# Igor Stravinsky by Way of Alfredo Casella and Gian Francesco Malipiero

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In 1943, during the celebrations for Alfredo Casella's 60th birthday, Guido M. Gatti and Fedele d'Amico commissioned Luigi Rognoni to write an article on Casella the critic. To d'Amico's complaint of a 'major defect' in the submitted text, 'namely that the article had nothing to do with the proposed subject', Rognoni replied:

You say that I only talk about Casella the polemicist and say nothing about C. the critic as such; however, it seems to me that the critical activity of a militant musician cannot be considered from any other perspective than that of his sense of taste and culture in contemporary art [...]: in short, even when C. talks about Schönberg, Stravinsky or Debussy, this means he adopts a quite different position to the objective and "critical" position of a Schaeffner, a Bekker or a Pannain, or ultimately one of us critics who till now has been fortunate enough to keep their good name intact by never composing or performing a single note of music. [...] Take away his critical-polemical activity, the "evidence" of C. the musician, from his alleged purely "critical" activity and little is left.<sup>2</sup>

Indeed, for a composer, analysing the music of another composer always involves an act of 'self-analysis': an important and often essential part in his own creative process, and thus primarily a *private*, personal and soul-baring act. On the contrary, writing a critical text on another composer's works and artistic career, mostly dictated by editorial opportunities, is from the very start a *public* act always subject to external, contingent factors. The dissemination of such a critical text places the composer-writer in a delicate position, since, having to find a compromise with the aesthetic orientation of the artist in question, the author is inevitably exposed to the risk of comprising himself, as well as his own creative present. Such a situation is further complicated when writer and subject are both composing music at the same time and when both their music is performed (in other words, listened to) *contemporaneously*. Indeed, since the addressee of both the music (by both composers) and the critical writing coincides, in terms of conveyed aesthetics, the third pole of the hermeneutic circle becomes a decisive factor for the critic.

For a comparative analysis of the three Stravinsky monographs under discussion,<sup>3</sup> the name of the subject alone, the cultural relevance of the two authors Alfredo Casella and Gian Francesco Malipiero, as well as the historical moment in which they were written and published, between 1926 and 1947, create an exceptional constellation of circumstances to be taken into consideration. Indeed, on the one hand, Stravinsky had embodied in the first half of the twentieth century

one of those "representative men" Emerson talks about, who seem to encompass every aspiration, every trend of their age [and thus] talking about Stravinsky, his work and its evolution is like embracing almost all the main problems affecting our art today.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, Casella and Malipiero were the most progressive members among the 'Generation of the 1880s', the very influential and ambitious artistic phenomenon that since the first period of war in Italy had seen musicians engaged in the renovation of Italian music in line with the new development of contemporary tendencies and tastes. Both considered *The Rite of Spring* the most crucial moment not only for Stravinsky's creative path, but also for European artistic development in general and for that of each musician. In 1947 Casella described the piece as 'a telluric movement which [...] stuns all those who experience it', and as 'a step in the history of music, from which there is no going back', while Malipiero still in 1951 considered it as the sudden awakening from a 'long and dangerous period of hibernation'. Nevertheless, although the close friendship and poetic-aesthetic convergence and affinity between Casella and Malipiero, along with their active

and open personal involvement as champions of Stravinsky's music in Italy already since the 1920s, had originally led both to assume a supportive position for this music,<sup>7</sup> from the 1930s onwards each composer set off on his own individual path, in both composing and in interpreting their time. The two monographs written in the 1940s, at the peak of those respective curves, clearly show how each author dealt with the difficulties posed by the 'iconic' work of Stravinsky, thus reflecting the incompatible critic-polemic positions with regard to the changes of the modern musical culture *tout court*.

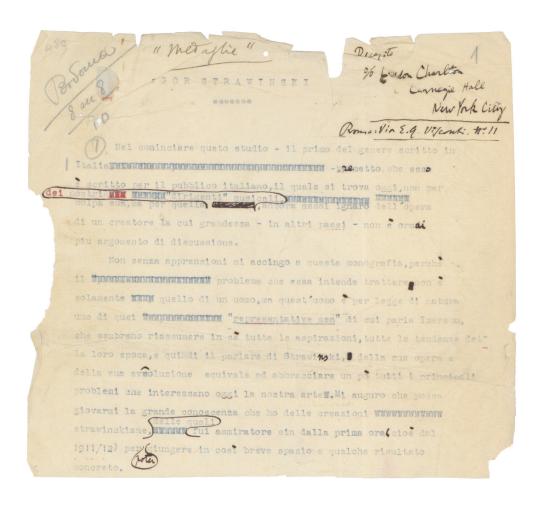
## CASELLA'S IGOR STRAWINSKI (1926)

The first monograph on Igor Stravinsky came out in Italy in 1926, as part of the *Medaglie* collection published by Formìggini. In 1924 the publisher had brought out the first of such short biographies about those 'figures of our time [...] for whom history has yet to give its final judgement'. The 'brusques détours' in Stravinsky's stylistic path of the early 1920s, which had already baffled public and critics alike, made this 'homme à surprise' a perfect candidate. Formìggini had laid down specific guidelines for his authors, who had to convey a sense of 'objectivity' even in terms of the layout of their books (no subdivision into chapters or footnotes; a 'Curriculum Vitae', and a short bibliography in the appendix) and style (like an 'entry' in an Encyclopaedia). In fact, they should not indulge in any 'emphatic adulation or biting criticism' and rather inform readers with 'historical and critical honesty' about other viewpoints, offering them a 'guide to making up their own minds' about the subject in question. In question.

Fernando Liuzzi acted as mediator between Formìggini and the authors of the musical monographs. He had been in touch with Casella since the summer of 1924 and commissioned him to write *Strawinski*.<sup>12</sup> In two letters written on September 22, 1925 Liuzzi reaffirmed on the one hand to Casella the validity of this proposal and the interest of the publisher, telling on the other hand the latter that the success of the book was guaranteed since 'tanto il nome del medagliante come quello del medagliato sono di primo ordine e desteranno largo interesse [both author and subject are first-rate names and will arouse great interest]'. <sup>13</sup> In the same letter to Formìggini, Liuzzi also reassured him that Casella would deliver the book on time, and certainly before leaving for his third American tour on 14 October next. <sup>14</sup> The note in Casella's agenda of a meeting with the publisher on October 12, 1925 suggests that by this date he had not only delivered the text, but also received the press proofs. In fact, on 19 January, 1926, he sent the proofs back

to Liuzzi from New York revised, as Formìggini had requested.<sup>15</sup> The carbon copy of the typescript housed in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venezia), Fondo Alfredo Casella (henceforth FAC), and entitled *Igor Strawinski* corresponds to the proofs mentioned in the letter and is the only primary source of the genesis of the text still traceable today (FIGURE 1).<sup>16</sup> Almost in line with the printed version, the date of completion at the end of the text ('Roma, ottobre 1925') shows that it was written in record time in less than three weeks.

FIGURE 1. Alfredo Casella, *Igor Strawinski*: typescript with autograph corrections, proof copy, first page. Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venezia), Fondo Alfredo Casella



The 'Curriculum Vitae' at the end of the Medaglia reveals that the author supposes a classic tripartite division of the Russian composer's œuvre: an early period (from the Symphony in E-flat to The Firebird), a so-called 'Russian' period (from Petrushka to Les Noces) and a third period (from The Soldier's Tale to the Sonata of 1925). Within this 'given' framework, Casella then deals with the specific stylistic-aesthetic issues raised by each work. His naturalness and speed in writing were due to his deep and consolidated knowledge of the international critical debate on the Russian composer's music, but also and above all to his familiarity with a certain kind of critical reflection that he had matured both as an author of articles on Stravinsky's music and in the drafting of concert programmes even prior to his return to Italy in 1915.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, numerous themes from his previous essays or from the studies cited in the appendix tacitly find their way into the monograph and, for many years to come, remain the core of Casella's argument about 'the Stravinsky case'. As early as in an article written in 1915, for instance, he had voiced his criticism against the descriptive and anecdotal label given to a music he instead considered as essentially constructive and objective. 18 The idea of a dynamic and objective art, already expressed by De Schloezer in 1923, was restated in an unpublished note entitled L'evoluzione di Igor Strawinski (April 1925) written just before his monograph<sup>19</sup> (FIGURE 2).

FIGURE 2. Alfredo Casella, *L'evoluzione di Igor Strawinski*: handwritten note with corrections, unpublished manuscript, first page. Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venezia), Fondo Alfredo Casella

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Casella furthermore raised Stravinsky to the rank of a champion who reestablished the ancient ideal of art as an end in itself (already noted in Ernest Ansermet's 1921 study and the Chester *Miniature Essay* of the same year),<sup>20</sup> as opposed to the romantic conception of music as an expression of human feeling. Hence the use of the 'neoclassical' ideal of composer 'craftsman', or rather an artist whose aim is not to 'pursue moral, literary, philosophical or pictorial objectives with his own art' but who 'makes music destined to be heard'. 21 Finally, in line with the European exegetes, Casella objects to the repeated criticism of Stravinsky's stylistic inconsistency, arguing that his compositional development had followed an absolutely logical course. Just like in his 1925 note, he urges thus that the Russian's 'constant desire – and capacity – for innovation' should be understood as a necessary consequence of the artist's 'formidable technical skill'. 22 The new style, he reaffirms in the monograph, derives from 'a heightened awareness of his own possibilities, and a technical and spiritual confidence'. 23 Thus the Piano Sonata, performed at the International Society for Contemporary Music Festival held in Venice in 1925, is in the work for Formiggini the very culmination of a sought-after process leading to a 'chiarificazione e purezza dello stile [clarification and purity of style]' and thus the perfect arrival for Casella's narrative.<sup>24</sup>

In 1926, such concepts and aesthetic positions were not at all new, nor had they been explicitly coined for Stravinsky's music. Indeed, for some time they had been talking points in the debate on the renewal and creation of a new Italian art, which Casella himself had already been discussing on the pages of his *Ars Nova* review since 1918.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, the shared beliefs and principles of the poetics that had united the musicians of the '1880 Generation' at the time of the First World War, would gradually be transformed into even antithetical positions. In the case of Malipiero, the contradiction occurred even within his own utterances and led him, from the 1930s onwards, to openly express his aversion towards any kind of renewal rooted in a neoclassical revival of the past and a mere assimilation of the most popular modern European musical tendencies. A combination therefore whose most representative example lay precisely Stravinsky's neoclassical art.

## MALIPIERO'S STRAWINSKY (1945)

Malipiero's book came out in the autumn of 1945 for the *Edizioni del Cavallino*, a 'kind of monograph [...] on the most disconcerting of musicians', as the author himself defined it a few years later:

What is behind this book that bears my signature and the title "Strawinsky"? The sadness at having lost the composer of *Petrushka, The Rite* and *Les Noces*. It is therefore an exquisitely personal issue and closely related to certain youthful impressions and memories [...]. That is why I have perhaps borne a grudge against the Strawinsky who let himself down in his later works. The First World War (1914) uprooted him from his land and this is the key to all his evolutions.<sup>26</sup>

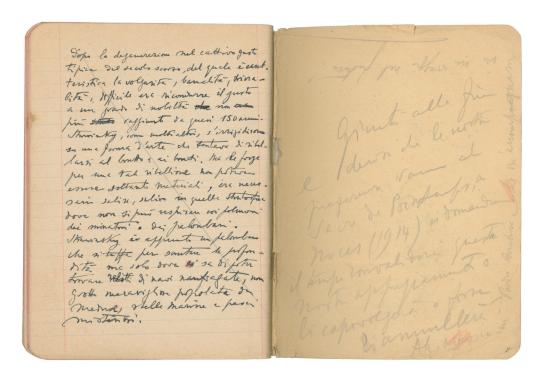
Malipiero's plot proceeds from the depths of his personal experiences (in the first chapter, entitled 'Incontri'), through the composer's works ('Le cronache della sua vita. Commentario') to culminate in a critical review of the most eminent critics' and musicians' exegeses ('Conclusione'). The first chapter offers neither introduction nor any kind of contextualisation to lay the ground for the description of the six steps mirroring the six meetings between Malipiero and Stravinsky, which bear witness to the gradual dampening of the initial enthusiasm generated by *The Rite*. After the third encounter, with the composer and his Sonata in Venice in 1925, the remaining steps come to be a pretext for addressing those 'issues' in the Russian composer's art that have touched sensitive points of Malipiero's poetic reorientation during the 1930 and 1940s. Harsh criticism is directed in particular to Stravinsky's need for a 'return to the past', interpreted as a harmful reuse of tradition mixed with modernity for strictly personal and commercial ends, as well as to his recourse to a 'practical' style that aims to solve aesthetic problems by purely contingent solutions which basically guarantee an immediate impact on the audience. The second chapter takes the form of a commentary on Stravinsky's Chroniques de ma vie published in 1935.27 The Russian's memoirs become the central thread to polemically highlight the inherent contradictions with those beliefs Malipiero (no longer) agreed with. Instead of adding new critical viewpoints, the author prefers to amplify and corroborate previously exposed polemical assumptions presenting topics that are only apparently new. To conclude, he draws upon quotations of famous exegetes to reiterate, this time ex negativo, his convictions and misgivings. Again, no effort is made to enlarge on the various issues, and his apparently 'scientific' and 'objective' discussion based on the literature veils his strategy to reveal the critics' favouritism and, consequently, to support the legitimacy of his own disapproval and disappointment with Stravinsky's recent evolution.

The working method that emerges from the analysis of the preparatory materials seems to confirm a peculiarity of Malipiero's style, often described as resorting to 'antithetical relations and ellipses rather than contiguity and resemblance'<sup>28</sup> – just as his music (re)presented themes without developing them.<sup>29</sup> A few letters to his wife, Anna Wright, and several slips of paper in her handwriting allow us to date the first phase of collection and examination of material to September 1944, the period of his residence at the Venice Conservatory.<sup>30</sup> At the time she was compiling

the catalogue of his library in Asolo<sup>31</sup> and not only traced the requested sources in books and magazines but also selected and excerpted further passages to send to her husband.<sup>32</sup>

The first phase of collecting and analysing this material took about a month to complete and was carried out in a planned methodical way, based on the clearly defined, though yet to be articulated, initial project to present the theme starting from the sources. If another typical feature of Malipiero's theoretical writings is often said to be his way of putting 'aside his personality so that the documents being presented (music, theoretical pages, letters, diaries and literary testimonies) speak, so to say, for themselves', 33 in his Strawinsky it is precisely the treatment of quotations that reveals his emotional implication. They are never cited in an impersonal way but prepare the ground for a timely outburst of sarcasm and scathing remarks, often embellished with rhetorical questions that serve as closing statements. Fifty loose sheets, grouped and numbered independently, bear witness to a second preparatory phase for the central part of the book. Some of these contain extracts from the mentioned sources in Malipiero's handwriting, together with the relevant page numbers, often already with comments; the remainder are the first drafts of most of the passages that will be used in the final version. The most advanced stage of the writing process, which started on 10 October 1944, is attested in a notebook containing the whole work (FIGURE 3). Here, the sheets have been re-arranged in a new order and revised so as to attenuate the more churlish and colloquial tone. This phase marks the start of the work of examining and finetuning the text, which distinctly marks the change of the material's nature, from a private to a public one.

FIGURE 3. Gian Francesco Malipiero, *Strawinsky*: handwritten manuscript with corrections, notebook, last page. Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venezia), Fondo Gian Francesco Malipiero



Moreover, although the resulting sequence of ideas is intended to veil any continuous 'thematic' causality, the apparent 'elliptical' style – i.e. the missing logical links – reinforces the dramaturgic effect, increasing the expressive potential of the final message through the constant build-up of rhetorical energy.

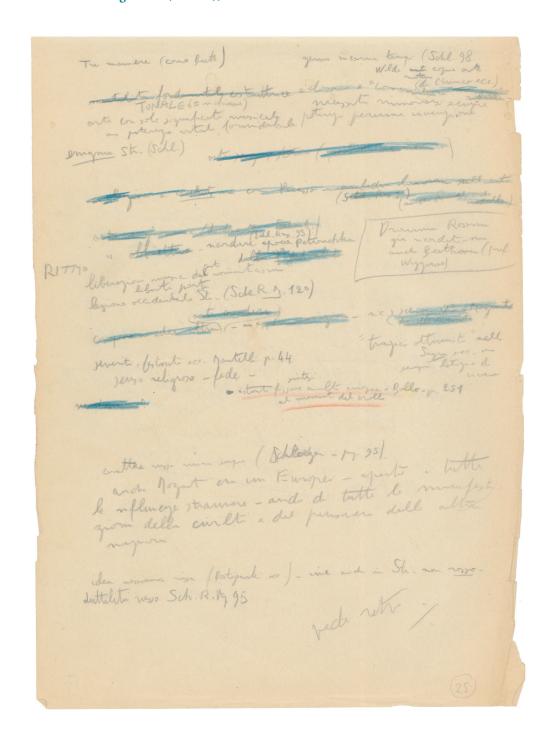
## CASELLA'S STRAWINSKI (1947)

The tone, structure and aesthetic judgement of Casella's second monograph, published posthumously by La Scuola in the winter of 1947, a little more than a year after Malipiero's, paints quite a different picture. Despite Casella's illness, it was written in quite a short time, probably between January and April 1946.<sup>34</sup> Compared to the 1926 monograph, it is explicitly divided into three parts, entitled 'La giovinezza', 'La maturità' and 'Super-maturità' [Youth; Maturity; Late-Maturity], with the third period now extended to 1940–1941, preceded by an 'introduction' and concluded by a fourth part entitled 'L'enigma'.<sup>35</sup> The new

editorial goal and the consideration of a wider creative span called for a greater depth of discussion and a detached 'objective', almost 'scientific' approach to the subject, which seems to offset the author's even greater personal involvement. Although the style befits a non-specialist audience, the book is enhanced with analytical descriptions of the most significant and best-known works, as well as with bibliographic references included directly in the text.<sup>36</sup> Such a structure allows Casella to go deeply into Stravinsky's last creative phase and consequently to stress the often doubted relationship of 'necessity' linking each work to the previous ones, thus assuming the organicity of the compositional path as a real solution to the 'Stravinsky enigma'.<sup>37</sup>

The only record in the composer's archival collection documenting the initial stage of this work is a pencil autograph in a notebook.<sup>38</sup> The first page (numbered 23) outlines the information to be inserted in the new contextualisation in the opening paragraph ('Il contesto storico'). Names, titles and dates of reference scores from twentieth century music history should allow the reader to understand 'the nature of the European musical world in which the young Igor took his first steps as a composer'.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, here Casella notes down the structure of the first part of the book dedicated to a 'special study' of the three key works *Petrushka*, *The Rite* and *Les Noces*. On the next three pages (pp. 24, 25, 28; FIGURE 4) he jots down some remarks that will be developed in the central and conclusive passages of the final text, as well as new topics with their respective bibliographic references intended for the conclusion, whose end is drafted in the last three pages of his notes (pp. 32–34; see FIGURE 5).<sup>40</sup>

FIGURE 4. Alfredo Casella, *Strawinski*: handwritten note with corrections, notebook, p. 25. Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venezia), Fondo Alfredo Casella



In the epilogue of the published text, Casella gives credit to Stravinsky's 'lezione che ha sostituito un nuovo, superiore ordine laddove la musica europea sembrava dovesse naufragare nell'anarchia [lesson for having supplied a new, superior order when European music seemed to be sinking into anarchy]'. His music and particularly the messianic Symphony of Psalms thus function as reminder and spiritual model on the road towards the salvation of European civilisation, 'where music transcends any national limitations', to reach 'the luminous realms of the universal'. 41 This unexpected reappearance of a work of 1930 in the final chapter deserves further reflection. Leaving behind the spirit of response towards the drama of the First World War, the poetics of neoclassicism of the 1930s gradually assumed features of a 'classicismo [classicism]' and a 'stabilizzazione [stabilisation]'<sup>42</sup> which, though quite natural for some, troubled many others. Casella himself had become personally involved in the debate, having to fend off accusations of his alleged epigonism of Stravinsky.<sup>43</sup> On the one hand, he devoted himself to the defence of that art which he felt embodied a 'healthy reaction', namely that 'constructive work and stabilising factor that follows great cataclysms' which should be seen as 'synonymous of progress and not as a revival of the most terrible of pasts'.44 However, at the same time, he warned of the risk of wrongly playing down the commitment of his generation 'towards a structurally balanced and measured art, for a simple aping of Stravinsky's latest works'. 45 The belief that, after a tormented quarter of a century, Italian music had gained its independence, led him in 1933 to talk about an 'undoubted return to the "normality" of artistic expression':

Today [...] musicians have acquired the richest and most accomplished language of sound in the history of mankind [...] a so-called "classic" period which has a new equilibrium between feeling and realisation [...] the age of experiments, of shilly-shallying, of the frantic search for tomorrow is over. Today, mankind expects from artists the art of its time.<sup>46</sup>

Such optimism, 'the faith (perhaps more of a public display than an intimate conviction) in the possibility that arts could flourish under the aegis of a reactionary and dictatorial regime',<sup>47</sup> found little favour with both an artist like Malipiero and the younger generation. In November 1935, in reply to Casella's outraged letter at having been labelled 'Stravinsky's epigone' by Rognoni, the latter writes:

You have declared a "return to normality". That's fine. But, what "normality", please? How can you return to the normality of spiritual, cultural and artistic life in a country where freedom of action and expression is lacking, where everything is standardised, where spiritual values themselves are suffocated? [...] Our generation of 1910 is one of the unhappiest generations in history's memory [...]. And all we can do in such a spiritual crisis is to <u>desperately defend historical and intellectual values.</u><sup>48</sup>

So, how can one interpret Casella's wish in 1946 for an ideal return to 1930? Does it really display an 'abstract' point of view and 'Casella's serene optimism (the optimism that allowed him to weather every storm)', as Rognoni wrote in 1943?<sup>49</sup>

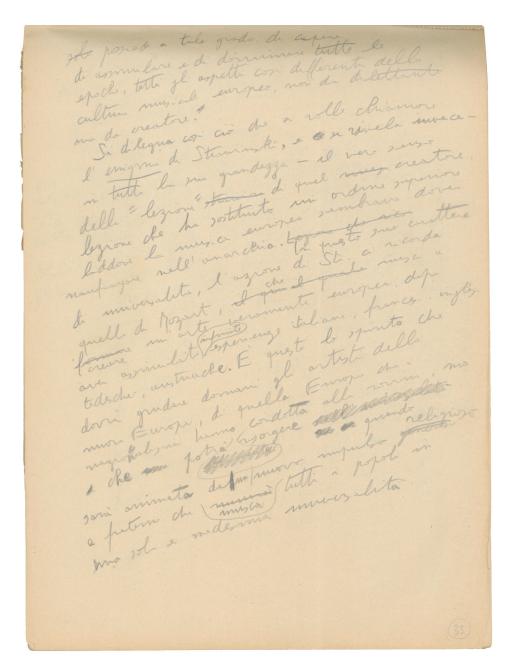
## **CONCLUSIONS**

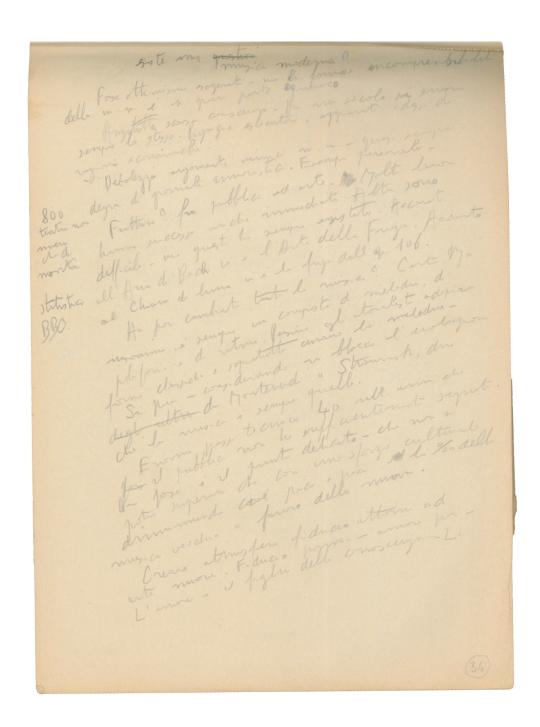
In a letter dated December 31 of the same year, Casella makes his belief known to Malipiero:

I still have the uttermost faith in the future of art (and especially our art). After a few bad years, music will take back its place in the new world that will arise on the ruins of what surrounded our youth.<sup>50</sup>

His concern over the dramatic situation affecting art and modern society found its resolution in a hope for rebirth, which was nothing else than the one endorsed in the finale of Casella's *Strawinski*. The *Symphony of Psalms* thus became the symbol of a belief in future salvation, in a re-emergence from the fires that still burned in the ruins left by the tragedy. Far from being a backward glance that nullified the present, the comparison with the past, and with its 'normality', becomes therefore an awareness of the present and a driving force towards the future. The original ending of the monograph, later replaced by the definitive version but documented on the last page of the notebook, reveals a 'polemical' vein, a personal involvement in, and a living 'testimony' of the political and cultural crisis, which, at that time, could only find such an explicit voice in the composer's most private writings (FIGURES 5A AND 5B; for the transcription and the English translation, see footnote).<sup>51</sup>

FIGURES 5A AND 5B. Alfredo Casella, *Strawinski*: first draft of the conclusion with corrections, notebook, pp. 33–34. Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venezia), Fondo Alfredo Casella





Did Casella choose to publish a more 'critical' ending to dispel any doubts on a strategic legitimation of his own position? Of course, by avoiding any mention of the on-going debate on epigonism, he decided to close his work in an objective tone of 'positive polemic'. Far from supporting a 'revolutionary' controversy so desired by the younger generations of people like Rognoni – whose very motivation and drive had come from Casella himself –,<sup>52</sup> he instead preferred to choose as a reference a composer like Stravinsky, who came to terms with the present precisely by actively engaging with it.

For Malipiero on the contrary, this same present does not contain any key to a true and peaceful vision of 'modernity', 53 a modernity he nevertheless also yearned for. While Casella believed that the renewal of Italian art had been achieved by restoring the music of the past and by merging it with contemporary means and needs,<sup>54</sup> Malipiero advocated a genuine modernity. Thus, it is logical (and not at all elliptical) that at the end of his book he returns to the revelatory and 'rousing' Rite, whose apparent promise of renewal and progress was then disappointingly extinguished in a later development that, in a first private draft, he defined as a 'parabola discendente [descending curve]'.55 'If initially the neo-classical movement (that is between 1925 and 1930) might have seemed a process of simplification – he notes on another sketch page also not present in the book – it then turned out to be a rather naïve response'. 56 That apparent 'simplification' interpreted positively as a 'reduction to essence' which had won over Malipiero himself in the period around 1918, had thus proved to be ineffectual and inadequate. The Neoclassical revival of stability, he seems to say, had been guided by expediency and had come about too quickly (in other words, too easily). The 'stable' elements of the past, rather than becoming models to study, understand and follow, had been used for 'practical' compositional purposes, and therefore confused with the present, in order to please current taste.<sup>57</sup> Malipiero's alleged 'anti-modernism' was thus not 'against modern music, but against the modern world', 58 that selfsame world which Stravinsky, homme de métier, satisfied. Hence the ensuing lack of involvement and detachment from any joyful expression of the present, as well as his profoundly pessimistic vision of his time,<sup>59</sup> which led him to retreat into a solitary and isolated position.

The final words in his *Strawinsky* cannot but express his disappointment and distaste for the whole system that had accepted these conditions, which in Italy went under the name of 'Stravinskian epigonism', with Casella at the head of the queue. This is why, on the last page of the book, he once again takes up the leitmotif of the 'music craftsman' by explicitly referring to the self-contradiction he recognized in the corresponding passage from Casella's book of 1926.<sup>60</sup> As Malipiero notes, although the author hoped for an art in the sense of a love for art and not a 'love

for its creator'<sup>61</sup> and for an 'artist-man [who] puts himself aside before his work',<sup>62</sup> in extolling Stravinsky he actually exalts the most emblematic case of 'those living musicians – writes Malipiero – who are performers, conductors and public speakers, whose lengthy "curriculum vitae" serves as their introduction'.<sup>63</sup> This was for Malipiero the real sign that the spark of renewal kindled by *The Rite* had been lost and a new 'dangerous hibernation' restored. Nevertheless, he concludes by once again (re)affirming the uselessness of research on present-day criticisms and the validity of his own 'controversial', albeit emotional and nostalgic position, by taking a leap backwards and declaring: 'Instead, we prefer to ignore all the literature on Stravinsky, and let at least our mind take us back to Paris, May 28, 1913'.<sup>64</sup> In the last line of his book Malipiero leaves the arduous 'Ai posteri l'ardua sentenza [judgment to posterity]';<sup>65</sup> and yet, in the depths of his notes, he too launches a positive vision of the future to be sought precisely in the example of the past, concluding his manuscript by stating that:

Now that we are at the end and that our clear preference is for *The Rite of Spring* and *Les Noces* (1914) we ask ourselves: will time confirm this assessment or will it be overturned or even nullified? Oh to have a Father Anchises to accompany us on our journey into the future!<sup>66</sup>

And this common desire is exactly what unites the spirit and the argumentative edges of both composers who – one optimistically and the other far more sceptically – are hopeful that the younger generations, guided by the example of the past, will be able to not only judge the present, but also to build a new city that rises from its ashes and reaps the benefits of Troy's legacy.

Translated from Italian by Sally Davies

## Notes

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- 1 'un difetto capitale, e cioè di non svolgere affatto l'argomento proposto dal titolo'. Letter from Fedele d'Amico to Luigi Rognoni, 19 May 1943, in: *Luigi Rognoni e Alfredo Casella. Il carteggio* (1934–1946) e gli scritti di Rognoni su Casella (1935–1958), a cura di Pietro Misuraca, Lucca: LIM, 2005, pp. 161–163: 161.
- <sup>2</sup> 'Tu mi dici che io parlo esclusivamente del Casella polemista, trascurando il C. critico propriamente detto; a me sembra però che l'attività critica di un musicista militante non possa in fondo giudicarsi altro che dal punto di vista della sua posizione di gusto e di cultura nell'arte contemporanea [...]: insomma anche quando C. parla di Schönberg, Strawinsky o di Debussy

per lui significa prendere posizione in modo ben diverso dalla presa di posizione obiettiva e "critica" di uno Schaeffner, di un Bekker o di un Pannain, o insomma di uno di noi critici che abbiamo avuto la fortuna di non comprometterci sino ad ora con una sola nota di musica scritta ed eseguita. [...] Separa ora l'attività critico-polemica, la "testimonianza" di C. musicista da una sua presunta attività puramente "critica" e ti rimane ben poco'. Letter from Rognoni to d'Amico on 16 May 1943, in: *Luigi Rognoni e Alfredo Casella*, pp. 163–165.

- 3 Alfredo Casella, *Igor Strawinski*, Roma: Formìggini, 1926. Gian Francesco Malipiero, *Strawinsky*, Venezia: Il Cavallino, 1945 (quoted here from Pordenone: Studio Tesi, 1982); Alfredo Casella, *Strawinski*, Brescia: La Scuola, 1947 (quoted here from Roma: Castelvecchi, 2016).
- 4 'uno di quei "representative men" di cui parla Emerson, che sembrano riassumere in sé tutte le aspirazioni, tutte le tendenze della loro epoca [...] il parlare di Strawinski, della sua opera e della sua evoluzione equivale ad abbracciare un po' tutti i principali problemi che interessano oggi la nostra arte'. Casella, *Igor Strawinski*, p. 8. De Schloezer had already used the expression in 'Igor Stravinsky', *La Revue Musicale*, V/2, 1 December 1923, pp. 97–141: 98.
- 5 'movimento tellurico il quale [...] lascia tramortito chi lo subisce', 'tappa nella storia della musica, dietro la quale non è ormai più possibile a nessuno di indietreggiare'. Casella, *Strawinski*, pp. 33, 34.
- 6 'lungo e pericoloso letargo'. Gian Francesco Malipiero, 'Igor Strawinsky a Venezia', in: *Il filo d'Arianna: saggi e fantasie*, Torino: Einaudi, 1966, p. 195.
- 7 See Fiamma Nicolodi, 'Casella e la musica di Stravinsky in Italia. Contributo a un'indagine sul Neoclassicismo', *Chigiana*, XXIX–XXX/9–10, 1975, pp. 41–68. See also Francesca R. Conti, 'Letteratura per le note. Gli scritti critici di Alfredo Casella', in: *Catalogo critico del Fondo Alfredo Casella*, Firenze: Olschki, 1992, 2 vols., II, pp. 3–41: 6.
- 8 'figure del nostro tempo [...] per le quali la storia non ha pronunciato ancora un giudizio definitivo'. Angelo F. Formìggini, *Trenta anni dopo. Storia di una casa editrice*, Roma: Formìggini, 1951, p. 119.
- 9 'brusque turns'. Boris De Schloezer, 'Igor Stravinsky', *La Revue Musicale*, V/2, 1 December 1923, pp. 97–141.
- 10 'surprising man'. De Schloezer, 'Igor Stravinsky', p. 100.
- 11 'onestà storico e critica'; 'guida per ricostruire per conto proprio un suo personale giudizio'. Manuscript of Formìggini's guidelines, Modena, Biblioteca Estense (henceforth M–BE), 62/8.
- 12 In a letter on 16 July 1924 Formìggini asks Liuzzi to send Casella the 'medaglie di Saggio'. M–BE, 56/10. In October Liuzzi requests that Casella think as soon as possible about the Strawinski, 'tanto più che ne hai udito recentemente l'Ottetto [especially since you have recently heard the Octet]'. Letter from Liuzzi to Casella, 13 October 1924, Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini (henceforth FGC), Fondo Alfredo Casella (henceforth FAC), L.3521.
- 13 Letter from Liuzzi to Casella, 22 September 1925 (FAC, L.3524); as regards the quotation, see the letter from Liuzzi to Formiggini, 22 September 1925 (M–BE, 56/10).
- 14 Letter from Liuzzi to Formiggini, 22 September 1925 (M–BE, 56/10).
- 15 Letter from Casella to Liuzzi, 19 January 1926 (M–BE, 22/2).
- 16 Typescript with autograph corrections (FAC, S.151.k).
- 17 For a list of Casella's articles on Stravinsky written before 1926 see Casella, Strawinski, p. 11.
- 'Vale a dire che quest'arte, creduta aneddotica, è invece essenzialmente costruttiva'. Casella, Igor Strawinski, p. 13; see also Alfredo Casella, 'Igor Strawinsky e la sua arte', La Riforma Musicale, 7 March 1915–14 February 1915.

- 19 Alfredo Casella, *L'evoluzione di Igor Strawinski*, p. 25 (FAC, S.133). The text was probably written for the Corporazione delle Nuove Musiche concerts, which saw the performances of *The Soldier's Tale* (07 April 1925 and 24 April 1925), the *Concerto* for piano and *The Octuor* (19 April 1925).
- 20 Casella, *Igor Strawinski*, p. 43. Ernest Ansermet, 'L'œuvre d'Igor Strawinski', *La Revue Musicale*, Paris, July 1921, pp. 7–8; 'Igor Stravinsky', *Miniature Essays*, London: J.&W. Chester Ltd., 1921, pp. 5–7.
- 21 'artigiano [...] scrive musica non per perseguire obbiettivi morali, letterari, filosofici o pittorici. Ma egli fa la musica destinata ad essere *udita*'. Casella, *Igor Strawinski*, p. 41.
- <sup>22</sup> 'Pochi artisti hanno dimostrato anzitutto una costante volontà e capacità di rinnovamento come Strawinski. Questo rinnovamento gli era del resto imposto dopo ogni lavoro dal fatto stesso della sua formidabile abilità tecnica'. Casella, *Igor Strawinski*, p. 27; 'Certamente, il doversi rinnovare a tutti i costi è imposto a Strav. dalla perfezione stessa della sua gigantesca tecnica'. Casella, *L'evoluzione di Igor Strawinski*, p. 2.
- <sup>23</sup> 'una più assoluta coscienza delle proprie possibilità, ed infine una sicurezza tecnica e spirituale'. Casella, *Igor Strawinski*, pp. 28–29.
- 24 Casella, Igor Strawinski, p. 38.
- 25 See Casella, 'La nuova musicalità italiana', *Ars Nova*, II/2, January 1918, pp. 2–4, and 'Che cos'è l'arte?", *Ars Nova*, III/1, November 1918, p. 41. See Fiamma Nicolodi, 'Aspects compositionnels et esthétiques du néoclassicisme en Italie', *Klassizistische Moderne in der Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Winterthur: Amadeus, 1997, pp. 73–91: 73, and Francesca Petrocchi, 'Le ragioni dell'arte: musica, pittura e letteratura in "Ars Nova", in: "*Ars Nova*" 1917–1919, a cura di Francesca Petrocchi, Napoli: Scientifiche Italiane, 1992, pp. 11–56.
- 'una specie di monografia [...] sul più sconcertante fra i musicisti [...]. Il libro che reca la mia firma e il titolo "Strawinsky" che cosa è? Il disappunto per aver smarrito l'autore di *Petrouska*, del *Sacre* e delle *Nozze*. Si tratta dunque di un fatto squisitamente personale e in stretto rapporto con certe impressioni e ricordi giovanili [...]. Ecco perché ho forse nutrito un po' di rancore per lo Strawinsky che è venuto meno a se stesso con le opere composte più tardi. La prima guerra mondiale (1914) lo ha sradicato dalla sua terra e questo è il segreto di tutte le sue evoluzioni'. Gian Francesco Malipiero, 'Igor Strawinsky a Venezia', *La Biennale di Venezia*, IV, 1951, pp. 5–6 (now in: Gian Francesco Malipiero, *Il filo d'Arianna. Saggi e Fantasie*, Torino: Einaudi, 1966, p. 195).
- 27 Igor Stravinskij, *Chroniques de ma vie* (2 vols.), Paris: Denoël et Steele, 1935.
- <sup>28</sup> 'per rapporti antitetici e per ellissi piuttosto che per contiguità e per similarità'. Gianfranco Folena, 'La voce e la scrittura di Malipiero', in: *Omaggio a Malipiero*, a cura di Mario Messinis, Firenze: Olschki, 1977, pp. 99–113: 101.
- 29 See Guido M. Gatti, 'Malipiero scrittore', La città libera, 25 October 1945, w.p.
- 30 Unless otherwise stated, all the materials are conserved at the FGC, Fondo Gian Francesco Malipiero (FGFM).
- 31 Francisco Rocca, 'G.F. Malipiero nel suo labirinto: tra l'archivio e la biblioteca', contribution to the workshop *Biblioteche di compositori*, organized and coordinated by Paolo Dal Molin, Fondazione Ugo and Olga Levi onlus, Venice, October 2016.
- 32 Information about the sources used can be obtained from the letters of 11 and 19 September 1944; newspaper clippings and reviews particularly about the performance of the *Sonata* in 1925; articles from the 1920 editions of the *Chesterian* (by Ansermet, Leigh Henry, Prunières) and from the special issue of the *Revue Musicale* of 1939 (by Auric, Cortot, Honegger,

- Lifar, Roland Manuel, Milhaud, Schaeffner); the two volumes of the *Chroniques* and several monographs, including Casella's from 1926.
- 33 'tra parentesi la propria personalità di modo che i documenti esibiti (musiche, pagine teoriche, lettere, testimonianze diaristiche e letterarie) si diano nella loro immediatezza e parlino per così dire in prima persona'. Francesco Degrada, 'Malipiero e la tradizione musicale italiana', in: *Omaggio a Malipiero*, pp. 131–152: 136.
- 34 Dates deduced from Casella's correspondence with Fedele d'Amico (11 January 1946; FAC, L.701) and with Claudio Sartori (14 May 1946; FAC, L.4523). The author wrote the date of conclusion on the last page of the manuscript (not kept in the fonds but reproduced in: Casella, Strawinski, 1947, p. 207, and 1951, p. 191).
- 35 As explained by the author (Casella, *Strawinski*, p. 98), even though, on the last page, he does take a look at the 1945 Symphony in *Three Movements* for orchestra.
- 36 For a list of the bibliographic references used by Casella, see the editor's notes in the Castelvecchi edition, 2016.
- 37 Conclusion 'L'enigma', in: Casella, Strawinski, p. 106.
- Nine sheets, numbered from 23 to 25, 28, and from 32 to 34. The notes for *Strawinski* appear alongside notes for several Casella's coeval writings (FAC, S.512, S.514, S.515, etc.).
- <sup>39</sup> 'quale fosse il mondo musicale europeo a traverso il quale il giovane Igor mosse i suoi primi passi di compositore'. Casella, *Strawinski*, p. 15.
- 40 FAC, AS.21. There are no preparatory materials for the expanded parts of the book in his fonds and likewise there is no manuscript of the final version of 1946.
- 41 'ove la musica trascende ogni limitazione nazionale, per raggiungere [...] il regno luminoso dell'universale...'. Casella, *Strawinski*, p. 106.
- 42 See Theodor W. Adorno, 'Die stabilisierte Musik' [1928], Theodor W. Adorno *Gesammelte Schriften*, hrsg. von Rolf Tiedemann, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1978, 20 vols., XVIII, pp. 721–728.
- 43 See Luigi Rognoni, 'L'estetica di Strawinsky', *Bollettino Mensile di Vita e Cultura Musicale*, IX/9, September 1935, pp. 198–202, and Fernando Ballo, 'Esperienze della musica moderna', *La Rassegna musicale*, VIII/4, July–August 1935, pp. 245–262.
- 44 'lavoro costruttivo ed apportatore di equilibrio che segue i grandi cataclismi' e che andava inteso come 'sinonimo di progresso e non di ritorno al peggior passato'. Alfredo Casella, *Tendenze e stile della nuova musica italiana*, *L'Italia letteraria*, I/9, 2 June 1929, in: Alfredo Casella, 21+26, a cura di Alessandra Carlotta Pellegrini, Firenze: Olschki, 2001, pp. 43–47: 44.
- 45 'verso un'arte fatta di equilibrio e di misura architettonica, ad una semplice scimmiottatura degli ultimi lavori di strawinskiani'. Casella, *Tendenze e stile della nuova musica italiana*, p. 46.
- 46 'indubbio ritorno alla "normalità" dell'espressione artistica. [...] Oggi [...] i musicisti si trovano in possesso di un linguaggio sonoro così ricco e completo come nessuna civiltà mai conobbe [...] un periodo insomma di nuovo equilibrio fra sentimento e rappresentazione che si potrebbe dire "classico" [...] l'epoca degli esperimenti, dei tentennamenti, della ricerca affannosa del domani è terminata. Oggi l'umanità attende dagli artisti l'arte del suo tempo'. Alfredo Casella, 'Del ritorno alla "normalità" musicale', L'Italia letteraria, IX/47, 19 November 1933, p. 1.
- 47 'fiducia ostentatamente, forse più che intimamente, riposta nelle possibilità di una prosperosa vita delle arti sotto l'egida di un regime reazionario e dittatoriale'. Mila De Santis, 'Per un epistolario. I carteggi del fondo Casella', in: *Catalogo critico del Fondo Alfredo Casella*, I, pp. 3–47: 34.

- 48 'Ella ha dichiarato un "ritorno alla normalità". Sta bene. Ma quale "normalità", di grazia? Ritornare alla normalità di vita spirituale, culturale ed artistica in un paese dove manca la libertà di azione e di espressione, dove tutto è standardizzato, dove gli effettivi valori dello spirito sono soffocati? [...] La nostra generazione, quella nata nel 1910, è tra le generazioni più infelici che la storia possa ricordare [...]. E in questa crisi dello spirito il nostro unico atteggiamento deve essere quello di una disperata difesa dei valori della storia e dell'intelletto'. Letter from Rognoni to Casella, 12 November 1932, in: Luigi Rognoni e Alfredo Casella, pp. 108–113: 111.
- 49 'sereno ottimismo di Casella (quell'ottimismo che lo ha sempre sorretto in ogni burrasca)'. See Rognoni's words in the text Casella critico (1943), in: *Luigi Rognoni e Alfredo Casella*, pp. 157–158.
- 50 'La mia fede nell'avvenire dell'arte (e specialmente la nostra) rimane intiera. Dopo alcuni anni brutti la musica riprenderà il suo posto nel mondo nuovo che sarà sorto sulle rovine di quello che circondò la nostra gioventù'. Letter from Casella to Malipiero, 31 December 1943 (FAC, L.1315).
- 51 '[33] [...] É questo lo spirito che / dovrà guidare domani gli artisti della / nuova Europa, di quella Europa che i / nazionalismi hanno condotto alla rovina, ma / che potrà risorgere quando / sarà animata da un nuovo impulso generoso religioso / e fraterno che unisca tutti i popoli in / una sola e medesima universalità. / [34] Esiste una musica moderna? / Forse ottimismo esagerato – ma la famosa incomprensibilità / della m[usica] m[oderna] è in gran parte equivoco. / Anzitutto scarsa conoscenza. Da un secolo risuona / sempre lo stesso. Pigrizia esecutori, aggravata da / ragioni economiche. / Debolezza argomenti nemici m[usica] m[oderna] – quasi sempre / degna di giornali umoristici. Esempio personale. / Frattura? fra pubblico ed arte. Molti lavori / hanno successo anche immediato. Altri sono / difficili - ma questo ha sempre esistito. Accanto / all'Aria di Bach vi è l'Arte della Fuga. Accanto / al Chiaro di Luna vi è la fuga dell'op. 106. / Ha poi cambiato tanto la musica? Certo. Ma / insomma, è sempre un composto di melodia, di / polifonia e di ritmo. Persino gli atonalisti adoperano / forme classiche e soprattutto curano la melodia. / Si può – considerando in blocco l'evoluzione / da Monteverdi a Strawinski, dire / che la musica è sempre quella. / Enorme passo tecnico 40 ult[imi] anni che / il pubblico non ha sufficientemente seguito. / Qui forse è il punto delicato – che non si / potrà superare che con uno sforzo culturale / diminuendo cioè poco a poco la % della / musica vecchia a favore della nuova. / Creare atmosfera fiducia attorno ad / arte nuova. Fiducia prima – amore poi. / L'amore è il figlio della conoscenza. [[33] [...] This is the spirit that / tomorrow will have to guide the artists of / modern-day Europe, that Europe which / nationalism has brought to ruin, but / which will be able to rise again, / when it is invigorated / by a new and generous impulse that is both religious / and fraternal and which unites all peoples within / one and the same universality. [34] Does modern music exist? / Perhaps extreme optimism – but m[odern] m[usic]'s famous incomprehensibility / is largely a misunderstanding. / First of all, a lack of knowledge. For a century / it's always been the same old story. Performers' laziness, exacerbated by / economic reasons. / Weakness opposing arguments m[odern] m[usic] – almost always / worthy of humorous newspapers. Personal example. / Rift? between public and art. Many works / enjoy immediate success. Others are / difficult – but this is nothing new. Alongside / Bach's Aria there is the Art of Fugue. Alongside / Chiaro di Luna there is the op. 106 Fugue. / Has music really changed so much? Of course. But / ultimately, it is always a mixture of melody, / polyphony and rhythm. Even the Atonalists use / classical forms and pay particular attention to the melody. / We can – considering en bloc the evolution / from Monteverdi to Strawinski, say / that music is always that. / Enormous technical step last 40 years that / the public has not been able to keep pace with. / Here's the delicate issue perhaps – one that / can

#### IGOR STRAVINSKY BY WAY OF ALFREDO CASELLA AND GIAN FRANCESCO MALIPIERO

- only be solved with a cultural effort / that is a gradual decrease in the % / of the old music in favour of the new. / The creation of an atmosphere of trust around / new art. First trust then love. / Love is the child of knowledge]'.
- 52 See the letter from Rognoni to Casella, 12 November 1932, in: *Luigi Rognoni e Alfredo Casella*, pp. 108–113: 112.
- 53 Massimo Mila, 'Modernità e antimodernismo in Malipiero', in: *Omaggio a Malipiero*, pp. 15–20: 16.
- 54 See Casella, 'Scarlattiana', Anbruch, XI/1, 1929, pp. 26–28.
- 55 Annotation in the manuscript of Malipiero's Strawinsky as included in his notebook (FGFM).
- 56 'Se il movimento neo-classico poteva dapprincipio (cioè fra il 1925 e 1930) sembrare un processo di semplificazione si è poi dimostrato una reazione alquanto ingenua'. Annotation in the manuscript of Malipiero's *Strawinsky* as included in his notebook (FGFM).
- 57 'Se noi saliremo verso le sorgenti della nostra arte musicale, con maggiore forza potremo lanciarci nell'avvenire, evitando di precipitare nelle voragini del presente [If we ascend towards the sources of our musical art, he wrote in 1929 we could launch ourselves into the future with greater force and avoid plunging into the chasms of the present]'. Gian Francesco Malipiero, *Claudio Monteverdi*, Milano: Treves, 1929, p. 41.
- 58 'non contro la musica moderna, ma contro il mondo moderno'. Fedele d'Amico, [Discussion], in: *Omaggio a Malipiero*, pp. 32–36.
- 59 Enrico Fubini, 'Malipiero e l'estetica della musica in Italia fra le due guerre', in: *G. F. Malipiero. Le nuove forme*, pp. 164–174: 170.
- 60 The reference is to the passage on p. 41 in Casella, *Igor Strawinski*.
- 61 'Non l'amore per il creatore d'arte, ma per l'arte stessa'. Casella, Igor Strawinski, p. 45.
- 62 'artista-uomo [che] sparisse di fronte alla propria opera', Malipiero, Strawinsky, p. 54.
- 63 'quei musicisti viventi che si esibiscono come esecutori, direttori d'orchestra, conferenzieri e che si fanno precedere da ampi "curriculum vitae". Malipiero, *Strawinsky*, p. 54.
- 64 'Noi preferiamo invece dimenticare tutta la letteratura strawinskiana e ritrovarci, sia pure col pensiero, a Parigi il 28 maggio del 1913'. Malipiero, *Strawinsky*, p. 75.
- 65 Malipiero, Strawinsky, p. 75.
- 66 'Giunto alla fine e deciso che le nostre preferenze vanno al *Sacre du Printemps* e a *Noces* (1914) ci domandiamo: il tempo convaliderà questi nostri apprezzamenti o li capovolgerà o forse li annullerà? Ah, avessimo un Padre Anchise che m'accompagnasse in un viaggio del futuro!'. Note on the draft of the manuscript (FGFM).