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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

The Music and Social Politics of Pierrot, 1884–1915

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

by

Siu Hei Lee

Committee in charge:

Professor Jann Pasler, Chair Professor Michael Davidson Professor Amelia Glaser Professor Tamara Levitz Professor Lei Liang

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The dissertation of Siu Hei Lee is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form
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Chair

University of California San Diego

2018

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VITA

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Music and Social Politics of Pierrot, 1884–1915

by

Siu Hei Lee

Doctor of Philosophy in Music

University of California San Diego, 2018

Professor Jann Pasler, Chair

With few exceptions, the understanding of the commedia dell'arte character of Pierrot in musicology focuses on aesthetic progress and the representation of the lonely artist. This dissertation examines a wide range of examples of Pierrots at the turn of the twentieth century, and argues that composers and performers used the character to express social-political identities, commentaries, and critiques.

My study of French Pierrots focuses on music for pantomimes, outdoor spectacles, and piano. These Pierrots offered commentaries on gender, class, the social-medical condition of hysteria, national identity, the French military, and other issues. The Russian composer Igor Stravinsky composed *Petrushka* (1911) – a blend of French Pierrot and traditional Russian Petrushka – which musically constructed Russian national identity in France.

Pierrots in the Francophone world made an oft-neglected impression on Pierrots in the German-speaking world. Hausmusik composers, catering to the middle class, consciously sought to distance Pierrot from any direct social-political critiques. Pierrots in cabaret-inspired music, exemplified by Arnold Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire* (1912), align more closely with the carnival origins of commedia dell'arte. Using Mikhail Bakhtin's carnival theory, I reveal Schoenberg's religious commentaries on social issues through sacred parody, as well as the song cycle's connection to existing German literature in presenting social critique through the themes of blood and death.

The idea and practice of black Pierrots test the limit of the white-faced Pierrot character. I focus on a black Pierrot depicted by Brazilian-born, Italian-trained composer José Cândido da Gama Malcher. My analysis shows that Pierrot, taken to the extreme, can ultimately serve dehumanizing ends.

My work reconnects the musical study of Pierrot with the character's deep social ties as part of the commedia dell'arte tradition. As a result, it urges composers

and performers to consider social and political aspects as they create and perform new commedia dell'arte characters.

INTRODUCTION

"Even if the carnival was over," Peter Stallybrass and Allon White write, "a strange carnivalesque diaspora was already taking place." Across Europe from the second half of the eighteenth until the beginning of the twentieth century, the middle class colluded with governmental authority to gentrify urban spaces, and in doing so, eliminate traditional carnival fairs. These carnival fairs were the birthplace and the playground of various commedia dell'arte characters and the protagonist of this dissertation, Pierrot. Although not completely free from governmental surveillance, carnival fairs amounted to a space where social codes and political hierarchies were temporarily suspended. Time in this space was, in Martha Feldman's words, "outside of ordinary time."

The scholarship of music has not sufficiently addressed the meanings of Pierrot in association with the carnival, the commedia dell'arte, and his significance in social and political commentaries. The focus of study on the Pierrot character in music, barring a few exceptions, has been primarily aesthetic issues.⁵ This leads to the

_

¹ Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (London: Methuen, 1986), 190.

² For this trend in eighteenth-century Italy, see Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 158, 348-88. For trends in Britain, German, and France, see Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, 176-7. For Saint Petersburg, according to Andrew Wachtel, from 1875-1897, carnivals were held in the Field of Mars in the town center. Afterward, however, the carnival had to relocate to the periphery of the city, and eventually, in 1910, carnival had become a "nostalgic memory." See Wachtel, *Petrushka: Sources and Contexts* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1998), 17.

³ Pierrot can be traced to the character of Pedrolino in the advent of the commedia dell'arte genre. See Robert Storey, *Pierrot: A Critical History of a Mask* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), xiv.

⁴ Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty*, 153.

Relevant musicological literature on Pierrot will be reviewed in the beginning of each chapter in this

understanding of Pierrot as the lonely artist and the modernist aesthete. Without disputing this argument, my work suggests that the social meanings of Pierrot, as mediated through musical experience, deserve more attention. Specifically, I analyze the music of Pierrot in the contexts of class structures, gender dynamics, racial biases, social-political circumstances and other cultural phenomena in the height of its popularity at the turn of the century. Furthermore, I provide a brief music history of Pierrot before my period of enquiry helps us understand how the character evolved, and an account of Pierrot in relation to current scholarhip on modernism and modernity to appreciate Pierrot as a character that engaged with issues of modern society. My musical analysis also integrates studies of the social and aesthetic meanings of Pierrot in literature, theater, and visual arts. Through Pierrot, composers and performers created a platform for themselves or the audience to express social-political identities, make commentaries, and convey critiques. The musical Pierrot is a more deeply social character than previously thought.

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dissertation.

⁶ It is important to note that Julie Pedneault-Deslaurier and a few others have addressed social meanings of Pierrot. I will engage with them in the relevant chapters below and expand the conversation. See Pedneault-Deslauriers, "Pierrot L.," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, no. 3 (Fall 2011): 601–45.

Texamples of studies of Pierrot in the Visual Arts and Literature include Storey, *Pierrots on the Stage of Desire: Nineteenth-Century French Literary Artists and the Comic Pantomime* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); John Swan, *The Triumph of Pierrot: The Commedia dell'Arte and the Modern Imagination* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993); Kay Dick, *Pierrot* (London: Hutchinson, 1960); Lynne Lawner, *Harlequin on the Moon: Commedia dell'Arte and the Visual Arts* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc. Publishers, 1998); and J. Douglas Clayton, *Pierrot in Petrograd: The Commedia dell'Arte*/Balagan *in Twentieth-Century Russian Theatre and Drama* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

Pierrot's Meanings: Sources, Methods, and Perspectives

Encapsulating the spirit of the carnival, the commedia dell'arte is a critical part of Pierrot's geneology. With theatrical, improvisatory performances, commedia dell'arte troupes spread from sixteenth-century Italy to all over Europe. They could be found not only inside carnival fairs but also in town centers; or, they might appear in places and spaces where the performance business is viable, such as theaters and the homes of royals or aristocrats. But as carnival fairs were eliminated, and as the middle and upper classes lost interest in carnivals that, however temporarily, subverted power structures, Pierrot, Harlequin, Pulcinella, Colombine, and many other carnival characters from and beyond the commedia dell'arte "emigrated" elsewhere. They became recurring subjects in the works of painters, illustrators, novelists, dramatists, stage designers, producers, composers, and performers, to the renewed enjoyment of audience, readers, and consumers. This "carnivalesque diaspora" reached its height at the turn of the twentieth century. Painters such as Henri Rousseau (French, 1886), Paul Cézanne (French, 1888), Aubrey Vincent Beardsley (British, 1895), Fritz Erler (German, 1908), Emil Nolde (German, 1911), and August Macke (Russia, 1912) all depicted Pierrot. The poetry, novels, and dramatic works of Paul Verlaine, Albert Giraud, Frank Wedekind, Otto Hartleben, and others became Pierrot's new playgrounds. Many of these artists frequented the Parisian cabarets and theaters, as well as the Berlinese Kabaretten. They shared the same space with other noted artistic figures who donned the Pierrot costume, such as Paul Legrand, Sarah Bernhardt, and Max Reinhardt. Although the carnival no longer manifested as fairs, these artworks

and performances inherited distinct forms, symbols and rhetorical patterns of the carnival. Examples include religious profanity, milder allusion to biblical tales, grotesque imageries, and the reversal of the "high" and "low" in society, often represented by the king and fool, respectively. The carnival tradition and the associated visual arts and literature shared the same art scene and imparted meanings to the music of Pierrot.

Written accounts on individual performances and information on the performance spaces offer enlightening perspectives on people's experiences of Pierrot. They include journal reviews, composer interviews, auto-bibliographies, and books published contemporaneously with the music that depicted Pierrot. Different performance venues were associated with different aesthetic tastes and social values. For instance, an experimental art space such as *Théâtre-libre* of Paris projected different meanings to the overall artistic experience than the *Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens*, where operettas were often performed. And these venues were much different from a temporary spectacle space built on the streets of Montmartre (an area that bred radicial artistic and political ideas), or in a German middle-class home where chamber music and transcriptions of theatrical music were played. Written accounts and performance venues go hand in hand in conditioning the meaning of Pierrot through the music.

Contemporaneous written sources sometimes did not identify the workings of wider political and cultural forces such as colonialism and national politics, yet, as I will argue, they too significantly influenced the meanings of Pierrot. The black

characters that appeared with Pierrot in music studied in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 are signs that colonialism and the associated racial dynamics, whether known or inconspicuous to the audience at the time, were mediated in the performance of Pierrot. The black Pierrot studied in Chapter 5 places these issues to the forefront. Moreover, certain music in Chapters 1, 3, and 5 directly addressed the political condition and issues of national identity. These meanings may not be apparent to the twenty-first century reader, but were understood in the historical context by contemporaneous audiences. In these cases, I provide the appropriate context to help understand Pierrot as a social character.

The genres of music portraying Pierrot show that the character's scope of influence crossed class lines. This dissertation studies a wide variety of genres, including opera, ballet music, pantomime music, music for outdoor spectacle, songs for voice and piano, chamber music for an instrument and piano, and piano solo pieces (opera or pantomime transcriptions as well as character pieces). Chamber and solo music were written mostly for and sold to the people of the middle class and higher. Genres involving spectacles served people across different classes in public spaces or theater halls. Studing Pierrot through diverse genres, my work expanded the current musical meanings of the character, which has been overwhelmingly influenced by Arnold Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire* and Igor Stravinsky's *Petrushka*.

Gender identities—prescribed male and female roles in society—were reinforced or challenged in Pierrot performances; gender dynamics between different gender identities were also shaped. The performance of misogyny (found in Chapters

1 and 4) was unaddressed in contemporaneous literature, but must be pointed out as scholars revisit the music. Public written accounts of lesbian and gay individuals at the turn of the century were limited; I analyze the visual arts together with music to probe the somewhat veiled presentation of these relationships on stage.

Instead of a full study of musical Pierrots, this dissertation considers diverse aspects of the character. The scope of this study is influenced by Stuart Hall's quotation of the seemingly allegorical words of Stallybrass and White:

A recurrent pattern emerges: the "top" attempts to reject and eliminate the "bottom" for reasons of prestige and status, only to discover, not only that it is in some way frequently dependent upon the low-Other . . . but also that the top *includes* that low symbolically, as a primary eroticized constituent of its own fantasy life. The result is a mobile, conflictual fusion of power, fear, and desire in the construction of subjectivity: a psychological dependence upon precisely those others which are being rigorously opposed and excluded at the social level. It is for this reason that what is socially peripheral is so frequently *symbolically* central.⁸

Stallybrass and White effectively explain French and German artists' interest in Pierrot, a marginalized character of the commedia troupe and of society writ large, who eventually took center stage in performances. But Hall, as a cultural studies and black studies scholar, also leads me to think about the marginality of black Pierrot in the context of the historically white character of Pierrot. I started by reconsidering Henri Rousseau's painting *Carnival Evening* (French, 1886), in which the dark-faced Pierrot may be a white Pierrot in the shadows, or an ambiguous representation of a black Pierrot. Yet, Fritz Erler's *Black Pierrot* (German, 1908) is self-evident in its title

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⁸ Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, 5, quoted in Stuart Hall, "What is this 'Black' in Black Popular Culture?" in *The Black Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 263.

(Figs. 0.1 and 0.2). In fact, many black Pierrots are present in music, but only one black Pierrot in an opera production across the Atlantic, in Brazil, is within the time period of this dissertation (discussed in Chapter 5).



Figure 0.1: Henri Rousseau, A Carnival Evening (1886).

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⁹ Composer Bittner Julius, together with librettists Warden Bruno and J. M. Welleminsky, wrote *Todestarantella (Tarantella of Death)* (1921), a ballet that premiered in Zurich. In 1922, composer Karl Hajós and librettist Fritz Löhner premiered and published *Der Schwarze Pierrot; Operette in 3 Akten* in Vienna, and subsequent performances and publications could be found in Barcelona. Hajós also founded the Pierrot publishing house in Vienna in 1921, an interesting choice of name that warrants more research. The appearance of black Pierrots in literature and visual arts happened earlier. In Germany, Marie-Madeleine Günter, known for her erotic poems on lesbian relationships, wrote the poem "Schwarzer Pierrot" ("Black Pierrot") in 1905, published together with other poems in the book *In Seligkeit und Sünden (In Bliss and Sins)*. Three years later, painter and stage designer Fritz Erler painted *Schwarzer Pierrot*.



Figure 0.2: Fritz Erler, Black Pierrot (1908).

By analyzing Pierrots between 1884 and 1915, I elucidate the significance of Pierrot in music. 1884 was the year of publication of Albert Giraud's *Pierrot lunaire: rondels bergamasques*, a set of fifty poems of critical influence in music. The year after, 1885, is marked by historian Roger Shattuck's as the beginning of the avantgarde. This choice proves to go against the grain sometimes, and in a productive way. Specifically, my work reveals that Pierrot, often thought of as a modernist figure, can be portrayed with a relatively conservative musical language and thereby reach a wider audience. The ending point of the current project is Claude Debussy's *Sonata for Cello and Piano* (1915), a three-movement work often nicknamed "Pierrot angry at the moon." Composed during the First World War, this sonata marks a major turning point in the meanings of Pierrot. My work renews musicology's understanding of the intriguing character of Pierrot, and aims to inspire twenty-first century musicians and

¹⁰ Roger Shattuck, *The Banquet Years* (New York: Vintage Books, 1968).

composers to rediscover the full potentiality of Pierrot, particularly in the aspects of social commentary and political engagement.

Commedia dell'Arte and Pierrot Music before the Modernist Period

To more fully understand the meanings of Pierrot in the music of the fin-desiècle, we need to trace his origins in the traditions of the commedia dell'arte and the carnival and observe his various musical characterizations preceding our period of inquiry. With the advent of commedia dell'arte in the sixteenth century, characters would improvise based on a short narrative plot. Working with a fixed set of characters symbolized by masks and costumes, the commedia troupes aimed to entertain their audience through a combination of miming, acting, speaking, music, and other forms of performance. According to contemporary commedia master Antonio Fava, commedia troupes began as "a theatrical spectacle fashioned to be sold to make a profit capable of sustaining the artist and financing further artistic projects." Robert Henke writes that they are "held together by a delicate network of diplomatic and matrimonial alliances" and assisted with "cross-courtly negotiations." ¹² These troupes wandered from city to city, and eventually attracted the attention of the French court in the seventeenth century. They addressed fundamentally human subjects: love, stages of life, money, sex, possession, hunger, war, sickness, fear, and

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¹¹ Antonio Fava, *The Comic Mask in the Commedia dell'Arte: Actor Training, Improvisation, and the Poetics of Survival* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2007), xvi.

¹² Robert Henke, *Performance and Literature in the Commedia dell'Arte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 9.

death.¹³ Allardyce Nicoll observed that, unlike certain melodramas, the commedia does not present "stock characters" with unvarying sentiments, but rather throws them into plots with different characters and circumstances, thus constructing "accumulative personalities" through subsequent plays.¹⁴ As Robert Storey paraphrases Nicoll, "[the characters] reveal themselves in all their human and serio-comic complexity play after play, giving pleasure with each appearance by exposing hitherto unknown facets of their personalities."¹⁵ Among the commedia characters, the *zanni* (servant) is responsible for performing *lazzi* (slapstick), a comic interruption of the plot where the actor showcases spontaneous, farcical, and comical virtuosity.¹⁶ Belonging to the "second *zanni*," Pierrot bears a "stupid and naïve" character¹⁷ to some; others see him as a "potentially anarchic improviser" who disrupts the narrative plot.¹⁸

By the eighteenth century, the commedia dell'arte characters and masks had pervaded the French court. The French king loved the entertainment at first, but the carnival-inspired characters were often outrageous and scurrilous, and eventually took satire and the suspension of social hierarchy too far for the tolerance of the king.¹⁹ But even following Louis XIV's ban of the Italian commedia troupe from Paris in 1697,

¹³ Fava, The Comic Mask in the Commedia dell'Arte, xv.

¹⁴ Allardyce Nicoll, *The World of Harlequin: A Critical Study of the Commedia dell'Arte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 22-3.

¹⁵ Robert Storey, *Pierrot: A Critical History of a Mask*, 7.

¹⁶ Lawner, Harlequin on the Moon, 66.

¹⁷ Ibid., 38-9.

¹⁸ Henke, *Performance and Literature in the Commedia dell'Arte*, 23. See also Sianne Ngai, *Our Aesthetic Categories: Zany, Cute, Interesting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 195-6

¹⁹ The king also owed the Italian performers much money. Dismissing them was one of the way to solve this financial problem. Virginia Scott, *The Commedia dell'Arte in Paris, 1644-1697* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1990), 330-1.

commedia character did not cease to exist in French life. The composer Andre Campra used marionettes, including one representing Pierrot, in dancing roles in the opera *Les fêtes vénitiennes* (1710).²⁰ Georgia Cowart argues that in the opera "lies an unmistakable allusion, in the carnivalesque reversal of king and fool, to a more general reversal [...] of the established social order."²¹ A few months after the premiere of the opera, the Comédie-Française presented a play that parodied *Les fêtes vénitiennes*, and the costume of Pierrot was donned by one of the protagonists.²² The embrace of Italian style by the French should be read, according to Cowart, "not only as a tribute to an evolving public taste but also as signifier of a public resistance from the crown."²³

This trope of resistance, however, did not last long. Novelist Kay Dick describes the eighteenth century as "Pierrot's century of shame."²⁴ She reasons that, during this period, Pierrot became a symbol of mere pleasure without the traditional reflective depth or the questions of "fundamental human subjects" associated with the commedia dell'arte. While her evidences come from literary sources, two compositions of the eighteenth century illustrate Dick's point through music.

Born into the Jacquet family of performing musicians and fine harpsichord makers, Elisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre played the harpsichord and alternated between

²⁰ Georgia Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure: Louis XIV and the Politics of Spectacle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 211.

²¹ Ibid., 213.

²² Ibid., 217.

²³ Ibid., 219. In this period of time, commedia dell'arte is still considered an "Italian" art, even if Pierrot has adopted, obviously, a French name. Therefore, Watteau's Pierrot paintings bear titles with specific linguistic markers of Italian-ness, such as *The Italian Comedians* (1720) and *Love in the Italian Theater* (1714).

²⁴ Dick, Pierrot, 158.

²⁵ Ibid.

living within and outside of Louis XIV's court after she first sang for him at age five. For her—as it was for Louis XIV—the commedia was pleasure, not transgression. "La raccommodement comique de Pierrot et de Nicole" (1715) features a light-hearted duet between Pierrot and Nicole. The text involves repetitions of the text "ha, que de façon, touche la tout de bon" ("ha, that way, the key to any good"), a straightforward presentation of happiness. It was performed at the *Théâter de la Foire* at St. Germain as a song in the theatrical work *La Ceinture de Venus* in 1715.²⁶ Beside this performance, "La Racommodement" was also collected and published together with three secular cantatas in one album dedicated to the Elector of Bavaria. According to the composer's own words in the preface, the album aims to convey happiness ("à le bonheur de plaire").

Pierrot is also a symbol of pleasure for Georg Philipp Telemann. Commenting on frivolity in Telemann's composition, Steven Zohn rightly asserted that none of the dances in the *Ouverture Burlesque* (1728–29) is in the noble style, and then goes into the following analytical details:

For Columbine, Telemann frivolously breaks up a two-measure phrase between first and second violins, a visual joke that could easily be amplified by the physical movements of dancers. Pierrot's music is theatrical insofar as it seems to represent ridiculous physical motion and

²⁶ It is notable that 1715 is the year of Louis XIV's death, which lifted the ban on Italian commedia troupes in Paris. *La Ceinture* features dialogue that offers great opportunity for improvisation, and airs based upon melodies of folk songs with new lyrics that are moderately good spots for improvisation, as the performers and audience are acquainted with the tune. Selective non-folk airs by composers seem to offer few such opportunities. For example, in Jacquet de la Guerre's music, there is no musical break for improvisation. In *La Ceinture*, we can see airs by Monsieur de Grandval (Nicolas Ragot), Mademoiselle de la Guerre (Elisabeth Jacquet), and Monsieur Gilliet (Jean Claude), all of which could be traced in Fétis's *Biographie Universelle*. Eugene d'Auriac, *Théâtre de la foire: recueil de pièces représentées aux foires Saint-Germain et Saint-Laurent, précédé d'un essai historique sur les spectacles forains*. Paris: Garnier Frères, 1878. See Grandval's short biography on Fétis, *Biographie Universelle*, 79, and Gillier's on Ibid., 123.

general foolishness through incongruous pauses, rhythmic displacements, echo effects, and abrupt contrasts of texture, dynamic level, and register.²⁷

In the movement "Pierrot," Telemann uses the ternary form. The four-bar phrase structure remains intact until the beginning of the B section. The phrase distortion appears with the structure of two three-bar phrases followed by one six-bar phrase. It sounds like an elegant and calculated mistake. There is no hint of the pre-1697, outrageous and scurrilous Pierrot at all. In a general sense, the restrained playfulness of Telemann's Pierrot is comparable to the late Pierrot paintings of Watteau, in which the aristocracy and the commedia dell'arte theater are places in close affinity (Fig. 0.3).²⁸

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²⁷ Steven Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre, and Meaning in Telemann's Instrumental Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 75. I have corrected an evident typographical error: "foolishness though incongruous pauses."

²⁸ Marianne Roland Michel, *Watteau, an Artist of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Trefoil, 1984), 208-9. Donald Posner, *Antoine Watteau* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 254. Robert Vilain observes the "aristocratic cast" in Watteau's Pierrot paintings. Vilain, See Robert Vilain, "An Innocent Abroad: the Pierrot Figure in German and Austrian Literature at the Turn of the Century," *Publication of the English Goethe Society* 67, no. 1 (1998): 69-99.



Figure 0.3: Antoine Watteau, *Les habits sont italiens (The Costumes are Italian)* (dated early eighteenth century).

In the latter part of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century, Pierrots were rarely found in notated music. Fragments of Mozart's *Masquerade*, or *Musik zu einer Pantomime*, K. 446 (1783) is an exception.²⁹ The gradual collapse of aristocratic power led comedians, including those who played Pierrot, to lose their jobs in the homes of the rich.³⁰ A reconfiguration of the meaning of Pierrot took place in this period of time. The black Pierrot in Victor Hugo's novel *Bug-Jargal* (1826) was created during this period. The novel received fourteen reviews, subsequent

²⁹ Mozart played the role of Harlequin; his brother-in-law Joseph Lange played Pierrot. See Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965), 213. ³⁰ Dick, *Pierrot*, 150-1.

reprints in France and multiple English translations.³¹ Details of the novel will be discussed in Chapter 5 as it relates to the 1890 Brazilian opera it inspired, *Bug Jargal*, which also features a black Pierrot.

In 1834–35, Robert Schumann took the Pierrot and the carnival in a different musical direction via his set of piano pieces *Carnaval*, op. 9. Lawrence Kramer identified the carnival motif of cross-dressing in the movements of "Coquette," "Clarina" (Clara Wieck), "Chopin," and "Estrella." "Schumann drew on the traditions of European festive practice," Kramer argues, "to stretch and exceed the conventional bounds of gender as his age understood them." "Pierrot" is the second of twenty-two pieces. The *portati* at the beginning, octaves throughout the piece, and sudden syncopations in *forte* portray Pierrot as bulky, lazy, and ridiculous. So, despite the overall gender transgression of the opus, Pierrot was imagined to be docile and not socially transgressive.

A significant development of Pierrot, as part of the "accumulative personality" of the character, occurred with the performances of Bohemian-French mime Jean-Gaspard Deburau (1796-1846) at the *Théâtre de Funambules*. Deburau refined Pierrot's acting, imbued him with intellectual contradictions such as desire and frustration, wish and anxiety, and acquired a decidedly tragic role for him.³⁴ Poet and critic Théophile Gautier dubbed Deburau as "Shakespeare at Funambules," for his

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³¹ Chris Bongie, "Introduction" to Victor Hugo's *Bug-Jargal* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2004), 9. Max Bach, "The Reception of V. Hugo's First Novels," *Symposium* 18, no. 2 (1964): 142-55.

³² Lawrence Kramer, *Musical Meaning: Toward a Critical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 113-7.

³³ Ibid., 100.

³⁴ Storey, *Pierrots on the Stage of Desire*, 29-31.

slapstick with which the character was traditionally performed: "the naïve thus dissolves, collapses as an artificial category, an illusory state of mind... [resulting in] *le Vrai* [the Truth]."³⁵ Much musicological literature recognized Deburau's contribution to and influence on the characterization of Pierrot as tragic and fraught with intellectual contradictions at the end of the nineteenth century.³⁶

New Contexts for Comparisons between Pierrots

As the interest in Pierrot boomed in the late nineteenth century, the different Pierrots came in contrast with one another in the figure's characterizations and meanings. For example, the naive, sentimental Pierrot in Théodore de Banville's poem seemed to be incompatible with the violent Pierrot in Paul Margueritte's pantomime, yet the art scene did not hesitate to celebrate both Pierrots. ³⁷ In the *Le Pierrot* journal (1888-91), in the music scene, and in the "Bohemia" of Paris in general, the tolerance for radicially different characterizations of Pierrots allowed for artistic freedom as well as cultural and political commentary.

This dissertation fleshes out the similarities and differences between Pierrots of the Francophone world and those of the German-speaking world. Pierrot became an object of obsession through various means of French literary and cultural transfer to

³⁵ Ibid 116-7

³⁶ Pedneault-Deslauriers, "Pierrot L.," 605, 625. Alexander Carpenter, "Give a man a mask and he'll tell the truth": Arnold Schoenberg, David Bowie, and the Mask of Pierrot," *Intersections* 30, no. 2 (2010): 5–24. esp. 7

³⁷ Storey, *Pierrots on the Stage of Desire*, 127-51 and 253-82. Margueritte's pantomime will be discussed in Chapter One.

German cities, including Otto Hartleben's translation (1893) of Belgian poet Albert Giraud's 50 poems in *Pierrot lunaire: rondels bergamasques* (1884). Hartleben influenced dramatists such as Frank Wedekind (Munich), composers including Joseph Marx (Graz, Switzerland), Arnold Schoenberg (Vienna and Berlin), and many more. Importantly, Pedneault-Deslauriers shows that Pierrot's androgyny span across French and German Pierrots.³⁸ My analyses consider the oft-neglected themes of the macabre and drunkenness. Although Hartleben mostly preserves the rondel form of the poems, his translation is not always literal. German influences became a part of Pierrot's (in Nicoll's words) "accumulative personality." For instance, Brinkmann suggests that while Giraud refers to Watteau in "Parfums de Bergame," (the thirty-fifth poem in the whole *Pierrot lunaire* set), Hartleben removes that in the corresponding poem "O Alter Duft," and replaces it with an allusion to a scene in E. T. A. Hoffmann's 1822 novel Des Vetters Eckfenster. 39 Furthermore, in the original poem "Pierrot Cruel" (the fortyfifth poem of the set), Pierrot smokes "Maryland tobacco" and vulgarly tortures Cassandra. 40 In the German translation, the vulgarity is preserved, but Pierrot smokes "Turkish tobacco" instead. 41 With these preliminary examples in mind, my study aims

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³⁸ Pedneault-Deslauriers. "Pierrot L.." 628-36.

³⁹ Reinhold Brinkmann, "The Fool as Paradigm: Schönberg's *Pierrot lunaire* and the Modern Artist," in *Schönberg and Kandinsky: An Historical Encounter*, edited by Konrad Boehmer (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 1997), 158.

⁴⁰ The American state of Maryland had been producing tobacco for global sales since the eighteenth century. See Henry Miller, "The Lure of Sotweed: Tobacco and Maryland History," accessed at https://www.hsmcdigshistory.org/pdf/Tobacco.pdf on May 11, 2018.

⁴¹ Turkey is another major producer of tobacco. Turkish ethnicity is also susceptible to Orientalist treatment in the West, particularly in German music and literature. See Matthew Head, *Orientalism, Masquerade and Mozart's Turkish Music* (London: Royal Musical Association, 2000). Todd Kontje, *German Orientalisms* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 46-52. For a specific treatment of German Orientalism in intellectual history as a critique of Edward Said, see Suzanne L. Marchand,

to offer a balanced account of connections and departures between French and German Pierrots as potrayed by music.

My choice to include a black Pierrot is intended to show that Pierrot could mediate racial bias. Composed by a white composer for white audiences, the opera *Bug Jargal* (1890), featuring a black Pierrot, did not give any voice to the black slaves. Instead, it merely reflects European stereotypes toward them. Oscar Wilde's famous quotation "Give a man a mask and he will tell you the truth" works transgressively here: the Pierrot mask reveals the truth of racial bias. If Pierrot represents the "human" (as French artists such as Séverin, Banville, and Gautier would claim), then the black Pierrot represents the limits of human depiction.⁴²

This constraint also can be further complicated in the way the middle class further distanced itself from the carnival tradition in Europe. Stallybrass and White note:

Even as late as the nineteenth century, in some places, carnival remained a ritual involving most classes and sections of a community – the disengaging of the middle class from it was a slow and uneven matter. Part of that process was, as we have seen, the "disowning" of carnival and its symbolic resources, a gradual reconstruction of the idea of carnival as the culture of the Other.⁴³

Using the Other as an analytical category has pros and cons. Originating from the philosophy of Hegel and eventually widely used by postcolonial theorists such as

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German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, 2009).

⁴² Relevant quotations of Severin, Banville, and Gautier are found in Storey, *Pierrot: A Critical History of a Mask*, 43, 130, and 308. Paul Gilroy mentions the "limits of bourgeois humanism" in the study of modernity. See Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic* (London: Verso, 1993), 45.

⁴³ Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, 178.

Edward Said and Homi Bhabha, the Other is a concept that denotes the construction of stereotypes by "the West" for "the Rest" or "the Orient." ⁴⁴ But "the West," as many have pointed out, is a homogenous term in itself—there are different genders, classes, and therefore perspectives from "the West." Studying the varied music compositions on Pierrot reveals what Stallybrass and White note as "unevenness" in the "disowning of carnival": some in the middle class disowned Pierrot, and others domesticated him in Hausmusik, as this dissertation will show. Using "the Other" as an analytical category can also be problematic. One must avoid the conflation of the "non-Western Other" as one homogeneous category, hence ignoring their social and cultural nuances. For instance, both Brazil and Russia may be considered "the Other" from the perspective of "the West" in the fin-de-siècle, but the Brazilian and Russian musical Pierrots offer very different meanings in context. ⁴⁶ Also, Russian and Brazilian Pierrots may have a lot in common with the European Pierrots, and using "the Other" as an analytical category may impede observations that may otherwise be obvious. With these precautions in mind, I seek to contribute to new understandings of Pierrot related to cultural heritage beyond western Europe.

⁴⁴ For discussions of the history connected to the term, see Linda Tuhiwai Smith, "Colonizing Knowledge," and Stuart Hall, "The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power," in *The Indigenous Experience: Global Perspectives*, edited by Roger Maaka and Chris Andersen (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2006).

⁴⁵ Some of the most notable works in this respect include Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity, and Representation* (New York: Routledge, 1996), Sara Mills, *Gender and Colonial Space* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2005), and Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

⁴⁶ Although both nations were objects of exoticism in Western art, they also had certain claims to European identity. Russian artists frequented major European cities; the Brazilian ruling class all had European lineage.

Pierrot, Modernisms, and Different Visions of Modernity

Pierrot is often used to represent the modern artist, and as such often associated with musical modernism. However, the modern character of Pierrot is much more than this. By revealing the social meanings of Pierrot, this dissertation fleshes out Pierrot's relationship with modern society, within and beyond musical modernism.

Current musicological discussion defines modernism mainly in two ways: (1) the present's relationship to history, specifically through the transgression of or making progress from past musical styles, and (2) with attention to musicians' connection with artists of other arts in creating an overarching modernist culture. For instance, in his investigation of Brahms, J. Peter Burkholder defines nineteenth-century modernism as an obsession with the musical past and one's place in music history. In his study of music's relation to other modernist arts, Daniel Albright defines modernism as "the testing of the limits of aesthetic construction."

⁴⁷ These two ways are what Walter Frisch claims in his 2005 book that the study of musical modernism lacks. See Frisch, German Modernism and Music (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 4-5. ⁴⁸ J. Peter Burkholder, "Brahms and Twentieth-Century Classical Music," 19th-Century Music 8, no. 1 (Summer 1984): 76. Georgia Cowart and Christopher Ballantine offer views on modernism in areas that lie outside the scope of my dissertation; however, they provide valuable discussion of the usage of the term. Cowart employs the word "modernist" in the context of the early eighteenth century, and her account contains one of the most important historical reference points on the term. Modernism is defined as the subversion of established practices and the social transgression of various types of space. including body and music. She writes, "the ballet as it developed at the Paris Opéra around 1700 announced an aesthetic of modernism based on a radical freedom from the rules of classicism and traditional heroic themes, along with a celebration of the human body and its capacity for sensuous and virtuosic movement." A similar kind of radical freedom can be found in a recent roundtable on musical modernism in the Journal of the Royal Musical Association. Focusing on popular music research, Christopher Ballantine asserted that "the target of [the modernist] defamiliarizing aesthetic is the 'normal,' the taken for granted, the already co-opted [sic]." His examples include musicians in the US, Jamaica, Germany, and South Africa. See Cowart, "Watteau's Pilgrimage to Cythera and the Subversive Utopia of the Opera-Ballet," The Art Bulletin 83, no. 3 (2001): 462. Christopher Ballantine, "Modernism and Popular Music," Journal of the Royal Musical Association 139, no. 1 (2014): 201. ⁴⁹ Daniel Albright, *Untwisting the Serpent: Modernism in Music, Literature, and Other Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 29.

Modernism can also means "technically advanced language and a clear sense of moving away from the past." ⁵⁰

Jann Pasler discusses music's role in constructing citizenship within the wider cultural life conditioned by modernity; in doing so, her work differs from the aforementioned scholars in focusing on the social-political meaning of modernity and modernism. In the early Third Republic, one the one hand, "the growing socialist movement both imagined and advocated more idealistic goals for society."⁵¹ Music was one of the means in expressing these goals. On the other hand, "for many espousing aristocratic or aristocratic-like values, culture became a tool to appropriate for different needs and desires than those of the republican state, with music perhaps most capable of covert as well as explicit resistance to ideological domination."52 Pasler argues that "the roots of modernism" began here, with "a re-conception, an appropriation of music's utility for non-republican purposes."53 Her conception opens up a new way of seeing Pierrot: he was modernist not only because a composer wrote "technically advanced" language in depicting him. He was modernist also because he was used, in the music of Gustave Charpentier, André Wormser, and others, in constructing and shaping the future of French culture in resistance—sometimes covert and ambivalent resistance—to governmental policies.

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⁵⁰ Frisch, *German Modernism and Music*, 4. This is a definition of modernism that he is working *against*.

Jann Pasler, Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 497.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., 497-8.

Pierrot, as a socially modernist figure, has yet another side; he has a nuanced relationship with the ideas of bourgeois modernity. Matei Calinescu's classic formulation of this idea still applies well:

It has by and large continued the outstanding traditions of earlier periods in the history of the modern idea. The doctrine of progress, the confidence in the beneficial possibilities of science and technology, the concern with time (a *measurable* time, a time that can be bought and sold and therefore has, like any other commodity, a calculable equivalent in money), the cult of reason, and the ideal of freedom defined within the framework of an abstract humanism, but also the orientation toward pragmatism and the cult of action and success – all have been associated in various degrees with the battle for the modern and were kept alive and promoted as key values in the triumphant civilization established by the middle class.⁵⁴

The appearance of Pierrot on sheet music sold to the middle class engaged with Calinescu's words ambiguously. It is fair to say that the purchase of this music was in exchange for quality, pleasurable musical time. The "doctrine of progress," however, applies less well. Markus Böggemann found that Hausmusik at the turn of the century has Brahms as a "sign-like presence": it was reminiscent of Brahms and sometimes technically easier. ⁵⁵ Certain Pierrots analyzed in this dissertation fall into this category. They were not the Satie-esque modern. These Pierrots obviously existed in the wider climate of bourgeois modernity, while exercising conscious control, if not antipathy, over aesthetic progress.

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⁵⁴ Matei Calinescu, Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 41-2.

⁵⁵ Markus Böggemann, "Being 'Like' Brahms: Emulation and Ideology in Late Nineteenth-Century *Hausmusik*," in *Brahms in the Home and the Concert Hall* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 327-45, esp. 344.

Another primary sign of modernity—accentuated in contrast to the precapitalist origin of Pierrot—is industrialization and urbanization. These signs have prompted painters such as Robert Delaunay of France to paint Eiffel Tower (1909, Fig. 0.4) with cubist smoke around, and Hans Baluschek of Berlin to paint *Berlin* Landscape (c. 1900, Fig. 0.5), which contrasts the scant remains of nature with the imposing city. They are symptoms of a changing aesthetic, a changing definition of beauty. 56 While influential German figures such as Walther Rathenau and Karl Scheffler complained about the ugliness of the metropolis, as exemplified by Berlin, architect and writer August Endell (who designed Ernst von Wolzogen's Buntes Theater, where Schoenberg worked for a short time) argues otherwise. In his influential text *The Beauty of the Metropolis* (1908), Endell writes "that the metropolis, despite all the offensive buildings, despite the noise, despite everything for which one can reproach it, is, to one wishes to see, a miracle of beauty and poetry, a fairy tale brighter, more colourful, more variegated than anything related by a poet."⁵⁷ This view dismisses other definitions of beauty, such as what he calls "the sentimental idyllizing of nature, the theatrically pompous presentation of past art, and the historicist empathy for an idealized past."58 This new definition of beauty in the urban setting reminds me of the music of Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*, in ways such as the

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⁵⁸ Müller, "The Beauty of the Metropolis," 50.

⁵⁶ For a detailed reading of Baluschek's painting, see John Czaplicka, "Pictures of a City at Work, Berlin, circa 1890-1930: Visual Reflections on Social Structures and Technology in the Modern Urban Construct," in *Berlin: Culture and Metropolis*, edited by Charles W. Haxthausen and Heidrun Suhr (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 4-5. Such a change in aesthetics may be traced back to poets such as Baudelaire, specifically his poem "The Swan" in *Les Fleurs du Mal* (1857). ⁵⁷ Lothar Müller, "The Beauty of the Metropolis," in *Berlin: Culture and Metropolis*, 50, quoting August Endell, *August Endell. Der Architekt des Photoateliers Elvira 1871-1925*, exhibition catalog (Munich, 1975), 94ff.

song cycle's complete abandonment of Romantic beauty associated with nature, its economic use of instruments (the complete opposite of "theatrically pompous") and the composer's construction of a musical style inspired by the urban space of cabaret. A similar shift of aesthetics occurred in France. Paul Margueritte and four other French young playwrights expressed dissatisfaction with Emile Zola's novel *La Terre* (1887), arguing that it lacked "intimacy" and "patient analysis of rural temperaments."59 Margueritte's artistic response to Zola was the pantomime *Pierrot*, assassin de sa femme (1888), a performance of a hysterical Pierrot in Théâtre-libre, overworking in his repetitive actions. ⁶⁰ The pantomime started with Margueritte playing Pierrot, and André Antoine playing the Undertaker's Man. Shortly after the play begins, Pierrot purges the Undertaker's Man away from stage, and performs solo for the rest of the work. This arrangement can be read in the context of Antoine, the curator of *Théâtre-libre*, having a full-time job as a clerk for the Paris Gas Company at the time. His comical entry and departure in Margueritte's pantomime shows the incompatibility of a worker in the capitalist world with the pre-capitalist character. The Pierrots of Schoenberg and Margueritte both felt out of place. Schoenberg's Pierrot decides to return to Bergamo, accompanied by strong tonal allusions; Margueritte's Pierrot danced until he dies. Pierrot's music may be aesthetically

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⁵⁹ More details of this exchange will be found in Chapter One.

⁶⁰ Sianne Ngai would probably argue that this kind of repetition is a symptom of the zany, and more widely, of capitalist labor. See Sianne Ngai, *Our Aesthetic Categories: Zany, Cute, Interesting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 174-222.

modernist (as in *Pierrot lunaire*) or not (as in *Pierrot, assassin*), but the character itself may lend himself to a critique of modernity writ large.



Figure 0.4: Robert Delaunay, Eiffel Tower (1909).

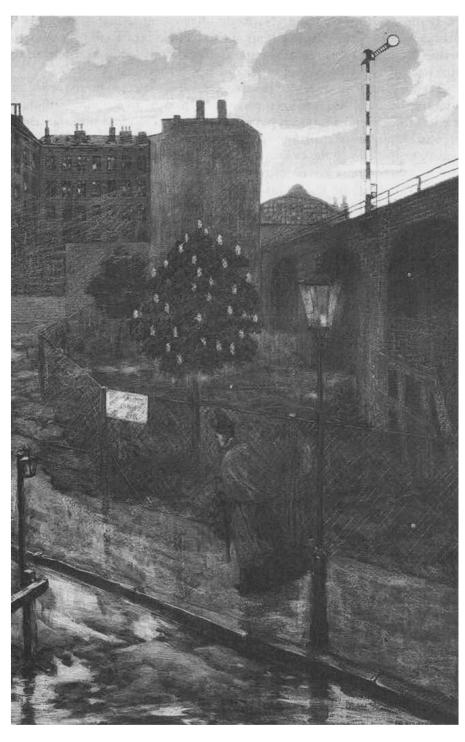


Figure 0.5: Hans Baluschek, *Berlin Landscape* (c. 1900). 61

⁶¹ This image is taken specifically from Czaplicka, "Pictures of a City," 5.

Modernity and modernism are often mediated through disability, but the music of the modernist Pierrots has only been discussed tangentially in relation to disability. Joseph Straus's article in *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Disability Studies* briefly observes Schoenberg's Pierrot as embodying "cognitive or intellectual impairment and madness." On disability in Stravinsky's *Petrushka* (in which Petrushka is a Pierrot character), Straus writes,

it is notable that Petrushka, the puppet come to life, and Little Tich, the grotesque "clown" of Stravinsky's memory, both inhabit extraordinary bodies that deviate from the normative in culturally marked ways. In that sense, both Little Tich and Petrushka are disabled. To some extent, Stravinsky's music depicts the body and movements of Little Tich (or Little Tich by way of Petrushka), but the music might be better understood as a more general sort of musical response to disability inspired by that body and its movements rather than an accurate corporeal portrait. Stravinsky's music, in this sense, is about disability as much as it is about any particular disabled body. 63

The identification of Petrushka as disabled is correct. The second half of the passage that suggests Stravinsky's modernist music has a directly connection to Petrushka's disability and disability as a whole may be further complicated. Even without the music, the disability narrative of *Petrushka* is already very compelling. A concept useful in understanding the ballet as a whole is "narrative prosthesis," or "the dependency of literary narratives upon disability. Such dependency is sign of a "powerful alterity" of people with disabilities, and special in its "disruptive

⁶² Joseph Straus, "Representing the Extraordinary Body," in *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Disability Studies*, edited by Blake Howe, Stephanie Jensen-Moulton, Neil Lerner, and Joseph Straus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 731.

⁶⁴ David Mitchell and Sharon Snyder, "Narrative Prosthesis," in *The Disability Studies Reader*, 4th ed., edited by Lennard J. Davis (New York: Routledge, 2013), 226.

potentiality" and "analytical insight" in "artistic, cultural, and philosophical discourses." David Mitchell and Sharon Snyder outline a useful, simple schematic structure of prosthetic narrative: "the narrative in question (and narrative in a general sense) rehabilitates or compensates for its 'lesser' [disabled] subject by demonstrating that the outward flaw 'attracts' the storyteller's—and by extension the reader's—interest." From this perspective, the Ballerina receives the least interest—if the ballet is composed with the musical language depicting the Ballerina, *Petrushka* would probably not be so interesting. Petrushka and the Moor are both "flawed" characters, with the former being more flawed than the latter. "The (re)mark upon disability," Mitchell and Snyder continue, "begins with a stare, a gesture of disgust." The Ballerina's outright rejection of Petrushka and acceptance of the Moor underscores Petrushka's disability. The center of disability aesthetics lies herein:

the repair of deviance [which] may involve an obliteration of the difference through a "cure," the rescue of the despised object from social censure, the extermination of the deviant as a purification of the social body, or the revaluation of an alternative mode of being. ⁶⁸

Petrushka's ending is a combination of the latter two: he dies, but his ghostly presence threatens the status quo and demands "an alternative mode of being." What is this mode of being? What is music's relationship to this disability narrative? Upon a detailed music analysis in Chapter Two, I shall argue that Petrushka's disability enhanced challenges to "normalizing prescriptive ideals" in musical style and Russian

⁶⁵ Ibid., 224-5.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 227.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 228.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 227.

national identity.⁶⁹ In this way, disability enhances modernism in both its aesthetic and social-political dimensions. The Pierrot figure is particularly effective in displaying an empowering disability narrative not only because he is different, but he is also sympathetic character.

As I explore black Pierrots, I find that a modern assessment of Pierrot and modernity cannot be complete without considering its relation to slavery. In *The Black* Atlantic, Paul Gilroy understands modernity "as a distinct configuration with its own spatial and temporal characteristics defined above all through the consciousness of novelty that surrounds the emergence of civil society, the modern state, and industrial capitalism."⁷⁰ The problem with the mainstream analyses of modernity is that they "remain substantially unaffected by the histories of barbarity which appear to be such a prominent feature of the widening gap between modern experience and modern expectation."⁷¹ The basis of "modern expectation" is that modernity—in the form of what Habermas calls "the Enlightenment project"—promises, among other things, rationality and the "enhancement of social and political freedoms." Writers from Hegel to Habermas "have pronounced upon the idea of progress and the view of civilization guided steadily towards perfection by secular, rational principles that sustains that idea."⁷³ This modern expectation cannot be more different from the black modern experience, lived in the form of slavery and socio-economic oppression in the

⁶⁹ Ibid., 225.

⁷⁰ Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 49.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid., 44.

⁷³ Ibid., 42.

past, and the continuous racial injustice of the present. Gilroy intervenes by analyzing modernity through the lens of the enslaved, specifically those with black skin.

Gilroy's words aptly describe the current condition of musicological research of the Pierrot character. Whether the observation of the pre-capitalist Pierrot placed in modernity, or the study of various streams of modernisms that combine to constitute an aesthetic modernity, the musicological discussion of Pierrot, modernism, and modernity never involved slavery or colonialism. The current literature on European Pierrots in music do not address their interaction with black Pierrots. Scholarship on the black Pierrot in José Cândido da Gama Malcher's opera Bug Jargal does not focus on issues of racial relationships in the wider context of the Atlantic slave trade; instead, it focuses on formal structure and the musical portrayals of individual characters. I mentioned earlier that the opera was written by a white composer and a white librettist, for a mostly white audience; what my dissertation cannot do is to trace any voice of the subaltern—the slaves in this case—in the construction of modernity. But for the mostly white Brazilian elites, the opera clearly aims to celebrate their affinity with European culture and celebrate abolitionism. This is their view of Brazilian modernity. My work coincides with Gilroy's work, particularly with his aims to "rethink the meanings of rationality, autonomy, reflection, subjectivity, and power in the light of an extended meditation both on the condition of the slaves and on the suggestion that racial terror is not merely compatible with occidental rationality but cheerfully complicit with it."⁷⁴ Racial terror can be read two ways here: first, the

⁷⁴ Ibid., 56.

terror that whites enact on their non-white counterparts, which is probably what Gilroy means. In Brazil as in many other countries, abolition is not the end of racial terror; rather, its persistence often is belied by the surface of governmental policy, and in our case, musical harmony. Second, racial terror can denote non-white people being perceived by whites as sources of terror. The stereotypes in the opera can be used to challenge the opera's own celebration of rationality, ability to reflect, and morality.

Overview of the Chapters

This dissertation is organized in three parts. The opening chapters of Parts I and II provide a wider picture of Pierrot's meaning in the French and German contexts, respectively. The closing chapters of each part is a special case within the respective context; the analyses of these special cases benefit from the preceding chapter. Part I (Chapters One and Two) consists of case studies of Pierrots in the Francophone world. These works are rarely or insufficiently discussed in scholarship, but they reveal Pierrot's function in expressing social, gender, and national identity. They drastically expand the meaning of Pierrot beyond the lonely artist. Part II (Chapters Three and Four) focuses on Pierrots of the German-speaking world. In this part, I discuss French and German literary influences on German Pierrots in music. In doing so, I find that Pierrot attracted interest across the social spectrum. He entertained in the middle-class home and in the modernist cabaret. Part II also continues the argument of Part I in challenging the notion of Pierrot as the lonely artist. In Part III (Chapter 5), I present a case study of a black Pierrot. It is limited to one chapter

because most black Pierrots in music are beyond my period of study. Part III introduces the unstudied topic of black Pierrots. By inserting race into the conversation about Pierrot, this part discusses a marginality more marginal than any Pierrot discussed in musicological literature. On the surface, Part III reaffirms the dissertation's general argument that music portrays Pierrot as a more deeply social character than previously thought. But beyond this, the chapter reveals social and racial biases that were conveyed through Pierrot.

In the first chapter, "French Pierrots: Musical Critiques on Gender, National Politics, and Class Issues," I trace musical construction of social meanings through Pierrot. First, for Paul Vidal's music for the pantomime *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme*, I argue that music offers a critical view on class issues and of the diagnosis and clinical treatment of hysteria. Second, Andre Wormser's L'enfant prodigue presents a negative view of the middle-class through satire, offers multiple visions of femininity (from the flaneuse and the lesbian to the religious woman), and criticizes colonialism. Third, Gustave Charpentier's Le couronnement de la muse (in addition to the gender and class issues previously studied) mediates opposite political points of view in the same festive space. Fourth, Cécile Chaminade's and Marguerite Audan's piano compositions are examples of women composing for the Pierrot or Pierrette character. (I have not been able to find fin-de-siècle female composers who composed Pierrots for the theatrical stage.) Multiple examples demonstrate the inconsequentiality and incongruity associated with Pierrot. Furthermore, musical and reception analyses show that Pierrot adapted well to middle-class homes and concert halls.

In Chapter Two, I study a special case of Pierrot in the Francophone world, Stravinsky's *Petrushka*. I complement previous studies of the ballet as presenting a new musical and artistic logic. By singling out the distinct musical characterizations of each puppet, I find these puppets to represent the essential cultural and musical identities as seen by Stravinsky as a Russian: the European tradition; the Orient (Asian and African); and the Russian self. Most crucially, I analyze a previously untheorized musical passage of "Petrushka's room" that transitions between octatonicism and diatonicism. In doing so, I strengthen my argument that Pierrot (as Petrushka in this piece) is not only about Stravinsky's musical progress, but also about his national and cultural identity.

Chapter Three begins my dispute of Reinhold Brinkmann's argument about Pierrot. He generalizes the German Pierrots not composed by Schoenberg as Hausmusik. He obviously does not mean to cover theatrical Pierrots; my analysis of Dohnanyi's Pierrot in the pantomime *The Veil of Pierrot* shows the primary musical characterization of Pierrot as "death," which bears similarities to some French examples, including *Pierrot*, *assassin* and others. Even with German Pierrot in Hausmusik, Brinkmann is only partially correct. Joseph Marx's Pierrot involves blood and death in the text, but suppressed direct representation of these objects, leaving only the theme of the *macabre* that pervades Dohnanyi's music. Carl Bohm's Pierrot possesses many French characteristics, and challenges Haumusik as perceived as a German genre in musicological literature. Otto Vrieslander's Pierrot is very diverse in style and steps partially out of the confines of middle-class Hausmusik. This chapter

shows that Pierrot, even as a character in Hausmusik, engages closely with social and cultural trends.

Chapter Four will discuss Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*. Specifically, *Pierrot lunaire*, despite its modernist musical structure, is found to have a direct and deep engagement with the carnival and commedia dell'arte traditions in its literary themes and musical content. Mikhail Bakhtin's carnival theory is useful not only in understanding the carnival tradition, but also its manifestations in literature. These manifestations can be also found in the text and music in the first two parts of Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*, a three-part song cycle. The third part is interpreted in the carnival context as the end of the carnival.

My Bakhtinian musical analysis has two parts. First, I discuss similarities in Bakhtin's theorization of carnival and Schoenberg's goals in music and life. Both emphasize "truth" and "freedom" in very similar ways. I also discuss Schoenberg's cultural background and how the carnival tradition would have been inescapable to him. Second, musical and textual analyses of eight selective movements of the song cycle were matched to literary characteristics of "carnivalesque literature." As Schoenberg presents Pierrot with a modernist musical language, *Pierrot lunaire* becomes a radical renewal of the popular culture of the carnival.

Chapter Five further challenges the limits of the Pierrot character. I discuss Gama Malcher's opera *Bug Jargal*, which is based on Victor Hugo's novel of the same title. I contextualize my analysis of the opera within the Atlantic slave trade, Brazilian political history, history of race in Brazil, and Brazilian music history. The black

Pierrot, a hero who leads the successful revolt against the white plantation owners, is supposed to be a sympathetic character, bolstered by the recent abolition of slavery.

But a closer look finds black stereotyping and unwarranted perceptions of black threat.

The voice of black people is nowhere to be found; the limit of Pierrot as a "human" character lies precisely here.

PART I

Francophone Pierrots: Beyond the "Lonely Artist" Paradigm

CHAPTER 1

French Pierrots: Musical Commentaries on Gender, Class, and National Politics

Introduction

Without disputing previous scholarly readings of Pierrot as a grotesque clown, a narcissistic flâneur, and a modernist aesthete, this chapter posits that Pierrot was simultaneously an inherently social and political character. ⁷⁵ Through five musical examples, this chapter will demonstrate how Pierrot and the music that portrayed him serves a wider range of social-cultural purposes than previously thought. The pantomime Pierrot, assassin de sa femme (Pierrot, Assassin of His Wife, 1888) particularly explores class and gender through the hysteric, androgynous body of Pierrot. Its performance received multiple reviews in major French newspapers. A second pantomime featuring Pierrot, L'enfant prodigue (The Prodigal Son, 1890), takes inspiration from the eponymous biblical parable to shed light on women's roles in society and the nation during this time. Notably, both pantomimes were accompanied by music at the theater and printed for household purchase, thereby bringing the performance of social issues from the public theater into the private home. The pantomime achieved popularity in Paris, southern France, Germany, England, and even the United States. Attracting the attention of early silent

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⁷⁵ Previous literature sheds light mostly on Arnold Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire* (1912) and to some extent Igor Stravinsky's *Petrushka*. See chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation as I review these scholarly works and offer alternative perspectives. French Pierrots have been scantly studied in Musicology, with the notable exception of Julie Pedneault-Deslauriers, whose analysis of Paul Vidal's *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme* (1888) inspired my own work on Pierrot. See Pedneault-Deslauriers, "Pierrot L.," 601-45.

film in the history of European filmmaking. Then, the discussion extends to Gustave Charpentier's outdoor spectacle *Le couronnement de la muse* (*The Coronation of the Muse*, 1897), in which Pierrot played a mimed role. Since much literature has pointed to Charpentier's commitment to progressive causes in gender and class, my intervention focuses on issues of nationhood. In the piano music of Cécile Chaminade and the less renowned composer Marguerite Audan, the musical portrayal of Pierrot does not directly address social issues, but renders Pierrot compatible with the middle-class appreciation of ballet entertainment, professional piano performance, and amateur piano playing. To further investigate the wide range of social uses of Pierrot in music, we must understand the Pierrot character in the context of Montmartre.

Members of the art scene in fin-de-siècle Montmartre adored Pierrot. "Pierrot-mania" rose with the Pierrot paintings of Honoré Daumier and Georges Rouault, the Pierrot literature of Paul Verlaine and Théodore de Banville, the Pierrot-inspired compositions by Erik Satie, the journal titled *Pierrot* spearheaded by illustrator Adolph Willette, and the numerous Pierrot pantomimes and spectacles. Through these artworks, publications, and performances, Pierrot came to embody the extreme and even contradictory aspects of human emotion and experience. Innocence, the pretension of innocence, licentiousness, drunkenness, narcissism, hysteria, violence,

⁷⁶ Vincent Pinel, *Le cinéma muet,* (Paris: Larousse, 2010), 92. Adele Dowling Levillain, "The Evolution of Pantomime in France" (M.A. Diss., Boston University, 1943), 270.

⁷⁷ Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*, 677. Mary Ellen Poole, "Gustave Charpentier and the Conservatoire Populaire de Mimi Pinson," *19*th-*Century Music* 20, no. 3 (Spring 1997): 231-52.

helplessness, and stupidity all combined to constitute the amazingly complex character of Pierrot. Willette, in particular, found in Pierrot a "character vague enough to construe, by the play of his figure, all of the human passions."⁷⁸

The fixation on Pierrot was not merely about the philosophical study of human passions, however; for these artists, he also came to reflect the often progressive cultural, social, and political climate of Montmartre in the nineteenth century. Home to the famous cabaret *Le Chat Noir* and located near *Moulin Rouge*, Montmartre also nurtured a vibrant gay and lesbian scene. Scholars Leslie Choquette and Nicole G. Albert detailed the significant venues, thinkers, visual arts, and literary works of the scene, while fin-de-siècle novelist and journalist Jean Lorrain wrote on the diverse clientele of the lesbian cafes "from the stars of the operetta, to wealthy ladies of the banks, studio models, grand dames, and bourgeoisie." Henri Toulouse-Lautrec, a noted artist of Montmartre, painted *At the Moulin Rouge: Two Women Dancing* (Fig. 1.1), which is strongly suggestive of a lesbian relationship. The pantomime *L'enfant prodigue* (1890) is created in this context, and will be analyzed later in the chapter as such.

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⁷⁸ Robert Storey, *Pierrot: A Critical History of a Mask*, 122.

⁷⁹ Nicole G. Albert, *Saphisme et Décadence Dans Paris Fin-de-Siècle* (Paris: Martinière, 2005), and Leslie Choquette, "Homosexuals in the City: Representations of Lesbian and Gay Space in Nineteenth Century Paris," in *Homosexuals in French History and Culture*, edited by Jeffrey Merrick and Michael Sibalis (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2001).



Figure 1.1: Henri Toulouse-Lautrec, At the Moulin Rouge: Two Women Dancing.



Figure 1.2: Toulouse-Lautrec, Jane Avril Dancing.

Toulouse-Lautrec's progressive artistic vision extends to his constant depiction of dancer Jane Avril, which in turn reflects a cultural climate that understood the performance of hysteria (Fig. 1.2). After hysteria treatment at Jean-Martin Charcot's hospital the Salpêtrière, Avril and other dancers inhabited the dance halls of in *The Moulin Rouge* and in Montmartre. Art historian Nathan J. Timpano sees in the paintings of Avril traits of "hysteron-epileptic attack," including "legs crossed and pointed in opposite directions from [the] body." Litterateur and theater critic Jules Claretie wrote *The Loves of an Intern* (1881), a romanticized novel depicting "seductive female patients at the Salpêtrière." The pantomime *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme* was most likely influenced by these trends, and this chapter will analyze the pantomime music in this context.

This progressive understanding of gender and culture was accompanied by tense political fracture; Montmartre was a hotbed of bloody military conflict from 1870 to 1871 during the Paris Commune. Throughout the 1870s, *La Société du Bon Bock* began and continued to shape the Montmartre art scene by holding significant dinner parties and other gatherings. The artists of the society searched "the depth of their cultural heritage to find a new means to define the French national spirit," and "promoted a concept of ideal French national identity, one composed of a liberal republican form of government and a Rabelaisian spirit." Ideologically speaking,

⁸⁰ Nathan J. Timpano, *Constructing the Viennese Modern Body: Art, Hysteria, and the Puppet* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 71.

⁸¹ Ibid, 69.

⁸² Phillip Dennis Cate, "The Spirit of Montmartre," in *The Spirit of Montmartre: Cabarets, Humor, and the Avant-Garde, 1875–1905*, edited by Phillip Dennis Cate (New Brunswick, NJ: Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum,1996), 4-5.

these nationalistic republicans were thus directly pitted against the anarchists involved in the Paris Commune. After the Commune was suppressed, the anarchists continued their propaganda work "underground," publishing printed materials in Montmartre and various other places. ⁸³ It is within this eclectic and tense environment that Pierrot appeared in *L'enfant prodigue* and in the outdoor spectacle *Le couronnement de la muse* (1890), and rose to general popularity in Montmartre.

Finally, Pierrot not only appear on the stages of the pantomime and outdoor spectacles. He also appears in the form of piano pieces played in the middle-class home and on the stage of concert halls. Cécile Chaminade's piano piece *Pierrette: air de ballet* (1889) and Marguerite Audan's *Pierrot et Pierrette* (1901), explored these possibilities. Specifically, the ballet at the turn of the century, as dance historian Susan Leigh Foster argues, involves "commodify[ing] the female dancing body." As the "ballet functioned to invest the dancer's body with the viewer's desire," Chaminade's performances of her own Pierrette piece replaced the dancing body with the piano playing body. The reviews of her performances provide an interesting counterpoint to ballet reception. Audan's piece showcases Pierrot and Pierrette in two-part counterpoint in the style of J. S. Bach. These two composers showed decidedly different concerns with regards to the Pierrot character, compared to their male counterparts.

⁸³ Steven Heubner, French Opera at the Fin de Siècle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 426-9.

⁸⁴ Susan Leigh Foster, *Choreography and Narrative: Ballet's Staging of Story and Desire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 229.

The historical construction and critique of French national identity through the musical portrayal of Pierrot belongs to the same line of inquiry as Jann Pasler's Composing the Citizen. 85 To demonstrate the constant renewal of French identity through music, Pasler analyzes numerous genres, including music performed in theaters and outdoor spectacles. These performances were used by the Third Republic in conjunction with educational policies, institutional initiatives, or other political and cultural endeavors. Related to my analysis of Charpentier, Pasler offers the example of a pantomime au grand spectacle, a type of performance which actively responded to political events such as colonial conquests. 86 The Pierrot pantomimes and spectacles analyzed in this chapter similarly instigate social and political discussion through Pierrot's complex human passions. As Pasler explains, "Critique through humor, long a staple of French entertainment, was another way the French expressed dismay with republican ideology."87 Her examples, all composers from *Le Chat Noir*, belonged to the same artist community as Le Cercle funambulesque, which performed L'enfant prodige, amongst other Pierrot pantomimes. These composers also shared an aesthetic community with Willette, who in turn inspired Gustave Charpentier to insert Pierrot into his spectacle, Le couronnement de la muse.

Studying numerous ballet-operas, Sarah Gutsche-Miller concludes that composers often strive to balance both "originality and accessibility" in their scores.⁸⁸

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⁸⁵ Pasler, Composing the Citizen.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 670.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 537.

⁸⁸ Sarah Gutsche-Miller, *Parisian Music-Hall Ballet, 1871–1913* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2015), 142.

By accessibility, Gutsche-Miller refers to composers using "extreme harmonic simplicity but not overall simplicity" in their music. ⁸⁹ Striking a balance between miming the theatrical narrative and creating an overarching musical form is already a clear demonstration of the composer's creative prowess; on top of this, as the musical analyses in this chapter will show, it is precisely in the process of achieving this balance that the composer that the composer delivers social commentaries.

Paul Vidal and Paul Margueritte, Pierrot, assassin de sa femme (1888)

Paul Margueritte originally published the pantomime *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme* (*Pierrot, Assassin of His Wife*) in 1882 as literary prose and performed it without music in the Théâtre de Valvins on the outskirts of Paris. However, it was not until the 1888 performance at Théâtre-libre with Vidal's musical accompaniment that this pantomime received more widespread coverage in the press. Vidal recounted the collaborative process as follows: He began by asking Margueritte "to act out the pantomime without any textual prompt three times." Then, he decided that in composing the music, he "must follow scrupulously the gesture of the mime, as well as treat certain scenes generally according to the manner of a symphony." The music score reflected this process well, as the musical mimicry of physical gesture is used as building blocks for the overarching structure of the pantomime music.

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91 Ibid

⁸⁹ Ibid., 141.

⁹⁰ Paul Hugounet, *La musique et le pantomime* (Paris: Ernest Kolb, [1892]), 37-8.

The narratives of the 1882 and 1888 versions are similar. Both begin in medias res. The Undertaker's Man enters with Pierrot in the latter's room. They have presumably completed some business regarding the recent death of Colombine, Pierrot's wife. Pierrot is distressed by Colombine's death and drinks cognac in an attempt to overcome the distress and "be a man." The Undertaker's Man joins in the drinking, but is expelled by Pierrot when he fails to understand Pierrot's line of thought regarding Colombine's death. At this point, the pantomime becomes a muted soliloquy. Pierrot first "bursts into a long laugh." Upon calming down, he confesses to the audience that he has killed Colombine for a few reasons, the most important of which is her alleged crime of cuckoldry. With a combination of sleepwalking and hallucination, Pierrot re-enacts the murder. He considers various ways of killing his wife, but ends up choosing to tickle her to death. Then, Pierrot transforms himself into Colombine and acts out the scene of victimization on Colombine's behalf. The transformation between the identities of Pierrot and Colombine occurs twice more, at which point Colombine dies. Pierrot rearranges the facial expression of the dead Colombine into that of peacefulness, becoming overjoyed with his accomplishment. Then, however, he starts to fear the potential consequences of his actions. His feet, the body parts that have inducted Colombine's death, start to tremble. To stop the quaking, Pierrot begins to drink; the more he drinks, the more fantastical his behavior becomes. He drinks with the eyes first, then the hands, the ears, the nose, and finally the tongue. He then raises his glass to Colombine, but, in response, the portrait of Colombine

comes to life. "Her laughter rings out, red and white," and Pierrot is tickled by his own hallucination. Finally, Pierrot dies with his corpse "crashing down." ⁹²

Female Hysteria and Male Hysteria

Due to the close connection between the artistic and clinical science communities during that era, the pantomime would have been read contemporaneously as a performance of hysteria. The Parisian hospital by the name of the Salpêtrière was a major center for research and experiments on neurology at the time. Neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot demonstrated his patients' perceived hysteric symptoms not only in front of medical experts, but also artists, philosophers, journalists, photographers, and playwrights. One of such gatherings is depicted in Pierre Brouillet's famous portrait, "A Clinical Lesson at the Salpetriere," which was notably hung in the Salon of 1887 with a successful review in *Le Temps* (Fig. 1.3). ⁹³ In addition to these gatherings, stardom also helped connect art with clinical science — in addition to the aforementioned Jane Avril, who was a Charcot patient and a celebrity, actress Sarah Bernhardt was also "compared to the hysteria queens of Charcot's amphitheater." ⁹⁴ Printed media, such as the publication of Clairie's aforementioned novel, the *Iconographie Photographique de la Salpêtrière* (1877–1880) and *Nouvelle*

⁹² Paul Margueritte, *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme* (Paris: Heugel, 1888).

⁹³ Asti Hustvedt, Medical Muses: Hysteria in Nineteenth-Century Paris (New York: Norton, 2011), 106

⁹⁴ Elaine Showalter, "Hysteria, Feminism, and Gender," in *Hysteria Beyond Freud*, eds. Sander L. Gilman, Helen King, Roy Porter, G. S. Rousseau, and Elaine Showalter (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 310.

Iconographie (1888–1918), additionally helped spread and popularize images of hysteria.



Figure 1.3: Pierre Brouillet, "A Clinical Lesson at the Salpêtrière." Charcot is the fourth figure from the right.

These connections between clinical practice and the arts are meaningfully reflected in Pierrot, assassin de sa femme. Julie Pedneault-Deslauriers shows that medical photography and anatomical drawings of hysteria are strikingly similar to the visual depictions of this pantomime in newspapers and on the piano score. 95 Moreover, alcoholism, as elaborately displayed by Pierrot, was described by medical professionals as a cause or precipitant of male hysteria. 96 Hallucination, "the seeing of what is not there as a sign of the falsification of the imagination," is another common

Pedneault-Deslauriers, "Pierrot L.," 608-24.
 Andrew Scull, *Hysteria: The Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 33.

symptom of hysteria (the fourth stage of hysteria, specifically, according to Charcot's theory), and is shown through the persona transformation between Pierrot and Colombine. Finally, tickling was deemed "the exclusive professional domain of the neurologist," led by the work of Joseph Babinski, Charcot's favorite hysteria researcher at the Salpêtrière. Considering these significant indicators, it is strongly possible that audience saw in *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme* a representation of hysteria at the time.

The most notable way in which this pantomime converges with the medical history of hysteria concerns the debate over the entire existence of male hysteria. The prevalent professional opinion and social view at the time was that hysteria was a solely feminine symptom; therefore, males could not be afflicted with the condition. In hindsight, this conclusion was prompted by sexual determinism; in Jan Goldstein's words, many believed that "'nature' had made sexes ... fit a pattern of strict opposition." Charcot was at odds with this prevalent scientific opinion regarding hysteria at the time. Acknowledging the influence of early nineteenth-century neurologists, Charcot maintained that males were also vulnerable to hysteria. Charcot's disciple, Emile Batault, notably described male patients of hysteria as "timid and fearful men ... coquettish and eccentric." Furthermore, Charcot observed

⁹⁷ Sander L. Gilman, "The Image of the Hysteric," in *Hysteria Beyond Freud*, 372.

⁹⁸ Christopher G. Goetz, "History of the Extensor Plantar Response: Babinski and Chaddock Signs," *Seminars in Neurology* 22, no. 4 (2002), 391-8.

⁹⁹ Jan Goldstein, "The Uses of Male Hysteria: Medical and Literary Discourse in Nineteenth-Century France," *Representations* 34 (Spring 1991), 157.

¹⁰⁰ Scull, Hysteria: The Biography, 76.

¹⁰¹ Showalter, "Hysteria, Feminism, and Gender," 289.

similar patterns in male and female hysteric episodes, including uncontrolled convulsions and hallucinations. While the mime and text of *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme* clearly portray such descriptions, the musical portrayal of hysteria warrants the analysis below.

Rhythm and tonality work together with the pantomime text and acting to represent the body of Pierrot. In the first tarantella of *Pierrot*, starting from m. 289, the tickling theme is developed *motto perpetuoso* in the right hand for 114 measures (Ex. 1.1). Not only does this seemingly endless development hint at the uncontrolled aspect of hysteria, but the tarantella also features hallucination (mm. 305–84), another symptom of the condition, when Pierrot transforms himself into Colombine. When Pierrot impersonates Colombine, the textual description includes "rolling" (m. 353), "contorting" (m. 357), "pulling her clothes" (m. 361), and "crying" (mm. 365–7), all of which are hysteric symptoms per Charcot. At numerous instances, Colombine pleads Pierrot to stop tickling her, eventually warning him that she is going to die (mm. 337–9). As the triplets continue, Pierrot "frantically" (m. 322) tickles on until Colombine finally does perish, again showcasing the uncontrolled aspects of hysteria.

Example 1.1: Vidal, *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme*, mm. 289–298, the development of the tickling theme through triplets. The dissonant chord at m. 291 can be analyzed as (1) the German augmented sixth chord of D minor, resolving in an unconventional manner into the A minor chord in the next measure, or (2) V9 chord of A minor with an omitted bass and with a flat-5 as a passing tone between the B of the previous V9 chord and the following I chord. But in the end, it is a very dissonant, arguably sinister chord that warrants a resolution in the next measure, completing the four-bar phrase. The four-bar phrase structure continues throughout the section of mm. 289-402. I am not including the rest of the section due to the large number of pages the example will occupy. The left-hand part will be analyzed in Example 1.6 below.



The uncontrolled aspect of hysteria rarely extends to phrase structure, however. The first tarantella (mm. 289–408) is mostly in conventional four-bar phrases, occasionally supplemented by transitional two-bar phrases. The second presentation of the tarantella, in which Pierrot tickles himself, starts with one stand-alone introductory bar at m. 570, followed by two four-bar phrases (mm. 571–8). M. 579 is a repetition of m. 571. The introductory m. 579 are three four-bar phrases, which end the second tarantella (Ex. 1.2). Thus far, hysteria can only be heard as a *motto perpetuoso* motive, but not showcased structurally through the music itself.

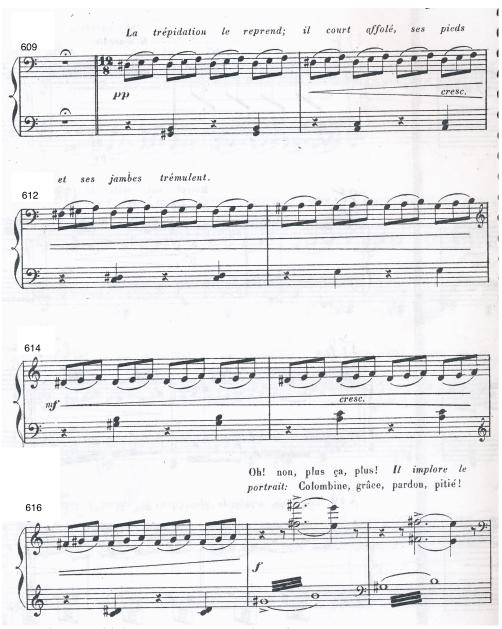


Example 1.2: Vidal, *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme*, mm. 570–9, beginning of the second tarantella.



Example 1.2: Vidal, *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme*, mm. 570–9, beginning of the second tarantella (continued).

The third occurrence of the tarantella (mm. 609–16), however, expresses an instance of hysteria through an irregular phrase structure. This tarantella lasts for a mere seven measures, which can be further broken down harmonically into one group of four measures and another group of three. After the latter group, the music suddenly breaks into a contrasting rhythmic pattern and register that together convey Pierrot begging for Colombine's pity (Ex. 1.3). This moment is a breakdown in the tarantella, occurring in the third tarantella, but not in the prior two in which the phrase structure is more controlled. The unexpected leap into the "Colombine tickled" theme in m. 617 represents the uncontrollable aspects of hysteria. Despite this exception, the structural expression of hysteria in music is limited; the musical representation of male hysteria is virtually exclusive to the thematic aspects of the composition.



Example 1.3: Vidal, *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme*, mm. 609–18. Mm. 609-16 constitute the third tarantella.

As for Vidal's representation of male hysteria through tonality, the shifts within *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme* are frequent. For instance, the musical portrayal of Pierrot justifying his murder of Colombine (mm. 101–23, Ex. 1.4) features descending key changes by thirds in every four measures, from A major to F major,

and then D-flat major, and so on. Shortly after that, Pierrot's sleepwalking (mm. 147–219) features eleven transitions between E-flat major, B major, and G major, all without any sense of a larger tonal direction or overarching development. While modulations by thirds were not uncommon in music at the time, the circular rotation between the keys was unusual. After the music briefly settles into A minor at mm. 397–408, the music undergoes twenty-four changes of key signatures until the end of the piece, and many more modulations within nearly all of the twenty-four sections (Fig. 1.4). The music of *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme* demonstrates a decision not to settle in any key area. This lack of stability on the musical level also echoes the uncontrolled aspect of hysteria, a mental and physical state of disturbance.

Count of key signature	Measure number of the key	Key signature and its
changes	signature change	suggested key (if any)
	409	C major
1	424	F-sharp major
2	451	C major (containing D
		major and F major chords
		only)
3	457	B-flat major
4	464	B-flat minor
5	470	C-sharp minor
6	478	D-flat major
7	484	A major
8	554	A minor
9	596	A-flat minor
10	604	A minor
11	621	A-flat major
12	728	B major
13	744	A-flat major
14	764	D-flat major / B-flat minor
15	796	A-flat major
16	832	E major
17	840	A-flat major
18	844	E major
19	852	A-flat major
20	892	A minor
21	929	A-flat minor
22	943	A minor
23	951	A major
24	967	A minor
	yay signatura ahangas in Vidal	ı

Figure 1.4: Twenty-four key signature changes in Vidal's *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme*, mm. 408-96.



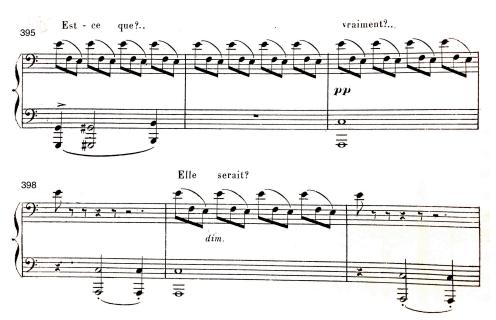
Example 1.4: Vidal, *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme*, mm. 101–25, which display various modulations.



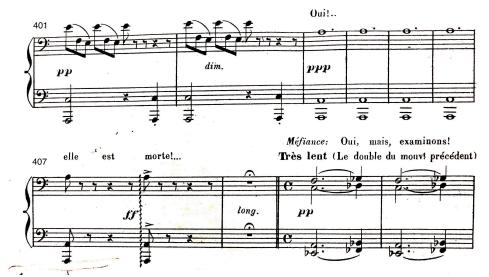
Example 1.4: Vidal, *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme*, mm. 101–25, which display various modulations (continued).

The musical expression of hysteria accompanying the text through constantly shifting tonalities is, however, thrown into question by the return to A minor in m. 967. Such a recurrence may not be noticeable to most audience members, however,

especially as the last instance at which A minor was firmly established occurred 559 measures earlier, in m. 408. But to a sensitive, trained ear, the return may be meaningful, as the prelude of the pantomime began in A minor, while the end of the first tarantella (mm. 397–407, Ex. 1.5, right before the twenty-four key changes) features eleven measures of a pedal note on A as well. At this point, Colobine is dead. The arrival of A minor at m. 967 accompanies the death of Pierrot in the pamtomime narrative. With this strategy, Vidal offers a structure coherence to Pierrot's earlier expression of uncontrolled hysteria through frequent change of tonal centers. All the key changes betweeb m. 408 and m. 967 can be seen a build-up, a process of delayed gratification toward that moment of return to A minor. Along similar lines as the motivic analysis above, the tonal analysis demonstrates Vidal's reluctance to fully express the uncontrollable aspects of male hysteria.



Example 1.5: Vidal, *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme*, mm. 395–410. Mm. 397–407 show the pedal point on the note A before the section of 24 key changes.



Example 1.5: Vidal, Pierrot, assassin de sa femme, mm. 395-410 (continued).

A parallel can be drawn between the musical questioning of hysteria through tonal means and the professional interrogation of Charcot regarding his diagnosis of hysteria as a whole. Jules Falret, another physician at the Salpêtrière, described Charcot's patients as

veritable actresses; they do not know a greater pleasure than to deceive ... all those with whom they come in touch. They hysterics who exaggerate their convulsive movement ... make an equal travesty and exaggeration of the movements of their souls, their ideas, and their acts ... In a word, the life of the hysteric is nothing but one perpetual falsehood; they affect the airs of piety and devotion, and let themselves be taken for saints while at the same time abandoning themselves to the most shameful actions; and at home, before their husbands and children, making the most violent scenes in which they employ the coarsest and often most obscene language and give themselves up to the most disorderly actions. 102

Although this description was written two years after the 1888 pantomime performances of *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme*, Falret described the general

¹⁰² Scull, *Hysteria: The Biography*, 108, quoting Falret, *Etudes cliniques sur les maladies mentales et nerveuses* (Paris: Balliere, 1890), 502.

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atmosphere of Charcot's ward. His main complaint was that the *performance* of hysteria took precedence over medical diagnosis; hysteric symptoms in demonstrations were merely pretensions and exaggerations. The "dramaturgy" of Charcot, making use of female patients such as Blanche Wittman and another one dubbed "Augustine," was well documented by multiple scholars.¹⁰³

The music for *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme* portrays precisely this performance of hysteria. In this context, the frequent, seemingly uncontrolled, hysterical change of tonality in music acts as a pretense for hysteria. As the pantomime unfolds, the tonality turns out to be rigorously controlled. The music seems to be ironically exposing the performances in the Salpêtrière, replicating the performance from the medical lecture on the more appropriate theatrical stage.

Commentary on Class

Beyond a commentary of the medical field, the Pierrot character of this pantomime also bears implications on class. In his ward for hysterical men in the Salpêtrière, Charcot noticed that the living conditions of his patients, formerly urban or agricultural workers, often affected their physical conditions. "Perhaps even more than other people," Charcot explained, "they [of the proletariat] are subjected to the destructive effects of painful moral emotions, of anxieties related to the material difficulties of life." ¹⁰⁴ As feminist literary critic Elaine Showalter succinctly

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104 Scull, Hysteria: The Biography, 77.

¹⁰³ Jonathan W. Marshall, *Performing Neurology: The Dramaturgy of Dr. Jean-Martin Charcot* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016). Scull, *Hysteria: The Biography*.

summarizes, "poor and marginal males suffered from hysteria much more often than successful ones." ¹⁰⁵ Such observations were echoed in Paul Margueritte's 1888 performance of *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme*. The pantomime would not have taken place without Le Figaro's publication of his attack against Émile Zola's novel La terre (The Earth, 1887). 106 Zola's novel depicts the harsh life of peasantry in the Second Empire. Notably, Margueritte and four other young playwrights expressed dissatisfaction with the text, arguing that it lacked "intimacy" and "patient analysis of rural temperaments." This manifesto led André Antoine, founder of *Théâtre-libre*, to put on a series of theatrical performances featuring the young artists. The only work out of the series that featured a composer, Margueritte and Vidal's Pierrot, assassin de sa femme was widely and fondly reviewed. 108 Not only does the use of Pierrot, who originated as a pre-capitalist character, harken to Zola's rural theme, but Margueritte's depiction of Pierrot as hysteric offers an alternative to Zola's unsatisfactory representation (at least from Margueritte's point of view) of the rural class as well. Despite his modest upbringing, Charcot rather unsympathetically described hysteriainflicted members of the lower classes as people who "scarcely know anything other than hard manual labor." The composer's decision to use highly repetitive gestures to portray Pierrot throughout much of the piece echoes this description of "hard

¹⁰⁵ Elaine Showalter, *Hystories: Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 67, quoting Mark S. Micale, "J.-M. Charcot and the Idea of Hysteria in the Male" *Medical History* no. 34 (October 1990), 25.

¹⁰⁶ This attack could be described in Shattuck's words as "a systematic technique of scandal." See Shattuck, *The Banquet Years*, 24.

¹⁰⁷ Paul Margueritte et al., "Le Manifest de Cinq," *Le Figaro*, Aug 18, 1887.

¹⁰⁸ See, for instance, Arnaud Rykner, "Spasmes fin-de-siècle: le spectaculaire hor texte de la pantomime," in *Le spectaculaire dans les arts de la scène*, 261.

¹⁰⁹ Scull, Hysteria: The Biography, 77.

manual labor." The pantomime's representation of class, therefore, responds to literary trends on the one hand, and echoes Charcot's disdain for lower classes on the other.

The Oppressive Male Actions in the Salpêtrière

The music not only reflected Charcot's disdain for the lower classes, but also demonstrated the oppressive male attitude toward women in the Salpêtrière.

Contemporary accounts described Charcot dragging women in the Salpêtrière "notwithstanding their cries and resistance." Having thoroughly studied medical books, iconographies, maps, and the technologies in the Salpêtrière, Georges Didi-Huberman calls the place "a kind of feminine inferno," "a nightmare in the midst of Paris's *Belle Epoque*." This attitude is reflected in the music played by the left hand; the Pierrot tickling theme merely offers an altered inversion of Colombine's *dolce* theme (Ex. 1.6). It seems to be no accident that the tickling theme, which is the beginning of the performance of hysteria, coincides with the sound of a deformed Colombine theme, as if the female character, like in the Salpêtrière, is coerced into giving a performance of hysteria. The collaboration of Margueritte and Vidal, as I will show, expresses and exposes sexual violence on stage.

¹¹⁰ Showalter, "Hysteria, Feminism, and Gender," 311.

Georges Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria: Charcot and the Photographic Iconography of the Salpêtrière*, translated by Alisa Hartz (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), xi.



Example 1.6a: Vidal, *Pierrot assassin de sa femme*, Act II, mm. 289–90.



Example 1.6b: *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme*, "Prelude," mm. 35–6. This is the first presentation of Colombine's theme. Note that the left-hand figure in m. 289 of Ex. 1.6a is similar to the inversion of the right hand eight-note figure in m. 35 of Ex. 1.6b.

Pierrot, assassin de sa femme showcases the way a composer may exert social critique while following a literary narrative. Despite its more famous predecessors and contemporaries, theater scholar and actor Donald McManus proposes that *Pierrot*, assassin de sa femme provides nothing less than "the birth of theatrical modernism" for its grotesque depiction of Pierrot, a decisive turn away, as with *Ubu Roi*, from realistic or naturalist tendencies. The next example provides a less progressive vision of the Pierrot character. It is a vision for popular, mass entertainment, a kind of Pierrot that has been fully neglected in Musicology.

¹¹² Donald McManus, *No Kidding! Clown as Protagonist in Twentieth-Century Theater* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003), 20–4.

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André Wormser and Michel Carré fils, *L'enfant prodigue* (1890)

The pantomime L'enfant prodigue was premiered by the Cercle Funambulesque. 113 The Cercle comprised a society with dramatist Jean Richepin, novelist Joris-Karl Huysmans, and composers Jules Massenet, Vidal, and Francis Thomé, among others. 114 While the character of Pierrot was featured in almost every production of the Cercle from 1888 to 1896, L'enfant prodigue was the most successful production of all. One reviewer noted that it offered audiences "the story of the modern, clear, simple, and touching."115 Praise was given to all aspects of the performance, from the acting—especially that of the "incomparable" lead mime Felicia Mallet as Pierrot—to the playwright Carré, to the composer Wormser whose music was considered "exquisite" and "miming the action" of several newspapers. 116 A reviewer from *Le Temps*, a major Parisian newspaper, gave an unreserved recommendation:

I plead to you: go and see this spectacle. You will have the pleasure to assist and to aid the beginning of a new art. You will not cast doubt on the demand for this art, for the practice of this art contains diverse qualities: a very flexible physiognomy, very lively intelligence, a very rare and very delicate instinct of rhythm, and a taste for observation with a grain of fantasy. 117

Differing slightly from literary accounts of the story by Robert Storey and Elena Mazzoleni, the narrative on the musical score is the one upon which the

¹¹³ This work should not to be confused with Claude Debussy's cantata of the same title, written in

¹¹⁴ Levillain, "The Evolution of Pantomime in France," 270. Paul Hugonet, *Mimes et Pierrots* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1890), 238-9.

¹¹⁵ Levaillain, "The Evolution of Pantomime in France," 516.

116 Levaillain, "The Evolution of Pantomime in France," 512–5 and "Chronical Théatrale" in *Le temps*, 23 June 1890 and 1 September 1890.

¹¹⁷ Le temps, 23 June 1890.

following summary is based. 118 L'enfant prodigue starts with an overture that contains almost all the musical themes included in the pantomime. The first act opens in the dining room of a bourgeois family of three, including Monsieur Pierrot, Madame Pierrot, and Pierrot *jeune* (hereafter, I simply refer to Pierrot *jeune* as "Pierrot"; the other Pierrots will be identified by the corresponding salutations, Mr. and Mme.). 119 The trouble-free, harmonious relationship between the couple contrasts Pierrot's sadness and loneliness; in his dissatisfaction, Pierrot even refuses to eat his meal. Mr. Pierrot simply wants to get his son to eat, while Mme. Pierrot shows more genuine care for her son's emotions. But Pierrot's reluctance eventually outlasts his mother's patience – she uses a skillful combination of reproach and consolation to lure Pierrot into opening his mind. As a result, Pierrot's dream lover, Phrynette, appears on stage dancing. Feeling a strong sentiment of love, Pierrot writes a letter to Phrynette to propose elopement, to which she agrees. During the night, Pierrot kisses his parents, pretends that he is going to bed, and leaves home with Phrynette. But the naïve Pierrot finally realizes, at this point, that he actually needs money in order to elope. As a result, he returns home and steals money from his parents in comical fashion. As they are robbed, the parents pretend to be asleep while their hearts are broken by their son's acts. Blissfully unaware of his parents' knowledge of his deceit, Pierrot celebrates the success of his plan at the end of Act I. In Act II, the romance between Pierrot and

¹¹⁸ Robert Storey, *Pierrots on the Stage of Desire: Nineteenth-Century French Literary Artists and the Comic Pantomime* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 292–3. Elena Mazzoleni, *Pierrot sur scène: anthologie de pieces et pantomimes françaises du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Classique Garnier, 2015). ¹¹⁹ Storey's literary account refers to Pierrot *jeune* as Pierrotin, which offers an interesting double-diminution of a name, from Pierre to Pierrot, and then from Pierrot to Pierrotin.

Phrynette begins to fail when money runs short. While Phrynette flirts with the rich Baron in a long dance scene, Pierrot, in an attempt to earn money, gambles in his dream and becomes even more destitute. Eventually, Pierrot discovers that he has been cuckolded, and regrets his decision of leaving home. Act III brings the audience back to the Pierrots's dining room. The music that accompanies this space is thematically similar to that offered in Act I, but decidedly different in terms of tonality, articulation, and general mood – things are never the same again. In the next scene, Mme. Pierrot is praying for the return of Pierrot and, lo and behold, he comes back in the subsequent scene. Unlike the father in the Parable of the Prodigal Son, Mr. Pierrot refuses to forgive Pierrot. At this point, the sound of a military march is heard, and Pierrot joins the army to redeem himself. 120 The pantomime thus ends victoriously. L'enfant prodigue, as a whole, is not unlike some contemporary American situation comedies, in which actors act somewhat incongruously with social norms in a given situation. One can take the sitcoms or *L'enfant prodigue* lightly as a form of entertainment, or choose to engage intellectually with their material to explore inherent social commentaries.

The Bourgeois Class as Incongruous

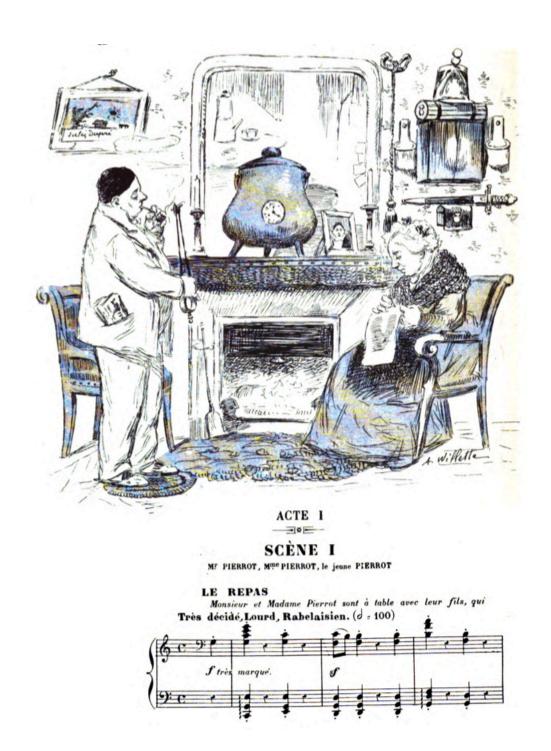
The first critique offered in Wormser's composition deals with the issue of class. Given that the traditional character of Pierrot comes from the peasant class, this

¹²⁰ In the literary accounts of Storey and Mazzoleni, Pierrot's enlistment leads to Pierrot receiving his father's pardon. However, in the literary description on the musical score, no such forgiveness is mentioned. Although most historical sources agree with the literary account, the narrative of the musical score may be the one to which musicians in the private home subscribed.

depiction of him as a member of the bourgeoisie marks a significant change that warrants attention. In the first scene, titled "The Meal," the harmonic and structural simplicity of the music belies the depiction of the bourgeois family of Pierrots as incongruous (Ex. 1.7). On the one hand, Wormser describes this scene as demonstrating "conjugal tenderness," while the stage directory states, "Mr. and Mme. Pierrot are at the table with their son, who daydreams and does not eat." On the other hand, the music of this scene consists of a loud, rigorous duple dance. With a rather thick texture and sounds of the middle-to-low register, the staccato chords are marked as *très marquée* ("very pronounced"), providing a memorable first impression of this family.

¹²¹ Not only did Aubert identify the bourgeois feature, but numerous British and American reviews did so as well. See *The Literary Digest* (Sep 23, 1916), p. 746 for an overview of the bourgeois popularity of spectacle that leads *L'enfant prodigue* to be recast into film. See Carlo Piccardi, "Pierrot at the Cinema. The Musical Common Denominator from Pantomime to Film. Part III," *Music and the Moving Image* 6, no. 1 (2013): 4–54.

Paul Hugounet, La musique et la pantomime (Paris: Ernest Kolb, 1893), 70.



Example 1.7: Beginning of Wormser, *L'enfant prodigue*, Act I, Scene 1, with the visual illustration by Willette.

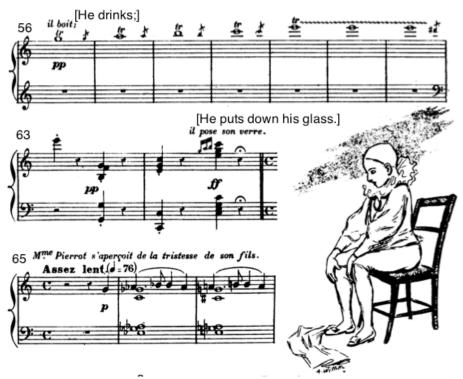
The sforzandos at the downbeats of the second and fourth bars of the four-bar phrases not only reinforce the *Lourd* (cumbersome) effect as demanded by the musical

score, but the dissonant quality of the downbeat chords also implies the natural emphasis of the chords in relation to the resolution afterward. Furthermore, the sforzando marking may be read as a direction for over-articulated, exaggerated cumbersomeness. Moreover, the composer demands the music be played in a Rabelaisian manner. Referring to the carnivalesque literature of the Renaissance monk and poet Francois Rabelais, the word Rabelaisian refers to the abundance of rustic humor, religious subversiveness, grotesqueness, and an intense emphasis on bodily experience (such as gluttony and sex) as opposed to the mind. The desired manner of musical performance is not only at odds with the normal expectation of conjugal tenderness, but also incongruous with the mindset of the daydreaming Pierrot.

Such incongruity continues at the first explicit mimicry of physical movement in music, starting from m. 46. At this point, Mr. Pierrot pours a drink to his wife, an action mimicked by a falling musical contour. Then he drinks with a seven-bar ascending trill. At the end of the section, at m. 64, a loud and full C major chord is struck when the stage directory reads, "he puts down his glass" (Ex. 1.8). One the one hand, the celebratory tone of the final chord may aptly punctuate the Pierrot performer's virtuosic performance in the previous section. The chord, the latter part of a V-I progression of a perfect cadence, also provides a strong structural ending to the Rabelaisian section of music. On the other hand, the same loud and full C major chord serves the literary narrative as a disproportionate celebration of Pierrot's

¹²³ The carnivalesque is a common term in literary theory denoting a reference to the grotesque and ambivalent aspects of the carnival tradition. See my discussion in chapter 4 of this dissertation, and Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984).

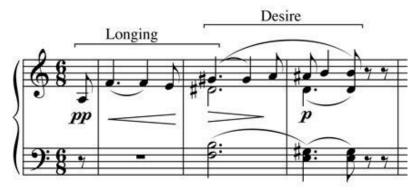
accomplishment of some of the most trivial matters of daily life, namely pouring a drink for one's wife and drinking. If putting down a glass warrants a loud pronouncement, it also warrants an ironic laughter. The fermata at the end of the section therefore expects the combination of laughter and applause as the virtuosic display dissipates prior to the start of the next section. I have no dispute regarding interpretations of the music as offering simple entertainment in the tradition of theaters, as basic chord and structural analyses easily show. At the same time, however, given the Pierrots' appearance as members of the bourgeoisie and their incongruous portrayal by the music, the moment presents—at best—an ambivalent view of the bourgeoisie as a social and economic class.



Example 1.8: Wormser, *L'enfant prodigue*, mm. 56–67. In mm. 56-64 Mr. Pierrot displaying his ability to drink and put down his glass. Mm. 65–7 includes Pierrot's theme.

Pierrot's incongruity as a member of the bourgeoisie can also be heard through a passing but symbolic mockery of the "desire" leitmotif of Wagner's Tristan und Isolde. With Wagner's widespread artistic influence in France, it is not uncommon for various artistic genres to reference his works. Pedneault-Deslauriers has argued that Vidal's reference to Wagner in *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme*, and Wormser's *L'enfant* prodigue offer key examples of this practice. 124 After the impatient Mr. Pierrot asks if his son is sick, Pierrot's stage directory goes as follows: "(saissant le prétexte) Oui, j'ai mal à la tête!" ("(says the pretext) 'Yes, I am sick in the head!""). As Pierrot mimes this dialogue, the music features a half-diminished chord in inversion, resolving to a dominant seventh chord. The harmonies of this chord progression evoke those of Wagner's Tristan chord and its resolution (Exs. 1.9a and 1.9b). The similar rhythm of the two progressions further confirms the evocation. Similarities in musical parameters are strengthened by literary resemblances – both Tristan and Pierrot are protagonists who desire love. But, while the energetic desire of Tristan is depicted via a rising melody, the desire of Pierrot fails to rise, and can only fall accompanied by sighing gestures. The evocation of Tristan thus simultaneously becomes a mockery of it. The musical incongruity therefore clearly reflects the literary narratives: while Tristan is a tragic hero, Pierrot in L'enfant prodigue is the tragicomic antihero, an unfriendly depiction of the bourgeois class.

¹²⁴ Pedneault-Deslauriers, "Pierrot L.," 619–21.



Example 1.9a: Leitmotifs in Wagner's Tristan und Isolde.



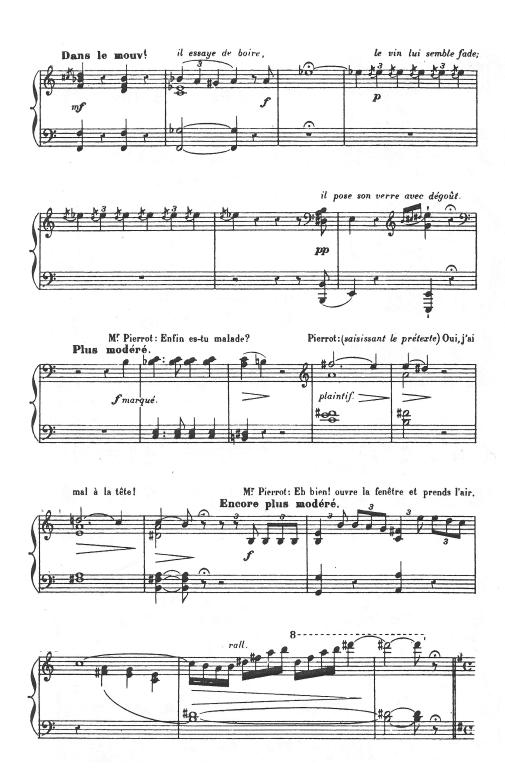
Example 1.9b: Wormser, *L'enfant prodigue*, mm. 104–8. Note the inverted melodic line and the similar harmonic structure between mm. 107–8 and Wagner's "desire" Leitmotif.

The incongruous nature of this bourgeois family often elicits its members' senses of inconsequentiality. From the beginning, Mr. Pierrot's celebratory mood is incongruous with Pierrot's sorrow. Such incongruity is further exposed in mm. 77–114 (Ex. 1.10). With Mr. Pierrot and Pierrot responding to each other in quick succession, this section depicts a classic, amusing *commedia dell'arte* duet in miniature form. This duet, however, is by no means balanced between the two sides: Mr. Pierrot overwhelms Pierrot with a louder volume, brisker tempo, and eventually forcing of the Rabelaisian theme upon Pierrot. Mr. Pierrot's forced attempt, a torment to his son, is inconsequential – Pierrot erupts into a loud, unresolved series of descending diminished chords, refusing to adopt his father's musical depiction. After this failure,

Mr. Pierrot instead adopts Pierrot's rhythm at m. 105, symbolizing his attempt to communicate with his son. But the loudness and the Rabelaisian energy persist for Mr. Pierrot, while Pierrot continues to conceal the reason for his sadness. Mr. Pierrot gives up shortly thereafter, punctuating the inconsequentiality of his efforts. It is true that the music does not address the bourgeoisie as a class directly; however, in painting the life of a bourgeois family in this manner, Wormser's music offers far from an amicable impression.



Example 1.10: Wormser, *L'enfant prodigue*, mm. 76–111. See the rapid responses of Mr. Pierrot and Pierrot. Notice Mr. Pierrot trying to incorporate Pierrot's rhythmic theme at m. 105.



Example 1.10: Wormser, *L'enfant prodigue*, mm. 76–111 (continued).

At the beginning of the pantomime, Pierrot seems to be the least incongruous character. At the end of Act I, Scene I Pierrot begins a solo reverie (Ex. 1.11). The reverie differs from all previous sections due to its self-contained phrase, rhythmic, and tonal structure. The reverie consists of five four-bar phrases, the last of which is a coda, and includes two main rhythmic patterns, as shown in mm. 115 and 117. Other than minimal changes at cadence points, the rhythm remains stable throughout the reverie. This self-contained structure – a short character piece of its own right – is rare in pantomimes, in which music generally follows a linear plot. The reverie thus strikes a major difference from other sections of the pantomime that display Pierrot's zaniness.

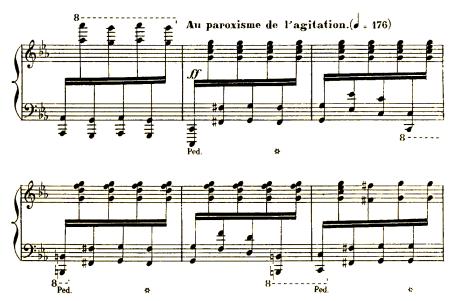
Incongruity is also emphasized by depicting Pierrot's frenetic love. In Act I Scene VI, due to anxieties surrounding the utilization of direct speech in expressing love, Pierrot decides to write a letter to Phrynette. But the action of writing manifests a passage of fast virtuosic display, betraying the expectation of love as something profound and sentimental (Ex. 1.12). While the pantomime's text does not depict the mood of the letter, the music makes such emotions clear. Emblematic of the overworking zany, Pierrot shows his inconsequentiality by discarding his letter in Scene VII, exclaiming "cette letter exprime mal ses sentiments" ("this letter explains my sentiments poorly"). A similar scene of foolishness appears in Act 2, Scene I, when

¹²⁵ Pierrot's reverie resembles other instrumental reveries of the time, such as those by Claude Debussy (1890), Charles Gonoud (1872), Pauline Viardot (1884), and lesser-known composers such as Martin Marsick (1885), Hahn Reynaldo (1895) and Alphonse Hasselmans (1892). The reverie in *L'enfant prodigue* was reprinted as sheet music, arranged for violin and piano. A short madrigal in the same pantomime were reprinted as sheet music also, arranged for flute or violin and piano.

Pierrot's date with Phrynette is greatly disturbed by a mosquito (Ex. 1.13). Portrayed by fast sixteenth notes, Pierrot's uncontrolled reaction is a ludicrously incongruous reaction to a trivial mosquito. This testifies to a less than favorable representation of Pierrot as a member of the bourgeois class.



Example 1.11: Wormser, L'enfant prodigue, "Pierrot's Reverie."



Example 1.12: Wormser, *L'enfant prodigue*, mm. 76–81 of Act I, Scene 6, Pierrot frantically writing his love letter.



Example 1.13: Wormser, *L'enfant prodigue*, mm. 63–79 of Act II, Scene 1, Pierrot is greatly disturbed by a mosquito.



Example 1.13: Wormser, L'enfant prodigue, mm. 63–79 of Act II, Scene 1 (continued).

One Masculinity, Three Femininities

Moving beyond class commentary, *L'enfant prodigue* also offers a glimpse into ideas regarding masculinity and femininity at the fin-de-siècle. Pierrot's observation of Phrynette's dance in Act I portrays a display of the male gaze toward women. In Act II, which depicts Pierrot's life outside the home, Pierrot changes from the all-white, traditional Pierrot costume to a half-black attire (compare the illustration of Pierrot between Ex. 1.11 and Ex. 1.13). The latter is closer to the all-black attire of the flâneur, which was considered fashionable among the bourgeois class at the time. Pierrot also tries to conform to the standards of a white, bourgeois man of honor by hiring a black servant. This example of Pierrot shows that "the emergence of modern

gender ideology was, from its inception, both race- and class-based." As masculinity at the fin-de-siècle was characterized by the figure of the flâneur, who feels uneasy at home. He is the wandering dandy on the streets who inconspicuously gazes at different objects and people. Pierrot aims to become one by leaving his own home. Pierrot's attempt backfires: the servant is the first person signifying Pierrot's failure in living *la vie flânerie* by presenting him bill after bill that Pierrot cannot pay. Moreover, Pierrot's cuckoldry is a clear violation of his masculinity; as literary critic Robery Nye writes, "a cuckold is assumed to be lacking in the usual marital authority because he is in some sense deficient as a man, that is in his genital endowments." All in all, Pierrot in *L'enfant prodigue* reinforces general anxiety about masculinity in the late nineteenth century.

On femininity, however, *L'enfant prodigue* offer multiple visions, some more daring than others. First, Felicia Mallet, the female mime who plays the role of Pierrot, can be thought of as a flâneuse (Fig. 1.4). The flâneuse is the female version of the flâneur. While Pierrot fails to become a flâneur in the pantomime, Pierrot the performer via Mallet succeeds in performing the flaneur Pierrot on stage. One theater review notes Mallet's "feminine grace" in performing Pierrot, while others praise her

¹²⁶ Dana Drew Irwin, "Revolutionary Histrionics: Violence and the Creation of Bourgeois Masculinity in Post-Napoleonic France" (Ph. D. Diss., Emory University, 2013). Andrew Israel Ross, "Violence and Masculinity in 19th c. France" (Diss. review., 2014), accessed at http://dissertationreviews.org/archives/9834 on May 18, 2018.

Janet Wolff, "The Artist and the *flâneur*: Rodin, Rilke and Gwen John in Paris," in *The Flâneur*, edited by Keith Tester (New York: Routledge, 2014), 119.

¹²⁸ Robert Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 10.

for being "delicate" and "charming," both descriptions being the ideals of a dandy." Mallet made herself a successful flâneuse on stage through this role. Furthermore, in ironic contrast to Pierrot the character's lack of financial resources to maintain *la vie flâneurie*, Mallet, in reality, was offered an "enormous sum" of money by American impresarios to perform in the United States, according to *Le Temps*. Turning down the offer due to other performative engagements, Mallet shows herself as a successful flâneuse in financial resources and lifestyle, both on stage and in reality, serving as evidence of the increasing visibility of the flâneuse and the modern woman in public spaces. ¹³¹



Figure 1.5: Edouard Vuillard, design of a frontispiece for Felicia Mallet in *L'enfant prodigue* (designed in 1890–1). ¹³²

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¹²⁹ Levaillain, "The Evolution of Pantomime in France," 514. Storey, *Pierrot: A Critical History of a Mask*, 292, 293.

^{130 &}quot;Chronical Théatrale" in *Le temps*, 1 September 1890.

¹³¹ See Aruna d'Souza and Tom McDonough, eds., *The Invisible flâneuse? Gender, Public Space, and Visual Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

¹³² Guy Cogeval, ed., *Edouard Vuillard* (New Haven: Yale University Press and the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2003), 107, 109.

Second, by performing the presumably male character of Pierrot, Mallet presents herself in a gender-ambiguous manner. Lesbian culture was present, as shown by historical letters, paintings, and tourist guidebooks that reveal the "pleasures" of Paris." By no means high profile, lesbian culture was centered in cafés that served lesbian clients, and to some extent in café-concerts, music halls, and brothels. 133 With this context in mind, Phrynette's lengthy flirtation with Pierrot in the second Act, depicted through their prolonged waltzes—a common social dance at the time—can be understood as an ambiguous display of lesbian interaction by two female performers (Ex. 1.14). This scene would be familiar in real-life Montmartre—an example can be taken from Willette's illustration in the book *Paris Nights* (1889), which is "essentially a naughty guidebook for visitors to the World Exposition." ¹³⁴ The illustration shows a doorman with tight pants revealing an ample rump passing an envelope to an elegant lady (Fig. 1.5). This image is accompanied by the text, which says the doorman is prepared "for all sorts of errands, pretty and well-groomed, as pleasing to men as to women." ¹³⁵ The image of Felicia Mallet as Pierrot, as illustrated also by Willette on the musical score, is not unlike that of the doorman (Fig. 1.6). Although Mallet did not find herself in homosexual scandals as some other performers did, the waltz dancing between Phrynette and Pierrot could be seen as an ambiguous display of lesbian interactions between two female performers, much like the two ladies dancing in

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¹³³ Nicole G. Albert, "De la topographie invisible à l'espace public et littéraire: les lieux de plaisir lesbien dans le Paris de la Belle Époque," in *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 53–4. (Winter 2006), 87–105.

¹³⁴ Choquette, "Homosexuals in the City," 157.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

Toulouse-Lautrec's painting. No historical review acknowledged this reading of the second act—after all, explicitly writing about homosexuality was taboo, if not a crime, at the time. Nevertheless, this scene may be read as including "curosités pathologiques," or an expression of agency for lesbian identity. ¹³⁶ In the actual theater, it was also possible that the somewhat veiled articulation of lesbian culture went undetected by unaware audience members.



sur les divans des cabinets particuliers, épaves emblématiques d'une nuit de plaisir.

Figure 1.6: The lady and the doorman, as portrayed in *Paris Nights*.

¹³⁶ Timothy Murphy, ed., *Reader's Guide to Lesbian and Gay Studies* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 441.

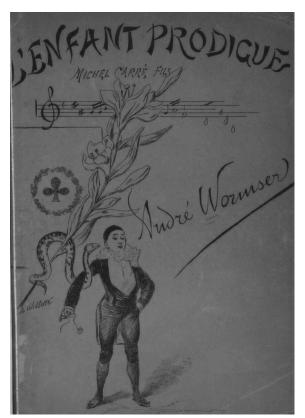


Figure 1.7: One of the cover images for *L'enfant prodigue*.

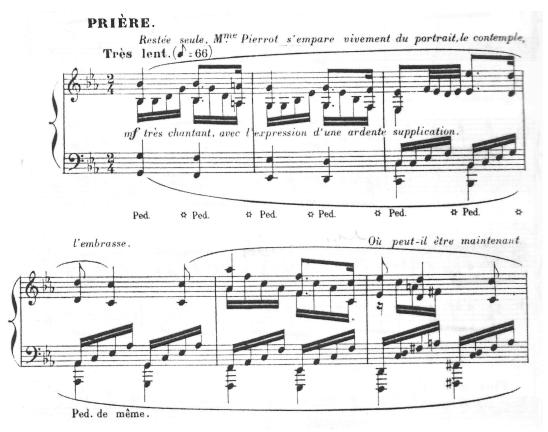


Example 1.14: Wormser, *L'enfant prodigue*, entry of Phrynette in Act I, Scene 5.

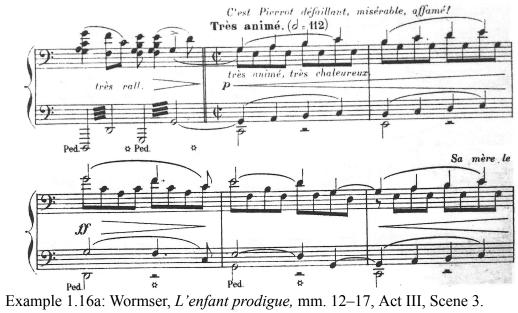
In contrast to Mallet's Pierrot, Mrs. Pierrot offers a more religious vision of femininity. In direct contrast to Pierrot, who is musically portrayed as sentimental (with wistful and convoluted melodies) and zany (with hysterical, repetitive figures), Mrs. Pierrot's musical portrayal is always simple. An example can be found in Act III, Scene 2, where her prayer is portrayed with the musical direction of "tres chantant, avec l'expression d'une ardente supplication" ("very singing, with the expression of an ardent supplication"). Except for one leap from the low to high E-flat, the melody is in simple descending steps. The doubling in both left and right hands, and the parallel third harmony between the two hands display no zany qualities (Ex. 1.15). No other character in the pantomime shares this kind of serious musical portrayal. Scene 3 offers another octave parallel when Mrs. Pierrot's prayers come true (Ex. 1.16a). The unison passages in mm. 13–41 repeat persistently, and the melody is again simple in its contour. Her prayer to the Holy Mother is also shown visually through an illustration on the musical score (Ex. 1.16b). The kneeling woman is Mrs. Pierrot; the tall lady is an idealized visualization of the Holy Mother. She holds Jesus with her left hand (see the halo around his head, and also the toy lamb (!) he owns), and Pierrot with her right. These visual and musical details reflect what social historian Roger Magraw calls the "feminization of Catholicism" in late nineteenth century France. ¹³⁷ This scene of religiosity harks back to the overall theme of L'enfant prodigue as a reiteration of a biblical tale. In the original parable, the father of the prodigal son receives his child despite the latter's defiance. In the pantomime, however, the father

¹³⁷ Roger Magraw, France, 1800-1914: A Social History (London: Longman, 2002), 170–4.

is consumed with anger over Pierrot's wrongdoing, while the mother, instead, receives her son without qualms. The resignification of the biblical tale thus features the religiously wise figure as female. The coexistence of different femininities in *L'enfant prodigue* is unique in allowing the audience to identify with different female identities in contemporary society.



Example 1.15: Wormser, *L'enfant prodigue*, mm. 1–6 of Act III, Scene 2. See the descending stepwise motion in the melody and the constant interval between the left and right hands in mm. 1–4.





Example 1.16b: Musical and visual depiction of the Holy Mother on the music score of *L'enfant prodigue*, mm. 14–22, Act III, Scene 2.

Commentary on National Politics: Pierrot Marches with African Soldiers

Mallet's provocative gender role also contains an intertextual reference, which combines with Wormser's music to raise questions of national politics. The final scene of L'enfant prodigue, in which Pierrot marches to militaristic music, can be seen in a threefold context. First, at the time, Pierrot was a character often used in commentary regarding war and international politics, as shown in Willette's *Le Pierrot* journals. 138 Second, France was expanding its colonial influence at the time; the reference to Tirailleur soldiers (Senegalese soldiers loyal to France) in the illustration on the musical score thus corresponds to the Franco-Dahomean War of the same year (which took place in present day Benin, in West Africa; Fig. 1.7). Third, while the music of this march can be seen as a whole-hearted celebration of Pierrot atoning through military service, the scene itself is notably awkward. It is largely incongruous with the rest of the pantomime in which Pierrot is weak and unwise, as well as with Pierrot's historical convention as an antihero constantly cuckolded by Harlequin. Such incongruity is further punctuated by the music, which features musical themes that are not found elsewhere in the three-act pantomime (Ex. 1.17). This incongruity in musical structure renders Pierrot's sudden glory more plausible as a humorous element, an ironic commentary on military service for the nation. 139

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¹³⁸ For instance, the 12 October 1888 issue of Le Pierrot features an African queen speaking about colonial politics. The 27 July 1888 issue is titled "A l'Irlande" (To Ireland).

¹³⁹ I thank Jann Pasler for her readings of black characters appearing next to Pierrot in other visual examples. An additional point of intertextual theatrical reference is as follows. The final scene makes an intertextual reference to the comedy *Les Treize Jours de Pierrot (The Thirty Days of Pierrot*, 1889), a pantomime produced before *L'enfant prodigue*'s premiere. Rather than anything resembling a brave warrior, the soldier Pierrot in *Les Treize Jours* was pathetic, laughable, and useless. He had to be saved by his wife, portrayed by the female mime Felicia Mallet dressed as a soldier. The appearance of Mallet as Pierrot in *L'enfant prodigue* in a military march thus draws an intertextual comparison.



Figure 1.8: Illustration at the end of *L'enfant prodigue*.

A ce moment un tambour lointain se fait entendre. Mouv! de Marche. (J = 116) (Tambour.) C'est un régiment qui marche... ppp à la frontière... peut-être!...

Example 1.17: Wormser, *L'enfant* prodigue, mm. 39–49 of Act III, Scene 5, Pierrot's military march.

Gustave Charpentier, Le couronnement de la muse (1897)

L'enfant prodigue and Le couronnement de la muse both exert social critique through entertainment, with the latter exposing the tension between nationhood and aesthetics. Although Pierrot is not centrally featured until Scene IV (titled "the Suffering of Humanity"), his presence is heard musically throughout the piece with fragments and developments of the folk song "Au claire de la lune." Premiered in Montmartre, Le couronnement begins with a procession march that contains all major musical themes of the piece. Scene I then offers the "Ballet of Pleasure," featuring artists, poets, and other groups of people together with the Muse, a young woman from the working class. Toward the end of the scene, the ballet turns into a brief bacchanalia. Eventually, a group of artists emerges from it to guide the spectacle into Scene II, the "Apparition and Dance of Beauty." In this scene, the choir offers praise to the Muse for the love, glory, and beauty that she brings with her. After the music climaxes toward the end in an animated manner, the next scene, "Coronation of the Muse", begins slowly and majestically. The poet takes over as a solo vocalist paying homage to the Muse's grace; the choir occasionally echoes the poet's messages, celebrating the "eternal harmony and beauty" represented in the Muse. The scene ends with a joyful cry. In stark contrast, Scene IV, "the Suffering of Humanity," features the miming of Pierrot, with the choir sonically depicting his distress and "eternal suffering." Toward the end of the scene, however, the "Muse of universal happiness" takes over the stage, leading the outdoor spectacle into the final "Apotheosis." The choir sings in fugal style to celebrate this occurrence. Toward the very end of the

work, the poet returns to the forefront, slowly and emotionally reiterating the Muse's role as the "eternal hope of men."

Perspectives of *Le couronnement* are complementary as often as they are contradictory. Musicologist Steven Huebner reveals that Charpentier had anarchist ties and Wagnerian inspirations. Huebner compares the spectacle to the genres of the vachalcade and the masque, arguing that the spectacle was used to draw attention to Charpentier's major opera *Louise* (1900). 140 Fellow musicologist Michela Niccolai, however, takes issue with Huebner's latter point, arguing that Le couronnement is a major musical work in its own right due to its hybrid generic nature, amongst other factors. 141 Pasler also notes the piece's significance, placing the spectacle within the tradition of revolutionary festivals reenacted by republicans in the 1880s and 90s. 142 Moreover, Pasler notes Charpentier's contributions to women's education in the arts upon the success of his compositions, and asserts that Charpentier "engaged the French in contemplating the utility of a working-class woman" in French nationhood. 143 Furthermore, music scholar Jane Fulcher argues that *Le couronnement* is one of Charpentier's "double-voiced" works that simultaneously appearses the political officials and transgresses political authority. 144 Fulcher, however, stops short

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¹⁴⁰ Steven Huebner, *French Opera at the Fin de Siècle: Wagnerism, Nationalism, and Style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

¹⁴¹ Niccolai, Michela. *La dramaturgie de Gustave Charpentier* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

¹⁴² Pasler, Composing the Citizen, 611–2.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 676–7.

¹⁴⁴ Jane Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914–1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

in her detailing of Charpentier's inner musical workings and sensibilities by failing to relate them to ideas of nationhood.

Although their interpretations might seem contradictory, Pasler's detailed work in the forging of French national identity through music provides a necessary historical context for appreciating Fulcher's argument of Charpentier's double-voicing. In particular, Pasler has demonstrated that the value of beauty, as embodied by the Muse in *Le couronnement*, was central to music education in the Third Republic; as such, politics and aesthetics are shown to be intertwined. In this light, the appearance of Pierrot in the spectacle is more than simply representing the "suffering of humanity." Consistent with contemporary and historical deployments of the character, Pierrot in *Le couronnement* actually instigates further political critique.

Quotations of "Au clair de la lune"

While the narrative of the outdoor spectacle centers on the Muse, Pierrot leaves his footprints at major junctures in the performance. The appearance of the distinct timbre of the brass chorus, a quarter of the way in the opening procession, features a slightly varied fragment of the folk tune "Au clair de la lune" ("by the light of the moon"). This French tune, well-known in France both today and contemporaneously, instantly invokes the character of Pierrot (Ex. 1.18). The text beneath the quotation on the musical score reads, "au clair de la lune, a Montmartre le soir" ("by the light of the moon, in the evening of Montmartre"; Ex. 1.19). Although the second half of this

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¹⁴⁵ Pasler, Composing the Citizen, 237–8.

phrase replaces the text "mon ami Pierrot" ("my friend Pierrot") in the original folk tune, the text sets the geographical backdrop of the whole outdoor spectacle as Montmartre, the breeding ground of Pierrot-mania.

Au clair de la Lune



Example 1.18: French folk tune "au clair de la lune."



Example 1.19: Charpentier, *Le couronnement de la muse*, "Procession March," mm. 72–6

Consider, then, the section following the brass chorus that starts in m. 88, a fugal passage portraying the "cortege et char de la Muse" ("envoy and chariot of the Muse") (Ex. 1.20). The downward contour of the first three notes for the right hand sounds as if it borrows the final three notes of the varied fragment of "au clair de la lune," as delineated by the top voice of the brass chorus. This derivation is then

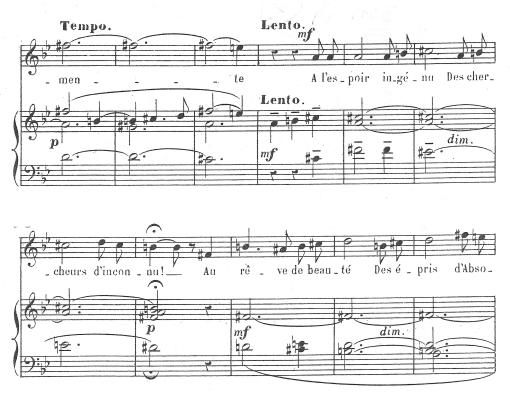
spliced with notes that come from the beginning of the aforementioned brass chorus. The upper voice of the left hand, the counter-melody to the theme of the right hand, features exactly the contour of the original tune of "Au clair de la lune." The newly derived counterpoint between the two hands then moves in upward sequence and is exhaustively developed throughout the section. While the brass chorus is featured again at the outset of Scene III, "the coronation of the Muse" (Ex. 1.21), the chorus's upper voice, is also sung by the poet in the "apotheosis" (Ex. 1.22). This deployment of musical themes suggests Pierrot (and all the connotations that go with the character) as the subtext, the backdrop of the whole spectacle. This understanding, in turn, allows us to better realize the ways in which the two prominent political tunes, "la Marseillaise" and "la Chanson du Père Duchesne" ("the song of Father Duchesne," hereafter "Père Duchesne"), comprise the musical critique of national identity in the spectacle.



Example 1.20: Charpentier, *Le couronnement de la muse*, "Procession March," mm. 88–95.



Example 1.21: Charpentier, Le couronnement de la muse, Scene III, mm. 1-5.



Example 1.22: Charpentier, Le couronnement de la muse, Scene V, mm. 182–92.

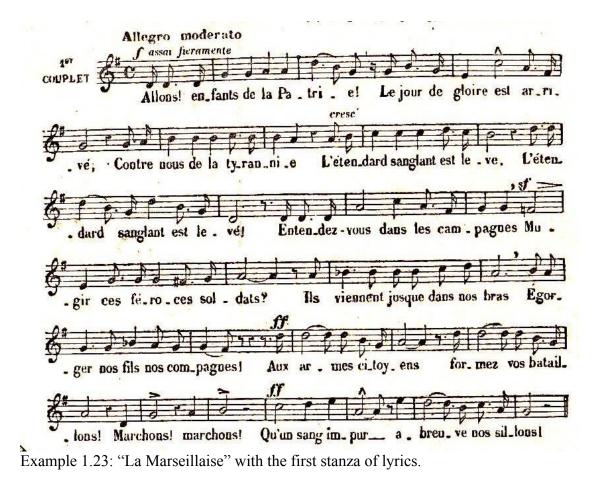
Quotations of "la Marseillaise"

The deployment of "la Marseillaise" signifies both pro-republican and proanarchistic sentiments within the piece's historical context (Ex. 1.23). First used as the
French national anthem in 1795, the tune was disfavored and even banned under
subsequent regimes, including the Second French Empire that ended in 1870 at the
beginning of the Franco-Prussian War. Soon after, the newly-formed Third French
Republic (based in Tours at the time) signed an armistice with Prussia, and the Paris
Commune began its short-lived life in March 1871, centered in Montmartre in the
outskirts of Paris. The Communards then took the tune of "la Marseillaise" and
rewrote the lyrics to become "la Marseillaise de la Commune." The Communards,

comprised of anarchists, socialists, artists, working class people, the "National Guard," and others, were bloodily suppressed by the French army in late May of 1871. Although this suppression dealt a serious blow to the anarchists, many of them continued to live in Montmartre and produce printed propaganda materials into the 1880s and 90s. 146 While not a central anarchist, Charpentier demonstrated sympathy toward them (perhaps due to anarchism's close ties to working class interests at the time) by donating to families of imprisoned anarchists. In a letter to a devoted anarchist, Charpentier described Le couronnement as "a stage in a progression toward the golden age of divine anarchy." ¹⁴⁷ However, the anarchists' identification with the tune of "la Marseillaise" did not prevent the French Republic from reinstating "la Marseillaise" as the national anthem in 1879. In that context, "la Marseillaise" promotes patriotism toward the French nation, centered in the French government. The official sponsorship of *Le couronnement* by the French government in Michelet's centennial in 1898 shows a pro-republican interpretation of "la Marseillaise." The conflicting interpretations of "la Marseillaise" could therefore lead to wholly different political critiques through the music.

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Huebner, French Opera at the Fin de Siècle, 428, quoting Richard Sonn, Anarchism and Cultural Politics in Fin de Siècle France (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 84–7.
 Ibid.



One of the most apparent instances of a dual understanding of the anthem occurs toward the end of the procession march (mm. 228-262), immediately after a section that thematically references Pierrot (mm. 187-227). The words "warriors' procession" is marked on the music score at m. 236, surrounded by quotations of "la Marseillaise" in mm. 232-235 and mm. 240-243. In mm. 251-7, the fragment of the beginning of "la Marseillaise" is quoted three times in succession (Ex. 1.24). On the musical score, Charpentier specifies in a footnote that the quotations signify "trumpets of glory. Calls for death. Laurels and tears." These words paint a kind of Greek sense of eternal glory for the warriors. To those who interpreted "la Marseillaise" as the

French anthem, the quotations symbolized patriotism and celebrated the warriors who sacrificed for the Republic. But to those who interpreted "la Marseillaise" as the Commune song—which is plausible given the anarchist presence in Montmartre—the quotations glorified those who were suppressed in the Commune. As such, the music allowed contradictory political perspectives to coexist.



Example 1.24: Charpentier, *Le couronnement de la muse*, "Procession March," mm. 227–62, with quotations of "la Marseillaise."



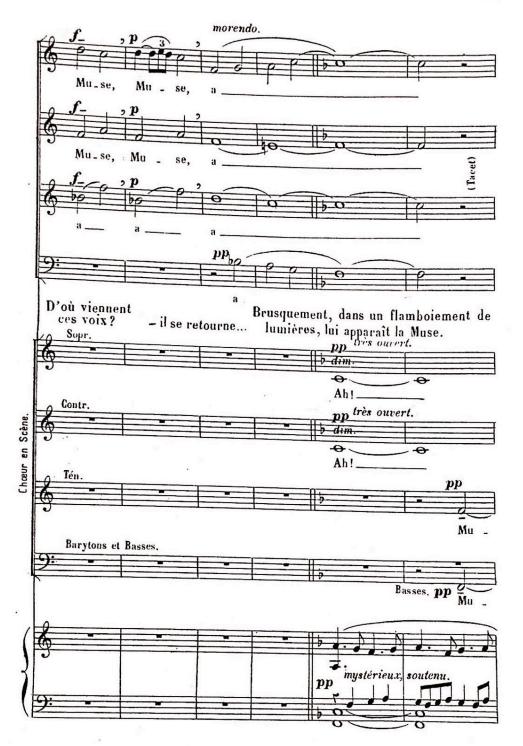
♦ Trompettes de Gloire. Appels à la Mort. Lauriers et larmes.

Example 1.24: Charpentier, *Le couronnement de la muse*, "Procession March," mm. 227–62 (continued).



Example 1.24: Charpentier, *Le couronnement de la muse*, "Procession March," mm. 227–62 (continued).

This possibility of double-voicing additionally offers an alternative reading of the fugal passage portraying the "envoy and chariot of the Muse," which not only appears in the procession march (Ex. 1.20) but also in the second half (mm. 90-132) of Scene IV (Ex. 1.25). As previously mentioned, this passage can be seen as a variant of "au clair de la lune"; it can also be interpreted as a quotation from the second verse of "la Marseillaise." With this understanding of the quotation, the fugal passage can be interpreted in at least two ways—as a symbol of harmony between French national identity centered in the Republic and its people, or as a display of anarchist identity coupled with the Montmartre-native in Pierrot. These two readings have significant implications for understanding the tension in other parts of Scene IV.



Example 1.25: Charpentier, Le couronnement de la muse, Scene IV, mm. 87-100.



Example 1.25: Charpentier, *Le couronnement de la muse*, Scene IV, mm. 87–100 (continued).

In the first part of Scene IV, another musical and textual fragment of "la Marseillaise" accompanies Pierrot's miming of eternal suffering. After extensive vocalized passages in the choir, the first words that they utter behind Pierrot, at mm. 53–4 and 57–8, are "aux armes" ("to arms") (Ex. 1.26). These words are similarly featured in "la Marseillaise" as loud repeated notes in a "short-long" rhythm. This call to arms by Pierrot is ambiguous: how does calling to arms possibly solve the eternal suffering of humanity? An apolitical, purely literary reading of *Le couronnement* may suggest that Pierrot is looking in the wrong direction to solve human suffering. Since the first three scenes of the outdoor spectacle outline the Muse as the embodiment of beauty and glory, Pierrot's suffering immediately forms a contrast with her presence. Pierrot's call to arms thus constitutes an inconsequential complaint. His sufferings are to be alleviated not by a call to arms, but by turning to the Muse in mm. 77–81 (Ex. 1.27). There, Pierrot starts by doubting if the Muse really can solve suffering, miming "ah, if that was true, if happiness could descend to the earth!" The quasi-religious imagery of the Muse of universal happiness descending to earth is followed by Pierrot finally converting, "daring to believe in the magnificent promise." The conversion resolves the tension between Pierrot and the Muse, suffering and happiness, and leads the spectacle to its celebratory ending.



Example 1.26: Charpentier, *Le couronnement de la muse*, Scene IV, mm. 46-60, including a quotation of "La Marseillaise" with the words "aux armes" ("to arms").



Example 1.27: Charpentier, Le couronnement de la muse, Scene IV, mm. 77-86.

While the above interpretation is plausible, it does not account for the miming instruction for Pierrot on the musical score when the words "aux arms" are uttered (Ex. 1.26). At this point in the spectacle, Pierrot is "think[ing] for a moment about possible revolts." The word choice of "revolt" matches the militaristic theme of "to arms"; more specifically, at the time it was a verb frequently associated with the anarchists and with the anarchist paper Le Temps Nouveaux (The New Times), previously La Révolte (The Revolt). With Charpentier's ties to anarchism, "to arms" perhaps serves as a nostalgic reminder of the anarchy-infused Paris Commune of 1871. Alternatively, when the spectacle was performed in a location beyond Montmartre or Paris, the anarchist association of the text was likely lost. Even when the spectacle was performed outdoors in Montmartre, the composer's intended message written on the music score may or may not have been delivered to the audience through Pierrot's miming—after all, the miming instructions were not spoken aloud. In some cases, the quotation of "aux arms" may be understood not as part of "la Marseillaise de la Commune," but as a quotation of the French national anthem. Thus, the "revolt" would represent the views of the republicans who embraced their nation's revolutionary history in revolting against monarchy. The appearance of "la Marseillaise," again, allowed multiple political perspectives to coexist simultaneously.

This call to arms is answered by a section of march-like music that can also be interpreted in multiple ways (see mm. 58–60 of Ex. 1.26). First, it may be understood as a response to Pierrot's call to arms, whether pro-anarchic or pro-republican. Second, the march may be interpreted as derived from the section of "gay and fantastic march"

in the procession march (Ex. 1.28a). The *pianissimo* dynamics, the identical bass notes on the left hand, and the similar rhythmic pattern on the right hand strengthen this identification. The "gay and fantastic march," according to Charpentier's footnote on the music score, is "for explaining the bitter irony of human happiness." Bringing this sense of irony to Scene IV, the march after the call to arms continues a pro-anarchist effort to undermine the republican ideals of beauty and glory as represented by the Muse. Third, the augmented chord and the upward chromatic scales marked *mezzo-forte* and *fortissimo* in mm. 67–74 (Ex. 1.29) harken back to the second part of the "gay and fantastic march," which is marked "sentimental," "burlesque," and "comical" (Ex. 1.28b). With this reference, Pierrot's call to arms is answered with a less-thanserious treatment. These three somewhat contradictory readings thus suggest that the description of Charpentier's music as "double-voiced" may perhaps be a tidy understatement. Charpentier is, so to speak, deliberately messy with his political message.



Example 1.28a: Charpentier, *Le couronnement de la muse*, "Procession March," mm. 186-91, excerpts of the "gay and fantastic dance."



Example 1.28b: Charpentier, *Le couronnement de la muse*, "Procession March," mm. 206-9.



Example 1.29: Charpentier, Le couronnement de la muse, Scene IV, mm. 65–76.

Quotations of "Père Duchesne"

Quotations of "Père Duchesne" shed further light upon this multilayered passage in Pierrot's miming. Allegedly sung by an anarchist nicknamed Ravachol before he was executed in 1892, the tune became popular among active anarchist communities in Montmartre. In *Le couronnement*, as Huebner has identified, the theme of "Père Duchesne" is given a "triumphant rendition" by the trumpets after

Pierrot mimes "the suffering of humanity" (Ex. 1.29, mm. 70–1). This glorious announcement of anarchism echoes the pro-anarchic reading of "la Marseillaise" in Pierrot's call to arms and solidifies a pro-anarchist reading of *Le couronnement* in general. Amidst the Satie-esque chaotic voices that undermine a hierarchical social order, the Muse of universal happiness becomes an ironic foil challenged by the underdog, the anarchist Pierrot.

However, it is also possible to interpret "Père Duchesne" as working against the anarchists. In the middle of the procession march, the quotation of "Père Duchesne" is accompanied by the text "Here are the fresh and beautiful carrots! Here are the carrots! The carrots!" (Ex. 1.30). As anti-hierarchical as the marketplace cries are, "the carrots" are incongruous with the martyrdom of Racavhol or the views of the anarchists. In this light, the carrots can be read as a distraction or an ironic shift toward "pere Duchesne." In Scene IV, the quotation of "Père Duchesne" is layered on top of "the triumphant march of the people *en route* to universal happiness," only to be halted by the recognition that "Alas! It was a dream ... unhappiness is not quitting at this moment" (Ex. 1.29). The Muse, who is by no means anarchistic but rather coronated, then appears as an alternative, ultimately triumphant option. Here, the quotation symbolizes the failure of the anarchist movement, or at least, embodies the argument that anarchism fails to bring happiness to the people. This failure paves the way for the Muse, the harmonious combination of working class identity and republican ideals of beauty, to ride victoriously toward the end of the spectacle.

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¹⁴⁸ Huebner, French Opera at the Fin de Siècle, 460.



Example 1.30: Charpentier, *Le couronnement de la muse*, "Procession March," mm. 130–133.

Piano and Chamber Music by Female Composers

Pierrot not only appeared in the late nineteenth century on the theatrical stage; its presence in piano music (and also for voice and piano) was ubiquitous. Many composers, most of them unknown today, composed for the amateur pianist and singer. They include Max Arham, Pietro Codini, Henri Vatin, Ad Pierrot-Deseilligny, Maurice Thibault, Henri Cieutat, Ferdinand de Croze, Auguste Bosc, Henri de Soria, Edouard Cazaneuve, Carl van Berghe, Eugène Anthiome, Raoul Bérard, Emile Bonnamy, Charles Boudier, Eduard Chavagnat, Maurice Gignoux, and many others.

Claude Debussy composed two Pierrot songs for piano and voice in 1882 and 1883, but they were only published posthumously in 1923. Unlike the aforementioned others, Debussy's pieces demand professional musical training to perform both the piano and voice parts. In this section, I discuss the only two pieces of Pierrot-related piano music by female composers I collected thus far. Cécile Chaminade and Marguerite Audan's music show decidedly different concerns compared to the ones by male composers. Therefore, they give us a glimpse at the meanings of Pierrot in the hands of female musicians.

Cécile Chaminade, Pierrette

By the time she composed *Pierrette* in 1889, Chaminade already enjoyed a stable career as a composer and concert pianist. A review of her performance in Paris noted that she performed her *Concertstück*, op. 40 and "three little pieces," including *Pierrette*, op. 41, on January 30, 1890. This program shows that although *Pierrette* is not a piece aiming to display virtuosity, it is artistically compatible with more advanced pieces such as the *Concertstück*. The Pierrot character, previously presented in this chapter in theatrical spectacles, now inhabits the concert hall at ease. In the review, Chaminade was noted for her "marvellous" and "graceful" playing. The reception of *Pierrette* in London on June 25, 1892 is qualitatively different due to

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¹⁴⁹ For a biography of Chaminade, see Marcia J. Citron, *Cécile Chaminade: A Bio-Bibliography* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988). The amount of scholarship on Chaminade is surprisingly scarce, despite Chaminade's relative popularity in performance.

¹⁵⁰ *Gil Blas*, 31 January 1890.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

programming choices. In that concert, Chaminade played solo character pieces, including *Pierrette*, and accompanied other vocal pieces on the piano. The review writes that "she showed herself at her best in those graceful little drawing room pieces [... and] delicately written trifles." Without a *Concertstück* in the program, the perception of Chaminade and her *Pierrette* was clearly conditioned by the female stereotype of the time and confined to the private home. ¹⁵³

This reception echoes dance historian Susan Foster's argument quoted toward the beginning of this chapter that "ballet functioned to invest the dancer's body with the viewer's desire." Chaminade has a consistent interest in the genre of ballet, having composed a symphonic ballet one year before *Pierrette*, another air de ballet for the piano another four years earlier, and multiple ballet-related works after 1889. The below formal and thematic analysis of *Pierrette* attempts to counterbalance the nineteenth-century viewer's perception and considers Chaminade's musical decisions and agency.

Two notable features of *Pierrette* are the overall formal balance and the recurrence of a three-note motif. The following figure shows the AABA structure of the piece, with the B section developed out of fragments of the A section:

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¹⁵² Citron, Cécile Chaminade: A Bio-Bibliography, 145.

Retrospectively, Diane Jezic and Elizabeth Wood write that "such a prolific and successful composer need not be pigeonholed as a composer of salon music." Jezic and Wood, *Women Composers: The Lost Tradition Found* (New York: Feminist Press at CUNY, 1994), 134.

¹⁵⁴ Susan Leigh Foster, *Choreography and Narrative: Ballet's Staging of Story and Desire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 229.

mm.	section
1-4	Intro
5-30	A
31-34	Repetition of intro
35-59	A'
60-83	В
84-107	A''
108-129	Coda

Figure 1.9: Structure of Chaminade's Pierrette

To evoke the humor or clumsiness of *Pierrette*, the first four measures of the piece feature accents on the second half of beat one; from the fifth measure onward, discords are often strategically placed on the second beat of a measure (Ex. 1.31). Musical imitation of the jumping and circular movements of ballet dancing can be found throughout the piece. An example of jumping can be found in mm. 52 and 57-59, and circular motion through the three-note motif in mm. 50-51 and 54-55 (Ex. 1.32).

The three-note motif used to portray circular motion is of special interest here because of its resemblance with the depiction of hysteria in Vidal's *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme*, composed and performed one year earlier (Ex. 1.1). This can certainly be a coincidence; one may also point to the perpetual nature of Vidal's depiction of hysteria, which is different the intermittent three-note theme in Chaminade's music. But consider a few other contextual elements. First, Chaminade and Vidal shared the same cultural milieu of Paris in general, of the Paris Conservatoire specifically, and repeating triplets as a musical sign for hysteria might have spread through a reprint of part of Vidal's music in *Revue illustrée* in June 1888. ¹⁵⁵ In a broader sense, the vogue

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¹⁵⁵ Revue illustrée. June 1888.

of hysteria was common knowledge among artists of the time. Second, since the ballet *Giselle* (1842), there was a "tradition of visual resemblance of dance to [...] hysteria" until the emergence of modern dance in the beginning of the twentieth century. The combination of ballet dancing and the repeating three-note motif fits this description well. Third, even though Chaminade depicts the circular motion of ballet dancing in both her *air de ballet*, op. 30 in 1889 and *Pierrette*, she only features repeating sixteenth-note triplets in the latter piece. Chaminade's specific musical choice in *Pierrette* further strengthens the hermeneutic reading of the triplets as a sonic performance of hysteria. In this case, *Pierrette*'s hysteria is tempered not only by the structural balance of the piece (Fig. 1.9), but also the perception of the work as non-theatrical music for private or concert use.

PIERRETTE.

Allegretto. J=104.

Example 1.31: Chaminade, *Pierrette*, mm. 1–5.

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¹⁵⁶ Felicia McCarren, *Dance Pathologies: Performance, Poetics, Medicine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 25. See also McCarren, "The 'Symptomatic Act' circa 1900: Hysteria, Hypnosis, Electricity, Dance" *Critical Inquiry* 21, no. 4 (Summer 1995): 748-74. Peggy Phelan, "Dance and the History of Hysteria," in *Corporealities: Dancing Knowledge, Culture, and Power*, edited by Susan Leigh Foster (New York: Routledge, 1995). Steven Wainwright and Clare Williams, "*Giselle*, Madness, and Death," *Medical Humanities* 30, no. 2 (2004): 79-81.



Example 1.32: Chaminade, *Pierrette*, mm. 49–59.

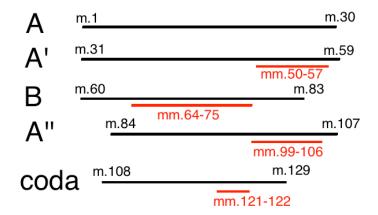


Figure 1.10: Structural balance in Chaminade's *Pierrette*. The sections in red denote passages with recurring triplets.

Marguerite Audan, Pierrot et Pierrette

Marguerite Audan is a composer whose work was published at least nine times from 1901-1906. 157 She was a student of Charles-Marie Widor at the Paris

¹⁵⁷ This information is according to the catalog of the French National Library, accessed at http://catalogue.bnf.fr on May 1, 2018.

Conservatoire and she entered the *Prix de Rome* competition through the encouragement of Hélène Fleury. 158 A review on Le Journal describes her gavotte Comme à Trianon (1901) as "where the most expressive force combines with the subtlest grace." ¹⁵⁹ Her *Pierrot et Pierrette: babillage en forme de canon* was also written in 1901, but received no reviews.

A "babillage" means a babble, chit-chat, insignificant talk, or childish words. In this piece, the two independent voice lines suggest a conversation between Pierrot and Pierrette (Ex. 1.33). There are no musical incongruities and exaggerated gestures, as in some of the theatrical Pierrots. Written with careful attention to species counterpoint, this babillage is light-hearted without any intentions of musical innovation or challenging prevalent styles. The piece is suitable for amateurs in the middle-class home for its difficulty, and displays an awareness of the learned style.

Admittedly, the compositions of Chaminade and Audan did not cast cultural debates. In the wider cultural context of Paris, these two women composers shared the fascination for Pierrot, and imagined a female counterpart in Pierrette through music. Their works represent the range of technical difficulty of most piano and chamber music portraying Pierrot. Some, like Chaminade's piece, are suitable for both concert and private use. Some others, like Audan's, are clearly intended for amateurs in the middle-class home. The aesthetic contents of these compositions, after all, were inseparable from their social use.

 ¹⁵⁸ Caroline Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 49.
 159 Le Journal, 31 May 1903.

Conclusion

This chapter responds to the surprisingly scant attention that music scholars pays to French Pierrots. It also complements the scholarship in literature and theater scholars, which often addresses theatrical works of Pierrot without analyzing the music scores that provide crucial meanings to the artistic experience. I analyzed numerous depictions of the Pierrot character, including being inconsequential, incongruous, naive, and playful. My work furthers the work of the few scholars of musicology who were invested in the social meanings of Pierrot, such as Pedneault-Deslauriers in the case of Vidal, and Michaeli Niccolai in the case of Charpentier. ¹⁶⁰ Through these depictions, music conveyed social meanings, and Pierrot revealed himself to be an inherently social character.

In the examples in this chapter, we see Pierrot raising questions and debates on gender, class, politics, and other social and cultural issues. Not only is Pierrot far from being merely an aesthetic character, each performance is conducive to multiple points of view on these debates. None of the pieces singularly assert one standpoint. Even though these perspectives sometimes seem to disagree with one another, they share the same stage. In *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme*, the music suggests a more critical and ambivalent view of hysteria than the pantomime text. The nuanced discrepancy between music and text allows different audiences to understand the meaning of the

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¹⁶⁰ With a careful study of Charpentier's oeuvre, Michaela Niccolai argues that the outdoor spectacle *Le couronnement de la muse* belongs to a highly innovative and hybrid genre of its own. She documented all performances of this outdoor spectacle in and beyond Paris, and offered impressive details on the genesis of the work, performance reviews, and other aspects of the performance. See Niccolai, *La dramaturgie de Gustave Charpentier* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 113–45.

performance differently, and adopt his or her own view on hysteria as a cultural trend and a clinical diagnosis. In *L'enfant prodigue*, the music and plot combine to elicit various social and political commentaries; the three Pierrot characters—father, mother, and child—provide multiple visions of gender identity. In *Le couronnement de la muse*, quotations of multiple politically charged tunes allowed political opponents to interpret the performance in accordance with their own ideological inclinations, and coexist in the same space. Chaminade's and Audan's piano pieces provided versions of Pierrots with classical structure and in a learned style. They are not commentaries to specific cultural issues. Instead, they form a major alternative not only to Pierrot music in pantomimes and spectacles, but more widely to the modernist conception of the Pierrot character. They represent middle-class interest in the character, which again points to Pierrot as an inherently social character.

Though not all of the musical examples above could be categorized as musically "modernist" in the narrow sense, they all reflected and constructed an intense, more widely defined modernity and modernism. The depiction of hysteria was, at the time, a modern clinical achievement; the performance of disability through the miming, non-speaking body of Pierrot was a source of modernist cultural narrative; bourgeois modernity was the basis for most of the case studies. Pierrot's relationship with modernity and modernism harks back to Gutsche-Miller's observation that composers of ballet-operas and other popular genres strived to balance both "originality and accessibility" in their scores. ¹⁶¹ Indeed, with original and

¹⁶¹ Gutsche-Miller, *Parisian Music-Hall Ballet*, 142.

accessible music, people of multiple cultural and political inclinations could not only appreciate the composers' aesthetic innovations but also identify with the performance and spark new debates on the social topics of their passion.

I further speculate that the coexistence of multiple points of views mediated through the body of Pierrot is symbolic of the French having different viewpoints while sharing the same social and cultural space. In this way, cultural identity is not based on rejection, but on choice and acceptance of others' choices.

CHAPTER 2 Stravinsky's *Petrushka* (1911): Russian Identity in France

Introduction

Like Gustave Charpentier's *Le couronnement de la muse*, Igor Stravinsky's *Petrushka* is a spectacle featuring a Pierrot character. More specifically, the latter was envisioned as a *gesamtkunstwerk*, with detailed coordination between the actions on stage and the music. The collaboration between three Russian artists (Stravinsky, stage designer Alexandre Benois, and choreographer Michel Fokine), with Russian impresario Sergei Diaghilev pulling strings, culminated in the premiere of the ballet in Paris in 1911. It was presented by *Ballets Russes*, a ballet company presenting performances full of exoticism. Richard Taruskin describes its first two years (1909-10) succinctly:

The heavy emphasis on oriental lexus in his early repertory was something Diaghilev had calculated coldly, one could even say cynically. It accounts for the disproportionate popularity of Russian musical orientalia in the West to this day, and for the mistaken notion [...] that it was one of the main modes of Russian musical expression, if not (next to folklore-quoting) the dominant one. 163

With *Petrushka*, the presentation of puppets in a Russian Shrovetide Carnival is exotic in evoking a distant locale. But it has something more. For the music of *Petrushka*, Stravinsky was touted by prominent reviewer Jacques Rivière to be "an exemplary

¹⁶² Jann Pasler, "Music and Spectacle in *Petrushka* and *The Rite of Spring*," in *Confronting Stravinsky: Man, Musician, Modernist,* edited by Pasler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 54. Alexandre Benois, *Reminiscences of the Russian Ballet,* translated by Mary Britnieva (London: Putnam, 1945 [1941]), 370-1.

¹⁶³ Richard Taruskin, "'Entoiling the Falconet': Russian Orientalism in Context," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 4, no. 3 (Nov. 1992): 280.

artist for France."¹⁶⁴ With this, the East-West boundary is blurred. While Russia was "East and Other" for the French in general, Stravinsky presented a Russian puppet character that the French could identify as French. This chapter explains how Stravinsky's music achieves such an effect by reconsidering sources and contexts that have been disparately used in musical and literary research of *Petrushka*. Stravinsky's music opens up the imagination of Russian representation in the French context as somewhat distinct from Western Europeans on one hand, and from the "Orient" as represented by Asian and African influences on the other hand. The Pierrot character, in this context, is not only a clown in the margins of society, but also serves as an assertion of Russian national identity in France.

Generally speaking, Petrushka is not Pierrot; Petrushka is Pierrot only with Stravinsky's *Petrushka*. Petrushka is a Russian puppet character that bears more resemblance to Pulcinella than Pierrot, particularly for its penchant for violent action. But in its content and context, the Petrushka in *Petrushka* is a Pierrot. Much research has pointed out that, in its plot, *Petrushka* has transformed the Russian Petrushka character into something more akin to the conventional Pierrot. With the previous chapter's discovery of Pierrot as a character through which national identity can be constructed, *Petrushka* can be seen in the same light, as I shall delineate. The

¹⁶⁴ Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: a Biography of the Works through Mavra, vol. 2* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 991.

¹⁶⁵ Catriona Kelly, *Petrushka: The Russian Carnival Puppet Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 86.

¹⁶⁶ John Swan, *Triumph of Pierrot: The Commedia dell'Arte and the Modern Imagination* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993). Naomi Ritter, *Art as Spectacle: Images of the Entertainer since Romanticism* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989). Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*, 661-778.

Petrushka-Pierrot connection is further strengthened by the performance context of *Petrushka* in Paris, where Pierrot appeared in pantomimes, spectacles, vocal music, and chamber music. One season before *Petrushka*'s premiere at the Théâtre du Châtelet, Leoncavallo's *I Pagliacci* was produced in the same space. Taruskin further asserts that *Petrushka* has nothing in common with the Russian Petrushka plays; J. Douglas Clayton also reads the ballet as "a commedia transformed into the Russian context" and not as a Russian Petrushka play. But the differentiation between Petrushka and Pierrot is important (and often neglected) in understanding *Petrushka* when we look at implicit differences between Asian-ness, Russian-ness, and European-ness for Stravinsky.

For the sake of clear reference in the ensuing argumentation, it is necessary to review the plot of *Petrushka*, which was chiefly provided by Benois. The ballet begins by depicting the Shrovetide Carnival in St. Petersburg in 1830, where street dancers, drunken revelers, an organ grinder, and others are celebrating. The Magician then presents three puppets from a little theater: the Ballerina, the Moor, and Petrushka. The second tableau moves to Petrushka's room, in which he first curses at the portrait of the Magician. He also longs for the Ballerina's love, only to be rejected by her during her brief appearance in his room. The scene ends with Petrushka again cursing at the Magician's portrait. The third tableau switches to the Moor's room, in which the Moor idolizes a coconut. The Ballerina then appears and dances with the Moor, only

¹⁶⁷ Taruskin, Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions, 674.

¹⁶⁸ Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*, 672. J. Douglas Clayton, *Pierrot in Petrograd: The Commedia dell'Arte/* Balagan *in Twentieth-Century Russiasn Theatre and Drama* (Mondreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 137.

to be interrupted by Petrushka's intrusion due to his jealousy. The tableau ends with the Moor chasing Petrushka out of the room. The final tableau brings the audience back to the outdoor carnival, where the coachmen, wet nurses, and others celebrate. The Moor and Petrushka suddenly emerge, and the latter is stabbed to death. The Magician appears to reassure the stunned crowd that they are merely puppets. As the crowd dissipates and the Magician brings Petrushka's body back to the little theater, Petrushka's ghost appears on top of the theater to the terror of the Magician, who immediately flees.

Russian Symbolism

Inspired by Dostoevsky and others, the Russian symbolists believed that "Russian culture would provide the postmillennial civilization, for only Russia could mediate between Asiatic 'barbarism' and European 'rationalism.'"¹⁶⁹ Andrew Wachtel's consideration of Russian symbolism in interpreting *Petrushka* is noteworthy, particularly with Benois's acquaintance with this literary trend in Petersburg. Wachtel rightly claims that the Moor is "emphatically not European," but he also risks oversimplification by linking Petrushka merely with "European traditions." At last, he reaches the conclusion of the Russian symbolist reading of the ballet, that

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¹⁶⁹ Ibid

¹⁷⁰ Adnrew Wachtel, ed., *Petrushka: Sources and Contexts* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1998). 27.

¹⁷¹ Ibid. Full quotation: ""Petrushka […] is primarily linked with such European traditions as commedia dell'arte and its late-nineteenth-century (primarily French) reincarnation." Wachtel is wrong when he characterizes music that appears after figure 51 in the second tableau as "stylized 'oriental' music."

Petrushka's appearance over the fairground booth at the end of the ballet in the person not of the effete European Pierrot but of the Russian Petrushka would depict the ultimate triumph of Russian culture atop of the ashes of both Europe and Asia. 172

Although Stravinsky is not considered a "Russian symbolist," his musical upbringing would allow him to understand the ideas associated it. One the ond hand, he was a student of Rimsky-Korsakov, the conservative branch of music composition in Russia; on the other hand, he also participated in the "World of Art" group that served as a platform of the Russian modernists and symbolists, including Diaghilev and Benois. 173 Although the group began by focusing on visual and literary arts, Stravinsky attended their inaugural concert under the series of "Evenings of Contemporary Music" in 1901. He continued to attend some of the series' concerts throughout the years, and presented publicly, for the first time, his music composition, in 1907. This composition is the first of Stravinsky's musical settings of Sergey Gorodetsky's symbolist poems (1907 and 1908) – Gorodetsky being in the same symbolist literary salon with Alexandre Blok (the connection between his widely performed The Puppet Show and Petrushka is a matter of debate, and will be discussed at the end of the chapter). ¹⁷⁴ Gorodetsky's use of folklore in his modernist poetry is a stepping stone for Stravinsky, as the latter became "the first composer to turn to folklore as a source for stylistic renewal and experimentation." 175 Petrushka's wealth

175 Bartlett, 14.

¹⁷² Ibid., 28.

¹⁷³ Rosamund Bartlett, "Stravinsky's Russian Origins," in *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky*, edited by Jonathan Cross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 10.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 11-2. For the relationship between Stravinsky and Blok, see Ritter, *Art as Spectacle*, 177-220, together with the rebuttal by John Swan's review. See Swan, "Review: Art as Spectacle: Images of the Entertainer since Romanticism by Naomi Ritter," Theatre Journal 42, no. 3 (Oct. 1990); 404-5.

of folklore quotation, Russian or otherwise, as delineated by Taruskin and others, in addition to its conscious leaning on the European commedia dell'arte, a folk tradition, can be seen as a continuation of Stravinsky's exploration of Russian musical identity.¹⁷⁶

The musical characterization of the Petrushka character is best understood by contrasting it with that of the other two puppets in the ballet. The Ballerina is closely modeled after the Colombine character, the Moor partially after Harlequin, and finally Petrushka partially after Pierrot, forming the classic Harlequin-Pierrot-Colombine love triangle in European commedia dell'arte.

The Ballerina: Tonal and European

Throughout the ballet, the musical portrayal of the Ballerina is not particularly exotic, from the European standpoint. As distinct from the Moor and Petrushka, who are depicted with materials and structures not commonly seen in the French or Western European concert tradition, the Ballerina is associated with the major tonality. In the third tableau, her solo dance is accompanied by music in F major (rehearsal no. 69, Ex. 2.1), followed by her dance with the Moor in E-flat major (rehearsal no. 71) and B major (rehearsal no. 72). The instrumentation of her solo dance – the cornet à piston and the military tambourine – adds to her European characterization. The choice of the cornet à piston not only matches the image of the toy cornet in the

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¹⁷⁶ Stravinsky becomes more vocal about his thoughts on Russian cultural and political identity after the First World War. See Tamara Levitz, *Modernist Mysteries: Persephone* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 297-304, 340-1. My analysis of *Petrushka* provides a musical perspective on how such later thoughts are gradually formed.

Ballerina's hand on stage; it is also a distinctly French instrument, invented by the French and used mostly by French composers. 177 The military tambourine not only continues the presence of the military theme of French spectacles; the same instrument is used as a "drum roll" in the beginning of the second, third and fourth tableaux. Stravinsky believed its function was to "invite the listeners on the stage, that is, the carnival crowd, to the spectacle" (which is why he wanted to eliminate the drum rolls before the second and third tableaux, but ultimately did not). The use of the military tambourine in the Ballerina's dance – though not as a drum roll – may serve the similar function of inviting the listeners "on the stage," in the sense of identifying her as part of the festive French and European audience. 179



Example 2.1: Stravinsky, *Petrushka*, third tableau, "The Dance of the Ballerina," rehearsal no. 69.

The folk tune quotation in the Ballerina's dance with the Moor has been identified as from Joseph Lanner. I take issue with Kenneth Gloag, who claims that

[Lanner's quotation] now complicates the process of borrowing, which, up to this point, has been concerned specifically with Russian folk-based

¹⁷⁷ Jovce Francine Davis finds that the cornet à piston was rarely used by composers outside France. When they are used outside France, "a direct link to a French composer's influence can be traced." Davis, "The Cornet à Piston in French and French-Influenced Orchestration from 1830 to 1936," D.M.A. diss. (Ohio State University, 1990), 58.

¹⁷⁸ Wachtel, ed., Petrushka: Sources and Contexts, 134.

¹⁷⁹ Also, if the Ballerina were to be Petrushka's partner in the Russian tradition, she should have been a "monstrously ugly" woman, not a pretty Ballerina. See Kelly, 168.

material. Nevertheless, the Russianness of the previous borrowings helps lend a sense of 'otherness' to this moment [...] although the sound world of the Lanner waltz is seen as the 'other' in relation to the Russian context, the Russian identity itself is challenged through its close proximity to the very different material of the Lanner waltzes. ¹⁸⁰

True, the waltz is "other" to the Russian materials, but more importantly, it was "self" to the Europeans in attendance! The wealth of folk musical materials from the first tableau can only be in contrast with a waltz composed as Hausmusik. The Ballerina's non-Russian-ness does not challenge the other part's Russian-ness as Gloag sees it — the overall "Russian identity" of *Petrushka* may have been a concern to Diaghilev, but not necessarily to Stravinsky. Rather, despite the Russian background of the story, by composing the Ballerina emphatically as a European-inflected character, Stravinsky highlights her difference from the Moor and, more significantly, from Petrushka. ¹⁸¹

The Moor: Primitive, Asian, and African

The musical portrayal of the Moor falls in line with Wachtel's conclusion with regards to the Moor's visual characteristic: "Asian or African," and "emphatically not European." Evidence is plentiful and straightforward. The "feroce stringendo" ("feroce" means "savage") in the beginning of scene three is further reinforced by the low string action at rehearsal no. 66, resembling his later ballet *The Rite of Spring* (Ex. 2.2). In the Moor's dance with the Ballerina, at rehearsal no. 72, he does not join the

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¹⁸⁰ Kenneth Gloag, "Russian Rites: *Petrushka, The Rite of Spring and Les Noces*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky*, 82-3.

¹⁸¹ I only argue that Stravinsky construes her as a European character. I do not imply that the overall effect of the Ballerina is European. For more of the audience's perspective, see M. de Brunoff, ed., *Collection des plus beaux numéros de Comædia Illustré et des Programmes consacrés aux Ballets & Galas Russes depuis le Début a Paris, 1909-1921* (Paris: Comædia Illustré, 1922).

major tonality with her; rather, he uses his own dance in Dorian mode, which was previously announced at rehearsal no. 65 (Ex. 2.3). He tries to dance with the Ballerina, but fails. The disparity between the two puppets is further punctuated by them playing in different time signatures at the same time. The effect is, according to Fokine, "not pleasant to listen to," and "consists for the most part of barklike sounds, snarls, and bass pizzicatos." The character usually performed in blackface as well.



Example 2.2: Stravinsky, *Petrushka*, third tableau, rehearsal no. 66.

¹⁸² Michel Fokine, *Memoirs of a Ballet Master* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1961), 185.



Example 2.3a: Stravinsky, Petrushka, third tableau, rehearsal no. 72.



Example 2.3b: Stravinsky, *Petrushka*, third tableau, rehearsal no. 65, clarinets parts only.

Petrushka: The Piano and Octatonic Tonalities

The character of Petrushka is marked prominently by two musical elements, the piano and what Taruskin calls "octatonic tonality." The piano has been strategically used in the ballet. It only appears as a filler of the carnival musical texture

In the first tableau, not taking up a prominent musical presence until the Russian Dance in rehearsal no. 33, after Petrushka (and the two other puppets) are presented by the Magician at rehearsal no. 30. The piano takes a prominent role in the second tableau, which was the first part of the ballet that Stravinsky composed. It belongs to his original idea – before Diaghilev persuaded him to expand it into a ballet – of composing a *Konzertstück* for piano and orchestra: with the distinct image "of a puppet, suddenly endowed with life, exasperating the patience of the orchestra with diabolical cascades of arpeggios." These cascades, naturally, find their prominence in the second tableau that focuses on Petrushka.

Many scholars have thoroughly investigated the second tableau, where Petrushka's "diabolical" cascades are found. Three perspectives serve as important bases for my analysis. First, regarding the famous "Petrushka chord" that juxtaposes the C major and F-sharp major arpeggios, Jann Pasler writes, "Stravinsky created a musical means of communicating the irreconcilable conflict between Petrushka's mechanical body and the human emotions." Such a musical depiction of Petrushka's "existential state" shows the heightened awareness between Stravinsky and Benois, who put the Magician's portrait on the wall of Petrushka's room, and at which Petrushka curses. Second, questioning Pieter Van den Toorn's wholesale rejection of bitonal analysis, Taruskin maintains that such analysis is compatible with octatonic analysis. On the one hand, he describes the two keys as "active polarity,

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185 Ibid

¹⁸³ Jonathan Cross, *Igor Stravinsky* (London: Reakton Books, 2015), 44.

Pasler, "Music and Spectacle in *Petrushka* and *The Rite of Spring*," 60.

competing centers."¹⁸⁶ He analyzes Petrushka's music with the term "octatonic tonality," a set of eight notes that "maintained as a stable point of reference."¹⁸⁷ To put it more simply, the "non-chord tones" outside of an octatonic set would be resolved to the octatonic set for a given section of music. Thirdly, Taruskin traces octatonicism and other musical materials of the ballet from Stravinsky's Russian musical lineage in Rimsky-Korsakov, Borodin, and others. ¹⁸⁸ These three evidences may already suffice in the argument that Petrushka represents a Russian puppet as distinct from the Ballerina and the Moor. But another look at the music is worthwhile, with special focus on the piano part that is closely and exclusively associated with Petrushka, and a closer look into rehearsal numbers 52 to 58 of the second tableau, where octatonicism does not dominate the pitch organization. It reveals more character nuance through the tension of tonality on the one hand, and bitonality or octatonic tonality on the other. This is one important way that the tension between European-ness and Russian-ness is heightened through Stravinsky's music.

Between Diatonic and Octatonic Tonalities

Stravinsky begins a section in D major at rehearsal no. 52, when Petrushka shifts away from his curses of the Magician to expressing his admiration for the Ballerina. The characterization of the Ballerina with a major tonality is consistent with

¹⁸⁶ Taruskin, "Chez Petrouchka: Harmony and Tonality 'chez' Stravinsky" *19th-Century Music*, 10, no. 3 (Spring, 1987): 283.

Taruskin, "Chez Petrouchka," 267. An alternative viewpoint cans be found in Philip A. Ewell," Rethinking Octatonicism: Views from Stravinsky's Homeland," *Music Theory Online* 18, no. 4 (Dec 2012).

¹⁸⁸ Taruskin, "Chez Petrouchka," 269-81.

the rest of the piece, as discussed earlier. In this section, the one note that deviates from D major tonality is G-sharp, which forms a tritone with D. I agree with Taruskin that it makes little sense to analyze it as indicative of the Mixolydian mode or as a raised fourth, especially after studying its voice leading. Rather, the D-G-sharp tritone can be more sensibly seen as a holdover of the C-F-sharp tritone in the Petrushka chord, thus continuing to mark Petrushka's distinct musical identity amid his invocation of the Ballerina. The piano passage at m. 48 – a Petrushka "lick," shall we call it – is interesting, considering that it is a strict transposition of m. 21 (Exs. 2.4a and 2.4b). While m. 21 is taken as an evidence for octatonic tonality, m. 48 can be read in the context of D major as a lower neighboring tone between m. 47 and mm. 49-50. It is Petrushka bathed in his imagination of the Ballerina.



Example 2.4a: Stravinsky, *Petrushka*, second tableau, mm. 19–24. With the Petrushka chords that surround it, m. 21 is situated in the context of octatonicism.

¹⁸⁹ Taruskin, "Chez Petrouchka," 279.

¹⁹⁰ Taruskin seems to be consciously avoiding the connection between musical analysis and intertextual meanings between literature and music, perhaps because he does not want to distract his readers from his detailed musical analysis. However, the sources that he cites, it seems to me, blatantly hints at intertextual meaning, such as in the Borodin quotation discussed below. I want to acknowledge Taruskin in enabling my argumentation.



Example 2.4b: Stravinsky, *Petrushka*, second tableau, mm. 47-50. M. 48 is situated in the context of D major.

At the E minor section that starts at rehearsal no. 54 (Ex. 2.5), the music departs from octatonicism. This may serve as an apparent challenge to the argument that Petrushka is consistently portrayed by octatonicism throughout the tableau. A closer consideration of the melody's contour and rhythm from rehearsal no. 54 (and arguably from rehearsal no. 52, the aforementioned D major section) onward reveals a buildup toward the Ballerina's E major entrance at m. 68 (Ex. 2.6). The piano part at rehearsal no. 54 plays a hidden A-B-C-B melody on the left hand, which can be seen as a preparation for the F-sharp-E-F-sharp-G theme at rehearsal no. 55 (Ex. 2.6). The right-hand piano part at rehearsal no. 54 outlines the notes F sharp, G, E, and F sharp in octave displacement, another variation of the same theme. As the music continues, the third beat of m. 58 outlines a stepwise upward B-C-D-E sixteenth-note melody also in octave displacement, which will be inverted to form the stepwise downward A-

G-F-sharp-E melody at m. 62. In the whole section, the music fluctuates between duple time associated with Petrushka, and triple time associated with the Ballerina and her tendency to waltz (which is qualitatively different from the simultaneous time signatures between the Moor and the Ballerina). Rather than seeing this non-octatonic section as an abandonment of a consistent musical characterization of Petrushka, the music reveals that Petrushka's invocation of the Ballerina grows increasingly stronger.

At rehearsal no. 55 (m. 62, Ex. 2.5), The rhythmic energy provided by the sixty-fourth notes reminds us of the cascades that portray Petrushka from the beginning of the tableau. Here, the flute plays a solo melody that begins with two repeated eighth notes followed by an upward third leap, and then a three-note downward stepwise motion in sixteenth notes. This resembles the melody at the Ballerina's entrance, which starts with three repeated eighth notes, an upward third leap, and then a two-note downward stepwise motion with sixteenth notes. The F-sharp-E-F-sharp-G-sharp sequence at rehearsal no. 55 is also the same as that in the second measure after the Ballerina's entry. The piano part at mm. 68-69 supports the formation of E minor, C major, and E major chords, which are relevant to the ambiguous tonality in the section following the Ballerina's entry (mm. 70 onward). This fleeting section of music in E major/minor, however, shows that Petrushka cannot be represented by diatonicism. The music of Petrushka must transition back to octatonicism, which, as I mentioned, has a Russian lineage in Stravinsky's context.

¹⁹¹ Colombine waltzes in *L'enfant prodigue* as well, discussed in Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

This is an important instance in which the music that portrays the Petrushka character, like music of French Pierrot, serves as a commentary on national identity. The musical plan reinforces Petrushka's Russian identity.



Example 2.5: Stravinsky, *Petrushka*, second tableau, rehearsal no. 54.



Example 2.6: Stravinsky, *Petrushka*, second tableau, mm. 61-69.

The Ballerina's melody at mm. 68-69 (see the last two measures of Ex. 2.5), as Taruskin identifies it, strongly alludes to Alexander Borodin's *Arabeskaia melodia* (*Arabian Melody*). 192 It is therefore questionable when Gloag claims that

there is no overt borrowing of identifiable historical material (Russian folksong and popular elements) [in the second tableau]. The absence of such material tends to emphasise the modernity of this section of the score and goes some way to differentiating it from the work as a whole. 193

The presence of identifiable historical material does not preclude "modernity" (by which I understand Gloag to mean "musical modernism"). Furthermore, such a presence develops a specific relationship with the work as a whole. Taruskin has provided the translation of the Russian text to which Borodin set the alluded melody in *Petrushka*. It means "O take pity on me, you see that I perish on your account." This is an omen of Petrushka's fate! Moreover, from a structural standpoint of the second tableau, these two measures of unequivocal E major tonality are in the middle of an arc structure (Fig. 2.1). Tonality's fleeting nature and the return to the Petrushka chord toward the end, seen within the narrative of Petrushka's desire for the Ballerina, suggest that the pursuit is futile and inconsequential, thus matching the traditional characterization of Pierrot.

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¹⁹² Taruskin, "Chez Petrushka," 281.

¹⁹³ Gloag, "Russian Rites: Petrushka, The Rite of Spring and Les Noces," 81.

¹⁹⁴ Taruskin, "Chez Petrushka," 281. I thank Amelia Glaser for her translation of the complete poem, which is about intense and fleeting love.

Measure number	1-8	9-20	21-42	43-67	68-69
	Introduction	Petrushka Chord	Cascades in octatonicism	Transition toward tonality	E major

Measure number	70-87	88-107	108-109	110
	Transition away from tonality	Cascades in octatonicism	Petrushka Chord	Coda

Figure 2.1: Arc structure of the second tableau of *Petrushka*.

The section that follows the two measures in E major features harmonic ambiguity (Ex. 2.7). Taruskin reasons that "the upper-voice E [...] is best construed as a continuing tone center, even though it is not used as a local harmonic root." ¹⁹⁵ He values this interpretation over considering this section as in C major, although he also notes that F sharp is removed from the key signature in this section and that it starts with a C-major triad. 196 He is right that E is the tone center, and it highlights the presence of the Ballerina, who has been presented in E major. The C-major tonality, though not a stable one, seems to be stronger than Taruskin portrays. A C-major chord is announced in the downbeat every two measures from mm. 70-79. The piano part, which is most closely associated with the Petrushka character, appears strikingly

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¹⁹⁵ Taruskin, "Chez Petrushka," 280. ¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

diatonic. The pitches in the C-sharp minor chords can be regarded as passing tones. Throughout this C-major section, F sharp also appears in the piano, oboe, and some other instruments – though less prominently – as an anticipation to the later return of octatonicism. As the Ballerina leaves in mm. 83-85, the music presents three final outbursts in C major. The triad of C major is not only one-half of the Petrushka chord; it is generally considered "the key of priority" over F sharp throughout the second tableau. ¹⁹⁷ The lingering major tonality in this section corresponds well to Petrushka's desire for the Ballerina, bending over backward, one might say, from his octatonic portrayal. But this relationship is no more than a fleeting dream – an experience that is common with French Pierrots. Juxtaposing this observation with the fact that octatonicism in Stravinsky's context is connected to his Russian musical heritage, Petrushka can be viewed as both Russian and French.

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¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 276, 278-9, and 285.



Example 2.7: Stravinsky, Petrushka, second tableau, rehearsal no. 56-57.



Example 2.7: Stravinsky, *Petrushka*, second tableau, rehearsal no. 56-57 (continued).



Stravinsky's Petrushka vs. Russian Petrushka Theater

The argument that Petrushka in the ballet has strong Russian characteristics does not mean that he has a close relation to the traditional Russian puppet show featuring the character Petrushka. Both Wachtel and Douglas Clayton downplay this relationship. ¹⁹⁸ As mentioned earlier, in the Russian tradition, Petrushka has a much more violent disposition than the French Pierrot. ¹⁹⁹ The most violent behavior that Petrushka in the ballet exhibits is perhaps Fokine's direction for the character to hit "his head against the wall to the rhythm of the alternating F-sharp major and C-major arpeggios." ²⁰⁰ Petrushka does this in frustration after the Ballerina leaves the room. In the historically informed production of the ballet by the Opera de Paris in 1992, Petrushka hit his head against the wall to the rhythm of the repeated notes in m. 87 (Ex. 2.8). Taruskin reads the repeating C sharps as "a vain effort to break through to E," the tone center that symbolizes the Ballerina. ²⁰¹ The vain efforts of both the musical motion and Petrushka's self-inflicted physical violence on stage suggest an inconsequentiality – the inability to make changes to his surrounding environment or character despite his attempts – that is more closely associated with the French Pierrot than the brutality of the traditional Russian Petrushka.

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¹⁹⁸ Wachtel, (ed?) Petrushka: Sources and Contexts, 15. Clayton, Pierrot in Petrograd: The Commedia dell'Arte/Balagan in Twentieth-Century Russiasn Theatre and Drama, 137.

¹⁹⁹ Kelly, Petrushka: the Russian Carnival Puppet Theater, 86.

²⁰⁰ Pasler, "Music and Spectacle in *Petrushka* and *The Rite of Spring*," 61.

²⁰¹ Taruskin, "Chez Petrushka," 282.



Example 2.8: Stravinsky, Petrushka, second tableau, rehearsal no. 57, mm. 85-87.

Petrushka's ghostly reappearance at the end of the ballet, however, leads
Wachtel to argue that the traditional Russian Petrushka, not the French Pierrot,

eventually appears. Wachtel's observation is partially supported by the libretto's description of Petrushka "thumbing his nose." A noticeable nose is a feature of the traditional Russian Petrushka, not the French Pierrot. But the ghostly appearance also reminded the French audience of the macabre theme of Pierrot, as shown in works such as those analyzed in the previous chapter. The ballet ends with the famous leap from C to F sharp, outlining the skeleton of the Petrushka chord with the ghostly, pizzicato low strings. In the dissertation's Introduction, I noted that a disability usually ends with "the extermination of the deviant as a purification of the social body, or the revaluation of an alternative mode of being."²⁰² The C-F-sharp interval, central to the octatonicism that symbolizes the Russian character Petrushka, becomes an "alternative mode of being" musically. The disability of Petrushka intersects with musical modernism, a confirmation of what Tobin Siebers says about disability aesthetics, that it "defines the process by which human beings attempt to modify themselves, by which they imagine their feelings, forms, and futures in radically different ways, and by which they bestow upon those new feelings, forms, and futures real appearances in the world."²⁰³

Conclusion

Stravinsky's *Petrushka*—a rare case of Petrushka as Pierrot—should not be known just for the C-F-sharp bitonality in the Petrushka chord. The composer's subtly

²⁰² Ibid., 227.

Siebers, *Disability Aesthetics*, 3.

creative play with national identity in this piece is more nuanced than current scholarship suggests. In this chapter, I analyzed Stravinsky's tonal strategy in depicting the three puppet characters of the ballet, most importantly the transitions between diatonicism and octonicism. In doing so, I found further meanings of the Petrushka/Pierrot character in the study of Stravinsky and in the fields of disability studies, literary studies, and French social-political culture. These implications show that Petrushka/Pierrot is an inherently social character.

Stravinsky's careful but passionate portrayal of Petrushka tells us something important about Russian identity and creativity. He had no problem with advancing the Ballets Russes's agenda of self-exoticism, most evidently so in the first and fourth tableaux portrayals of the Russian carnival fair. In the third tableau, the portrayal of the Moor is an unabashed display of Russian orientalism. With Petrushka/Pierrot in the second tableau, the character was culturally different neither through invoking foreign musical styles nor using comfortable tonal music. Instead, Stravinsky's modernism creates a new musical image of the Russian character. *Petrushka* may be seen as foreshadowing Stravinsky's goal as a composer after the war, "a Russian who had succeeded in retaining an attractive yet not exotic national trademark in the international market of contemporary music." Seen in this way, Petrushka/Pierrot is one of the first products of Stravinsky's social and cultural negotiation through music.

In the dissertation's Introduction, I cited Mitchell and Snyder that a disability usually ends with "the extermination of the deviant as a purification of the social body,

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²⁰⁴ Levitz, *Modernist Mysteries*, 341.

or the revaluation of an alternative mode of being."²⁰⁵ In the ending of *Petrushka*, the C-F# interval, central to the octatonicism that symbolizes Petrushka, becomes an "alternative mode of being" musically. The disability of *Petrushka* intersects with musical modernism, a confirmation of what Tobin Siebers says about disability aesthetics, that it "defines the process by which human beings attempt to modify themselves, by which they imagine their feelings, forms, and futures in radically different ways, and by which they bestow upon those new feelings, forms, and futures real appearances in the world."²⁰⁶ Presenting Pierrot as a character that engages with disability aesthetics deeply, this chapter is can potentially lead to a another study specifically on disability narrative in the ballet.

Finally, by contextualizing *Petrushka* as a Pierrot in the Francophone world, I suggest the possibility of reading this ballet as a spectacle that conveyed social and political commentaries. This perspective is rarely taken up by musicology, but has already been entertained in dance studies. Dance historian Susan Leigh Foster frames it as a social commentary on Russian life in France:

by using the figure of the puppet, a pitiful doll operated by external forces, Fokine vividly evoked the oppressive conditions of the peasantry in czarist Russia. By situating the story within the small puppet theater, he reinforced the poignancy of the peasants' plight. The puppets/peasants danced out their lives on a stage not of their own making. ²⁰⁷

One may also say that the "Petr" in *Petrushka* makes a strong connection between the puppet character and the Russian political figure Peter the Great.²⁰⁸ Although

²⁰⁵ Mitchell and Snyder, "Narrative Prosthesis," 227.

²⁰⁶ Siebers, *Disability Aesthetics*, 3.

²⁰⁷ Foster, *Choreography and Narrative*, 260.

²⁰⁸ Clayton, *Pierrot in Petrograd*, 137.

Stravinsky may not have had the peasants in mind when he wrote the music for the ballet, I have shown that Stravinsky took full advantage of the tendency of French Pierrots to convey national identity, that Petrushka/Pierrot had been effective in establishing Russian identity.

PART II

Pierrots in the German-Speaking World: from the Drawing Room to the Cabaret

CHAPTER 3

A Broader View of German Pierrots: Death, Religion, Literature, and Hausmusik

Introduction

This chapter turns to fin-de-siècle Pierrots in German music. The musical repertoire on the character of Pierrot was notable. Before Schoenberg composed *Pierrot lunaire*, five German composers have already set the text of *Pierrot lunaire* (originally written by the Belgian poet Albert Giraud in French, and then translated into German by the dramatist Otto Erich Hartleben) to music. Beyond this text, at least four other composers published music for the character of Pierrot in the German world.²⁰⁹ They include Carl Bohm (not to be confused with the conductor Karl Böhm), Franz Lehár, Eduard Künneke, and Ernst von Dohnányi.²¹⁰ Studying selective Pierrot pieces by these composers provides us with a more historically informed perspective of the Pierrot character in German-speaking countries, and sets up the context for a new understanding of *Pierrot lunaire* in the next chapter.

Brinkmann claims that most, if not all Pierrot compositions by any fin-desiècle German composer not named Schoenberg abided by "the norms of the private

²⁰⁹ Brinkmann, "The Fool as Paradigm," 163-6.

²¹⁰ Lehár and Dohnányi are both Hungarian composers. (Bear in mind that Austria-Hungary was one political entity at the time.) Lehár resided in Vienna and had much success as an operetta composer. Dohnányi lived in Berlin from 1905-1915, and his music for Arthur Schnitzler's *Veil of Pierrette* premiered in Dresden in 1910. There will be more discussions on Dohnányi later in this chapter. Max Reger composed an orchestral dance movement based on Pierrot in 1913, after Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*

Lied genre."²¹¹ He is only partially correct. His article, which is a partial transcription of a talk he gave, does not include analysis of German Pierrots other than Schoenberg's. I will start my analysis by way of the characteristics of Pierrot in literature, then move on to an example of theatrical music. The association of Pierrot with the themes of death and religion in these works is contrasted with the treatment of Pierrot in Hausmusik. Some pieces of Pierrot music indeed fit the category of Hausmusik perfectly, but others may have inherent tensions within the ideological framework of the Hausmusik genre. The different musical portrayal of Pierrots in German-speaking countries reflected the character's reach to diverse audiences.

Pierrot in Literature: Themes of Religion and Death

In Frank Wedekind's plays *Earth Spirit* (*Erdgeist*, 1895) and *Pandora's Box* (*Die Büchse der Pandora*, 1902/1904), the protagonist Lulu engages with the themes of religion and death to heighten the disparity between ideal and real human nature.²¹² These two plays combine to form what is usually referred to as the "Lulu plays," and inspired Alban Berg to later write his last opera, *Lulu* (1935). They tell the story of a femme fatale who was compelled into multiple love and sexual relationships with people from all walks of society, from a painter to a doctor, an African prince to an English serial killer. Robert Vilain points out that Wedekind was influenced by

²¹¹ Brinkmann, "The Fool as Paradigm," 154.

²¹² Frank Wedekind, *Erdgeist (Earth Spirit)* and *Pandora's Box*, translated by Samuel A. Eliot, Jr. (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1918).

Hartleben's *Pierrot lunaire*. ²¹³ Indeed, Lulu is Pierrot-like not only through appearing physically as Pierrot at different points of the narrative. She often occupies the position of the powerless in relation to a more powerful counterpart, yet has a transgressive tendency. Moreover, by associating the sexually active Lulu with the Virgin Mary and other religious symbols, the Lulu plays become religiously transgressive. This tendency is associated with Pierrot as a character of the carnival, a space for transgression. Also, Lulu is associated with Pierrot's innocence. In the context of the plays, a semblance of innocence is achieved through pretension and self-deception. The Lulu-Pierrot character is intriguing in its moral complexity.

Religious inflections are often used transgressively. Vilain characterizes the first instance well: "Lulu first appears in the Prologue, when she is announced (with Biblical echoes) as 'unsere Schlange' [our snake]."²¹⁴ Later in the scene, "she is briefly carried on to the stage in Pierrot costume, after which the animal tamer sighs ironically that she is 'die süsse Unschuld' [the sweet virgin]."²¹⁵ This advertisement, fraught with religious inflections, only increases Lulu's sexual appeal. In Lulu's relationship history, multiple men impose their own choice of nicknames on her, symbolically denying her of discovering her true self.²¹⁶ One of those names, assigned

²¹³ Hartleben sent Wedekind a copy of *Pierrot lunaire* for Christmas in 1892. Wedekind was also influenced by Félicien Champsaur's *Lulu*, a pantomime produced in Paris at the *Nouveau Cirque* in 1888" (Champsaur is a writer of Pierrot literature). See Robert Vilain, "An Innocent Abroad: the Pierrot Figure in German and Austrian Literature at the Turn of the Century," *Publication of the English Goethe Society* 67, no. 1 (1998): 69-99, esp. 74. Clearly, Wedekind went way beyond these inspirations. ²¹⁴ Vilain, "An Innocent Abroad: the Pierrot Figure in German and Austrian Literature at the Turn of the Century," 74.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Gail Finney, *Women in Modern Drama: Freud, Feminism and European Theater at the Turn of the Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 89.

by the painter Schwarz, is Eva, the German name of Eve from the Book of Genesis.

While the religious inflections are by definition – and sometimes only to a small extent – a commentary on Christianity, they serve as a literary device to draw contrasts between perceived perfection and purity on the one hand, and the harsh, filthy, or unknown and unexpressed true self of Lulu on the other. These religious meanings of the Lulu character will find a counterpart in several musical pieces that portrays Pierrot.

Lulu's relationship with Dr. Schön, a newspaper owner and editor, highlights their fatal misunderstandings of human nature. Ideally, Dr. Schön and Lulu are faithful partners to each other; they seem to be the first partner for each other, at least as presented in the play. Whether superficially or genuinely, they seem to admire each other. Lulu dresses herself up as the perfect, innocent Pierrot in excitement, and Dr. Schön, with an objectifying gaze, likens her to, and enjoys her as "a picture before which art must despair." In reality, though, their own sinful desires make them dishonest with each other. Engaged in multiple relationships, including one with Dr. Schön's own son, Lulu is not innocent. Meanwhile, Dr. Schön wants to keep Lulu as a mistress while planning to marry an upper-class woman. *Earth Spirit* ends in calamity, as Dr. Schön wants everything to be ideal, and Lulu started to reverse the power dynamics between her man and herself, calling him out for "deceiving [him]self." Failing to face his own moral shortcomings, he urges Lulu to kill herself as

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²¹⁷ Wedekind, *Erdgeist*, 17.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 91.

redemption for her unfaithfulness. At this point, Lulu committed the ultimate transgressive act of killing Dr. Schön when presented with his revolver. This turn of events echoes the animal tamer's initial characterization of Lulu as a "snake;" more importantly, the Lulu-Pierrot character is used to convey the author's commentary on human weakness. Similar commentaries on humanity are also found in music portraying Pierrot, specifically pieces written by Dohnányi and Schoenberg.

Death, for Wedekind's Pierrot, is fearful, something one tries to escape from with no chance of success. Lulu confesses to Dr. Schön at the beginning of Act IV that "as a child [in the orphanage] I always had the most horrible fear of death," and that is why she chose to live with him. And when Dr. Schön holds the revolver in Lulu's hand and points it toward her near end of the scene, she speaks in a determined tone, "You want to force me to fire a bullet into my heart [...] but to fire a bullet in my heart I am still much too young!" At the end of *Pandora's Box*, Lulu has been living in violent circumstances, for too long a time to be safe. As a prostitute, she meets her final client, Jack, who eventually murders Geschwitz in front of her. (Lulu's lesbian lover Geschwitz takes a portrait of Lulu as the innocent Pierrot wherever she goes.)
Lulu tries to run away from death by killing Jack, but is promptly overpowered and killed as well. Lulu-Pierrot is a tragic character devoid of the dark comedy or the tragicomedy in French Pierrots.

²¹⁹ Wedekind, *Erdgeist*, 78.

²²⁰ Ibid., 92.

In Richard Beer-Hofmann's play *Pierrot hypnotiseur* (Vienna, 1892), Pierrot also carries both religious inflections and the theme of death, but in a more tragicomic manner than Wedekind's plays. Beer-Hofmann's Pierrot is "a middle-aged academic," who "presents his latest project, a treatise on hypnosis, and convinces the unbelieving academics only by hypnotizing Scaramouche, who is made to leap around in a trance, caricaturing each doctor in turn." While Pierrot is only able to ensure Colombine's love through hypnosis, Colombine is somehow released from the spell and turns to Arlequino. Unfortunately, Arlequino abuses Colombine. The story ends with Pierrot poisoning Colombine to free her from Arlequino's violence, followed shortly by his own suicide.

The hypnotized Colombine in *Pierrot hypnotiseur* appears in the form of Madonna, the Holy Mother. Vilain characterizes the scene as follows:

[She] turns into a Madonna, and Pierrot kneels before her as she sits stiffly, almost posed, with a lily in her hand like a sceptre, and 'die vergoldete halbkreisförmige Ausbuchtung der Sessellehne erscheint wie ein Heiligenschein' [the gilded semicircular bulge of the chair appears like a halo]. The lily, symbolizing the Mother of God, comes from a picture of Pierrot's mother, before which Pierrot and Colombine knelt on their way to church. ²²²

While Vilain is right to analyze that "by handing [the lily] to his bride, Pierrot with symbolic incestuousness overlays his attraction for Colombine with his love for his

²²² Ibid., 80. I am unsure about Vilain's next claim: "By handing it to his bride, Pierrot with symbolic incestuousness overlays his attraction for Colombine with his love for his mother."

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²²¹ Vilain "An Innocent Abroad: the Pierrot Figure in German and Austrian Literature at the Turn of the Century," 79. The work is only posthumously published. Hugo von Hofmannsthal could have translated into French, according to their letters, but I could find no printed version of the play in French. It is not far-fetched to see this scene as a satire of the Parisian "La Salpatriere."

mother," this scene has more cultural significance in fin-de-siècle Vienna.²²³ One may at least read this as Pierrot struggling with his masculinity. Without hypnosis, Colombine would not be faithful to Pierrot. But with hypnosis, Colombine's sexuality can be suppressed as she becomes a Madonna. Walter Fähnders's theorization of female imageries in the fin de siècle is apt:

It is precisely in the complementary pictures of the femme fatale and the femme fragile which, like no other, have shaped the feminine representations of the century and which are either a whore or a virgin or madonna in the tradition of the female image. [...] The literary presentation of the counter-image [of the femme fatale], the femme fragile, takes place in an unequal and less spectacular manner, according to its type: physical sexuality is suppressed, the femme fragile is spiritualized, ethereal, madonna-like, appears to be aesthetic, pale and extremely delicate, a white beauty consecrated to death. 224

The word "white" here refers not to race, but serves as a metaphor for purity. This depiction of Madonna can be contrasted with the musical portrayal of Madonna in the music of Otto Vrieslander and Schoenberg.

The plays of Wedekind and Beer-Hoffmann offer crucial perspectives on the cultural meanings of Pierrot and the associated symbolisms. With this background in mind, we turn to music compositions that use the aforementioned themes of death and religion in conveying commentaries on human nature and artistic and social discourses.

shown in the introduction of this dissertation. By handing the lily to Colombine, Pierrot symbolically transfers his desire from his mother to his lover. Freud would certainly argue that there is no anachronism – the Oedipus complex existed before Oedipus.

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²²³ Ibid. With the risk of anachronism, it can be read as a resolution of Freud's famous or infamous Oedipus complex (1899), in which the child (usually male) sexually desires his mother. Pierrot's identity as an incord child has been long established, whether in the French or German world, as

²²⁴ Fähnders, *Avantgarde und Moderne, 1890*-1933, 111-2. See also Michela Cessari, *Mona Lisas Enkelinnen: Reflexionen über die femme fragile* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Winter, 2008).

While *Der Schleier der Pierrette* (*The Veil of Pierrette*) does not involve the theme of religious inflections, it still brings forth the inevitability of death and the tension between the real and the ideal. ²²⁵ In the beginning, Pierrot's lover Pierrette is unfortunately betrothed to Arlechino. Pierrot and Pierrette decide to take poison together, but Pierrette pulls out at the last minute, leaving Pierrot to die alone and become a ghost. Pierrot continues to haunt Pierrette, and she starts to act erratically. Later in the pantomime, Arlechino discovers Pierrette's disloyalty, and confines her inside a room with Pierrot's dead body. She becomes insane, dances incessantly, and dies. The theme of dance and death echoes Paul Margueritte and Paul Vidal's *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme* (analyzed in the previous chapter). But while Margueritte and Vidal's Pierrot centers on the symptoms of hysteria via physical, virtuosic display, Schnitzler and Dohnányi's Pierrot and Pierrette focus less on the performer's virtuosity than on eliciting the audience's emotional response to the death of the zany yet sympathetic characters. It is a renewal of classical commedia dell'arte plot.

Pierrot's death at the end of the first act is not tragic, but tragicomic. Pierrette's last-minute defiance of Pierrot confirms Pierrot's stereotype in commedia dell'arte as the stupid and inconsequential laughingstock. The music to this scene is often performed in an orchestra version edited by Dohnányi himself, and is titled "Merry Funeral March." In B minor and with dotted rhythm in weak beats, these features of a

²²⁵ The work was premiered in Dresden and Köln.

conventional funeral march are marred with phrases in the major key, such as at rehearsal no. 56 (F-sharp major) and 57 (B major) of the pantomime music score (Ex. 3.1). These sections punctuate the "merriment" of the funeral march, and the wish of Pierrot and Pierrette to see death as an entry to the freedom of love. Right after the end of the "Merry Funeral March," Pierrette's own weakness bars her from taking the poison, creating an anti-climax at the expense of Pierrot's life. The characters are designed to allow the audience to merrily laugh at fatal human weaknesses.



Example 3.1: Ernst von Dohnányi, *Der Schleier der Pierrette*, Act I, Scene 6, "Merry Funeral March," from one measure before rehearsal no. 56 to eight measures after rehearsal no. 57.



Example 3.1: Ernst von Dohnányi, *Der Schleier der Pierrette*, Act I, Scene 6, "Merry Funeral March," from one measure before rehearsal no. 56 to eight measures after rehearsal no. 57 (continued).



Example 3.1: Ernst von Dohnányi, *Der Schleier der Pierrette*, Act I, Scene 6, "Merry Funeral March," from one measure before rehearsal no. 56 to eight measures after rehearsal no. 57 (continued).

Pierrette, as the story unfolds, cannot escape her own death. Dohnányi composed Pierrette's dance of death in four parts. He starts by juxtaposing lightness and fear, with an introduction depicting her running around the room, looking for an exit in vain. The music is in quadruple time, notably featuring a solo flute passage, followed by a solo clarinet in A that features extensive chromaticism, and with little accompaniment by other orchestral parts (Ex. 3.2). These two instruments have previously played short melodies with orchestral accompaniment in the "Merry Funeral March" toward the end of Act I, in which Pierrot and Pierrette get ready to commit suicide together (Ex. 3.2). These instruments portray Pierrette's attempted escapism, the hopeless retrieval of her ideal death together with Pierrot. This section also punctuates the beginning of Pierrette's death spiral. As she is gradually overcome

by angst, the music switches back and forth between quadruple and triple time between rehearsal nos. 172 and 176 (Ex. 3.2). "Her movement changes," Schnitzler's script writes, "becomes dance-like. Her eyes express the beginnings of madness." Here, Dohnányi presents perhaps the darkest, most sinister melody in the whole pantomime, one that is full of convoluted chromatics (Ex. 3.2). Compared to Vidal's music, Dohnányi's dance is relatively slow and steady (as noted at rehearsal no. 177, very leisurely waltz, gradually intensifying [sehr gemächlicher walzertempo, allmählich steigernd]). The intensification comes not really in terms of tempo, rhythm, or modulation, but only dynamics. The musical difference reflects the difference in the two pantomime texts: Vidal is depicting terreur (terror), which manifests physically as incessant and violent actions, while Dohnányi depicts angst (anxiety and fear), which creeps nonchalantly into one's mind and body. The varied and unstable responses to death, first with escapism through memory, then with grimness as reality presents itself, are facets of flawed human nature.



Example 3.2: Ernst von Dohnányi, *Der Schleier der Pierrot*, Act III, Scene 2, "Pierrette's Dance of Madness," from four measures after rehearsal no. 172 to six measures after rehearsal no. 176



Example 3.2: Ernst von Dohnányi, *Der Schleier der Pierrot*, Act III, Scene 2, "Pierrette's Dance of Madness," from four measures after rehearsal no. 172 to six measures after rehearsal no. 176 (continued).



Example 3.2: Ernst von Dohnányi, *Der Schleier der Pierrot*, Act III, Scene 2, "Pierrette's Dance of Madness," from four measures after rehearsal no. 172 to six measures after rehearsal no. 176 (continued).

Dohnányi intensifies Pierette's death spiral by presenting another contrast. At rehearsal no. 188, the violins take the melody in a short section reminiscent of the wedding waltz. The disparity is torturing: on one hand, we hear the music in the major key, which reflects her desire of a happy life, her wish to join the wedding waltz outside the room; on the other hand, we see her trapped inside the locked room as Arlequino enacts his revenge, her desire of a happy life vanishing into imagination and eventually nothingness. The return of the sinister theme in the fourth part, at rehearsal

no. 192, marks the end of the waltz and the beginning of the final polka marked "motto allegro, quasi presto" (but still not very fast compared to Vidal's prestissimo in the end of *Pierrot assassin*), to which she finally dances until she dies in solitary confinement. Vilain may be overly conflating when he stretches Carl Schorske's interpretation of Ravel's waltz as a representation of fin-de-siècle cultural malaise to claim that Dohnányi's *polka mortale* shares a similar cultural meaning. ²²⁶ In fact, the polka at the end is very short – there is no elaborate performance of death. ²²⁷ The point is not how she dies, but that extreme human passions lead to such heightened conflicts that – in the absence of a *deus ex machina* – can only be resolved by a cathartic, tragic death.

German Pierrots in Non-Theatrical Genres: Hausmusik and Beyond

In his brief discussion of musical precedents of German Pierrots before Schoenberg, Brinkmann claims that

Certainly, there is no doubt about the artistic superiority of Schönberg's cycle... Several of the other Pierrot songs [of his contemporaries] display solid craftsmanship, though *in toto* they remain epigonic[...] *All* the other Pierrots hide the problematical and – in a historical sense – the significant and representational aspects of the texts behind the norms of the private Lied genre. They *all* domesticate the horrifying and blasphemous images through the moderating limits of Hausmusik [emphases mine]. ²²⁸

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²²⁸ Brinkmann, "The Fool as Paradigm," 154.

²²⁶ Vilain, "An Innocent Abroad: the Pierrot Figure in German and Austrian Literature at the Turn of the Century," 84.

²²⁷ The longer fast-polka in Act II, Scene 2 (six measures after rehearsal no. 132 to rehearsal no. 139) does also carry some macabre quality in the tone color of the solo English Horn, but it is merely used to depict the nervous Pierrette finding excuses for her absence from the wedding dance floor as she was having time with Pierrot. It is not a *polka mortale*.

It is correct to categorize Hausmusik as a private Lied genre, and many of the Pierrot songs indeed "domesticate the horrifying and blasphemous images." These images include blood from Madonna's meager breast in "Madonna" and a drop of blood on a sick man's lips in "Valse de Chopin." Many more can be found in Hartleben's translation of *Pierrot lunaire* that are subsequently set to Hausmusik by composers such as Joseph Marx, Max Kowalski, and Paul Gräner. But to suggest that musical Pierrots are confined to Hausmusik reduces the meanings of Pierrot in the minds of the German audience. Understanding Pierrot's tension with the genre of Hausmusik is essential in understanding German Pierrots.

Scholars have proposed four ways to define Hausmusik: location, style, class, and national identity. Hausmusik, claims Anthony Newcomb, is defined primarily by place of performance, and only secondarily by style or genre. As the word *Haus* (home) itself suggests, Hausmusik is music performed in the home. Dohnányi's Pierrot and Reger's symphonic movement on Pierrot reflect Brinkmann's limited scope in representing pre-Schoenberg German Pierrots merely with art songs.

The stylistic property of Hausmusik determined the popularity and commercial success of the compositions. John William Smeed concludes from his extensive survey of music reviews that art songs were praised for things they avoid. They are essentially anti-modernist. They are pleasing, not too exacting to sing and play, but certainly not

²²⁹ Anthony Newcomb, "Schumann and the Marketplace: from Butterflies to Hausmusik," in *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music*, edited by R. Larry Todd (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), 272.

easy in any patronizing way. ²³⁰ An interesting idea behind Hausmusik is that modest technical ability is compatible with profound musicality, and is potentially better than being a brilliant virtuoso. ²³¹ In late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century art songs, despite more acceptance of "music of the future," the public mainly still cherished stylistically conservative Hausmusik. Specifically, some songs that quoted or alluded to Brahms – what Markus Böggemann calls the "sign-like presence" of Brahms – but were easier to play were especially popular.²³² These stylistic propensities fit with the Pierrots in Hausmusik that Brinkmann mentions, but for which he does not supply music analysis or discussion.

Typical Hausmusik: Joseph Marx, "Valse de Chopin"

Joseph Marx's "Valse de Chopin" (1909) is exemplary for Marx's popularity as well as its hints at the theme of death. 233 With many of his works published by Universal Edition in Leipzig and Vienna, Marx was a prolific, highly regarded composer in the first half of the twentieth century. A professor of theory at the University of Vienna, Marx could not agree with the aesthetics of avant-garde posttonal composers and continued to compose in late Romantic style. Compared to Schoenberg's "Valse de Chopin" (to be discussed in Chapter 4), Marx's piece offers a

²³⁰ John William Smeed, German Song and Its Poetry, 1740-1900 (London: Croom Heim, 1987), 143-55.
231 Smeed, German Song and Its Poetry, 150.
(Chair and Its Poetry, 150).
(Chair and Its Poetry, 150).

²³² Markus Böggemann, "Being 'Like' Brahms: Emulation and Ideology in Late Nineteenth-Century Hausmusik," 344.

²³³ Marx's other Pierrot compositions, "Pierrot Dandy" (1909) and "Kolombine" (1911), do not involve the theme of death

much more conventional harmonic and rhythmic pattern, and a clear tonal closure at the end.

The creative harmonic deployments and text setting in Marx's music is noteworthy. "Valse de Chopin" starts with a long introduction with F-sharp ground bass that establishes a stable tonality. The conventional choice of harmonies throughout the piece allows one small exception, in the climax of mm. 73-80. The deft harmonic progression defies traditional tonal analysis yet stays in the realm of tonal music. This kind of harmonic tactic, as later discussions of this chapter shall reveal, is called by Schoenberg as "vagrant harmonies." Several leaps increase the difficulty of the vocal line, but it is music that both amateurs and professional musicians alike can handle. The form is a conventional rondo. Some subtle text painting is present: the expression of the text, "I get you out of my mind," in mm. 82-88 is done through the repetitive left hand piano part at the end of C section of the rondo (Ex. 3.4). Pierrot, as the musical direction writes, is "phantastic" (associated with phantoms, ghosts) with "passion." Together with the rushed and anxious ending, the piece flirts with the ideas of fear and death, but does not experiment with new musical expression of these ideas. In general, it is a well-crafted piece of music for voice and piano that falls under the category of Hausmusik.



Example 3.3: Joseph Marx, "Valse de Chopin," mm. 32–41.



Example 3.4: Joseph Marx, "Valse de Chopin," mm. 73–90.



Example 3.4: Joseph Marx, "Valse de Chopin," mm. 73–90 (continued).

French Pierrot in German Lands: Carl Bohm, "Pierrot et Colombine"

Compared to Marx's piece, Bohm's "Pierrot et Colombine" fits slightly less well with the definition of Hausmusik, specifically with the genre's connotations with regards to national identity. Hausmusik appeared because of market demands by the middle class in German cities. Newcomb describes the consumers of Hausmusik as bourgeois audiences and amateur musicians, but that does not preclude private concerts for connoisseurs.²³⁴ It is a domestic genre that takes place in a middle-class drawing room. 235 Both Smeed and Newcomb contrast this community with the French salon's exclusive society. Hausmusik is at times elevated to a kind of cultural war,

²³⁴ Newcomb, "Schumann and the Marketplace: from Butterflies to Hausmusik," 268. ²³⁵ Smeed, *German Song and Its Poetry, 1740-1900*, 150.

with the music seen as a nationalistic attack on French fashions.²³⁶ Some others saw in German Hausmusik the national trait of seriousness and simplicity, and their people's value of truth, nature, inwardness, and profundity.²³⁷

Despite his current obscurity, Carl Bohm was a composer "of great fecundity and the highest saleability."²³⁸ The 1960 edition of *The Oxford Companion to Music* said Bohm "occupied an important position in the musical commonwealth inasmuch as his publisher, Simrock, declared that the profits on his compositions provided the capital for the publication of those of Brahms."²³⁹ His entry is removed from later editions of the *Oxford Companion*, and nowhere to be found in current *New Grove* and *MGG*. Unlike Marx's "Valse de Chopin" which is based on Hartleben's German text and has a simplified Brahmsian texture, Bohm's "Pierrot et Colombine" has more overt French characteristics. With Hausmusik being perceived by Germans as a distinctly German, sometimes anti-French genre, the presence of a French character therein probes the boundary of Hausmusik defined by the scholars.

As the title of Bohm's composition hints at his take of Pierrot as a French character, his composition imitates the French ballet. Hand-crossings imitate the ballet dancers' jumps and enhance entertainment, and rapid upward figures emulate the elegant leaps of the dancers (mm. 36 in Ex. 3.5). The three-note upbeat figures also

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²³⁹ Ibid.

²³⁶ Newcomb, "Schumann and the Marketplace: from Butterflies to Hausmusik," 272. Smeed, *German Song and Its Poetry*, *1740-1900*, 151-3.

Böggemann, "Being 'Like' Brahms: Emulation and Ideology in Late Nineteenth-Century *Hausmusik*," 345.

²³⁸ Percy Scholes, ed., *Oxford Companion to Music* (9th edition) (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 117.

contribute to the feeling of lightness and dance (Ex. 3.6). It is reminiscent of the Pierrette figure seen in Cécile Chaminade's *Pierrette*.



Example 3.5: Carl Bohm, "Pierrot et Colombine," mm. 34–36.

Nº 2. PIERROT ET COLOMBINE. Scène de Ballet.

CARL BOHM. Op. 372.



Example 3.6: Carl Bohm, "Pierrot et Colombine," mm. 1–8.

In terms of musical style, the form, phrase structure, and harmonies of the piece are conventional and within the norms of Hausmusik. The piece consists of

mostly four-bar phrases, and the most "outrageous harmonies" are transient modulations from B-flat major to E-major (mm. 12-14, Ex. 3.7). Form is also conventional ABA, with the B section rich in modulations and the second A section abbreviated. All in all, Bohm's Pierrot serves as an object of pleasure, not a character that challenges or provokes any social or national dialog. "Pierrot et Colombine" fits Brinkmann's description of non-Schoenberg Pierrots as Hausmusik.



Example 3.7: Carl Bohm, "Pierrot et Colombine," mm. 8–14.

Toward the Cabaret: Otto Vrieslander, Pierrot lunaire

In stark contrast to the music of Marx and Bohm, Otto Vrieslander's Pierrot music for voice and piano cannot be categorized as Hausmusik. His two books of music that are set to Hartleben's 50 poems of *Pierrot lunaire* (1903 and 1911) involve starkly different styles, and thus challenge Brinkmann's claim on Hausmusik.²⁴⁰ Many

²⁴⁰ Otto Vrieslander, *Pierrot Lunaire: Dichtungen von A. Giraud ins Deutscher Übertragen von O. E. Hartleben, für eine Singstimme und Klavier* (München: Heinrich Lewy, 1906). Albert Giraud and Otto Erich Hartleben, *Pierrot Lunaire, mit view Musikstücken von Otto Vrieslander* (München: Georg Müller, 1911).

scholars believe that Schoenberg browsed through, if not studied, Vrieslander's *Pierrot lunaire* because Schoenberg read the poems in the version of the text that comes with four of Vrieslander's music settings.²⁴¹ In many ways, although numerous tonal movements are present in his work, this musical style is the closest to Schoenberg's, particularly regarding the deployment of contrastive textures, irony, harmonic freedom, and stylistic eccentricity across movements.²⁴²



Example 3.8: Otto Vrieslander, "Valse de Chopin," mm. 1–12.

"Valse de Chopin" is an example of Vrieslander's work that is strikingly similar to Marx's Hausmusik (Ex. 3.8). Like Marx, Vrieslander opens up an

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²⁴¹ Phyllis Bryn-Julson and Paul Matthews, *Inside Pierrot Lunaire: Performing the Sprechstimme in Schoenberg's Masterpiece* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2009), 175.

²⁴² Bryn-Julson, *Inside Pierrot*, esp. 34 for a very brief discussion of Zehme's work with Vrieslander. The stylistic similarities between Schoenberg and Vrieslander is perhaps also due to them having the same commissioner, Albertine Zehme.

introduction featuring a tonic ground bass, this time in B-flat. The waltz rhythm is employed throughout and no harmonic adventures veer beyond the tonal system. The difficulty level of the voice part is neither too easy nor exacting – a perfect candidate for the genre of Hausmusik.



Example 3.9: Otto Vrieslander, "Madonna," mm. 1-6.

In "Madonna," Vrieslander uses more unconventional harmonic and rhythmic deployments compared to his own "Valse de Chopin"; still, it is less adventurous compared to Schoenberg's "Madonna." In the first six measures, the music wanders from F minor (mm. 1-3) to F-sharp (mm. 4), then to B major (m. 5), followed by A-flat minor (m. 6) (Ex. 3.9). These keys appear with no conventional signs of

modulation (such as a dominant chord of a new key), but flow from one to the other mostly chromatically. Concerning rhythmic deployment, the voice and the piano have different ways of grouping eight quarter notes, and the ties across bar lines in the piano part makes the 3+3+2 rhythmic groupings ambiguous. These harmonic and rhythmic unconventionalities last throughout the song. Together with the expressionistic text starting with "Step, O Mother of all sorrows, Onto the altar of my verses!" the music conjures an alternative image of the Holy Mother than as the pure virgin, and certainly does not fit in the genre of Haumusik.



Example 3.10: Otto Vrieslander, "Rot und Weiss," mm. 1-15.



Example 3.11: Otto Vrieslander, "Rot und Weiss," mm. 38–49.



Example 3.12: Otto Vrieslander, "Rot und Weiss," mm. 58-68.

"Rot und Weiss," published later than the two songs above, departs further from Hausmusik. Chromatic passing tones are used much more frequently than in "Madonna." For example, there is no way to analyze the beginning of the piece in satisfactory manner by traditional tonal chord analysis (Ex. 3.10). The key of C minor is strongly alluded to, but never clearly affirmed by a full chord in root position at the beginning of the piece. The use of flat signatures in mm. 39-40 – barring its distractive

effect – seems to make clear the chromatic and common-tone relation across chords. These chords wander away from the home key – again, "vagrant" in Schoenberg's words – more than in "Valse de Chopin" (Ex. 3.11). It is not until the end of the song that C minor returns forcefully in the end, as if the wandering tonalities in the beginning and middle of the piece need to be disciplined in tonal order (Ex. 3.12). It is worth noting that Vrieslander's 50 Pierrot songs are stylistically inconsistent, perhaps harking back to the eccentricity of Pierrot as a commedia character.

Conclusion

By studying musical portrayals of Pierrot in the German-speaking world other than Schoenberg's, this chapter presents more accurate meanings of the character in the early twentieth century. My work complements Brinkmann's broad stroke in characterizing non-Schoenberg Pierrots has Hausmusik – in fact, that is a grossly reductive label.

Despite having significant differences from Schoenberg's modernist Pierrot, the music of Dohnányi, Marx, Bohm, and Vrieslander all reflect the modern condition with unique lenses. Pierrot and Pierrette in *Der Schleier der Pierrette* are helpless and fated to die. The pantomime can be read in conjunction with other Schnitzler works such as *The Green Cockatoo* (1899) and *Der Weg ins Freie* (*The Road to the Open*, 1908), both of which reflect the lack of agency of the individual to the fin-de-siècle social and cultural climate.²⁴³ The Hausmusik depicting Pierrot was part of bourgeois

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²⁴³ Carl Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 11-5.

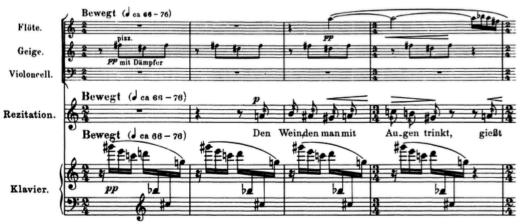
modernity, which supported progress not in aesthetics, but in self-improvement. The Hausmusik of this chapter, however, differ from other subjects in Hausmusik in an important way: they elicit pleasure through Pierrot as a (in Brinkmann's word) "domesticated" carnival symbol. He is alienated from the carnival tradition, which will be further discussed in Chapter 4. Finally, Vrielander experiments with eccentricities in style and tonality, showing the influence of the urban and modern space of the cabaret. These observations show Pierrot as a modern character not necessarily through modernist musical styles, but simply by rooting deeply in social life.

CHAPTER 4 Interpreting Arnold Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire* (1912) in the Carnival Tradition

Introduction

A music critic of the *Berliner Börsen-Courier* did not have the kindest words after hearing the premiere of Arnold Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*, in 1912, "The hideous cacophony," he writes, "unites with a verse recitation completely full of hysterical, distorted artificiality, the beginning of which rejects and insults every artistic feeling." The following example is Schoenberg's notation of such "hideous," "insulting" sounds at the very beginning of the song cycle (Ex. 4.1):

I. Teil. 1. Mondestrunken.



Example 4.1: Arnold Schoenberg, Pierrot lunaire, "Mondestrunken," mm. 1-4.

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²⁴⁴ Otto Taubmann, "Arnold Schoenberg's 'Pierrot lunaire," *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, October 10, 1912, in Reinhold Brinkmann, ed., *Arnold Schönberg Sämtliche Werke: Abteilung VI – Kammermusik Reihe B, Band 24, 1* (Mainz: Schott Musik International, 1995), 248. Translation mine. I thank Sören Fröhlich for his assistance in this translation.

It is not surprising that such unconventional harmonies, instrumentation, and manner of speech-singing caused disturbance in the audience (toward the end of the chapter, we will return and re-interpret this movement); what is somewhat surprising – because existing music scholarship has not fully addressed this – is the quasi-religious critique that the music critic extended to Schoenberg later in the article. In it, the seemingly casual invocation of God the Creator turned into a passive-aggressive theological questioning of the composer:

It is "music" no more, and if it is like what Mr. Schoenberg's supporters assert, the future of music, then please, my Creator, don't let me experience this development of music anymore. The only remaining questions [sic] is whether Mr. Schoenberg himself, in his heart of hearts, is so deeply convinced of his mission as the prophet of a new artistic gospel that he is following a true compulsion in making his creations available to the public.²⁴⁵

The critic seems to have a hard time reconciling the artistic aspect of Schoenberg's vision and the "hysterical, distorted artificiality" of his piece. Despite his reservations, the critic still seems genuinely curious as to whether Schoenberg *truly* believes in his work as the "music of the future." "Schoenberg's sense for history," writes Reinhold Brinkmann in one of his many analyses on *Pierrot lunaire*, "comments on, and questions, the quest of modernism to present the truth... it is this historical signification that makes *Pierrot lunaire* one of the great human documents of our [the twentieth] century." But is Brinkmann's notion of "truth" the same as Schoenberg's "true compulsion" that the critic describes? Although the term is often

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²⁴⁶ Brinkmann, "The Fool as Paradigm: Schönberg's *Pierrot lunaire* and the Modern Artist," in *Schönberg and Kandinsky: An Historical Encounter*, edited by Konrad Boehmer (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 1997), 162.

invoked in discussions, "truth" is rarely directly tackled in the scholarly study of Pierrot. A reevaluation Schoenberg's song cycle not only deepens our cultural understanding of the piece, but also reveals critical dimensions of discourse concerning "truth" at the time in conjunction with the cultural meaning of German Pierrots in music.

Unlike Brinkmann, I am less interested in finding a "historical paradigmatic perspective" in Pierrot compositions, or evidence of the "elevat[ion of] the puppet Pierrot to the level of an allegorical figure, to a model of identification for the late artist of modernity, for the problematic state of subjectivity, for the crisis of identity and cohesion of the I." Instead, pitting the music of different Pierrots against one another does result in the accentuation of Schoenberg's piece as a major departure from other pieces. His is a more complex engagement with the commedia dell'arte; the grotesque; various literary, social, cultural, theatrical, and musical themes; and ultimately, the ambivalent religious practice of the carnival.

My analytical model involves Mikhail Bakhtin's carnival theory, which pulls the strings between the literary-musical and the social aspects of *Pierrot lunaire*. Although Bakhtin has never been in the forefront of critical musicology, his contributions have been picked up in different contexts by Martha Feldman, Lawrence Kramer, and Sylvia Huot, amongst others.²⁴⁷ In his theorization of the carnival

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²⁴⁷ Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), esp. 148-59, 171-185. Lawrence Kramer, "Rethinking Schumann's Carnival: Identity, Meaning, and the Social Order," in *Music Meaning: Toward a Critical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth Century Polyphony* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 98ff.

tradition and literature that reflects the spirit of the carnival (hereafter "carnivalesque literature"), Bakhtin explores the themes of cross-dressing, the grotesque, blood, death, and religious ambivalence, amongst others. He connects these to intellectual, often subversive ideas about the communities in which the carnival took place, or in which the authors who wrote the literature live. As the common themes between Bakhtin's works and the German Pierrots are too obvious to be ignored, Bakhtin's connection of literary themes with social thought particularly inspires my musical analysis.

Pierrot's Meanings

The portrayal of Pierrot in musicological literature, which mostly focuses on *Pierrot lunaire*, is quite rich. In his detailed analysis of Giraud's poetry, Roger Marsh believes that Albert Giraud "deserves the credit for the most striking memorable images later absorbed into the expressionist milieu of Schoenberg's melodrama." Susan Youens studies the textual differences between Giraud and Hartleben in conjunction with Schoenberg's selection and re-ordering of the poems. Aptly, she describes the beginning of *Pierrot lunaire* (as seen in Ex. 4.1 above) as "Rimbaudesque," a "perception that a poet must experience all sorts of desires, to the point of saturation, 'dérèglement' [misbehavior or debauchery] and beyond." 249

²⁴⁸ Roger Marsh, "A Multicoloured Alphabet': Rediscovering Albert Giraud's *Pierrot Lunaire*." *Twentieth-century Music* 4, no. 1 (2007): 97-121.

²⁴⁹ Susan Youens, "Excavating an Allegory: The Texts of *Pierrot lunaire," Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 8 (1984): 110. Youens seems to be using Arthur Rimbaud (1854-1891), French surrealist poet, in a casual, general stylistic comparison with Schoenberg. I wish she would discuss more on the historical and cultural relationship between the two artists! According to Emilio Peral

Spanning Parts I and II of the set, the Rimbaudesque journey is described as the artist's "rejection of the past," a claim that we shall reconsider in this chapter.

Although Youens portrays Part III of *Pierrot lunaire* as a "reconciliation with the past," the opus in its entirety is still regarded as "an exemplum of the artistic rebellion against tradition before World War I." 250

Generally in agreement with Youens, Siglind Bruhn focuses more on the musical score. After her movement-by-movement analysis, she cites a brief account of Schoenberg's self-evaluation of the piece, and concludes that

Schoenberg regards his Pierrot in no way solely as the sad or fearful, sentimental or quixotic, brazen or lawless clown. Neither does he interpret him exclusively as "the poet," a role Hartleben and Giraud have added to his repertoire. Instead, Schoenberg believes to recognise [sic] in Pierrot the modern artist *par excellence*. Who experiences estrangement from society, is ridiculed or even despised. Who suffers under the overall incomprehension and lack of recognition. But who, at the same time, feels pride in the knowledge that the rejection of the masses is positive proof that he is fulfilling the self-assigned task: to reveal essential truths, if often in glaring colors and sounds.²⁵¹

Bruhn's analyses are detailed and generally compelling; however, I find one of her judgements on Schoenberg's *oeuvre* as a whole, when applied to *Pierrot lunaire*

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Vega, the figure of Pierrot has never appeared in Rimbaud's oeuvre. Nevertheless, it appeared once in his *La letter de Gênes* (1878), which refers to, of course, his romantic relationship with Paul Verlaine, a prominent French writer of Pierrot literature. See Emilio Vega, *Pierrot/Lorca: White Carnival of Black Desire* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2015), 34-5.

She also suggests that it is "a foreshadowing of the chaos of the war itself and the longing for order that followed." This is an interesting and beautiful statement, yet not one that can be supported or thwarted by text-based argumentation. See Youens, "Excavating an Allegory: the Texts of *Pierrot lunaire*," 114.

²⁵¹ Siglind Bruhn, *Arnold Schoenberg's Journey from the Tone Poems to Kaleidoscopic Sound Colors* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2015), 278. One is tempted to say that part of Bruhn's characterization of Schoenberg's Pierrot – particularly his "estrangement from society," the fact that he is being "ridiculed or even despised," and "suffers under overall incomprehension" – is marginally theological.

alone, worthy of adding more nuance. "He [Schoenberg] considered a music with myriad unresolved dissonances not only adequate but essentially necessary for expressions of fear," Bruhn observes. ²⁵² Is Schoenberg really channeling his own fears through the pan-tonality of *Pierrot lunaire*? This chapter reevaluates the fear factor in the song cycle, particularly with regards to my musical analysis and Bakhtin's carnival theory that may demand adjustments (but not wholesale rejection) of Bruhn's view.

Schoenberg's Pierrot. Brinkmann's article, quoted earlier, opens up an avenue for intertextual and social commentaries on the meaning of Pierrot. His analysis of Schoenberg's borrowings from J. S. Bach to Richard Struass and Richard Wagner is fascinating. However, in the limited space he has, he only takes brief accounts (not deep analyses) on literature, visual arts, and music related to Pierrot at the fin de siècle, and in doing so claims that "the young Viennese Arnold Schoenberg could not have escaped this puppet." Connecting the sociocultural context with music, Richard Kurth discusses *Pierrot lunaire* as evidence for Schoenberg's "Cratylism and implicit (if curious) Platonism." In another article, he not only traces the influence of Robert Schumann's Lieder in Schoenberg's composition, but also analyzes *Pierrot lunaire* through the colors black and white, a literary trope commonly found in French

²⁵² Ibid., 19.

²⁵³ Brinkmann, "The Fool as Paradigm," 152, 160.

²⁵⁴ Richard Kurth, "Pierrot's Cave: Representation, Reverberation, Radiance," in *Schoenberg and Words: The Modernist Years* (New York: Garland, 2000), 232.

Pierrot literature. 255 "The sense of disorientation arises first from the discontinuous contrasts between the many black and white Pierrots that swerve through the poems," Kurth argues, and "represents the obsessions of the modern psyche generally, not just the delusions of a single individual artist." ²⁵⁶ The shift of scholarly focus away from the artist himself is continued by Michael Cherlin, who scrutinizes the theme of moonlight, particularly Franz Schubert's depiction. He concludes that "Pierrot lunaire is not just a transformation of cabaret music, although it is certainly that, too; it is a continuation of the tradition of German art song writ large, with Schubert first and foremost at its fount." ²⁵⁷ In Jennifer Goltz's article and dissertation, she tirelessly traces Pierrot lunaire's musical connection to the cabaret theater, not only in the level of cultural influence, but down to the impressive note-to-note level. ²⁵⁸ These scholars have added much nuance to the meaning of the Pierrot figure.

An oft-ignored contribution to the discussion of Pierrots and *Pierrot lunaire* is by Gabriele Beinhorn.²⁵⁹ Published in German in 1990, her book focuses specifically on the grotesque as an aesthetic category inherent in Western music before the turn of the century. She asserts that there are five main ways the grotesque manifests in music: the distortion of genre clichés, the suspension of tonal materials, special instrumental effects, musical illustrations on the score, and musical commentaries as

²⁵⁵ Blanc et noir in *Le Pierrot* and as exhibition themes... See Kurth, "*Pierrot lunaire*: Persona, Voice, and the Fabric of Allusion," in The Cambridge Companion to Schoenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 120-4.

²⁵⁶ Kurth, "Pierrot lunaire: Persona, Voice, and the Fabric of Allusion," 123.

²⁵⁷ Michael Cherlin, "Pierrot lunaire as Lunar Nexus," Music Analysis 31, no. 2 (2012): 198.

²⁵⁸ Jennifer Goltz, "Pierrot le Diseur," *The Musical Times* 147, no. 1894 (Spring 2006): 59-72. Goltz, "The Roots of Pierrot lunaire in Cabaret," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2005.

²⁵⁹ Gabriele Beinhorn, Das Grotesk in Der Musik: Arnold Schoenberg's "Pierrot Lunaire,"

Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1988.

paratext before and after the performance. She then applies this analysis to *Pierrot lunaire*. While Beinhorn does not mention Bakhtin by name, their theorizations of the grotesque reveal striking similarities, and will inform my own interpretation of Pierrot.

Julie Pedneault-Deslauriers comes closest in locating social thought through musical analysis. In the same article that discusses French Pierrots, she shows that signs of hysteria and androgyny pervade not only in the text of Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*, but also in the timbral qualities and the vocal range of Sprechstimme. While the portrayal of Pierrot as hysterical and androgynous is evidence of important social-cultural currents, the presence of religious ambivalence as a sign of the carnival tradition in *Pierrot lunaire* requires me to analyze the timbre, texture, harmony, and melody of the instrumental parts in relation to the Sprechstimme and its text. I shall show that the musical portrayal of Pierrot plays a crucial role in accentuating the religious ambivalence in the text, and in doing so helps convey social commentaries in a carnivalesque work of art.

Carnivals in Schoenberg's Cultural Milieu

The carnival is a time and space in which normal social order and boundaries are suspended and transgressed. This quality of the carnival sanctions and encourages social commentaries and political critique to be made against the most respected figures of society, whether a political leader or religious figure. Christians incorporated the carnival into the church calendar, culminating in Fat Tuesday or

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²⁶⁰ Julie Pedneault-Deslauriers, "Pierrot L.," 624-36.

Shrove Tuesday, which in turn sets the tone for the beginning of Lent on Ash Wednesday. There are two reasons for which a carnivalesque space is contextually apt for analyzing Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*.

First, although it is unclear whether Schoenberg actively participated in any rituals or events of carnival, he was in touch with carnival culture in his musical study and cultural exposure. Numerous scholars cite Schumann's influence on Schoenberg, and Schumann wrote a number of carnival-related pieces, including *Papillons*, op. 2 (1831), *Carnaval*, op. 9 (1834-5), and *Faschingsschwank aus Wien (Carnival Fest from Vienna*), op. 26, (1839).²⁶¹ In a larger sense, the public Berlinese and Viennese carnival, or *Fasching*, could not escape anyone's view, barring an unreasonably strong willful ignorance. Moreover, the German stock character and carnival character Hanswurst was often compared to the French-imported Pierrot.²⁶² In fact, three years after *Pierrot lunaire*, Schoenberg wrote to Alexander Zemlinsky that he thought of himself as a "moonstruck Wursteln."²⁶³ "Wursteln" is literally a "little sausage," but Schoenberg was rhetorically taking "Wurst" from "Hanswurst," and adding a diminutive suffix, just like the change from Pierre to Pierrot. ("Wursteln" is often simply translated as "the fool" by multiple scholars.) Schoenberg's awareness of

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²⁶¹ Kurth, "Pierrot lunaire: Persona, Voice, and the Fabric of Allusion."

²⁶² Michael Gernot Sumper, *Hanswurst, Kasper, Punch und Pierrot in den Dramotellen der Wiener Gruppe* (Göttingen: Optimus Verlag, 2013).

²⁶³ Bruhn, *Arnold Schoenberg's Journey from the Tone Poems to Kaleidoscopic Sound* Colors, 278, translating from Horst Weber, ed., *Alexander Zemlinsky: Briefwechsel mit Arnold Schoenberg, Anton Webern, Alban Berg, un Franz Schreker* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995), 161. Another translation of this passage comes from Bryan Simms, *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg, 1908-1923* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 126. Brinkmann does not attempt to translate the keyword, simply quoting in its original german, "Mondsüchtige Wursteln." See Brinkmann, "The Fool as Paradigm," 162.

carnival culture also extended to his knowledge of Johann Strauss. Strauss's popular operettas, most distinguishably *Der Fledermaus*, featured carnival scenes and relate to the social climate at the time.²⁶⁴ Schoenberg therefore could not be immune from carnival culture.

Second, carnival, a traditionally sanctioned space for political and cultural critique (see Introduction), allows Schoenberg to voice his own biblical, social, or cultural critique. Secondary In Schoenberg's short spell in Berlin from 1901 to 1902, he worked at the Buntes Theatre, one of the first "Uberbrettls," or German literary cabarets inspired by the French tradition. Cabaret culture is carnivalesque: French cabaret is rooted in commedia dell'arte, which has origins in the carnival. (Think of the paintings of commedia performances in the Venetian plaza or Parisian squares during carnival. See also the music about carnival in the introduction.) Despite lacking the improvisatory aspects of the French cabaret, the Uberbrettls maintained a carnvalesque spirit in its celebration of nightlife, satire of current events, and lack of censorship, cumulating in a sense of freedom. For instance, one of the major literary contributors to Buntes Theatre was Ludwig Thoma, whose "The Protest Meeting" expounds on futile political engagements.

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²⁶⁴ Camille Crittenden, "Die Fledermaus and the Illusion of Carnival in Vienna," in Johann Strauss and Vienna: Operetta and the Politics of Popular Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). ²⁶⁵ Schoenberg has a history of offering social commentaries through biblical figures. Steven J. Cahn's article details his use of Sodom and Gomorrah and the story of Jacob wrestling with God in conveying commentaries on social and moral problems of the modern city and its inhabitants. See Cahn, "Schoenberg, the Viennese-Jewish Experience and Its Aftermath," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schoenberg*, edited by Jennifer Shaw and Joseph Auner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

²⁶⁶ MacDonald, Schoenberg, 43-4. Jelavich, Berlin Cabaret, 36-61.

²⁶⁷ Jelavich, Berlin Cabaret, 56-7.

Uberbrettl songs while he was working in Buntes Theatre, and one of them was performed. Even the sound in the Viennese cabaret, as Goltz demonstrates, can be traced from the French star Yvette Gilbert to the German Marya Delvard, who sung in Viennese cabarets while Schoenberg resided in Vienna. In the posters below, the German cabaret community even got to know the character of Pierrot through shows curated by Martin Zickel (Fig. 4.3).



Figure 4.1: Martin Zickel, Friedrich Kayssler, and Max Reinhardt at Sound and Smoke (1901).²⁶⁹

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²⁶⁸ Goltz, "The Roots of Pierrot Lunaire," 111-33.

Anonymous photographer, "Martin Zickel, Friedrich Kayssler, and Max Reinhardt at Sound and Smoke." *Berliner Leben* issue 3, 1901. Photo taken from Peter Jelavich, *Berline Cabaret* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 66, in turn taken from Max Ehrlich, *Von Adalbert bis Zilzer: Gesammelte Theater-Andekdoten* (Berlin: Eden-Verlag, 1928), 249. See also J. Douglas Clayton, *Pierrot in Petrograd: Commedia dell'Arte/ Balagan in Twentieth-Century Russian Theatre and Drama* (Montreal: McGill/ Queen's University Press, 1993), 53, quoting Vesvolod Meyerhold *Meyerhold in Theatre*, edited by Edward Braun (London: Bloomsbury Methuen Drama, 2016 [1969]).



Figure 4.2: A poster of Sound and Smoke featuring Pierrot (1901).²⁷⁰



Figure 4.3: Edmund Edel (designer), poster for Ernst von Wolzogen's Buntes Theater (1901).

²⁷⁰ Emil Orlik, poster for Sound and Smoke, accessed at http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=924785 on Feburary 7, 2018.

The Bakhtin-Schoenberg Convergence

As he composed *Pierrot lunaire*, Schoenberg had knowledge of the carnival and familiarity with the carnivalesque space of the cabaret. This background justifies interpreting the text and music of *Pierrot lunaire* in the carnival tradition. Despite the starkly different cultural and intellectual backgrounds of Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975) and Schoenberg (1874-1951), Bakhtin's literary theory converges with Schoenberg's musical thoughts and the score of *Pierrot lunaire*.²⁷¹ Not only do the two men share notable commonalities in their discussions of freedom and truth; *Pierrot lunaire* also matches Bakhtin's theorization of carnivalesque literature and menippean satire. Specifically, the song cycle fits most of the 14 features of a menippean satire that Bakhtin delineates.

On the "carnivalesque," Bakhtin writes:

In the *commedia dell'arte* (which kept a close link with its carnival origin), in Molière's comedies (related to the *commedia dell'arte*)... and a few others... in spite of their differences in character and tendency, the carnival-grotesque form exercises the same function: to consecrate inventive freedom, to permit the combination of a variety of different elements and their rapprochement, to liberate from the prevailing point of view of the world, from conventions and established truths, from clichés, from all that is humdrum and universally accepted. This carnival spirit offers the chance to have a new outlook on the world, to realize the relative nature of all that exists, and to enter a completely new order of things.²⁷²

Bakhtin proposes that the *carnival*-grotesque not only needs a grotesque appearance, but it also serves "liberating" functions so that it becomes truly "carnivalesque." As

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 ²⁷¹ Bakhtin most notably studied François Rabelais and Fyodor Dostoyevsky, but also demonstrates a breadth of knowledge of the ancient Greeks to Adam de la Halle, Victor Hugo, and others.
 ²⁷² Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, translated by Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 34. The word "grotesque" is explicitly used in movement 19, "Serenade."

seen in the quotation above, he delineates four items that a carnival esque work of art or music needs to liberate people from, all of which regard an opposition to or disruption of normal, everyday social order. In particular, "established truths" are characterized by Bakhtin earlier in his book as social and political rules that establish "hierarchical ranks, privileges, norms, and prohibitions." They are serious and fearsome. They prohibit "inventive freedom." "Carnival," in contrast, "was the true feast of time, the feast of becoming, change, and renewal," in which "laughter must liberate the gay truth of the world from the veils of gloomy lies spun by the seriousness of fear, suffering, and violence."²⁷⁴ Although Bakhtin recognizes that "this truth was ephemeral," and that "it was followed by the fears and oppressions of everyday life," he also relishes that at the dawn of the Dark Ages, "from these brief moments another unofficial truth emerged, truth about the world and man which prepared the new Renaissance consciousness." The Renaissance – marked by the humanist literature of Rabelais, the birth of opera, and other milestones – is but an example of the carnivalesque bringing about a "completely new order of things." The carnivalesque literature of Dostoevsky, on which he wrote a monograph, is another example.

Bakhtin's emphasis on truth and freedom finds a strange kin in Schoenberg. In "Problems in Teaching Art" (1911), Schoenberg contrasts that to the concept of technique and the mastery in imitating an established compositional style, through

²⁷³ Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, 10.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 10, 174. ²⁷⁵ Ibid., 90-1.

which a composer does not really own one's work, but "the technique has you."²⁷⁶ In this case, there is no compositional freedom. Schoenberg's contempt for imitation belongs in the same vein as Bakhtin's desire to be liberated from "conventions" and "clichés." To properly guide a student, a good teacher helps "give a voice to the kind of utterance that fittingly expresses a personality,"²⁷⁷ and by doing so points the student in the direction of "musical truth." While no one is independent of cultural and artistic influences, Schoenberg's belief is that every composer's personality is unique. That should lead a person to express a uniquely personal utterance, marked by differences from predecessors, direct influences, or what Bakhtin calls "established truths." In doing so, the composer is developing a dialog with his or her predecessors and making historical progress. The overlapping between the two men's idea of truth lends support in analyzing Schoenberg's music through carnival theory.²⁷⁸

At the center of carnival theory is the "free and familiar attitude" toward "everything." "In a carnival ritual," Bakhtin postulates, "everyone is an active participant, everyone communes in the carnival act." Suspended are the aforementioned serious and fearsome hierarchical structures, plus "all the forms of

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²⁷⁶ Schoenberg, Style and Idea, "Problems in Teaching Art," 366.

² Ibid., 367-8

²⁷⁸ Although Bakhtin and Schoenberg share similarities in their attitudes against or beyond certain ideas rooted in the past, and although they share similar views regarding the artistic methods in responding to these ideas (as in carnivalesque literature for Bakhtin, and similar for Schoenberg as I argue in this chapter), their philosophical differences are stark. Bakhtin believed carnivalesque literature to be publicly oriented and to continue what he calls "dialogism": seeing literature as an active dialog with previous and future literature and conversation that is subject to changing interpretations. Schoenberg's art is inward looking, personal, and he strives to create compositions that have a status of immortality and unchangeable historical importance. Despite these differences, the similarities outlined in the main text make a Bakhtinian analysis of the musical and textual text of *Pierrot lunaire* contextually viable.

²⁷⁹ Bakhtin, *Problems in Dostoevsky's Poetics*, edited and translated by Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 122.

terror, reverence, piety, and etiquette connected with [the hierarchy]."280 The result is a "free and familiar contact among people" of all classes, ages, gender, and other social categories. ²⁸¹ The contact among people who are otherwise socially separated then leads to a "free and familiar attitude spread[ing] over everything: over all values, thoughts, phenomena, and things."282 In the words of modern psychology, the defense system against unfamiliar people and things is shut down. As this carnivalesque attitude is spread to literature, a specific genre rose to importance: the "menippean satire," or simply the "menippea." Bakhtin lists fourteen characteristics of the menippean satire, cites the earliest traceable literary influence (e.g. Lucian and Varro), and diligently matches examples in Dostoyevsky's literature to each of the menippean characteristic. In a similar effort, I match selective examples from Schoenberg's Pierrot lunaire to Bakhtin's list of menippean characteristics. Closer analyses of these selective examples will follow this section.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 123. ²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Ibid.

Features of the "menippea" 283	Bakhtin's literary examples	My remarks	Examples in <i>Pierrot</i> lunaire
1. "In comparison to the 'Socratic dialog,' the specific weight of the comic element is greater" in the menippean satire.	Varro, Apuleius, Rabelais, Cervantes, Seneca, Grimmelhausen, Des Périers, Erasmus, Quevedo, Dostoevsky, and to a lesser extent, Boethius.	A Socratic dialog is a recollection of a dialog through which truth is revealed. While it can contain comedy, the menippea contains more elements of the carnivalesque, as evidenced by the thirteen points below. ²⁸⁴	Not applicable. There is no equivalent of a "Socratic dialog" in music.
2. Although the menippea may involve "historical and legendary figures," they are "free of confines of legend and is not bound by [] external verisimilitude."	Diogenes, Menippos	In a Socratic dialog, a character speaks in a manner that pertains to one's identity (class, gender, an eminent figure in history, etc.). In menippea, no such restriction of manner exists.	In "Madonna" (no. 9) Pierrot's visual depiction of Madonna, with words such as "fresh wounds" and "blood," is not confined by conventional depictions of Jesus's mother. In "Valse de Chopin" (no .4), Schoenberg's fragmentary use of Chopinesque musical gestures also go beyond the confines of Chopin.

Figure 4.4: Bakhtin's fourteen characteristics of the menippean satire, with my remarks and relevant examples in *Pierrot lunaire*.

between Socrates and Alcibiades in the same book.

²⁸³ The following fourteenth features are paraphrased from two editions of Bakhtin's texts. First, Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's* Poetics, translated by R. W. Rotsel (Ann Arbor, MI: Ardis, 1973), 93-7; second, Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, translated by Emerson, 114-9.
²⁸⁴ Think about the appearance of Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium*, or the carnivalesque dialog

Features of the "menippea"	Bakhtin's literary examples	My remarks	Examples in <i>Pierrot</i> lunaire	
3. The menippea contains "Extraordinary situations" [sic] that "provoke and test a philosophical idea."	Diogenes, Perigrinus, Lucian, Apuleius	The testing of a philosophical idea can be similar to some situations in the music of French Pierrots, which are not only about the character Pierrot, but also about the ideas and social issues that Pierrot brings about.	In "Night" (no. 8), the dark scene is set with grotesque "giant butterflies" and "monsters." One of the "philosophical ideas" concerns religion. Other extraordinary situations include Pierrot imagining himself being beheaded in "Beheading" (no. 13), which tests the idea of death, and Pierrot ripping priestly garments in "Rote Messe" (no. 11), which challenges piety and profanity.	
4. The menippea contains "the organic combination" of "free fantasy, symbolism, and — on occasion — the mysticoreligious elements." "The idea here has no fear of the underworld or of the filth of life."	Underworld naturalism of Varro, Lucian, Petronius, Apuleius, and Dostoevsky	In non-carnival spaces, some middle class, aristocrats, believers of religion, and other categories of people try not to engage directly with the "underworld" and the "filth of life." "Free fantasy" and "symbolism" are carnivalesque literary devices to dissolve these boundaries.	Mystico-religious elements appear in "Madonna" and "Red Mass," and arguably in "Mondestrunken" and "Nacht." Also, the appearance of blood and death in the song cycle demonstrates "the filth of life." Some of these appearances express nonchalance and no attitude of fear. When the attitude of fear is depicted, say in "Die Kreuze" and in "Galgenlied," irony and gallows humor creates a distancing effect from the direct affect of fear.	

Figure 4.4: Bakhtin's fourteen characteristics of the menippean satire, with my remarks and relevant examples in *Pierrot lunaire* (continued).

Features of the "menippea"	Bakhtin's literary examples	My remarks	Examples in <i>Pierrot lunaire</i>
5. "The ultimate questions of life are laid bare" through the menippea. The genre "seeks to present a person's ultimate, decisive words and actions, each of which contains the whole person and his whole life in its entirety."	Heracleides Ponticus, Bion, Teles and Menippos	Schoenberg says the following — what a strange kin to Bakhtin! — when comparing compositions with organisms: "in every little detail [the composition] reveals its truest, inmost essence. When one cuts into any part of the human body, the same thing always comes out—blood. When one hears a verse of a poem, a measure of a composition, one is in a position to comprehend the whole."	The themes of love, death, truth, morality, religion, and many others abound in <i>Pierrot lunaire</i> .
6. The menippea contains "a tri-leveled construction" of earth, Olympus (heaven) and the underworld.	Seneca, "dialog of the dead" in 17 th - and 18 th - century literature	This construction is reflective of what Bakhtin calls "philosophical universalism": an idea must be tested in all situations, even in extreme situations such as earth, heaven, and the underworld.	Not found in <i>Pierrot lunaire</i> . Despite the fantastic nature of the song cycle, and the depiction of the space between the earth and the sky, there is no "construction" of the three levels.

Figure 4.4: Bakhtin's fourteen characteristics of the menippean satire, with my remarks and relevant examples in *Pierrot lunaire* (continued).

Features of the "menippea"	Bakhtin's literary examples	My remarks	Examples in <i>Pierrot</i> lunaire
7. The menippea contains observations "from an unusual point of view, from high altitude, for example."	Lucian, Rabelais, Swift, and Voltaire	The unusual point of view provides an alternative, often surprising perspective to the issue at hand in the satire.	Not found in <i>Pierrot lunaire</i> . The song cycle contains ambiguous voices; for instance, "Prayer to Pierrot" (no. 9) could be featuring the voice of the narrator, of Colombine, or even of Pierrot sarcastically praying to himself. This ambiguity thus constitutes an "unusual point of view." But Bakhtin's example in an extreme geographical point of view is not found in <i>Pierrot lunaire</i> .
8. In the menippea, one can find representations of unusual, abnormal moral and psychic states.	Varro, Dostoevsky	This can be seen as another kind of "test" (see no. 3 above) or "philosophical universalism" (see no. 6 above).	So abundant in <i>Pierrot Lunaire</i> ! In "Beheading" (no. 13), Pierrot stares up at the moon and imagines the moonbeam as a scimitar killing him.

Figure 4.4: Bakhtin's fourteen characteristics of the menippean satire, with my remarks and relevant examples in *Pierrot lunaire* (continued).

Features of the "menippea"	Bakhtin's literary examples	My remarks	Examples in <i>Pierrot</i> lunaire
9. The menippea contains scandalous scenes and scenes of eccentric behavior, incongruous speeches and performances.	Lucian, Seneca, Julian the Apostate	The eccentricity and incongruity resemble the behavior of a zany, discussed in Chapter 1. Profanity and "carnivalesque blasphemies" are common in the menippea.	Schoenberg reports that the Italian audience found part of <i>Pierrot lunaire</i> offensive and hissed. 285 The text of "Red Mass" (no. 11) reads: "with a gesture of benediction he shows his heart – in bloody finders – for a hideous communion." The sound of Sprechstimme also has a strong shock value to certain audiences, resembling "incongruous speeches."
10. The menippea contains sharp contrasts and oxymoronic combinations.	Traditional carnival topics of the virtuous hetaera, the true freedom of the wise man contrasted with his status as a slave, etc. 286	The coexistence of contrasts and oxymorons resembles Bakhtin's notion of the grotesque and of ambivalence.	In "A Pallid Washerwoman" (no. 4), the central character is a washerwoman of the low, working class. Contrary to this appearance, however, she is also "the gentle maid of heaven." In "Heimweh" (no. 15), fff dynamics in the piano are followed by a "soundless, low-pressure playing" (tonlos niederdrücken).

Figure 4.4: Bakhtin's fourteen characteristics of the menippean satire, with my remarks and relevant examples in *Pierrot lunaire* (continued).

²⁸⁵ Arnold Schoenberg, "My Public" (1930) in *Style and Idea*, 97-8. ²⁸⁶ Bakhtin did not offer any literary example for this item.

Features of the "menippea"	Bakhtin's literary examples	My remarks	Examples in <i>Pierrot</i> lunaire
11. The menippea contains "elements of social utopia which are introduced in the form of dreams or journeys to unknown lands" [italics in original].	Heraclides Ponticus	Perhaps the most obvious social utopia, to modern-day readers and perhaps to Bakhtin himself, is Thomas More's Utopia. Indeed, More's work can plausibly be read as a satire, and it records a journey in exploring the social and political system of an unknown land – or rather, a "noplace." By "social utopia," Bakhtin may not be referring to a perfect social order, but rather a social order that appears in no place but in the carnival space of the menippea.	Pierrot journeys into different spaces and topics of imagination from the first song onward. In "Journey Home" (no. 20) and "O Ancient Fragrance" (no. 21), Pierrot decides to return from the unknown lands to his home, which paradoxically is the unknown lands of "the East" and the "fabled times." Many scenes depict a carnivalesque social order, including in "Serenade" (no. 19) when Pierrot plays the viola on Cassander's bald head.

Figure 4.4: Bakhtin's fourteen characteristics of the menippean satire, with my remarks and relevant examples in *Pierrot lunaire* (continued).

Features of the "menippea"	Bakhtin's literary examples	My remarks	Examples in <i>Pierrot lunaire</i>
12. The menippea "make[s] wide use of other genres." "The inserted genres are presented at various distances from the author's ultimate position, i.e., with various degrees of parody and objectivization."	Novellas, letters, oratory, symposia, mixture of prose and verse, etc.	"The position of the author" is a major discussion in Bakhtin's oeuvre. He believes a hero in a novel is an autonomous being and is capable of answering the author. Pierrot's actions therefore do not directly reflect Schoenberg's point of view. Pierrot has its own "life" in the song; only a culmination of the portrayals of Pierrot would shed light on Schoenberg's attitude.	Waltzes (no. 2 and 5), passacaglia (no. 8), comic opera (no. 10).

Figure 4.4: Bakhtin's fourteen characteristics of the menippean satire, with my remarks and relevant examples in *Pierrot lunaire* (continued).

Features of the "menippea"	Bakhtin's literary examples	My remarks	Examples in <i>Pierrot lunaire</i>
13. "The presence of the inserted genres intensifies the variety of styles and tones."	Examples not provided.	This intensification fits Bakhtin's major idea of "dialogism." Texts and genres are examples of utterances that dialog with one another, and their meanings are never fixed or finalized. ²⁸⁷ A wide variety of styles and tones promotes a "free and familiar attitude toward everything."	Schoenberg put "Madonna" (no. 6), a variant of the church sonata, and "Der Kranke Mond" (no. 7), a voice- flute duet, as consecutive movements. Placing these swiftly contrastive movements one after the other reinforces the "variety of styles and tones."
14. The menippea reacts to the social and "ideological issues of the day."	Lucian, Petronius, Apuleius.	Bakhtin cites this as the "topicality and publicistic quality" of the menippea, as it is the "'journalistic' genre" that started in antiquity.	Although Schoenberg tries to place his compositional technique in the vein of great composers and their musical progress, aforementioned scholars such as Goltz and Pedneault-Deslauriers have pointed to the social aspects of <i>Pierrot lunaire</i> . ²⁸⁸

Figure 4.4: Bakhtin's fourteen characteristics of the menippean satire, with my remarks and relevant examples in *Pierrot lunaire* (continued).

²⁸⁷ It is Bakhtin who inspired Julia Kristeva to coin the term "intertextuality," and this term in turn spread to musicology. For this genealogy, see Derek B. Scott, From the Erotic to the Demonic: On Critical Musicology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), and Michael Leslie Klein, Intertextuality in Western Art Music (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005).

288 Goltz, "The Roots of Pierrot lunaire," and Pedneault-Deslauriers, "Music on the Fault Line."

In the following discussion of Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*, these fourteen points will be referred to in the form of "Bpt. 1," "Bpt. 2," etc., meaning "Bakhtin point 1," "Bakhtin point 2," etc. respectively.

The idealistic characterization of the carnival esque as a totally positive matter raises argumentative concerns. In in a rarely translated passage, Bakhtin admits to the darker side of the carnivalesque:²⁸⁹

A school of nightmares and horror. The funny fiends [smeshnye strashilishcha] in Gogol. The plague and laughter in Boccaccio. The funny fiends in "The Sorochintsy Fair." 290

Mentioning "nightmares and horror," Bakhtin acknowledges the violence inherent in carnivals and in carnivalesque literature. Violence comes with carnivalesque freedom, and the end of the carnival also brings the end of some people's nightmares, as daylight brings back Lent, social hierarchies, and order.

Death, Blood, and Religious Ambivalence: Schoenberg's Literary Choices

The above characteristics of carnivalesque literature are related to genre; thematically, carnivalesque literature often features themes of death, blood, and religious ambivalence. As shown in the previous chapter, death and religion are themes common in Pierrot literature; these themes are strategically deployed in *Pierrot lunaire* as well. But first, why are these themes considered "carnivalesque"? Consider

²⁸⁹ I thank Amelia Glaser for pointing me to the untranslated Russian passages related to this subject

²⁹⁰ Amelia Glaser, Jews and Ukrainians in Russia's Literary Borderlands: From the Shetls to the Petersburg Bookshop (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2012), 54.

the following story from Rabelais's Gargantua and Pantagruel, as analyzed by Bakhtin.

Rabelais extended the story of Cain slaughtering Abel, the first death in the Bible (Genesis 4:8). "The earth, saturated with his blood, became exceptionally fertile."²⁹¹ As a result of Abel's blood, "[m]edlars were particularly plentiful and large, just three to the bushel," Rabelais writes, "[s]o that year was recorded in the memory of men as the year of the great medlars." ²⁹² These medlars have a physical and visual effect, causing men "to develop abnormally," causing "separate areas of the body enlarged to gigantic dimensions," including monstrous bellies, huge humps, monstrous noses, and disproportionate phalli.²⁹³

This short excerpt of Rabelais's literature showcases numbers 2 (free of historical and legendary confines) and 4 (free fantasy with mystics-religious elements) of Bakhtin's characterizations of the menippea. The blood and death in the biblical story of Cain and Abel may have incited fear in the original context; but in Rabelais's carnivalesque literature, laughter (on the ridiculous, illogical development of the biblical story) replaces fear. Furthermore, in Bakhtin's broader theorization,

laughter could grasp and comprehend a phenomenon in the process of change and transition, it could fix in a phenomenon both poles of its evolution in their uninterrupted and creative renewing changeability: in death birth is foreseen and in birth death, in victory defeat and in defeat victory, in crowning a decrowning. Carnival laughter does not permit a single one of these aspects of change to be absolutized or to congeal in one-sided seriousness 294

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, 326-7.

²⁹² Ibid., 327.

²⁹⁴ Bakhtin, Problems in Doestoevsky's Poetics, 164.

Blood and death do not become an end to themselves, but undergo regeneration. In carnival and carnivalesque literature, these oxymoronic binaries are elevated to the most important subject of people's lives, namely piety-profanity. Bakhtin mentions "parodia sacra" and "risus paschalis," both being genres that parody and laugh at sacred texts and rituals." These genres negated (at least temporarily) the fear of hierarchies and power, and influenced generations of writers, from Rabelais and Erasmus to Dostoevsky and Mark Twain. Other than the above carnivalesque sequel to Cain and Abel, another example is the famous Abbey of Thélème in Rabelais's *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, where there are equal numbers of men and women and all rules that ensured chastity in the medieval monastery are suspended. There, the boundary of piety and profanity is challenged, and both sides of the binary coexist in one carnivalesque scenario. The result is religious ambivalence.

In his *oeuvre*, Bakhtin demonstrates how literary themes of blood, death, and religious ambivalence gain social meaning through an author's literary deployment; applying a similar methodology to Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire* proves to be fruitful. The chart below delineates movements in which Schoenberg's chosen text for *Pierrot lunaire* contains features of blood, death, and religious ambivalence. A check denotes explicit mentioning, and indirect allusions to the respective themes are marked as such.

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²⁹⁵ Ibid., 127.

²⁹⁶ François Rabelais, *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, translated by Burton Raffel (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990) 117-28.

	Title of movements	Blood	Death	Religious Ambivalence
Part I	1. Mondestrunken (Drunk with Moonlight)	indirect		indirect
	2. Colombine (Colombine)			
	3. Der Dandy (The Dandy)			
	4. Eine Blasse Wäscherin (A Pallid Washerwoman)			
	5. Valse de Chopin (Waltz of Chopin)	V		
	6. Madonna (Madonna)		$\sqrt{}$	\checkmark
	7. Der Kranke Mond (The Sick Moon)	V	√	
Part II	8. Nacht (Night)		indirect	indirect
	9. Gebet an Pierrot (Prayer to Pierrot)			
	10. Raub (Theft)			
	11. Rote Messe (Red Mass)		indirect	
	12. Galgenlied (Gallows Song)			
	13. Enthauptung (Beheading)		$\sqrt{}$	
	14. Die Kreuze (The Crosses)			

Figure 4.5: Presence of blood, death, and religious references in Part I and II of *Pierrot lunaire*

Nine out of fourteen movements of the first two parts of *Pierrot lunaire* contain references to blood, death, or religious ambivalence.²⁹⁷ The openings of both parts indirectly address these themes. Then, two songs of each part (nos. 2, 3, 9, and 10) do not involve these themes, but focus on the grotesque play of commedia dell'arte characters. Barring the exceptions of "Eine Blasse Wäscherin" (which describes the

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²⁹⁷ These references are mostly present in the French original. However, Schoenberg's role in selecting from the 50 poems by Giraud and rearranging them cannot be underestimated.

fin-de-siècle femme fragile) and "Galgenlied" (a direct rendering of German gallows humor), the remaining movements of each part present the themes of blood, death, and/or religious ambivalence.

In contrast, none of the seven movements of the third part of *Pierrot lunaire* contain such references. The first six out of the last seven songs feature the character of Pierrot, sometimes alone and sometimes together with other commedia characters. The final song strongly hints at Pierrot. The contrast is startling, as carnivalesque characteristics fade in the text and music of the last part. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to musical analyses of *Pierrot lunaire* in support of my arguments. Since the religious reference in the first movement is indirect, we will be able to understand it better if we begin with other examples indicated on Figure 4.5.

5. Valse de Chopin.

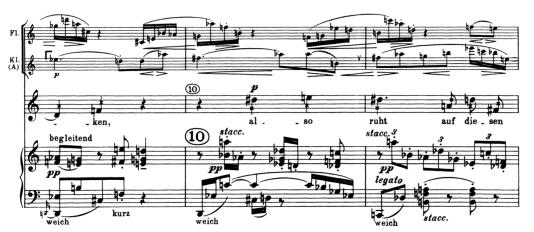


Example 4.2: Schoenberg, Pierrot lunaire, "Valse de Chopin," mm. 1-8.

Imagine dancing to the opening of this waltz. The instruments take turns supplying the varied waltz rhythm, as though you are displaying nuanced, embellished footwork. The unconventional harmonies and the counterpoint between different voices supply a strange hue to the dance. It is very different from Marx's "Valse de Chopin" (analyzed in Chapter 3), in which a stable rhythm can be heard from the piano part and the harmonies test the limits of tonality but never venture beyond. Had you been playing or listening to the waltzes of Chopin or accustomed to dancing the Viennese waltz, you would sense deformity and eccentricity in Schoenberg's song.

Had you been "emancipated" from dissonance, however, you would be dancing and expressing free, spontaneous fantasy. Combined with the text, the song showcases various characteristics of the menippea.

While contrasts are arguably an essential dramatic device in music, the contrasts in the music and text of "Valse de Chopin" are decidedly sharp and intense (Bpt. 10). The opening measure sets the tone (Ex. 4.2). Schoenberg marks "ohne Pedal" ("without pedal") below the left hand piano part in m. 1, accentuating the difference between the staccato right hand and the legato left hand parts. The contrast is made sharper, even "oxymoronic" as the right hand plays two easy, repeated major third chords, while the left hand needs to make wide leaps that present a challenge in maintaining the legato articulation without applying the sustaining pedal. As if musical notations do not suffice, Schoenberg marks words such as "weich" ("mellow") and "legato" over slurred notes, and "kurz" ("short") and "stacc." over detached notes in mm. 9-12, in an attempt to ensure that the composer's idea of oxymoronic contrasts shall be dutifully expressed through the performers (Ex. 4.3).



Example 4.3: Schoenberg, *Pierrot lunaire*, "Valse de Chopin," mm. 9-11.

The drastic change in musical texture at m. 14 further cements the fantastic and carnivalesque tone of the song (Ex. 4.4). Whether dryness, stoicism, irony or else, the affects that the staccatos convey in mm. 1-13 disappear in m. 14. They give way to the thicker, denser chords in the piano part, which is marked "schwungvoll" ("fully singing"), "durchaus legato" ("legato throughout"), and dolce expressivo. While the two hands of the piano part combine to make dissonant chords, the voice leadings from one chord to the other on each hand often feature chromaticism in the Romantic style. The calm and dolce, yet "rapid-fire" stretto between the wind instruments offers additional texture and nuances to the soundscape. The Sprechstimme, providing the waltz rhythm in conjunction with the piano part, sings the words "chords of wild lust" and "despair's icy dream" and is an essential part of the fantastic atmosphere the music. Altogether, if the preceding section studies articulative contrast in itself, the second section provides another level of contrasts by offering a broad stroke of lush, romantic texture saturated with modernist harmonies.



Example 4.4: Schoenberg, Pierrot lunaire, "Valse de Chopin," mm. 12-8.

Sharp contrasts in dynamics work in tandem with the oxymoronic text, particularly at mm. 27-30 (Ex. 4.5). After all parts play loudly at mm. 27-28, the piano part suddenly dies out in the latter half of m. 29, leaving the flute to play *crescendo* starting from *forte*, resulting in an outstanding upward, loud, and jarring phrase. The dynamic contrast between the instrument parts is sharp. Immediately after, all parts play in *pianissimo* (with an implied soft dynamics in the Sprechstimme) at m. 30, and the nervous, sixteenth-note and trill-dominated counterpoint becomes more relaxed as it turns into eighth-note dominated. The wide spacing between the flute playing G6 in

the top register and all the other parts occupying the low to middle register reinforces the sharp change in dynamic. The verse that goes with the sharp dynamic contrast reads:

Heiß und jauchzend, süß und schmachtend, / Melancholisch düstrer Walzer

(Hot and exultant, sweet and languishing / Melancholy, somber waltz)

These adjectives offer literary oxymorons, which in turn deliver a sensation overload comparable to the music. In the broader picture, all these sharp contrasts in "Valse de Chopin" are manifestations of the eccentric nature of a carnivalesque work of art.



Example 4.5: Schoenberg, *Pierrot lunaire*, "Valse de Chopin," mm. 27-32.

The music and text combines to also reflect "unusual and abnormal psychic states" (Bpt. 8). The text of mm. 30-42 (Ex. 4.6) reads:

Kommst mir nimmer aus den Sinnen! Haftest mir an den Gedanken (I can't get you out of my head! You adhere to my thoughts)

The verbal frustration expressed as a result of the protagonist's inability to get the waltz out of his head is juxtaposed with the musical device of repetition. Notice the similarities between

- 1. the notes in the piano part between the first half of m. 30 and that of m. 31;
- 2. the rhythm in the piano part in the whole of m. 30 and m. 31;
- 3. all instrumental parts in mm. 32-33 and mm. 34-35;
- 4. the first two chords in the piano part in m. 35 and the two chords in m. 36; and
- 5. the piano part in mm. 38-39 and mm. 40-42.
- 6. This mechanical repetition sets itself apart from the Sprechstimme, which continues to recite the text. The music unfolds the text at a different pace and in more dimensions than the text itself. At the same time, the repetitions are eccentric: they do not enhance the overall structural coherence of the movement, nor do they showcase physicality as in the hysteric scenes of *Veil of Pierrette* or *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme*. As a dramatic device, this slow repetition which disrupts the waltz rhythm acts as a deliberate failure, resembling the inconsequentiality of the Pierrot character. The lack of pattern in presenting the repetitions further enhances eccentricity and suggests a temporarily abnormal psychic state of being, an element of the menippean

carnivalesque. The psyche is occupied by thoughts that one direly and nervously wants to let go of. The musical counterpart to this condition is displayed by the ability to progress smoothly in the Sprechstimme sharply while the instrumental parts stutter. This psychic state adds another dimension to the oxymoronic, carnivalesque character of the song.



Example 4.6: Schoenberg, Pierrot lunaire, "Valse de Chopin," mm. 33-5.

Related to a carnivalesque work of art's capacity to "react to the social and ideological issues" (Bpt. 14) is waltz's generic meaning and expectations. This genre is often associated with the fin-de-siècle European zeitgeist, as laid out by Schorske's reading of Ravel's *La Valse*, and by many other scholars. Following that statement, Gabriele Beinhorn argues that "Valse de Chopin" reflects the degeneration of Viennese culture. Specifically, Beinhorn argues that the movement exhibits features of the *Totentanz* (dance of death, similar to the tarantella), and

by means of the over-stylization of the waltz – a symbol of the love or lust of life, gaiety of Vienna – through the grotesque *Totentanz*, the musical poetry-interpretation means for Schoenberg the disintegration of

the world of Viennese Waltzes, a thing to celebrate.²⁹⁸

Some contextual facts may offer further nuance to Beinhorn's argument. First, although Schoenberg lived in Vienna for much of his life up until the composition of Pierrot lunaire, Schoenberg was living in Berlin at the time of the composition, and was writing the song cycle for Albertine Zehme, a Berlin-based artist. The "disintegration" of the Viennese waltz matches his displacement from the city of Vienna. A part of Jann Pasler's poetic depiction of Ravel's *La valse* (1906-20) also captures Schoenberg's waltz aptly: "it's like fragments of pleasurable memories trying to be light-hearted, bearers of our own desire, interrupted but ever returning again."²⁹⁹ Secondly, Schoenberg's choice to keep the French title "Valse de Chopin" is not only faithful to Hartleben's translation, but also seems to deliberately accentuate the French roots of the piece. With Schoenberg's background in the *Uberbrettl*, which perceived French culture negatively and satirically, the majority of the music and text of "Valse de Chopin" seems to playfully imagine French cultural degeneration as much as, if not more than, seriously curate a modernist Viennese waltz. The complex links to social meanings testifies not only to the flexible meanings of the character of Pierrot, but also to the argument that *Pierrot lunaire* is a carnivalesque work of art.

Further evidence of the carnivalesque can be found in the elements of fantasy and the fearless attitude toward the filth of life in "Valse de Chopin" (Bpt. 4). "The

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²⁹⁸ Beinhorn, Das Grotesk, 182-3. The original text in Beinhorn is as follows: "Mittels der Ueberstilizierung des Walzers – einst Symbol des lebenslustigen, heiteren Wien – zum grotesken Totentanz im Sinne einer musikalischen Gedichtinterpretation scheint Schoenberg die Zerstoerung der Welt des Wiener Walzers zu feiern."

²⁹⁹ Pasler, Composing the Citizen, 699.

wise man," Bakhtin writes as he elaborates on his point, "collides with worldly evil, depravity, baseness, and vulgarity in their most extreme expression." The "wise man" most likely refers to the author or the protagonist. In the case of *Pierrot lunaire*, Schoenberg identifies with the fool Pierrot, who in turn sheds truth and wisdom in the carnivalesque space. While Bakhtin somewhat echoes Beinhorn's argument on Viennese waltz and societal depravity, let us turn also to one of the most apparent aspects of the song: the literary theme of blood and the musical juxtaposition of that theme.

The literary invocation of blood contains elements of fantasy. The opening of the poem — "As a drop of blood/Colors a sick woman's lips" — is analogous to the exaggerated effect in Rabelais's carnivalesque story of Abel's blood nurturing the soil of the earth. The drop of blood in "Valse de Chopin" has a similar effect, albeit in the smaller scale of coloring "a sick woman's lips." The third stanza reveals more ardent sensations associated with the drop of blood, ranging from "hot and exultant, sweet and languishing," to "melancholic" and "somber," as described earlier. The word "blood" appears three times in this movement: since it appears in the first verse of the poem, the poetry in rondel form ensures that it reappears in the second to last verse of the second stanza and the final verse of the third stanza. The imagery of blood, an internal matter of the body, adhering to a sick person's lips, an external feature of the body, is grotesque at least, and fear-inciting at most. Furthermore, a physical drop of blood adhering to the narrator's thoughts is another fearfully fantastic imagery.

However, the musical juxtaposition of the word "blood" does not express any attitude of fear. In each of its three appearances, the word "blood" is only emphasized rhetorically in the Sprechstimme, but not reinforced in other instrumental parts. In the first instance in m. 7, the word "Bluts" occupies the value of a half note, which is longer than the neighboring notes. The parallel As in the voice, clarinet, and piano may create a special effect, but it is fleeting at best. The left hand piano part, in particular, is obsessed in dynamic shaping with its phrase marked as the *Haupststimme* and expressivo. The word "blood" serves not as the focus of expression, let alone a portrayal of fear. The second appearance at m. 21 features the word "Bluts" occupying two eighth notes of different pitches, whereas the surrounding words are all set syllabically. This literary accentuation does not translate, however, to further musical accentuation. The repeated notes in the flute and the clarinet barely paint the word "blood" – it takes a stretch of imagination to argue that it depicts the "drops" of blood. More importantly, dominant in the texture of the music and busy shaping a Chopinesque passage, the piano part has little regard for the word "blood" in the Sprechstimme. The final iteration of the word "Bluts," in m. 35, features a relatively long note – a quarter note – in the Sprechstimme. This time, the piano part reinforces the voice by supplying an accentuated chord at the same instance. However, all instrumental parts including the piano are replicating the previous measure. This deliberate text setting reduces the musical-rhetorical emphasis on the word "blood," perhaps also adding a hint of irony. All in all, Schoenberg chooses to depict the grotesque object of blood without any attitude of fear.

The very end of "Valse de Chopin" is evident of the regenerative aspect of carnivalesque literature, discussed through the literary example of Rabelais earlier. Musically, the song does not come to a complete ending in itself – rather, it invites extension and regeneration of its ideas. Not only is this song the only movement in Pierrot lunaire that ends without a double bar line; Schoenberg's score directory also writes: "follow without pause: Madonna." The harmonic progression further supports this argument. Toward the end of the movement in mm. 40-42, the chords in the piano part resemble that of the beginning of the piece with C-natural, B-natural and D-sharp forming harmony (Ex. 4.7). But this leads not to a return, but to a new beginning. The right hand of the piano part at mm. 40-42 spells out the B major chord. The top note, B-natural, is lowered to A-sharp in m. 43, as though the latter is the leading tone of tonal music in the key of B. The final few single notes of the movement on the piano, a repetition of A-sharp in hemiola (mm. 43-44), lead conspicuously back into the Bnatural in the flute part of the next movement, "Madonna," without any double bar line or rest. Additionally, the first note of the cello part of "Madonna" is a low E, forming an ambiguous E major/E minor harmony with the flute. With this as reference, the B major chord in mm. 40-42 in "Valse de Chopin" would serve as the dominant chord, which awaits resolution as the song transitions to the next song. Isn't this similar to the medlars in Rabelais's novel, in which one grotesque object leads to the regeneration of further grotesque images? Here, one grotesque movement that involves a near-death sick woman does not come to an end, but leads to the next movement that centers on a femme fragile, the Madonna.



Example 4.7: Schoenberg, Pierrot lunaire, "Valse de Chopin," mm. 40-4.

6th movement, "Madonna"

6. Madonna.



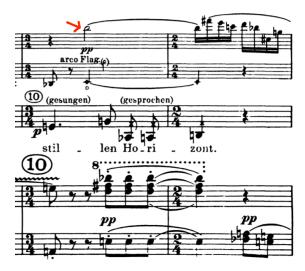
Example 4.8: Schoenberg, Pierrot lunaire, "Madonna," mm. 1-7.

The beginning of "Madonna" creates a suspiciously religious hue through its words and sound (Ex. 4.8). Jonathan Dunsby notes the presence of the gestures of a Baroque "religioso" at the beginning of the piece, and Beinhorn suggests that the texture of the flute, B-flat clarinet and cello alludes to the genre of *sonata da chiesa* (church sonata). I agree with this reading, and further suggest that an element of parody is present. The title "Madonna" and the first verse, "Step, Mother of All Pain," are direct religious references to the figure of the Holy Mother. Yet, as explored through Beer-Hoffmann's play *Pierrot hynositeur* and Fähnder's theorization of female imageries in Chapter 3, the meaning of Madonna in the context of fin-de-siècle Germany is associated with the femme fragile, a female figure controlled by male imagination, delicate, passive, and death-bound. Schoenberg drastically intensifies this treatment of the presumably sacred figure of Madonna.

From the outset, "Madonna" does not musically depict the Holy Mother's conventional image of kindness, sanctity, and holiness (Bpt. 2 and 4). The opening flute melody imitates the rhythm of a main theme in the first song, "Mondestrunken" (Ex. 4.9). This reference to drunkenness is juxtaposed with a cello bass line that, without the accidentals, would be a smooth ascending and descending bass. However, it is almost ironically playful that every note (!) in the first half of the piece (mm. 1-14) is marked with an accidental. As a result, the intervals are irregular, and the performative effects along with the pizzicatos can be said to be thorny, reluctant,

³⁰⁰ Beinhorn, Das Grotesk in Der Musik, 189-190, and Dunsby, Schoenberg: Pierrot Lunaire, 42.

uneasy, or staggering. Together with the instrumentation that alludes to the church sonata, the song starts off musically as an intense "parodia sacra."



Example 4.9: Schoenberg, *Pierrot lunaire*, "Mondestrunken," mm. 10-11. Notice the similar contour between this and the opening flute melody of "Madonna."

The instrumental parts helps elements of profanity in the text to come through, forming a "scandalous scene" in this movement (Bpt. 9). Madonna's reluctant steps, manifested in the creeping cello bass line, is juxtaposed with the following text (Ex. 4.8):

Steig, o Mutter aller Schmerzen, / Auf den Altar meiner Verse! (Step, O Mother of all sorrows, / Onto the altar of my verses!)

The imperative form in this verse forms a stern order, demanding Madonna to act – in this case, "step" accordingly. This lack of respect for holiness can be seen as an abuse or a blasphemy to a holy religious figure. In m. 10, the same verse is repeated, this time marked *ppp*, and preceded by a major 13th leap up to the pitch of E5. The musical direction writes "very high, but extremely sweet" ("*sehr hoch, aber äuesserst*")

zart"). The relatively high register and the "sweetness" demanded by the composer maintain a feminine voice in this verse, within the song cycle that often ventures below a standard female range. The abusive imperative tone in the text toward the sweet feminine figure is exactly the image of the femme fragile in fin-de-siècle Germany, "spiritualised," "aesthetic," "extremely delicate," yet objectified and oppressed by the male author.

The third and fourth verses exhibits the grotesqueness of Madonna. It read as follows:

Blut aus deinen magern Brüsten / hat des Schwertes Wut vergossen

(Blood from your thin breasts / Has been shed by the fury of the sword)

This image is grotesque partly because blood, a matter inside a body, is rendered outside. These two verses, together with the opening ones, are sung in a "moderately slow" tempo and with "very inner" ("sehr innig") emotions. The text paints an imagery that does not resemble holiness and sanctity, and arguably constitutes direct blasphemy. These scandalous depictions (Bpt. 9) go beyond the conventional confines of the figure of Madonna (Bpt. 2), and also present "extraordinary situations that test a philosophical idea," in this case a theological idea of Madonna's sanctity (Bpt. 3).



Example 4.10: Schoenberg, Pierrot lunaire, "Madonna," mm. 8-24.



Example 4.10: Schoenberg, Pierrot lunaire, "Madonna," mm. 8-24 (continued).

In investigating the second half of "Madonna," let us turn to the music's social critique (Bpt. 14), something that Schoenberg has done in his essay "About Music Criticism" (1911), and would do in his letter to Dehmel two months after *Pierrot lunaire*'s premier and in *Die Jakobsleiter* two years later.³⁰¹ Madonna's sorrow is

³⁰¹ Arnold Schoenberg, *Style and Idea*: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg, 60th anniversary edition, edited by Leonard Stein, translated by Leo Black (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 197. Cahn, "Schoenberg, the Viennese-Jewish Experience," 203, and Erwin Stein, ed., *Arnold Schoenberg Letters* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 35-6.

elevated in intensity by multiple sigh gestures in all instrumental parts, including descending minor seconds, descending major seconds, and their inversions and octave displacements (mm. 18-20) (Ex. 4.10). As the sigh gesture unfolds, the Sprechstimme enters to provide literary context to the sighs:

In den abgezehrten Händen / Hältst du deines Sohnes Leiche. / Ihn zu zeigen aller Menschheit – / Doch der Blick der Menschen meidet / Dich, o Mutter aller Schmerzen!

(In your emaciated hands / You hold your son's corpse / To show him to all mankind – / But the gaze of men avoids, / You, O mother of all sorrows)

So, who is sighing? The most direct answer seems to be Madonna, who sighs while holding her son's dead body. In another, broader point of view, the composer is sighing. Consistent with the population in Sodom and Gomorrah that Schoenberg cited in "About Music Criticism," "mankind" in "Madonna" fails the test of righteousness by refusing to acknowledge Jesus's sacrifice. Schoenberg, as what Cahn calls an "ethical monotheist," would reasonably question the morality of humanity as portrayed by the text, and express disappointment through sighs. Further support for this view can be traced in the cello part, which Brinkmann and others have argued as Schoenberg's self-representation. The cello plays sigh gestures with the widest leaps in the highest frequency of all parts, with their effects often further intensified by *pizzicato glissandi*. By composing the cello melody as such, Schoenberg seems to be

³⁰² This religious subtext is further strengthened by Alan Philip Lessem's observation: "Equally allusive is ["Madonna"'s] reference to a symbolic E minor, the key of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* and of the "Cruxifixus" from the *Mass in B Minor*. In view of the text [of "Madonna"]'s description of the fallen Son... the coincidence of keys is perhaps not an accidental one." See Lessem, *Music and Text in the Works of Arnold Schoenberg: The Critical Years, 1908-1922* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979), 144-5.

shouting these sighs in vain, further enhancing the pathos of his social critique through the depiction of a major biblical figure.

7th movement, "Der Kranke Mond"

7. Der kranke Mond.



Example 4.11: Schoenberg, *Pierrot lunaire*, "Der Kranke Mond," mm. 1-13.

The movement sounds like the aftermath of the destruction in the preceding one – what is left is the wistful flute that sometimes recalls themes from earlier (Ex. 4.11). Throughout the movement, the flute mostly stays in *piano* dynamic range, showcasing expressivity from *pppp* to *forte* occasionally. The voice serves as a quiet commentary, stays at *piano* throughout, with some hairpins and one *ppp* sign at its quietest. Perhaps it's modest to call this movement "the sick moon": the first verse declares the moon as "*Todeskranker*," "sick to death." Despite this context, the music

and text do not create any sense of fear for death (Bpt. 4); rather, as in a carnival esque work of art, the fearless attitude is regenerative.

The appearances of the words "stirbst" (another word for death) and "Blut" are not nonchalant or light; they are somewhat emphasized. In m. 14, "stirbst" is set at the end of a two-note slur with a huge upward leap and crescendo reinforced by the flute part. In m. 25, the oxymoronic description of "bleich" ("pale") and "qualgeborne Blut" ("torment-torn blood") intensifies another upward slur of a wide interval. These words that potentially strike fear are highlighted in the song as important ideas; they are counterbalanced by the treatment of the word "Tod," detailed below.

The appearance of the theme of death in "Der Kranke Mond" is either nonchalant or light. With the rondel form of poetry, the word "Tod" (death) not only appears in the first verse, but also twice more. In m. 2, it occupies the downbeat and has a slightly longer note value than the surrounding notes. The longer note merely matches the natural accent of the syllable in German; other than that, there is no particular musical reinforcement for that word. The second appearance of "Tod," in m. 17, shares exactly the same rhythmic attribute as its first appearance, except that it appears in the middle of the measure. The word "Tod" is therefore deemphasized again. Its final appearance in m. 26 features mordents in soft dynamics and ritard in tempo, and is similar to the notes that follow. Schoenberg asks the Sprechstimme to perform this part "doch nicht tragisch!!" ("not tragically at all!!") As Schoenberg's violist Eduard Steuermann recalls, when Zehme sang this part too tearfully, Schoenberg would playfully say, "Don't despair; there is such a thing as life

insurance!" Whether observing Schoenberg's own words or his music, we cannot detect much sense of fear toward death.

The carnivalesque themes of ambivalence and regeneration return at the final two measures. The presentation of a "sick-to-death moon" ought not be completely tragic, but with a sense of dark humor and thus the lightness of life. In Bakhtin's discussion of the carnivalesque, he writes that "negation and destruction (death of the old) are included as an essential phase, inseparable from affirmation, from the birth of something new and better." ³⁰³ In a similar vein, death of the moon in "Der Kranke Mond" leads to the birth of *Pierrot lunaire*'s Part II, the story of darkness in "Nacht" ("Night").

³⁰³ Bakhtin, Rabelais, 62.

II. Teil.

Resitation. Resit

Example 4.12: Schoenberg, Pierrot lunaire, "Nacht," mm. 1-8.

The grotesque subjects of blood and death in "Der Kranke Mond" give way to the darkness and black butterflies in "Nacht." Phyllis Bryn-Julson describes the imagery as "visceral," Dunsby calls the atmosphere "discomforting," while Lessem deems it "nightmarish" and a "product of an exacerbated fin-de-siècle sensibility." Beyond these general comments, Kathryn Puffett conducts the most thorough musical

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³⁰⁴ Bryn-Julson, 140; Dunsby, 47; Lessem, *Music and Text in the Works of Arnold Schoenberg: The Critical Years*, 1908-1922 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1979), 146.

analysis. She observes that "the first, and seminal, motive of the song – hereafter the 'butterfly motive' – is a musical manifestation of the shape which has been used by artists and children alike over the ages to represent flying birds or insects."305 It consists of a minor third interval followed by a major third. "Nothing will occur in the song," Puffett adds, "that has not been directly suggested in the first three bars," which is saturated with the butterfly motive. ³⁰⁶ She ultimately argues that Schoenberg's engagement with the text infiltrates the harmonic and formal structures of the song and goes well beyond "word painting." She calls the engagement "structural imagery." 307 Informed by Puffett, my analysis situates the structural imagery in "Nacht" in the context outlined in Parts II and IV of this chapter: that "Nacht" is carnivalesque in the music's pursuit of freedom across Schoenbergian and Bakhtinian lines, its "fearlessness of the filth of life" (Bpt. 4), and its quality as a parodia sacra.

Using terms in Schoenberg's *Theory of Harmony (Harmonielehre*), written one year before *Pierrot lunaire*, in describing the structural imagery of "Nacht" yields surprising results. In Schoenberg's lengthy harmony treatise, he began with musings in music history, theory, and pedagogy before starting note-based analysis of music in chapters three and four, which address the major and minor modes, respectively. He gradually discusses chords and progressions further away from the two basic modes in tonal music, and arrives at the important category of "vagrant chords," which includes

³⁰⁵ Kathryn Puffett, "Structural Imagery: 'Pierrot lunaire' Revisited," *Tempo* 60, no. 237 (Jul. 2006): 2-

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 5. ³⁰⁷ Ibid., 3.

the diminished seventh chord, augmented triad, "augmented six-five," whole tone chords, and many others. He writes,

[The vagrant chord] is actually at home in no single key, is not the exclusive property of any; it is entitled, so to speak, to reside anywhere, yet is nowhere a permanent resident – it is a cosmopolitan or a tramp! I call such chords, vagrant chords, [...] [The vagrant chord] can belong to many, to practically all keys without changing its shape. 308

With these few sentences, Schoenberg connects the category of the vagrant chord to atonality and pantonality, both concepts being the core of a paradigm shift. But what caused this shift? Schoenberg further explains,

It is remarkable: the vagrant chords do not appear directly by way of nature, yet they accomplish her will. Actually, they arise only out of the logical development of our tonal system, of its implications. [...] And that precisely these logical consequences of the system are the very undoing of the system itself, that the end of the system is brought about with such inescapable cruelty by its own functions, brings to mind the thought that death is the consequence of life. That the juices that serve life, serve also death. And that it was precisely these vagrant chords that led inexorably to the dissolution of tonality [...]³⁰⁹

Now look at the butterfly motive in the first three measures of Ex. 4.12. It is made of a minor third and a major third, two pillars of the tonal system. The development from this motive is "logical," as the composition follows one of the most restrictive forms in Western music, the passacaglia. As Puffett shows, "everything" in the movement is developed from these two intervals. And as the song unfolds, the logical development

³⁰⁸ Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, translated by Roy E. Carter (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 195.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 196. The omitted phrase in the middle is as follows: "They are the issue of inbreeding, inbreeding among the laws of that system." I avoid the discussion of Schoenberg's Jewish identity here (particularly on the use of the term "inbreeding") since it has already been elaborately discussed by Julie Brown, See Brown, Schoenberg and Redemption (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 114-6.

from the butterfly motive leads to what Schoenberg writes in *Harmonielehre*, "the dissolution of tonality." Later in the treatise, Schoenberg describes certain composers' frequent use of vagrant chords without relinquishing tonality as "to flirt with freedom while retaining one's bonds." The thorough dissolution of tonality in "Nacht," therefore, means freedom to Schoenberg.³¹¹

Schoenberg's freedom in "Nacht" is comparable to carnivalesque freedom in two ways. Firstly, Schoenberg seeks freedom from the bonds of tonality, which fits in the category that Bakhtin calls "conventions" and "established truths." Secondly, Schoenberg invokes a number of oxymoronic binaries as he describes the path toward the dissolution of tonality. They include development and undoing, and life and death. Thirdly, In the same discussion in which Schoenberg dismisses the "flirt[ing] with freedom" by some composers, he writes, "I should not wish to sit on that throne from which tonality's luster of sovereignty emanates." This is one of the two instances he makes use the metaphor of sovereign power to describe the absence of freedom. His ambition of dethroning tonality can therefore be summarized in the carnivalesque action of decrowning.

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³¹⁰ Ibid., 394. Vagrant chords, relationship with all keys, whole-tone scales, and everything else that is particularly favored –all that is supposed to occur, the bonds of the key are supposed to be loosened, its affirmative elements suppressed, those that destroy it supported; and yet, in spite of all, it is supposed to turn up suddenly at the end, or if occasion arises, somewhere else, and make everyone believe it is the sovereign over all that occurred! There again one has "taken a prisoner who won't free the captor." I should not wish to sit on that throne from which tonality's luster of sovereignty emanates. No, I believe this kind of thing really cannot succeed.

³¹¹ Puffett calls this movement an "oppressive" one. See Puffett, "Structural Imagery: 'Pierrot lunaire' Revisited," 14.

³¹² Schoenberg, Theory of Harmony, 394.

The path to freedom from tonality seems to be saturated with fear. Youens describes the text as "a Pandora's Box of ills" that "descends with the darkness, the host of evils..." The music, apparently, amplifies this effect. Bruhn believes that Schoenberg "considered a music with myriad unresolved dissonances not only adequate but essentially necessary for expressions of fear." Lessem adds that "obstinato patterns [...] have been firmly established in the Schoenberg repertory as symbols for the condition of fear." The form of passacaglia, of course, demands strict obstinato. If this is the case, is this important movement an exception from the carnivalesque?

Putting Puffet's analysis side-by-side with Lessem's observation reveals insights on Schoenberg's treatment of fear. Puffet outlines many conventional characteristics of a passacaglia that are missing from "Nacht." She recognizes that Lessem's identification of the passacaglia theme recur throughout the piece, but also adds that it does not recur continuously. "What does recur continuously," she writes, and I quote at length,

incessantly, even obsessively – is the three-note butterfly motive, but these recurrences are dense and varied – at different levels, using a variety of durations, at all tonal levels, occupying every conceivable position in the bar, and very often overlapping – and are subject to permutation. This is not the sort of repetition that occurs in a passacaglia. In many ways this passacaglia is a parody, subverting the techniques of the traditional form and denying the expectations raised by the title. [...] While denying the *rule* of the form, this passacaglia gives its all in conforming to its *spirit*. Because of its repetitiveness, which rules out both modulation and metric irregularity the passacaglia is surely the most

³¹³ Youens, "Excavating an Allegory," 112.

³¹⁴ Bruhn, Arnold Schoenberg's Journey, 19.

³¹⁵ Lessem, "Music and Text in the Works of Arnold Schoenberg: The Critical Years, 1908-1922," Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois Urbana-Champagne, 1973.

oppressive form of Western traditional music [...] There is not a moment from its start to its finish when we are not besieged by the butterflies and their consequence in a variety of ingenious combinations, and usually in all voices. For such a claustrophobic piece what more fitting allusion could be imagined than 'passacaglia'?³¹⁶

"Nacht" is by no means the first of Schoenberg's purportedly "claustrophobic" pieces; but considering Schoenberg's personal and philosophical background, I propose that he would find freedom from fear in the passacaglia form of this movement. Schoenberg's thoughts on "freedom" can be found in his essay "Franz Liszt's Work and Being," in which freedom involves regarding form not "as a boundary that hems [the composer] in, but as a framework, a brace, the support for the construction [of the composition]. In "Nacht," he took the "oppressive" form and expressed it in his own inventive terms. He transformed it "incessantly," and upon analysis by numberless scholars from Charles Rosen to Joseph Straus, the movement is still much appreciated for its complexity, organicity, and originality. Schoenberg's music doesn't only seem to satisfy his own definition of freedom, but also Bakhtin's carnivalesque freedom as inventive freedom from conventions and clichés. Freedom has negated fear.

In addition to the above carnivalesque features, I would like to propose a suggestive reading: "Nacht" elevates the sense of fearlessness to the level of *parodia*

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³¹⁶ Puffett, "Structural Imagery: 'Pierrot lunaire' Revisited," 14.

³¹⁷ See Julian Johnson, *Out of Time: Music and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 64, on *The Book of Hanging Gardens* as claustrophobic. See Michael Steinberg and Larry Rothe, *For the Love of Music: Invitations to Listening* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 60, for *Pelleas und Melisande* as claustrophobic. See Andrew Ford, *Illegal Harmonies: Music in the Modern Age* (Collingwood, Australia: Black Inc, 2011 [1997, 2002], 28, on *Six Little Piano Pieces, op. 19* as claustrophobic.

³¹⁸ Schoenberg, "Franz Liszt's Work and Being," in *Style and Idea*, 444.

sacra. Schoenberg does not explicitly link "Nacht" with any biblical passages, but as earlier parts of this chapter show, he does not shy away from alluding to the Bible in his creative work. Situated at the beginning of Part II of the song cycle and appearing right after the sick-to-death moon of "Der Kranke Mond," "Nacht" is at a point in the narrative where darkness reigns, where social order and hierarchy cannot be found, but also where something has to be formed from nothingness, were there to be life. The text of the poem reveals comparable features to a verse in Genesis 1, a scene of creation from nothingness.

Genesis 1: 1-2, 26 (King James Version)	"Nacht" (no. 8) from Pierrot lunaire
In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. / And the earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep	Black gigantic butterflies / have blotted out the shining sun. / Like a sorcerer's sealed book, / the horizon sleeps in silence
And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: so let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. 319	And from heaven toward the earth, / sinking down on heavy pinions, / all unseen descend the monsters / to the hearts of men below here / Black gigantic butterflies.

Figure 4.6: Comparison between Genesis 1:1-2, 26 and Schoenberg, "Nacht" from *Pierrot luanire*.

The first part of the quoted biblical text emphasizes darkness and nothingness.

In Hartleben's text that Schoenberg selected, the first part also features darkness, but

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³¹⁹ The German translation of the last verse goes as follows: "über das Vieh und über die ganze Erde und über alles Gewürm, das auf Erden kriecht."

with the condition that light exists – only currently beyond perception from the earth. By comparing the earth as "a sorcerer's sealed book," the Hartleben-Schoenberg text also suggests the earth's mystical potential of future developments. Developments occur in both selected texts above. In Genesis, God has a beautiful vision of not only admirable, edible and career-enabling animals (fish, fowl and cattle), but also the small, lowly, sometimes unpleasant, seemingly unintelligent creatures known as the "creeping things." The German Lutheran Bible, which Schoenberg uses, simply call them "Gewürm," literally things that move like a worm. The Hartleben-Schoenberg text, in the manner of parodia sacra, creates an alternative vision of creation. It focuses on the lowly, sometimes unpleasant creatures of pinions ("Schwingen," literally things with wings) and butterflies ("Falter," literally creatures in giant folded shapes, which can also be moths or bats), the latter of which used to be a "Gewürm." The *giant* size ("Riesen") of the butterflies adds a grotesque effect to the scene. While one can hardly find "laughter" in "Nacht," the song can plausibly be read as a parody of the Bible's creation scene. Parodia sacra in this sense is carnivalesque in its indirect blasphemy.

 $^{^{320}}$ "Biblia: Das Erste Buch Mose," accessed at $\underline{www.lutherbibel.net/biblia2/b001k001.htm}$ on Feburary 8, 2018.

10th movement, "Raub"

10. Raub.





Example 4.13: Schoenberg, Pierrot lunaire, "Raub," mm. 1-5.

The tenth movement starts with arguably darkly humorous musical gestures. The violin and cello do not use their conventional tone, but with the damper and *col legno* in soft dynamics. The flute and clarinet dance briefly, spontaneously on top of the downbeat staccatos of the strings, then all instruments turn to repetitive figures. This opening sets the tone for the song's narrative about drunken friends trying to do stupid things – entering a burial vault and stealing rubies from the coffins. This scene

therefore flirts with the underworld (a borderline Bpt. 4 and Bpt. 7) yet maintains a gay, fearless presence with the character's drunkenness. The movement's treatment of fear through the images of blood and death reconfirms the carnivalesque characteristic of the song. Specifically, fearless attitude is revealed by casually passing through and not dwelling on the ideas of blood, death, and fear.



Example 4.14: Schoenberg, *Pierrot lunaire*, "Raub," mm. 6-10.

In the first appearances of the words "blood" and "death," the words are made pronounced by the music, yet musically fleeting. In mm. 5 and 6, the words "blut" and "tot" are sung within the "recitation" section of the Sprechstimme, all the while the four instruments are playing long, relatively soft notes (Ex. 4.13 and 4.14). They are

not emphasized by duration, register, dynamics, or other factors, but fleeting as they are marked as sixteenth notes. The next appearance of "blood," in m. 12, occupies a slightly longer duration and features no other instrumental sound other than the Sprechstimme. But similar to the aforementioned cases, the musical setting does not dwell on the word "blood," but moves on to other words of the phrase in strict rhythm.

The words "Furcht" (fear) in m. 15 and "tot" (death) in m. 17 may be more susceptible to the interpretation of fear. In m. 14, a great variety of musical textures are used together: fast repeated notes in the flute, legato in the clarinet, pizzicato in the violin, and strong bows in the cello. Suddenly, at m. 15, the word "fear" comes with the pianissimo gesture in all instruments, making a shivering effect. "Furcht" is also the longest note, albeit only a quarter note in the Sprechstimme of the movement. The narrative of the poem reaches its climax as Pierrot gets close enough to try to steal the rubies. Specifically, the syllable "tot" in m. 17 is sung in the midst of an accelerando and crescendo, and does feature a strange leap that goes against the inflection of the word in the German language. This section exhibits excitement, intensity, and arguably fear. This complex sensation is also fleeting and contained in the wider structure of the song. In m. 18, the *motto ritardando* leads all instruments to return to a pianissimo dynamic. The string instruments are reduced to playing quiet pizzicatos, while the Sprechstimme reads the verse in the same rhythm and contour as in m. 5. The sensation of fear is over before one can dwell much on it.

11th movement, "Rote Messe"

11. Rote Messe.



Example 4.15: Schoenberg, Pierrot lunaire, "Rote Messe," mm. 1-2.

Usually associated with the color white, the mass reenacts Jesus Christ's last supper. A red mass by definition has a blasphemous edge, and it carves open a space for imagining an alternative mass. Whereas the focus of the *parodia sacra* in "Nacht" fell upon the seemingly unpleasant creeping things, the focus of the "Rote Messe" is on the ambivalent red things, namely blood and wine. Depending on the context, they can be holy, scandalous, or much else. This song's presentation of oxymorons (Bpt. 10), oblique profanity and treatment of fear (Bpt. 4) combine to form a carnivalesque *parodia sacra*.

Both the music and the text present oxymoronic contrasts at the outset. The music starts with dazzling gestures in the piano, specifically fast rolls and trills in the piano in the high register, with the first note of each measure being emphasized, and other notes following quietly but energetically as a continuation (Ex. 4.15). This is contrasted by the low, relatively long notes (eighth notes) that form two-chord slurs in the instrumental parts, creating a dragging force amid the dazzling piano part. The crescendo between the two slurred notes, moreover, creates the effect of a groan. While I understand why Dunsby sees this song as an arabesque, I also observe the triple meter and the rhythmic emphasis on the second beat and suggest it contains elements of the sarabande. An arabesque-mass or sarabande-mass is oxymoronic (or "new-age," one may say). Neither the arabesque nor sarabande fit a regular holy mass; instead, these forms are part of a parodia sacra, a creative reimagining of a mass. These sharp contrasts in the music are reinforced in the text. The first verse of the text, "for a hideous communion," contrasts with the second verse, "in the dazzling shine of gold." The character Pierrot lives within these oxymoronic contrasts.

Profanity appears in the text of all three stanzas. In the first measure, the communion, the bonding of Jesus Christ with commoners, often signified by the consecration of wine and bread in a mass, is declared to be "hideous." Following that, someone "approaches the altar" ("Naht dem Altar"). It is not the Holy Mother in the sixth song of the cycle, "Madonna," who comes up to the altar, nor the priest who conventionally leads the rituals at the altar. In the end of the first stanza, or m. 5, that person is revealed to be Pierrot – Pierrot the carnivalesque fool, Pierrot the drunken

guy who attempted to steal rubies from the coffins in the preceding song. The music seems to be surprised by this revelation of profanity, as the dazzling figures in the piano part gradually slow down from m. 5 onward and pause at m. 7, and the whole ensemble displays hesitation.

The second stanza doubles down on religious profanity. For instance, the outburst starting at m. 10 magnifies the musical content that comes with the first stanza of text, in most of the pitches and the dynamics. The whole section is accentuated intensively by many trills, *martellatos*, and quick homorhythm in multiple instrumental parts that reinforce energy. The violent outburst of energy seems incongruent to any conventional mass. The text claims that Pierrot's hand is "consecrated by God" and he "rips the priestly garments." The ripping is highlighted by the music, with *fff* trills in both hands, spaced apart by a compound minor 7th. The act of ripping off the priest's garments can be seen as a parody of the interaction between Jesus and the priests, days before his death in Jerusalem:

Again the high priest asked him, and said unto him, Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed? And Jesus said, I am: and ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven. Then the high priest rent his clothes, and saith, What need we any further witnesses? Ye have heard the blasphemy: what think ye? And they all condemned him to be guilty of death. (Mark 14: 61-64)

The word in the German Lutheran Bible for the Gospel of Mark for "rending," "zerreißen," is exactly the same as the text in "Rote Messe." In a carnivalesque move, Pierrot mocks the priests by rending their clothes. The connection between Pierrot and Jesus the outcast becomes explicit for the first time here, and will be reinforced in the

fourteenth song of the cycle, analyzed later in this chapter.³²¹ Pierrot's apparent profanity in stepping onto the altar and destroying the priest's garment are essential details for the *parodia sacra*.

Profanity in the third stanza (mm. 18-29) takes place in the threshold of calmness and fear. Pierrot waves "a gesture of benediction" and "shows to the frightened souls the dripping red Host." The placement of the word "benediction" in the song – in the last of three stanzas – corresponds to the placement of benediction in a mass, which is toward the end and includes the display of the Eucharistic host. It is a conventional sign of miracle when the host, usually white in color, turns red; the redness in the host is associated with the blood of Jesus the crucified. Instead of appreciating the miracle as such, the text describes the congregation as "frightened souls," with the word "frightened" ("bangen") as the only word in the whole song cycle that is repeated consecutively in the composer text setting. As the word "bangen" is repeated, the piano part outlines the seven-note motive of "Mondestrunken" expressively, reminding us that this is a fantastic scene, as with "the wine that one drinks with the eyes." Moreover, Pierrot presents the Host in a grotesque manner, as seen particularly in the words "his heart – in bloody fingers." Bakhtin writes that "the grotesque image displays not only the outward but also the inner features of the body: blood, bowels, heart and other organs. The outward and inward

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³²¹ Based on Schoenberg's writing, his disciples' description of him, and much more, Brown goes so far as to posit "Schoenberg as Christ." See Brown, *Schoenberg and Redemption*, 33-55.

features are often merged into one."³²² Is Pierrot enabling the miracle, or is he desecrating the host? It is a complex picture, and deliberately so.

To put this somewhat confusing picture in perspective, I compare "Rote Messe" with the medieval bacchic mass, which despite anachronism illustrates the relationship between religion and the spirit of the carnival. According to musicologist Sylvia Huot, the bacchic mass is

not a blasphemous effort to profane the sacred ritual or to equate it with drunkenness. Although certainly playful and highly amusing for those to whom the texts and rites of the Mass were virtually second nature, the parody aims at clerics who are so devoted to drink that they have in effect made it their God: they, and not the Mass, are mocked. 323

Understanding "Rote Messe" as a bacchic mass allows us to see the song as fully parodic. In this light, the "frightened souls" hark back to the "men" who turn away from Jesus's corpse in "Madonna." They are frightened to face signs of Jesus's sacrifice in "Rote Messe." As a whole, the apparent blasphemy is not profane, but serves as Schoenberg's commentary of humanity in the modern world. This view would be consistent with Schoenberg's later letter to Dehmel and his libretto for *Die Jakobsleiter*, in which the composer calls for humanity to turn to a religious way of life.³²⁴ These reactions to social and ideological issues of the day and the tackling of ultimate questions are unmistakably carnivalesque characteristics (Bpt. 5 and 14).

Finally, the presentation of fear in the song presents a fearless attitude toward the "filth of life" (Bpt. 4). The music and the text setting, at first glance, seem to

³²² Bakhtin, Rabelais, 318.

³²³ Huot, Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet, 12.

³²⁴ Cahn, "Schoenberg, the Viennese-Jewish Experience," 203, and Erwin Stein, ed., *Arnold Schoenberg Letters*, 35-6.

express the "frightened souls" through word painting. Compared to the dazzling and expansive sounds of the first two stanzas, the third stanza is quiet and the instrumental melodies juxtaposed with the "frightened souls" sound haunting. As noted above, the word "bangen" is the only word repeated twice in the song cycle, and thus emphatically gives the word rhetorical importance. At the same time, Schoenberg the composer distances his attitude from those souls. By taking a parodic stance, as also shown above, he asserts that those souls do not understand the situation correctly. The filth of blood and rent priest's clothes are apparently fear inducing, but should instead be seen as a testimony of Jesus's suffering and a critique of commoners in the congregation who are frightened and fail to see religious truth. (This interpretation also echoes Schoenberg's invocation of Sodom and Gomorrah in his 1911 essay.) Schoenberg's distance from the affect of fear is confirmed at the end. There, the composer Schoenberg sets himself apart from the poet Hartleben. While Hartleben puts an exclamation point after the final phrase of the poem, as in "for a hideous communion!" Schoenberg ends the piece in pianissimo dynamics and molto ritardando, with the final punctuation of the text as a period, as in "for a hideous communion." This seems like a small decision; nonetheless, it reveals the carnivalesque feature of the composer's ultimate position of fearlessness (Bpt. 4 and 12).

13th movement, "Enthauptung"



Example 4.16: Schoenberg, *Pierrot lunaire*, "Enthauptung," mm. 1-6.

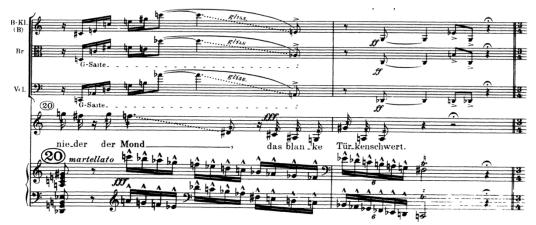
After "Rote Messe" and "Galgenlied," the latter a distinctly German gallows song that makes dark humor in dire situations, Pierrot wanders into another scenario of extreme conditions in "Enthauptung." This song, set in a loose ternary form followed by a substantial instrumental postlude, starts with heavy and fantastic dance beats in a lively tempo (Ex. 4.16). The drastic leaps in the cello Hauptstimme in mm. 1-4 are contrasted by the *legato* and *gestoßen* (moving forward) descending lines in all the

other instruments in mm. 3-4. While the cello line aptly depicts Pierrot's reckless and unstable state of mind, the descending lines paint the moonbeams, which Pierrot imagines to be a scimitar that beheads him. Far from grim or remorseful, the music leading up to the moment of beheading in m. 21 is full of energy.

The beheading, a death scene that inevitably incites fear, poses tests to carnivalesque fearlessness. First, in the B section (mm. 10-16) (Ex. 4.17), the soft, interweaving melodic lines that surround the Sprechstimme is often understood in conjunction with the word "Todesangst" in the text. As Michael Cherlin describes it, "the suffusion of moonlight gives rise to Pierrot's todesangst, his anxiety-towardsdeath." Furthermore, the final blow of the Turkenschwert (Turkish scimitar) on Pierrot, imagined by Pierrot through the shape of the moon, "whizzes down onto his sinful neck." The violent imagery was portrayed by glissandi in the instrumental lines and the *martellato* downward rush in the piano. The scene is arguably more chilling and fearsome when there is no mention of blood or redness; the murder happens inconspicuously through the moonbeam in the dark sky. Moreover, in stark contrast to "Madonna," in which the Holy Mother reflects on her victimhood caused by the ills (malheur) of society, "Enhauptung" consists of a nervous look inward, with Pierrot irrationally using objects of nature to infuse internal fear. In modern psychology, Pierrot's condition may be called persecutory delusion. This reading of the song seems to undermine Bakhtin's fourth characterization of carnivalesque literature, having "no fear of the underworld or of the filth of life."



Example 4.17: Schoenberg, *Pierrot lunaire*, "Enthauptung," mm. 10-15.



Example 4.18: Schoenberg, Pierrot lunaire, "Enthauptung, mm. 20-21.

Looking at the music from a structural point of view may yield a different reading. First, the transition into the "play of moonbeams" is a decisive and bold move on the composer's part. With only one measure (m. 10) as the transition, Schoenberg negates the heavy rhythmic pulse in section A and finds perhaps the most contrastive way in retaining the energy of the piece. The "play of moonbeams" from m. 11 onward is light, flowing, and almost devoid of rhythmic pulse in its sonic effect. Yet, nothing in the section can be improvised. The bass clarinet starts the sixteenth-note theme that is an extension of the "moonlight" theme in "Mondestrunken." Each measure features three to five entries of different instrumental parts to form a five-voice first-species counterpoint. With each entry marked "sehr ruhig und gleichmäßig" (very restful/calm and evenly played), the peaceful, calm, beautiful weaving of voices form an opposite to Pierrot "irrt ohne Rast" (wandering without rest). The mostly offbeat pizzicato or staccato eighth notes represent fragmented memories of the strong pulse of section A or brief moments of "Totensangst" in Pierrot, and serve as markers

for the ease of the performers' alignment with one another. As a whole, these wellorganized and calm "play of moonbeams" are cold and disinterested.³²⁵

Concerning the moment of Pierrot's beheading, it is helpful to distinguish a fearsome event from a fearless attitude. Doubtless, it is a violent scene that incites fear. But one minor and one major factor showcase the composer's fearless attitude. The minor factor is that the Sprechstimme does not end with an exclamation as in "Madonna" or "Galgenlied," but a calm period as in "Rote Messe" (Ex. 4.18). With this, the arguably nonchalant tone of the verbal declaration of death therefore sets itself apart from the excitement in the music. The even more important evidence of fearlessness comes with the instrumental swan song that follows the fermata quarternote rest in m. 21, interpreted as follows.

As with the *parodia sacra* based on Cain's murder of Abel, the death of a person does not serve an end in itself, but turns into the regeneration and celebration of life; a similar effect can be seen in "Enthauptung." Instead of ending the movement with Pierrot's murder by the moonbeams, the music resumes in m. 22 by quoting "Die Kranke Mond," the regenerative movement after the violent ending of "Madonna." Although materials from "Die Kranke Mond" are recycled extensively, Schoenberg distributes these materials to different instrumental parts and introduces fragments from "Rote Messe" (the tremolos in m. 27), "Eine Blasse Wäscherin" (the

³²⁵ I can also see how a more "moderate" argument can make sense locally (but not as a carnivalesque whole). Treating this section as purely an accumulation of anxiety seems to ignore the peaceful affect that these few measures purport to display. Treating this section as purely a peaceful play of moonbeam seems to omit Pierrot's anxiety. Schoenberg here contains both affects in the same passage. It may not be true that there is no fear, but the textual content of fear is rendered calm (only allowing minor moments of expression but not much) through the musical presentation.

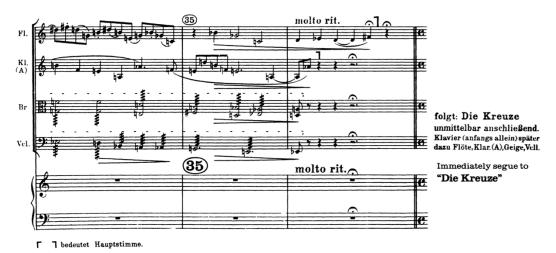
homorhythmic texture in the lower three parts in mm. 29-31), and other movements. 326 As Schoenberg asks the performers not to end "Die Kranke Mond" in a tragic manner, there is no reason to portray the end of "Enthauptung" in a somber manner. Rather, the interlude represents an organic and intense regeneration of musical ideas after Pierrot's death (Ex. 4.19).



Example 4.19: Schoenberg, Pierrot lunaire, "Enthauptung," mm. 23-36.

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³²⁶ Brinkmann, "On Pierrot's Trail," *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute*, 2 (1977): 42-8.



Example 4.19: Schoenberg, *Pierrot lunaire*, "Enthauptung," mm. 23-36 (continued).

14th movement, "Die Kreuze"



Example 4.20: Schoenberg, Pierrot lunaire, "Die Kreuze," mm. 1-4.

In all the critical commentaries of "Die Kreuze" I have perused, the elephant in the room goes unaddressed. Lessem, pitch-obsessed in his analysis, gives up on this task and exclaims the movement to have "freely associative connections springing from improvisatory impulses which are given full play so as to encompass an ample range of intense feeling." Bruhn speaks of the "paralyzing horror" and the "exceedingly robust underpinning of the poet's bloody crucifixion on his verses." 328 MacDonald calls Schoenberg's setting a display of "extreme emotionality," and Dunsby believes that the movement does "not match or even transcend that intensity [of 'Enthauptung'] but take[s] the threat of reality away – to trump tragedy with fantasy."³²⁹ None of these commentaries are false, but they all fail to take the leap of faith (pun intended) in understanding "Die Kreuze" as a parodia sacra, in which the most fearsome moment of Christian history, the crucifixion of the son of God, is parodied, blasphemed by the drunken poet, outcast, and fool by the name of Pierrot. Taking the piety-profanity oxymoron to new heights, this movement is quintessentially carnivalesque.

The first four measures already reveal much about the parodic nature of the song. It is tempting to brush off this reading: apparently, Schoenberg's Sprechstimme is "serious," and the piano part's decidedly dissonant harmonies in a Rachmaninoff-like texture covers a wide pitch range, forming a grandiose gesture and an imposing sonic presence (Ex. 4.20). The continual loud dynamics and *immer martellato*

³²⁷ Lessem, "Music and Text" (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Press), 152.

³²⁸ Bruhn, Arnold Schoenberg's Journey from the Tone Poems to Kaleidoscopic Sound Colors, 269-70.

MacDonald, Schoenberg, 211. Dunsby, Schoenberg: Pierrot Lunaire, 59.

articulation perpetuate violent, bloody imagery of crucifixion. This is a valid interpretation, albeit not reflective of the composer's attitude. Four elements in the music score defy the above reading. First, Schoenberg marks "(ernst)" in the Sprechstimme in m.1. Why the parentheses? It seems to call for a veiled seriousness. Second, the Sprechstimme announces direct profanity:

Heilge Kreuze sind die Verse, / Dran die Dichter stumm verbluten, / Blindgeschlagen von der Geier / Flatterndem Gespensterschwarme!

Verses are holy crosses / On which poets silently bleed to death / Stricken blind by the vultures / Fluttering, ghostly-swarmed!

It is plainly mocking to compare the drunken poet dying on the holy crosses made of his verses with Jesus Christ crucified on the Holy cross. (How can verses make up holy crosses anyway?)³³⁰ Specifically, the blasphemy is enabled through the free allegorical play of three words, the "cross" shared between the artist and Jesus in their sufferings, the "verses" that refer to both the artist's and Jesus's words, and "death," a human condition again shared by both characters. Third, the verbal blasphemy is reinforced by allusions to "Nacht," the *parodia sacra* that has started Part II of the cycle. The nine notes on the lowest staff of the piano part in m. 1 are fully derived from the "butterfly motive." The "vultures" in the text hark back to the "Riesenfalter" ("giant butterflies," or literally giant creatures in folding shape) in "Nacht" and the "fowls in the air" of the biblical reference. Fourth, Schoenberg's nonchalant attitude speaks for itself again through punctuation. Hartleben uses an exclamation point after

³³⁰ Think about the Word becoming flesh in John 1:14.

the word "Gespensterschwarme," as if his words, full of symbolism, enable direct access to fear and other emotions. Schoenberg overrides Hartleben and uses a period in the text setting. It forms an oxymoronic contrast with the energetic piano part, subtly radiating his nonchalant, distanced attitude toward the crucifixion scene.

The second half of the song continues this carnivalesque attitude. It starts with the direction of "tonlos niederdrücken" on the right hand piano part, forming the sharpest contrast in dynamics with the *fortissimos* in the first half. The Sprechstimme, singing in the midst of violin, cello, and piano overtones, utters the grotesque words, "Dead the head – stiff the tresses." This is followed by, "far, drifted away, the noise of the mob," recalling the "gaze of men" that has avoided the Holy Mother and her son's corpse in the *parodia sacra* "Madonna." This description also casts the poet as an outcast, another reference to contemporary German thought with regards to the artist-Christ comparison, in addition to Schoenberg's personal identification with Christ. The text then depicts a carnivalesque uncrowning scene, as "slowly the sun sets, a red royal crown." Finally, Dunsby locates in the next paragraph a "sanctimony to the point of being laughable."

When for the third time we have it shrieked at us that 'Holy crosses are the verses' while the little chamber group makes a pathetic attempt as a Wagnerian climax, then Schoenberg has succeeded.³³¹

The ambivalence of the text hence manifests musically.

³³¹ Dunsby, Schoenberg: Pierrot Lunaire, 59.

The abundance of religious inflections throughout Parts I and II of *Pierrot lunaire* prompts a return to and re-evaluation of the beginning of the song cycle. I now turn to an analysis of the indirect religious reference in the first movement.

1st movement, "Mondestrunken"

1. Teil. 1. Mondestrunken.



Example 4.21: Schoenberg, *Pierrot lunaire*, "Mondestrunken," mm. 1-4. "The wine that one drinks with eyes."

The positioning of "Mondestrunken" as the first of 21 songs can be explained in many ways. The presentation of various musical and textual themes in the song cycle, one can cite structural and narrative reasons for the song's positioning. One can also argue that Schoenberg has a clear musical-historical agenda in mind in this decision. The Hartleben translation of *Pierrot lunaire* begins with the rondel *Eine Bühne* (A Stage), which highlights the artistic heritages of Breughel, Shakespeare and

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³³² Schoenberg did not compose this movement first; he arranged "Mondestrunken" to be the first movement in the process of composition. See Brinkmann, "The Fool as Paradigm," 144-5.

Watteau in constructing the "stage" on which Pierrot performs.³³³ By excluding this poem from the song cycle, Schoenberg demolishes the stage, clears the literary distraction, and puts his music in the center of attention. However, I would argue the most significant reason for the placement of "Mondestrunken" at the beginning of *Pierrot lunaire* is the fantastic image of "the wine," a metonym for fertile yet veiled biblical overtones of the movement.

First, wine expresses the ambivalence between pleasure and intoxication. While "the wine" in the opening phrase may be understood in purely aesthetic and secular terms, the third stanza describes it as a "sacred beverage," therefore a clear-cut religious inflection. Drunkenness is a form of pleasure, and Schoenberg certainly took pleasure in his selection of the image as the new beginning of *Pierrot lunaire*, as evidenced by his later letter to Alban Berg.³³⁴ Schoenberg's delight for the image of wine drinking contains an implicit religious inflection. As a holy drink, wine also serves as the central object of Jesus's first miracle, turning water into wine to the delight of the crowd in the wedding of Cana – a new beginning for the couple and no less the beginning of Jesus's death-bound journey in the Gospels (John 2: 1-11).³³⁵ But wine naturally causes intoxication, as the poet in "Mondestrunken" is "*intoxicated with* the sacred beverage." Normally a negative condition, intoxication indicates a lack of control and temperament. But drunkenness is an essential part of the carnival. In the

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³³³ Gregory C. Richter, trans, *Albert Giraud's* Pierrot lunaire (Kirksville, MI: Truman State University Press, 2011). Vrieslander is more faithful to the Hartleben text.

³³⁴ Darla M. Crispin, "'Wine for the Eyes': Re-reading Alban Berg's Setting of 'Der Wein'," *Austrian Studies* 13 (2005): 109-25.

This is also Jesus's first miracle in the gospels.

carnivalesque space, it is intoxication that enables not only the fantastic imageries, but more importantly, direct access to extreme emotions such as "lusts, thrilling and sweet, float[ing] numberless through the waters." The wavering time signatures (between 2/4 and 3/4) throughout the movement further punctuates drunkenness.

Second, as an ardent pursuer of the truth, Schoenberg would not be oblivious to wine as a sacred and secular symbol for the truth. In the religious context, "grace and truth came through Jesus Christ" (John 1: 17), and wine is most often used in the mass, which re-enacts Jesus's Last Supper. In the Last Supper, Jesus declares the wine to be his blood, which is "shed for many for the remission of sins" (Matthew 11:28). From this perspective, drinking wine with one's eye forms a fantastic way of confronting Jesus's sacrifice, setting the scene for the parody in "Rote Messe," "Die Kreuze," and other movements. In the carnival esque usage of wine, it "liberates from fear and the sanctimonious fear of God," writes Bakhtin. Therefore, "in vinos veritas" [in wine, truth]. 337 Bakhtin's claims for carnivalesque art fit perfectly with Schoenberg's "Mondestrunken."

The 15th to 21st Movements (Part III of Pierrot lunaire)

The last seven songs of *Pierrot lunaire* noticeably abandon the three major carnivalesque themes. Youens sees the text as a "reconciliation with the past," as the transgressive adventures of Part II give way to Pierrot's willing return to his

Bakhtin, Rabelais, 286

³³⁶ The sacred beverage's capability to elicit lust hints at biblical intoxication scenes of Lot (Genesis 19:30-36), the just man whose morality Schoenberg identifies with in his "About Music Criticism" (1911). See Cahn, "Schoenberg, the Viennese-Jewish Experience," 198-9.

"home." The question in the context of this chapter would be: Is it a reconciliation with "established truths" and "clichés," thus signifying the end of the carnival? On the one hand, the music of these songs continues to feature pantonality, which still significantly deviates from the established convention of the tonal system. The songs also feature different genres, including a palindrome, a comic opera scene, a barcarolle, and many more, thus presenting carnivalesque features (Bpt. 10). However, it is difficult to ignore the gradual disappearance of carnivalesque features, which signifies a retreat from the carnival sque space. In particular, inspecting the text and music of the last two songs leads to the conclusion that only a shell of the carnivalesque remains. It signals the end of a song cycle rooted in the carnival tradition, or, to use Feldman's phrase I quoted in the beginning of my work – the end of the time "outside of ordinary time." 339

Compared to the first two parts of the song cycle, the texts of "Heimfahrt (barcarolle)" and "O Alter Duft" are uncharacteristically peaceful and unironic. Full of symbolism, the former describes nature's kind assistance in Pierrot's home-bound journey:

Die Mondstrahl ist das Ruder, / Seerose dient als Boot; / Darauf fährt Pierrot gen Süden / Mit gutem Reisewind.

(The moonbeam is the oar / the water lily serves as the boat: on it Pierrot travels south / wafted by a favorable wind.)

³³⁸ Youens, "Excavating an Allegory: The Texts of *Pierrot lunaire*," 95, 114. ³³⁹ Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty*, 153.

The aggression of the moonbeam (as in "Enthauptung") is nowhere to be found; Pierrot does not make any religious or social commentaries, and merely joins the flow of nature. The final poem engages with symbolism through exploring senses of smell, sight, and touch. But unlike other movements, Pierrot displays moderation: "A foolish host of merry pranks," as the text goes, "flits through the gentle breeze." Pierrot even says, "I give up all my ill humor," as though he repents the carnivalesque *parodia sacras*. He also looks through the "sunshine-framed window," further departing from the carnival often symbolized by the night. Aesthetic pleasure is also enhanced by hints of orientalism. In "Heimfahrt," Pierrot returns to "the east the green horizon"; and in the last song, his "dream travel into blissful distances…/ O ancient fragrance — from the age of fairy tales!" The text is nowhere carnivalesque; it soothes the reader at the end of the thrilling song cycle.

The music of these two songs is also uncharacteristically peaceful. The majority of the songs are in the *piano* dynamic range. Unlike the quiet "Eine Blasse Wäscherin" (the fourth song of *Pierrot lunaire*), which prepares for the eccentricity of "Valse de Chopin," the last two songs are chosen and set to avoid contrasts, let alone oxymorons. Most interestingly, Schoenberg deploys major and minor chords generously. In "Heimfahrt," Schoenberg uses major thirds and minor thirds in relatively unreserved manner, often in consecutive appearance. Although pantonality is the overall effect of the song, major or minor tonalities are hinted at in many moments (Ex. 4.22 and 4.23). And as Dunsby points out, the final chord with B in the bass serves as a dominant chord that resolves to E major, the tonality of the next

movement (Ex. 4.24). 340 While many point to the viola and cello duet in mm. 26-27 as the clearest iteration of tonality, the right-hand piano part already displays that in m. 1 (albeit with disturbance in the left hand), and the beginning of m. 3 is a clean E major chord (Ex. 4.25 and 4.26). These strong hints of musical order in the form of tonality, however, never materialize as an actualy return to tonality. Rather, they offer a look back on tonality – sensuously metaphorized as an "*Alte Duft*" ("old fragrance") – a look that is made of fragmented sounds of tonality and definitely beyond it, a look that sounds irreversibly modernist. The end of this carnivalesque work of art, also the end of time "outside of ordinary time," is marked none other than a heightened awareness of time in the form of musical modernism.

20. Heimfahrt. (Barcarole) Leicht bewegt (J. = 42 - 46) Flöte.



Example 4.22: Schoenberg, *Pierrot lunaire*, "Heimfahrt," mm. 1-3.

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³⁴⁰ Dunsby, *Schoenberg: Pierrot Lunaire*, 71.



Example 4.23: Schoenberg, Pierrot lunaire, "Heimfahrt," mm. 18-19.



Example 4.24: Schoenberg, Pierrot lunaire, mm. 28-30.

21. O alter Duft.



Example 4.25: Schoenberg, Pierrot lunaire, "O Alter Duft," mm. 1-5.



Example 4.26: Schoenberg, Pierrot lunaire, "O Alter Duft," mm. 24-30.

Conclusion

This chapter broadens the meaning of Pierrot in Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*. He has been chiefly taken to signify musical progress and the lonely artist. The theme

of religion in the song cycle is at best seen as "surprising," and at worst have been fully neglected in favor of the observation of Schoenberg's musical progress. Taking cue from multiple scholars who noted the commedia dell'arte lineage of *Pierrot lunaire*, my work deepens their observation by treating commedia and carnival not only as a general theme but as a structural component. By integrating the analytical insights of Puffett, Kurth, Dunsby, Youens, Lessem, and many others with my own analyses, I establish *Pierrot lunaire* as a carnivalesque composition in its musical content and form. Pierrot engages in social commentaries as a carnivalesque element of the song cycle.

This finding provides an additional, important alternative to understanding Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire* in German modernist art, beyond the notions of expressionism and alienation. With the analysis of technical details, I can connect Schoenberg with many other German artists who were similarly fascinated with the carnivalesque, including Frank Wedekind and Oskar Panizza. The "carnivalesque modernism" of these two dramatists, like Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*, intensely engages with the themes of blood, death, and religion. Turthermore, the song cycle's connections to the Berlin cabaret scene, which was initially inspired by French cabaret culture, commented on social issues of the day and allowed the suspension of gender, religious, and other social codes. The performance of *Pierrot lunaire* constitutued a time "outside of ordinary time." 342

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³⁴¹ Jelavich, *Munich and Theatrical Modernism: Politics, Playwrighting, and Performance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 53-99.

³⁴² Feldman, Opera and Sovereignty, 153.

Even when themes of blood, death, and religion were used in the music discussed in Chapter 3, Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire* stands out in stark contrast. Schnitzler and Dohnányi's *Der Schleier der Pierrette* contains the theme of the macabre and focuses on the tragicomic deaths of the protagonists due to their moral weaknesses. In Schoenberg, moral weakness is shown in multiple movements not to be with the Pierrot character, but with modern society. Also, the scenes of death are used not as an end to itself, but regenerative of a new narrative in subsequent movements.

The Hausmusik discussed in Chapter 3 forms contrasts with Schoenberg's *Pierrot luanire* not only in tonality but also in its attitude toward potentially fearsome objects. The Hausmusik of Joseph Marx, for instance, depicts blood metaphorically by portraying a macabre atmosphere and satisfactorily resolves any harmonic tensions within tonality by the end of the song. It contrasts with scenes of Pierrot's imaginary death and the blood of the Madonna in *Pierrot lunaire*, in which extreme conditions of life in its grotesque and blasphemous manifestations are portrayed through music. Blasphemy, in turn, is meant to provoke thinking and convey social commentaries. Therefore, in opposition to Hausmusik, *Pierrot lunaire* as a social document more fully explores human nature and social behavior.

The oft-quoted review of Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire* quote in the beginning of this chapter, complaining about the piece's "hysterical, distorted artificiality" and lack of "artistic feeling," can been seen in a new light after Part II of this dissertation.

The critic's questioning of Schoenberg may be based on the expectations of middle-class Hausmusik, or even the Hausmusik Pierrot.³⁴³ With the carnival being a tradition that the middle class in Europe increasingly rejected in the century leading up to the premiere of *Pierrot lunaire*, Schoenberg's song cycle was an outstanding musical refuge for a truly "carnivalesque diaspora."

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³⁴³ Otto Taubmann, "Arnold Schoenberg's 'Pierrot lunaire,'" *Berliner Börsen-Courier*, Oct 10, 1912, in Reinhold Brinkmann, ed., *Arnold Schönberg Sämtliche Werke: Abteilung VI – Kammermusik Reihe B, Band 24, 1* (Mainz: Schott Musik International, 1995), 248. Pedneault-Deslauriers, "Pierrot L.," 601.

PART III Pierrot, Blackness, and Colonial Complicity

CHAPTER 5

José Cândido da Gama Malcher's *Bug Jargal:* White Treatment of Black Humanity in Brazil

Introduction

Not all Pierrots are created equal. When people in power use Pierrot to depict a group that has limited political voice, the result can be problematic. Such is the case in José Cândido da Gama Malcher's opera *Bug Jargal* (1890), which centers on the heroic action of a black slave. The opera is not just a reflection of the white-dominated social structure in which, as historian Richard Graham argues, Afro-Brazilians were denied political rights even after the abolition of slavery in 1888. It also contains the perceived threat of the black slaves and denies their full humanity.

Having studied composition in Milan, Gama Malcher collaborated with Italian librettist Vincenzo Valle in adapting Victor Hugo's literary work *Bug-Jargal* (1826) into opera. The Haitian Revolution of 1791 provides the context of the novel, a historical fiction about the revolt that ended French rule and abolished slavery. It was the first successful revolution in the European colonies. In the novel, the protagonist and slave Bug-Jargal is constantly called "Pierrot" by his master. Though Gama Malcher removed the name Pierrot from the protagonist and simply calls him Bug

³⁴⁴ I thank the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas, Austin for their help in accessing one of the editions of the libretto of Gama Malcher's *Bug Jargal*. I also thank Alessandra Brivio for her translation of the libretto. Vicenzo Valle and J. C. Gama Malcher, *Bug-Jargal*: *Melodrama in Quattro*

Atti (Milano: Tipografia di Alessandro Gattinoni, 1890).

Hugo's Bug-Jargal is hyphenated, while Gama Malcher's Bug Jargal is not.

Jargal, the historical context of Haiti and many of the Pierrot character traits are preserved.

Márcio Páscoa is the leading scholar of the opera *Bug Jargal*. He focuses on the opera's literary and aesthetic references, studies the genesis of the opera from the composer's perspective, analyzes the music score in detail, and connects the opera with the Rubber Era economic boom and operatic life in Belém, the city in which the opera premiered. In this chapter, I reconsider Páscoa's assessments of Gama Malcher's treatment of Hugo's novel, specifically by taking two important yet neglected perspectives into account. They include recent scholarship on race issues in Hugo's novel and on racial dynamics in Brazilian society. This informs my analysis of the opera's portrayal of black revolts, black physical strength, racial separation, and death. The black Pierrot, as my analysis will show, occupies the margins of the margins, stripped of the potential to be truly sympathized with by the mostly white audience in the nineteenth-century Brazilian opera house. This side of Pierrot must be acknowledged in order to achieve a more nuanced view of the character.

Scholarship on Blackness and Black Pierrots

Naomi André's intervention on black and minority operatic tropes serves as one of the important reference points as I borrow research from Black Studies to

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³⁴⁶ See Márcio Páscoa, "A filiação estética dos autores líricos da Amazônia no Período da Borracha, a partir de suas óperas," in *Atualidade da Opera*: Série Simpósio Internacional de Musicologia da UFRJ, edited by Maria Alice Volpe (Rio De Janeiro: Universidad Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Escola de Música, Programa de Pós-graduação am Música, 2012), and Páscoa, *Ópera em Belém*. For a biography of Gama Malcher, see Vicente Salles, *Maestro José Cândido da Gama Malcher: Obra Remanescente* (Belém: Edicões Museu da UFPA, 2003).

inform my analysis. To bolster her general claim about "blackness in opera," she begins by pointing to the end of Verdi's Otello (1887), specifically the musical representation of Otello as an unsympathetic savage. 347 She then proceeds to trace "the evolution of the black operatic protagonist" to Porgy in George Gershwin's *Porgy and* Bess (1935) and Jonny in Ernst Krenek's Jonny spielt auf (1926). 348 She finds that when black characters face challenges and fail, they are "judged by a different moral compass" compared to alienated white characters in opera, such as Alban Berg's Wozzeck and Benjamin Britten's Peter Grimes. 349 The different moral standards "support a reading that sustains [the black characters'] 'inherently inferior' nature." 350 At worst, "they make us forget that opera aims to emulate truer-to-life emotions, feelings, and experiences." With this in mind, I investigate Gama Malcher's construction of Bug Jargal's humanity and whether the composer employs or subscribes to, wilfully or otherwise, certain tropes that suggest the dehumanization of black characters. I further hypothesize that the performance of Pierrot in relation to blackness tests the limits of social and political critique that the white-faced Pierrot character purports to deliver.

The white-faced Pierrot had been interacting with black characters throughout theatrical, literary and musical history, but portraying Pierrot as a black character or

³⁴⁷ Naomi André, "From Otello to Porgy: Blackness, Masculinity, and Morality in Opera," in *Blackness in Opera*, edited by Naomi André, Karen M. Bryan, and Eric Saylor (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 15-17. *Otello* was performed in Milan, where Gama Malcher resided during his stay in Italy that spanned years. It was performed after Gama Malcher finished writing *Bug Jargal* in 1885, but before *Bug Jargal* was premiered in 1890.

³⁴⁸ André, *Blackness in Opera*, 18-26.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 18-26.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 18-26.

³⁵¹ André, *Blackness in Opera*, 26.

featuring a black person performing Pierrot on stage is qualitatively different and more radical. As far as I can trace, emergence of black Pierrot started with Victor Hugo's novel *Bug-Jargal* and Gama Malcher's operatic adaption of the novel. Other black Pierrots in the same vein can be found later in the genres of poetry, painting, blackface minstrelsy, operetta, pantomime, and art song in Germany, Spain, and the United States. My current work on Gama Malcher's Brazilian Pierrot serves as a beginning to a wider study on black Pierrots. States

As a non-black person studying blackness, I bear one precaution in mind,

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³⁵² In the previous chapters, we have seen in *L'enfant prodigue* and in *Petrushka* Pierrots interacting with characters of African descent. In L'enfant prodigue, Pierrot's presence with the African soldiers constitutes an ambivalent political critique of French colonialism. In Petrushka, the Blackmoor stands in contrast to Petrushka, thus accentuating Petrushka's Russian identity. In nineteenth-century French pantomimes in general, it was common to see Pierrot interacting with black characters, such as in Louis Péricaud's Pierrot en Afrique (1842), Le docteur blanc, ou Pierrot dans les colonies (October 1846) by an anonymous author, a pantomimic parody of an earlier blackface pantomime Le docteur noir (July 1846) by Auguste Anciet-Bourgeois and Philippe Dumanoir. In the United States, Scholars Judith Sensibar and John N. Duvall have both analyzed William Faulkner's novel Marionettes (1920) and pointed to Faulkner's construction of the characters "Pierrot" and "Shades of Pierrot" in response to blackface minstrelsy and life in the Southern States of the U.S. See Barbara T. Cooper, "Le Docteur noir: a French Romantic Drama in Blackface," French Forum 28, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 77-90. Robert Storey, Pierrots on the Stage of Desire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 16-7. 353 See footnote 9 above regarding black Pierrots in Germany and Spain. Across the Atlantic, Bert Williams, black singer and performer of blackface minstrelsy, was performing professionally from 1893-1922. Although he did not perform the Pierrot character directly, Yuval Taylor and Jake Austen compared Williams with the Pierrot character in the aspects of pantomime performance and the mime's capacity to evoke laughter and pathos simultaneously. The transgression in racial politics that Williams enacts with blackface also resembles the transgressive capacity in the Pierrot character. Langston Hughes, African American poet, activist, and a leader of the Harlem Renaissance, wrote the poem "Black Pierrot" in the larger collection titled Weary Blues (1926). He shows his understanding of the nuances of the French Pierrot, particularly the "Pierrot fumiste" of the impressionist poet Jules Laforgue (1860-1887). Hughes's poem itself is about a hard-working black American and his relationship with a woman who left him. William Grant Still, "the Dean" of African-American composers, composed "Black Pierrot" for voice and piano within a larger work by the title Songs of Separation (1949). See Taylor and Austen, Darkest America: Black Minstrelsy from Slavery to Hip-hop (New York: W. W. Norton, 2012), 118-33. Anita Patterson, Race, American Literature and Transnational Modernisms (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 99-104.

For blackness as a global condition, see Bryan Wagner, *Disturbing the Peace: Black Culture and the Police Power after Slavery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 1. Fred Moten, "The Case of Blackness," *Criticism* 50, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 177-218.

offered by ethnographer and political scientist Yaba Blay:

What's interesting is that for so long, the need to define blackness has originated from people who were not themselves black, and their need to define it stemmed from their need to control it [... Blackness] isn't so easily defined by words. What is blackness for one person may not necessarily be that for another.³⁵⁵

Blay warns against limiting the discussion and meaning of blackness. African Americans have a very different sense of blackness than Africans or Brazilians. Therefore, the context of Brazilian slavery and racial relations is central to the analysis of *Bug Jargal*. These contextual details will be presented later in this chapter, after the discussion of the history of the Haitian Revolution conditioned by Hugo's novel. All these efforts allow us to avoid Stuart Hall's worry about the potential pitfalls of the essentialization of blackness in scholarship:

The essentializing moment is weak because it naturalizes and dehistoricizes difference, mistaking what is historical and cultural for what is natural, biological, and genetic. The moment the signifier "Black" is torn from its historical, cultural, and political embedding and lodged in a biologically constituted racial category, we valorize, by inversion, the very ground of the racism we are trying to deconstruct. 356

In their research of the Atlantic slave trade based in Britain, Hall and Paul Gilroy further remind us that the binary between Black *or* British is a false one. ³⁵⁷ By extension, the binary of Black *or* any other non-racial communities is also false. As we investigate black Pierrots, bear in mind that Pierrots can be black *and* German, or

³⁵⁶ Stuart Hall, "What is this 'Black' in Black Popular Culture," in *The Black Studies Reader*, edited by Jacqueline Bobo, Cynthia Hudley, and Claudine Michel (New York: Routledge, 2004), 261.
³⁵⁷ Ibid., 261.

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³⁵⁵ Yaba Blay, quoted in Moni Basu, "Black in America: It's not just about the color of your skin," at http://inamerica.blogs.cnn.com/2012/12/09/black-in-america-its-not-just-about-the-color-of-your-skin/ on April 25, 2018.

black *and* Brazilian. Constantly grounding analysis in the above scholarly and critical perspectives allows us to trace the potential dehistoricization of blackness in the works of art involving Pierrot and blackness. In turn, through analysis, we rehistoricize and rehumanize black characters in the works of art.

Hugo's Novel Bug-Jargal and the Haitian Revolution

Before proceeding with music analysis, we must clarify how Hugo's *Bug-Jargal* could be seen as a Pierrot in the Pierrot tradition beyond a coincidental namesake. I do so through the compositional genesis of Hugo's novel, the artistic background of Hugo in Paris, and characteristics of the Bug-Jargal persona in Hugo's novel.

Chris Bongie, the only modern English translator of *Bug-Jargal*, writes,

Hugo plucked this name out of Félix Carteaux's *Soirée bermudiennes* (1802). Recounting an episode from 1793 in which [Carteaux] witnessed a group of nine whites being herded along, "bound hand and foot, to the prisons of the Cape," Carteaux notes that he "will never forget the negro Pierrot, chief of the Morne Rouge brigands, seeing them pass by strapped down on horses like this, forced those in charge to untie them" (6). Hugo would also have encountered the name Pierrot in [Pamphile de] Lacroix's *Mémoires*, which describe at some length the French siege of Crête-à-Pierrot in March 1802.³⁵⁸

Bongie's first argument is convincing: Bug-Jargal in the novel shares some similarity with Pierrot in Carteaux's book, coming from Morne Rouge, serving as a leader, and

Ainé, 1819).

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³⁵⁸ Chris Bongie, "Appendix," in Victor Hugo, *Bug-Jargal* (Toronto: Broadview, 2004), 202. The quoted texts are Carteaux, *Soirée bermudiennes, ou Entretiens sur les événements qui ont opéré la ruine de la partie française de l'sile* (*Saint-Domingue*, Bordeaux: Pellier-Lawalle, 1802), and F. J. Pamphile de Lacroix, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Révolution de Saint-Domingue*. 2 vols (Paris; Pillet

having sympathy for whites.³⁵⁹ The second argument is more supplemental – a namesake coincidence between the name of a place and the name of the novel's protagonist. Lacroix's source could also have informed Hugo on the character of the Haitian revolution leaders, including the educated black leader Toussaint Louverture.³⁶⁰

In addition to the connections that Bongie draws, Hugo also would have encountered Pierrot in the city he grew up in, Paris. In 1819, the year in which Hugo autographed his drafts of *Bug-Jargal*, the mime Jean-Gaspard Deburau started performing Pierrot in the *Théâtre des Funambules* in Paris. ³⁶¹ As Deburau continued to reinvent Pierrot as an intellectually complicated and sometimes sentimental figure, Hugo published an early, shorter version of *Bug-Jargal* in the magazine *Le Conservateur littéraire* in 1820. He could not have been oblivious to commedia dell'arte and the character of Pierrot. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is an interesting time for the Pierrot character. The gradual collapse of aristocratic power led comedians, including those who played Pierrot, to lose their jobs in the homes of the rich. ³⁶² Pierrot's role and meaning in society needs to be rethought, leading to a lacuna of dramatic, literary, and musical repertoire on this

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³⁶² See Dick, *Pierrot*, 150-1.

³⁵⁹ Bongie discusses the name Bug-Jargal on Hugo, *Bug-Jargal*, 10-15. So does Heather Turo, "'Bug-Jargal' and Victor Hugo's Linguistic Commentary on Haitian Creole," *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 43, no. 2 (Fall 2010): 170-4.

³⁶⁰ I am not able to access de Lacroix's *La révolution d'Haïti* to determine its extent of influence on Victor Hugo.

³⁶¹ Storey, *Pierrot: A Critical History of a Mask* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 95.

character.³⁶³ Hugo was born in 1802, and matured as a writer amid this reconfiguration of the Pierrot character.

Hugo's Pierrot/Bug-Jargal is a well-respected black rebel leader. On the surface, it seems that this social position does not match the Pierrot characters discussed in this dissertation. Upon closer scrutiny, however, this character shows at least five notable similarities with a traditional Pierrot in commedia dell'arte. Additional Pierrot in commedia dell'arte. Laying out these similarities will help us better understand the opera *Bug Jargal*, in which these similarities are largely preserved, magnified, and even intensified.

The first three aspects concern Pierrot/Bug-Jargal's relationship with other characters in the text. First, like Pierrot's traditional relationship with Colombine, Pierrot/Bug-Jargal is tortured by unrequited love in the novel. The traditional Pierrot-Colombine-Harlequin triangle relationship is mirrored in the novel as between Pierrot/Bug-Jargal, Maria, and her fiancé, French officer Leopold d'Auverney. Second, both the traditional Pierrot and Pierrot/Bug-Jargal are constantly being underestimated and belittled. Nicknaming someone as strong and masculine as Pierrot/Bug-Jargal with the name Pierrot, the diminutive form of Pierre (Peter) is belittling, and "suggestive of a name given to a slave by his master." This is also a way of linguistically minimizing a physically tangible threat. Third, both the

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³⁶³ Dick, Pierrot, 166.

³⁶⁴ Since the focus of this chapter is not on Hugo, and since the plot of Hugo's *Bug-Jargal* has been mentioned in other publications focusing on the novel, I do not provide any synopsis of the novel. Instead, I will write a synopsis on Gama Malcher's opera *Bug Jargal* later in this section, and point to major similarities and differences between the novel and the opera.

³⁶⁵ Pratima Prasad, *Colonialism, Race, and the French Romantic Imagination* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 131.

traditional Pierrot and Pierrot/Bug-Jargal have the characteristic of inconsequentiality.

Prasad writes,

He [Bug-Jargal] reveals himself to be a rebel without true rebellious intent, and with too much generous compassion for members of the colonising class to be vigorously engaged in acts of sedition. A reluctant – and one even may say passive – revolutionary, he is constrained by many of the ills that seem to afflict the "impotent" *Mal du circle* hero: an inability to act, lack of true conviction of purpose, and a sense of being ruled by the vagaries of his fate rather than his own volition. ³⁶⁶

Prasad's argument is limited to Pierrot/Bug-Jargals' *political* purpose and does not cover his volition and sense of purpose for fraternity with Leopold d'Auverney across racial lines.³⁶⁷ Pierrot/Bug-Jargal certainly prevails as the moral victor of the novel. However, Prasad convinces in her assertion that Pierrot/Bug-Jargal's failure to follow through with his political rebellion resembles the inconsequentiality of the traditional Pierrot.

The other two aspects stem from literary and social analyses. Fourth, both Pierrot/Bug-Jargal and the traditional Pierrot occupy the space of social marginality. While the slaves all revere Pierrot/Bug-Jargal, they never work or coordinate with him; he always acts alone. In the eyes of the colonizers, Pierrot/Bug-Jargal is a racial and social Other. Although he gains respect from Leopold in the story as it unfolds, the

³⁶⁶ Prasad, Colonialism, Race, and the French Romantic Imagination, 138.

³⁶⁷ Jared Hickman disagrees with Prasad, citing Bug-Jargal's "reluctance" in making political gains against the French colonizers as "thoughtfulness" and a reflection of the "methodical manner in which Bug-Jargal comes to lead the revolution." I find in Pierrot/Bug-Jargal a character who uses physical prowess arguably with control and intelligence. See Jared Hickman, *Black Prometheus: Race and Radicalism in the Age of Atlantic Slavery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 308. Turo believes that "Pierrot is a powerful leader because he can communicate effortlessly with all characters in the story, from the narrator to this dog Rask, from the plantation owners to fellow slave warriors." See Turo, 169. Turo's argument seems to be at odds with Prasad's on the surface. But I see Turo's argument as describing how Pierrot/Bug-Jargal maintains his position as a slave leader, while Prasad focuses on the failure of the slave leader to actually lead a revolt.

fraternity between the white and black protagonists do not come to fruition; they are separated on multiple occasions, culminating in Leopold's comrade accidentally murdering Pierrot/Bug-Jargal toward the end. Finally, the tendency of a traditional Pierrot to convey ambivalent messages exists in Hugo's text. For example, Bongie recognises both racist and anti-racist messages in the novel. The work satirizes the white plantation owners with regards to their dishonorable acts, while it slights the mulattoes, or mixed-raced people, in preference for "pure" blacks and whites. 368 Jared Hickman situates the "unthinkability" of black revolt and black self-determination in Europe as a symptom of colonial modernity. 369 Hickman cogently argues that the novel presents Leopold as a character who fails to understand the slaves' revolutionary intentions under very strong hints by Pierrot/Bug-Jargal – epistemologically, he simply fails to entertain the possibility of black self-determination until it actually happens.³⁷⁰ In a deeper sense, Hugo sets up the novel's narration in a way that challenges, or even encourages the white European reader to perceive such unthinkability.³⁷¹ In my opinion, Hugo's use of ambivalence is masterful as he creates unthinkability only to undermine it.

These literary characteristics associated with Pierrot/Bug-Jargal change as

Gama Malcher adapts Hugo's novel into an opera. But three major conflicts from the

³⁶⁸ Marlene Daut, *Tropics of Haiti: Race and the Literary History of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World, 1789-1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 167-8. She summarizes multiple scholars on Hugo's negative portrayal of mulattoes in the novel.

³⁶⁹ Hickman, Black Prometheus, 2.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 308-9.

³⁷¹ Ibid., 308-9.

novel are retained in the opera. A greatly reduced synopsis of the opera below focuses on the character of Bug Jargal, adapted from Pierrot/Bug-Jargal in Hugo's novel.

Gama Malcher's opera Bug Jargal

Like the novel, the opera is set in Haiti. While Hugo's version starts in a military camp in which Leopold d'Auverney recounts his story with companions, Gama Malcher's first act begins with a familiar Romantic operatic trope of the garden. It belongs to a white plantation owner named Antonio; here, the black slaves, led by Irma, are working in harsh conditions. The first conflict occurs when Antonio enters. Like Marie's father in Hugo's version, Antonio, the merciless plantation owner, witnesses an old slave falling to the ground with exhaustion. Rejecting the calls for mercy, Antonio intends to whip him. Suddenly, Bug Jargal appears and grabs his whip. After a brief verbal exchange between the two – calling each other "inhuman" and "impudent and vile" – Bug Jargal breaks the whip in two "with utmost disdain," hands a nearby ax to Antonio, and dares the plantation owner to kill him. Antonio, furious, orders his people to put Bug Jargal in jail. Maria appears out of nowhere and asks her father for mercy and to free Bug Jargal. Antonio concedes, and the slaves praise her goodness. Irma, who is revealed to be Bug Jargal's first love, is consumed with jealousy, while Bug Jargal kneels before Maria, proclaiming that he would die for this "angel."

The second scene of conflict occurs in Act II after Maria reaffirms her loyalty to Leopoldo, while she becomes curious about the love songs of a troubadour.³⁷² Leopoldo is disturbed by the troubadour's transgression. "Is he a slave or a king?" he asks. Conflict ensues when he encounters Bug Jargal, who is singing about his love for Maria. After a verbal and then physical altercation, Bug Jargal is about to kill Leopoldo. Suddenly, Maria appears and calls for mercy, and Bug Jargal stops. Antonio and his followers arrive, and take Bug Jargal into custody. Leopoldo recognizes his own "vile" character but still wants Bug Jargal dead for his offense.

The third conflict, the slave revolt, begins in the jail in Act III. Irma finds Bug Jargal and confesses her love for him. He rejects her by singing about his love for Maria. 373 He breaks the chain as he sings. At this point, the slaves revolt and free Bug Jargal from prison. As they celebrate, Bug Jargal asks the whereabouts of Maria, and learns she was last seen in a house that was on fire. As in the original novel, he enters the fire to save Maria. After that, in Act IV, he intervenes in the slaves' impending execution of Leopoldo, exchanging his feather – a sign of kingship – for Leopoldo's life. Bug Jargal eventually reunites the white couple, as the colonizers' army kills him.³⁷⁴

³⁷² It starts with a monologue by Irma and a verbal conflict between Irma and Leopoldo. But my synopsis in the main text focuses on events surrounding Bug Jargal.

373 This development of the plot reminds me tangentially of the Pierrot in the 1944 movie *Les Enfant du*

Paradis.

³⁷⁴ Bongie discusses the significance of Hugo's novel ending in the middle rather than the end of the revolt, when the white colonizers were all killed or driven out. While Gama Malcher's ending is different from Hugo's, he, too, curtailed the brutal end of the revolt, which culminated in the 1804 Haiti massacre. See Bongie, Friends and Enemies: The Scribal Politics of Post/colonial Literature (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 25.

This operatic plot shows a mixture of similarities and differences from the Pierrot in traditional commedia and the Pierrot from Pierrot/Bug-Jargal. Gama Malcher drops the name Pierrot from Bug Jargal in the opera but retains characteristics of a traditional Pierrot. First, like in Hugo's novel, Bug Jargal in the opera engages in unrequited love with Maria, who is destined to be with Leopoldo. The difference lies in a new character, Irma, created to conform with the Romantic operatic convention of having characters in the form of couples in lead roles. Second, the slave owners belittle Bug Jargal at the beginning of the opera. By the end, as in the novel, the protagonist deviates from the Pierrot prototype as he earns the respect of his white counterpart. However, like a traditional Pierrot, he remains inferior to other characters in the story. Third, while Bug Jargal's fatal desire for love makes the transition from novel to opera, his desire for fraternity with Leopold in the novel is not retained in the opera. Gama Malcher's Bug Jargal possesses even less political ambition than Hugo's Pierrot/Bug-Jargal, making the former a more passive, impotent, and inconsequential figure than in the novel. Fourth, Bug Jargal continues to live in social marginality – the whites consider him to be Other, and the blacks interact even less with him than in the novel.

Finally, the ambivalence of black self-determination is somewhat retained, but generally reduced in the opera. Abolitionism, an anti-racist attitude by definition, is marred by the unfavourable treatment of black characters in the opera, to be discussed in the musical analyses below. Also, in the opera as in the novel, Leopoldo struggles with Bug Jargal's identity as "slave or king" – this presents a dilemma to the white

slave owner, a problem of categorization. The situation shows his inability to recognize the possibility of black self-determination, that Bug Jargal could be both slave and king. Here Hickman's analysis of the novel can be partially applicable to the opera. The opera's audience could be "incited to 'read between the lines" and challenge Leopoldo's inability to see a slave being a leader or king of a people.³⁷⁵ However, a few changes from the novel to the opera weaken this ambivalence. The omission of side characters such as the dog Rask, General Thaddeus and Lieutenant Henry makes the reflection on black self-determination less forthcoming because fewer characters express their thoughts and opinions of the protagonist. ³⁷⁶ Moreover, in the novel, Pierrot/Bug-Jargal very strongly hints at the forthcoming revolt to Leopold, while Bug Jargal in the opera does not know about the revolt until it happens. Pierrot/Bug-Jargal therefore expresses the ambivalence of black selfdetermination much more intensely as he displays fraternity over racial lines. As Gama Malcher removes the element of fraternity and goodwill from Bug Jargal, the opera audience would be less likely than a reader of Hugo's novel to "read between the lines" to challenge Leopoldo's failure to perceive black self-determination. Rather, Leopoldo's fear is justified, and Bug Jargal becomes a Pierrot stripped of the potential for empathy.

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³⁷⁵ Hickman, *Black Prometheus*, 307-8.

³⁷⁶ Páscoa has detailed the change of cast characters from the novel to the opera. See *Ópera em Belém*, 136-46.

The Social and Historical Context of Nineteenth-Century Brazil

The premiere of the slavery-themed opera (1890) took place two years after the abolition of slavery in Brazil (1888), and is related to the construction of Brazilian national identity and its racial politics. Cristina Magaldi describes racial dynamics in music in Rio de Janeiro, where *Bug Jargal* experienced a successful premiere, as follows:

The Brazilian middle class still shunned black religious beliefs and social practices as deviant. European-minded, white, genteel, and "reputable" urban Brazilians did not openly dance any African-derived dance, believed to be rather indecent, even though paradoxically they cherished their stage performances. Rather oblivious and unsympathetic toward the black culture they were claiming to accept and praise, Carioca bourgeoisie could only embrace the Afro-Brazilian heritage inasmuch as they looked at it as outsiders.³⁷⁷

The *Curimbò*, *Ciririca*, *Gambà*, *Caracascià* and *Chica* are Afro-Brazilian dances inserted in the beginning of Act IV of the opera.³⁷⁸ They are certainly not of the Haitian context of the opera, but they served a self-reflexive goal for the audiences in Brazil. By watching these dances, white opera audience members could tell themselves that they accepted Afro-Brazilian culture as part of their national culture. The genre of opera, "the ultimate expression of power and prestige in nineteenth-century Brazil," helped the elites to comfortably come to terms with the problematic history of slavery and its aftermath.³⁷⁹ Magaldi concludes that in the two decades

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³⁷⁷ Cristina Magaldi, *Music in Imperial Rio de Janeiro: European Culture in a Tropical Milieu* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2004), 110.

³⁷⁸ Páscoa describes these dances in his *Ópera em Belém*, 245-55. He, however, does not analyze with Magaldi's critical perspective.

³⁷⁹ Durval Cesseti, "*Il Guarany* for Foreigners: Colonial Racism, Naïve Utopia, or Pleasant Entertainment?" *Latin American Music Review* 31, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2010): 107. Cite IMS scholar for saying the source of performers are different between operas and vaudeville.

preceding the abolition of slavery, black culture was "heavily mediated and decontextualized" in white representation in opera and other artistic genres, and was "actually neither accepted nor understood." *Bug Jargal* is a symptom of the cultural dynamics Magaldi outlines.

The wider context of Atlantic slave trade must be considered in the analysis of *Bug Jargal*. Brazil was the last Western nation to abolish slavery due to slave owners' careful effort to maintain social and economic superiority over the black population.³⁸¹ Even though instances of abolitionist ideas appear among Brazilian elites and resistance from slaves occur in the first half of the nineteenth century, the real drive toward the abolition of slavery did not occur until the 1860s, with King Pedro's interest in liberal ideas and international pressure, especially following abolition in the United States in 1865.³⁸² As the number of freed slaves increased in Brazil throughout the nineteenth century, and with race as more fluid in Brazil than in the United States, large-scale resistance movements intensified significantly in the 1870s.³⁸³ *Bug Jargal*

³⁸⁰ Magaldi, Music in Imperial Rio de Janeiro, 128-9.

³⁸¹ David Baronov finds "punitive social measures," "legislation and social polic[ies]" that are implemented leading up to the official abolition of slavery, which "provided the bases for new forms of race-based, coercive labor." He concludes that "the immediate consequence of their 'liberation' was either (1) their effective marginalization from profitable roles within capitalist production, or (2) their reincorporation into new regimes of coerced labor." See Baranov, *The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil: The "Liberation" of Africans Through the Emancipation of Capital* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 145-6.

³⁸² Bergad, *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States,* 283-4, referencing Robert Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery,* 1850 –1888 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972).

³⁸³ The 1872 census of Brazil shows 4.25 million free blacks and mulattos in the country, accounting for over three-quarters of all those of African descent and two-fifths of Brazil's total population. See Richard Graham, "Free Afro-Brazilians in the 19th Century," Entry in *Oxford Research Encyclopedias: Latin American History*, Accessed at

http://latinamericanhistory.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.001.0001/acrefore-9780199366439-e-287 on March 22, 2018. As multiple studies point out, "to be black or mulatto was emphatically not automatically associated with being enslaved, as was the case in the United States"

portrayal of the Haitian slave revolt finds a counterpart in historical facts in the Brazilian slave rebellion. Slave camps in Belém (where *Bug Jargal* premiered), Mark Harris reports, gradually became uncontrollable. 384 "At the end of 1886, slaves began to leave farms and plantations in large numbers, and by early 1887 the abandonment of the coffee estates in São Paulo (another city in which *Bug Jargal* was performed) had become so widespread that there was absolutely nothing that planters or local authorities could do to control the situation." 385 By 1888, freed slaves represented 75% of Brazil's population. Abolition happened as pressured by reality; the white elites never agreed to wilfully relinquish their privileges. *Bug Jargal*, which presents black revolt over white plantation owners for liberation, encouraged a misrecognition of Brazilian reality in 1890 – most slaves were already freed. The heroic black noble savage depicted in the opera, gaining the whites' blessing while fated to die, is a far

See Bergad, *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States*, 123. Charles Degler's work is pioneering in the study of Brazilian slavery, although it is criticized for focusing only on the binary of white and black races. Nonetheless, he effectively lays out what American anthropologist and leading scholar in Brazilian anthropology Charles Wagley calls "social class." "Color is important," Degler explains, "but not decisive, as it is in the United States." He goes on to write that: "A "Negro" is anyone of the following: Poverty-stricken white, Poverty-stricken mulatto, Poor mulatto, Poverty-stricken Negro, Poor Negro, Negro of average wealth. A "white" is anyone of the following: White who is wealthy, White of average wealth, White who is poor, Wealthy mulatto, Mulatto of average wealth, Negro who is wealthy." This illustration is certainly a simplification, leaving out the mulattoes as well as individual negotiations in the power structure and social hierarchy, such as the examples laid out by Graham in his entry of the "Free Afro-Brazilians in the 19th Century" in the *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*, and more recently, the episode of "Brazil in Black and White" in Gregory Warner's *Rough Translation* podcast on National Public Radio. But Degler still provokes our understanding of racial relation in Brazil as distinct from that in the United States. See Degler, *Neither Black Nor White*, 105.

³⁸⁴ Mark Harris, *Rebellion on the Amazon: The Cabanagem, Race, and Popular Culture in the North of Brazil, 1798-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 165.

³⁸⁵ Bergad, *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States*, 287-8. ³⁸⁶ David Baronov, *The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil: The "Liberation" of Africans through the Emancipation of Capital* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 156.

more palatable narrative, and one tailor-made for the mostly white elites to contain the threat of slaves.

Black Revolts

Aside from the one "noble savage," the opera's negative portrayal of blacks can be best seen in the revolt episode. In Act III, as Bug Jargal rejects Irma's rescue and love, he expresses his disapproval of his comrades. By singing "let the barbarians rejoice," repeated twice in a recitative (mm. 241-3), Bug Jargal question the morality of fellow black slaves. As the slave chorus enters the stage, they sing

Everything is on fire and destroyed. We march over dead bodies. There is no longer a master. Ah! Kill the whites! Bug Jargal is our King!

Contrary to their church-like chorus in the beginning of the opera as they are working as slaves in their master's garden, this chorus is uncharacteristically raucous. The words "kill the whites" are not present in the libretto published in Italy; yet it accurately describes the historical massacre of the white population at the end of the Haitian Revolution. The full orchestra with tambourine produces fast and loud music. The simple harmony and simplistic, mostly stepwise melody is devoid of thoughtfulness, a trait most closely associated with Bug Jargal and represented by his undulating melodic lines (Ex. 5.1). The text involves the notion of the "king":

³⁸⁷ Scholars disagree on the use of violence in anti-slavery struggles in Brazil. While Baronov describes the struggle as a violent matter in itself, Bergad claims that the struggle is mostly non-violent. See Bergad, *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States*, 286 and Baranov, *The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil*, 138.

although kinghood is the political norm in 1791, it was an outmoded idea at the time of the opera's premiere, at the beginning of Brazil's first republic. After Bug Jargal's intrusion of the chorus asking for the whereabouts of Maria, the chorus briefly responds to him, but then ignores him by singing, "Let's go back to pillaging!" (Ex. 5.1, mm. 459-62). This is a phrase not found in the novel, but newly created for the opera. Bug Jargal is portrayed as an exception to the senselessness, mob-like quality of the rest of the black slaves. This portrayal of the blacks gives an overwhelming impression of the black race to be morally and intellectually inferior. It ignores the other crucial aspect of the Haitian Revolution, in which the slaves embraced the ideal of freedom borrowed from the French Revolution. In Hugo's novel, the slaves have written a letter addressing their political concerns and intentions to the French government.³⁸⁸ In the opera, any intellectual gestures of the black slaves are excluded from the plot; as such, the opera diminishes black humanity.

³⁸⁸ Hugo, *Bug-Jargal*, 152-3.

Example 5.1: Gama Malcher, Bug Jargal, Act III, Scene 3, mm. 416-63.

Contrabaixo



Example 5.1: Gama Malcher, *Bug Jargal*, Act III, Scene 3, mm. 416-63 (continued).

A10 111 Flautim Flauta I e II Oboé I e II Clarinete (Bb) I e II Trompa (F) I e II Trompa (F) III e IV Corneta (Bb) I e II Trompete (F) I e II Trombone I, II e III Oficleide/Tuba Prato G. C. Tamburo externo Tamburo interno Harpa Bug Jargal Soprano Contralto Ré!! Tenor Violino I Violino II Viola Violoncelo Contrabaixo

Example 5.1: Gama Malcher, *Bug Jargal*, Act III, Scene 3, mm. 416-63 (continued).



Example 5.1: Gama Malcher, Bug Jargal, Act III, Scene 3, mm. 416-63 (continued).



Example 5.1: Gama Malcher, Bug Jargal, Act III, Scene 3, mm. 416-63 (continued).



Example 5.1: Gama Malcher, Bug Jargal, Act III, Scene 3, mm. 416-63 (continued).

Flauta I e II Oboé I e II Clarinete (Bb) I e II Fagote I e II Trompa (F) I e II Trompa (F) III e IV Corneta (Bb) I e II Trompete (F) I e II Trombone I, II e III Oficleide/Tuba Tímpano Prato G. C. Tamburo interno Harpa Tenor Violino I Violino II Viola Violoncelo

Example 5.1: Gama Malcher, Bug Jargal, Act III, Scene 3, mm. 416-63 (continued).



Example 5.1: Gama Malcher, *Bug Jargal*, Act III, Scene 3, mm. 416-63 (continued).



Example 5.1: Gama Malcher, Bug Jargal, Act III, Scene 3, mm. 416-63 (continued).



Example 5.1: Gama Malcher, *Bug Jargal*, Act III, Scene 3, mm. 416-63 (continued).

Prasad's argument of Pierrot/Bug-Jargal being a passive, reluctant, and inconsequential character is augmented by Gama Malcher's rendition. While Hugo's Pierrot/Bug-Jargal actively saves his own compatriots while saving the white couple, Gama Malcher's Bug Jargal interrupts the revolt and undermines the revolt's goal of black self-determination. Bug Jargal's intrusion on the raucous slave revolt chorus with his lyricism shows his indifference for political power (Ex. 5.1). The portrayal of a questionable black political force in the opera continues in Act IV, as Bug Jargal hands his feather – symbolic of his leadership status – to another slave leader, Biassou, in exchange for the life of Leopoldo. The scene is accompanied by a "tempo di Marcia," with the brass instruments portraying a ceremonial atmosphere. This politically submissive attitude of Bug Jargal stands in contrast to the powerful gesture in the novel of Pierrot/Bug-Jargal tossing the feather in the air, which leads to a scramble among the other slaves. Gama Malcher's revision renders the protagonist less powerful, perhaps meant to suggest the containment of the perceived threat that he represents.

Black Physical Strength

Beyond the revolt scene, the portrayal of Bug Jargal's physical force in the opera also reveals the composer's treatment of blackness. In Bug Jargal's confrontation of Antonio in Act I, Scene 4, their dialog goes as follows:

Antonio: I have no mercy! I want him [the old, tired slave] dead!

(He tries to hit him again, but Bug Jargal suddenly enters

the scene and grabs his whip)

Bug Jargal: Stop! If your heart desires blood,

Inhuman that you are, hit me instead.

He is old, don't you see. He can't stand anymore

Antonio: Alas! Be afraid of my fury,

Impudent and vile slave, Remember who I am.

Here I am master and king!

Bug Jargal: (with utmost disdain breaks the whip into two, and picks

up a nearby axe, gives it to Antonio)

Not the whip! The axe

is more worthy for an executioner.

Come on, hit. Such death is not disdained by

Bug Jargal!

The music reflects not the precise details of the scene, but the emotional content. This episode is Bug Jargal's first appearance in the opera, and he enters in a heroic manner despite the adverse situation, portrayed (as he will be throughout the opera) with loud and full major chords supported by most instruments of the orchestra (Ex. 5.2). But the grabbing and breaking of the whip are scenes of physical violence, most likely involving pain. The musical depiction, therefore, fails to recognize pain as a common sensation of all humans. Not coincidentally, this failure is consistent with the historical assumption and mistake (one that is, sadly, still made in the twenty-first century) that black people feel less pain. As the Pierrot character of the opera, Bug Jargal reveals the composer's limit of sympathy that he could afford to a black slave.

³⁸⁹ See Christina Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 42. Numerous surgical experiments performed on enslaved people without anaesthesia have been the topic of heated public intellectual debates in recent years. See Sophie Trawalter and Kelly M. Hoffmann, "Got Pain? Racial Bias in Perceptions of Pain," *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 9, no. 3 (2015): 147-8. Hoffmann, Trawalter, Jordan R. Axt, and M. Norman Oliver, "Racial Bias in Pain Assessment and Treatment Recommendations, and False Beliefs about Biological Differences between Blacks and Whites," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 113, no. 16 (April 2016): 4296-301.



Example 5.2: Gama Malcher, Bug Jargal, Act I, Scene 4, mm. 227-35.



Example 5.2: Gama Malcher, Bug Jargal, Act I, Scene 4, mm. 227-35 (continued).



Example 5.2: Gama Malcher, *Bug Jargal*, Act I, Scene 4, mm. 227-35 (continued).

Another interesting portrayal of Bug Jargal's physical strength appears in Act III, Scene 2. In the original novel, Leopold finds Pierrot/Bug-Jargal in prison, and he has already broken the chain by himself. Yet Pierrot/Bug-Jargal refuses to flee to ensure the safety of his own people and for his personal honor. While physical force is displayed and controlled rationally and honorably in Hugo's novel, it is different in the opera. The description at the beginning of Act III in the libretto states that "Bug Jargal has chains on his feet." After Irma confesses her love for Bug Jargal and her hate for Maria, Bug Jargal sings six measures of *Allegro agitato*, with a chromatic line from D-flat up to G (mm. 290-6, Ex. 5.3). In m. 296, he proclaims the following as the music modulates from D-flat major to F major:

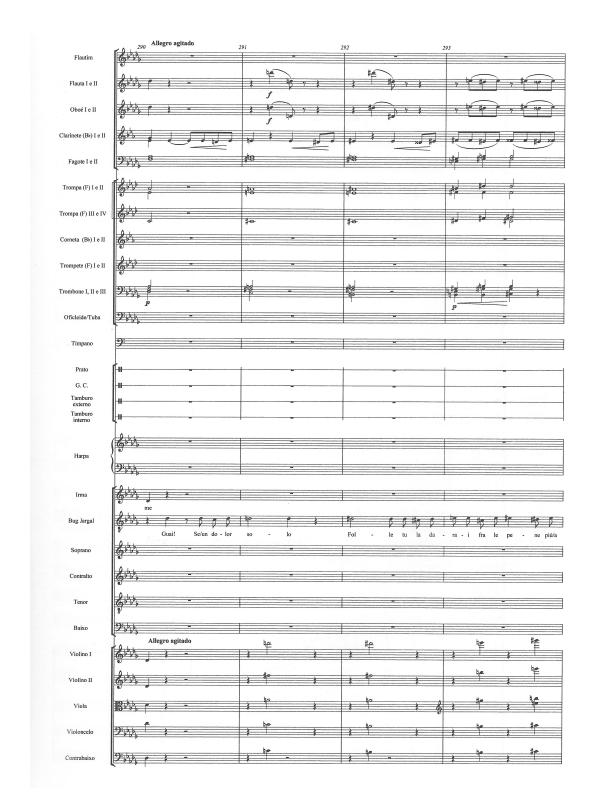
Look! My chains are broken
I could run away.
Yet, it is sweet to my soul
To die because of my love for her!
I love her!
I love her like the lion loves his land,
Like the tiger loves her cubs;
Like the bird loves the countryside,
And the sun loves the flowers!
I am not afraid of death
If Maria will smile at me with pity
To die like that is a dream, heaven,
It is delight!

In contrast with the novel, the physical force of breaking the chain in the opera is the result of sentimentality and lack of tribal loyalty. Bug Jargal declines to "run away" and join his comrades, but to stay behind and sing of his love for Maria to the risk of death. Musically portrayed with strings and woodwinds, this 41-measure long passage

brings about a warm tone color appropriate for the depiction of love. ³⁹⁰ The melody in Bug Jargal's voice part (mm. 307-8, Ex. 5.4) is a varied retrograde of his love motive that appeared earlier in Act I, Scene 5 (mm. 290-1, Ex. 5.5). The hyper-masculine act of breaking a chain (again a stereotype associated with black males) is counterbalanced by this musical and verbal lyricism.³⁹¹ This extended aria is thus positioned to neutralize the terror of the perceived black physical threat.

³⁹⁰ This passage offers a striking resemblance to Pierrot's confession scene in *Les Enfants du Paradis*, in which Baptiste (Pierrot) directly tells Nathalie that he does not love her, but loves Garance (Colombine) instead.

391 See bell hooks, *We Real Cool: Black Men and Masculinity* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 44-7.



Example 5.3: Gama Malcher, Bug Jargal, Act III, Scene 2, mm. 290-6.



Example 5.3: Gama Malcher, Bug Jargal, Act III, Scene 2, mm. 290-6 (continued).



Example 5.4: Bug Jargal's melody in Gama Malcher, *Bug Jargal*, Act III, Scene 2, mm. 307-8.



Example 5.5: Bug Jargal's "love motive" (mm. 290-1) in Gama Malcher, *Bug Jargal*, Act I, Scene 5, mm. 288-91.

Racial Separation

The containment of the perceived black physical threat is further accentuated by racial separation in the opera. This strategy shifts greatly from the novel, in which Pierrot/Bug-Jargal and Leopold display interracial fraternity for the majority of the novel. In the opera, the only duet between Bug Jargal and Leopoldo is a scene of verbal and physical altercation, the black physical threat therein being neutralized by Maria's pleas for peace. Maria sings two duets with Bug Jargal, but both signal racial separation in different ways.

In Act I, Scene 5, Bug Jargal sings of his love for Maria as a troubadour while hiding from her. Maria is touched by his song, and they end Act I by singing in unison and thirds (Ex. 5.6).

Maria: The song is like a prayer,

sweeter than any desire

It is the inebriation of a soul that hopes

Ah yes!

Bug Jargal: My heart does not love nor dream of that star anymore.

In vain the voice of honor calls me there.

The word "inebriation," or the Italian "ebrezza," refers to a perturbed mental state due to alcoholic intoxication, but is also commonly used in a symbolic way to indicate a state of great pleasure caused by a great joy or passion. Bug Jargal, meanwhile, gives up his political volition for love. In the staging, the two characters are possibly

³⁹² I thank Alexandra Brivio for her explanation. It is tempting to draw the connection between drunkenness and Pierrot's carnival background, but such a connection may prove merely tangential in this context.

physically on stage together, only separated by an imaginary wall because Maria does not know the true identity of the troubadour until Act II.



Example 5.6: Gama Malcher, Bug Jargal, Act I, Scene 5, mm. 481-6.



Example 5.6: Gama Malcher, *Bug Jargal*, Act I, Scene 5, mm. 481-6 (continued).

In Act IV, part 2, scene 1, Bug Jargal tells Maria that Leopoldo has been saved. The two are physically together on stage without the imaginary wall, yet they cannot agree with each other. Bug Jargal confesses his love for Maria, only to be told that she sees him as "a brother." Maria even borrows Bug Jargal's melody in mm. 878-9 (Ex. 5.7a and Ex. 5.7b), establishing further connection between the two characters. Yet they are separated by their intentions: (Ex. 5.8)

Bug Jargal: Bye flattering dreams

Death be the one to grant me oblivion

Hope is useless.

Maria: Brother, don't linger here

Let my cry move you Go, my brother.

Bug Jargal's new dream of love, replacing a political dream, falls short. The endgame is a Pierrot-like macabre theme. Although they sing in unison or thirds in ending this section, they clearly have different goals. Maria wants to send Bug Jargal away and reunite with her fiancé. The black protagonist and the white savior are destined to be separated.



Example 5.7a: Maria's melody in Gama Malcher, *Bug Jargal*, Act IV, part 2, scene 1, mm. 878-9.



Example 5.7b: Bug Jargal's melody in Gama Malcher, *Bug Jargal*, Act I, Scene 3, mm. 409-10.



Example 5.8: Gama Malcher, Bug Jargal, Act IV, Part 2, Scene 1, mm. 920-32.



Example 5.8: Gama Malcher, *Bug Jargal*, Act IV, Part 2, Scene 1, mm. 920-32 (continued).



Example 5.8: Gama Malcher, *Bug Jargal*, Act IV, Part 2, Scene 1, mm. 920-32 (continued).



Example 5.8: Gama Malcher, *Bug Jargal*, Act IV, Part 2, Scene 1, mm. 920-32 (continued).

The Silencing of Death

Finally, by avoiding the depiction of the black hero's death, Gama Malcher denies the protagonist's full humanity. In Hugo's novel, Thaddeus kills Bug Jargal by accident, and his own shock and remorse is depicted in the text. In the opera, however, Bug Jargal's death is reduced to mere cannon sounds in the background (Ex. 5.9). Even in comparable Italian opera such as *Aida* and *Otello*, the non-white protagonist would die on stage, forcing the audience to confront the death and the feelings associated with it. In Gama Malcher, Leopoldo and Maria are tasked with relaying the news of Bug Jargal's death and asking God for mercy. The brief ten-measure instrumental coda announces the end of the opera victoriously. Bug Jargal's death is silenced. The audience is not made to confront his death, but to celebrate the white couple's ability to repent and reflect.



Example 5.9: Gama Malcher, *Bug Jargal*, Act IV, part 2, finale, mm. 1137-40. The death of Bug Jargal is announced by "shot of fire from afar," written on top of Leopoldo's vocal line on m. 1139.

Conclusion

The Brazilian opera *Bug Jargal* (1890) looked back at Hugo's historical fiction of the same title (1826) about a slave leader in Haiti who the French colonizers nicknamed Pierrot. However, the opera protagonist's connection to the traditional Pierrot character has not been explored. The existing scholarship on the opera *Bug Jargal* focuses on the composer Gama Malcher's biography, its connections with European Romanic operas, conventional musical analysis, and the dramatic plot. Perspectives critical to race and national identity are missing. This problem was exacerbated during the opera's revival in 2005, in which scholars and the popular media missed the opportunity to raise important conversations about race and nation.³⁹³ As the celebration of "Brazilian opera" avoids the questions of racial representation, the twenty-first century performance of *Bug Jargal* uncritically perpetuates the racial messages of the nineteenth century.

This chapter has considered three intertwining contexts that shed light on the racial dynamics in the opera. First is the Haitian Revolution of 1791, the first revolution that appropriated the slogan of "liberty, fraternity, and equality" in successfully revolting against colonialism. Second is Hugo's knowledge and fictionalization of the Haitian Revolution during the Bourbon Restoration. Scholars

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³⁹³ See, for instance, the "Listening Guide" offered by Rádio Cultura FM, accessed at http://site.rvcultura.com.br/radiofm/radiofm0609/guia-teatrodeopera.htm on May 26, 2018. See also the essay by Páscoa, sumitted to the website of "São Paulo ImagemData," a cultural organization and publisher devoted to performing arts in Brazil and beyond, accessed at http://www2.uol.com.br/spimagem/ensaio/mpascoa3.htm on May 26, 2018. Carlo Gomes's *Il Guarany* (1870) received much better cultural analyses. See Maria Alice Volpe, "Remaking the Brazilian Myth of National Foundation: Il Guarany," *Latin American Music Review* 23, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2002): 179-94. Durval Cesetti, "*Il Guarany* for Froeigners: Colonial Racism, Naïve Utopia, or Pleasant Entertainment" in *Latin American Music Review* 31, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2010): 101-21.

have concluded that his political inclination was in transition from the conservative royalist to the eventually more liberal position.³⁹⁴ The meaning of Pierrot was also under reconfiguration at the time.³⁹⁵ Third is the Brazilian abolition (1888), the history of racial relations within the nation, and Gama Malcher's personal background. It becomes clear that what appears to be a positive representation of a black Pierrot in fact insinuates deeper social biases. Thus the abolitionist intent of this opera—just like the decree of abolition itself, however benign both may be—provided minimal change to the social perception of the black people. The dehumanization of the black people and the containment of black threats in the opera are expressed through the theatrical and musical depiction of the slave revolt, black physical strength, racial separation, and the lone death of the black protagonist.

My analysis points to the limits and potential of the Pierrot character. It responds to Gilroy's observation that:

It is hardly surprising that if it is perceived to be relevant at all, the history of slavery is somehow assigned to blacks. It becomes our special property rather than a part of the ethical and intellectual heritage of the West as a whole. 396

The opera helped construct the memory and legacy of slavery in 1890, and scholarship plays the role of deconstructing them. The analysis is part of a wider recontextualization of slavery as "a part of the ethical and intellectual heritage of the

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³⁹⁴ Bongie, "Introduction" to *Bug-Jargal*, 28. See also Roger Toumson, *Bug-Jargal*, ou La révolution haïtienne vue par Victor Hugo (Fort-de-France: Ed. Désormeaux, 1979), 23, quoted in Bongie, "Introduction" to *Bug-Jargal*, 28. Hickman concurs with this position in Hickman, *Black Prometheus*, 310

³⁹⁵ Dick, *Pierrot*, 150-1, 166. See discussion under "Hugo's Novel *Bug-Jargal* and the Haitian Revolution" in Chapter 5.

³⁹⁶ Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 49.

West." More interestingly, Hugo's narrative structure actually provided a resource for transgressive reading in the postcolonial world of the twenty-first century. On the one hand, Pierrot/Bug-Jargal's death barred him from witnessing the moral progress of the white protagonists, the winners of a modernity deeply entrenched in colonialism and slavery. In this way, the black protagonist is stopped in time, relegated as the premodern figure, the same way many composers treated the Pierrot figure as shown in earlier chapters. On the other hand, the plot is symbolic of a reversal of master-slave relationship, as the repentance and reflection of the white couple depends on the death of the slave.³⁹⁷ These options in interpreting the opera not only show that Pierrot is an inherently social character, but also reveals how new performances can potentially lead the audience to reflect on painful parts of a nation's history, make the black Pierrot more sympathetic, and fulfill the promise of Pierrot as a "human" character.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 45, 51.

CONCLUSION

Pierrot, often thought of as the modernist artist, has more complex social and political meanings than commonly acknowledged. Reinhold Brinkmann, for instance, focuses on Pierrot as a paradigmatic character that epitomizes "the quest of modernism to present the truth." Theater and literary scholar Robert Storey observes that "the life of the saltimbanques – the Gilles and Pierrots of the streets – became a symbol for that of the artist." ³⁹⁹ I hope to have shown that Pierrot is not only an aesthetic character, but a deeply social one.

Debussy's Sonata for Cello and Piano

With a more nuanced understanding of Pierrot, I can listen to Debussy's Sonata for Cello and Piano, the composition that marks the end point of this project, in a slightly unconventional way. Composed in 1915, the sonata has been nicknamed "Pierrot angry at the moon." After consulting Debussy's letters, early twentiethcentury discourse of the composer and scholarly literature, Janelle Suzanne Ragno concluded that "real evidence is lacking that any Pierrot program existed at all" when Debussy composed the sonata. 400

Brinkmann, "The Fool as Paradigm," 162.
 Storey, *Pierrot: A Critical History*, 109-10.

⁴⁰⁰ Janelle Suzanne Ragno, "The Luteran Hymn 'Ein' feste Burg' in Claude Debussy's Cello Sonata (1915); Motivic Variation and Structure" (D.M.A. Diss., University of Texas, Austin, 2005), 3. I deitalicized the word "Pierrot" in the original quotation.

While Debussy may indeed not have Pierrot in mind, I suggest that the audience in the inter-war period could hear Pierrot in performances of the sonata. The various extreme characterizations throughout the piece – resolution, zaniness, sentimentality, irony, and many more – echo the malleable, every changing physique of Pierrot on the pantomime stage. The zany, repetitive, and overworking pattern of Pierrot, as shown in the Chapter One, can be heard in mm. 16, 18, 21-26 of the first movement (Ex. 6.1), mm. 70-86 of the third movement (Ex. 6.2), and many other instances. The grotesque character of Pierrot is particularly evident in the second movement through the use of slurred pizzicatos, extreme contrasts between overtones and pizzicatos, and other means of expressing musical incongruities (Ex. 6.3). The deformed dances in the piece, such as in mm. 44-51 of the second movement (Ex. 6.4) and mm. 57-68 of the third movement (Ex. 6.5), suggest as much eccentricity as a nostalgia for classic elegance. Indeed, resembling Pierrot's proclivity, this sonata conveys ambiguous commentaries on national politics during the unprecendent war. After studying Debussy's sketch book and manuscript, Ragno has identified quotations and fragments of French national anthem "la Marseillaise" and the German Lutheran hymn "Ein' feste Burg" throughout the sonata. 401 While the juxtaposition of these themes alludes to the French-German antinomy, speculating a narrative through the quotations would be a creative exercise, not a historical one. Debussy could not have known how the war turned out at last, neither at the point of composition nor at his death, seven and a half months before the Allies declared victory. This sonata

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 49-113.

follows the wider pattern of Pierrot: he does not have the answer to any problems.

Instead, he brings social and political issues onto the stage and makes a spectacle out of it.



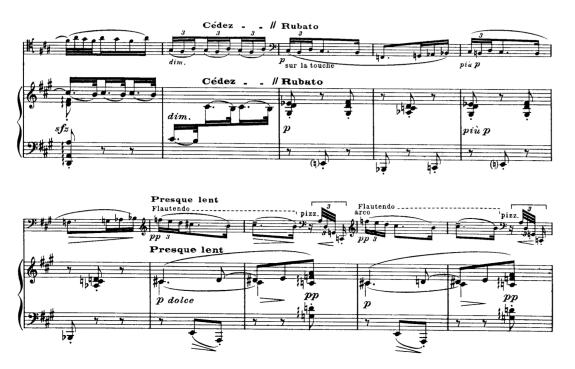
Example 6.1: Debussy, Sonata for Cello and Piano, first movement, mm. 16-26.



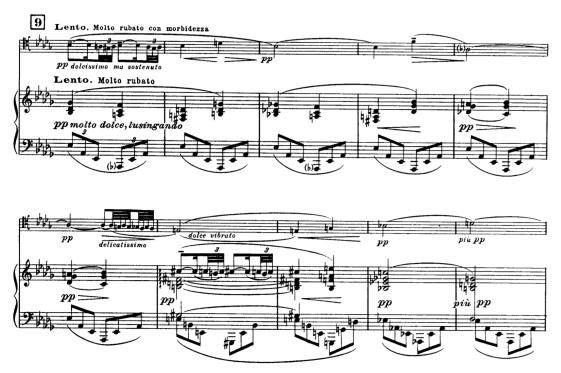
Example 6.2: Debussy, Sonata for Cello and Piano, third movement, mm. 67-84.



Example 6.3: Debussy, Sonata for Cello and Piano, second movement, mm. 1-16.



Example 6.4: Debussy, Sonata for Cello and Piano, second movement, mm. 42-51.



Example 6.5: Debussy, Sonata for Cello and Piano, third movement, mm. 57-66.

Pierrot's Meanings in the Fin-de-siècle and Beyond

My work has reexamined the craze for Pierrot in music in the fin-de-siècle Francophone world, presented diverse explorations of the Pierrot character in the music of the French- and German-speaking worlds, and provided a robust basis for the study of black Pierrots. While some French Pierrots continued to embody the characteristics of inconsequentiality and extreme naivety from the Pierrot tradition, many of them also effectively conveyed commentaries on gender, class, and social politics. The German Pierrots sometimes attracted attention as objects of bourgeois pleasure, in other instances they embodied human weakness in morality and rationality. Whether French or German, many pieces demonstrate that Pierrot is unique in having both the ability to elicit sympathy and the power to convey social-political commentaries. Gama Malcher's example of black Pierrot elucidates the limits of Pierrot as a sympathetic character and the biases in conveying social-political commentaries. It thus avoids the idealization of the Pierrot character.

French Pierrots generally spurred debates and made social commentaries on gender, class, nationhood, and other social issues more directly than the German ones. As James R. Lehning points out, "the importance of theatrical forms in nineteenth-century Paris lies in melodrama's creation of a sensibility in French culture, a way of casting issues, whether it be in family dramas [... or] central issues of public policy and the organization of the use of power."⁴⁰² This contrasts with, for instance,

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⁴⁰² James R. Lehning, *The Melodramatic Thread: Spectacle and Political Culture in Modern France* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 24.

Schoenberg's "Madonna," in which the people turn away from Madonna and Jesus. This religious reference seems to call for self-reflection; social commentaries are made through looking inward to one's morality. The black Pierrot in *Bug Jargal* is a special case because the opera's French lineage allows it to cast a debate about slavery through its text, yet the racial and political context of Brazil would likely complicate this potential debate.

This dissertation also sheds new light on Pierrot and gender; the Pierrot figure as a whole symbolizes an acceptance of multiple gender identities and expressions. They range from the conservative and progressive females in *L'enfant prodigue*, to the traditional male in the same pantomime, the effeminate (sometimes cuckolded) male in various works, and the emotional yet masculine male in *Bug Jargal*. Common across these examples are gender identities in crisis or being challenged on stage.

For the first time in musicology, we have learned much more about Pierrette, the female version of Pierrot. Although Pierrot and Pierrette can sometimes be lovers, her role is different from Colombine's. Often, Pierrette has the same naivety and weaknesses as Pierrot, while Colombine does not. For example, in *The Veil of Pierrette*, while Pierrot is naive to trust that Pierrette would commit suicide with him, Pierrette is naive in trusting her morally weak self in the commitment to die with Pierrot. In Marguerite Audan's and Carl Bohm's instrumental pieces, there are no discernable differences between the portrayal of Pierrot and Pierrette. In other cases, Pierrette can be used positively to empower female identity. The best example is

Chaminade's *Pierrette*, which, given the right context, can challenge the nineteenth-century assumption that female composers compose small character pieces.

Pierrot's disability is related to music in more ways than the claiming of disability through devices of musical modernism. While Pierrot's disability and musical modernism go hand in hand in *Pierrot lunaire* and *Petrushka*, Vidal's Pierrot in *Pierrot, assassin de sa femme* provides a challenging case. Pierrot in this pantomime is schizophrenic and hallucinatory, and there is no compositional technique that claims to represent these symptoms. In this case, looking for musical signs of disability does not teach us anything about music and disability. Rather, musical portrayal of disability does not require overt musical signs of disability.

As much as he tests "the limits of aesthetic constructions" (Daniel Albright's definition of musical modernism), Pierrot tests the limits of *social* constructions. As shown in the analyses in Chapter 4, Schoenberg's religious profanity appear only

⁴⁰³ The timing of this work does not allow me to dialog with Straus's forthcoming book *Broken Beauty: Musical Modernism and the Representation of Disability* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). However, I have second thoughts on his "Modernist Music and the Representation of Disability," concerns that I am still working on articulating. He argues that modernist music claims disability and embodies disability aesthetics in the forms of deformity/disfigurement, mobility impairment, madness, idiocy, and autism. His argument is based on identifying, for example, static harmonies in modernist music as harmonic immobility, and by extension a musical manifestation of mobility impairment. Another claim of his is that "in modernist music, autistic sameness manifests itself as a preference for literal repetition, especially of short fragment." But is the repetition of short fragments initiated by autism? Are Straus's cited examples of static harmonies portraying impairment? I will give the benefit of doubt that some detailed examples in his new book will quell my doubts. See the Colloquy "On the Disability Aesthetics of Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 69, no. 2 (2016): 530-6.

⁴⁰⁴ Since Straus concerns a narrowly defined modernist music only, his suggested musical equivalent for such symptoms, such as "jarring clashes of musical style" and "sharp intrusion of traditional tonal references within an ambient atonality" are not applicable. See Straus, "Modernist Music and the Representation of Disability," in the JAMS Colloquy "On the Disability Aesthetics of Music," 530-6. ⁴⁰⁵ In making this argument, I take inspiration from Ralph Locke's discussion of musical exoticism, particularly his formulation of the "All the Music in Full Context" paradigm, in Locke, "A Broader View of Musical Exoticism." 477–521.

through the fourteenth song of of the twenty-one-movement cycle *Pierrot lunaire*; in these songs, he included multiple instances of social commentaries. But in the final third of the song cycle, he chooses less provocative texts and used relatively conventional harmonies, with one of the overall effects being a withdrawal from social commentary. In the section of Stravinsky's *Petrushka* analyzed in Chapter 2, the octatonicism of Petrushka (representing Russian identity) challenges aesthetic and social limits as it transitions toward diatonicism (representing European identity). In France, Felicia Mallet and Cécile Chaminade widened the imagination of Pierrot as a female character, thereby pushing the boundries of the socially prescribed gender roles. Gustave Charpentier's *Le couronnement* tests the possibility of coexistence between opposite political views. Finally, Gama Malcher's *Bug Jargal* reveals the challenge of adequate racial representation. These are evidences of Pierrot's origin as a commedia dell'arte character, carrying the historical spirit of the carnival that—however temporarily and symbolically—blurs class lines and disrupts power structures.

Pierrot's social dimension, however, is only in effect with the composer's or the listener's active participation; without such active participation, Pierrot could be a docile character. The black Pierrot in *Bug Jargal* need not be transgressive; he could be viewed as a celebration of Brazilian values and Western art in general. One can perform Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire* and ignore all religious and gender-related elements that are transgressive and outrageous. In fact, that is probably what Schoenberg wanted: an absorption and annihilation of social contents for a "tidy"

presentation of progress, modernity, and the idea of the genius. In this sense, the mask of Pierrot has the potential to hide its social dimension, strangling away the life of its socially transformative potential.

Pierrot is not only socially important, but tenaciously popular. While the number of new compositions on him dropped after the First World War, it is hasty to conclude that Pierrot's popularity decreased. This hypothesis would be based on the lack of "great works" comparable to *Pierrot lunaire* or *Petrushka* composed after World War I. This fixation on the composition of "great works" ignores the continuous performance of *Le couronnement de la muse* and *Pierrot lunaire* and their evolving receptions. 406

This dissertation would also have us look beyond "great works" and delve into compositions people listened to despite their lesser historical fame. In fact, Francis Poulenc's "Pierrot" depicted the character after the First World War as a continuation of the Montmartre tradition in France. In Germany, Erich Korngold's Pierrot in *Die Tote Stadt* (1920) is obsessed with the past and desires to escape from the harsh present. Karol Rathaus's Pierrot in *The Last Pierrot* (1924–26) comes to life from a shelf, and tries to find Colombine in a factory. His futile and disorienting effort eventually leads him to freeze back into a puppet. Even lesser known are Karl Hajós's *Der Schwarze Pierrot; Operette in 3 Akten* (1922) performed in Vienna and Barcelona, and Bittner Julius's *Todestarantella (Tarantella of Death)* (1921), a ballet

⁴⁰⁶ One interesting case is the German translation and performance of *Pagliacci*. See Josef-Horst Lederer, Verismo auf der deutschsprachigen Opernbühne, 1891-1926: eine Untersuchung seiner Rezeption durch die zeitgenössische musikalische Fachpresse (Wien: Böhlau, 1992). I thank Alexandra Monchick for this resource.

with a black Pierrot that premiered in Zurich. William Grant Still's "Black Pierrot" (1947) is arguably the first Pierrot piece that puts black subjectivity in the forefront. Besides music, Pierrot also transitioned from a pantomimic character in the theater to a character in silent films and films with sound. 407 My dissertation lays the groundwork for a more comprehensive study of Pierrot in music and beyond.

Even within the time period of 1884–1915, this study of Pierrot in music is only a beginning. In France, pantomimes, ballets, and operas comiques that involved Pierrot are numerous, and they will add further nuance to Pierrot as a social character. Pierrot music for piano and voice as well as piano solo constitutes a sizable repertoire that deserves more analysis. In England, the reception of French Pierrots and the composition of new Pierrots by British composers beg attention. They include Cyril Scott's *Two Pierrot Pieces*, op. 35 (1904) for piano solo, Joseph Holbrooke's *Pierrot and Pierrette*, op. 36 (1908) in the forms of opera and orchestral ballet suite, Granville Bantock's *Pierrot of the Minute Overture* (1908) for orchestra, and many more. The Czech composer Bohuslav Martinu composed a Pierrot in his Piano Suite *Loutky* (*Puppets*), Book III, H. 92 (1914), and the American composer Arthur Foote composed *Five Bagatelles* (1892-3), including a movement called "Pierrot, within the

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⁴⁰⁷ See, for instance, Carlo Piccardi, "Pierrot at the Cinema: The Musical Common Denominator from Pantomime to Film, Part I" *Music and the Moving Image* 1, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 37-52. Carlo Piccardi, Gillian Anderson, Lidia Bagnoli and Lauren Gregor, "Pierrot at the Cinema: The Musical Common Denominator from Pantomime to Film, Part II," *Music and the Moving Image* 2, no. 2 (Summer 2009): 7-23. Piccardi, "Pierrot at the Cinema: The Musical Common Denominator from Pantomime to Film, Part III," *Music and the Moving Image* 6, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 4-54. Of course, movies such as *Les enfants du paradis* (1945) and *Pierrot le fou* (1965) testify to Pierrot's persistence.

limits of my dissertation, I have focused on new and crucial aspects of the character. I have reviewed key musical genres of Pierrot that escaped scholarly attention, revisited canonic works from important yet hitherto neglected perspectives, and revealed new connections across Pierrot-inspired compositions.

Pierrot continued to be an inspiring character for artists, and has traveled far in place and time. His reach now includes the contemporary music of Arab-American composer Mohammed Fairouz, the Vocaloid of Hatsune Miku, and Taiwanese, Japanese, and Korean popular music, all in the last 20 years. Moreover, the "great works" of Pierrot continue to be regularly performed, and some lesser known Pierrot works are revived. And I hope that my dissertation will serve as a small but substantial contribution to the meanings of Pierrot, and inspire new performances and compositions of Pierrots that address not only art and aesthetics, but also politics and social issues.

⁴⁰⁸ The Pierrot compositions of Schoenberg's contemporaries were recorded in Ensemble "Das Neue Werk" Hamburg, "Pierrot: Clown hinter den Masken der Musik," Musicaphon, 2001, compact disc.

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