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A Twentieth-Century Number Opera?: Establishing Stravinsky's Operatic Models for *The Rake's Progress*

EMILY HAGEN

In basing an opera on a series of paintings by William Hogarth, Igor Stravinsky and W. H. Auden created a musical work that has an obvious intertextual relationship with a visual source. Its relationships to previous operatic models are far more difficult to determine. Critics have identified several operas and individual scenes as possible models, but each one relates only to a specific element of *The Rake's Progress*.¹ A proposed model may provide no more than a cadential structure, a particular tonal progression, or a dramatic outline for a single scene. For example, Joseph N. Straus identifies several possible sources for stylistic, harmonic, and dramatic material, the most convincing being the final scene of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*.² This scene, however, is proposed as a model only for the Graveyard Scene of *The Rake's Progress* and offers little further insight into the rest of the opera.

It is clear that *The Rake's Progress* reinterprets one or more pre-existing works, but the task of identifying and understanding these sources is complicated by questions of methodology. The critic may adopt the prevailing view that the work is, as Paul Griffiths suggests, essentially a curio cabinet of operatic conventions and therefore makes use of multiple models from different historical periods.³ At first, the variety of forms and styles in the opera seems to suggest that it relies on a combination of many operatic models from different stylistic periods and composers. From this viewpoint, the work necessarily becomes a tour of opera history from its inception to modernity.⁴ Despite its initial attractiveness, this perspective severely limits our understanding of *The Rake's Progress* through its inability to explain the makeup of the whole opera or to address meanings in the modeling relationship. In order to account for the use of models more comprehensively, I propose a methodology that

¹ The term *model* refers here to a pre-existing piece of music that provides a musical form, dramatic structure, or stylistic element that Stravinsky appropriates and uses as the basis for a section of *The Rake's Progress*. The model may provide one or more of these elements.

² Joseph N. Straus, *Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 155.

³ Paul Griffiths, *Igor Stravinsky: The Rake's Progress* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 98.

⁴ Angelo Cantoni, "Un opéra mozartien," *L'avant-scène opéra* 145 (1992): 118.

evaluates possible models for individual scenes and provides a framework for evaluating meanings that result from Stravinsky's use of models. My approach is inspired by Stravinsky's statement that he and Auden consciously chose the number opera format for this opera. Stravinsky identified eighteenth-century *opera buffa* as the overriding stylistic model and Mozart, the best-known representative of this style, as an important musical point of reference.⁵

Critics generally agree that Stravinsky uses some form of modeling or allusion in *The Rake's Progress* and several authors have put forward possible models for particular scenes. For example, Paul Griffiths notes that the prelude contains elements reminiscent of Monteverdi's *Orfeo*.⁶ Also, scholars often link the well-known Whores' Chorus of Act I Scene 2 to the quintet from Act I Scene 4 of *Così fan tutte*.⁷ Straus's comments connecting the Graveyard Scene (Act III Scene 2) with *Don Giovanni* also fit this approach.⁸ Other than the fact that they are drawn from operas in the standard repertory, these proposed models have little in common stylistically; even the two Mozartian examples are musically quite dissimilar. The authors who identify these scenes usually do not have a clear methodology for evaluating models or aim to account for modeling across the entire opera. Instead, they tend to suggest a model and apply it to a single scene in *The Rake's Progress* as part of a larger point about other musical processes in the opera.

Many of these proposed models have not been thoroughly explored. Several receive only cursory discussion and do not hold up under close examination. For example, Griffiths describes Baba's antics as Verdian, but provides no explanation and offers no specific model from a work by Verdi.⁹ Analysis of the music reveals other, more likely antecedents. The opening section of Baba's aria in Act II Scene 3, "As I was saying both brothers wore moustaches," uses rapid, speech-like singing, primarily on notes of equal length (sixteenth notes, in this case). The singer is provided periodically with appropriate vocal inflections through written accents or sudden, brief leaps to new pitches. This aria is a descendent of the Italian patter aria, a tradition that stretches from the *intermezzo* tradition to Mozart's Don Bartolo to Rossini's Figaro and beyond, yet is not particularly prevalent in Verdi's operas. The aria proper begins with "Scorned! Abused!" at Rehearsal 169, and it is this section that one could perhaps describe as Verdian, although 18th-century models could also

⁵ Stravinsky's program note regarding number opera is cited in Martha M. Hyde, "Stravinsky's Neoclassicism," in *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky*, ed. Jonathan Cross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 123.

⁶ Griffiths, 97.

⁷ Straus, 155.

⁸ Straus, 155.

⁹ Griffiths, 97.

succeed in explicating this scene.¹⁰ Like Griffiths, Martha M. Hyde names several other operas to which Stravinsky alludes in *The Rake's Progress*, including *The Beggar's Opera*, *Don Giovanni*, *Così fan tutte*, and *Don Pasquale*, but she does not describe the allusions in detail or propose a modeling relationship.¹¹ With regard to storyline and literary themes, the most obvious parallel is to Goethe's *Faust*. Yet, although Hyde addresses the works' similar plotline, no authors, including Hyde, have mentioned the best-known operatic adaptation of Goethe's play, Gounod's *Faust*, in musical comparisons.¹² These widely varied models are difficult to evaluate because the critics who propose them do not directly address the modeling relationship or any implied meanings.

The basic difficulty is a matter of methodology. Each possible model appears to have a different musical connection with the opera and to have inspired Stravinsky through a single musical element, such as a harmonic progression or melodic idea. Although it is possible to argue convincingly that the composer uses a particular model to provide a harmonic outline, accompanimental pattern, or stylistic basis for a single scene in his opera, the apparent lack of consistency in his treatment of these disparate models prevents critics from positing a compositional process that addresses Stravinsky's use of modeling across the entire opera.

My approach offers a comprehensive set of models that work for most or even all of the opera. It also illuminates meanings in the relationships between models and in Stravinsky's use of them.¹³ This view is based on insights that Angelo Cantoni provides in "Un opéra mozartien." Cantoni rightly bypasses the implausibly narrow idea that a single opera such as *Così fan tutte* could serve as the basis for the clearly varied styles and forms represented in *The Rake's Progress*.¹⁴ Instead, he examines the operatic works of a single composer, Mozart, for possible models. The fact that Stravinsky and Auden studied *Così fan tutte* when they were composing *The Rake's Progress* identifies *Così* as a logical and convenient point of departure. Yet if comparison

¹⁰ All musical examples from *The Rake's Progress* can be found in the recommended edition and are referenced here by page number and rehearsal number (R.). Igor Stravinsky, *The Rake's Progress: An Opera in 3 Acts*, ed. Leopold Spinner (New York: Boosey and Hawkes, 1951). For Baba's "Scorned! Abused!" see pg. 119, R.169.

¹¹ Hyde, 135.

¹² Hyde describes literary connections and their possible interpretations in "Stravinsky's Neoclassicism," 124.

¹³ In this context, *product* is used to denote a scene in *The Rake's Progress* that is based on a proposed model from an opera by Mozart.

¹⁴ Cantoni, 118. "L'hommage à Mozart dans *The Rake's Progress* de Stravinsky dépasse largement l'hommage au modèle généralement reconnu de l'opéra: *Così fan tutte*." This view is particularly enticing when one considers how frequently the authors discussed earlier propose scenes from Mozart's operas as models.

is not limited to this opera, a wealth of scenes from Mozart's *opere buffe* and *Singspiele* present themselves as plausible models. These scenes would have offered the composer a rich palette of dramatic and emotional situations for modeling, as well as the means to access the eighteenth-century musical aesthetic through models contemporaneous with Hogarth's artwork.

Like Straus and Hyde, Cantoni does not consider the possibility of a consistent modeling process for the entire opera on Stravinsky's part; Cantoni has other motives and is content to propose a number of model-product pairings between various Mozart operas and *The Rake's Progress*.¹⁵ Yet Cantoni's well-chosen examples reveal the larger, more systematic connections between the opera and Mozart's works. Proposed models and their products generally exhibit the same musical-dramatic structural characteristics; that is to say, they depict similar plot events and fall into the same basic category of conventional operatic forms, such as recitative-aria pairings, duets, or action-ensemble scenes.¹⁶ In addition to scene-structure similarity, which appears to be the primary criterion, Cantoni's pairs usually have secondary musical connections in melodic, rhythmic, or other stylistic elements. This two-step process constitutes a rudimentary methodology in which the clearly labeled trios, recitative-aria pairs, and ensembles of *The Rake's Progress* can be easily matched with similar Mozartian scenes.

Building on the thought process behind Cantoni's choice of examples, my approach facilitates a search for meaning in Stravinsky's opera by comparing the different ways in which the composer treats his chosen models. Critics' interpretations of *The Rake's Progress* as a tour of past operatic styles are challenging to explain precisely because the proposed models appear totally unconnected to one another. As a result, it is impossible to use comparisons between scenes to make sense of Stravinsky's modeling practice. Despite the initial reference to *Orfeo*, the models as they

¹⁵ At this point, it is not necessary in this context to distinguish between 18th-century opera style and Mozart's own style. When models are identified in Mozart's work, it can simply be understood that they partake of the musical and dramatic conventions that Mozart inherited and helped to shape through his own compositions.

¹⁶ In this context, *musical-dramatic structure* refers primarily to the configuration of voices and accompaniment in a scene, although musical form and function within the plot are sometimes also defining characteristics. This combination of characteristics allows a section of music to be designated as an aria, duet, trio, chorus, or ensemble. Within these categories, more specific designations are also possible that carry additional dramatic and musical conventions. Some examples are the patter aria, the love duet, the action ensemble, and the sonata-form ensemble finale. The term *musical-dramatic* is chosen in recognition of the blend of musical and dramatic elements these structures exhibit as a result of opera's dual identity as music and theater.

appear in Stravinsky's opera do not follow chronological order within operatic history, nor do they represent each major stylistic period of opera. Either of these approaches might have suggested a deliberate summary of past styles. The *Rake's* tour of opera would be remarkably short and sparse; its scenes do not vary in style enough to indicate the use of historical models other than early opera, Mozart's *opere buffe*, and (perhaps) a later style reflected in Baba's music. This lack of comprehensiveness is another barrier in understanding Stravinsky's use of models when one views the opera as a collection of allusions to multiple past styles.

Ultimately, those who view the opera in these terms are likely to conclude, as Griffiths does, that it represents a summary of bygone styles in what was already, for Stravinsky, an exhausted genre.¹⁷ Griffiths also denies the models any further meaning when he states that their "provenances and functions are not important."¹⁸ Hyde's interpretation, which casts the opera as "pastiche," is similar: "On one level, then, *The Rake* seems to exemplify a definition of pastiche as the random imitation or cannibalisation of dead styles and works."¹⁹ This reading of the opera deprives Stravinsky's modeling of meaning and implies a greater inconsistency in the style and structures of the opera than is actually present.

When the opera is viewed instead as an expression of eighteenth-century operatic styles and conventions, a new interpretation becomes possible. The most obvious explanation is also the most attractive: that when Stravinsky and Auden were inspired to create an opera based on eighteenth-century engravings, they sought an operatic model from the same century and found in the *opera buffa* and *Singspiel* traditions, and particularly in Mozart's works as the most frequently performed examples of this style, the balance of formality, creativity, and flexibility of styles and forms that they then emulated in *The Rake's Progress*. Also, Stravinsky's statement in a 1965 program note that he consciously chose the eighteenth-century number opera format for this work confirms that the structure of the opera is integral to his and Auden's concept and invites a search for meaning in pairings of individual scenes.²⁰

In matching a model with any given scene from *The Rake's Progress*, Stravinsky and Auden had the option to employ models in a way that emphasized the similarity through dramatic congruence in the two scenes, or one that used differences in the storylines to create a scene that is musically and structurally similar but dramatically

¹⁷ Griffiths, 100.

¹⁸ Griffiths, 97-98: "...Stravinsky makes an exhibit of what is derivative in his score: like Baba, he has collected about him a museumful of curios whose provenances and functions are not important."

¹⁹ Hyde, 135.

²⁰ Hyde, 123.

dissimilar to its model scene. The former can be discerned in Cantoni's example of the opening scenes of *The Rake's Progress* and *Le nozze di Figaro*, in which the audience is introduced to pair of young lovers through a duet that eventually becomes a trio when obstacles to their union are foreshadowed.²¹ The second possibility, in which scenes are dramatically opposite, is exemplified in an alternate interpretation of Straus's pairing of the "Graveyard Scene" and the "Stone Guest" scene from *Don Giovanni*.²² A rake's soul stands in peril in each scene, but Don Giovanni and Tom Rakewell deal with supernatural characters of different moral stature: Nick Shadow as an incarnation of the Devil versus the Commendatore as a virtuous arbiter of justice. The fates of the protagonists' souls are also different: whereas Don Giovanni is condemned and immediately descends into hell, Tom Rakewell is saved, albeit in an ambiguous way. This process of analysis can be applied to each pair of scenes to bring out new meanings and interpretations that are evoked through similarities and differences between the model and Stravinsky's treatment of it.

In the first scene of *The Rake's Progress*, this methodology reveals at least one possible model-product pairing. Cantoni suggests two models for the opening scene between Tom and Anne, with the subsequent entry of Trulove.²³ Both models come from Mozart's comic operas and are selected based primarily on their ensemble structures and secondarily on other musical characteristics.²⁴ Cantoni's first proposed model, the above mentioned duet between Figaro and Susanna that begins *Le nozze di Figaro*, accounts for the structure of the opening duet for Tom and Anne, "The woods are green," up to Trulove's entrance. Cantoni seldom describes musical connections in detail, but in this case, he posits a relationship based almost entirely on music-dramatic structure: namely, the unusual choice of a duet between lovers as the opening scene of an opera. He further notes that each pair of lovers sings in a major key.²⁵

These connections initially appear simplistic, yet closer examination reveals a more complex shared duet structure that strengthens the association between the two scenes. Each duet begins with an introduction that presents its primary musical ideas. Next, the first character sings a complete musical phrase before the second

²¹ Cantoni, 118.

²² Straus, 155. Straus's interpretation is different in that he sees Nick Shadow and Tom Rakewell as two sides of the same person, with Nick as "Tom's 'shadow' in a Jungian sense."

²³ Cantoni, 118.

²⁴ Cantoni, 118. The second of Cantoni's proposed models, which will not be considered here, is the opening scene of *Don Giovanni* in which Mozart's flexible addition and subtraction of voices in the Leporello-Donna Anna-Don Giovanni scene complex is posited as the inspiration for Stravinsky's introduction and later subtraction of Trulove's voice in the opening duet, "The woods are green."

²⁵ Cantoni, 118.

character replies with a contrasting phrase. In each case, full-measure rests break up the first singer's vocal line. In Figaro's case, it is the well-known tally of measurements for the wedding bed ("Cinque... dieci... venti...") and in Anne's, the two short phrases "The woods are green" and "and bird and beast at play" (see Examples 1a and 1b). The second singer's phrase is then set in a continuous line that, through its contrast with the previous music, creates a sense of acceleration. The two voices eventually come together in a homorhythmic duet section featuring frequent intervals of thirds and sixths. Thus, closer analysis of musical elements strengthens Cantoni's identification of a similarity between the opening numbers of the two operas.

Example 1a. Mozart, *Le nozze di Figaro*, No. 2: "Cinque...dieci...venti..." mm. 19–25.

The musical score for Example 1a consists of two systems. The first system is for Figaro, with a vocal line in bass clef and piano accompaniment in grand staff. The vocal line begins with a full-measure rest, then enters with the lyrics "Cin - que...". The piano accompaniment features a continuous bass line with eighth notes and chords. The second system continues the vocal line with the lyrics "die - ci..." and "ven - ti...".

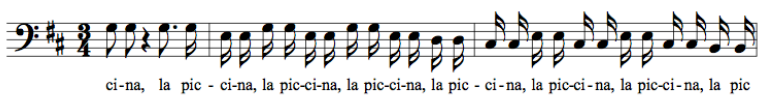
Example 1b. Stravinsky, *The Rake's Progress*, Act I Scene 1: "The woods are green," mm. 11–18. See pg. 2 of the recommended edition, beginning one measure before R. 2.

Cantoni later identifies a scene from *Don Giovanni*, Leporello's "Madamina! Il catalogo è questo," as the model for Nick Shadow's aria "Fair lady."²⁶ In this case, Cantoni uncharacteristically leaps into musical analysis before establishing the structural similarities that first suggest the pairing, but these are easily discerned: in addition to being bass-baritone arias situated early in the opera that serve an expository function, both arias exhibit characteristics of the *basso* patter aria. In particular, both make use of continuous fast-moving passages in which a single note value is reiterated, often with paired pitches (see Examples 2a and 2b). Although Cantoni does not observe this similarity, he does note that both characters are servants who

²⁶ Cantoni, 119–20.

function as their masters' figurative shadows, to which Nick Shadow's name bears witness.²⁷ Cantoni then identifies several textual and musical clues that suggest not only a modeling relationship, but also a tongue-in-cheek allusion to specific elements of Mozart's aria. The most obvious of these is the first utterance from each character; Nick Shadow's phrase "Fair lady" is a translation of Leporello's "Madamina" and is sung to an ornamented version of Leporello's simpler descending major third (see Examples 3a and 3b).²⁸ Cantoni further notes a similarity in Stravinsky's use of woodwinds in the detached eighth-note accompaniment for this aria, but there is more to be said on this topic.²⁹ Especially in the introduction, which is slightly expanded for Nick Shadow's aria, the ascending eighth-note pattern in the bass with repeated chords in the strings above clearly evoke Mozart's accompaniment for Leporello. Even the lack of full triads in Stravinsky's version cannot disguise the likeness. These musical elements strengthen the similarity between the two arias and increase the likelihood of a modeling relationship.

Example 2a. Mozart, *Don Giovanni*, No. 4: "Madamina!" mm. 115–17.

Leporello 

Example 2b. Stravinsky, *The Rake's Progress*, Act I Scene 1: "Fair lady," mm. 30–32. See pg. 18 of the recommended edition, beginning one measure after R. 56.

Example 3a. Mozart, *Don Giovanni*, No. 4: "Madamina!" mm. 1–4.

Leporello 

Example 3b. Stravinsky, *The Rake's Progress*, Act 1 Scene I: "Fair lady," mm. 6–8. See pg. 18 of the recommended edition, beginning at R. 52.

²⁷ Cantoni, 120.

²⁸ Cantoni, 119–20.

²⁹ Cantoni, 119.

The arias that Stravinsky composed for his leading tenor and soprano can also be linked with models from Mozart's operas, although the modeling relationship does not appear to be as specific as that between Leporello's and Nick Shadow's arias. Rather, the basic musical structure of the arias for Anne and Tom corresponds more generally to that of arias for young, amorous characters in Mozart's operas. For example, Anne's scene comprised of the cavatina "Quietly, night" and the cabaletta "I go, I go to him" in Scene 3 appears at first glance to follow the *bel canto scena* format typical of arias by Bellini and Donizetti. In the multi-section 19th-century *scena*, a short recitative introduces a lyrical cavatina before a short *tempo di mezzo* recitative (frequently a dialogue with another character) introduces the change of mood and leads to a dramatic decision, which in turn elicits a virtuosic cabaletta. The superficial formal similarity between this framework and Anne's aria could be taken as evidence that *The Rake's Progress* is a museum of different operatic conventions, but closer investigation reveals that it is possible to match this scene with Mozart's arias for young women, which frequently also have a two-part structure preceded by and connected with recitative. On a phrase-by-phrase scale, Mozart's arias prove to be the better match for "Quietly, night/I go, I go to him."³⁰

Anne's aria has a basic structure of two phrases presented once in full, then repeated with melodic variation and an extended final phrase. The accompanied recitative "No word from Tom" precedes the aria "Quietly, night" in which the music at R. 187, "Guide me, O moon," is a repetition of the beginning of the aria at R. 183. The first phrase is repeated almost verbatim, and subsequent phrases appear in varied forms with ornamental figures. This music is then extended at R. 189 to include a high held note and the brief, cadenza-like phrase "A colder moon upon a colder heart."³¹ In accordance with the methodology proposed here, models should be sought among Mozart's arias for soprano characters. Many potential structural models are available, as arias for the heroines in Mozart's *opere buffe* frequently employ this twofold aria structure. The next logical step is then to seek a structural model that also shares dramatic circumstances and secondary musical characteristics with Anne's aria.

Two women from Mozart's operatic *oeuvre* are obvious candidates for Anne's operatic antecedents: Dorabella and Fiordiligi from *Così fan tutte*, young ladies who, like Anne, have apparently

³⁰ The modeling relationship I suggest here between music for Stravinsky's soprano heroine and for Mozart's sopranos also holds true for tenor arias. A comparison between Tom's solo scenes and representative tenor arias from Mozart's operas (such as those from *Così fan tutte* or *Don Giovanni*) using the same methodology also shows the likelihood of a modeling relationship.

³¹ Stravinsky, 61–64, at R. 183.

suffered abandonment at the hands of their betrothed lovers.³² Dorabella reacts to her lover's departure for army service in "Ah scostati!...Smanie implacabili" with a dramatic accompanied recitative that, like Anne's "No word from Tom," contains many dotted rhythmic figures between vocal statements.³³ The aria that follows, like Anne's aria, is made up of a full statement of the musical material consisting of four eight-measure phrases, the last of which is extended. This music is then repeated with small alterations and the final phrase extended to include held high notes in a cadenza-like passage.³⁴

As with the recitative, analysis now passes from structural characteristics to musical details. The most telling connection is the accompanimental figuration. The arias are notated in different time signatures, and yet for the entirety of both arias, the accompaniment consists of a quarter note in the bass on each strong beat followed by a five-note pattern in the upper voices (see Examples 4a and 4b). This relentless use of the same accompaniment pattern throughout an entire aria with no variation until the cadenza is unusual for Mozart. Similarly, Stravinsky's version inserts occasional rests into the five-note pattern, yet its outline is present throughout the aria proper and stops only at the cadenza. Also, though there are no overt melodic similarities, both arias end not on high notes, but rather on the tonic note in the lowest range used in the aria.³⁵

Example 4a. Mozart, *Così fan tutte*, No. 41: "Smanie implacabili," mm. 1-3.

The image shows a musical score for Example 4a. It consists of two staves. The top staff is for the vocal line, labeled 'Dorabella' on the left. It is in a key signature of three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and a common time signature (C). The first measure is a whole rest. The second measure contains the notes G4, A4, B4, and A4. The third measure contains the notes G4, A4, B4, and A4. The lyrics 'Sma - nie im - pla - ca - bi - li,' are written below the notes. The bottom staff is for the piano accompaniment, also in three flats and common time. It features a bass line of quarter notes (G2, B1, D2, G2) and an upper voice line of sixteenth notes (G4, A4, B4, A4, G4) grouped in pairs with slurs and a '6' above each pair. The dynamic marking 'p' is placed below the piano part in each of the three measures.

Example 4b. Stravinsky, *The Rake's Progress*, Act I Scene 3: "Quietly, night," mm. 1-3. See pg. 61 of the recommended edition, beginning at R. 183.

³² This perspective departs from Cantoni's analysis of Anne's aria, which compares it with Pamina's "Ach, ich fühls" from *Die Zauberflöte* in Cantoni, 121.

³³ See R. 180 in Stravinsky, 60 and No. 41 in Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Così fan tutte* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1960), 70-71.

³⁴ See Mozart, *Così fan tutte*, 71-76.

³⁵ See Mozart, *Così fan tutte*, 76 and Stravinsky, 64, three measures before R. 190.

In these examples, the proposed methodology has identified potential models for individual scenes from *The Rake's Progress* first based on music-dramatic structural characteristics and then by evaluating them for secondary musical similarities. Once a model-scene pairing is thus established, possible meanings begin to arise from the comparison of the two scenes. In all the examples discussed above, the characters in the models exhibit the same basic emotions and motivations as those in the scenes produced from these models: the young couples in *Le nozze di Figaro* and *The Rake's Progress* express their love for one another; Leporello and Nick Shadow conduct their masters' business; and Anne joins the young women of *Così* in expressing single-minded devotion to their respective fiancés. Thus, each of Stravinsky's scenes echoes the plot action and the emotion depicted in its model.

Stravinsky and Auden also sometimes chose to use a model-scene pairing to contradict or subvert the meaning of the original scene, as in the Graveyard Scene of Act III Scene 2. Straus connects a portion of this scene with the finale from *Don Giovanni* principally through harmony, and although his approach deals with this scene in isolation, his musical observations are compatible with the methodology proposed here.³⁶ The music-dramatic structure of this long, multi-sectional scene replicates that of the finale from *Don Giovanni*, yet each similarity underscores the opposite results of the two scenes. Initially, each structure is a dialogue between master and servant, but it is important to recognize who is in control of the action in each situation: Don Giovanni, the master, gives his servant Leporello a constant stream of orders, whereas Tom's words show that he is in his servant Nick Shadow's power: "Why have you led me here? There's something, Shadow, in your face that fills my soul with fear!"³⁷ This is the first of several instances in which the structures of the Graveyard Scene match those of the proposed model, but the dramatic events have opposite results. For a listener who perceives the structural and musical similarities between the proposed model and this scene, echoes of the divine judgment and retribution for the unrepentant rake in *Don Giovanni* will affect the search for meaning in the Graveyard Scene as it unfolds. Prior knowledge of the model would lead the listener to expect particular results, and the continuing reversal of these expectations produces a sense of irony.

As the scene continues, structurally similar events with opposite results continue to indicate a reversal of the meanings in the model. In each opera, a third character enters after the initial duet, and in each case it is a young woman whose unconditional love leads her to attempt to save the depraved object of her affections. Each heroine arrives unexpectedly to save her beloved, but whereas Donna Elvira does not succeed in reforming Don Giovanni, Anne's voice

³⁶ Straus, 155.

³⁷ Stravinsky, 186, one measure before R. 163.

negates Nick Shadow's statement that Tom "cannot now repent" and renews Tom's trust in the saving power of love as is shown in his response to her: "Love, first and last, assume eternal reign; Renew my life, o Queen of Hearts, again."³⁸ In the final section of the Graveyard Scene, Nick Shadow reveals his true nature and ceases to function as the servant; as the final arbiter of the rake's fate, he plays the role of Mozart's Commendatore, but as a representative of evil rather than virtue.

The protagonists of the two operas also contribute to the process of reversal. Although Tom and Don Giovanni are both depraved young men who betray the women who love them, Tom is a good (or perhaps ambivalent) man who is led astray, whereas Don Giovanni leads others astray. The result of the gambit for the protagonist's soul is also reversed. In *Don Giovanni*, the rake is dragged down to fiery torment, but in *The Rake's Progress* it is the judge who loses the battle for justice. The rake is (at least partially) redeemed by love, and the supernatural judge sinks into the grave instead, "in ice and flame to lie."³⁹ Each of these reversals can affect the listener's search for meaning in the Graveyard scene, since familiarity with the proposed model will lead to specific expectations as to the end of the story and its moral. Stravinsky's and Auden's reversed ending then subverts these expectations.

Other scenes likewise offer either an echo or a reversal of the meanings implied in their respective model scenes. For example, as Anne's cavatina illustrated, arias for the lovers in *The Rake's Progress* tend to have a two-part structure in which the second section is a varied repetition of the first. In this example, there was no clear reversal implied in the meanings of these arias through their model-scene pairing; although Dorabella is a younger and more capricious character, when she sings her aria of faithful torment, she is (for the moment) entirely sincere. In contrast, reversal is evident in Tom's love aria sung in a brothel, "Love, too frequently betrayed," which takes on additional meaning when it is compared with Ferrando's "Un'aura amorosa" from *Così fan tutte*. Ferrando sings in response to the security of his relationship with Dorabella, whereas Tom bemoans the shame of love betrayed. Both the text and the context within the plot reveal that Tom's aria reverses the meanings presented in the model. "Love, too frequently betrayed" can also be seen as a commentary on its model in that Ferrando's love, which is celebrated in "Un'aura amorosa," will also be betrayed. Thus, it is possible both for meanings associated with the model to influence the listener's interpretation of the new scene and for a reversal of the model's meanings to imply interaction or commentary between the two scenes.

³⁸ Stravinsky, 203–04, six measures after R. 197.

³⁹ Stravinsky, 206, two measures before R. 202bis.

Along with its potential to illuminate meanings in model-scene relationships, the most valuable aspect of the methodology described here is its focus on viewing the opera as a unified whole rather than as a collection of disparate parts salvaged from all corners of the operatic repertory. It offers the critic a two-step process for identifying and evaluating possible models for each scene of *The Rake's Progress*. The scenes analyzed above are a representative sample from the opera, but many other promising model-scene pairings could be evaluated. To name just three more examples, the epilogue "Good people, just a moment," in which each major character offers his or her own moral before the group offers the collective lesson, is easily identified with the epilogue of *Don Giovanni*. The odd text-setting and wild behavior of Baba the Turk, particularly in her aria "As I was saying both brothers wore moustaches," could be compared with Despina from *Così fan tutte* and her *commedia dell'arte* antics, especially in the *travesti* scenes with droning vocal lines that simulate awkward, nasal speech. Cantoni suggests a connection between Anne's cabaletta "I go, I go to him" and Fiordiligi from *Così fan tutte*, but its large leaps, scalar ornamental figures and angular vocal line also invite comparison with another determined heroine's vow to be true to love in the face of all obstacles: Constanze's "Martern aller Arten" from *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*.⁴⁰ The number opera format, with its clear separation between scenes and its strong differentiation between arias, duets and ensembles, makes the application of this methodology both practical and simple, and it facilitates the identification of close matches in Mozart's operas for each scene in *The Rake's Progress*.

Analyzing *The Rake's Progress* is a complicated process for many reasons, but the tasks of evaluating models and interpreting meanings that arise through Stravinsky's use of modeling are particularly challenging when the opera is viewed as a collection of unrelated allusions. This view tends to transform the work into a meta-opera; it becomes a summary of operatic styles that signals the incipient demise of the genre, and is thus an opera about the end of opera, though the work's dramatic content suggests no such message. Instead, Cantoni's approach of connecting *The Rake's Progress* with models drawn from Mozart's operas provides a new opportunity to understand the opera as a more unified entity. The logical continuation of this theory identifies eighteenth-century operatic styles as an ideal match for Hogarth's visual content and the most enduring repertoire of that era, Mozart's comic operas and *Singspiele*, as the perfect model for Stravinsky's and Auden's twentieth-century number opera.

⁴⁰ Cantoni suggests the connection between Anne and Fiordiligi in "Un opéra mozartien," 122.

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Hypermeter and Metric Dissonances in the Fanfare of Leoš Janáček's *Sinfonietta*

KÁJA LILL

The first movement of Janáček's *Sinfonietta* consists of a Fanfare for brass and timpani that features complex hemiolas between simultaneous and successive metric states. Richard Cohn's theory of complex hemiolas provides the analytical tools necessary to describe these complex hemiolas.¹ However, asymmetrically grouped measures in the Fanfare prevent the application of Cohn's theory to the entire movement. Cohn mentions in his article, "the theory of complex hemiolas has, at present, no means for accounting for the insertion of a hypermeasure of irregular length, nor for the asymmetrical partitioning of a time-span."² I will show that asymmetrically grouped measures in the Fanfare are expansions, after Rothstein, of an underlying symmetrical hypermeter.³ I will then discuss the variety of complex hemiolas in the Fanfare by recognizing their constituent metric states and mapping those metric states into graphs of metric space. Graphs of metric space will highlight how meter changes over time and how metric dissonances interact with meter in the Fanfare.

Metric States and Expansion

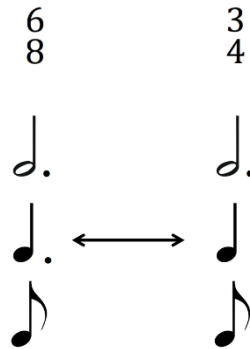
A metric state is a representation of the various pulses that combine to create a sense of meter. Consider $\frac{6}{8}$ time as a metric state comprised of dotted half, dotted quarter, and eighth note pulses. A simple hemiola occurs if this $\frac{6}{8}$ is juxtaposed against $\frac{3}{4}$, where the dotted quarter notes would clash against quarter notes. Example 1 shows the pulses of $\frac{6}{8}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ as metric states with an arrow representing the dissonant hemiola relationship between them. Example 2 graphs this relationship in metric space. Each box represents one of the two metric states, and the single line represents the dissonant relationship on only one pulse level between the two states.

¹ Richard Cohn, "Complex Hemiolas, Ski-Hill Graphs, and Metric Spaces," *Music Analysis* 20 (Oct., 2001): 295–326.

² Cohn, 307.

³ William Rothstein, *Phrase Rhythm in Tonal Music* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1989).

Example 1. The respective pulses of $\frac{6}{8}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ as metric states. The arrow represents the dissonant hemiola relationship on only one pulse level.

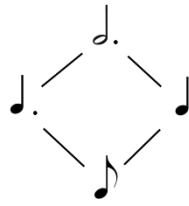


Example 2. A graph of $\frac{6}{8}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ as metric states in metric space. The single line represents the dissonant relationship on only one pulse level between the two states.

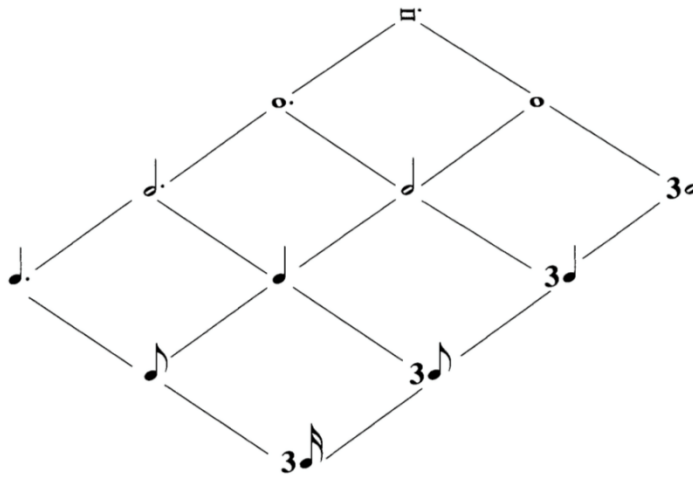


Cohn represents pulses and the various metric states they combine to create as ski-hill graphs. Example 3 shows the ski-hill graph for a piece of music with $\frac{6}{8}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ as metric states. One can imagine skiing the $\frac{6}{8}$ path by starting at the top with the dotted half note, traveling down the left to the dotted quarter note, and down to the right to reach the eighth note. In this graph, there are only two possible metric states, but if the variety of pulses increases, so too do the number of possible metric states. Consider Example 4, which shows all possible metric states in the Fanfare of *Sinfonietta* as a ski-hill graph. Example 5 lists the ten possible paths down the hill—the possible metric states—and labels each with a letter. Example 6 graphs these possibilities in metric space. For every line it takes to connect one metric state to another, those metric states are dissonant on that many pulse levels. Take for example metric states **A** and **E**, which are dissonant at the half note, quarter note, and eighth note. This triple hemiola is expressed in Example 6 by the length of the shortest route from **A** to **E** or vice versa: three lines.

Example 3. A ski-hill graph representing pulses in $\frac{6}{8}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$.



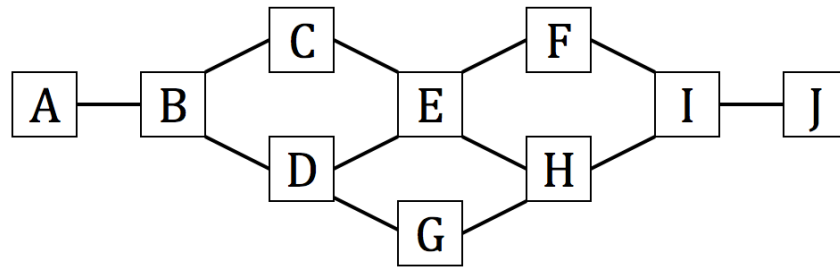
Example 4. A ski-hill graph representing all possible metric states in the Fanfare of Janáček's *Sinfonietta*.



Example 5. Two tables listing and labeling all possible metric states in the Fanfare of Janáček's *Sinfonietta*.

A	o. q. q. q.	F	o. q. 3q. 3q.
B	o. q. q. q.	G	o. q. q. q.
C	o. q. q. 3q.	H	o. q. q. 3q.
D	o. q. q. q.	I	o. q. 3q. 3q.
E	o. q. q. 3q.	J	o. 3q. 3q. 3q.

Example 6. A graph of metric space in the Fanfare of Janáček's *Sinfonietta*. Each square represents a metric state.



Cohn uses metric states, ski-hill graphs, and metric spaces to describe complex hemiola relationships, which he defines as “symmetrical divisions where [3:2 conflicts] occur at three or more distinct levels.”⁴ I instead refer to all hemiola relationships—from single to complex—as grouping dissonances, borrowing the term from Herald Krebs. When necessary, I refer to the degree of grouping dissonance to express grouping dissonances on multiple pulse levels. For example, I refer to a double hemiola as two degrees of grouping dissonance. I use the term grouping dissonance to highlight the difference between grouping dissonance and displacement dissonance later in this essay. Krebs defines displacement dissonance as “non-aligned levels of identical cardinality.”⁵ One might imagine a piece in $\frac{3}{4}$ where the melody emphasizes beat 2 as a downbeat creating a displacement dissonance against the bass’s emphasis on beat 1.

Cohn mentions in his article that his theory does not account for hypermeasures of irregular lengths or asymmetrical groupings. This issue arises in his ski-hill graphs. As in Example 4, any pulse relates to its connecting pulses by integral (either duple or triple) ratios. Pulses that do not relate integrally are not found in his ski-hill graphs. For instance, the graph in Example 4 does not feature a whole note tied to a quarter as a pulse. However, I argue that irregular groupings of measures in the Fanfare arise as expansions of an underlying symmetrical hypermeter that can then be accounted for with Cohn’s theory of complex hemiolas.

Analysis

Section 1, mm. 1–7, and Section 2, mm. 8–14, are nearly identical in construction, except for the addition of the trumpets in section 2.⁶ Half, quarter, and eighth note pulses are prevalent

⁴ Cohn, 295.

⁵ Harald Krebs, “Robert Schumann’s Metrical Revisions,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 19 no. 1 (Spring, 1997): 37.

⁶ Please consult Leoš Janáček, *Sinfonietta*, edited by Jarmil Burghauser (New York: Edition Eulenburg, 1979). No music examples are provided in this article due to copyright restrictions.

throughout, but there is a discrepancy between the whole note (two-bar hypermeasure) and dotted whole note (three-bar hypermeasure) pulses. The tenor tuba figure in mm. 1–3 and mm. 8–10, hereby referred to as Figure X, emphasizes the three-bar hypermeasure by slurring three half notes together. The bass trombone and timpani figure in mm. 6–7 and 13–14, hereby referred to as Figure Y, emphasizes the two-bar hypermeasure. Figures X and Y establish metric states **D** and **G** with one degree of grouping dissonance at the two-bar versus three-bar level. The unison trumpet figure in mm. 11–13, hereby referred to as Figure Z, also emphasizes the three-bar pulse and metric state **D**.

Both of these sections are asymmetrically grouped into seven measures. This asymmetrical grouping arises from Figure Y in section two. The last two measures of Figure Z and Figure Y are nearly identical except for their register and first pitches. The overlap of Figure Y in the trumpets and tenor tuba creates a displacement dissonance where Figure Y in the tenor tuba and timpani is displaced by one measure compared to Figure Y in the trumpets. As a result of this displacement, Figure Y in the tenor tuba sounds like an echo of Figure Z in the trumpets. Figure Y in the tenor tuba and timpani, when heard as an echo, is subordinate to Figure Z in the trumpets. Thus Figure Y expands Figure Z from a three-bar hypermeter to a four-bar grouping and expands Section 2 from a six-bar hypermeter to a seven-bar grouping.

Section 1 is nearly identical in construction as Section 2 and should undergo the same expansion as Section 2. However, this would require hearing Figure Y in mm. 5–7 as an echo of the oncoming Figure Z in mm. 11–13. Can one hear an echo before the source? I have experienced this phenomenon in reality and propose that we experience the same thing here. Walking around my college campus, I would often find myself in a location where I could not hear the carillon tower directly, but could hear the echo of the carillon off of a tall building. As I walked around the obstruction blocking the carillon tower, only then did I hear the source. In this same way I understand Figure Y in mm. 5–7 as an echo of the oncoming Figure Z in mm. 11–13 and I understand Section 1 to also be an expansion of a six-bar hypermeter to a seven-bar grouping.

Measures 15–19, Section 3, introduce a new metric state and a new expansion. Figure X is compressed from half notes to quarter notes and transposed down a perfect fifth. This diminution introduces the dotted half note as a new pulse and thus metric state **B** (dotted half, quarter, eighth). Metric states **D** and **G** are also still present. Hypermeter however is again a problem. In the previous sections, Figure Y expanded a six-bar hypermeasure to seven measures. Section 3 has an asymmetrical five-bar span as opposed to the earlier seven. A contracted six-bar hypermeasure may seem logical, but closer inspection reveals that an expanded three-bar hypermeasure is at

play here. Through the repetition of Section 2, Figure Z is understood as a prototype or model from which later material deviates. Figure Z's identity as a prototype helps explain the expansion in Section 3. Notice how the middle voice of the trumpets is an exact copy of Figure Z with m. 16 as an additional inserted bar. Section 3 is thus a harmonized version of Figure Z with m. 16 expanding the three-bar hypermeasure to four measures and Figure Y expanding it to five measures.

Measures 20–24, Section 4, introduce another displacement dissonance. Figure X has been abandoned while Figures Y and Z have been retained. However, Figure Z is now expanded by only one beat instead of two. Expansion by one beat displaces Figure Y and the ending of Figure Z by one beat. I suggest that this displacement dissonance was prepared in Section 3 with the dotted half note pulse in the tenor tuba. The dotted half pulse in Section 3 is the first occurrence of pulses equal to or larger than a half note starting in the middle of the bar. Hearing a dotted half pulse begin on the second half of m. 15 sounds like a momentary displacement and prepares the listener for the actual displacement dissonance in Section 4 where distinctive downbeats of Figures Y and Z are placed on upbeats.

Measures 25–33, Section 5, continue metric states **D** and **G** but without displacement. Hypermetrically, the nine-bar section appears to be divided asymmetrically into a 3+2+2+2 or 3+4+2 grouping. Upon closer inspection, this section is in fact an expanded six-bar hypermeasure. A slightly altered Figure Z appears in mm. 25–27. The same figure occurs again in mm. 28–31. However, similar to Section 2, the three-bar figure is expanded to four bars by the insertion of m. 29. In this way the six-bar hypermeasure is expanded to seven. Additionally, mm. 32 and 33 are expansions through repetition of mm. 30 and 31, forming a nine-bar span from a six-bar hypermeter.

Measures 34–36, Section 6, introduce the most dramatic shift in metric states. The tempo (half note=72) is retained, but the half note has now become the dotted half. Because this change is only present for 14 measures, I will refer to all rhythms and their values in the original notated meter. For example, the new dotted half will be represented as a half, the new quarters as triplet quarters, etc. This allows us to understand the metric states in Sections 6 and 7 in relationship to the other metric states in the piece. Thus in this section the dotted whole, half, quarter, and triplet eighth note pulses create metric state **E**. Metric state **J** (whole, triplet half, triplet quarter, triplet eighth) is also present. Consider how Figure Y appears in trumpets 3–6 and the bass trombone in mm. 35–36. Figure Y divides the two measures into three half note pulses or in the original notated meter, triplet half notes. Figure Y also utilizes triplet quarters and the whole note, which solidifies metric state **J**.

Measures 37–46, Section 7, continue similarly to the previous section with metric states **E** and **J**. However, displacement is again an important feature. In mm. 37–41 the third trumpet voice has been displaced by one quarter note compared to its placement in section 6. In mm. 43–46 there is also a displacement dissonance of one triplet quarter between the otherwise identical figures of the trumpets and bass trombone.

Measures 47–58, Section 8, return to the original notated meter. The trumpets traverse metric state **G** with whole, half, quarter, and eighth note pulses, while the rest of the brass follow metric state **E** with dotted whole, half, quarter, and triplet eighth note pulses. This section is relatively straightforward with a double hemiola and a clear six-bar hypermeasure.

Measures 59–75, Sections 9 and 10, are complicated at the hypermetrical level. Metric state **G** is emphasized with pulses at the whole, half, quarter, and eighth note levels. However, the six-bar hypermeter is again questioned with a seven-bar section in mm. 59–65. Considering the established periodicity of the previous section, one might assume the sense of the six-bar hypermeter continues. There is, however, less evidence to support this idea than in the past. Section 9 is not derived from a prototype that might clarify some form of expansion or contraction. The most likely solution is that m. 65 is an expansion via repetition of the previous measure.

Section 10 also faces the issue of a seven-measure grouping. Upon first inspection, it may seem likely that Section 10 is simply a one-bar expansion of the Section 8 prototype. The melody is nearly identical and each ending of Section 10 simply adds one bar. However, the added measure calls into question Section 8 as a prototype by introducing tonal conventions otherwise absent in the Fanfare. Section 10, in D-flat major, features a melodic descent to scale degree 2 in the first ending, and to scale degree 1 in the second ending. Further, the first ending concludes with the bass trombones and timpani arpeggiating **V** in D-flat major, and in the second ending the same voices arpeggiate **V** in the penultimate measure and **I** in the final measure. This implies a parallel period in which the first section ends with a half cadence and the second with a perfect authentic cadence. With such a strong tonal implication, can we really call the last bar of Section 10 an expansion of the Section 8 prototype? On the other hand, can we really consider Section 10 as the prototype, retrospectively changing our understanding of Section 8 and simultaneously calling into question the six-bar hypermeter of the entire movement? In this case I hear Section 10 as an expanded six-bar phrase, with the caveat that the unexpected tonal implications of this section make it nearly impossible to identify a clear point of expansion. Through constant repetition we have come to expect six-bar phrases, especially six-bar phrases that are expanded to seven-bar

phrases. The phrase in Section 10 is ambiguous in its point of expansion.

Measures 76–84, Section 11, close the Fanfare. Measure 76 acts as an introduction to m. 77 where the melody enters. The tenor tuba and bass trombone emphasize metric state **D** with whole, half, quarter, and eighth note pulses. Trumpets 1–3 emphasize metric state **G** with the whole note pulse. In context of the original notated meter, measures 77–84 create the six-bar (six half notes long) hypermeter common throughout the Fanfare. Displacement dissonances also abound in this section. Trumpets 1–3 displace trumpets 4–6 by the duration of a dotted whole. Further, Figure Y returns in the bass trombones and timpani. Earlier in the work we have developed the expectation that Figure Y occurs on a downbeat. Thus Figure Y is displaced from the other parts in this section by one quarter.

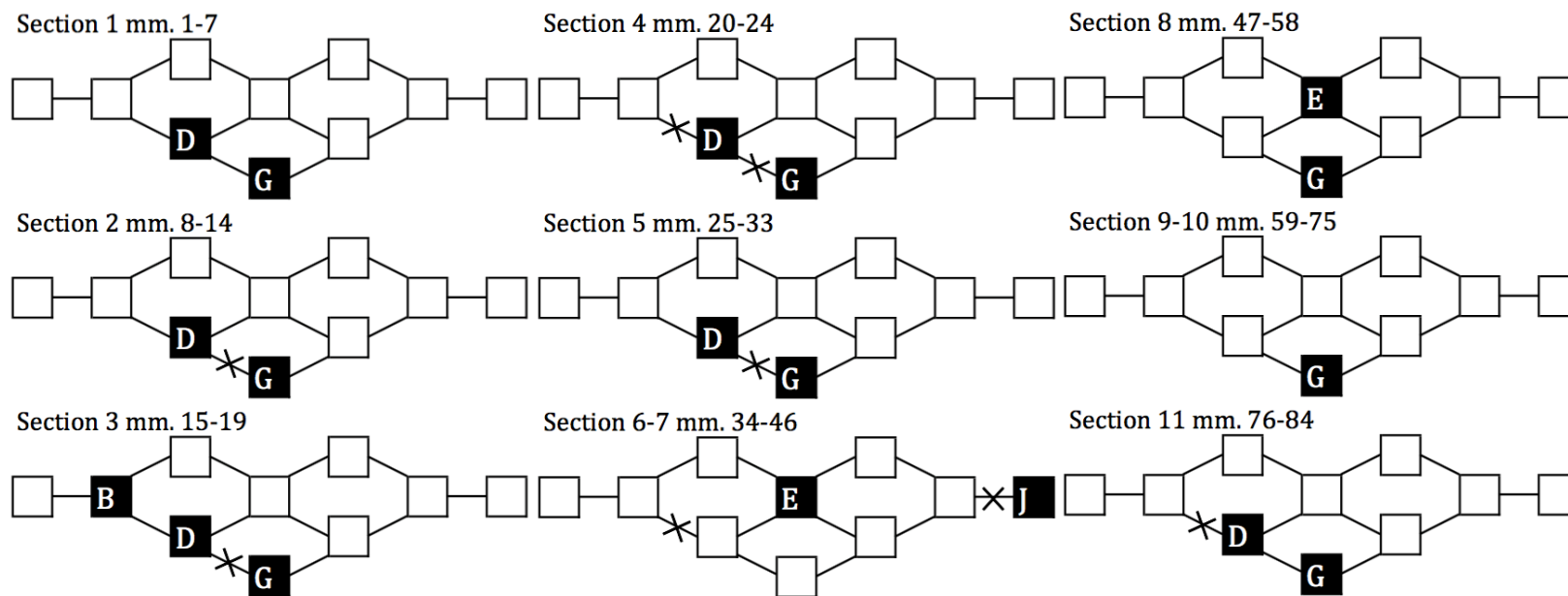
Metric Space

Example 7 graphs the metric states emphasized throughout the Fanfare in metric space. Each graph correlates to the metric space shown in example 6. Filled-in squares indicate which metric states are represented in that section. For example, the first four sections stay mostly within states **D** and **G**. Section 6 varies greatly by going to states **E** and **J**. The following sections return to **D** and **G**. In this way we can trace how the Fanfare travels from, and returns to, the metric states **D** and **G**. Similarly, we can observe a relative consonance between metric states that diverges to dissonance and returns to consonance. Sections 1–5 and 9–11 almost exclusively feature metric states at 0–1 degrees of grouping dissonance, while sections 6–8 feature 2–3 degrees of grouping dissonance.

I deviate from Cohn by using Xs to represent displacement dissonances in metric space. As we have already seen in Sections 3 and 4, grouping and displacement dissonances seem to interact. In Section 3, the simultaneous presentation of metric states **D** and **B** prepares the displacement dissonance in Section 4. Figure Z (metric state **D**) emphasizes the half note and the compressed Figure X (metric state **B**) emphasizes the dotted half note. The effect of this grouping dissonance is that Figure X alternates between starting on an upbeat and on a downbeat. Each beginning of Figure X is shifted by one beat, the difference between those two metric states. This grouping dissonance then prepares the one beat displacement dissonance in section 4.

I represent displacement dissonances on the graphs of metric space with Xs. The degree of displacement dissonance is equal to the grouping difference between the two adjacent metric states it bisects. In Example 7, Section 4, an X is placed between metric states **D** and **B**. As discussed above, the grouping difference between metric states **D** and **B** is one beat, so that X represents one beat of displacement

Example 7. Metric states and displacement dissonances throughout the Fanfare. Filled-in squares correspond with the graph of metric space in example 6. Xs represent displacement dissonances.



dissonance. Placed between metric states **D** and **B**, that X highlights that it was prepared by metric states **D** and **B** existing simultaneously in the previous section. Additionally, in Section 2, the X placed between metric states **D** and **G** represents the displacement dissonance of a half note that is prepared by states **D** and **G** existing simultaneously in Section 1. By placing displacement dissonances within metric space, it becomes clear that displacement dissonances correlate with grouping dissonances in the Fanfare.

This essay had two main objectives: to show how irregular groupings of measures in the Fanfare arise from expansions of a regular hypermeter; to graph that hypermeter in metric space; and to show how grouping dissonances and displacement dissonances can interact with each other and within the movement. From the onset of the Fanfare of Janáček's *Sinfonietta*, we saw that grouping and displacement dissonances can occur on a hypermetrical level. Due to the variation-like form of the Fanfare, we were able to identify prototypical figures and recognize their hypermetrical expansions. Further, we found a correlation between grouping dissonances and the degree of displacement dissonances throughout the Fanfare. Adapting Cohn's graphs of metric space allowed us to see the depth of metrical play in the Fanfare from Janáček's *Sinfonietta*.

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Us as the Other: Refuting Nationalism through Locus of Enunciation in Carlos Chávez's *Sinfonía India*

HOLLY CASSELL

Following the Mexican Revolution of 1910, and the subsequent decades of upheaval, the newly established government sought to create a national history and identity for their citizens that could unite them as a nation-state. Modern scholarship now perceives that the Mexican government of the 1930s had nationalist characteristics. Nationalism in this context has a specific meaning, but has been misused in some writing on Mexican music from this period. This misuse of the term nationalism creates confusion about the goals of some Mexican composers, including one of Mexico's most celebrated art music composers, Carlos Chávez. Most musicological writing describes Carlos Chávez's *Sinfonía India* as an example of Mexican nationalism in music; however, this is problematic. To comprehend Mexican nationalism in the post-revolutionary years, it is important to understand the politics of the new government and the influence of José Vasconcelos's book, *La Raza Cosmica*. Both the government and Vasconcelos's book identify the centrality of the mestizo in Mexican history, which became a central theme of contemporary nationalist artwork in all media. A clear example of such artwork is Diego Rivera's epic mural *The History of Mexico*. When one compares *The History of Mexico* to Carlos Chávez's *Sinfonía India*, it becomes clear that Rivera's mural is a nationalist work while Chávez's *Sinfonía India* is not. *Sinfonía India* lacks political engagement, addresses the wrong audience, and fails to accurately embody the indigenous character.

Defining Nationalism, Vasconcelos, and the SEP

Most scholars assert that Chávez is a nationalist composer, or that some of his works are nationalist, at least in their subject matter. *Sinfonía India* is usually included in the list of Chávez's nationalist works. In the most recent and complete biography of Carlos Chávez, Robert Parker states that "Chávez was a true nationalist,"¹ citing *Sinfonía India* as one of his nationalist works. However, Parker discusses neither the problems of the term "nationalism" nor what he means by the word. Instead, he simply qualifies Chávez's work as nationalist "by virtue of either subject matter, musical materials, instrumentation, or literary texts, or a combination of these elements."² Gerard Béhague also describes what he calls a "Mexican

¹ Robert Parker, *Carlos Chávez: Modern-Day Orpheus* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), 13.

² Parker, 12.

tendency” in Chávez’s work that is mostly absent after the 1930s.³ Even Chávez declares himself as a nationalist composer when he encourages the creation of Mexican art in an essay on Mexican music published in 1933:

At the present time, with new phases of the Revolution begun in 1910 now lived through and past, leaving their decisive contribution to the cementing of a criterion and a national culture, the musical nationalism of Mexico may definitely launch itself upon a determined course. It should consider itself as the product of balanced *mestizaje*, hybridism, in that the personal expression of the artist is absorbed neither by Europeanism nor by Mexican regionalism. We must recognize our own tradition, temporarily eclipsed. We should saturate ourselves with it, placing ourselves in personal contact with the manifestations of our land, native and mixed (*mestizos*), and this without disavowing the music of Europe, since it signifies human and universal culture, but receiving it in its multiple manifestations from the most remote antiquity, not through the medium of the “didacticism” of the German and French conservatories as has been our custom heretofore. We disdain the professional Mexican music prior to our own epoch, for it is not the fruit of the true Mexican tradition.⁴

Yet, despite such evidence, the notion that Chávez is a nationalist composer or that his work *Sinfonía India* is a nationalist work, is contestable.

The debate stems from the lack of consensus about the meaning of the word nationalism in academic writing. In their influential book on the subject, *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman acknowledge that many different strains of nationalism have existed since its origin and that many of these explanations are contradictory at their core.⁵ Furthermore, current scholarship lacks consensus on when the first nationalist movements emerged.⁶ Alejandro Madrid perceives nationalism as a product of Modernity, a theory he applies to Mexican art music of Chávez’s time. Madrid cites the goal of the Mexican

³ Gerard Béhague, *Music in Latin America: An Introduction*, (Eaglewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1979), 129–30.

⁴ Carlos Chávez, “The Music of Mexico,” in *American Composers on American Music: A Symposium*, edited by Henry Cowell, (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1933), 171.

⁵ Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman, *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 1–24.

⁶ Eric G. E Zuelow, “What is Nationalism?” *The Nationalism Project: Nationalism Studies Information Clearing House*, Accessed May 10, 2015. <http://www.nationalismproject.org/what.htm>.

Revolution as the creation of a Mexican nation.⁷ Yet, this analysis is incomplete, as nationalism did exist in Mexico prior to the revolution. Rather than attempting to create a definite meaning for the term “nationalism,” it seems befitting that, like Spencer and Wollman, one should see the term nationalism as flexible and dependent on the context in which said nationalism occurs. During the period after the Mexican revolution, a very specific brand of nationalism supported by the government existed; to call a work of art created in Mexico during this time nationalistic is to say that one understands it to have similar qualities of nationalism that the Mexican government supported. Such art supported the government’s agenda of creating a national historical narrative with the *mestizo* at the center.

During the years immediately following the end of the revolution, much Mexican art furthered the purpose of creating a national and symbolic system with which Mexicans of any social or ethnic heritage could identify through sponsorship of the Mexican government. Beginning in 1920, the Ministry of Public Education (Secretaría de Educación Pública [SEP]) initiated and became seriously involved in constructing an identity for the Mexican nation. The SEP was conscious of the role of education in their nation-building project, and that mass education would be essential in facilitating their aims. The SEP focused on building schools in rural areas, creating libraries, and starting educational programs.⁸ However, as Thomas Turino explains in “Nationalism and Latin American Music: Selected Case Studies and Theoretical Considerations,” such programs actually served to encourage citizens to side with their nation on political, social, and economic issues. In fact, Turino suggests that cultivating a culture of national identity in order to gain support and legitimacy from citizens is a common tendency of all nation-states.⁹ Here Turino utilizes a modernist theory of nationalism, one that works within the context of post-revolutionary Mexico as it is based in the social and political context of Latin American in the 1930s. During the 1920s and 1930s, the Mexican government created a form of nationalism within their country that had a decidedly social and political agenda which contemporary nationalist art echoes.

⁷ Alejandro Madrid-González, “Writing Modernist and Avant-Garde Music in Mexico: Performativity, Transculturation, and Identity after the Revolution, 1920–1930” (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 2003), 14–16, ProQuest (3109131).

⁸ Luis Velasco Pufleau, “Nationalism, Authoritarianism and Cultural Construction: Carlos Chávez and Mexican Music (1921–1952),” translated by Silvio J. Los Santos, *Music and Politics* 6, no. 2 (2012): 1–3.

⁹ Thomas Turino, “Nationalism and Latin American Music: Selected Case Studies and Theoretical Considerations,” *Latin American Music Review* 24, no. 2 (2003): 172–73.

To create a sense of a national identity, the SEP sought to create a new, shared national history in which they placed the *mestizo*—the term for a person of mixed European and Mexican Indian ancestry—at the center. According to nationalist ideology, a shared history is one component that creates a common culture, which serves to unify the citizens of the nation-state.¹⁰ In his 1925 utopist book *La Raza Cósmica* (The Cosmic Race), former Minister of Public Education, José Vasconcelos deemed the *mestizo* race as the people essential to constructing a new national Mexican identity. The *mestizos*, Vasconcelos claims, are a superior race, and due to their mixed European and indigenous ancestry, they represent Mexico's history. However, Vasconcelos was not just against segregation, but keenly supportive of miscegenation. He also states that humanity must actively create a new race that is a mixture of all races, so that it shall be a universal—or a “cosmic”—race.¹¹ Yet, for all the seemingly altruistic goals of *La Raza Cosmica*, Vasconcelos and the Mexican government likely had some other less laudable objectives that they wished to achieve with the help of such a text. For example, the eradication of races is inevitable when races are forcibly mixed. It seems that Vasconcelos encouraged this by claiming its inevitability:

Even the pure Indians are Hispanicized, they are Latinized, just as the environment itself is Latinized. Say what one may, the red men, the illustrious Atlanteans from whom Indians derive, went to sleep millions of years ago, never to awaken. There is no going back in History, for it is all transformation and novelty. No race returns. Each one states its mission, accomplishes it, and passes away. This truth rules in Biblical times as well as in our times...The Indian has no other door to the future but the door of modern culture, nor any other road but the road cleared by Latin Civilization.¹²

It is likely that for Vasconcelos and the Mexican government, Indians represented an uncivilized past, one associated with inferiority to the Western world. For Vasconcelos, the Indian race, or any other unmixed race, is a primitive one yet to gain the paramount benefits of natural selection.¹³ The influence of *La Raza Cosmica* and its social Darwinist perspective was immediate and this emphasis on *mestizo* history shaped Mexican nationalist art for several years to come.

¹⁰ The others are language and territory. Spencer and Wollman, 73.

¹¹ José Vasconcelos, *The Cosmic Race: A Bilingual Edition*, translated and annotated by Didier T. Jaén (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1979), 34.

¹² Vasconcelos, 16.

¹³ This was not Vasconcelos's only agenda; he also claims Christianity as the religion of his imagined utopist society.

Diego Rivera and *The History of Mexico*

Perhaps the murals of Diego Rivera (1886–1957) are the most vibrant and well-known examples of nationalism in Mexican art after the revolution. Rivera is just one of several artists whose artwork contributed to a new national identity and history in the post-revolutionary years. As Secretary of Education, Vasconcelos employed many young Mexican artists to paint murals on the nation's most significant buildings. One of these artists, Rivera was commissioned by Vasconcelos to paint the Bolivar Amphitheatre in 1922, his first mural of significance.¹⁴ During the 1930s, Rivera and his contemporary José Clemente Orozco (1883–1949) painted a series of mural cycles that explored the new national history. Commissioned by the Mexican government, Rivera's *History of Mexico* appears on the walls of the National Palace's main stairwell.¹⁵

Rivera's epic mural, *The History of Mexico* (fresco, 1929–1935) is an example of an artistic work that is nationalist like Vasconcelos's *La Raza Cosmica*. The two works share political goals similar to the post-revolutionary Mexican government and provide an interesting contrast to Chávez's *Sinfonía India*, which is not so politically engaged. For example, *The History of Mexico* literally depicts the historical narrative of Mexico that the SEP wanted to create. Rivera was commissioned to create the mural by Vasconcelos and, therefore, one can assume that he followed some instructions for the subject matter of the mural. Culturally, *mestizo* identity is essential to both *La Raza Cosmica* and *The History of Mexico*. Furthermore, *The History of Mexico* is a politically engaged work that seeks to connect its audience with social and political issues. These qualities are components of Mexican nationalism of the 1930s as outlined above.

Rivera's *The History of Mexico* depicts several major events in Mexican history. The large mural that is painted on the wall of the main stairwell at the National Palace in Mexico City is divided into three sections, representing three main periods of Mexican history. The first section, *The Legend of Quetzalcoatl*, depicts the pre-Colombian world in which the legendary god-king Quetzalcoatl is shown in his different forms. Here Aztecs are depicted worshipping him, but they are also shown participating in the mundane activities of their daily life such as cooking, working, creating pottery, and making music. This section of the mural also depicts wars between different tribes of the indigenous people.¹⁶

¹⁴ Desmond Rochfort, *Mexican Muralists: Orozco, Rivera, Siqueiros* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1993), 21.

¹⁵ Rochfort, 84.

¹⁶ To avoid copyright infringement, pictures of Rivera's *History of Mexico* have not been included. It is suggested that the reader refer to the URL listed after the description of each section of the mural. The URLs come from the same website. For *The Legend of Quetzalcoatl*, see: Mary Ann

The main and central section of the mural,¹⁷ painted on an impressive five lobes, depicts what Vasconcelos considers the center of Mexican history: the Spanish conquest through the Mexican Revolution. The Mexican eagle with a serpent in its mouth (an Aztec symbol) occupies the center of the mural. This section depicts struggle and heroism but also strife. Hernán Cortés is shown battling the Aztec prince Cuauhtémoc, a conquistador rapes an Indian woman (mistreatment of women in Mexico was not just a problem of Cortés's time, but a continuing problem in Rivera's lifetime), and destruction ensues from the battle against the conquistadors. Additionally, Rivera depicts the revolutionaries involved in the *La Reforma* period leading up to the Mexican revolution. Many of the political figures involved in *La Reforma* and the revolution appear here.¹⁸

The final section of the mural¹⁹ illustrates contemporary struggles and hope for a brighter future. This last wall shows Rivera's political convictions: he lamented that Mexico was still beset with class divisions fifteen years after the end of the revolution. At the top of this section of the mural, Karl Marx holds a banner and points the way to a better future for Mexico. Under Marx, businessmen, including J.D. Rockefeller Jr., John Pierpont Morgan, and Andrew Mellon, represent the corrupt nature of capitalism, the metal pipes surrounding them representing the modern and industrial era. Also seen in this section are fascists murdering striking workers and the corruption of the church.

Rivera's *History of Mexico*, like Vasconcelos's *La Raza Cosmica*, places the *mestizo* at the center of Mexican history and identity. This is evident as the main panel graphically depicts the Aztec's defeat at the hands of Spanish conquistadors and the miscegenation that occurs in the process. Clearly, Rivera, understood the beginning of European influence in Mexico to be the center of Mexican history. The Mexican Indian is not banished from Mexican history, but rather remembered as part of the ancient world with no place in present society. Therefore, the mural's narrative of Mexican history furthers the nationalist ideologies of the post-revolutionary era.

In addition to establishing the *mestizo* as the national identity, the mural projects a path to Mexico's bright future. Rivera presents contemporary issues that need to be addressed for his nation to prosper and their solutions. Rivera, places his confidence in Karl Marx

Sullivan, "Murals by Diego Rivera in the Palacio Nacional de Mexico," *Mexico City, Mexico*, accessed April 20, 2015, <https://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivanm/mexico/mexicocity/rivera/4773.jpg>

¹⁷ For several pictures of this central portion of the mural see: <https://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivanm/mexico/mexicocity/rivera/history.html>

¹⁸ Rochfort, 87-88.

¹⁹ See: <https://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivanm/mexico/mexicocity/rivera/class.html>

and supports the demise of capitalism. It is Rivera's faith in a better future for the nation that makes *The History of Mexico* a truly nationalist artwork.

Chávez and *Sinfonía India*

In 1935 Chávez completed *Sinfonía India*,²⁰ what is perhaps his most celebrated work. *Sinfonía India* premiered in New York on January 23, 1936 on the CBS radio network.²¹ It is a one-movement work that loosely follows a symphonic structure with elements of a multi-movement cyclical symphony. The themes are taken from Mexican Indian folk songs, and the introduction, connecting, and ending materials are made up of newly-composed repeated pentatonic motives. *Sinfonía India* demands a combination of instruments typically found in Western symphonic music with the addition of many indigenous Mexican percussion instruments. The use of different time signatures throughout the piece is also striking: *Sinfonía India* features constantly changing meters that create a sense of metric ambiguity much like Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*. The work ends in a grandiose manner as Chávez's pentatonic melody constantly repeats while becoming thicker in texture, louder, and more persistent. *Sinfonía India* takes on a modernist musical aesthetic and bears similar elements to primitivist works, such as Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*.

Sinfonía India begins with an introduction consisting of a repeated pentatonic motive in B-flat major followed by a statement and restatement of the first theme. Other pentatonic motives function as transitional material between the themes throughout the work. The slow tempo of the second theme in A minor reminds the listener of a slow movement in a multi-movement symphony. Following the restatement of the second theme, there is not a section that resembles a traditional fourth movement. Rather, a new, pentatonic melody in F major functions as a fast fourth movement²² that becomes ever louder and faster until the end of the movement (see Table 1). It is important to note that the themes and motives in *Sinfonía India* are not developed in a traditional sense, but rather repeated by different instruments to create different tone colors that expand on the theme in a different way.

²⁰ To avoid copyright infringement, there are no music examples provided in this article. Rather, the reader is encouraged to look at a score while reading this paper. The score referred to in this article is: Chávez, Carlos, *Sinfonía India* (New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 1950).

²¹ Parker, 70.

²² For a similar formal description, see Leonora Saavedra, "Of Selves and Others: Historiography, Ideology, and the Politics of Modern Mexican Music," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2001), 304, ProQuest (3038272).

Table 1: Formal Description of *Sinfonía India*

Measures	Description	Key
1-42	Repeated pentatonic motives	B-flat major
42-66	Theme 1	B-flat major
67-119	New pentatonic motive	B-flat major
120-82	Theme 2	E-flat major
183-244	Theme 3; functions like a slow second movement	A minor
245-66	Restatement of theme 1	B-flat major
267-303	Pentatonic motives	B-flat major
304-334	Restatement of theme 2	B-flat major
335-65	Return to pentatonic motives used in the beginning of the work	B-flat major
366-491	New, repeated pentatonic melody that functions as fast fourth movement	F major

As stated above, the Indian melodies in *Sinfonía India* are connected by repeated pentatonic motives. The work begins with a primarily pentatonic, five-note motive based on the notes F, D, B-flat, G, and E-flat played in unison by the clarinet, bass clarinet, violas, and cellos in the home key, B-flat major (see mm. 1-4). This motive and its variants recur frequently with varied orchestrations until the first Indian theme is presented in measure 42. Similarly constructed motives that are predominately pentatonic are used as transitional material between themes and as closing material for the symphony. After the statement of the first theme, another, even more simple, pentatonic motive based upon the notes B-flat, C, and D constitutes the transitional material between the first and second theme. Likewise, the melodic material of the final section of the piece (in F major) is built on a motive with F, G, A, and C as its primary notes.

Often during sections of repeated melodic motives, several sections of instruments play the motives in unison (see mm. 335-38) and there is little concurrent material to avert the listener's attention. For several measures, the motives are not developed or varied, except for changes in timbre and dynamics. With little rhythmic and harmonic stratification, the large sections of repeated motives generally have a thin texture, through which almost any contrasting material can be clearly heard. For example, in the closing section (see mm. 443-48), one can see that the motive in the closing section of the work is played in unison by the flutes, oboes, clarinets in B-flat and E-flat, and bass clarinets until measure 447, when this motive passes to the piccolos and flutes.

Sinfonía India features extensive use of exotic instrumentation, specifically, the use of several indigenous Mexican percussion instruments. Chávez scores: *tenabari* (a string of butterfly cocoons), water gourd, Yaqui drum, and *grijutian* (a string of deer hooves) amongst others. Although Chávez wrote the percussion parts of *Sinfonía India* to be played by percussion instruments from various Mexican Indian tribes, such instrumentation does not necessarily make Chávez's composition more "Indian." Rather, an emphasis on percussion and even percussion-only sections of works are characteristics of primitivist pieces. Stravinsky's *Petrushka*, for example, features a large percussion section and instances where only the percussion section plays. Additionally, Stravinsky's work that is most famous for its "primitive" sound, *The Rite of Spring*, features heavy percussion that is essential to the work's program. Chávez's *Sinfonía India* and Stravinsky's *Petrushka* and *Rite of Spring* appeal to Western audiences as exotic—and not necessarily accurate—representations of the folk traditions on which they are based. While the percussion instruments that Chávez uses are Mexican Indian instruments, the way he uses them in *Sinfonía India* is more aesthetically connected to a new ultramodern trend in Western art music, in addition to pandering to the West's fantasies of exotic lands.

Throughout *Sinfonía India*, the percussion instruments are used as a device to vary and contribute to the various primitive elements that make up the piece. For example, after measures of repeated pentatonic motives, Chávez adds percussion or varies the instruments that are playing to create a new timbre. Additionally, the use of percussion in the "last movement" or ending section of the work tells us how Chávez approached composing this piece. In this ending section of the work (mm. 366–491), steady eighth notes played by percussion are always present. However, as this final section of the piece progresses, more indigenous instruments are added to the texture and the dynamic level in the score indicates that the piece should get louder (compare mm. 366–69 to mm. 486–491). Additionally, the fast, ever louder drumming evokes Stravinsky's primitivist works. However, unlike *Rite of Spring*, the tempo is not accelerating, but the music is already hurtling along at the fastest speed of the entire piece.

Refuting Nationalism and Mignolo's Locus of Enunciation

Chávez is frequently cited as a nationalist composer who utilizes Indianist²³ elements in his works; however, Leonora Saavedra contests previous scholarship that describes Chávez's oeuvre as Indianist. Saavedra states that Chávez was not primarily concerned with representing the Mexican in his earlier works, but rather preoccupied himself with creating a political design for Mexican music and its future.²⁴ In his early work, Chávez's main aim was to emulate the modern aesthetic of composers such as Debussy and Strauss, rather than creating Mexican music.²⁵ Chávez first wished to be perceived by American audiences as a modern and cutting-edge composer, rather than a Mexican composer. For example, during a trip to New York, he presented himself as a modernist composer.²⁶ His work, as evidenced above, has a distinct modern idiom much like that of his European contemporary, Stravinsky. Chávez's work features harmonies built on open fourths and fifths, polyrhythms, cross rhythms, linear textures, and repetition.²⁷

Chávez enjoyed his relationship with the forward-thinking composers of New York without representing himself or his music as Indian; however, this would later change when others recognized what they thought of as a Mexican idiom in his work. Chávez spent much time in New York where he became acquainted with modernist American composers such as Aaron Copland, Virgil Thompson, Roger Sessions, and Henry Cowell. Chávez and Edgard Varése founded the Pan-American Association of Composers, and the journal of The League of Composers, *The League of Composers Review*, frequently reviewed Chávez's work. In 1928, a review of Chávez's works by Olin Downes stated that the composer's style was distinctly Mexican in its brutality. Copland praised Chávez for the way in which he was able to create a work that had many Mexican characteristics without actually quoting folk melodies. His ultramodernist style often avoids emotional expression that Saavedra describes as "a polysemic musical language that could refer equally well to the primitive or the very

²³ Here, the term "Indianist" is used to describe art music compositions that aim to represent Indian culture through the use of Indian musical elements. If a piece is Indianist, it does not necessarily mean that the Indian music or culture has been represented accurately. For more detailed discussion of Indianism in Latin American art music, see: Gerard Béhague, "Indianism in Latin American Art-Music Composition of the 1920s to 1940s: Case Studies from Mexico, Peru, and Brazil," *Latin American Music Review* 27, no. 1 (2006): 28–37.

²⁴ Béhague, "Indianism," 136–37.

²⁵ For a more detailed description of Chávez's compositional style and how it develops, see Leonora Saavedra, "Carlos Chávez's Polysemic Style: Constructing the National, Seeking the Cosmopolitan," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 68, no. 1 (2015): 99–149.

²⁶ Saavedra, "Of Selves and Others," 170.

²⁷ Saavedra, "Of Selves and Others," 146–57.

modern, to energetic machines or indigenous dancers.”²⁸ Among U.S. audiences, his style became associated with the harsh landscape of Mexico and remote tribes of Indians, or as Saavedra remarks, “Tex-Mex images” of Mexico, not how Mexicans would perceive their country, but, rather, a U.S. perspective. Although Chávez had not intended for his work to represent Mexico, its perceived Mexicanism was very popular with the U.S. audience.²⁹

One possible reason for this brief use of Indian subject matter is that Chávez saw Indianism as a way for him to gain popularity with a U.S. audience that was interested in such Tex-Mex portraits of the Mexican Indian and his country. According to Parker, it was *Sinfonía India* that truly launched Chávez’s international career, but after its success in the U.S., Chávez moved away from this “nationalist” style. The Indian subject matter in *Sinfonía India* can be found in some of his other works, but rarely after the 1930s. In the late 1930s, Chávez turned to a universalist³⁰ style and explored music of different subject matter.³¹ While it is common for composers to have periods in their careers that are marked by stylistic differences, in Chávez’s case, his “nationalist” works, as they are called by Parker and Béhague, seem to be part of a strategic career move rather than a product of sincere artistic motivations.

It is surprising that most scholars unquestionably accept Chávez’s purported nationalism, but an analysis of Chávez’s career may provide a logical explanation. A lack of questioning of Chávez’s support for the Mexican state may be due to the large amount of power Chávez held in Mexican music circles after receiving notoriety for his “Mexican” works in the U.S. Early in his career, he was appointed director of the National Conservatory of Music and director of the Mexican Symphony Orchestra. Additionally, Chávez taught composition at the National Conservatory and occupied many musical posts continued throughout his career. In the 1950s, he gave many guest lectures and in 1972, Chávez was granted the responsibility of developing a “national plan” for Mexican music by President Luis Echeverría.³² It is likely that Chávez’s monopoly of musical appointments made him a difficult person to challenge and his notoriety gave weight to the programs that he published with his music. Chávez’s explanation of his work as Mexican is a means to an end: such statements earned him positive reception from U.S.

²⁸ Saavedra, “Carlos Chávez’s Polysemic Style,” 127–28.

²⁹ Saavedra, “Carlos Chávez’s Polysemic Style,” 156–60.

³⁰ Marc Gidal defines universalism in opposition to multiculturalism, stating that unlike multiculturalism, universalism appeals to similar sensibilities shared by different ethnic or social groups. For more on universalism, see: Marc Gidal, “Contemporary ‘Latin American’ Composers of Art Music in the United States: Cosmopolitans Navigating Multiculturalism and Universalism,” *Latin American Music Review* 31, no. 1 (2010): 40–78.

³¹ Parker, 14–16.

³² Parker, 9–26.

composers and audiences that perceived his work as a uniquely Mexican perspective on modern music and, in turn, his success in the U.S. brought him success in Mexico, where he continued to have an enormous amount of power in Mexican music circles for much of the remainder of the century.

The juxtaposition of the tonal and modal Indian melodies and Chávez's newly composed pentatonic motives confirms that *Sinfonía India* was not created to represent the identity of the Mexican Indian or the nationalist *mestizo* identity. Pentatonicism, of course, has long been associated with non-Western cultures and with folk traditions; however, pentatonic melodies were also used pervasively in the ultramodern Western art music of Chávez's time. The three Indian melodies (themes 1, 2, and 3 in table 1) that Chávez uses in *Sinfonía India* are not pentatonic, but rather tonal and modal.³³ The Indian melodies are placed between long sections of repeated, newly composed pentatonic motives. Chávez identifies the Indian themes in *Sinfonía India* as drawn from the music of the Yaquis, Seris, and Huicholes Indians, but this description is not entirely accurate as Saavedra establishes.³⁴ This inaccurate claim suggests Chávez did not know much about the music from different Mexican Indian tribes, but rather, that he copied transcriptions of melodies to include in *Sinfonía India*. Furthermore, it is known that Chávez conceived of the music of Ancient Indian cultures as pentatonic, citing the snail conch shell as evidence in program notes from a performance of his work.³⁵ Chávez seemingly filled the space between the Indian themes in *Sinfonía India* with notes from the pentatonic system that he imagined Ancient Indian tribes used.

To further clarify why *Sinfonía India* does not function from a Mexican perspective, one can consult Walter Mignolo's discourse on "the locus of enunciation." Mignolo states that when one speaks or creates art, one speaks from a particular place or locus.³⁶ This is related to Foucault's *mode d'enonciation*³⁷ but with a heavier emphasis on the personal history and understanding of the subject. To truly represent any Mexican identity, I argue that one must adopt a Mexican locus of enunciation. However, in *Sinfonía India*, Chávez adopts a locus of enunciation from the United States, thus robbing the work of a true Mexican identity and also rendering the work incapable of expressing the Mexican nationalism of the 1930s that is evident in *La Raza Cosmica* and *The History of Mexico*.

³³ Saavedra, "Of Selves and Others," 315.

³⁴ Saavedra, "Of Selves and Others," 303.

³⁵ Saavedra, "Of Selves and Others," 323.

³⁶ Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995) 5.

³⁷ For more, see Michel Foucault, *L'archéologie du savoir* (Parris: Gallimard, 1969).

Chávez adopts a locus of enunciation from the U.S. in order to gain favor with U.S. audiences and gain notoriety as a composer, but also utilizes elements of popular Mexican music in order to not totally exclude his fellow Mexican citizens. He makes Mexican music exotic for U.S. consumption, and in the process of doing so, his locus of enunciation changes from what would have been a Mexican locus to an American one. However, Chávez does use elements of contemporary Mexican music affiliated with the *mestizo*. For example, the hemiolic rhythms in the piece come from *mestizo* music and are not Indian at all. These more accurate representations of contemporary Mexican music are not added for their appeal to U.S. audiences, but rather as a way of justifying an appropriation of the music of Mexico's indigenous people and using it as a representation of modern Mexico. Certainly, such an exotic representation of Mexico as characterized mostly by primitive Indians would work against the nationalist agenda of Vasconcelos and the Mexican government.

In *Sinfonía India*, Chávez borrows elements of Mexican Indian music to present it as the "Other" in contrast to primitive elements of a new Western modernism. Chávez's combination of repetitive pentatonic motives, thin textures, and featured percussion sections in *Sinfonía India* could be considered an example of a primitive work that is part of a larger modernist movement. Such a primitivist work makes a modernist statement: that it is a move away from Romanticism that generally favored diatonicism over chromaticism, long, sweeping melodies over short, motivic devices, and lush, full sounds over thin orchestration. Interestingly, modernism in *Sinfonía India* is used as a form of "high" art to intentionally move away from Romanticism; this goal is more important to Chávez than accurately representing the Mexican Indian. Thus, the Indian in *Sinfonía India* is a representation of the Other in a modernist piece that mostly aims to be part of a Western, modern tradition.

Unlike the work of Vasconcelos, Rivera, and other contemporary nationalists,³⁸ Chávez's *Sinfonía India* lacks political motivation. While Rivera's *History of Mexico* has hope in the future of Mexico, *Sinfonía India* provides no future for the Indian. The primitive nature of the Mexican Indians, as they are portrayed in *Sinfonía India*, leaves no hope for change in their future, rather, they are bound only to the past and an almost mythical presence in the present. Thus, a work devoid of such political overtones that characterizes Mexican nationalism at the time can hardly be called nationalist itself.

³⁸ The music of Silvestre Revueltas, a contemporary of Chávez, is an example of a nationalist art music from Mexico. For a more detailed discussion of political statements in Revueltas's music, see Carol A. Hess, "Silvestre Revueltas in Republican Spain: Music as Political Utterance," *Latin American Music Review* 18, no.2 (1997): 278-96.

While it is true that Chávez uses what seems to be national subject matter in his music, *Sinfonía India* was created for a U.S. audience—not a Mexican one—and thus, fails to embody the aims of Mexican nationalism. By using primitive devices, Chávez could put his music on the same level as his contemporaries in Europe and the United States. Additionally, by using mostly elements of primitivism over other forms of modernism, Chávez created a musical idiom that, to U.S. audiences, represented the Mexican Indian, but was out of touch with how Mexicans perceived their indigenous population. Additionally, Chávez's appointments of various musical positions, such as director of the Mexican Symphony Orchestra and director of the National Conservatory of Music, granted him power that may have discouraged other Mexican musicians—especially younger ones—from challenging his reputation as a nationalist composer of Mexico. Furthermore, his notoriety as a composer provided weight for the claims he later made about his music being Indianist or nationalist.

Conclusion

Rivera's *History of Mexico* and Chávez's *Sinfonía India* share similarities, but also marked differences. These differences are important because Rivera's mural constitutes the very essence of Mexican nationalism as defined and created by the SEP, but Chávez's *Sinfonía India*, although it touches on similar subject matter, is not politically engaged. In fact, it is rather disengaged from the political leanings of Mexican nationalism of the time and it adopts a locus of enunciation from outside Mexico, rendering it incapable of being nationalist. Furthermore, Rivera's *History of Mexico* attempts to create a national identity that places the *mestizo* at the heart of this identity, but Chávez's *Sinfonía India* turns the Mexican Indian into the Other for the interest of U.S. audiences. Additionally, Rivera's mural attempts to engage in a political discussion with the viewer, but *Sinfonía India* merely perpetuates the U.S. stereotypes of the Mexican Indian in an unattached manner. Thus, due to the locus of enunciation Chávez operates from, the Mexican Us becomes the Other for the U.S. audience that the work was intended for.

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