaf contains versions of Blocks D and E, all written a whole step lower than the final version. This lower sketch begins as a slightly revised version of the music transcribed in Examples 10 and 12. A bracket in the left margin joins all of this music together, and Stravinsky marked "55 seconds" as the duration of the whole. Two things are remarkable about this page. First, as he did in the sketches transcribed in Example 12, Stravinsky persisted here in joining Block A with a second phrase group that he eventually moved to the second half of the composition (i.e., Block

D). Second, this entire phrase group still lies a step lower than it will eventually appear in the score. The most important result is that in the sketch version, cadences occur on D, A, and G; in the published score, these cadences fall on E (m. 16), B (m. 18—though without fermata), and A (m. 20-21). Additional changes occur in the instrumentation: the melody that will appear in m. 14 is marked "Tromba coperta," (muted trumpet) in the sketch, whereas in the completed score, the clarinet takes this soprano line, and the cornet plays in the alto register. Note the crossed arrows in the sketch indicating another entanglement of the alto and tenor lines—as in the primitive sketch transcribed in Example 8.

On the second leaf (Carr's Figure 4.22), Stravinsky wrote a piano reduction of Block B as it appears in the score, along with instructions and timings for the second, third, and fourth spoken texts. Opposite this leaf, the music continues with Block C at the pitch level used in the completed score; this is Carr's Figure 4.23. The measure before the arrival on D (m. 13 of the printed score) is altered from a four-four to a three-four bar (but both versions still include the nasty clash between soprano G and tenor G# as was sketched in Example 9 above). Thus, on these pages Stravinsky has joined Blocks B and C, which reflects that both of these blocks were transposed down a fifth in the second stage of sketching.

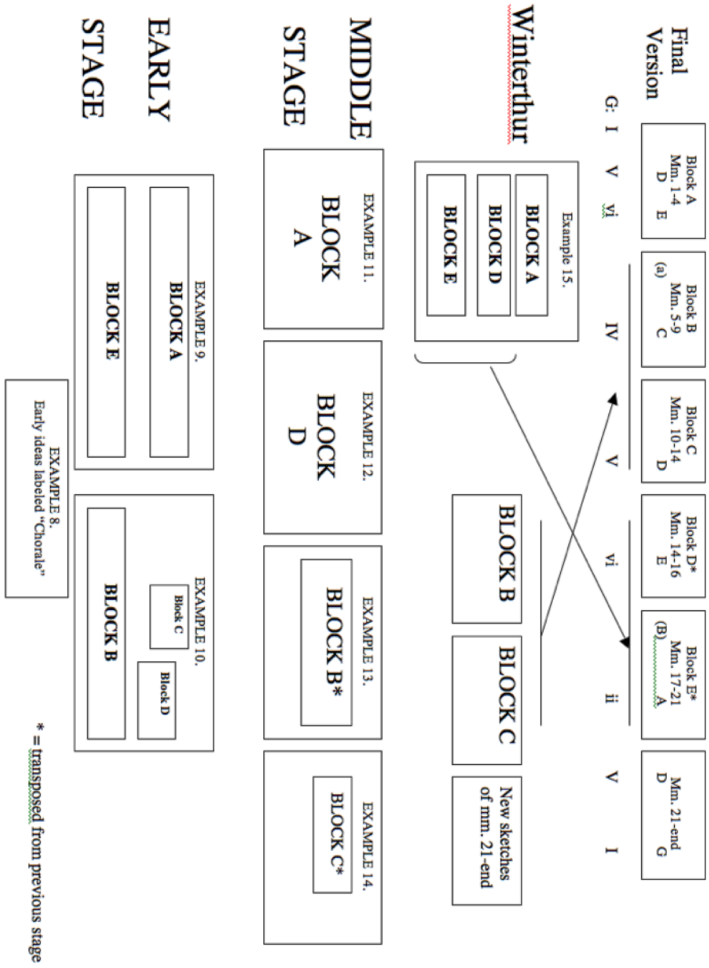
The next opening (Carr's Figures 4.24 and 4.25) contains multiple versions of the final phrases of the Great Chorale. The entire left page is crossed out with a massive X, implying a certain frustration on Stravinsky's part. There are no fewer than five distinct attempts to reach an ending, and notably, all five end with root position G triads. Two approach this cadence with a 9-10 retardation figure in the alto voice—a Stravinskian deformation of the far more traditional 4-3 suspension Bach so often employed. At the top of the facing page (Carr's Figure 4.25) is yet another attempt at the final phrase, now at last including the contrabass D that creates Stravinsky's tonic six-four ending, discussed earlier in Example 3. Below this, the final three phrases are rewritten in cleaner copies, each on a separate pair of staves, with a decorative border enclosing them all, and the satisfied inscription "the last two stanzas [sic] of the chorale." The fermatas at mm. 26 and 29 are heavily overwritten in crayon (also used for the decorative border and the braces at the beginnings of each system), but the fermata at

m. 22 (at the arrival on A) is not. Indeed, in the published score, this fermata (like those in mm. 6 and 18) is deleted.

The final opening devoted to sketches for the Great Chorale (Carr's Figures 4.26 and 4.27) contains additional sketches for the final phrases. Since they are clearly more experimental, and show signs of multiple erasures and cross-outs, it seems obvious that both pages were written before the decorative fair copies presented at the bottom of Figure 4.25. Beside the sketches in Figure 4.26 there are two additional lines of text in French, both ultimately omitted from the version printed in the published score.

The "Winterthur Sketchbook" thus contains a complete draft of the Great Chorale, with most (but still not all) of its phrases in order and at the pitch levels found in the published score. It is not until the final published version, then, that Stravinsky arrived at the order and transposition levels he wanted. To illustrate this, Example 16 summarizes the chronology as Stravinsky moved through the various stages of composition. From his initial musings, he was able quite quickly to draft the main ideas of the piece, seen as Blocks A-E in Examples 9 and 10. From there, the blocks of material are treated as tiles in a mosaic, rearranged and developed independently in more detail. In this middle stage, Stravinsky seems to fuse pairs of blocks. As we saw in Examples 11 and 12, Block D was initially intended to follow Block A; similarly, Blocks B and C are paired, both having been re-sketched and transposed in Examples 13-14. These pairs of blocks will remain intact when Stravinsky resumes sketching in the "Winterthur Sketchbook." Here, he inserts Block E—completely absent from the middle stage of sketching—as a continuation of Block D. In moving to the final score, of course, the most noteworthy change is that Stravinsky moved (and transposed) Blocks D and E to later in the piece, opting instead to follow Block A with Blocks B and C. As shown by the Roman numerals, Stravinsky's eventual decisions concerning the ordering and transpositional levels of the phrases (and his elimination of several fermatas) resulted in the central placement of a dividing dominant (m. 14) followed by a strong middleground projection of a series of falling fifths at the end of the Chorale (E, A, D, G). This duplicates the open strings of the soldier's beloved violin, and lends considerable prominence to the key of G major, which is arguably the strongest contender for a tonic key for the Chorale, as well as

Example 16. Chronology.



the entire work. Recall the clear indications of G centricity in the early sketches transcribed in Example 3; thus, the sketches clearly show that Stravinsky arrived at the final version only after considerable struggles involving the ordering and the transposition of several phrases, and that discovering an appropriate ending cost him great effort.

It is interesting to speculate as to why Stravinsky ultimately felt Blocks D and E were not a proper continuation of Block A. He certainly felt they worked fine in that role throughout the entire sketching process. It is possible that Stravinsky did not truly appreciate the transpositional potential of the "Fortress" motive until he was in the midst of composing. On the initial sketch pages, he focuses almost entirely on one version of the motive: C-B-A-G; at this early stage of sketching, virtually every instance of the motive leads to a cadence on G. One exception is the revised second cadence seen in Block A, which moves to E minor, but retains the exact tetrachord cited above. This motion to E, however, is the first evidence that Stravinsky was willing to consider different harmonizations of the motive as he moved forward. It is perhaps for this reason that Block B, with its strong motion to C confirmed by a transposed and double version of the motive (C-D-E-F-E-D-C), was moved to follow Block A, which also features a double motive (D-E-F♯-G-F♯-E-D). Block C, which contains a third transposition of this pattern (G-A-B-C-B-A-G), then makes a logical continuation of Block B. A further motivation may have been harmonic: it is only after moving and transposing Blocks D and E that the large-scale tonal progression shown earlier in Example 7 emerges.

In sum, we find it remarkable that Stravinsky devoted over thirteen pages of sketches to this relatively transparent little composition. The *Agnus Dei* of his Mass, by way of comparison, apparently required only two sketch leaves. The abundance of sketches may reflect the seriousness with which he approached the problem of composing his own personal version of a musical genre he knew virtually everyone in his audience would recognize. Throughout the sketches, from the most primitive jottings to the final (and indeed not yet final) adjustments, we hear fragments of Luther's melody and parodies of Bach's harmonic vocabulary. But

from the earliest stages of the compositional process, we also see evidence of painstaking attention to details of voicing and scoring. Multiple adjustments to the instrumentation and part writing ensured a result that no one could possibly mistake for Bach, yet which still captures the essence of Luther's famous melody and Bach's masterful chorale settings. Indeed, there may be no other work that so perfectly illustrates Stravinsky's quirky *modus operandi*, his unique combination of appropriation, concatenation, and deformation of musical and cultural materials in creating a piece of his own. Enter Stravinsky, neoclassicist.

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