Stravinsky's *Svadebka* (1914-23) as the "Direct Quotation of Popular – i.e. Non-Literary – Verse"\(^1\)

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Отсебятина, милый друг, всё это – Свадебка это ничто иное, как симфония русской песенности и русского слога./ All this is baloney, my dear friend. *Svadebka* is nothing other than a symphony of the song-like quality of Russian melos and of Russian speech.

Stravinsky's margin note on p. 214 of Asafiev's *A Book About Stravinsky* held in the composer's archive in Basel, partial tr. in Zemtsovsky 1996.

Historical Context

The beginning of work on *Svadebka* marks a new stage in Stravinsky's development after *The Rite of Spring*. As Mikhail Druskin says in his monograph (1983: 42), the goals the composer will have accomplished during the following decade were set in a very short period of time – about a year and a half – separating the completion of *The Rite of Spring* from the first drafts of *Svadebka* (December 1912 – August 1914). The significance of *Svadebka* is reflected in the history of its creation and orchestration, unusually long and difficult for the composer – not only because of constant interruptions in favor of other compositions, but also because of the novelty of the objectives set in this work.

In *Expositions and Developments* Stravinsky recalls:

I became aware of an idea for a choral work on the subject of a Russian peasant wedding early in 1912\(^2\); the title, *Svadebka, Les Noces*,\(^3\) occurred to me almost at the same time as the idea itself. As my conception developed, I began to see that it did not indicate the dramatization of a wedding or the accompaniment of a staged wedding spectacle with descriptive music. My wish was, instead, to present actual wedding material through direct quotation of popular – i.e. non-literary – verse. I waited two years before discovering my source in the anthologies by Afanasiev and Kireievsky, but this wait was well rewarded, as the dance-cantata form of the music was also suggested to me by my reading of these two great treasures of the Russian language and spirit. (Stravinsky 1962: 114-5).

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2 In *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents*, Craft assumes that *Svadebka* was inspired by a Jewish wedding that Stravinsky and Cocteau saw in Leysin in March 1914 (Stravinsky, Craft 1978: 150). In reality, *Svadebka* was conceived as early as 1912, as proved by a letter from Aleksander Sanin of Feb. 17/March 2, 1913, where the latter says that he discussed the project with Stravinsky a year ago (Varunts 2000II: 36). By the summer 1913, the composer was ready to embark on the project; however, his friend Stepan Mitusov failed to send him the necessary text sources from Russia at that time (Varunts 2000II: 112).
3 "This music has always been more widely known by its French title. 'Little Wedding' would be the best English equivalent if 'little' can be made to mean not 'small' but 'peasant'" (Stravinsky 1962: 114, fn. 1). Actually, it was Diaghilev who accidentally came across the final version of the title in his conversation with Stravinsky some time before March 8, 1915 (Taruskin 1996: 1322, fn. 9). Ramuz's French title for this work was *Les noces villageoises*. 
By the beginning of the summer of 1914, the Stravinskys moved to the hôtel-pension Bel-Air, situated near Salvan in the Rhone valley (Walsh 1999: 235). In first half of July, the composer made the long-awaited trip from Switzerland to Ustilug and Kiev with the purpose of consulting lawyers about his Ukrainian property in view of the coming war, and of finding the necessary text sources for the projected work. Some of them (like Afanasiev's *Russian Folk Fairy Tales*) were kept in Ustilug; others had to be bought. Among these latter, there was a volume of Russian ritual folksongs by Kireyevsky (1911), which would become the main source for the libretto of "**Svadebka**."

The rest of the summer was dedicated to separating the texts suitable for *Svadebka* from other items of interest found in these volumes. Early in September 1914, the Stravinskys moved to Clarens and took up residence in La Pervenche as the sublessees of Ernest Ansermet. More or less systematic work on the first tableau of *Svadebka* was begun in Clarens just after the four songs of *Pribaoutki* and "The Pike" from *Podblyudnye* had been completed, that is, in the late fall of 1914 (Walsh 1999: 243-4). Stravinsky began by sketching a three-act operatic scenario, complete with the preliminary "bargain" scenes and the ritual "dunking" of the bride (Stravinsky, Craft 1978: 145-6).

By November 1914, Stravinsky had drafted some or most of the first tableau – a precise chronology is not possible because of the absence of dates in *Svadebka," especially remarkable given Stravinsky's general obsession with them" (Stravinsky, Craft 1978: 151). In March 1915, Serge Diaghilev, the future dedicatee of *Svadebka*, was still hoping to stage it in Paris the following summer but it soon became clear that the continuing war would make this project unrealizable for several years (Walsh 1999: 252-3). The second tableau (and possibly some of the third) was probably written and played to Diaghilev in the spring of 1915, but soon thereafter *Svadebka* would be put aside for months in favor of *Bayka*. The work was completed in short score, with much of the fourth tableau fully orchestrated, on September 29 Old Style/October 11, 1917 New Style (Stravinsky, Craft 1978: 153; Taruskin 1996: 1140). The final minimal orchestration (four pianos and a percussion ensemble) was found in April 1922, but not completed until the end of May 1923, within days of *Svadebka*'s première in Paris (Walsh 1999: 347, 630, fn. 61).

**The Sources of the Libretto**

In *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents*, Kireyevsky is referred to as "the only source [of *Svadebka*] apart from three lines in A. V. Tereshchenko's *Byt Russkogo Naroda*

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4 In *Chroniques de ma vie* (1935), the composer says that *Pribaoutki, Berceuses du chat*, and *Podblyudnye* were all composed after he had already selected the text material for *Svadebka* (Stravinsky 1963: 100; this is less clear from the English translation, Stravinsky 1936: 93).

5 "But it took him much longer to find the severe ritual structure – largely eschewing anecdote or pantomime – which is such a powerful feature of the finished work. By March [1915] this character was emerging, but the structure was not yet firm…" (Walsh 1999: 250-1).

6 This new dating refutes Stravinsky's statement in *Expositions and Developments* that he thought of the definitive instrumentation of *Svadebka* while living at Gabrielle Chanel's in Garches in 1921 (1962: 118).
(1848 edition, Vol. II, p. 332), used at rehearsal figure [93], and apart from Stravinsky himself, since the unidentified lines, the neologisms, and the many amendments and modifications of the Kireyevsky originals could only be by the composer" (Stravinsky, Craft 1978: 132). The collections of Tereshchenko, Shein, and Sakharov also contain a preliminary exposition of the peasant wedding ritual and a number of wedding folksong texts. Stravinsky's use of song text fragments from these anthologies and of spoken formulas from the related entries in Dahl's Tolkovy Slovar' Zhivogo Velikorusskogo Yazyka (Explanatory Dictionary of the Living Great-Russian Language) is documented by Taruskin in chapters 15 and 17 (Taruskin 1996: 1140-41; 1324-49; 1422-40).

A typical folk wedding ritual, says Birkan, is naturally divided by its content into two parts: (1) from the matchmaking ceremonies to the morning of the wedding day, and (2) from the morning of the wedding day to the end of all the festivities (1966: 242). However, this division does not correspond to that of Stravinsky's final version, as the earlier drafts of Svadebka's scenario were abandoned in favor of a succinct two-part structure that represents the events of a single wedding day, not unlike Joyce's Ulysses, which Stravinsky in his later years compared to his own work (Stravinsky 1962: 115).

A detailed description of a typical Russian peasant wedding ritual (or "wedding play", svadebnaya igra) is found in the editor's preface to Vladimir Propp's collection of Russian lyric folk songs (Propp 1961: 19-26). Propp describes the turning-points of the ritual as follows: (1) svatovstvo and propivanie nevesty, the matchmaker's visit with the ritual "dunking" of the bride (if the bride and the groom were not yet acquainted with each other, this stage included smotryiny, an inspection of the bride); (2) sgovor or the striking of hands, a common meal for the parents on both sides; (3) devichnik, a kind of bridal shower on the eve of the wedding, after which the bride is taken to the bath; (4) the ritual dressing-up of the bride in the morning of the wedding day or during the devichnik the night before (the "unplaiting of the braid"); (5) the arrival of the groom and the best men, and their jocular "fight" with the girlfriends of the bride; (6) the blessing of the bride by her parents (and, earlier, of the groom by his); (7) knyazhiy stol (the prince's table) – the wedding feast at the groom's after the religious ceremony. The author notes that the difficulties in studying the entire folk wedding ritual are caused by the fact that "none of the folklorists was lucky enough to see the entire sequence of events... In the majority of cases, only the day of the wedding was witnessed. The rest of the ritual is recorded from inquiries and evidence of natives" (Propp 1961: 20). Incidentally, one of the best records of a typical folk wedding was made by the peasant Derunov and reprinted in Shein's The Great Russian collection, one of the books that Stravinsky could have consulted while at work on Svadebka (Shein 1989: 105-136; Birkan 1966: 246).

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7 "Ulyu-lyu, sobaki! Ulyu-lyu, borzye, ulyu-lyu, kosye!" (rehearsal figure [93]). Stravinsky also borrowed the entire stanza "S-pod kamushka, s-pod belova" from Tereshchenko 1848 (rehearsal figure [18-21]).


9 Some of Kireyevsky's songs set in the fourth tableau (rehearsal figure [111], e.g.) are sung during this earlier "drinking-away of the bride" event – propivanie nevesty – by her father together with the groom's family members (Birkan 1966: 250).
In his analysis of the song texts of *Svadebka*, Birkan establishes the four main musical elements that constitute the traditional folk wedding ritual: (1) incantations or spells, (2) glorifications, (3) humorous songs, and (4) laments. Each of these genres plays its special role in the libretto of the work. The main line of the story – the ritual itself – is carried out by incantations of the saints and glorifying songs to the newly-weds, and the two opposite emotional reactions to the ritual are represented by, respectively, laments and humorous songs (Birkan 1971: 172ff). The latter two genres can also be found in *Bayka*: the Fox’s “psalmody” in the first temptation scene, the Cock’s lamentation, and the lucky appearances of the Cat and the Ram with their *skomorokh* (the minstrel-buffon of the ancient Russia) tunes. The dancing element of *Bayka* is so strong that poetic trochees are sometimes directly represented in the music (Lupishko 2009: 64-69). Not so in *Svadebka*, where the vocal element prevails over both speech and dance.

Traditionally, Russian folk wedding laments[^1] were sung to locally established melodic formulas. However important the role of laments was in the wedding preparation, they were not allowed to be performed beyond the church ceremony into the wedding celebration (Mazo 1990: 121-3, 119). We witness a similar procedure in *Svadebka*: laments are absent from the fourth tableau. Accordingly, the humorous element (Asafiev’s *skomoroshina*) is almost absent from the first part of *Svadebka*, except for its episodic appearances in the consolation of the bride at [16] and in the *druzhko’s* monologue at rehearsal figure [53]. This *skomorokh* element dominates the wedding feast in the fourth tableau; the type of folksong used to tease the bride and her parents there is called *zapoyne* (drinking songs) in Kireyevsky 1911. The first part of *Svadebka* is based on incantations or spells (*zaklinaniya*) of the saints and the Holy Virgin (the second and third tableaux), and on laments of the bride and the parents on both sides (the entire first and, episodically, second and third tableaux). Glorifying songs (*velichal’nye*) or wedding songs proper (*svadebnye*), easily recognizable by their use of patronymic forms of address to the newly-weds, constitute the main part of the last tableau. They are also found in the first part of *Svadebka* (rehearsal figures [9], [12], [18], [29], [35]).

Here is the dramatic structure of *Svadebka* as borrowed from Birkan 1966:

**Tableau I “The Braid”**

1. Lament of the Bride
2. Consolation of the Bride’s Girlfriends
3. Incantation of the Holy Virgin

**Tableau II “At the Groom’s”**

1. Incantation of the Holy Virgin
2. Lament of the Groom’s Parents
3. Address of the Groom to His Parents
4. Blessing of the Groom
5. Incantation of the Saints

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<tr>
<th>Tableau I “The Braid”</th>
<th>Rehearsal Figure No.</th>
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<td>1. Lament of the Bride</td>
<td>[1] [4] [8]</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Consolation of the Bride’s Girlfriends</td>
<td>[2] [7] [9] [12] [16] [18]</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Incantation of the Holy Virgin</td>
<td>[21]</td>
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[^1]: The important role played by lament in Russian folk weddings suggests that the ritual itself is to be looked at as a kind of rite of initiation for the bride, whose girlhood had to be “destroyed” and thus lamented upon (Mazo 1990: 121). The three main stages of any rite of passage (separation, transition, and incorporation) are also the key moments of *Svadebka’s* dramaturgy.
Tableau III "Seeing-off the Bride"
1. Blessing of the Bride [65]
2. Incantation of the Saints [70]
3. Lament of Both Mothers [82]

Tableau IV "The Wedding Feast"
1. Glorification of the Newly-weds [87]
2. Handing-over of the Bride to the Groom [96] [104] [111]
3. "Warming-Up" of the Nuptial Bed [114]
4. Glorification of the Nuptial Bed [130]

Stravinsky the Librettist

Unlike Bayka and the chansons russes, the libretto of Svadebka consists of texts of various archaic and recent folk wedding songs – the material prone to various metric, rhythmic, and melodic interpretations. Here Stravinsky the librettist is at the very height of his skill and talent. As in Bayka and perhaps even more consistently, an editing of the text sources took place here. Like a typical folk singer, the composer shakes up the original text, expanding (more often than abbreviating) words, phrases, lines, and stanzas, inserting proper names, pronouns, particles, exclamations, syntactic parallelisms, dialecticisms, repetitions, and so on. The result of this editing is a mosaic of bits of texts and poetic metres, in which irregular tonic (accentual) verse\textsuperscript{11} patterns prevail over regular syllabo-tonic meters. In contrast to the libretto of Bayka, where Stravinsky sometimes added extended phrases of his own, here the ritual texts remained authentic, with the exception of some minor phonetic or syntactic details. Semantic differences are rare; in one instance (rehearsal figure [13]), Stravinsky changed the description of a nightingale from No. 934 of Kireyevsky, "Denyocheck on krichit, i vsyu nochen'ku svistit" [all the day it cries, all the night it whistles], into a more poetic "Denyocheck on svistit, i vsyu nochen'ku poyot" [all the day it whistles, all the night it sings]. In yet another case (rehearsal figure [106]), he replaced one Russian folk wedding symbol from No. 1009 (seraya utushka, grey duck) with another, more poetic one (lebyad' belaya, white female swan).

When in need of an extra syllable, the composer inserts short particles or conjunctions ("-to," "da," "i," "uzh"), fills in consonantal prepositions with vowels ("v" becomes "vo"), introduces the archaic ending of infinitives ("ekhat" becomes "ekhati" [to go by transportation]) and gives folk forms of adjectives and verbs ("prichyösany" becomes "poraschyośany" [brushed (hair)]). In so doing, Stravinsky intuitively follows the folk performance practice that allows such minor regulation of the verse structure on the part of the performer (Bailey 2001: 236). Since the songs in Kireyevsky are addressed to different pairs of newly-weds, the composer changed proper names, adjusting them to either "Khvetis Pamfil'evich" or "Nastás'ya Timoféyevna" (the proper names Khvetis – literary "Fetis" – and Nastas'ya – "Anastasia" – are taken from Kireyevsky's No. 481 and No. 635, respectively).

\textsuperscript{11} According to Bailey, tonic (accentual) verse has a constant number of metrical stresses per line but a varying number of syllables between them (Bailey 1993: 14; see also Lupishko 2009: 64-66).
Stravinsky adds extra lines usually without changing the meaning of the verse; sometimes he does so in order to destroy metric regularity, at other times the opposite takes place. Consider an example of the latter (rehearsal figure [11]), where he simultaneously adds line 5 and reduces the number of syllables in lines 1 and 3 in order to create his own "trochaic" variant of this strict two-stress tonic verse\(^{12}\) (Lupishko 2009: 64-66). This verse promises (ironically!) a friendly attitude of the future in-laws to the bride (S=strong syllable, w=weak syllable, Stravinsky’s additions in bold):

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Kireyevsky No. 937:} & \text{Stravinsky:} \\
\text{1. Kak svekór li tvoy bátyushka} & \text{1. Kak svekór li bátyushka} \\
\text{K tebe búdet milostliv,} & \text{Sw Sw Sw S} \\
\text{2. Kak svekróv’ li tvoyá mátushka} & \text{Sw Sw Sw S} \\
\text{K tebe búdet zhálostliva.} & \text{Sw Sw Sw Sw}
\end{array}
\]

Kak svekór li bátyushka
K tebe búdet milostliv,
Kak svekróv’ li mátushka
K tebe búdet zhálostliva.

The fact that texts of the oral tradition normally exist in different variants is well known and well documented. The Russian folk versification specialist James Bailey argues that each particular isosyllabic variant corresponds to a particular tonic verse variant, in which the number of syllables is usually greater than in the basic isosyllabic variant (1993: 211, 2001: 146). Stravinsky the librettist also seems to act according to this logic, transforming regular isosyllabic verses into irregular ones, and – less frequently – vice versa. The first method (that of line extension) is often combined with introduction of syntactic parallelisms within or between the lines. Here is an example from the second tableau (rehearsal figure [55], Stravinsky's additions in bold):

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Kireyevsky No. 937:} & \text{Stravinsky:} \\
\text{1. Lebedínoe peró upadálo!} & \text{1. Lebedínoe peró upadálo! Iván palo!} \\
\text{2. Péred téremom upadálo! Iván pálo!} & \text{2. Péred téremom upadálo! Iván palo!} \\
\text{3. Upadál Khvetís péred ródn ym bátyushkoy:} & \text{3. Upadál Khvetís podr ym bátyushkoy:} \\
\text{4. Upadál Pamfíl’ich podr ym mátushkoy:} & \text{4. Upadál Pamfíl’ich podr ym mátushkoy:}^{14}
\end{array}
\]

Here "nekhmelínoe peró" [not-a-hop-feather], and a meaningless exclamation "Ivan palo!" is added to lines 1-2. One can observe in once Stravinsky’s inclination towards syntactic parallelisms in his lines 1-2 and 3-4 ("A swan-feather fell,\textit{ In front of the tower it fell}" and "Khvetis kneeled before his dear father,\textit{ Pamphil’ich kneeled before his dear mother}"). Here is another example of added syntactic parallelisms from the same tableau (rehearsal figure [39]):

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\(^{12}\) The 20\textsuperscript{th}-century researchers of Russian folk verse (Jakobson 1966 (1929), Taranovsky 1953, Bailey 1993) divide it into two types: regular (isosyllabic and featuring a distinct poetic metre) and irregular (accentual or tonic verse, where only the number of main stresses per line is constant). The irregular metres are traditionally divided into two-stress and three-stress strict tonic verse and free tonic verse (the latter resembles more prose than poetry).

\(^{13}\) [As a father-in-law, Father will be kind to you, As a mother-in-law, Mother will be kind to you, Will be sympathetic with you]; hereafter in the footnotes, tr. are by Theodore Levin and Dmitri Pokrovsky from the audio CD recording \textit{Stravinsky: Les Noces and Russian Village Wedding Songs}, Electra-Nonesuch, 1994.

\(^{14}\) [The swan feather fell, Ivan Paolo, Fell down in front of the tower, Ivan fell! Khvetis fell down before his own father, Pamfilich fell down before his own mother.]
Here Stravinsky expanded the text source by adding two pairs of lines, 3-4 and 9-10, while removing lines 3 and 7 of the original. Remarkably, the strict two-stress tonic verse structure has not changed in the process of these transformations.

At other times, Stravinsky abridges the original text to the point where it becomes almost nonsensical. Here is an example from the first tableau (rehearsal figure [16]), pointed out by Birkan (1966: 244):

Kireyevsky No. 564:  
Igráy, igráy, udályi skomoróshek, s selá do selá.  
Uzh shtob bylá Natál'yushka veselá,  
Uzh shtob bylá Mikháylovna zavsegdá.

Stravinsky:  
Ray, ray!  
Udályi skomoróshek, s selá do selá.  
Ray, ray! Chtob násha Nastás'yushka, chtob bylá veselá, ray!  
Uzh chtob bylá zavsegdá!16

The original verse is much more comprehensible than the edited version (the bride is offered consolation by a skomoróshchek, who is encouraged to play for her: "Igray!"). "Ray, ray!" in Stravinsky's version becomes neither the noun "ray" [paradise] nor the abridged imperative of the verb "igráy" [play] but a simple exclamation of exaltation, a "climactic Dionysian shriek" (Asafiev 1982: 135).17 As in Bayka, Stravinsky is attracted by the purely phonetic aspect of the folk language. Birkan observes that "the composer changes individual vowels or consonants in certain words, seeking the desired sound; in some cases he takes over harsh dialecticisms, in other cases he inserts dialecticisms of his own" (1966: 242).18 The third and especially fourth tableaux make extensive use of interjections

15 [Khvetis’s curls curled and curled. Pamfilich’s light brown hair curled and curled. Mother curled them, She curled them and repeated: My child, be ruddy fresh, Ruddy fresh and safe from the evil eye.]

16 [Play, play bold skomoroshek, From village to village. Paradise, paradise, that our Nastasyushka Should be happy.]

17 "The word 'lushen’ki', too, is a rhyming word, in fact, the diminutive of a rhyming word; it has no 'sense'" (Stravinsky 1962: 116). This word, a diminutive of "lyuli-lyuli" and the like, is there for the sake of its rhythm and color, rather than rhyme. Cf. "kuda-kuda," "tyuk-tyuk" and "syom-syom" in Bayka, "sorochen’ka, chi-chi-chi" from Souvenirs de mon enfance, "a bayu-bayu" from Berceuses du chat, and "tilim-bom, tilim-bom" from Trois histoires, "ovsen’, ovsen’" and "slavna, slavna" from Podblyudnye, etc.

18 Cf. "mesyach" (dial.) → "mesyats" [crescent], "tsuzhuyu"(dial.) → "chuzhuyu" [other], "plela" → "plyala" (dialect.) [plaited], "upletu" → "uplyatu" (dia.) [will plait] (Birkan 1966: 242, fn. 5-6). In some instances, Stravinsky changes one dialecticism into another: "va terimu" → "vo tiremu" [in the tower], "baslov" → "boslovi" [bless], "porovanskogo masla" → "paravanskogo masla", which
in the beginning of poetic lines, which adds to the Dionysian atmosphere of the wedding feast ("Ay," "Oy," "Uzh," "Okh," "Akh," "Da chto," "Uzh kak," etc.). As the late Stravinsky rightly claims,

A knowledge not only of the cultural customs but also of the language of Les Noces is necessary to anyone aspiring to a true appreciation of the work... But I wonder if Les Noces can ever completely reveal itself to a non-Russian. In musical versifications of this sort, a translation of sound-sense is impossible and a translation of word-sense, even if possible, would be through a glass darkly (Stravinsky 1962: 116-7).\(^{19}\)

Regular or Tonic Verse?

Stravinsky's translator Charles-Ferdinand Ramuz writes in his memoirs:

I recall that at first I had to cope all by myself with the difficulties of the [poetic] metre – a task that had never been simple, taking into account that all I had to do was to distribute the syllables correctly – and this task often required literally mathematical operations for the purpose of finding a common denominator (Ramuz 1997: 62; tr. and italics mine – M. L.).

It should not be forgotten that Svadebka differs from Bayka and some vocal cycles from the same period in that its texts are song texts, not fairytales or pribaoutki (children's games half-spoken half-sung). That is to say, these texts do not exist without a musical performance, and therefore one of the most important factors at play here is the interaction between the musical and the poetic metre. Stravinsky could hardly have heard the songs performed live.\(^{20}\) But the daringly free musical treatment given to the texts by the composer is noteworthy: not only several different texts sound simultaneously (Ramuz), but endless syntactic parallelisms and repetitions (both horizontal, in one voice, and vertical, between the voices) of words, phrases, and poetic lines permeate the final edifice; at times, the words are even "torn to pieces," as in the apocope of the first line, "Kosa l' moya, ko..." [Oh, my tresse].\(^{21}\)

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\(^{19}\) Apparently, Stravinsky explained this folk usage of the adjective "krasny" (red) to Ramuz, who mistakenly understood it as an attribute of the literary Russian language: "on dit en russe un garçon 'rouge', une fille 'rouge' pour exprimer approbativement les belles couleurs de la santé" ([in Russian they say 'red fellow', 'red girl' in order to express approvingly a beautiful color of good health], Ramuz 1997: 29).

\(^{20}\) Russian folk wedding songs with the texts similar to those of Stravinsky – "Igray, skomoroshek/ Play, skomoroshek," "Poynik, propoynik/ The Drinker," and "Yagoda/ Berry" – can be found on the audio CD Stravinsky: Les Noces and Russian Village Wedding Songs, performed by Pokrovsky Ensemble, Elektra-Nonesuch, 1994. For a review of this recording and a new appraisal of Svadebka see Zemtsovsky 1996.

\(^{21}\) In his 1960 article, Zemtsovsky pays special attention to the apocope (slovoobr), a characteristic feature of highly melismatic Russian folk drawn-out (protyazhnye) songs (1960: 219-230).
Second, it should be remembered that Russian folk wedding songs are almost never performed outside the ritual and that in a different situation they would completely lose their meaning (Propp 1961: 20). As another writer has noted, "wedding folk songs represent a very traditional and even conservative genre, especially because such songs were sung by women who rarely left their places of birth and therefore were less subjected to foreign influences than men" (Bailey 2001: 150). In the course of his comparative analysis of 144 variants of the folk wedding song "Otstavála lébed' bélaya," Bailey hypothesizes that among these variants the rhythmically loose (tonic) ones represent a more recent phenomenon, and that these variants "obviously resulted from disintegration of isosyllabic poetic metres and from progressive extension of poetic lines" (2001: 146). Not all the songs in Kireyevsky's collection can be attributed to the most ancient layer of folklore, though, because most of them were collected in the first half of the 19th century. This fact, and also Stravinsky's interest in irregular folk verse at that time explain why this type of poetic metre – a strict (two-stress or three-stress) tonic verse – prevails over the entire Svadebka.

Episodic occurrences of regular poetic metres in Svadebka are the exceptions that prove the rule. To cite a few examples, in the first tableau there are (DE = dactylic ending, ME = masculine ending):

- iambic trimeter with DE: "Не кличь, не кличь, лебёдушка"/"Ne klich', ne klich', lebyódushka"

  \[ws\isse\]

- trochaic tetrameter with DE: "Как свекор ли батюшка"/"Kak svekór li bátyushka"

  \[Sw Sww\]

- anapestic trimeter with DE: "Хветис, сударь Памфильевич"/"Khvetís, súdar' Pamfíl'evich"

  \[wWws\]

- dactylic trimeter with ME: "Начала косыньку рвать и щипать"/"Náchala kós\yn'ku rvat' i shchipát"

  \[Sww Sww Sw S\]

- trochaic tetrameter with ME: "Алу ленту упляту"/"Àlu léntu uplyatú"

  \[Sw Sw S\]

However, it would be fairer to speak here about iambic or trochaic lines or pairs of lines rather than verses, because in Stravinsky's libretto extended excerpts from a single Kireyevsky song are not frequent at all. Apart from twenty-two lines from Kireyevsky's No. 937 at rehearsal figure [9] ("Ne klich', ne klich', lebyódushka"), and twelve lines from No. 137 at rehearsal figure [65] ("Blagoslovlyálsya svéte mésyats"), the composer does not use extended text fragments. In the fourth tableau, completed in 1917, the mosaic character

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22 This song is given as the example of the folk trochaic tetrameter with dactylic endings (Sw Sw Sw Sww) by Tred'yakovsky (1735, 1752), the founder of the "foot" theory (stopnaya teoriya) of Russian folk verse (on the difference between stopnaya and tonicheskaya teoriya of Russian folk verse see Lupishko 2007: 15-16).

23 Pyotr Kireyevsky (1808-1856), the brother of the renowned slavophile Ivan Kireyevsky (1806-56), had been considered in Soviet historiography to belong to the same reactionary camp. However, Pyotr's views on folklore collection were formed before the rise of the 19th-century ideological movement of Slavophilism. At the time of his premature death, Kireyevsky's collection comprised thousands of items, some of which were "donated" to him by Pushkin, Gogol, Dahl, Kol'tsov and others. Even today, a significant part of this collection still remains unpublished. The "New Series" edition came out in print in 1911, opening a new era in Kireyevsky publication and research (Soymonov 1971: 3-26; Taruskin 1996: 1332-37).
of the libretto is most evident. The first two lines of this tableau "Yágoda s yágodoy sokatílasya" (rehearsal figure [87]) are taken from the beginning of No. 142 (these lines were recorded by Pushkin from his nanny or perhaps invented by the great Russian poet himself, see Taruskin 1996: 1335), then some onomatopoeia are added by Stravinsky ("lyúshen'ki"), then there come the first two lines of No. 447, followed by the third and fourth lines from No. 142, then the first and third lines from No. 451 are mixed with the continuation of No. 142, and so on. Often the only connecting-link for this collage is the possibility of three (or two) main accents per line. Yet, even a two- or three-stress tonic pattern does not continue for long; one exception is a three-stress pattern that occurs in nine consecutive lines in the address of the groom to his parents in the second tableau: "Bosllovíte, otéch' s máter'yu..." (rehearsal figures [50]-[53]).

Overall, one can agree with Taruskin that "the music, often acting independently of the words and at times at a fairly abstract level, is the prime shaper of the ballet's form" (1996: 1349, italics in the text), and not the folk poetry, which in itself is quite irregular. As the ensuing analysis will demonstrate, in Svadebka Stravinsky continues to use his old "tried-and-true" techniques of text-setting and discovers new ones that evoke the overall term "the technique of building blocks." This term is taken from an interview given in Barcelona in 1928, where Stravinsky compares such works as Svadebka and Oedipus Rex (1926-7). Stravinsky's words are cited in a retelling by the interviewer:

Stravinsky tells us that in Oedipus Rex the word is a simple material which functions musically as a block of marble or a block of stone in architecture or sculpture. Les Noces, for instance, consists of songs which do not bear much logical sense, but instead in these poems their sonic and rhythmic qualities are emphasized. Our language, as the composer explains, is inseparable from emotionality and sensuality, which undermine the musical value of the word. That is why [in Oedipus Rex] Stravinsky turns his attention to the dead language of Latin... Stravinsky leaves the Latin text untouched, yet at the same time he emphasizes syllables, poetic feet, etc. (La Veu de Catalunya, Barcelona, March 25, 1928, cit. in Varunts 1988: 83, tr. is mine – M. L.).

***

In Svadebka, Stravinsky develops and carries to its logical conclusion the "purely tonic" method of text-setting, discovered in "The Colonel" from Pribaoutki and employed widely in Bayka (Lupishko 2009: 69-73). The "contrafact" method (resetting a new text to an existing melody) with its inevitable shifts of accents is also found. The "trochaic" rendering of both regular and tonic verse, omnipresent in Bayka (Lupishko 2009: 66-69), is not completely abandoned in Svadebka and is employed at humorous and festive moments of the ritual. Finally, in the second, third and fourth tableau, Stravinsky introduces a technique of "building blocks". Similarly to sung Russian folklore, elements of the folk language function in Svadebka as a kind of oral notation of musico-rhythmic motives: words and syllables are fragmented and rearranged each time in a slightly different order, producing semantically similar but rhythmically and metrically unequal phrases and words.

---

Stravinsky starts Svadebka's sketchbook precisely with this episode: see microfilm folio 110-0391 of the composer's archive in Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, reproduced with permission in APPENDIX A. The first line to be set is "Svovo tsâdu ko stol'nU gradu pristupí!" – the aspiration to bring out the three-stress tonic verse structure by prolonging accented or re-accented syllables is evident in this early sketch.
A good example of the "purely tonic" method of text-setting is the girlfriends' song "Khvetis sudar' Pamfil'evich" from the first tableau "The Tress" (Example 1, rehearsal figure [12]), which accompanies the scene of the unplaiting of the bride's braid. Similarly to the scene of the Cock's scream in Bayka (Lupishko 2009: 69-71), here Stravinsky preserves the lovely irregularity of this verse by employing various meters; he also keeps the two-stress tonic verse structure throughout by placing main stresses strictly on downbeats and sometimes by prolonging them rhythmically and melismatically. Moreover, Stravinsky clearly gives general preference to a two-stress tonic structure over a three-stress tonic structure (see the last column in the scheme below) by leveling the accents in "sudar'," "u tebyä" and "tebyä li" (accent marks ` and ´ indicate two main accents, arsis and thesis):

1. Хветис, сударь Памфильевич,  
3 \rightarrow 2  
Khvetís, sudar' Pamfil'evich,

2. У тебя соловей во саду,  
3 \rightarrow 2  
U tebya solovéy vo sadú,

3. Ва высоком терему,  
2  
Va vysókom têremu,

4. Ва высоком изукрашенном  
2  
Va vysókom, izukráshennom

5. Денёчек он свистит  
2  
Denyóchek on svistít

6. И всю ночью поёт,  
2  
I vsyú nóchen'ku poyòt,

7. Тебя ли, тебя ли, Настасьушку,  
3 \rightarrow 2  
Tebyá li, tebyá li, Nastáš'yushku,

8. Тебя ли, свет Тимофеевну,  
3 \rightarrow 2  
Tebyá li, svet Timoféyevnu,

9. Забавляет, утешает,  
2  
Zabavlyáet, utesháet,

10. Спать долго не мешает,  
2  
Spat' dólgo ne mesháyet,

11. К обедне разбужает.  
2  
K obédne razbuzháet.  

In the preliminary sketch (microfilm folio 110-0419 of Stravinsky's collection, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel, partly reproduced in Taruskin 1996: 1362, Example 17.7b, the short score version of the preliminary sketch is reproduced with permission in APPENDIX B), the copied text from Kireyevsky (with Philip instead of Khvetis) is juxtaposed with a setting in musical rhythmic values only – no pitches. Beginning from line 7 (rehearsal figure [14]), the composer uses the "contrafact" method of text-setting, already employed in Bayka (Taruskin 1996: 1277): the new lines are set to the modified melody of rehearsal figure [12].

---

25 [Khvetis, sir Pamfilevich Is your nightingale in the garden, In the night tower, In the high, lavishly painted. During the day he whistles And all night he sings. You, you, Nastasyushka, You, fair one, Timofeyevna, He amuses, comforts, Sleep long, he won't disturb you, He'll wake you for afternoon mass.]
Example 1: Stravinsky *Les Noces* Rehearsal No. [12]

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The second tableau "At the Groom's" shows a parallel ritual – that of tidying the groom's curls – being held at the same time as the events of the first tableau. At rehearsal figure [41], where the best men re-enter with their entertaining songs, there is another homogeneous fragment of text:

1. На ком кудри, на ком русые?
2. На Хветису кудри русые,
3. На Памфильчу порасчёсанные,
4. Порасчёсанные, разбумаженные.
5. Спала́ть, спала́ть отцу-матери,
6. Хорошо дитя воспородили.
7. Умного и разумного,
8. Покорного и пословного.

The dactylic ending (Sww) and the anapestic beginning (wwS) remain the two more or less constant traits of this strict two-stress tonic verse: wSww wSww. Certain lines correspond to a regular meter, trochaic tetrameter with dactylic endings: Sw Sw Sw Sw. Yet another characteristic of this verse stands out: in almost every line the syntactic caesura between the two hemistiches comes before the final five-syllable formula wSww, a basic feature of the folk 5+5 meter (e.g., line 6: "Khoroshó ditya vosporódili" wSww wSww). As a result, the abundance of five-syllable center-stressed words and phrases ("kudri rúsyę," "otssu-máteri," "vosporódili," etc.) is particularly noteworthy. Stravinsky treats this verse as purely tonic: he either prolongs the main stresses with a melisma or puts them on downbeats (Example 2, rehearsal figures [41]-[42]).

Text versus the Music: "Trochaic" Rendering of Regular and Tonic Verse

At the heart of the first tableau, there is one of the most archaic parts of the Russian folk wedding ritual – the unplaiting of the bride's braid. The bride starts her lament (plach) "Kosa l' moya, kosyn'ka rusaya!" [Oh, my tress, my dark-blond pretty one!]. The refrain containing the psalmody of the bride's girlfriends "I'm combing, I shall comb Nastasia's tress" begins with a fore-stress, shifting the literary accent in "chesú" [I'm

---

26 See more on this below.

27 Among the sketches of Svađeba, there is microfilm folio 110-0582 (reproduced with permission in APPENDIX C) containing "A bayu-bayu" from Berceuses du chat and a two-measure 5/8 setting of "Khorosho ditya vosporodili"/"Po-okornogo i poslovnoego": an irrefutable evidence of the composer's acknowledgement of the 5+5 folk poetic meter.
Example 2: Stravinsky Les Noces Rehearsal No. [41]

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The two-stress tonic verse is transformed, as it were, into one abnormally extended trochaic foot. Note the dynamic accents (>) on "choyo-" and on "A", the melisma F# - F¹ and the sff chord in the piano accompaniment — all this is meant to show only one accent per line of this typical two-stress tonic verse (Example 3, rehearsal figures [2] - [4]):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{чёсу, почёсу} & \\
\text{Настасьину косу,} & \\
\text{чёсу, почёсу} & \\
\text{Тимофеевны русу,} & \\
\text{А ещё почёсу,} & \\
\text{А и косу заплету}^29 & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{чыошу, почыошу Настас’ину косу,} & \quad \text{Свввсввв} / \text{Свввсввв} \rightarrow \text{Свввввввввввввв} \\
\text{чыошу, почыошу Тимофеевны русу,} & \quad \text{Свввсввв} / \text{Свввсввв} \rightarrow \text{Свввввввввввввв} \\
\text{ешчо почыошу,} & \quad \text{Свввсввв} \rightarrow \text{Сввввввв} \\
\text{и косу заплету}^29 & \quad \text{Свввсввв} \rightarrow \text{Свввввввввввввв} \\
\end{align*}
\]

After the female chorus "Ne klich'-ne klich' lebyodushka" (rehearsal figure [9]), there is a change in poetic metre — from a three-stress tonic verse to an "invigorating" trochee, although the melody contour stays more or less the same (rehearsal figure [11]). The original No. 937 of Kireyevsky was edited by the composer in order to increase metric regularity (see "Stravinsky the Librettist" above). In the music, Stravinsky converts this trochaic trimeter with dactylic endings into a trochaic tetrameter with a silent trochaic tetrameter of the last two lines is set as it stands — a rare instance in \textit{Svadebka} (Example 4, rehearsal figures [11]-[12]; re-accented vowels are shown in capital letters):

\[
\begin{align*}
1. \text{Как свекор-ли батюшка} & \quad \text{Как свекор ли батюшка} \quad \text{Свввсввв} \rightarrow \text{Сввв Сввв} \\
2. \text{К тебе будет милостив,} & \quad \text{К тебе будет милостив,} \quad \text{Свввсввв} \rightarrow \text{Сввв Сввв} \\
3. \text{Как свекровь ли матушка} & \quad \text{Как свекровь ли матушка} \quad \text{Свввсввв} \rightarrow \text{Сввв Сввв} \\
4. \text{К тебе будет милостива,} & \quad \text{К тебе будет милостива,} \quad \text{Свввсввв} \rightarrow \text{Сввв Сввв} \\
5. \text{К тебе будет жалостива.} & \quad \text{К тебе будет жалостива.} \quad \text{Свввсввв} \rightarrow \text{Сввв Сввв} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The fourth tableau "The Wedding Feast" shows many instances of the trochaic transformation of tonic verse due to its festive dance-like character, e.g., the glorifying song about a female gray goose from Kireyevsky's No. 407 (rehearsal figure [93]):

\[
\begin{align*}
1. \text{Летала гусыня, летала!} & \quad \text{Летала гусыня, летала!} \quad \text{вввввввв} / \text{вввввввв} \rightarrow \text{вввввввввввввв} \\
2. \text{Летала, серая, летала!} & \quad \text{Летала, серая, летала!} \quad \text{вввввввввввввв} \rightarrow \text{вввввввввввввв} \\
3. \text{Крылья примахала.} & \quad \text{Крылья примахала.} \quad \text{вввввввввввввв} \rightarrow \text{вввввввввввввв} \\
4. \text{Мазоли потирала.} & \quad \text{Мазоли потирала.} \quad \text{вввввввввввввв} \rightarrow \text{вввввввввввввв} \\
5. \text{Стол бы сколыхала.} & \quad \text{Стол бы сколыхала.} \quad \text{вввввввввввввв} \rightarrow \text{вввввввввввввв} \\
6. \text{Бояр пробуждала.} & \quad \text{Бояр пробуждала.} \quad \text{вввввввввввввв} \rightarrow \text{вввввввввввввв} \\
\end{align*}
\]

In all editions of \textit{Svadebka}, consulted by the author, this word is printed with e, not е, and thus an impression is created that Stravinsky shifts the literary accent of the word in his setting. However, his sketches and holographs at the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Basel (e.g., microfilm folio 110-040, reproduced with permission in APPENDIX D) confirm that the composer set this text exactly as it appeared in Kireyevsky's No. 635, that is, with the folk variant "chyошу" (see also the transliteration of this text as "chosu, pochosu" in Taruskin 1996: 1346).

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{I'm combing and combing Nastasia's braid, I'm combing and combing Timofeyevna’s Light brown hair, and again I'll comb it, And I'll plait it in a braid.}] \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{A goose flew, she flew. A grey goose flew, she flew. She flapped her wings so much That they made calluses. She wobbled the posts And woke up the boyars.}] \\
\end{align*}
\]
Example 3: cont’d
Lines 1-2 of this text represent a three-foot amphibrach, if a corresponding shift of accent is made in "séraya" to "serAya" in the second line (Bailey 2001: 186), and lines 3-6 represent a two-stress tonic verse. Stravinsky chooses a trochaic pentameter setting in 4/4 where the last syllable is prolonged to a dotted half-note: Sw Sw Sw Sw S (Example 5, rehearsal figures [93]-[94]). As a result, the correct center-stress in "letála" is replaced with a double re-accentuation not unlike "sElezen', selezén'" from "The Drake" of Four Russian Songs – "LEtala," "letalA" ("LE-" falls on the downbeat and is marked f in m. 1, "-IA" falls on the downbeat and prolonged in m. 2).

After the "matter-of-fact" advice to the groom ("Lyubi kak dushu, tryasi kak grushu!"/"Love her like a dear, shake her like a pear"), the dance-like character of the fourth tableau reaches its apogee at rehearsal figure [101] (Example 6, rehearsal figures [101]-[102]), where the 3/4 meter is used to accommodate the trochaic trimeter of the continuation of No. 407 (another case of near coincidence between the two metres, poetic and musical, in "Svadebka"): 1. Бояре вставали, BOyare vstaváli, Sw Sw Sw 2. В чарки наливали, V chárki naliváli, (thrice) Sw Sw Sw 3. Гостей обходили, GOstey obkhodíli, Sw Sw Sw 4. Марье подносили. Már'ye podnosíli.32 Sw Sw Sw

Text versus the Music: The Technique of "Building Blocks"

A classical example of the technique of "building blocks," often referred to in the literature (although the blocks here are musical motives, rather than words and syllables), is the female chorus "Ne klich', ne klich', lebyódushka" found in the first tableau at rehearsal figure [9]. The girlfriends, being bored by the bridal lament, start "a fresh song of consolation" to the bride (Asafiev 1982: 132). The original text in No. 937 is a predominantly three-stress tonic verse with dactylic endings:

Не кличь, не кличь, лебёдушка, Ne klich', ne klich', lebyódushka, aba Не кличь, в поле белая, Ne klich', v pôle beláya, ba Не плачь, не тужи, Настасьшка, Ne plách', ne tuzhi, Nastás'syushka, aba Не плачь, не грусти, душа Тимофеевна. Ne plách', ne grustí, dushá Timoféyevna.33 aaba

The repetitions of certain words ("ne klich" and "ne plach") and the varying lengths of poetic lines gave Stravinsky a possibility to vary musical phrases accordingly. Kholopova quotes this chorus as an illustration of Stravinsky's "variation of the motives' length" method (1971: 204-5). Although the basic musical phrase is two measures long – it consists of two motives, a and b – it comes back alternating with the "detached" a motive, so that an

32 [The boyars rose, and poured a cup. They poured a cup and passed it around to the guests, To Marya they raised a toast.]
33 [Don’t honk, don’t honk, swan, Don’t honk in the field, white swan. Don’t cry, don’t grieve, Nastasyushka, Don’t cry, don’t be sad, dear Timofeyevna.]
Example 5: Stravinsky Les Noces Rehearsal No. [93] – [94]

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Example 7: Stravinsky Les Noces Rehearsal No. [9]

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impression is created that the length of the principal motive is always varied: \textit{aba ba aba aaba} (Example 7, rehearsal figure [9], mm. 1-5, see also the scheme above).\textsuperscript{34}

The character of the second tableau is "masculine, clear, spare, and rich" (Asafiev 1982: 136). This character emanates from the refrain (rehearsal figures [27], [30], [33], [44]), set to the verse from Kireyevsky's No. 569. In the first tableau, it is an appeal of the bride's mother to the Holy Virgin ("Prechistaya Mát'") to help comb the bride's braid. In the second tableau, the same text acquires the character of an incantation: the "Purest Mother" is ordered by the groom's wedding party to come and comb the groom's curls.\textsuperscript{35}

This two-stress tonic verse is quite regular and quasi-trochaic (Example 8, rehearsal figure [27]):

\begin{align*}
\text{Пречистая мать}, & \quad \text{Prechistaya Mát'}, & \text{wSwwS} & \rightarrow & \text{Sw Sw S} \\
\text{Ходи к нам у хать}, & \quad \text{Khodi (khodi)} \text{ k nam u khát'}, & \text{wSwwS} & \rightarrow & \text{Sw Sw Sw S} \\
\text{Свахе помогать}, & \quad \text{Svákhé pomogát'}, & \text{SwS} & \rightarrow & \text{Sw Sw S} \\
\text{Кудри расчесать}, & \quad \text{Kúdri raschesat'}, & \text{SwS} & \rightarrow & \text{Sw Sw S} \\
\text{Хветисьевы кудри}, & \quad \text{Khvetis'yevy küdri}, & \text{wSwwSw} & \rightarrow & \text{Sw Sw Sw} \\
\text{Памфиличьа русы}. & \quad \text{Pamfílich’ya rúsy.} & \text{wSwwSw} & \rightarrow & \text{Sw Sw Sw}
\end{align*}

To get an even more consistent character, Stravinsky sets this verse as a trochaic trimeter \textit{Sw Sw S}, complete with a eighth note rest to signify a masculine ending. As a result, lines 1-2 and 5-6 acquire trochaic shifts: "PrEchistaya," "KhOdi," "KhvEtis’yeyv," "PAmfil’ich’a" (m. 1, 2, 5, 6 after rehearsal figure [27]; see \textit{f} markings in the last two cases). Then he begins to play with these metrically identical lines: he adds one more "khodi" to the line 2 in m. 2 and cuts off eighth note rests at the end of some lines. The trochaic beginnings do not disappear in the course of these transformations: if they happen to fall off the beat, they are marked with a dynamic accent (>) or a \textit{forte}.

This peculiar metric structure of the refrain has been studied in the literature without taking into consideration the ambiguous meter of the poetic text (e.g., Horlacher 1995). It should be stressed that what happens metrically in the music cannot be separated from the entire music-text coordination and could be best explained by Kholopova's term "variation of the motives' length," if it is applied not to musical motives but rather to word-formulas. The \textbf{A} motive "Prechistaya mat'" \(D^2\cdot D^2\cdot C^2\cdot D^2\), the \textbf{B} motive "Khodi k nam u khát'" \(D^2\cdot C^2\cdot F^2\cdot E^2\cdot D^2\), and the \textbf{C} motive \(C^2\cdot D^2\cdot F^2\cdot E^2\cdot D^2\cdot C^2\) come back in their normal and expanded forms (\textit{B'}, by addition of one more "khodi") forms, with

\textsuperscript{34} Cf. Asafiev: "[The chorus]... exhibits some of Stravinsky's favorite adoptions from folk traditions: the collision of accents produced by strong beats, or a five-measure phrase divided into one plus four." (1982: 132). This description refers to the syncopated "trochaic substitution" endings of the poetic lines that give the dance-like character to the song by combining the literary accents with the shifted accents: "lebyódUshka," "bélAya," "Nastás’yUshka," "TimoféyEvna". The words "five-measure phrase divided into one plus four" refer to the setting of the first two lines as: \textit{a+b+a+b+a}.

\textsuperscript{35} According to Mazo (1990: 114), this order-giving ("Off to the wedding with you!") is a remnant of paganism.

\textsuperscript{36} [Holy Mother, Come (come) to our house, To help the \textit{svakha} To comb the curls, Khvetis’s curls, Pamfílich’s curls.]
Example 8: Stravinsky Les Noces Rehearsal No. [27]

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or without the final eighth note rest. All these variants are freely alternated and interpolated by Stravinsky in a sequence of A B' B A C A C B' B A.\(^{37}\)

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Russian traditional peasant wedding songs are known for their unique poetic metres. A typical folk wedding song often features a center-stressed pentasyllabic formula \texttt{wwSww} either in the second hemistich (as in "Ostavála lébed' bélaya" \texttt{Sw Sw \texttt{wwSww}}) or in both hemistiches (as in the 5+5 metre \texttt{wwSww \texttt{wwSww}}).\(^{38}\) These pentasyllabic formulas are reflected both in the text of the ballet-cantata and in the composer's setting of it. In \textit{Svadebka}, repeated pentasyllabic endings of adjacent poetic lines are often assigned similar motivic formulas (see Example 2 and the corresponding text). Center-stressed pentasyllabic formulas appear in \textit{Svadebka} disguised as various rhythmic motives, for example:

\begin{quote}
\begin{itemize}
\item \texttt{wwSww} − "sokatilasya", "poklonilasya" (dactylic ending)
\item \texttt{wwSww} − "karavatushka" (double-stress dactylic ending)
\item \texttt{Sw Sw S} − "PrEchistAya mat'" (trochaic trimeter)
\end{itemize}
\end{quote}

At the culminating point of the second tableau, 2 mm. before rehearsal figure [47], two readings of the ritual command to the Holy Virgin "Off to the wedding with you!" are set for the first time \textit{vis-à-vis} one another: pentasyllabic with an opening melisma in 5/8 \texttt{Sww Sw} ("Pó-od' na svád'bu"/"Come to the Wedding") and trochaic in 4/8 \texttt{Sw Sw} ("Pod' na svád'bu"). This juxtaposition appears elsewhere in the tableau (e.g., Example 9A, rehearsal figure [49], mm 4-5).\(^{40}\)

\(^{37}\) Cf. the analysis of this passage according to Lerdahl-Jackendoff's usage in Horlacher 1995: 299, Example 5. The analysis shows a background periodicity incongruent with the poetic text. The author explains her approach in fn. 13: "Although this is texted music, the accentual structure of the text does not help determine the location of downbeats, for Stravinsky does not coordinate syllabic accent and metric accent in his work (and in many others)." Ironically, the same author observes in passing an "intriguing" subdivision of the three 5/8 measure from this excerpt into 3+2, 3+2, and 2+3 eighth notes, marked by Stravinsky in the score he used to conduct \textit{Les Noces}, now at the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Basel (Horlacher 1995: 304). There is absolutely nothing intriguing about this subdivision, as Stravinsky's barring directly reflects the words.

\(^{38}\) What is perceived as a stressed syllable in one folk poetic metre, can be considered unstressed in another. This relativity of word stress (compared to phrasal stress) allows Bailey and other linguists to view any Russian folk verse as existing in many different metric variants, both regular (trochee, anapest, 5+5 meter, etc.) and irregular (strict 2- and 3-stress tonic verse, free tonic verse, or prose).

\(^{39}\) An example of this 5+5 meter is: "Ya vechor mlada, /Vo piru byla,/Vo piru byla,/Vo besedushke" ["Last night I, the young girl, was/ At a party I was,/ At a conversation"].

\(^{40}\) The preliminary early sketch (microfilm folio 110-0503, reproduced with permission in APPENDIX E) features an empty staff under-texted with "Pó-od' na svád'bu,/ Pod' na svád'bu" and divided into a 5/8 measure and a 4/8 mesure.
Similarly to Russian folklore, elements of the Russian folk language function in Svadebka as "building blocks" or as a special type of oral notation (as in North Indian tabla-playing, musical motives are memorized, transmitted and performed with the help of word-formulas which also facilitate improvisation: see more on this in Kippen, Bell 1988). The final episode of the third tableau is a common request for blessing, addressed to the Lord himself. The three words "Boslovi, Bozha, Bozhun'ka" from Kireyevsky's No. 125, already introduced within the incantation of the Purest Mother at rehearsal figure [49] (Example 9A), prepare a "semantic crescendo" (Birkan 1966: 246), which reaches its climax with the exclamation "Oy!" in one measure before rehearsal figure [59]. Now the two favorite names for God in Russian peasant language ("Bózha" and "Bózhun'ka", from the literal "Bog") become the two word-motives: a trochee (Sw) and a syncopated "trochaic substitution" ending "BozhUn'ka" (wSw). The folk forms of the imperative "Bless [us]" – "BAslavi" ("bOslovi") and "BAslov", from the literal "blagoslovi" – are also incarnated by two motives: a triplet (Sww) and a duplet (Sw), to which the two endearing names of God are added at libitum. The result is a complex and colorful mosaic of word-motives, replete with various pentasyllabic formulas set in 5/8 (cf. Example 9A, rehearsal figure [49], and Example 9B, rehearsal figure [59]; see also the preliminary early sketch of the penultimate line, featuring rhythmic values only in the Paul Sacher Stiftung microfilm folio 110-0506):

Rehearsal figure [49]

Бословои, Божа, БОslovi, Bózha,  Sww Sw  5/8
Бословои, Божа, Божунька  BОslovi, Bózha, BozhUn'ka  Sww Sw wSw  5/8 +4/8

Rehearsal figure [59]

Баслави, Божа,  BAslavi, Bózha,  Sww Sw
До двух посажён,  Do dvukh posazhyón,  Sww Sw
Баслави, Божа,  BAslavi, Bózha,  Sww Sw
До двух пораждён,  Do dvukh porazhdyón,  Sw S
Баслави, Божа,  BAslavi, Bózha,  Sww Sw
Микита попутчик,  Mikita popútchik,  Sw S
Михала Арханьель,  Mikhala Arkhán'ýel,  Sw S
Баслави, Божа,  BAslavi, Bózha,  Sww Sw
Рождество Христово,  Rozhdestvo Khristóvo,  Sw S
Баслави, Божа,  BAslavi, Bózha,  Sww Sw
Хрестынь басловляти,  KhrEstyín' baslovlyáti,  Sw S
К венцу атpushати,  K vEntsu atpushcháti,  Sw S
Баслов, Божа, Божунька!  BAslov, Bózha, BozhUn'ka!  Sw S
Баслов, Божунька!  BAslov, BozhUn'ka!  Sw wSw

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The onomatopoeic refrain "Ay lyúšhen'ki, lyulí!" of the chorus "Yágora s yágoroy sokatilasya" that opens the fourth tableau functions as another collection of word-motives, comparable to those concerning God in the third tableau:

[Bless, Lord, the two who were born, Bless, Lord, the two who are seated, Bless, Lord, fellow traveler Mikita, Archangel Michael. Bless, Lord, the birth of Christ, Bless, Lord, the Baptism, To send to the crown. Bless, Lord, Lord, Come to the wedding!]
1. Ягода с ягодой сокатилася, Yágoda s yágodoy sokatílasya,
2. Ягода ягоде поклонилася. Yágoda yágode poklonilasya.

Refrain: – Ай, люли, люли, люли! Люшеньки, ай люли!
– Ay, iyúlí, iyúlí, iyúlí! Lyúshên’ki, ay iyúlí!

3. Ягодка красна, красна! – Ай люли!
Yágodka krásna, krásna! – Ay iyulí!
4. Земляничка спела, спела! – Ай, люшеньки, люли!
Zemlyanichka spéla, spéla! – Ay, lyúshen’ki, lyulí!42

This collection consists of trochees "Ay, iyulí" (Sw S), iambs "iyulí" (wS), dactyls "lyúshên’ki" (Sww), and syncopated "trochaic substitution" endings "lyushEn’ki" (wSw). The first "lyushEn’ki" is center-stressed in 2 mm. before rehearsal figure [88], while the second is normally fore-stressed in 2 mm. before rehearsal figure [89]. The iambic "iyulí" (wS) will later come back syncopated and re-accentuated as "lyUlí" in mm. 5-6 after rehearsal figure [109]. Here is how this "oral notation" would be typically realized in actual folk practice (a hypothetical example):43

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Lyúlí, iyúlí, lyúshên’ki}, & \quad \text{Sw Sw S Sw} \\
\text{Lyúlí, lyúshên’ki, iyulí}, & \quad \text{Sw Sw Sw S} \\
\text{Ay, iyúlí, iyúlí, iyúlí}, & \quad \text{S Sw Sw Sw} \\
\text{Ay, iyúshên’ki, iyulí!} & \quad \text{S Sw Sw S}
\end{align*}
\]

The preliminary early sketch (Paul Sacher Stiftung microfilm folio 110-0480, page 24 verso, at the bottom) already contains both the trochaic "iyulí" and the iambic "iyulí": this is the germ out of which the rest of the onomatopoeia will grow. In the final version, Stravinsky uses this collection in a similar way, with only one reservation: he distorts all the accents. Thus instead of the trochees, the listener hears a heavily syncopated jazzy line: "Ay iyulí, iyulí, iyulí, iyushEn’ki, ay iyulí!" (Example 10, rehearsal figure [87], m. 5ff.).

Conclusion

In his 1928 interview given in Barcelona, Igor Stravinsky compares Svadebka/Les Noces (1914-23) to Oedipus Rex (1926-27) in that in both works the word is a simple construction material which functions musically as a block of marble in architecture or sculpture (Varunts 1988: 83). This statement sheds a new light on the most innovative work of Stravinsky's Swiss period (1913-19). In Svadebka, Stravinsky the librettist constructs the libretto according to the rules of Russian folk versification, which he had previously assimilated while working on Bayka/Renard (1915-16) and the Russian vocal

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42 [A berry rolled to a berry, A berry bowed to a berry. A berry is red, red. The strawberry is ripe, ripe.]
43 This hypothetical example demonstrates structural potentials of the flexible linguistic accent in the Russian folk language. Note that both accentual variants of the word "iyulí" are possible in folklore. The two variants function in exactly the same way as feminine and masculine endings do in literary verse: they alternate to produce "well-formed" trochaic stanzas (Lerdahl, Jackendoff 1983: 68ff, 74ff).
cycles of the Swiss period. Stravinsky the composer, however, goes further: he employs the conventional "trochaic" method of text-setting of Russian folk regular verse, develops and carries to its logical conclusion the "purely tonic" method of text-setting of folk tonic (accentual) verse, and introduces a technique of "building blocks." This technique, however, is not a complete invention of Stravinsky: from times immemorial it has been used in Russian folklore as a mnemonic device. Similarly to sung Russian folklore where musical motives are memorized, transmitted and performed with the help of word-formulas, elements of the folk language function in Svadebka as a kind of oral notation: words and syllables are fragmented and rearranged each time in a slightly different order, producing semantically but rhythmically and metrically unequal phrases and words. The results of this process of fragmentation are "well-formed" (Lerdahl, Jackendoff 1983: 68ff, 74ff) lines and stanzas with occasional silent-syllable feet (Lupishko 2007: 16-21). No strict rules for such performance practice exist in Russian folklore – the rules are implicit and depend on the skill of the folk singer. The skill of Stravinsky the folk singer is at its most evident in Svadebka, where phrases, words and syllables are endlessly turned over and shown, as it were, from different perspectives, both "linear" – the rule of prosody – and "non-linear" – his violations thereof (Lupishko 2005: 14-15). The composer obviously had a fine feeling not only for Russian folk music, but also for Russian folk verse, and, having finished Svadebka, was far better placed than anyone else to talk – as in our opening epigraph – about the inseparability of the two.

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APPENDIX A:
APPENDIX C: ex tempore