

The prehistory and reception of  
Leonard Bernstein's *Missa Brevis* (1988)

by

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## Abstract

Leonard Bernstein (1918-1990) commonly repurposed previously-written material in new compositions, including his *Missa Brevis* (1988), which adapted significant portions of his incidental music for Lillian Hellman's play *The Lark* (1955), itself an adaptation of French playwright Jean Anouilh's play *L'Alouette* (1953) about the trial of Joan of Arc. Based on an assessment of *The Lark*'s mixed reception history as a play, Bernstein's score, recorded by the New York Pro Musica, deserves some credit for the original Broadway run's considerable success.

Bernstein's Medieval- and Renaissance-inflected score was written shortly before the play's tryout run in Boston, and used fragments of verse by Adam de la Halle (c. 1245-1288/1306) and Jean-Antoine de Baïf (1532-1589), as well as the tune of the French folksong "Plantons la Vigne," and not the commonly-cited "Vive la Grappe." Bernstein and the New York Pro Musica were well-compensated for their contributions to *The Lark*; however, during the play's national tour, there was a pay dispute over reduced royalties between Bernstein's agent and the play's management.

Before the New York premiere of *The Lark*, Bernstein expressed a belief that its incidental score held a viable "kernel of a short mass," and considered using a *Lark*-based *missa brevis* to fulfill a commission for Juilliard's fiftieth anniversary, an idea he ultimately abandoned. This idea was in his mind before the eminent conductor Robert Shaw attended a performance of the play. The traditional account that the idea was brought to him by Shaw is not borne out by the available evidence, although Shaw did approach Bernstein about programming the *Lark* choruses for a concert tour, an idea that was also abandoned.

The subsequent *Missa Brevis* commissioned by the Atlanta Symphony for Shaw's retirement in 1988 was a substitute for an orchestral work originally requested in 1983, and is almost a straight *contrafactum* of music from the original *Lark* score, with some fine-tuning of interpretive markings. The *Missa Brevis* was expanded to utilize the full liturgical Ordinary text, *sans* Credo, by Bernstein's

musical assistant George Steel, and was published in 1990. While the *Missa Brevis* is not typical of Bernstein's *oeuvre*, recordings in recent years have garnered moderate praise from reviewers.

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## **Dedication**

To my husband and helpmate, Bryan Pinkall, without whose support the completion of this degree and report would not have been possible; and whose dedicated ministrations ensure that our tortoise, Orpheus, still loves us and will outlive us.

## **Preface**

This entire report had its genesis in modest research initially conducted for a class presentation for Dr. Craig B. Parker's seminar on the life and works of Bernstein in the spring semester of 2018. Some loose ends and idle curiosity led to further research in the fall of 2018, with the intent of leading to the completion of a short paper on the subject. However, excessive inquisitiveness and a multitude of rabbit-holes (enough for several warrens, no doubt) have led much further afield and in-depth than was at first intended, and here we are.

## Introduction

The esteemed American composer, conductor, and musical educator Leonard Bernstein (born in Lawrence, Massachusetts, August 25, 1918; died in New York City, New York, October 14, 1990) continued to actively compose until his death. Historically, it has not been uncommon for composers to recycle their own earlier music in later works.<sup>1</sup> Throughout his life it was common practice for Bernstein to repurpose sketches and cut passages from prior projects, or even thematic material from completed works, such his published and unpublished *Anniversaries* for piano, to generate new compositions. His last completed choral work, the *Missa Brevis* (1988), is one such composition, adapting significant portions of a previous choral work, his incidental music for Lillian Hellman's (1905-1984) play *The Lark* (1955), itself an adaptation of French playwright Jean Anouilh's (1910-1987) play *L'Alouette* (1953) about the trial of Joan of Arc, the eponymous 'lark' of the play. The score for *The Lark* consists of eight choruses, five set to Latin texts and three set to French texts, and is inflected with elements of Medieval and Renaissance music apropos to the subject of Joan. The original score of the *Missa Brevis* fitted six of the eight *Lark* choruses to Mass Ordinary texts. The *Missa Brevis* was later expanded by George Steel to use the full text of the Ordinary, *sans* Credo; and his suggested expansion was subsequently revised and published by Bernstein.

Chapter 1 discusses Bernstein's professional activities in the early 1950s, when *The Lark* was written, and details both the reception of the play and its incidental music. Chapter 2 examines the circumstances surrounding the composition of *The Lark*'s incidental score and the process of

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<sup>1</sup> Among countless examples are: George Frideric Händel's recycling of the sarabande in the Pageant of the Continents from his first opera, *Almira* (1705), as the aria "Lascia la spina, cogli la rosa" for his oratorio *Il trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno* (1707), later recycled as "Lascia ch'io pianga" in his opera *Rinaldo* (1711), as well as his borrowing of a variety of material, including from *Messiah* (1741) in his *Concerti a due cori* (1747/48); Johann Sebastian Bach's synthesis of music from across his career in his *Mass in B minor* (1749); and Sir Arthur Sullivan's rush adaptation of the chorus "Climbing over rocky mountain" from *Thespis* (1871) for the American premiere of *The Pirates of Penzance* (1879) in New York City.

choosing musical cues for the play, as well as sources of textual and musical borrowing within Bernstein's score. Finally, the logistics and finances surrounding the recording of Bernstein's music are detailed, as well as Bernstein's relationship with Russell Oberlin and the New York Pro Musica.

In Chapter 3, the misconception that Robert Shaw suggested transforming *The Lark's* music into a *missa brevis* is disproven. The pressure for Bernstein to contribute to American Jewish synagogue music is briefly discussed, as is the publication of *The Lark's* score and its reception. Chapter 4 chronicles the circumstances surrounding the commissioning and premiere of the *Missa Brevis*, as well as the revision and reception of the work.

# Chapter 1 - Hatching *The Lark*

## Bernstein at the Time of *The Lark*

When Hellman's *Lark* was entering production in 1955, Bernstein was already established as a conductor, and was growing in prominence as a composer. His *Symphony No. 1 "Jeremiah,"* while failing to win the New England Conservatory composition competition for which it was written in 1942,<sup>2</sup> won the prestigious award granted by the Music Critics Circle of New York<sup>3</sup> to the outstanding new orchestral work of the season following its March 1944 New York premiere.<sup>4</sup> His *Symphony No. 2 "The Age of Anxiety,"* a tone-poem *cum* piano concerto inspired by poet W.H. Auden's Pulitzer Prize-winning poem of the same name, had been commissioned by Bernstein's mentor, conductor Serge Koussevitzky, and premiered under his baton by the Boston Symphony Orchestra with Bernstein at the piano on April 8, 1949 to positive reviews;<sup>5</sup> but it found a mixed reception following its February 1950 New York premiere.<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless, the work was recorded and released by Columbia Records, with Bernstein conducting the New York Philharmonic and Lukas Foss at the piano, and in the long run "remains one of Bernstein's more convincing major works."<sup>7</sup>

In addition to Bernstein's compositional contributions to the concert hall, in the area of music-drama he already had numerous stage credits to his name, including the ballet *Fancy Free* (1944), the musical *On the Town* (1944), incidental music for the play *Peter Pan* (1950), the one-act

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<sup>2</sup> It lost out to Gardner Read's Second Symphony. See Allen Shawn, *Leonard Bernstein: An American Musician* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 57–58.

<sup>3</sup> The Music Critics Circle of New York, founded by Virgil Thomson and fellow music critics in 1941, gave out annual awards for new orchestral, chamber, and theatrical compositions performed in New York City for twenty-four years (initially only considering works written by American composers before broadening eligibility to all nationalities of composers in 1951) until its dissolution in 1965, when the sheer number of works for consideration was judged to render the fair adjudication of nominees by the limited number of critics impracticable. See "Music Critics Circle Agrees to Disband," *New York Times*, December 4, 1965.

<sup>4</sup> "Music Critics Prize Won By Bernstein: 'Jeremiah' Symphony Chosen as Season's Best Orchestral Work by an American," *New York Times*, May 6, 1944.

<sup>5</sup> Meryle Secrest, *Leonard Bernstein: A Life* (New York: Knopf, 1994), 176.

<sup>6</sup> Shawn, *Leonard Bernstein*, 99–100; Philip Gentry, "Leonard Bernstein's The Age of Anxiety: A Great American Symphony during McCarthyism," *American Music* 29, no. 3 (2011): 312.s

<sup>7</sup> Paul R. Laird, *Leonard Bernstein* (London: Reaktion Books, 2018), 57.

opera *Trouble in Tahiti* (1952), the musical *Wonderful Town* (1953), and the Hollywood film score for *On the Waterfront* (1954). He had been working with Lillian Hellman since the fall of 1953 on a stage adaptation of the French Enlightenment author and philosopher Voltaire's picaresque satirical novella *Candide*,<sup>8</sup> when she approached him about supplying incidental music for *The Lark*, sometime before late August 1955.<sup>9</sup>

It unclear when Hellman first broached the issue of *The Lark* to Bernstein, but by all appearances it was relatively late in the creative process. She regularly mentioned her work on the *Alouette* adaptation from at least February 1955 onward in their correspondence regarding *Candide*,<sup>10</sup> but without mentioning any involvement of Bernstein's. After retreating from New York City to Great Barrington, Massachusetts, in late August 1955, Bernstein wrote to Jack Gottlieb on September 15th, saying, "I seem to be doing the incidentals for Anouilh's "Lark" (Lillian H's adaptation)...."<sup>11</sup> Bernstein's phrasing would appear to indicate that this was a recent development, and not a long-anticipated task. He finished most of the score in September of 1955 while still in Great Barrington, but composed additional music in early October in New York.<sup>12</sup> The show had been in rehearsal since August 29<sup>th</sup>,<sup>13</sup> and given Bernstein's hectic professional schedule, it is unsurprising the score was only completed less than a month before the play's tryouts in Boston, which opened on October 28<sup>th</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Shawn, *Leonard Bernstein*, 121.

<sup>9</sup> Paul Myers, *Leonard Bernstein* (London: Phaidon Press, 1998), 92.

<sup>10</sup> First mention found in a letter dated 18 February 1955, Box 60H, Folder 3, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>11</sup> Letter from Leonard Bernstein to Jack Gottlieb, dated 15 September 1955, Jack Gottlieb papers [unprocessed], Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>12</sup> While the colophon at the end of the published vocal score reads "September 1955," (see Leonard Bernstein, *Choruses from The Lark: for full choruses of mixed voices (or septet of solo voices) a cappella* (New York: Amberson Enterprises, 1964), 60), examination of the autograph scores at the Library of Congress reveal a mix of colophons (cf. Box 1063, Folders 2-3, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.). For details, see **Table 2.1** in Chapter 2

<sup>13</sup> Louis Calta, "Karloff Reverts to Type in 'Lark': Set in Menacing Role as the Inquisitor in St. Joan Play -Julie Harris to Co-Star," *New York Times*, March 22, 1955.



During the month of September 1955, Bernstein was not only engaged in work on *Candide* with Hellman, but also on another musical stage drama, an adaptation of Shakespeare’s immortal play *Romeo and Juliet*, tentatively titled “East Side Story” and casually referred to as the “Romeo show.”<sup>14</sup> This collaboration with Jerome Robbins and Arthur Laurents had been an off-again-on-again project since 1949, but had begun picking up steam in the summer of 1955.<sup>15</sup> With the addition of Stephen Sondheim as lyricist, it would eventually culminate in the staging of *West Side Story* in 1957, one of Bernstein’s most widely-known and beloved works. The original Broadway production would run for 732 performances and go on a nearly year-long national tour followed by a second Broadway run of 253 performances.<sup>16</sup> The award-winning 1961 film version would also prove incredibly lucrative; the soundtrack alone ranked as Billboard’s top-selling stereo album for fifty-four weeks straight, a feat unsurpassed since.<sup>17</sup> The film itself swept the 34<sup>th</sup> Academy Awards in 1962, taking home ten Oscars, including Best Motion Picture.<sup>18</sup>

On top of his creative work, Bernstein’s growing prominence as a conductor after being catapulted into fame by his short-notice debut on November 14, 1943 with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, substituting for the indisposed guest conductor Bruno Walter, had led to a stream of guest-conducting appearances in addition to his regular duties as assistant conductor.<sup>19</sup> Work on *Candide* with Lillian Hellman had been interrupted in early 1955 by a lengthy conducting tour of Europe running from January to early June,<sup>20</sup> which included a return to La Scala in Milan, where he had previously made history in 1953 as the first American to conduct in that prestigious

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<sup>14</sup> Nigel Simeone, ed., *The Leonard Bernstein Letters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 350.

<sup>15</sup> Shawn, *Leonard Bernstein*, 142–44.

<sup>16</sup> Myers, *Leonard Bernstein*, 107.

<sup>17</sup> Kenneth LaFave, *Experiencing Leonard Bernstein: A Listener’s Companion* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014), 135.

<sup>18</sup> Myers, *Leonard Bernstein*, 108; “The 34th Academy Awards | 1962,” Oscars.org | Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, accessed December 1, 2018, <https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1962>.

<sup>19</sup> Shawn, *Leonard Bernstein*, 69–72.

<sup>20</sup> For details, see Bernstein’s 1955 datebook, Box 322, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

opera house.<sup>21</sup> Following this whirlwind of activity, he appeared on Edward R. Murrow's prestigious television program *Person to Person* with his wife, Felicia Bernstein née Cohn Montealegre, on September 23<sup>rd</sup>, and discussed his myriad undertakings, including the nascent “East Side Story.”<sup>22</sup>

As if his efforts as composer and conductor were insufficient, Bernstein the pedagogue was also in the midst of completing preparations for his second appearance on the television program *Omnibus*,<sup>23</sup> following his successful first appearance of November 14, 1954, which had featured realizations of abandoned early sketches of the first movement of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony in C minor, Op. 67 with the Symphony of the Air.<sup>24</sup> This new program, “The World of Jazz,” broadcast on October 16, 1955, just before *The Lark*’s first Boston tryout on the 28<sup>th</sup>, and featured the premiere of Bernstein’s *Prelude, Fugue, and Riffs*, written for a jazz combo and originally commissioned by clarinetist Woody Herman three years prior.<sup>25</sup> The broadcast was also notable for presenting jazz as a serious American art form, a novel idea at the time.<sup>26</sup> It was a resounding success, prompting talk of LP recordings and theatrical releases of his *Omnibus* programs.<sup>27</sup> It was not for nothing that Bernstein would write to Jack Gottlieb in late October 1955, “I have never in my life been so crowded with activities. *Lark, Romeo, Candide*, – just the beginning.”<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Secrest, *Leonard Bernstein*, 193.

<sup>22</sup> Humphrey Burton, *Leonard Bernstein* (London: Faber and Faber, 1994), 250; Shawn, *Leonard Bernstein*, 134; *Person to Person*, Season 3 Episode 4, September 23, 1955.

<sup>23</sup> Burton, *Leonard Bernstein*, 250–52. The New York Pro Musica, who would record Bernstein’s music for *The Lark*, made their first documented television debut a week before on an *Omnibus* episode titled “The Birth of Modern Times” that aired October 5, 1955, see Sarah Jane Gaskill, *The Artist as Manager: Noah Greenberg and the New York Pro Musica*, M.A. thesis (American University, 1984): 20.

<sup>24</sup> Laird, *Leonard Bernstein*, 81.

<sup>25</sup> Myers, *Leonard Bernstein*, 92; Shawn, *Leonard Bernstein*, 102.

<sup>26</sup> Shawn, *Leonard Bernstein*, 131–32.

<sup>27</sup> Simeone, *The Leonard Bernstein Letters*, 349. From a letter dated 29 October 1955 from Bernstein to his brother, Burton: “Columbia wants to record it [*The World of Jazz*], and all the others in a series, and there is serious talk of filming it (and others) for commercial release in theatres. Goodness.”

<sup>28</sup> Letter from Leonard Bernstein to Jack Gottlieb, undated [29 October 1955?], Jack Gottlieb papers [unprocessed], Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Italics added.

## An Exaltation of *Larks*:<sup>29</sup> Anouilh, Fry, Hill, and Hellman

Within the broader context of Anouilh's oeuvre, *L'Alouette* is not a particularly distinguished play, not unsurprising given it keeps company with such esteemed works as *Antigone* and *Becket*. That it has been accorded such an extended afterlife in English translation at the hands of Christopher Fry in Britain and Lillian Hellman in the United States as *The Lark* is somewhat remarkable. Despite enjoying a two-season run in Paris at the Theatre Montparnasse Gaston Baty in its original staging, which opened October 14, 1953 to near-universal critical acclaim in the French press,<sup>30</sup> it was judged to be "phenomenally thin" as well as "overlong and poorly constructed" by William Becker in his roughly contemporaneous assessment of all three 'Larks' in the *Hudson Review*.<sup>31</sup> Christopher Fry's rendition for the London stage is a more or less literal translation Anouilh's original script, and "has the virtue of accomplishing in English exactly what Anouilh composed in French; and the consequent fault of being a poor, talky, and rather boring."<sup>32</sup> Fry's London production of *The Lark* opened at the Lyric Theatre (Hammersmith) on May 11, 1955 opposite a revival of Bernard Shaw's 1923 play on the same subject, *Saint Joan*, received poor reviews (many directly comparing the two productions), and closed shortly after.<sup>33</sup> Fry's unsuccessful *Lark* has nonetheless received revivals in the English-speaking world in the succeeding years due to its

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<sup>29</sup> An exaltation is the proper "term of venery," or collective noun, for a group of larks, and is part of a tradition of esoteric group terminology going back to the Middle Ages, exemplified in the commonly-cited *incunabulum* attributed to the English Benedictine prioress Juliana Berners, [*The Book of Saint Albans*] *The Book of Hawking, Hunting, and Blasing of Arms* (St. Albans Press, 1486).

<sup>30</sup> Henry W. Knepler, "The Lark: Translation vs. Adaptation, A Case History," *Modern Drama* 1, no. 1 (1958): 16.

<sup>31</sup> William Becker, review of *Some French Plays in Translation*, by Christopher Fry, *The Hudson Review* 9, no. 2 (1956): 284. Becker offers a frank assessment of the *L'Alouette*'s original shortcomings before briefly surveying its English-language progeny. A more detailed but largely concurring comparison of the versions of the play can be found in Knepler's 1958 case history, *see* note 30.

<sup>32</sup> Becker, 284.

<sup>33</sup> Knepler, "The Lark: Translation vs. Adaptation, A Case History," 16; Becker, "Some French Plays in Translation," 283.

status as one of only two English-language editions of Anouilh's play,<sup>34</sup> and is currently available for licensing through Samuel French.<sup>35</sup>

To term Lillian Hellman's adaptation a 'translation' of Anouilh's play, as many casually have,<sup>36</sup> is perhaps over-generous. To begin with, Lillian Hellman was not fluent in French. After the producer Kermit Bloomgarden secured the rights to *L'Alouette* from Anouilh's agent, Jan van Loewen, in January of 1954, he spoke with Hellman on the phone from Europe, asking her to adapt the work for the Broadway stage and floating the idea of collaborating with Anouilh on the adaptation. Not wanting to discuss the matter at length on a long-distance phone call, Hellman sent Bloomgarden a letter via airmail, elaborating:

...I really don't think the idea of working together is a good one. My French, adequate enough for waiters in restaurants, is not good enough for serious discussion, and I doubt whether dealings with an interpreter would do any of us any good. Also, I would rather like to spare myself the problems of arguing with a man about his own play, and I have a suspicion that we would spend more time in being tactful than we would in managing any work.<sup>37</sup>

As an alternative to direct collaboration with Anouilh, Hellman proposed a three-step process: the creation of a literal translation of the play, which would receive Hellman's alterations ("editing and rephrasing and cutting"), after which she and Anouilh would meet for his review and approval of

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<sup>34</sup> In her dissertation on dramatizations of the story of St. Thomas Becket, Sister Mary Aquin Lally, B.V.M. twice asserts, without evidence, that Fry "translated *The Lark* in a version far more popular with producers than Lillian Heilman's translation of the same play." At present, however, there is no statistical information available to enable comparison of the popularity of the two English-language 'Larks.' Per the author's correspondence with Ben Keiper, Dramatists Play Service, which holds the rights to Hellman's *Lark*, is unable to release licensing statistics for legal reasons. Perhaps some future scholar of the theatre will compile a list of productions in the English-speaking world from tediously-gathered advertisements and reviews. In addition, per Anouilh's agreement with Hellman, her *Lark* is the only version authorized to be performed in the United States and Canada, a bone of contention in later years, when productions of Fry's *Lark* were attempted by university theatrical departments. See Mary Aquin Lally, *A Comparative Study of Five Plays on the Becket Story: By Tennyson, Binyon, Eliot, Anouilh, and Fry*. (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1963): 114, 179; Ben Keiper, Dramatists Play Service, Inc., e-mail correspondence to author, December 3, 2018; Letter-cum-contract dated 04 November 1954, Lillian Hellman papers, Box 72, Folder 8, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>35</sup> "The Lark | Samuel French," Samuel French, accessed October 9, 2018, <https://www.samuel french.co.uk/p/10803/the-lark>.

<sup>36</sup> Burton, *Leonard Bernstein*, 250; Myers, *Leonard Bernstein*, 92; Paul R. Laird, *Leonard Bernstein: A Guide to Research*, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 2002), 59; LaFave, *Experiencing Leonard Bernstein*, 98; Laird, *Leonard Bernstein*, 83.

<sup>37</sup> File copy of letter from Lillian Hellman to Kermit Bloomgarden, dated 26 February 1954, Lillian Hellman papers, Box 72, Folder 8, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

her work.<sup>38</sup> This arrangement was ultimately agreed to, following some intercontinental wrangling over the film rights to the play and its adaptations, which Anouilh had more-or-less sold out from under Bloomgarden and Hellman.<sup>39</sup>

When Kermit Bloomgarden secured the rights to *L'Alouette*, an English translation of the play actually already existed, predating Fry's translation. Lucienne Hill, an actress and translator who had penned translations of Anouilh's *Ardèle ou la Marguerite* (as *Adele*, 1951), *Le bal des voleurs* (as *Thieves' Carnival*, 1952) and *La valse des toréadors* (as *The Waltz of the Toreadors*, 1953), and over the course of her career would eventually translate some thirty-odd plays of Anouilh's into English,<sup>40</sup> had already made a literal translation of *L'Alouette*, which, while initially provided to Bloomgarden along with the rights to the play, Hellman was ultimately barred from using in the course of her adaptation.<sup>41</sup>

Thus, upon being commissioned by Bloomgarden to adapt *L'Alouette* for the Broadway stage, Hellman first sought the assistance of graduate students at Columbia in parsing Anouilh's text,<sup>42</sup> but eventually turned to Carvel Collins, a professor of humanities at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who connected her with Richard Defendini, an instructor there, to produce a literal translation of the play.<sup>43</sup> He soon brought on John Simon, a bilingual graduate student at Harvard and future theatre critic, to assist in the translation.<sup>44</sup> The pair were to be paid one hundred

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Anouilh had sold film rights to the French original to an American studio, in addition to authorizing Christopher Fry's translation for the London stage. For details, see a torrent of correspondence from March through November 1954 with Kermit Bloomgarden, Jean Anouilh, Jan van Loewen, *et al.* in the Lillian Hellman papers, Box 72, Folder 8, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>40</sup> Michael Coveney, "Lucienne Hill Obituary," *The Guardian*, January 17, 2013.

<sup>41</sup> Nonetheless, Bloomgarden's copy of Hill's script, referenced by Hellman in correspondence (File copy of letter from Lillian Hellman to Richard Defendini, dated 08 November 1954, Lillian Hellman papers, Box 72, Folder 8, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin), can be found amongst her papers today, *see* Lillian Hellman papers, Box 11, Folder 11, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>42</sup> William Wright, *Lillian Hellman: The Image, The Woman* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986), 263.

<sup>43</sup> File copy of letter from Lillian Hellman to Richard Defendini, dated 22 October 1954, Lillian Hellman papers, Box 72, Folder 8, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>44</sup> Letter from Richard Defendini to Lillian Hellman, dated 18 November 1954, Lillian Hellman papers, Box 72, Folder 8, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

dollars for approximately fifty pages of translation.<sup>45</sup> From surviving correspondence, Defendini and Simon appear to have fallen behind Hellman's work schedule; and after failing to hear from Defendini for over two months, she wrote to him in April 1955 proposing to settle accounts and call an end to their collaboration.<sup>46</sup> However, apparently the work had been completed in the interim, but Hellman refused to pay the pair, ostensibly on account of the fact that their finished typescript was double-spaced,<sup>47</sup> resulting in what one of her biographers has described as "a silly controversy,"<sup>48</sup> and a great embarrassment to Harry Levin, a friend and professor of comparative literature at Harvard, whom Hellman called upon to help defuse the situation with John Simon, one of his students, who had made an irate phone call to Hellman.<sup>49</sup> If the characterization is accurate, perhaps Hellman thought her translators were attempting to increase their fee along with the page count.

Setting Hellman's behavior to one side,<sup>50</sup> *The Lark* was no labor of love for the playwright. After her contentious appearance before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) on May 21, 1952, her subsequent blacklisting by the film industry, and a reappraisal of prior taxes by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), she was in dire need of income to stabilize her finances.<sup>51</sup> Her initial

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<sup>45</sup> File copy of letter from Lillian Hellman to Richard Defendini, dated 08 November 1954, Lillian Hellman papers, Box 72, Folder 8, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin. Terms agreed to in a telegram from Richard Defendini to Lillian Hellman, dated 11 November 1954, Lillian Hellman papers, Box 72, Folder 8, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>46</sup> File copy of letter from Lillian Hellman to Richard Defendini, dated 12 April 1955, Lillian Hellman papers, Box 72, Folder 8, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>47</sup> Wright, *Lillian Hellman: The Image, The Woman*, 263–64. The notion that academics would double-space their work would have come as no surprise to anyone who now chances to be reading this document; but apparently Hellman insisted that "if they [the translators] knew anything about the theater," they would have single-spaced their translated dialogue.

<sup>48</sup> Carl Edmund Rollyson, *Lillian Hellman: Her Legend and Her Legacy* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1988), 354.

<sup>49</sup> File copy of letter from Lillian Hellman to Harry Levin, dated 27 April 1955, Lillian Hellman papers, Box 72, Folder 8, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>50</sup> A casual survey of Hellman biographies yields a plethora of anecdotes of seemingly unreasonable behavior, and a survey of reviews of her biographies yields no end of debate as to the accuracy of biographers' characterizations of Hellman. It is beyond the scope of this endeavor to adjudicate on Hellman's person and legacy. Suffice to say, Hellman was and remains a divisive figure.

<sup>51</sup> Wright, *Lillian Hellman: The Image, The Woman*, 259–60.

enthusiasm for the project soon waned, however, and converted to pessimism. She remarked in an undated letter to Bernstein, “I have finished *Alouette*. It’s better, I guess, but it is still a second-rate piece of theatre-wise pretension. Next time I need money, I’ll open a restaurant....”<sup>52</sup> In a similar vein, she later wrote to Bernstein, “I’m damn sick of *The Lark*. ...and resentful of time spent on any frog’s goings-ons about Joan of Arc.”<sup>53</sup> Months after in the summer of 1955, she wrote to her friend, the psychiatrist Henry Sigerist, about the play, saying, “I haven’t too much hope for it, but I thought I needed the money—which is a good way not to make any.”<sup>54</sup> A decade later, she remarked in a 1965 interview that “I didn’t discover I didn’t like it [Anouilh’s *L’Alouette*] until I was halfway through [adapting it].”<sup>55</sup>

Despite these misgivings, a good deal of work went into hatching Hellman’s *Lark* out of its French progenitor. Hellman’s overall approach to the task and its result was characterized in a flattering but light profile piece in *The New York Times* printed in the lead-up to the New York premiere, in which she states, “It’s become such a mish mash that I can’t tell which is Anouilh’s Joan and which is mine.”<sup>56</sup> Pleasantries aside, however, Hellman’s adaptation substantially alters Anouilh’s script, shortening or cutting speeches, and even adding lines of her own.<sup>57</sup> The literary reviewer William Becker wrote of Hellman’s *Lark*:

On first comparing it with the French, her version reads like a sketch or an early draft: I would guess that there are perhaps half as many words in her text as in Fry’s. She has rearranged scenes, and eliminated great chunks of the dialogue, reducing all

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<sup>52</sup> Letter on St. Charles [Hotel] stationary from Lillian Hellman to Leonard Bernstein, undated [April 1955?], Box 60H, Folder 3, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>53</sup> A different letter from Lillian Hellman to Leonard Bernstein, also undated [April/May 1955?], Box 60H, Folder 3, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>54</sup> As quoted in Wright, *Lillian Hellman: The Image, The Woman*, 264. A similar observation was made by composer Stephen Sondheim regarding his ill-fated collaborative venture with Richard Rodgers, *Do I Hear A Waltz?*, in his words, “The compelling reason to write a theater musical cannot be convenience or the desire to turn a quick buck.” For further details on Sondheim’s misadventure, see Stephen Sondheim, *Finishing the Hat: Collected Lyrics (1954-1981) with Attendant Comments, Principles, Heresies, Grudges, Whines and Anecdotes* (New York: Knopf, 2010), 141–43.

<sup>55</sup> John Phillips and Anne Hollander, “Lillian Hellman: An Interview,” in *Critical Essays on Lillian Hellman*, ed. Mark W Estrin (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1989), 234.

<sup>56</sup> Murray Schumach, “Shaping a New Joan: Miss Hellman Discusses Adapting ‘The Lark,’” *New York Times*, November 13, 1955.

<sup>57</sup> Rollyson, *Lillian Hellman*, 355.

the speech to a sort of functional bluntness, which is rather artless and without distinction as speech, but which, though it reads poorly, acts quite well. In so doing, she has, of course, destroyed much of Anouilh's essential quality... Miss Hellman's text has practically no literary values and its rhythms are entirely her own. The result is that the play moves with a very straight-forward American "speed," which is in some respects an improvement. Nor has she quite violated Anouilh's viewpoint; she has, as it were, simply cancelled it out. A theme that was thin to begin with has evaporated altogether, leaving Miss Hellman's script with no intellectual substance at all.<sup>58</sup>

The scholar Henry W. Knepler, found that Hellman:

...has altered the original greatly. As with most of the play, she has simplified structure, characters and language, and has in the process removed much of the sophistication and originality of Anouilh's play. But the ending also shows again that she is somehow able to find...a rough equivalent of the author's intentions, one that will have an effect on her audience somewhat comparable to the effect of the original.<sup>59</sup>

### **The Reception of Hellman's *Lark***

If Hellman's adaptation was not entirely faithful to Anouilh's play, it was, however, extremely successful with American audiences, who had not received his prior works with much enthusiasm,<sup>60</sup> resulting in what William Becker described as "the crowning irony...that Anouilh has now had his first real success [in America] with one of his inferior plays in a version that pays relatively little attention to his original text."<sup>61</sup>

Hellman's *Lark* opened at the Longacre Theater in New York on November 17, 1955 (preceded by a Boston tryout run at the Plymouth Theater that opened October 28<sup>th</sup>) to critical acclaim from all seven major drama critics in New York City.<sup>62</sup> Brooks Atkinson, the *New York Times* drama critic, who had seen and reviewed Fry's *Lark* in London, lauded Hellman's *Lark* in

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<sup>58</sup> Becker, "Some French Plays in Translation," 285.

<sup>59</sup> Knepler, "The Lark: Translation vs. Adaptation, A Case History," 28.

<sup>60</sup> For a brief play by play summary of Anouilh's reception in the United States, see Stewart H. Benedict, "Anouilh in America," *The Modern Language Journal* 45, no. 8 (1961): 341-43.

<sup>61</sup> Becker, "Some French Plays in Translation," 283.

<sup>62</sup> Louis Calta, "All Critics Unite in Lauding 'Lark,'" *New York Times*, November 19, 1955.



comparison: “This is the drama that seemed no more than an intellectual attitude in Christopher Fry’s adaptation in London last spring;”<sup>63</sup> and “Lillian Hellman...is a keener theatrical technician than Christopher Fry.... She has an instinct for the forthright statement.”<sup>64</sup>

While some critics seem to have vaguely discerned that Hellman’s play was at least somewhat altered from Anouilh’s original,<sup>65</sup> they all seemed to concur nonetheless that the piece was good theatre.<sup>66</sup> Only Meyer Levin,<sup>67</sup> whose contentious relationship with Hellman has been detailed elsewhere,<sup>68</sup> went for a *thrust direct*, writing in a syndicated column soon after the publication of Hellman’s script in 1956: “I state flatly that Miss Hellman contributed nothing whatever to Anouilh’s creative interpretation of Joan...she has only vulgarized and blunted the graceful French writing,” and “Hellman’s [*Lark*] smacks of dictionary French.”<sup>69</sup> This episode was a continuation of a prior screed of Levin’s, initiated in his syndicated column after *The Lark*’s Broadway premiere in 1955.<sup>70</sup> Oddly enough, Levin, fixated on what he perceived as Hellman claiming more credit as “translator”

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<sup>63</sup> Brooks Atkinson, “St. Joan with Radiance: Julie Harris Stars in ‘Lark’ at Longacre,” *New York Times*, November 18, 1955.

<sup>64</sup> Brooks Atkinson, “New Joan of Arc: Julie Harris Plays Her in ‘The Lark,’” *New York Times*, November 27, 1955.

<sup>65</sup> For instance, theater critic Walter Kerr of the *New York Herald Tribune*, who wrote:

It has remained for a woman dramatist to give us the first really tough-minded Joan of Arc. Lillian Hellman is, of course, only the adapter of Jean Anouilh’s “The Lark.” But that “only” may be misleading. I have a strong suspicion that a great deal of the biting briskness, the cleaver-sharp determination, the haughty hard-headed candor of this Joan comes from the pen of the Lady who carved out, and carved up, “The Little Foxes.”

See Walter F. Kerr, “Theatre: The Lark,” *New York Herald Tribune*, November 18, 1955; quoted in Knepler, “The Lark: Translation vs. Adaptation, A Case History,” 16–17.

<sup>66</sup> Wright, *Lillian Hellman: The Image, The Woman*, 267. For a summary and annotated bibliography of critical opinions of *The Lark*, see Barbara L. Horn, *Lillian Hellman: A Research and Production Sourcebook* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood, 1998), 47–48.

<sup>67</sup> *Nota Bene*: Not to be confused with the previously mentioned Harry Levin, Professor of Comparative Literature at Harvard University.

<sup>68</sup> For full accounts of Meyer Levin and Hellman’s conflicts regarding the dramatization of Holocaust victim Anne Frank’s diary, see Ralph Melnick, *The Stolen Legacy of Anne Frank: Meyer Levin, Lillian Hellman, and the Staging of the Diary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), as well as Lawrence Graver, *An Obsession with Anne Frank: Meyer Levin and the Diary* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). Levin’s own, somewhat paranoid, account can be found in Meyer Levin, *The Obsession* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973).

<sup>69</sup> These are all the same column, with different headlines: Meyer Levin, “Candid Comment: More About Joan,” *Long Island Star Journal*, February 4, 1956; Meyer Levin, “The Candid Commentator: Lark Translation Tacks on a Little,” *Newark Star-Ledger*, February 7, 1956; Meyer Levin, “Candid Comment: Lillian Hellman Brags Too Much,” *Long Island Press*, February 13, 1956.

<sup>70</sup> Meyer Levin, “I Cover Culture: The Audience Isn’t Dumb!,” *Long Island Press*, December 23, 1955.

of *The Lark* than was being given to Anouilh as author, seems to make the case that Hellman simultaneously substantively altered the characterization of Joan but also “without altering the meaning of the whole.”<sup>71</sup>

Despite such grouching, Hellman’s *Lark* was incredibly successful, running for 229 performances to close on June 2, 1956. Within a fortnight of the opening of *The Lark*, Julie Harris, whose performance had been lauded by the critics, was featured on the cover of *Time Magazine*<sup>72</sup> in an illustration costumed as Joan (see **Figure 1.1** below), along with an accompanying profile article.<sup>73</sup> A scene from the production was later memorialized in a cartoon by the famed caricaturist Alfred Frueh in the *New Yorker* (see **Figure 1.2** below).<sup>74</sup>

**Figure 1.1: November 28, 1955 Cover of *Time Magazine***<sup>75</sup>



<sup>71</sup> Levin, “Candid Comment: More About Joan”; Levin, “Candid Comment: Lillian Hellman Brags Too Much”; Levin, “The Candid Commentator: Lark Translation Tacks on a Little.”

<sup>72</sup> “[Cover: Julie Harris as Joan of Arc],” *Time*, November 28, 1955.

<sup>73</sup> “The Theater: A Fiery Particle,” *Time*, November 28, 1955.

<sup>74</sup> Alfred Frueh, “The Lark [Cartoon],” *The New Yorker*, February 11, 1956, 68.

<sup>75</sup> “[Cover: Julie Harris as Joan of Arc].”

Figure 1.2: Cartoon, *The New Yorker*, February 11, 1956<sup>76</sup>



"THE LARK"

*The harried but defiant Maid of Orleans in this picture is Julie Harris, and the clerical menaces towering over her are Boris Karloff and Joseph Wiseman. Lillian Hellman's adaptation of Jean Anouilh's play is at the Longacre.*

The production garnered five nominations for the 1956 Tony Awards, and secured one win, Best Actress in a Play, won by Julie Harris for her portrayal of Joan.<sup>77</sup> (Please refer to **Table 1.1** below for details of the remaining nominations). After closing, *The Lark* was sent on a ten-stop national tour starting in Central City, Colorado.<sup>78</sup> (The tour calendar, inferred from accounting records in the Kermit Bloomgarden papers, may be found in **Table 1.2** below).

**Table 1.1: *The Lark* and the 10th Annual Tony Awards; Sunday, April 1, 1956<sup>79</sup>**

<u>Category</u>	<u>Nominee</u>	<u>Result</u>
Best Actor in a Play	Boris Karloff (Cauchon)	Nominated
Best Actress in a Play	Julie Harris (Joan)	Won
Best Costume Design (Play or Musical)	Alvin Colt	Nominated
Best Director (Play or Musical)	Joseph Anthony	Nominated
Best Scenic Design (Play or Musical)	Jo Mielziner	Nominated

*Nota Bene:* Christopher Plummer did not receive a nomination for his performance as Warwick.

<sup>76</sup> Frueh, "The Lark [Cartoon]."

<sup>77</sup> "Playbill Vault | The Lark," *Playbill*, accessed September 9, 2018, <http://www.playbill.com/production/the-lark-longacre-theatre-vault-0000006944>.

<sup>78</sup> "The Lark' Due in Central City," *New York Times*, July 30, 1956.

<sup>79</sup> "Playbill Vault | The Lark"; "Year by Year - 1956," Tony Awards, accessed October 8, 2018, [https://www.tonyawards.com/en\\_US/history/ceremonies/200909151253044792010.html](https://www.tonyawards.com/en_US/history/ceremonies/200909151253044792010.html).

**Table 1.2: *The Lark's* 1956 National Tour<sup>80</sup>**

<u>Stop</u>	<u>Opening &amp; Closing Dates<sup>81</sup></u>	<u>Performances</u>
Central City, CO	11 Aug – 01 Sep 56	33
San Francisco, CA	[04 Sep] – 29 Sep 56	30
Los Angeles, CA	[30 Sep] – 13 Oct 56	16
St. Louis, MO	[15 Oct] – 20 Oct 56	7
Minneapolis, MN	[21 Oct] – 27 Oct 56	8
Milwaukee, WI	[28 Oct] – 03 Nov 56	8
Cleveland, OH	[04 Nov] – 10 Nov 56	8
Detroit, MI	[11 Nov] – 24 Nov 56	16
Philadelphia, PA	[25 Nov] – 08 Dec 56	16
Washington, DC	[09 Dec] – 22 Dec 56	16
	<b>Total:</b>	<b>158</b>

*The Lark* was subsequently produced for television in an abridged form with several original Broadway cast members<sup>82</sup> (and with the addition to the cast of Basil Rathbone, now perhaps best-known for his film portrayals of Sherlock Holmes) and broadcast at 9:00 PM on Sunday, February 10, 1957 as part of the then-young Hallmark Hall of Fame series, which had just previously featured an adaptation of Hellman's play *The Little Foxes* as its eighteenth venture on December 16, 1956.<sup>83</sup>

An uncredited reviewer of the telecast in *Time* magazine noted that:

*The Lark* was seen by some 26 million viewers, roughly 125 times the number who saw Actress Harris' 208 [sic] Broadway performances, and probably many more than

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<sup>80</sup> Accounting records, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 19, Folder 19, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

<sup>81</sup> Bracketed opening dates are conjectural.

<sup>82</sup> Julie Harris, Boris Karloff, Ward Costello, Michael Higgins, Bruce Gordon, Ralph Roberts all reprised their Broadway roles, see "UCLA Library Catalog Holdings Information | Hallmark Hall of Fame (Television Program). *Lark*," UCLA Film & Television Archive, accessed December 2, 2018, <https://cinema.library.ucla.edu/vwebv/holdingsInfo?searchId=393&recCount=50&recPointer=1&bibId=46340>.

<sup>83</sup> "The Lark." *Hallmark Hall of Fame*, Season 6 Episode 4, February 10, 1957. URL: <http://archive.org/details/HallmarkHallOfFameTheLark>; "The Little Foxes." Internet Movie Database. Accessed February 28, 2019. URL: <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0595395/>.

*The Lark* telecast is viewable online at the Internet Archive via the URL listed above. Original film reels and reference copies are held by the UCLA Film and Television Archive at the Archive Research and Study Center in their Hallmark Hall of Fame collection, a subset of their Television collection. Of the 18 Hallmark Hall of Fame productions preceding *The Lark*, five were productions of Gian Carlo Menotti's one-act opera *Amahl and the Night Visitors*, and four were Shakespeare plays. cf. Patrick Regan, *Hallmark: A Century of Caring* (Kansas City, MO: Andrews McMeel Publishing, 2009), 161.

have seen all the Joans (including Winifred Lenihan, Katharine Cornell, Ingrid Bergman, Uta Hagen, Siobhan McKenna) of the American stage combined.<sup>84</sup>

The overarching success of *The Lark* meant that Hellman's finances, in dire straits, were more than stabilized.<sup>85</sup> In addition to 40% of author's royalties from the play's Broadway run and national tour, Hellman would continue to earn royalties off the sale of published scripts of the adaptation and the licensing of amateur and semi-professional productions for years to follow, garnering her anywhere from four to eight hundred dollars semiannually even as late as the 1980s.<sup>86</sup> On the stature of the play in Hellman's *oeuvre*, one of her biographers opined that "*The Lark* is clearly her best adaptation in any form and would long ago have been recognized as one of her finest works had the play been originally hers."<sup>87</sup>

Credit for Hellman's success must be shared with the exceptional cast, led by actress Julie Harris. It is impossible to overstate how much the press coverage of *The Lark* dwelt upon the impact of Harris' performance as Joan, and a media-made cult of personality of Harris as unassuming actress. Bernstein himself praised Harris' performance, first writing, "*The Lark* is a smash, imagine, and should run forever," and after a description of his musical contributions follows with, "there is also a small matter of Julie Harris, who is fabulous."<sup>88</sup> Harris was supported onstage by such luminaries as Boris Karloff<sup>89</sup> and the then-young Christopher Plummer.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> "[Review]," *Time* 69 no. 8, February 25, 1957.

<sup>85</sup> Wright, *Lillian Hellman: The Image, The Woman*, 267.

<sup>86</sup> For details of Hellman's earnings over the years, please refer to royalty statements in the Lillian Hellman papers, Box 54, Folders 1-3 and Box 73, Folders 2-3, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>87</sup> Rollyson, *Lillian Hellman*, 354.

<sup>88</sup> Letter from Leonard Bernstein to Jack Gottlieb, dated 29 November 1955, Jack Gottlieb papers [unprocessed], Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>89</sup> While Boris Karloff is today perhaps best-known for his typecast and stock character roles on film, he had a handful of Broadway stage credits to his name in the 1950s, including the dual role of Mr. Darling/Captain Hook in a 1950 revival of J. M. Barrie's play *Peter Pan*, for which Bernstein wrote incidental music, see Nigel Simeone, *Leonard Bernstein: West Side Story* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 10.

<sup>90</sup> Like Karloff, Christopher Plummer has had a long and distinguished career, but is best known in musical circles for portraying Captain von Trapp in the lauded 1965 film version of the Rodgers and Hammerstein musical *The Sound of Music*.

Credit must also be given to the play’s director, Joseph Anthony, who persevered despite Hellman’s micromanagement and interference during rehearsals,<sup>91</sup> as well as to the exceptional scenic and lighting designs of Jo Mielziner, whose work was rightly praised by reviewers. Stunning drawings of Mielziner’s concepts may be found in the Jules Fisher collection of Jo Mielziner designs at the New York Public Library (for a sample, see **Figure 1.3** below).<sup>92</sup> On the matter of credit owed, we may now return at last to our principal subject: Leonard Bernstein, and his own contribution to the success of Hellman’s *Lark*.

**Figure 1.3: Jo Mielziner’s Scenic Design for the Coronation Scene, *The Lark*, Act II<sup>93</sup>**



<sup>91</sup> Wright, *Lillian Hellman: The Image, The Woman*, 265–66.

<sup>92</sup> Box 1, Folders 1-2, 12, and Oversize Folder 19, Jules Fisher collection of Jo Mielziner Designs, \*T-Vim 2013-307, Billy Rose Theatre Division, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. All the *Lark* folders have been digitized and are available via the URL: <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org>. Greyscale photostats of select designs may be found in the Lillian Hellman papers, Box 12, Folder 9, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>93</sup> “The Lark, “1st Studies” (2 of 3)” New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed March 16, 2019. <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/a4423f90-6238-0134-c33f-00505686a51c>

## The Initial Reception of Bernstein's Incidental Music for *The Lark*

In his laudatory reviews of *The Lark*,<sup>94</sup> Brooks Atkinson, otherwise largely focused on the performers and the story of Joan as dramatic idea, also singled out Bernstein's incidental music for praise, writing: "Leonard Bernstein's musical recreation of Joan's medieval voices gives the play a new dimension."<sup>95</sup> Bernstein's music was later trivialized by Joan Peyser in her controversial biography of Bernstein, who wrote that "even this minimal contribution [*above*: "10 minutes of music"] was mentioned by drama critics,"<sup>96</sup> but the limited duration<sup>97</sup> of Bernstein's contribution belies its impact. In his second review, Brooks Atkinson wrote:

[T]he instantaneous success of the American version has still another origin. The whole conception of the production is decisive. When the curtain goes up and before a word has been spoken, the production expresses a clear point of view.<sup>98</sup>

Then, after describing the bare stage design of the production and the positioning of the ecclesiastical authorities on the set above Joan at the opening of the play, he returned to his prior conceit: "Before a line is spoken, the vivid conception of this production thus expresses the dramatic conflict of the play and illustrates the solemn, exalted artistic plan on which it is to be argued."<sup>99</sup>

What Atkinson does not articulate, but what could not have been far from his mind at the time of writing, is what the audience *hears* before the first lines of the play:

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<sup>94</sup> Atkinson reviewed *The Lark* both the day after the premiere (18 Nov. 1955) and in a Sunday piece (27 Nov. 1955).

<sup>95</sup> Atkinson, "St. Joan with Radiance: Julie Harris Stars in 'Lark' at Longacre."

<sup>96</sup> Joan Peyser, *Bernstein: A Biography*, Revised & Updated (New York: Billboard Books, 1998), 252.

<sup>97</sup> 11 minutes, per the Leonard Bernstein Office, see "Works | Stage | The Lark (French and Latin choruses) (1955)." Leonard Bernstein [Website] accessed September 9, 2018, <https://leonardbernstein.com/works/view/55/the-lark-french-and-latin-choruses>.

Or over 14 minutes, judging by the abridged tape reel housed with the Kermit Bloomgarden papers, see Audio 477A/7, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

<sup>98</sup> Atkinson, "New Joan of Arc: Julie Harris Plays Her in 'The Lark.'"

<sup>99</sup> Atkinson.

*Before the curtain rises we hear the music of a psalm: the chorus is singing 'Exaudi orationem meam, domine.' When the curtain rises the music changes to a motet on the words 'Qui tollis,' from the Mass.*<sup>100</sup>

Bernstein's score speaks before Hellman's script. His Prelude sets the stage. And what is more, Bernstein's score supports Hellman's script, or more accurately, the actors onstage, at some of the more difficult moments to carry off in the play, when the audience's willful suspense of disbelief in the pious spectacle unfolding before them is perhaps most taxed.

Bernstein's incidental music appears when Joan hears the voice of St. Michael the Archangel, interrupting and then intermingling with a rustic shepherd's song (Spring Song),<sup>101</sup> to set the scene at the court of Charles VII (Court Song),<sup>102</sup> to close the first act when Joan is given command of the French army (Benedictus),<sup>103</sup> to open the second act where her triumphs on the field of battle are described (Soldiers' Song),<sup>104</sup> as a whisper of memory during her imprisonment (Soldiers' Song, reprise),<sup>105</sup> at her coerced renunciation ("Qui tollis peccata mundi," reprise from Prelude),<sup>106</sup> at and following her execution (Sanctus and Requiem),<sup>107</sup> and finally at the close of the play for the somewhat incongruous re-enactment of Charles' coronation at Reims (Gloria).<sup>108</sup> (For greater detail regarding the placement of script cues for Bernstein's music than are provided in Hellman's script, please refer to **Appendix B** for a transcription of a sound cue sheet from the original production).<sup>109</sup> The manner in which Bernstein's music is employed in Hellman's *Lark* has been likened to the use of orchestral music in the American film score tradition, especially with respect to the coupling of

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<sup>100</sup> These specific stage directions are only present in the final published version of the play, see Lillian Hellman, *The Lark* (New York: Dramatists Play Service, Inc., 1998), 5.

<sup>101</sup> Hellman, 6–7.

<sup>102</sup> Hellman, 22.

<sup>103</sup> Hellman, 33.

<sup>104</sup> Hellman, 35.

<sup>105</sup> Hellman, 42.

<sup>106</sup> Hellman, 51.

<sup>107</sup> Hellman, 54–55.

<sup>108</sup> Hellman, 56.

<sup>109</sup> "Sound and Music Cues: The Lark," May 1956, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 20, Folder 20, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives. A handwritten draft of this cue sheet may be found in the Lillian Hellman papers, Box 12, Folder 8, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.



Bernstein's music with Hellman's more literalistic treatment of Anouilh's originally abstract and metaphorical "flashbacks" to Joan's past, which originated within the context of the more surreal traditions of the French theatre.<sup>110</sup> Bernstein himself noted that the music "impressed, and it worked for the show – made it seem warmer and more emotional, and it's that quality that has got the critics."<sup>111</sup>

Atkinson may not have said it directly, but the effect of Bernstein's music did not go unnoticed in subsequent literary examination of *The Lark*. In Henry Knepler's 1958 comparison of the three different *Larks*, he remarks on how "extensive" the music is for Hellman's version compared to that of Fry's and Anouilh's. Of Bernstein's music, Knepler writes: "anyone who heard it in the performance can testify that it was effective in heightening the impact of the play. It does, however, also impart the quality of a pageant to it, which the original [Anouilh's] does not have."<sup>112</sup> He also notes how Hellman's ending varies from the others', and observes how Bernstein's last chorus, the *Gloria*, contributes to her adaptation's "quality of a pageant."<sup>113</sup>

So, how much credit should be accorded to Bernstein's music for the success of *The Lark's* original run? As aforementioned, contemporary critics seem to have judged the production's theatricality to be its principal strength, even if they found fault in the script, and Bernstein's score was a notable component of its "pageant" of Aristotelian spectacle. That being said, subsequent revivals of the play, so far as can be determined, appear to have been performed *sans* Bernstein's incidental music. Dramatists Play Service, Inc. (DPS) has held the rights to Hellman's *Lark* since they were made available circa 1957. At the time, DPS made an offer for the rights for the recorded

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<sup>110</sup> Knepler, "The Lark: Translation vs. Adaptation, A Case History," 18.

<sup>111</sup> Letter from Leonard Bernstein to Jack Gottlieb, dated 29 November 1955, Jack Gottlieb papers [unprocessed], Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>112</sup> Knepler, "The Lark: Translation vs. Adaptation, A Case History," 18.

<sup>113</sup> Knepler, 28.

music, “but an agreement never materialized, and DPS never received any recordings,”<sup>114</sup> precluding the use of Bernstein’s choruses in future productions.<sup>115</sup>

Right out of the gate, the 1957 Hallmark Hall of Fame telecast of *The Lark*, for reasons that are not entirely clear, does not feature a single note of Bernstein’s music.<sup>116</sup> In a 1955 letter from Bernstein’s agent, David Hocker of MCA Artists, Ltd. to the *Lark*’s producer, Kermit Bloomgarden, regarding contractual arrangements for Bernstein’s music, Hocker notes that “We have deleted the television clause as per your attorney’s instructions.”<sup>117</sup> The reasoning behind those instructions is unknown; however, given the earlier conflict with Anouilh over film rights to *L’Alouette* and *The Lark* by extension,<sup>118</sup> Bloomgarden and his legal counsel may have opted to avoid creating the possibility of another legal liability or hurdle by guaranteeing the use of Bernstein’s music onscreen.

To fill the *lacunae* left by the omission of Bernstein’s choruses, the 1957 telecast’s sound designer, R. Philip Berge, substituted brief uncredited selections of stock music.<sup>119</sup> As regards the other aspects of the production, in the author’s opinion Hellman’s script (as adapted to the screen by James Costigan) comes off as rather heavy-handed and flat-footed, despite the best efforts of the

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<sup>114</sup> Ben Keiper, Dramatists Play Service, Inc., e-mail correspondence to the author, September 10, 2018.

<sup>115</sup> According to Jack Gottlieb (*see* Jack Gottlieb, “The Choral Music of Leonard Bernstein: Reflections of Theatre and Liturgy,” *American Choral Review* 10, no. 4 (July 1, 1968): 175), in 1968 the original tape was available for rental from the Masque Sound and Recording Corporation of New York. The company has yet to return the author’s inquiries; but since the licensing company for the play (DPS) was unaware that Masque Sound holds (or held) the tape and thus would not have been able to direct licensees to them, it would beggar belief to suppose that the original music has been commonly used or even used at all in productions since the play became available for licensing.

<sup>116</sup> Despite the assurance of an IMDb music credit to Bernstein’s name, the author can assure the reader that none of his incidental music is to be found in the hour and twenty-eight minutes of footage hosted by the Internet Archive. *see* “Hallmark Hall of Fame”; “The Lark (TV Movie 1957) - Full Cast & Crew - IMDb,” Internet Movie Database, accessed September 11, 2018, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0595392/>.

<sup>117</sup> Letter from David Hocker to Kermit Bloomgarden, dated 25 October 1955, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 19, Folder 8, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

<sup>118</sup> As previously mentioned, for details of the conflicts regarding film rights for the play, *see* correspondence from March through November 1954 with Kermit Bloomgarden, Jean Anouilh, Jan van Loewen, *et al.* in the Lillian Hellman papers, Box 72, Folder 8, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>119</sup> The author has attempted to locate production records related to Berge’s sound design, but without success. Neither the Hallmark Archives, the UCLA Film & Television Archives (Hallmark Hall of Fame collection), nor the UCLA Library Special Collections (Hallmark Hall of Fame scripts and production information collection, 1951-1984, PASC 71) hold any relevant documents. Any production records beyond the screenplay and production team credits appear to have been consigned to oblivion, or a storage room or closet of no repute.

television cast, replete with veterans of the original Broadway run, with the welcome addition of Basil Rathbone.<sup>120</sup> That being said, the telecast only had a runtime of approximately an hour and seventeen minutes,<sup>121</sup> whereas the play ran a full two hours and two minutes.<sup>122</sup> The impact of what was cut or rewritten is difficult to assess. Perhaps the telecast is not wholly representative of the stage original, but the inclusion of so many veterans of the Broadway run would argue otherwise.

Subsequent stage productions of *The Lark*, reviewed without mention of Bernstein's music, seem to have struggled to garner the glowing critical reception of the original Broadway run. In the review of the play's first New York revival in 1989, befittingly titled "Enter the Martyred Maid, But Without 1950's [sic] Voices," the reviewer dismisses the McCarthy-era play, staged by the York Theater Company in the Episcopal Church of the Heavenly Rest, as lacking "any convenient metaphorical resonance" now years removed from the specter of the Red Scare, and paints a portrait of a one-note script unable to be saved by its actors.<sup>123</sup> More recent critically-reviewed productions of *The Lark* have received such castigating criticisms as "weighed down with too much self-

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<sup>120</sup> The author dreads to imagine what hash has since been made of Hellman's script by less-adept performers.

<sup>121</sup> After subtracting the duration of the commercials included in the footage preserved at the Internet Archive, see "The Lark." *Hallmark Hall of Fame*, Season 6 Episode 4, February 10, 1957. URL: <http://archive.org/details/HallmarkHallOfFameTheLark>.

<sup>122</sup> "Timing Sheet," 05 December 1956, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 20, Folder 20, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

<sup>123</sup> Stephen Holden, "Enter the Martyred Maid, But Without 1950's Voices," *New York Times*, May 29, 1989.

importance to ever take flight. . . . a straight arrow that ultimately misses the bullseye,”<sup>124</sup> and an “unbelievably lifeless script.”<sup>125</sup>

Given how Lillian Hellman’s script has fared in later years when not supported by Bernstein’s incidental music, it is not unreasonable to suppose that his choruses, however brief, may have greased the gears of the original production enough to suspend the disbelief of an audience for an evening and transform a somewhat one-dimensional rendition of Joan into a pleasing *deus ex machina*.

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<sup>124</sup> Los Angeles, CA, 1999; see Adelina Anthony, “Reviews: ‘The Lark,’” *Back Stage West/Drama-Logue* 6, no. 26 (July 1, 1999): 19. Ms. Anthony’s review leaves little doubt that Bernstein’s music was not used for the production. She uses the opening sequence as a case-in-point about poor production decisions made by the two co-directors, who also appeared onstage, and her description of the opening does not square with the original sound cues and stage directions:

The audience suffers more than Joan of Arc in this torturously lengthy show. Here’s an example of something that should have been cut short: the beginning. The space is dinner-theatre style with candles atop each table, when the lights dim a monk slowly emerges and blows out each candle. *Slowly*. Then we hear a heartbeat as the rest of the actors take their positions in the darkness. Then the next recorded sound cue: medieval music. Fine, place us in the time period and mood. But then, the lone actor onstage holding a lit candle sings a cap[p]ella in the same vein as the previous sound cue. This is followed by another dramatic sound cue, until finally, the lights come up and after a few seconds of silence, the first actor speaks his lines.

Her later description of Joan’s execution in the production lacks any reference to musical underscoring.

<sup>125</sup> Pittsburgh, PA, 2009; see Ted Hoover, “The Lark,” *Pittsburgh City Paper*, February 18, 2009.

## Chapter 2 - Anatomy of a *Lark*

### “Doing the Incidentals:” Composing *The Lark*

As previously mentioned, the majority of the incidental music for *The Lark* was composed while Bernstein was in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, from August 25<sup>th</sup> to September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1955.<sup>126</sup> Indeed, judging from the tone of Bernstein’s letter to Jack Gottlieb on September 15<sup>th</sup>, we might hazard a guess that the bulk of Bernstein’s work on the *Lark* took place in the four days between writing said letter and returning to New York City on September 19<sup>th</sup>:

I am still in Gt [Great] Barrington, where the weather is heaven, and where a lot of tennis and some work has been going on. Back to New York on Monday, to a terrible grind. I seem to be doing the incidentals for Anouilh’s “Lark” (Lillian H’s adaptation), plus the new show; and most of my time gets taken up with the plans for the Symph[ony] of the Air programs (a mess at the moment) and the Omnibus series (at least four of those). Waiting in the wings: the Boston Symph[ony] commission, the Juilliard commission, and one from the American Guild of Organists, imagine, for a big religionish choral work. What am I doing? Going in circles.<sup>127</sup>

The colophons on Bernstein’s holograph manuscripts indicate that of the eight choruses Bernstein wrote for the play, at least five were completed in “Great Barrington, Sept 1955.” One manuscript, for the Prelude, has no colophon; that said, the sketches for the Prelude held in the Library of Congress are on the same type of staff paper as the five choruses with “Great Barrington” colophons, so it is not unreasonable to assume that it was composed at the same time as the others.<sup>128</sup> However, two choruses (the Gloria and the Soldiers’ Song), are sketched on a lighter-colored staff paper, and their corresponding holograph manuscripts bear colophons of “6 Oct 1955” and “8 Oct 1955,” respectively. These choruses were written after Bernstein’s return to

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<sup>126</sup> *cf.* Bernstein’s 1955 datebook, Box 322, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>127</sup> Letter from Leonard Bernstein to Jack Gottlieb, dated 15 September 1955, Jack Gottlieb papers [unprocessed], Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>128</sup> *cf.* Box 1063, Folder 5, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

New York City, and in fact only days before October 10<sup>th</sup>, when Bernstein first rehearsed with the singers who would record his music, members of the New York Pro Musica.

**Table 2.1: Colophons for *The Lark* Manuscripts**

<u>Movement</u>	<u>MS Colophon</u> <sup>129</sup>
1. Prelude	No colophon.
2. Spring Song	“Great Barrington Sept 1955”
3. Court Song	“Great Barrington Sept 1955”
4. Benedictus	“Great Barrington Sept 1955”
5. Soldiers’ Song	“8 Oct 1955”
6. Sanctus	“Great Barrington Sept 1955”
7. Requiem	“Great Barrington Sept 1955”
8. Gloria	“6 Oct 1955”

### **“A Lark that is Learning to Pray:” Early Musical Cues in *The Lark***

Apart from the time and place of *The Lark*’s composition, in dealing with a piece of choral music the obvious question arises: from whence came the text? Who chose the words Bernstein set to music? Who even chose where music should augment the play, for that matter? This is a vexing question, to which some measure of an answer can be given. As previously discussed in Chapter 1, to all appearances Lillian Hellman did not bring Bernstein on to write incidental music for *The Lark* until very late in the creative process, likely not long before he left New York for Great Barrington to relax and compose. The play was scheduled to go into rehearsals on August 29<sup>th</sup>,<sup>130</sup> so it would appear that not until production was imminent did the question of provisioning music come to the fore for Hellman and Bloomgarden.

Given how many incidental cues are in the finished play, this delay may seem unusual. However, *The Lark* originally called for very little music. In comparing the various *Larks*, Henry Knepler noted, “Miss Hellman utilizes music to a much greater extent than the original and Fry’s

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<sup>129</sup> cf. Box 1063, Folders 2-3, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>130</sup> “‘The Lark’ will be placed in rehearsal Aug. 29.” Calta, “Karloff Reverts to Type in ‘Lark.’”

translation, which contain short bits of music on only a few occasions. The music for the Hellman version is extensive.”<sup>131</sup> An examination of Lucienne Hill’s literal translation of Anouilh’s *L’Alouette* (labelled A9d in the Lillian Hellman papers at the Harry Ransom Center) yields only a single musical cue specified in the script’s stage directions: at the coronation of Charles VII, “A sudden deafening peals of bells. The organs play,” and in continuation following the final lines, “Triumphal organs, bells, cannon –.”<sup>132</sup> Thus, the sum total of music required by the script for *L’Alouette* was one instrumental sound cue, in the position analogous to the Gloria in Bernstein’s score.

In the drafts of Lillian Hellman’s adaptation of *L’Alouette*, she incorporates several additional musical cues into the script. In Hellman’s so-called “first draft” (A9g at the Harry Ransom Center), in Act I we find the addition of “the sound of a lute,”<sup>133</sup> analogous to Bernstein’s Court Song, and in Act II, “Suddenly we hear the words of a military song. The singing swells until it fills the stage,”<sup>134</sup> and also “There is the sound of fifes, playing a morning song.”<sup>135</sup> These Act II cues correspond to Bernstein’s Soldiers’ Song as well as a whistled reprise of the same, serving in the stead of “the sound of fifes.” Hellman’s first draft does not include Anouilh’s bell and organ cue, because her first draft did not encompass the whole second act of the play, its ending proving difficult to adapt to her satisfaction for the American stage.<sup>136</sup> However, her next extant draft (A9h) reaches the end of Act II, where “Church bells burst forth and organ music is heard.... the organ music swells in triumphant sound as it mingles with the church bells.”<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Knepler, “The Lark: Translation vs. Adaptation, A Case History,” 18.

<sup>132</sup> Translation by Lucienne Hill (A9d), undated [1953?], p. 2-47/2-48, Lillian Hellman papers, Box 11, Folder 11, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>133</sup> “First Draft” carbon (A9g), undated [1954?], p. I-24, Lillian Hellman papers, Box 12, Folder 1, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>134</sup> “First Draft” carbon (A9g), undated [1954?], p. II-1, Lillian Hellman papers, Box 12, Folder 1, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>135</sup> “First Draft” carbon (A9g), undated [1954?], p. II-12, Lillian Hellman papers, Box 12, Folder 1, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>136</sup> Rollyson, *Lillian Hellman*, 354–55.

<sup>137</sup> Revised draft (A9h), undated [1955?], p. II-[33?], Lillian Hellman papers, Box 12, Folder 2, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

Several drafts later in a near to final version of the script (A9m) we find one new musical cue added to the script during a simulated battle scene where “MUSIC is heard and the shouts and cries of men off stage.”<sup>138</sup> Bernstein never wrote an analogous chorus for this moment in the script, which strikes one as a missed opportunity for some Bernstein-esque *stile concitato*. Regardless, it appears that before Hellman approached Bernstein about composing incidental music for *The Lark* she had five musical cues in mind (summarized in **Table 2.2** below), only one of which was decisively choral, and none of which specified any text.

**Table 2.2: Lillian Hellman’s Late Draft (A9m) Musical Cues for *The Lark***<sup>139</sup>

<u>Act</u>	<u>Stage Direction Cue</u>	<u>Bernstein Analogue</u>
I	“sound of a lute”	Court Song
II	“military song”	Soldiers’ Song
II	“sound of fifes”	Soldier’s Song (whistled reprise)
II	[battle music]	N/A
II	“Church bells” and “organ music”	Gloria

### “Credo? Exaudi?!” Texting Cues for *The Lark*

Bernstein’s contract with Kermit Bloomgarden to write incidental music for *The Lark* is not particular illustrative on the matter of musical cues or their texting. In the first place, the contract is intentionally vague, the lay draftsman seemingly not wishing to dictate terms to the musical *literatus*. In the second place, the contract was apparently drafted and executed after Bernstein had completed the bulk, if not all, of the compositional work. While Bernstein was requested to write incidental music for the play before his trip to Great Barrington, the situation was not legally formalized until after his return. A draft contract with Bloomgarden, tentatively dated “October \_\_, 1955,” reads that “...I have requested you to compose three music compositions of such length and with or

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<sup>138</sup> Complete draft (A9m), undated [1955], p. 2-15, Lillian Hellman papers, Box 12, Folder 7, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>139</sup> Complete draft (A9m), undated [1955], p. 1-26, 2-2, 2-13, 2-15, 2-38/2-39, Lillian Hellman papers, Box 12, Folder 7, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.



without such words, as you in your sole discretion shall determine...for use in connection with my production....”<sup>140</sup> One point this draft document does clarify is that Bernstein was given free reign with the choice of text; however, the specification of **three** choruses muddies another point: where Bernstein’s music was intended to be used in the play, given that he ultimately wrote eight choruses, and already had written six by the beginning of October. The executed contract with Bernstein, dated October 24, 1955, four days before *The Lark*’s Boston premiere, varies little from the draft, one exception being, “...I have requested you to compose three music compositions **for voices only** [emphasis mine] of such length and with or without such words, as you in your sole discretion shall determine...for use in connection with my production....”<sup>141</sup> One wonders if upon receipt of the music any complaints were made about the orchestral bells required in the score for the Benedictus and Gloria; if the understanding beforehand had been that the score would be for voices only.

Moving beyond *ex post facto* contractual arrangements, archival documents provide us with a unique insight into the late phases of the creative process involving the selection of cues for the incidental music in *The Lark*. A pair of identical scripts reside in the Library of Congress<sup>142</sup> and the Harry Ransom Center (A9p),<sup>143</sup> with manuscript annotations that appear to be in the hands of Bernstein and Hellman respectively. Bernstein’s annotations consist of potential musical cues and texts; Hellman’s include numerous parallel cues to Bernstein’s, as well as late revisions to her

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<sup>140</sup> Draft contract between Kermit Bloomgarden and Leonard Bernstein, unexecuted, dated \_\_\_ October 1955, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 19, Folder 5, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

<sup>141</sup> Contract between Kermit Bloomgarden and Leonard Bernstein, executed 24 October 1955, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 19, Folder 5, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

<sup>142</sup> Script with annotations, Box 73, Folder 12, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>143</sup> Mimeograph with annotations (A9p), undated [1955], Lillian Hellman papers, Box 12, Folder 11, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

dialogue and stage directions in both ink and pencil. All annotations relating to musical elements are detailed in **Tables 2.3** and **2.4** below, to include page numbers from the original scripts.

**Table 2.3: Musical Annotations in Bernstein<sup>144</sup> & Hellman's<sup>145</sup> Scripts for *The Lark*, Act I**

**N.B.** Quoted stage directions are italicized in this table to distinguish them from quoted dialogue.

<u>Page</u>	<u>Scene Description</u>	<u>LB Annotation</u>	<u>LH Annotation</u>	<u>Lark Score Analogue</u>
[Facing 1-1]	N/A	“2 uses: / Mystical scenes / Ceremonial scenes. <u>No transitions!</u> ”	[None]	N/A
1-1	[Act I Opening]	“Credo? / Exaudi?”	“Open with Music” [top of page] “Music – religious” [alongside body of text]	Prelude
1-2	“It is the first time I hear the Voices...”	“Revecy venir le printemps”	“Music – Spring song / Counter-Tenor”	Spring Song
1-8	<i>“The INQUISITOR rises.”</i>	“ <u>Credo?</u> ”	“Music?”	N/A
1-26	<i>“the sound of a lute”</i>	[None]	“Agnes singing – / Music – / girl singing a song –”	Court Song
1-45	<i>“The ARCHBISHOP, mumbling mechanically, gives the blessing.”</i>	[None]	“Music – blessing sung by singers”	Benedictus

**Table 2.4: Musical Annotations in Bernstein<sup>146</sup> & Hellman's<sup>147</sup> Scripts for *The Lark*, Act II**

**N.B.** Quoted stage directions are italicized in this table to distinguish them from quoted dialogue.

<u>Page</u>	<u>Scene Description</u>	<u>LB Annotation</u>	<u>LH Annotation</u>	<u>Lark Score Analogue</u>
2-1	[Act II Opening]	[None]	“Benedictus reprise”	N/A <sup>148</sup>

<sup>144</sup> Script with annotations, Box 73, Folder 12, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>145</sup> Complete draft (A9m), undated [1955], Lillian Hellman papers, Box 12, Folder 7, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>146</sup> Script with annotations, Box 73, Folder 12, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>147</sup> Complete draft (A9m), undated [1955], Lillian Hellman papers, Box 12, Folder 7, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>148</sup> There is no indication in the production cue sheets that the Benedictus was actually reprised at the top of Act II, but it certainly would have been apropos.

2-2	<i>“Suddenly we hear the words of a military song. The singing swells until it fills the stage.”</i>	[None]	[None]	Soldiers' Song
2-12	<i>“There is the sound of fifes, playing a morning song.”</i>	[Checkmark]	“Reprise <u>whistling</u> –”	Soldiers' Song [Reprise]
2-14	<i>“Music is heard and the shouts and cries of MEN off stage.”</i>	[None]	[None]	N/A
2-27	“Did his heart?”	[None]	“Music”	“Qui tollis” [Reprise from Prelude]
2-27	[Joan's confession]	[None]	"Music"	“Qui tollis” [continued]
2-28	[Joan's confession, continued]	[None]	“Music”	“Qui tollis” [continued]
2-34	“Please God, help me now” [Joan is led to the stake]	[Checkmark]	“Music”	Sanctus
2-35	<i>“LADVENU runs on stage with a Cross”</i>	“ <u>SANCTUS</u> – / DEUS”	[None]	Sanctus [continued]
2-36	“The flames will reach her in two minutes.”	“PLENI”	[None]	Sanctus [continued]
2-36	“We pray for you.”	“(Gloriae tuae) / SANCTUS / (Deus Sabaoth)”	[None]	Sanctus [continued]
2-36	“My God, forgive us all.”	“Rest 20 seconds?”	[None]	N/A
2-36	<i>“ALL present at the stake begin the prayers for the dead.”</i>	[Checkmark]	“Reprise music”	N/A
2-36	“She is quiet.”	“Requiem –”	[None]	Requiem
2-38	<i>“Church bells burst forth and organ music is heard.”</i>	[None]	[None]	Gloria
2-39	<i>“...the organ music swells in triumphant sound as it mingles with the church bells.”</i>	[None]	“Coronation <u>music</u> –”	Gloria [continued]

It is, of course, impossible to say when the annotations in Bernstein's and Hellman's copies of the script were added relative to one another, but their content does shed some light on the process of selecting cues and texts. For example, on a blank page at the beginning of the script, Bernstein writes, "2 uses: / Mystical scenes / Ceremonial scenes. / No transitions!" [underlining in original]. If this were Bernstein's philosophy towards *The Lark's* incidental music, he would have little need to write it down for himself; no doubt these were guidelines given to Bernstein by Hellman, likely in person with the script itself, perhaps before going over places in the script she felt were in need of Bernstein's musical attention. Therefore, Bernstein's music was intended to heighten dramatic moments and not fill time or distract during scene changes. However, if these were Hellman's instructions, she omitted a third use for the music, perhaps because it was self-evident: to provide music where she had explicitly called for it in the script, *i.e.* "the sound of a lute," "a military song," etc.

For the opening of the play, Bernstein wrote "Credo? / Exaudi?" in the margin of the script. He ultimately chose to begin the Prelude with the text "Exaudi orationem meam, Domine," from Psalm 39:13-14, which, as Jack Gottlieb observed, also opens Igor Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms* (1930).<sup>149</sup> While Bernstein was likely familiar with the work in 1955, and thus one can't discount the choice of text as a possible *homage* to Stravinsky, to the best of the author's knowledge Bernstein would not personally conduct the *Symphony of Psalms* until March of 1961 with the New York Philharmonic.<sup>150</sup>

The next annotation made by Bernstein leads us to a point of interaction between Bernstein's score and Hellman's script. In the meadow scene when Joan first hears her voices, Bernstein's copy of the script bears the marginal note, "Revey venir le printemps," the French text

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<sup>149</sup> Jack Gottlieb, *Working with Bernstein: A Memoir* (Milwaukee, WI: Amadeus Press, 2010), 201.

<sup>150</sup> "New York Philharmonic | Performance History," New York Philharmonic | Leon Levy Digital Archives, accessed March 20, 2019, <https://archives.nyphil.org/performancehistory/#program>.

he would use in the Spring Song performed at this point. In the same place, Hellman's script describes the music Bernstein wrote, "Music – Spring song / Counter-Tenor." However, there is a key difference between the draft of the script Bernstein and Hellman annotated and the final version performed on Broadway: the voice of St. Michael. In the draft, as in Anouilh's original play, the actress portraying Joan speaks "in the deep voice of an archangel" the lines of St. Michael in addition to her own, effectively having a two-way conversation with herself.<sup>151</sup> It appears that not until Bernstein's music was incorporated into the play did Hellman's final one-sided version of the scene emerge, with Bernstein's music holding together the 'mystical scene,' an innovation singled out for praise by Henry W. Knepler, albeit without mention of the music itself:

[Hellman] avoids the embarrassment, for example, that Anouilh might cause early in the play when Joan tells of her "voices." His Joan actually repeats what the Archangel Michael and others told her and imitates a man's voice in carrying on both sides of the conversation. Miss Hellman keeps it a one-way conversation in which Joan looks towards the sky, listens to an unheard voice, and replies to it.<sup>152</sup>

Later in the first act, Bernstein returns to his prior fleeting notion of a Credo, a text that never makes it into the score of *The Lark* or into the later *Missa Brevis*. When the Inquisitor, a representative of that imposing body of Catholic doctrinal purity, rises to inaudibly relay a question through an intermediary to Bishop Cauchon, Joan's interrogator,<sup>153</sup> Bernstein writes "Credo?" in the margin. The pairing of the text of that most universal of Christian statements of faith with the intimidating orthodox Inquisitor is most *apropos*, and if we consult Bernstein's sketches for *The Lark*, we find that he drafted a short fauxbourdon-esque chorus on the opening text of the Credo<sup>154</sup> (transcribed in **Figure 2.1** below) which was never used for the production.

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<sup>151</sup> Script with annotations, p. 1-3, Box 73, Folder 12, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>152</sup> Knepler, "The Lark: Translation vs. Adaptation, A Case History," 24.

<sup>153</sup> The Inquisitor doesn't actually speak aloud in the trial until the second act, but stage directions indicate his presence intimidates the other participants throughout.

<sup>154</sup> *The Lark* (1955), Holograph sketches, f. 5, Box 1063, Folder 5, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Figure 2.1: Transcription of Bernstein's Sketch for a Credo<sup>155</sup>

## [Credo]

Source: *The Lark* (1955)

Holograph sketches, f. 5

Box 1063, Folder 5

Leonard Bernstein Collection,

Music Division, Library of Congress,

Washington, D.C.

Leonard Bernstein

(1918-1990)

TENOR 1  
2  
8  
*pp*  
Cre - do in u - num De - um, Cre - do in u - num De - um,

BASS 1  
2  
8  
*pp*

5  
8  
Pa - trem om - ni - po - ten - tem, Fac - to - rem cae - li et ter - rae,

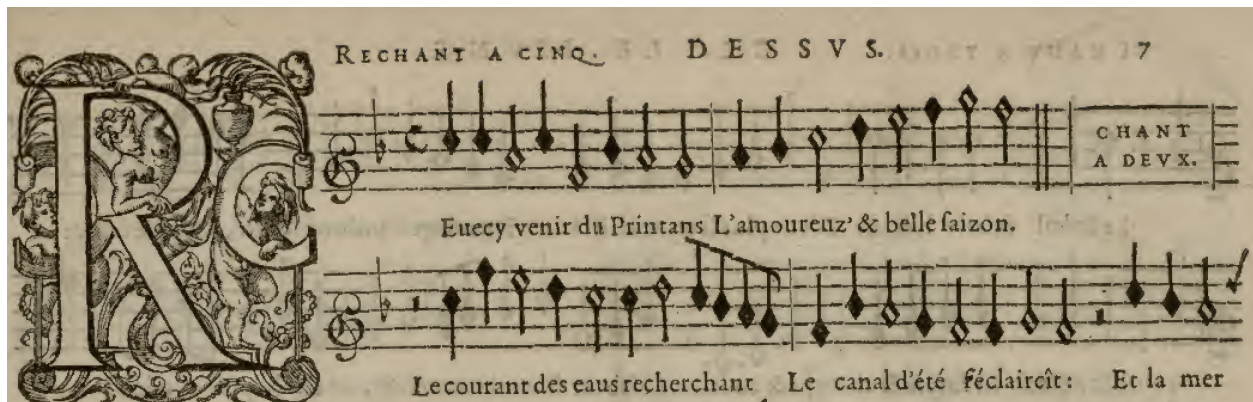
9  
8  
Vi - si - bi - li - um om - ni - um et in - vi - si - bi - li - um.

<sup>155</sup> *The Lark* (1955), Holograph sketches, f. 5, Box 1063, Folder 5, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

## Musical and Textual Borrowing in *The Lark*

Apart its use of standard Latin liturgical texts, Bernstein's incidental score for *The Lark* also borrows text and even music from several secular sources in the French-texted choruses. The previously-mentioned text, "Revey venir le printemps," used for the beginning of the pastoral Spring Song before Joan hears a divine voice in the form of a countertenor solo on the text "Laudate Dominum," is drawn from the refrain "Revey venir **du** printans"<sup>156</sup> of a *vers mesuré* written by the French Renaissance poet Jean-Antoine de Baïf (1532-1589),<sup>157</sup> and originally set to music by Claude Le Jeune (b. 1528-30, d. 1600) and published posthumously in a collection of *musique mesurée* chansons entitled *Le Printemps* (Paris, 1603).<sup>158</sup>

Figure 2.2: Detail, "Revey venir du Printans," Dessus partbook<sup>159</sup>



Precisely where Bernstein encountered this text or its music is unclear. A survey of metadata contained in the conglomerate library catalog WorldCat<sup>160</sup> shows that Le Jeune's chanson is included in a 1939 print anthology of early music compiled by Lehman Engel,<sup>161</sup> as well as on three LPs of

<sup>156</sup> N.B. "Printemps" is the modern French spelling of "printans."

<sup>157</sup> Frank Dobbins. "Baïf, Jean-Antoine de." *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed March 20, 2019, [www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com).

<sup>158</sup> Frank Dobbins and Isabelle His. "Le Jeune, Claude." *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed March 20, 2019, [www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com).

<sup>159</sup> Claude Le Jeune, *Le Printemps* (Paris: Ballard, 1603), 7.

<sup>160</sup> "WorldCat.Org: The World's Largest Library Catalog," OCLC WorldCat, accessed March 21, 2019, <https://www.worldcat.org/>.

<sup>161</sup> Lehman Engel, ed., *French-Netherland Music, Three Centuries of Choral Music: Renaissance to Baroque 1* (New York: Harold Flammer, 1939).

Renaissance music recorded in the early 1950s by Engel, Nadia Boulanger, and Robert Shaw, any of which Bernstein might have encountered.<sup>162</sup>

Jack Gottlieb observed that the music of *The Lark*'s "Revecy" is based upon Le Jeune's,<sup>163</sup> but its line of descent is blurred. A cursory examination of the two will show that the only textual borrowing is that of the incipit, while the only musical borrowing is the melody of the second phrase, originally texted "L'amourez' et belle saizon," which becomes Bernstein's *idée fixe*. (Please refer to **Figures 2.3** through **2.5** for comparison). This partial borrowing, along with the erroneous texting, "le" substituted for "du," leads one to suggest that Bernstein had heard Le Jeune's chanson previously but did not refer to it when composing for *The Lark*, and thus paraphrased or parodied freely to achieve the same affect.

One record reviewer characterized Bernstein's "Revecy" as parody in the 1990s, opining, "One way to teach reluctant music-history students about parody technique is to compare Claude Lejeune's Renaissance chanson *Revecy venir du printemps* with Bernstein's French *Choruses from 'The Lark.'*"<sup>164</sup> If Bernstein's "Revecy" is an intentional parody, then it falls into a rich tradition that spans across centuries, including the parodied Italian ballets and madrigals created by the English school at the turn of the seventeenth century,<sup>165</sup> as well as the more recent and innumerable parodies of showtunes and popular song devised by the television score composer Alf Clausen for *The Simpsons*,<sup>166</sup> to name but two examples.

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<sup>162</sup> *A Treasury of Madrigals* (Renaissance Singers / Lehman Engel), Columbia Masterworks, 12" LP, ML 4517, 1952; *French Renaissance Vocal Music* (Ensemble Nadia Boulanger / Nadia Boulanger), Decca, 12" LP, DL 9629, 1952; Music of the Sixteenth Century (Robert Shaw Chorale / Robert Shaw), RCA Victor, 10" LP, LM 136, 1951.

<sup>163</sup> Gottlieb, *Working with Bernstein*, 200.

<sup>164</sup> James Hejduk, Review of *An American Collection (Agnus Dei and Reincarnations; The Hour Glass; Clapping Music; Choruses from 'The Lark'; Four Motets; 'Acrostic Song' from Final Alice) The Sixteen*, by Samuel Barber et al., *The Choral Journal* 34, no. 5 (1993): 57–57.

<sup>165</sup> e.g. Thomas Morley's (1557/8-1602) "Sing we and chant it" (compare to Giovanni Gastoldi's (c. 1554-1609) "A lieta vita") and "Now is the month of Maying" (compare to Orazio Vecchi's (1550-1605) "So ben mi ch'a bon tempo").

<sup>166</sup> e.g. "See my vest," a delightful parody of Alan Menken and Howard Ashman's showstopper "Be our guest" from Disney's *Beauty and the Beast* (1991). "Two Dozen and One Greyhounds." *The Simpsons*, Season 6 Episode 20, April 9, 1995. URL: <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0701289/>; *Beauty and the Beast*. Directed by Gary Trousdale and Kirk Wise. Burbank, CA: Walt Disney Pictures, 1991. URL: <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0101414/>.



Figure 2.3: Le Jeune, “Revecy venir du Printans,” mm. 1-2

Figure 2.3 shows a musical score for five voices: Dessus, Cinquieme, Haute-Contre, Taille, and Basse-Contre. The score is in a single system with two measures. The lyrics are: "Re-ve-cy ve-nir du Prin - tans L'a-mou-reuz' et bel - le sai - zon." The music is in a minor key and features a mix of quarter and eighth notes.

Figure 2.4: Bernstein, “Revecy venir le Printemps,” mm. 4-10 (reduction)<sup>167</sup>

Figure 2.4 shows a piano reduction of Bernstein's "Revecy venir le Printemps" for measures 4-10. The score is in 6/8 time and includes a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "Re-ve - cy ve-nir le prin-temps. Re-ve - cy ve-nir le prin-temps. Re-ve - cy ve - nir le...". The piano part includes claps and dynamic markings like *mp*. There are also performance instructions like "SII" and "BI".

Figure 2.5: Comparison, Bernstein & Le Jeune

Figure 2.5 compares two musical phrases. The top phrase is from Bernstein, A, mm. 4-8, with the lyrics: "Re-ve - cy ve-nir le prin-temps. Re-ve - cy ve-nir le prin-temps." The bottom phrase is from Le Jeune, S, m. 1-2 (transposed down a perfect fourth), with the lyrics: "Re-ve-cy ve-nir du Prin - tans L'a-mou-reuz' et bel - le sai - zon." Both phrases are in a single system with a treble clef.

<sup>167</sup> Bernstein, *Choruses from The Lark*, 3-4.

While Jack Gottlieb cites the rhythm of Bernstein’s “Revecy” as possibly indicative of a *huapango*, a Mexican folk dance,<sup>168</sup> the regular hemiola employed is commonly found in sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century ciaconnas and canzonas, and in the case of Le Jeune’s setting is partially derived from the poetic meter, as proscribed by the aesthetic principles of *musique mesurée*, in which, “the composer followed the metre of the verse exactly; each long (accented) syllable was set to a minim and each short (unaccented) syllable to a crotchet.”<sup>169</sup>

Another of *The Lark*’s French choruses features textual borrowing, albeit one of a somewhat confused nature. The Court Song in Act I features a text related to that of the trouvère Adam de la Halle’s (b. 1245-50, d. 1285-88 or after 1306)<sup>170</sup> rondeau “Fi, mari, de vostre amour” (See **Table 2.5** below for textual comparisons).

**Table 2.5: Bernstein and Adam de la Halle’s Texts of “Fi, mari”**

<b>Bernstein</b> <sup>171</sup>	<b>de la Halle (rondeau)</b> <sup>172</sup>	<b>de la Halle, dub. (motet)</b> <sup>173</sup>
Fi, mari de vostre amour.	Fi, mari, de vostre amour.	Fi, mari, de vostre amour!
Cor j’ai ami,	Car j’ai ami!	Quar j’ai ami
noble et de bel a tour.		Tel com il afiert ami,
Tout l’aime aussi.	Biaus est, et de noble atour.	Qui me sert et nuit et jour
Fi, mari.	Fi, mari, de vostre amour.	Sanz sejour,
		De cuer mignot et joli.
J’ai ami, noble et de bel amour,		Villains, vous demorrés
Ne sert de nuit et de jour!	Il me sert et nuit et jour,	Et je m’en vois o li!
Tout l’aime aussi.	Pour che l’aim si.	
Fi, mari!	Fi maris de vostre amour.	
	Car j’ai ami.	

<sup>168</sup> Gottlieb, *Working with Bernstein*, 202.

<sup>169</sup> Howard Mayer Brown, Howard Mayer, and Richard Feedman. “Vers Mesurés, Vers Mesurés à l’antique.” *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed March 20, 2019, www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

<sup>170</sup> Carol Symes has remarked that the “timing and location of Adam’s death are notoriously problematic.” Carol Symes, “The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays: Forms, Functions, and the Future of Medieval Theater,” *Speculum* 77, no. 3 (2002): 819. She previously assessed the evidence in Carol Lynne Symes, “The Makings of a Medieval Stage: Theatre and the Culture of Performance in Thirteenth-Century Arras” (Ph.D., Harvard University, 1999), 375–77.

<sup>171</sup> Bernstein, *Choruses from The Lark*, 15–23.

<sup>172</sup> Adam de la Halle, *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle*, ed. Nigel E Wilkins, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae* 44 (Dallas: American Institute of Musicology, 1967), 53.

<sup>173</sup> Transcription from Halle, 72.

Figure 2.6: Detail, Adam de la Halle, rondeau, “Fi, mari, de vos tre amour,” (right side), F-Pn fr. 25566, f. 33r



At first is difficult to know what to make of Bernstein’s variant of the text, which does not directly correspond to any historical source. However, the matter is somewhat clarified by a leaf in Bernstein’s sketches, in which he wrote out the text for the Court Song separately from its music, in a slightly different form than was used in the completed chorus.<sup>174</sup> Comparing these variants side by side (see **Table 2.6** below), we can see evidence of gradual corruption in the text in the process of successive transcriptions (e.g. “Car” to “Cor,” “atour” to “a tour,” “Il me sert et nuit” to “Ne sert de nuit,” *etc.*).

<sup>174</sup> *The Lark* (1955), Holograph sketches, f. 31, Box 1063, Folder 5, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

**Table 2.6: Bernstein, Bernstein, and Adam de la Halle’s Texts of “Fi, mari”**

<u>de la Halle (rondeau)</u> <sup>175</sup>	<u>Bernstein (Sketch)</u> <sup>176</sup>	<u>Bernstein (Score)</u> <sup>177</sup>
Fi, maris, de vostre amour. Car j’ai ami!	Fi Mari de Vostre Amour Car j’ai ami, noble et d[e] bel atour. (2x: Il me sert de nuit, de jour)	Fi, mari de vostre amour. Cor j’ai ami, noble et de bel a tour. Tout l’aime aussi.
Biaus est, et de noble atour. Fi, mari, de vostre amour.	<u>Tout l’aime aussi.</u> (or Fi Mari de vostre amour).	Fi, mari.
Il me sert et nuit et jour, Pour che l’aim si.	Il me sert de nuit, de jour.	J’ai ami, noble et de bel amour, Ne sert de nuit et de jour! Tout l’aime aussi.
Fi maris de vostre amour. Car j’ai ami.		Fi, mari!

However, there are other differences which cannot be explained away as corrupt readings, such as the change of the line “Pour che l’aim si” to “Tout l’aime aussi,” and the loss of the word “biaus.” If we examine a 1940s edition of Adam de la Halle’s rondeaux, however, we find readings similar to Bernstein’s in modernized French, including “Ja l’aime ainsi,” and “Il est beau de noble atour.”<sup>178</sup> While this source does not exactly correspond to Bernstein’s text, it does suggest that in “Fi, Mari” Bernstein paraphrased a text he had previously encountered, possibly from a performance in modernized French with somewhat poor diction,<sup>179</sup> which might explain the transformation of “ainsi” to “aussi.”

<sup>175</sup> Halle, *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle*, 53.

<sup>176</sup> *The Lark* (1955), Holograph sketches, f. 31, Box 1063, Folder 5, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>177</sup> Bernstein, *Choruses from The Lark*, 15–23.

<sup>178</sup> Adam de la Halle, *Rondeaux à 3 Voix Égales*, ed. Jacques Chailley, Musique Française Au Moyen-Age. (Paris: Éditions Salabert, 1942), 22.

<sup>179</sup> The author has been unable to locate a contemporaneous recording of “Fi, mari” that Bernstein might have heard.

**Table 2.7: Original and Modernized Text of “Fi, mari”**

<u>de la Halle</u> <sup>180</sup>	<u>Modernized</u> <sup>181</sup>	<u>Bernstein (Score)</u> <sup>182</sup>
Fi, maris, de vostre amour. Car j'ai ami!	Fi, mari, de votre amour Car j'ai ami.	Fi, mari de vostre amour. Cor j'ai ami,
Biaus est, et de noble atour.	Il est beau de noble atour.	noble et de bel a tour. Tout l'aime aussi.
Fi, mari, de vostre amour.	Fi, mari, de votre amour.	Fi, mari. J'ai ami, noble et de bel amour, Ne sert de nuit et de jour! Tout l'aime aussi.
Il me sert et nuit et jour, Pour che l'aim si.	Il me sert et nuit et jour, Pour l'aime ainsi.	
Fi maris de vostre amour. Car j'ai ami.	Fi, mari, de votre amour Car j'ai ami.	Fi, mari!

Bernstein's music for “Fi, mari” is, so far as can be determined, completely unrelated to Adam de la Halle's, in either its original form as a three-part rondeau or in its dubiously-attributable incarnation as a three-part motet in the Montpellier Codex, F-MO H 196<sup>183</sup> (see **Figures 2.7 to 2.9** below for comparison).

**Figure 2.7: Adam de la Halle, rondeau, “Fi, mari, de vos tre amour,” F-Pn fr. 25566, f. 33r-33v<sup>184</sup>**

1,4,7. Fi, ma - ris, de vostre a - mour, 2,8. Car j'ai a - mi!  
3. Biaux est, et de noble a - tour  
5. Il me sert et nuit et jour; 6. Pour che l'aim si.

1,4,7. Fi, ma - ris, de vostre a - mour, 2,8. Car j'ai a - mi!  
3. Biaux est, et de noble a - tour  
5. Il me sert et nuit et jour; 6. Pour che l'aim si.

1,4,7. Fi, ma - ris, de vostre a - mour, 2,8. Car j'ai a - mi!  
3. Biaux est, et de noble a - tour  
5. Il me sert et nuit et jour; 6. Pour che l'aim si.

<sup>180</sup> Halle, *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle*, 53.

<sup>181</sup> Halle, *Rondeaux à 3 Voix Égales*, 22.

<sup>182</sup> Bernstein, *Choruses from The Lark*, 15–23.

<sup>183</sup> For a brief examination of the relationship between de la Halle's rondeau and the related anonymous motet amidst a broader discussion of the polyphonic rondeau, see Mark Everist, “The Polyphonic ‘rondeau’ c. 1300: Repertory and Context,” *Early Music History* 15 (1996): 83–86.

<sup>184</sup> Halle, *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle*, 53.

Figure 2.8: Bernstein, “Fi, mari,” mm. 1-4 (reduction)<sup>185</sup>

Figure 2.8 shows a musical score for Bernstein's "Fi, mari," mm. 1-4 (reduction). The score is in 9/8 time and consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins with a fermata on a whole note, followed by the lyrics "Fi, ma-ri, Fi, ma-ri de vos-tre a amour." The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in the left hand and chords in the right hand. The score includes dynamic markings such as *mp* and *p*, and performance instructions like "SI" and "SII, A, T".

Figure 2.9: Adam de la Halle (dubious), motet, “Dame belle / Fi, mari / Nus n’iert,” F-MO H 196, f. 300v-301r<sup>186</sup>

Figure 2.9 shows a musical score for Adam de la Halle's motet, “Dame belle / Fi, mari / Nus n’iert,” F-MO H 196, f. 300v-301r. The score is in 3/4 time and consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins with a fermata on a whole note, followed by the lyrics "Da-me bele et a-ve-nant et de biau port, Ar-ri- Fi, ma-ri, de vostre a-mour! Quar j'ai a-mi Tel com il a- Nus n'iert ja jo-lis S'il n'ai - 5 me [Da-me de haut vé sui a mal port: Je muir a grant tort. Se jen'ai de fiert a-mi, Qui me sert et nuit et jour Sanz se-jour, De cuer pris Nus n'iert 10 ja jo-lis. Li vos-tres a-mis Vous vous confort, Sans nul re-sort Sui mis a la mort! mi-gnot et jo-li. Vilains, vous de-mor-rés Et je m'en vois o li! 15 clai-me. Nus n'iert ja jo-lis S'il 20 n'ai - - - mel]

<sup>185</sup> Bernstein, *Choruses from The Lark*, 15–16.

<sup>186</sup> Transcription from Halle, *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle*, 72.

Bernstein's musical and textual borrowings in *The Lark*'s third French-texted chorus are also the most literal. Jack Gottlieb reported that the Soldiers' Song "Vive la Jeanne" was based on a French folksong entitled "Vive la Grappe" (in English, 'Long live the Grape').<sup>187</sup> However, upon canvassing the corpus of French folksong, it would appear that no such folksong exists. The only folksong in which those words occur is a variant of "Vive la Rose et le Lilas," which has no melodic resemblance to "Vive la Jeanne."<sup>188</sup>

However, a Burgundian folksong about viticulture winemaking, "Plantons la vigne" (in English, 'Plant the Vine'),<sup>189</sup> shares not only a melody with "Vive la Jeanne," but a textual relationship as well. Upon comparing the two, it can be plainly seen that "Vive la Jeanne" is a contrafactum of "Plantons la vigne," complete with nonsense words inserted by Bernstein to fill out the music that parallel the assonance of the vowels of the original text (See **Figure 2.10** and **Table 2.8** below). Years later, Gottlieb was no doubt told that the source was the nonexistent "Vive la Grappe" by Bernstein, who can certainly be forgiven for mutating 'Plant the vine' (vigne) into 'Long live the grape' (vive).

There is potentially one further instance of textual borrowing in *The Lark*, in its Gloria, performed during the closing scene depicting the coronation of Charles VII at Rheims. Here Bernstein set the incipit of the Mass Ordinary, followed by three lines of non-standard quasi-liturgical text which have the flavor of being a trope from an unknown medieval source (see **Table 2.9** below). However, despite the author's best efforts, a historical source has not been located.

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<sup>187</sup> Gottlieb, "The Choral Music of Leonard Bernstein," 173; Gottlieb, *Working with Bernstein*, 203.

<sup>188</sup> Julien Tiersot, *Chants populaires pour les écoles. Poésies de Maurice Bouchor. Mélodies recueillies et notées par Julien Tiersot* (Paris: Hachette, 1909), 36.

<sup>189</sup> Jacques Gardien, *Le Vin dans la chanson populaire bourguignonne: étude historique et documentaire accompagnée de 28 airs notés et de 84 textes ou fragments de chansons* (Dijon: l'Arche d'or, 1967), 66–72.

That said, it is also possible that Bernstein dusted off his schoolboy’s Latin and put it to use authoring a flattering text to contribute to the exuberant spectacle of Charles’ coronation.

**Figure 2.10: Musical Comparison of “Plantons la vigne” with “Vive la Jeanne”**

The image shows a musical score for two songs. The top system is for "Plantons la vigne" and the bottom system is for "Vive la Jeanne". Both are in 2/4 time with a key signature of two flats. The score includes vocal lines and piano accompaniment. The piano part for "Plantons la vigne" is marked *mp* and includes a dynamic marking *>*. The piano part for "Vive la Jeanne" includes a dynamic marking *>* and a star symbol *\** above a note. The lyrics are written below the vocal lines.

**Plantons la vigne**  
 Plan - tons la vi - gne, la voi - là, la jo - li' vi - gne. Vi - gni, vi - gnons, vi - gnons, le vin, La voi - là la jo - li vi - gne au vin, La voi - là la jo - li' vi - gne.

**Vive la Jeanne**  
 Vi - ve la Jean - ne, la jo - lie, jo - lie Jean - ne! Jo - lie, jo - lou, jo - la, la, la, Jean - ni, Jean - nou, Jean - na, na, na. O la jo lie, jo - lie Jean ne.

**Table 2.8: Textual Comparison of “Plantons la vigne” with “Vive la Jeanne”**

<u>Vive la Jeanne</u> <sup>190</sup>	<u>Plantons la vigne</u> <sup>191</sup>
Vive la Jeanne!	Plantons la vigne,
La jolie, jolie Jeanne!	La voilà, la joli' vigne.
Jolie, jolou, jola, la, la,	Vigni, vignons, vignons, le vin,
Jeanni, Jeannou, Jeanna, na, na.	La voilà, la joli' vigne au vin,
O la jolie, jolie Jeanne.	La voilà, la joli' vigne.

**Table 2.9: “Troped” Gloria Text**

<u>Gloria</u> <sup>192</sup>	<u>Translation</u>
Gloria in excelsis Deo.	Glory to God in the highest!
Regi nostro clarissimo.	Glory to our most glorious king.
Regi nostro illustrissimo.	Glory to our most renowned king,
Regi clarissimo electo Dei.	[Our] glorious king, elect of God.

<sup>190</sup> Bernstein, *Choruses from The Lark*, 24–29.

<sup>191</sup> Gardien, *Le Vin dans la chanson populaire bourguignonne*, 66.

<sup>192</sup> Bernstein, *Choruses from The Lark*, 53–60.



## Recording and Performing *The Lark*

Upon completion, Bernstein’s incidental score for *The Lark* was recorded by members of early music specialist Noah Greenberg’s ensemble the New York Pro Musica, a select septet of singers drawn from the ensemble, including the young countertenor Russell Oberlin. (See **Table 2.9** below for the full roster of musicians involved in the recording). Bernstein met with Greenberg and *The Lark*’s director, Joseph Anthony, on September 26, 1955, presumably to iron out details for rehearsals and the recording session, the bulk of the music having already been written, as previously discussed.<sup>193</sup>

**Table 2.10: New York Pro Musica *Lark* Recording Roster**

<b><u>Musician</u></b> <sup>194</sup>	<b><u>Role</u></b> <sup>195</sup>
Betty Wilson	soprano
Jean Hakes	soprano
Pauline Seim	mezzo-soprano
Russell Oberlin	countertenor
Charles Bressler	tenor
Arthur Burrows	bass [baritone]
Brayton Lewis	bass
Noah Greenberg	artistic director
Leonard Bernstein	conductor

The New York Pro Musica had been founded in 1952, originally with the overlong name of “the Primavera Singers and St. Cecilia Players of the New York Pro Musica Antiqua,”<sup>196</sup> and in 1955 was still three years away from mounting the professional coup represented by their celebrated realization of the medieval liturgical drama *The Play of Daniel*.<sup>197</sup> The idea of an ensemble performing early music exclusively, much less incorporating reproductions of period instruments as the New

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<sup>193</sup> Burton, *Leonard Bernstein*, 250.

<sup>194</sup> The singers’ names are listed in the playbill, see “Playbill Vault | The Lark.”

<sup>195</sup> The singers’ voice parts have been derived from a survey of New York Pro Musica album liner notes.

<sup>196</sup> James Gollin, *Pied Piper: The Many Lives of Noah Greenberg* (Pendragon Press, 2001), 165.

<sup>197</sup> For a full account of the New York Pro Musica’s famed 1958 production of *Ludus Danielis* at the Cloisters, see Gollin, 240–51.

York Pro Musica did, was as yet a novel notion in the 1950s, and Pro Musica was at the forefront of innovation in historically-informed performance for their time.<sup>198</sup>

While Noah Greenberg was Pro Musica's artistic director, for the purposes of *The Lark* Bernstein conducted the ensemble himself.<sup>199</sup> Before recording the choruses, the Pro Musica singers rehearsed with Bernstein twice: two hours at his home from 2:00-4:00 PM on October 10<sup>th</sup>, and again from 2:00-4:00 PM on October 11<sup>th</sup>, this time at "chez Bob Blake,"<sup>200</sup> likely meaning the studio of Robert E. Blake, Jr., a recording engineer with a studio at Carnegie Hall who can be found credited in liner notes of the era.<sup>201</sup> Finally, on October 13<sup>th</sup>, the singers met with Bernstein from 1:00-5:00 PM for the recording session.<sup>202</sup>

This recording of Bernstein's incidental score was played from a single tape reel over speakers for the Broadway run and tour of the play.<sup>203</sup> Bernstein was less than pleased with all aspects of this arrangement. He complained bitterly that "cheap [Kermit] Bloomgar[d]en wouldn't rent good enough equipment, so that it grizzled a bit."<sup>204</sup> The suboptimal audio quality did not go unnoticed by one keen-eared New York reviewer, Eric Bentley, who critically remarked early in the play's run: "the producer has Leonard Bernstein turn on the phonograph at awkward moments

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<sup>198</sup> Sadly, elements of the performance practice of medieval music in the 1950s have since fallen into disrepute in light of the research of the succeeding decades. For a thorough conceptual history of performance practice of medieval and early Renaissance music, as well as modern views of the history and repertoire of those eras, see Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

<sup>199</sup> Bernstein was paid \$500 for his services as conductor, according to a letter from Bernstein's agent, David Hocker of MCA Artists, Ltd., to Kermit Bloomgarden, dated 25 October 1955, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 19, Folder 8, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

<sup>200</sup> cf. Bernstein's 1955 datebook, Box 322, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>201</sup> "[Obituary] Robert Blake Jr.; Recorded Operas," *The New York Times*, February 10, 1971.

<sup>202</sup> cf. Bernstein's 1955 datebook, Box 322, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>203</sup> A tape reel of the recording, presumably the one used in production or a copy thereof, can be found with the Kermit Bloomgarden papers: see Audio 477A/7, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

<sup>204</sup> Letter from Leonard Bernstein to Burton Bernstein, dated 29 October 1955, Box 5, Folder 33, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Transcribed in Simeone, *The Leonard Bernstein Letters*, 349.

(hark the metallic angels sing).<sup>205</sup> The “awkward moments” mentioned may be more a matter of poor execution by the stage crew than design on the part of Hellman, Bernstein, or Bloomgarden. In a pair of leaves from a yellow legal pad which now reside in the Library of Congress,<sup>206</sup> we see in Bernstein’s hand a list of observations and complaints, apparently notes jotted down during a technical run-through of *The Lark*, possibly the one mentioned on October 22<sup>nd</sup> in his 1955 datebook, which reads “Lark run-through with music.”<sup>207</sup> They include such brief remarks as: “*Revey* – late (clapping under meadow line),” “*Fi Mari* – too soft for dance,” and “*Qui tollis* – too loud (a bit) and late,” indicative of the struggles to coordinate the tape reel with the action on stage. This is particularly understandable, given the limitations of the technology in use, because many of the sound cues on the production cue sheet include fade-out instructions.<sup>208</sup> The necessary multitasking of fading the volume and stopping the tape player would make it difficult at first for a sound technician to know exactly where in the gap between choruses they stopped the tape reel, and thus difficult to time the onset of subsequent cues. Perhaps the stage crew was still struggling or less than attentive on the night Bentley attended the play.

Bernstein had additional cause for complaint about the tape reel, beyond inferior sound equipment or possibly inconsistent execution of cues. In a letter to Jack Gottlieb after the New York premiere, he griped, “They cut and mangled my music, ran the tape on ghastly equipment, and what not.”<sup>209</sup> The ‘cutting and mangling’ Bernstein references can be heard on the surviving tape reel,<sup>210</sup> presumably used in the production or a copy thereof, held in the Kermit Bloomgarden

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<sup>205</sup> Eric Bentley, “Theatre,” *The New Republic*, December 5, 1955.

<sup>206</sup> Box 1063, Folder 4, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>207</sup> *cf.* Bernstein’s 1955 datebook, Box 322, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>208</sup> “Sound and Music Cues: The Lark,” May 1956, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 20, Folder 20, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

<sup>209</sup> Letter from Leonard Bernstein to Jack Gottlieb, dated 29 November 1955, Jack Gottlieb papers [unprocessed], Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>210</sup> Audio 477A/7, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

papers, which shows several cuts, some distinctly unclear, including the omission of the second verse of the Court Song, “Fi, Mari,” with its florid countertenor counterpoint, as well as the loss of the first ten bars of the Sanctus and the first six and a half of the final Gloria. (See **Appendix E** for further discrepancies between the published score of *The Lark* and the Bloomgarden tape).

Examination of the Bloomgarden tape also reveals that the two sets of orchestral bells called for in Bernstein’s score were not prerecorded with the singers, necessitating the use of at least semi-musically-literate stagehands backstage. These live performers, uncredited in the playbill, are alluded to in Bernstein’s aforementioned run-through notes (he specifies, “Big attack – bells on Domini”).<sup>211</sup> Their existence is further supported by the presence of photocopies of Bernstein’s manuscript scores for the Benedictus and Gloria – the only two choruses that call for bells – in the Kermit Bloomgarden papers adjacent other production materials.<sup>212</sup> Presumably these scores or copies thereof were intended for use backstage.

### **The Musical Finances of *The Lark***

Bernstein was paid rather handsomely for his incidental score, to the tune of a thousand dollars (worth approximately \$9,396.88 in 2019 after correcting for inflation),<sup>213</sup> along with an additional five-hundred-dollar fee (\$4,698.44 in 2019) for conducting the New York Pro Musica singers during the recording session.<sup>214</sup> In addition, Bernstein was to be paid royalties for each full week of the play’s run, one hundred dollars for a normal week of eight performances. For partial

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<sup>211</sup> Box 1063, Folder 4, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>212</sup> Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 19, Folder 20, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

<sup>213</sup> Consumer Price Index Inflation Calculator, Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, URL: [https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation\\_calculator.htm](https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm)

<sup>214</sup> Letter from Bernstein’s agent, David Hocker of MCA Artists, Ltd., to Kermit Bloomgarden, dated 25 October 1955, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 19, Folder 8, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

weeks, this payment was prorated to \$12.50 a performance. Per Bernstein's contract with Bloomgarden, these payments were owed him "whether all, any part[,] or none of the Music shall be used in connection with performances of the Play."<sup>215</sup> Furthermore, Bernstein was guaranteed billing in programs and publicity in type-size equal to half that of Hellman's, whose billing, incidentally, was equal to Anouilh's, by his agreement).<sup>216</sup>

The singers, who recorded Bernstein's choruses a mere fifteen days before *The Lark* was due to open for tryouts in Boston on October 28, 1955, each signed individual contracts with Bloomgarden dated either October 27 and 28.<sup>217</sup> The contracts, drawn up using a pre-printed standard form from the Chorus Equity Association (normally used for chorus members in musical plays), with a short added rider to alter compensation to be commensurate with a recorded performance, have several typos and inconsistencies, and the typescript is frequently misaligned with the pre-printed standard form. These facts, along with the late date, give one an impression of haste as Bloomgarden and his administrative staff worked to tie up loose ends as the show approached opening night in Boston.

Per the riders on their contracts, each of the singers (with the exception of the countertenor Russell Oberlin) was guaranteed at least \$270 of compensation (worth \$2,537.16 in 2019),<sup>218</sup> of which \$90 had already been paid, presumably for the recording session.<sup>219</sup> The remaining balance of

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<sup>215</sup> Contract between Leonard Bernstein and Kermit Bloomgarden, executed 24 October 1955, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 19, Folder 5, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

<sup>216</sup> "Anouilh thinks that Miss Hellman should receive equal billing." Letter from Anouilh's agent, Jan van Loewen, to Kermit Bloomgarden, dated 29 March 1954, Lillian Hellman papers, Box 72, Folder 8, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>217</sup> Contracts between Kermit Bloomgarden and Charles Bressler *et al.*, executed 27 and 28 October 1955, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 19, Folder 5, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

<sup>218</sup> Consumer Price Index Inflation Calculator, Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, URL: [https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation\\_calculator.htm](https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm)

<sup>219</sup> *The Lark's* production company's financial statements note a payment of \$720.00 for "chorus" as a rehearsal expense, a figure which is equal to the sum of the advances paid to the seven Pro Musica singers. See Exhibit "A," Statement dated 10 January 1956, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 19, Folder 19, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

\$180 would be paid at a rate of \$25 for each full week of eight performances until paid in full, i.e. partway through the eighth full week. Each subsequent week the recording was used would garner an additional \$25 dollars of royalties for the singers.<sup>220</sup> Any partial weeks would be prorated, at \$3.12 a performance.

Russell Oberlin on the other hand, already a rising star, received more favorable terms in his contract rider than his fellow singers.<sup>221</sup> Oberlin was guaranteed \$540 of compensation (\$5,074.31 in 2019),<sup>222</sup> of which he had already received \$180. His weekly royalties were set at \$30 for each full week of performances, and the remaining \$360 balance of his guaranteed compensation would be paid after twelve full weeks of performances. Afterward, each week the recording was used would continue to earn Oberlin \$30 on top of his guarantee. During prorated partial weeks, Oberlin earned \$3.75 a performance.

During *The Lark's* national tour, a dispute arose between Leonard Bernstein and his agent, David Hocker of MCA Artists, Ltd., with Kermit Bloomgarden and the play's production company. It seems that the creative team had all agreed in principle to take a royalty cut to ensure the financial viability of the tour. However, almost a month into the play's run in Central City, CO, Hocker wrote the Bloomgarden:

I am returning herewith Leonard Bernstein's check for the week ending September 1, 1956, in the amount of \$50. Lenny has been receiving checks since August fourth which indicate a reduction in royalties of 50 per cent.

Kermit, our understanding regarding a possible royalty reduction for Lenny was based on everyone's taking a similar cut, including Lillian Hellman. Lenny tells me

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<sup>220</sup> Contracts between Kermit Bloomgarden and Charles Bressler *et al.*, executed 27 and 28 October 1955, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 19, Folder 5, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

<sup>221</sup> Contracts between Kermit Bloomgarden and Russell Oberlin, executed 28 October 1955, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 19, Folder 5, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

<sup>222</sup> Consumer Price Index Inflation Calculator, Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, URL: [https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation\\_calculator.htm](https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm)

that this is not the case; therefore, I am requesting that, until such time as all parties are taking a similar reduction, Leonard Bernstein receive his full royalties.<sup>223</sup>

Behind the scenes, it turns out that while Hellman was willing to take a proposed cut on her royalties, (although not one of fifty percent, which seems to be the crux of the misunderstanding on Bernstein and Hocker's part), Anouilh would only consent to a smaller cut:

I've talked with both Miss [Kay] Brown and Mr. Bloomgarden about your royalties on the tour and this seems to be the situation: When they last discussed it, Miss Brown left it that Bloomgarden was to find out if Anouilh would accept a royalty exactly equal to yours – for example, 5½% each at full royalty. She made it clear that if that were so, you would then accept the proposed cuts. Bloomgarden says now that Anouilh absolutely refused to back down, and while he accepted the schedule of cuts which Bloomgarden requested, he did so only on the original 6% basis. So Bloomgarden says you have him in a bind – if you will not go along with the deal he proposed (60% of 5% until \$20,000; 80% of 5% between \$20,000 and \$30,000; and a full 5% over \$30,000), he will simply have to pay you a flat 5% and absorb the losses.

In any case, Bloomgarden says, the entire Central City run will be calculated at 5% of the gross in so far as your royalties are concerned.<sup>224</sup>

The play's business manager, Max Allentuck, replied to Hocker on Bloomgarden's behalf attempting to clarify the situation:

I believe you have misunderstood the arrangements for cuts for royalties from *The Lark* on tour. Everyone, including Miss Hellman, is taking substantial cuts, and the individual arrangements, while they differ in form, represent similar reductions over the full twenty weeks of the tour.<sup>225</sup>

Nonetheless, Hocker persisted in attempting to secure full royalties for Bernstein, and continued to return his royalty checks throughout the month of September 1956, replying to Allentuck:

“It was my understanding with Kermit Bloomgarden that everyone entitled to royalties from *The Lark* including Lillian Hellman was taking a 50 per cent cut.

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<sup>223</sup> Letter from David Hocker to Kermit Bloomgarden, dated 06 September 1956, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 19, Folder 8, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

<sup>224</sup> Letter from Ruth [Cooper], MCA Management, Ltd., to Lillian Hellman, dated 23 August 1956, Lillian Hellman papers, Box 73, Folder 2, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>225</sup> Letter from Max Allentuck to David Hocker, dated 12 September 1956, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 19, Folder 8, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

Unless all the parties involved are accepting a 50 per cent cut, Leonard Bernstein does not agree to accept this cut.<sup>226</sup>

By October, however, Bloomgarden was able to clarify the realities of the situation, and

Bernstein conceded the issue, with Hocker writing to Bloomgarden:

Per our telephone conversation, I have discussed the cut you proposed in weekly royalties with Leonard Bernstein. Leonard has agreed to take a 50 per cent cut in his royalties from *The Lark* beginning with the performance of August fourth [1956].

It is our understanding that Alvin Colt, Jo Mielziner, and Joe Anthony have taken similar cuts and that the authors are also taking a cut based on the actual gross.<sup>227</sup>

While Hocker may have failed to regain the original royalty rates for Bernstein, he and the other musicians involved in *The Lark* were not ill-used. Between fees and royalties, Bernstein earned \$5,600 from *The Lark* (worth \$52,089.20 in 2019). Russell Oberlin earned \$1,695 (\$15,697.11 in 2019), and his fellow Pro Musica singers each earned \$1,352.50 (\$12,517.11 in 2019), which all told wasn't a bad return for eight hours spent with Bernstein over three days. (Please see **Tables 2.10** and **2.11** for detailed figure on musicians' earnings related to *The Lark*).

**Table 2.11: Musicians' Compensation and Royalties for *The Lark***<sup>228</sup>

<u>Musician(s)</u>	<u>Initial Compensation</u>	<u>Royalties</u>			<u>Royalty Total</u>	<u>Overall Total</u>
		<u>Boston Tryouts (19)</u>	<u>Broadway Run (229)</u>	<u>National Tour (158)</u>		
Bernstein	\$1,500.00	\$237.50	\$2,875.00	\$987.50	\$4,100.00	\$5,600.00
Oberlin	\$180.00	\$60.00	\$862.50	\$592.50	\$1,515.00	\$1,695.00
Other Singer	\$90.00	\$50.00	\$718.74	\$493.76	\$1,262.50	\$1,352.50
All Singers	\$720.00	\$360.00	\$5,174.94	\$3,555.06	\$9,090.00	\$9,810.00
Overall Total	\$2,220.00	\$597.50	\$8,049.94	\$4,542.56	\$13,190.00	\$15,410.00

<sup>226</sup> Letter from David Hocker to Max Allentuck, dated 14 September 1956, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 19, Folder 8, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

<sup>227</sup> Letter from David Hocker to Kermit Bloomgarden, dated 01 October 1956, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 19, Folder 8, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

<sup>228</sup> Accounting records, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 19, Folder 19, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.



**Table 2.12: Musicians' Compensation and Royalties for *The Lark*, Adjusted for Inflation<sup>229</sup>**

<u>Musician(s)</u>	<u>Initial Compensation</u>	<u>Royalties</u>			<u>Royalty Total</u>	<u>Overall Total</u>
		<u>Boston Tryouts (19)</u>	<u>Broadway Run (229)</u>	<u>National Tour (158)</u>		
Bernstein	\$14,095.32	\$2,231.76	\$26,718.05	\$9,044.07	\$37,993.88	\$52,089.20
Oberlin	\$1,691.44	\$563.81	\$8,015.42	\$5,426.44	\$14,005.67	\$15,697.11
Other Singer	\$845.72	\$469.84	\$6,679.42	\$4,522.13	\$11,671.39	\$12,517.11
All Singers	\$6,765.76	\$3,382.85	\$48,091.94	\$32,559.22	\$84,034.01	\$90,799.77
Overall Total	\$20,861.08	\$5,614.61	\$74,809.99	\$41,603.29	\$122,027.89	\$142,888.97

### **Bernstein, Oberlin, and the New York Pro Musica**

Although a noted pedagogue, popularizer, and advocate for art music in the United States, Bernstein is not typically known for any particular association with the early music movement. Nonetheless, it seems the brief professional interaction with Noah Greenberg and singers from the New York Pro Musica on *The Lark* left an impression upon him. At the very least, he appears to have been quite taken with the exotic sound of Russell Oberlin's supple countertenor voice. He singled out Oberlin for praise in a letter to Jack Gottlieb after the Boston tryout of *The Lark* opened:

I've just returned from Boston where the "Lark" had its premiere, and it seems like a large hit, for which Deo Gratias, some little royalties old Lil and me. The music is pretty, and sounded well: all *a cappella* writing for 7 solo voices (including a fabulous countertenor named Russell Oberlin) and no instruments at all except some bells.<sup>230</sup>

Over the next decade, Bernstein would collaborate with Oberlin several times when he and the New York Philharmonic ventured into Baroque repertoire. A little over a year later, Bernstein featured Oberlin as the alto soloist in a greatly-abridged performance of George Frideric Händel's oratorio *Messiah*, HWV56, with the New York Philharmonic at Carnegie Hall on December 27, 1956, simultaneously broadcast on national radio, in what one reviewer described as "a completely

<sup>229</sup> Consumer Price Index Inflation Calculator, Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, URL: [https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation\\_calculator.htm](https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm)

<sup>230</sup> Letter from Leonard Bernstein to Jack Gottlieb, undated [29 October 1955?], Jack Gottlieb papers [unprocessed], Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Italics added.

unconventional ‘Messiah.’”<sup>231</sup> The performance was reprised on December 28 and 30, and the Philharmonic subsequently recorded *Messiah* with Oberlin for Columbia Records on December 31, 1956.<sup>232</sup> The use of a countertenor for the alto arias, while commonplace today, was extremely novel in the 1950s, a fact that was not lost upon Oberlin. After the recording session, he wrote a letter thanking Bernstein, saying:

Now that it is all over – I would like to thank you for a very wonderful week with the “Messiah.” I don’t know when I have enjoyed anything as much. I am the first to realize that without you, I would never have been asked to sing the alto sections. Thank you for making this opportunity possible.

I’m more certain than ever, that the really out-standing people in any field, are those few who are not afraid to take a chance – Needless to say, you took a chance with me.<sup>233</sup>

Over the following years, Bernstein brought Oberlin in for additional Baroque programs. In the spring of 1957, Oberlin sang the role of the Evangelist in excerpts from Johann Sebastian Bach’s *St. Matthew Passion*, BWV 244 for Bernstein in a March 31<sup>st</sup> episode of *Omnibus*.<sup>234</sup> In December of 1958, Oberlin sang the solo alto part in Bach’s *Magnificat*, BWV 243, for four performances of an all-Bach New York Philharmonic program, prompting another note from Oberlin to Bernstein, noting how the appearance was helping his career: “This is a much overdue ‘thank-you’ for encouraging me to sing ‘Esurientes.’ Very pleasant repercussions are still coming my way in the form of engagements.”<sup>235</sup>

The following spring, Oberlin was slated to sing the role of Pontius Pilate for a set of New York Philharmonic performances with Bernstein of Händel’s *St. John Passion* (now considered of

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<sup>231</sup> Harold C. Schonberg, “Music: Handel’s ‘Messiah’ Performed: Oratorio at Carnegie Led by Bernstein,” *New York Times*, December 28, 1956.

<sup>232</sup> *Messiah* (New York Philharmonic/Leonard Bernstein), Columbia Masterworks LP M2L 242, 1957.

<sup>233</sup> Letter from Russell Oberlin to Leonard Bernstein, dated 03 January 1955, Box 42, Folder 29, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>234</sup> “The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach.” *Omnibus*, Season 5 Episode 26, March 31, 1957. URL: <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0664954/>.

<sup>235</sup> Letter from Russell Oberlin to Leonard Bernstein, dated 03 February 1959, Box 42, Folder 29, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

spurious attribution), but came down with a cold, prompting the substitution of Robert White, a student at Hunter College, who sight-read the piece in a last-minute audition.<sup>236</sup> Oberlin reiterated his apologies in a letter to Bernstein after the performances.<sup>237</sup> Later that year, Oberlin reprised his performance of the Bach *Magnificat* with Bernstein for a Christmas special on the television program *Startime*,<sup>238</sup> and subsequently recorded it with Bernstein for Columbia Records in 1962.<sup>239</sup> When Oberlin retired from full-time performance in 1966, he requested Bernstein's recommendation for his application for a teaching position at Hunter College.<sup>240</sup>

Aside from his work with Oberlin, Bernstein also maintained ties with Noah Greenberg and the New York Pro Musica in general after *The Lark* had come and gone. He served as a sponsor, at least in name if not financially, for a special benefit performance of *The Play of Daniel* at the Chapel of the Intercession of Trinity Parish on December 28, 1959 held to "raise funds for the research programs and the instrument collection of Pro Musica."<sup>241</sup>

The following spring, Bernstein incorporated Pro Musica into the third season of the New York Philharmonic's Young People's Concerts in a program entitled "Unusual Instruments of Present, Past, and Future," recorded on March 26, 1960 and broadcast the next day.<sup>242</sup> The "Past" section of the program included a dance by the Spanish composer Francisco de la Torre (fl. 1483–

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<sup>236</sup> Ross Parmenter, "Philharmonic Handel Festival: Bernstein Conducts at Carnegie Hall, St. John Passion' and Organ Work Heard," *New York Times*, March 27, 1959.

<sup>237</sup> Letter from Russell Oberlin to Leonard Bernstein, dated 31 March 1959, Box 42, Folder 29, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>238</sup> "Christmas Startime," *Startime*, Season 1 Episode 12, December 22, 1959, URL: <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0709581/>; John P. Shanley, "TV: A Christmas Gift: Musical Observance of Nativity, With Bernstein and Others, Called Inspired," *New York Times*, December 23, 1959.

<sup>239</sup> *J.S. Bach: Magnificat in D Major* (New York Philharmonic/Leonard Bernstein), Columbia Masterworks 12" LP ML 5775, 1962.

<sup>240</sup> Letter from Russell Oberlin to Leonard Bernstein, dated 02 May 1966, Box 42, Folder 29, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>241</sup> Letter requesting sponsorship from Richard F. French (president of Pro Musica's board) to Leonard Bernstein, dated 25 October 1959, Box 1008, Folder 28, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Bernstein wrote "Yes" on the top of the letter, and Helen Coates indicated "ans[wered] Oct 29<sup>th</sup>."

<sup>242</sup> "Unusual Instruments of Past, Present and Future." *New York Philharmonic Young People's Concerts*, Season 3 Episode 3, March 27, 1960. URL: <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0439338/>.

1504) played by a trio of shawms accompanied by tambourine, Giovanni Gabrieli's *Canzon septimi toni a 8* with one choir of four consisting of sackbuts and cornetto and the other of trombones and trumpet, as well as the first movement of Bach's *Brandenburg Concerto No. 4*, BWV 1049, juxtaposing passages played on modern and Baroque instruments in a manner the movement's *ritornello* form proved to be ideally suited for.<sup>243</sup> Bernstein's script<sup>244</sup> doesn't represent the modern descendants of the early instruments used in the program as superior evolutions of their ancestors, destined to replace them (a common temptation even today amongst mainstream classically-trained musicians), but rather emphasizes the imaginative potential of hearing music as it was heard in the past to help place our existence in context:

Isn't it fascinating to hear old sounds and new sounds side by side? It gives us such a clear, idea of the difference between olden times and our own times, just by hearing the sounds that were made then and now. That's really the best and most exciting way to know history: not just by studying about dates and battles and who was king of what in which century, but by coming close to the art of history – by looking at the pictures people painted in any certain period of history, or reading the poems they wrote, and hearing the music they heard. Then we can almost put ourselves in their place, and pretend we're living in those long-ago days; then we can really understand history – which is not just a dull subject in school, but an exciting way of knowing about what happened in our world before we were living in it.

I remember that when I was a small kid I had no interest in how the world was before I was in it, and I think that's true of most kids. But suddenly there comes a moment – maybe when you're 11 or 14 or 17 [–] when you suddenly realize that there had been a big and interesting world going on for thousands of years before you were in it[. F]rom the minute you realize this, and begin to want to know what this world was like, from that minute on, you're on your way to becoming a thinking person, a really educated person.<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> A copy of the original concert program may be found in Box 106, Folder 7, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>244</sup> The original copy of which may be found Box 106, Folder 6, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. A transcription may be read online at URL: <https://leonardbernstein.com/lectures/television-scripts/young-peoples-concerts/unusual-instruments-of-the-past-present-and-future>

<sup>245</sup> “Unusual Instruments of the Past, Present, Future | Young People’s Concerts | Television Scripts | Lectures/Scripts/Writings.” Leonard Bernstein [Website]. Accessed March 17, 2019. URL: <https://leonardbernstein.com/lectures/television-scripts/young-peoples-concerts/unusual-instruments-of-the-past-present-and-future>.

After the untimely death in 1966 of the New York Pro Musica’s founder and director, Noah Greenberg, at the age of forty-six,<sup>246</sup> Bernstein was asked by the president of Pro Musica’s board, Richard F. French, to serve as a member of an *ad hoc* advisory committee to the board, “who might be asked, individually or collectively, to scrutinize one of more candidates eventually to be proposed by the Board [to serve as new musical director],” noting that “your [Bernstein’s] relationship with Noah and Pro Musica and your knowledge of our problem would make your advice invaluable.”<sup>247</sup> Bernstein agreed, and joined a distinguished group of advisors, including fellow composer Elliott Carter and eminent musicologist Gustave Reese (full list in **Table 2.13** below).

**Table 2.13: Members of the *Ad Hoc* Advisory Committee to the New York Pro Musica Board**

<u>Member</u> <sup>248</sup>	<u>Profession</u>
Leonard Bernstein	composer/conductor
Elliott C. Carter	composer
Margaret B. Freeman	medievalist, curator
Arthur Mendel	musicologist
Gustave Reese	musicologist
Meyer Schapiro	art historian

Ultimately, John Reeves White was selected to serve as the new musical director of the New York Pro Musica. However, the ensemble’s days were numbered: Pro Musica would fold in 1974, eight years after Greenberg’s death. During White’s tenure, Bernstein provided at least \$800 of financial support to Pro Musica. In May 1967, he donated \$200 towards expenses for a pair of planned free open-air concerts in Central Park and Washington Square in that upcoming June.<sup>249</sup> In

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<sup>246</sup> “Noah Greenberg Is Dead at 46; Founded New York Pro Musica: Group Spurred a Revival of Pre-Classic Music Mother Dies on Hearing News,” *New York Times*, January 10, 1966.

<sup>247</sup> Letter from Richard F. French to Leonard Bernstein, dated 09 February 1966, Box 1008, Folder 28, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>248</sup> List drawn from a letter from Richard F. French to Helen Coates, dated 24 February 1966, Box 1008, Folder 28, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>249</sup> Letter requesting support from John White to Leonard Bernstein, dated 20 May 1967, Box 1008, Folder 28, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Bernstein wrote “\$200” in the margins. At the top of the letter is typed “Ans. and send a check for \$200 on May 25<sup>th</sup>,” presumably by Helen Coates.

the fall of 1969, Bernstein responded to an urgent plea for loans or donations to cover a delay in the receipt of returns from Pro Musica’s successful South American tour with a check for \$100.<sup>250</sup> The request for aid from director John Reeves White also made mention of \$500 previously donated by Bernstein since June 1967. In total, Bernstein’s contributions to the New York Pro Musica’s endeavors in the 1960s had the buying power of approximately \$5,676.29 in 2019 after correcting for inflation, a not inconsiderable sum.<sup>251</sup>

**Table 2.14: Bernstein’s 1960s Contributions to the New York Pro Musica<sup>252</sup>**

<u>Date Sent</u>	<u>Purpose</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Approximate Value in 2019</u>
25 May 1967	Underwrite public concerts	\$200.00	\$1,522.75
[June 1967 – May 1969]	Unknown	[\$500.00]	\$3,472.20
09 October 1969	Cover delay in income	\$100.00	\$681.34
<b>TOTAL:</b>		\$800.00	\$5,676.29

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<sup>250</sup> Letter requesting support from John Reeves White to Leonard Bernstein, dated 26 September 1969, Box 1008, Folder 28, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Bernstein wrote “200” in the margins. At the top of the letter is typed “check for \$100 sent Oct. 9<sup>th</sup>,” presumably by Helen Coates.

<sup>251</sup> Consumer Price Index Inflation Calculator, Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, URL: [https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation\\_calculator.htm](https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm)

<sup>252</sup> *cf.* previously discussed correspondence in Box 1008, Folder 28, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

## Chapter 3 - *The Lark Takes Flight?: The Initial Afterlife of The Lark*

### The Kernel of a Short Mass?

Most Bernstein scholars and biographers have lain credit for the idea of adapting the choruses from *The Lark* into a *missa brevis* at the feet of conductor Robert Shaw, a towering figure in American choral performance and editorial practice of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This attribution is principally based upon the uncritical acceptance of a short program note in the published score of the *Missa Brevis* written by Jack Gottlieb. While Gottlieb, Bernstein's longtime friend and musical assistant, is generally a relatively reliable source in Bernstein scholarship, the preponderance of contemporary evidence casts aspersions upon his account that Shaw attended one of the early Broadway performances of *The Lark* and "suggested to Mr. Bernstein that with some changes and additions the music would make an effective *Missa Brevis*."<sup>253</sup>

However, before *The Lark* had even opened on Broadway, Bernstein was already developing tentative plans for a future for its incidental music beyond the theatre. In a letter from Bernstein to his brother, Burton, written in October 1955 shortly after the opening of *The Lark*'s Boston tryout run, Bernstein reported:

We just returned from Boston where the *Lark* had its premiere and it seems to be a large hit. Raves, and the audience lapped it up. My music sounded good as hell, with marvelous voices (on tape: and cheap [Kermit] Bloomgar[d]en wouldn't rent good enough equipment, so that it grizzled a bit) but still it sounded pretty. I think there's the kernel of a short Mass there, and I may expand it into one for the Juilliard commission (two birds technique, as of old).<sup>254</sup>

Bernstein had previously alluded to Jack Gottlieb in September 1955 that he was pressed for time to complete upcoming commissions:

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<sup>253</sup> Program note by Jack Gottlieb (opposite page 1), see Leonard Bernstein, *Missa Brevis (1988): For A Cappella Mixed Chorus (or Octet of Solo Voices) and Countertenor Solo with Incidental Percussion* (New York: Boosey & Hawkes, 1988).

<sup>254</sup> Letter from Leonard Bernstein to Burton Bernstein, dated 29 October 1955, Box 5, Folder 33, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Transcribed in Simeone, *The Leonard Bernstein Letters*, 349.

I seem to be doing the incidentals for Anouilh's "Lark" (Lillian H's adaptation)...  
Waiting in the wings: the Boston Symph[ony] commission, the Juilliard commission,  
and one from the American Guild of Organists, imagine, for a big religionish choral  
work. What am I doing? Going in circles.<sup>255</sup>

Gottlieb's friendship with Bernstein had begun as a student at Brandeis University when  
Bernstein began teaching part-time as a member of the music faculty in 1951 at the invitation of  
Irving Fine. In the fall of 1955, Gottlieb was halfway across the country beginning his doctoral  
study at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Like Burton Bernstein, Gottlieb was also in  
receipt of a letter from Bernstein following *The Lark's* Boston premiere:

I've just returned from Boston where *The Lark* had its premiere, and it seems like a  
large hit, for which Deo Gratias, some little royalties for old Lil and me. The music  
is pretty, and sounded well: all *a cappella* writing for 7 solo voices (including a  
fabulous counter-tenor named Russell Oberlin) and no instruments at all except  
some bells. It contains the foundation of a short Mass, and I may expand the  
material into one for the Juilliard commission (my old two-bird technique).<sup>256</sup>

As can be seen from the above, Bernstein was of the conviction that *The Lark's* incidental score held  
a viable "kernel of a short Mass," and communicated the idea of using a *Lark*-based *missa brevis* to  
fulfill a commission for Juilliard to two separate individuals in October of 1955. Therefore, the idea  
was in his mind before Robert Shaw attended a performance of the play in New York. Indeed, it  
appears Bernstein pursued the idea for a time. In the Library of Congress resides a manuscript fair  
copy of *The Lark's* Prelude (texted "Exaudi" and "Qui tollis") along with half the Benedictus, with a  
title crossed out: "Choruses from 'The Lark' for Mixed Chorus, a cappella, Counter-Tenor, Soprano,  
and Baritone Soli, Chimes and Drum."<sup>257</sup> In lighter pencil above the stricken title is a presumably  
later dedication, also crossed out, reading "Commissioned by and dedicated to the Juilliard School  
on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary," which indicates that Bernstein briefly worked on an

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<sup>255</sup> Letter from Leonard Bernstein to Jack Gottlieb, dated 15 September 1955, Jack Gottlieb papers [unprocessed], Music  
Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>256</sup> Letter from Leonard Bernstein to Jack Gottlieb, dated 29 October 1955, Jack Gottlieb papers [unprocessed], Music  
Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Italics added.

<sup>257</sup> Box 1063, Folder 4, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.



adaptation of some kind for Juilliard. Ultimately, of course, Bernstein abandoned the notion of Juilliard *missa brevis*. Instead, Bernstein fulfilled the commission from the Juilliard Musical Foundation with *Brass Music*, a suite written in April 1948, which was premiered on April 8, 1959 at Carnegie Hall.<sup>258</sup>

## The Shaw Connection

None of the foregoing is to say that Robert Shaw did not express an interest in *The Lark*'s music to Bernstein. On the contrary, it is certain that he did.

In late 1955, from October to December, Shaw was travelling on domestic tour of the United States with his acclaimed ensemble, the Robert Shaw Chorale.<sup>259</sup> As seemed to be custom, they ended their tour season in New York, and in January 1956 Shaw put out a call for auditions for tenors for an upcoming six-week spring tour of the United States.<sup>260</sup> The Chorale toured the eastern United States from January 28 to March 11, 1956,<sup>261</sup> “going as far west as Texas before winding up in Illinois and finally New York,”<sup>262</sup> and March 24<sup>th</sup>, the Chorale set out abroad for a tour of the Near East and Europe, including past the Iron Curtain, under the auspices of a United States State Department cultural exchange program,<sup>263</sup> returning on June 2<sup>nd</sup> after touring twenty countries in eleven weeks.<sup>264</sup>

Amidst all this activity, sometime between ending the fall tour in New York in December 1955 and setting out on the spring tour in January 1956, Robert Shaw attended a Broadway

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<sup>258</sup> The holograph score is held in Juilliard's Peter Jay Sharp Special Collections. “Works | Ensemble & Chamber | Brass Music (1948).” Leonard Bernstein [Website]. Accessed August 3, 2018. URL: <https://leonardbernstein.com/works/view/35/brass-music>; Jane Gottlieb, “The Juilliard School Library and Its Special Collections,” *Notes* 56, no. 1 (1999): 22.

<sup>259</sup> Robert Dean, *The Foreign Tours of the Robert Shaw Chorale* (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 2000), 205–6.

<sup>260</sup> “Display Ad 104: Auditions, Tenors Needed,” *New York Times*, January 16, 1956.

<sup>261</sup> Dean, “The Foreign Tours of the Robert Shaw Chorale,” 206.

<sup>262</sup> Dean, 96.

<sup>263</sup> “Robert Shaw Choir to Tour Near East,” *New York Times*, March 13, 1956.

<sup>264</sup> “Shaw Chorale in From Europe,” *New York Times*, June 3, 1956.

performance of *The Lark*. At some point before leaving New York, Shaw must have spoken to Bernstein about its choruses, because in February 1956 he wrote to him from Atlanta, Georgia:

Please accept my apologies for not contacting you before we left New York concerning your wonderful choruses in *The Lark* and my attempt to program them through the Spring Tours.

In the last few hectic days of rehearsals, I discovered – as I have every season for the past eight years – that the program already was too long, and simply couldn't see my way to getting them installed and rehearsed adequately (which latter was the principal item).

I do think they are absolutely (and variously) captivating and exciting pieces – and I continue to hope that we may be able to perform them in **some suite-form** [emphasis added] in the near future.<sup>265</sup>

We can plainly see that Shaw's intent was to program *The Lark* music as a concert suite. Even if after seeing the play he had suggested that the score could make for a good *missa brevis*, it was an idea that had already occurred to Bernstein.

Beyond a crowded program, there is one additional reason why Shaw may not have opted to program Bernstein's choruses from *The Lark*. An examination of his programming for the 1956 domestic and foreign tours shows that the Chorale performed Aaron Copland's (1900-1990) *a cappella* chorus with baritone solo *The Lark* (1938), a setting of a poem by Genevieve Taggard (1894-1948).<sup>266</sup> Perhaps an exaltation of *Larks* on the program seemed a bit much to take on tour.

Shaw reflected on these events, and the later commissioning of the *Missa Brevis* (1988), in an interview after Bernstein's death with Howard Dyck:

We commissioned [the *Missa Brevis*], oh three or four years ago, and Lenny said he wanted, he'd be happy to write it, wanted to write it. In his Forward [sic] to that piece, **he says it's my idea** [emphasis added]. He took his choruses from *The Lark*, which he'd written for a Broadway play, which were written for seven voices, and were in French texts, and *The Lark* was a Jean d'Arc story, and he put them – as a matter of fact, there were one or two that had Latin texts, and he didn't have to

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<sup>265</sup> Letter from Robert Shaw to Leonard Bernstein, dated 14 February 1956, Box 51, Folder 2, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Transcribed in Simeone, *The Leonard Bernstein Letters*, 351.

<sup>266</sup> Dean, "The Foreign Tours of the Robert Shaw Chorale," 206–8.

change that at all, because he had a, I forget, which was it, it was a “Dona Nobis Pacem” or something like that, no that “Revey venir du Printemps” becomes “Dona Nobis Pacem.” **So he took these choruses and he said it was my idea** [emphasis added].

I'd asked him before we went to France, before we went to Russia, excuse me, if there was a – and that would be '67, I think<sup>267</sup> – if he had something that we could take over there, because I wanted to see that they heard some of his music. And he had these choruses and they didn't sort of work on our program. We were doing three programs, we should have been able to find a place for them, but we were doing rather larger American works like – slightly larger – like Aaron Copland's *In the Beginning* and a few others, and Charles Ives' *Harvest Home Chorales* and his *90th Psalm*.

So it didn't work at that time, but he, and he was kind enough so that he didn't take a composer's fee from us.<sup>268</sup>

Both from reading the transcript and listening to the original radio broadcast recording, one gets the impression that Shaw's recollection is slightly fuzzy. However, twice he states that Bernstein credited him with idea of a *missa brevis*, “said it was my idea,” without directly taking credit for it, suggesting that he himself had no recollection of suggesting it, but did not wish to contradict Bernstein, even after death.

## The Specter of the Sabbath Service

The suggestion made by Bernstein in his October 1955 letter<sup>269</sup> to Jack Gottlieb that he might expand or otherwise transform the incidental music from *The Lark* into a concert Mass prompted a veritable diatribe from Gottlieb:

I am very much disturbed at your plan of writing a Mass for Juilliard? Why? Is it really necessary that you write it? Aren't there enough goyim in the world who have done it and will continue to do it? (Pardon me, but my chauvinistic slip is showing). True, you could treat the Mass text for its impersonal quality in the Latin (like Stravinsky), but even so, you cannot escape the personal, devotional aspect of it. I don't care what you say, you are a Jew and you think like a Jew? Why can't it be a

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<sup>267</sup> Here Shaw conflates the 1956 tour of twenty-one countries with the 1962 tour of the Soviet Union.

<sup>268</sup> Robert Shaw, [Leonard Bernstein and the *Missa Brevis*], interview by Howard Dyck, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Radio, October 19, 1991. Original audio and transcript available at: “Shaw Musings | Leonard Bernstein and the *Missa Brevis*,” Robert Shaw Website, accessed October 9, 2018, <http://robertshaw.website/new-page-1/>.

<sup>269</sup> Letter from Leonard Bernstein to Jack Gottlieb, dated 29 October 1955, Jack Gottlieb papers [unprocessed], Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Sabbath Service instead? Certainly the Hashkivenu is a very successful piece. After all, how many decent [S]ervices have been written – only two, for my money: Bloch and Milhaud. Furthermore, how much more full, rich, and meaningful is the Hebrew vs. the dogmatic Latin. Of course, you may be attracted to the economical usage of the Christian words – but this is little justification. Since you have already worked with Hebrew, isn't it logical to now blossom out with a full[-]length work since you understand the medium? You must consider this strongly. If I may wax poetic – it's your **destiny** to write a Service – but certainly never a Mass. If you do decide to write a Mass, nevertheless, I guarantee that it won't be a success – and I will be very upset. Don't fight against your very nature! The world needs the masterpiece that I know you will produce – the secret lies in a Service as in nothing else. What can I do to prove this to you?<sup>270</sup> [Emphases in original].

This tract was briefly revisited a month later in a postscript from Gottlieb, reading: “P.S. Are you still planning to write a Mass? – the Lord forbid!”<sup>271</sup>

Of course, in hindsight we can snicker at Gottlieb's shortsightedness in such passages as “If you do decide to write a Mass, nevertheless, I guarantee that it won't be a success,” as we in posterity are in receipt of both Bernstein's *Missa Brevis* and his inspired and controversial theatre-piece *Mass*. It is clear that Gottlieb earnestly felt that Bernstein's heritage and talents preordained a monumental contribution to Jewish liturgical music. The expectation that America's leading Jewish composer should foster Jewish music followed Bernstein over the years, and reemerges in correspondence with synagogue musicians in the 1970s and 1980s, midwifed by Gottlieb.

In February 1975, Bernstein received a letter from Michael Isaacson, director of music for the Temple in Cleveland, Ohio, proposing:

[t]he inauguration of a competition to be called “The Leonard Bernstein International Competition” which would encourage music to be created for the Jewish experience. There could be three categories: Orchestral, Choral[,] and Chamber music with sub[-]classifications for music created for the worship service and music created freely around literary and melodic motifs.<sup>272</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> Letter from Jack Gottlieb to Leonard Bernstein, dated 04 November 1955, Box 60D, Folder 21, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Emphasis in original.

<sup>271</sup> Letter from Jack Gottlieb to Leonard Bernstein, dated 05 December 1955, Box 60D, Folder 21, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>272</sup> Letter from Michael Isaacson to Leonard Bernstein, dated 10 February 1975, Jack Gottlieb papers [unprocessed], Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

and opining that:

It seems that in these times Jewish artists...minimize their ethnicity and deal with materials that while universally abstract, are devoid of ideas stemming from a personal cultural heritage. As the Music Director for a temple that has long prided itself on encouraging new ideas in Judaism, I am worried that I will be the last of a generation of composers involved in creating music for the Jewish experience.<sup>273</sup>

Bernstein annotated the letter, and forwarded it to Jack Gottlieb, saying “How does this strike you? Do you know this chap?,”<sup>274</sup> to which Gottlieb replied:

Mike Isaacson phoned me to ask how to contact you, etc. At the time he said that wanted to speak to you about *Dybbuk*; but he made no mention of a competition and all the rest....

I believe that he paints the picture too melodramatically, but that he is basically correct about how few of us are involved in the field. However, I am not at all sure that having an “L.B. International Competition” is a solution at all. What would happen?... A lot of pieces would be written, many of them misfires, completely out of whack Jewishly speaking, that would get played once, maybe twice and that’s it. The fundamental problem is not so much composers as it is the power structure (to be blunt about it: I mean Rabbis) and congregants themselves (although less so, since they do look up to guidance from their “illustrious” leaders).

Rather than a competition, I would prefer to see such monies spent on an education program for composers, a workshop or an institute or some such device. This would provide the proper framework so that the music would not be a hit or miss affair. This probably sounds chauvinistic of me, since I am institutionally bound-up these days; but I really believe that on the evidence of other competitions and/or commissions not that much is to be gained.<sup>275</sup>

After Bernstein drastically cut back his conducting schedule for his ‘year of composing’ in 1980,<sup>276</sup> part of a broader effort in his later years to cement his legacy as a composer, he received mountains letters over the next decade from ensembles, organizations, and individuals offering

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<sup>273</sup> Letter from Michael Isaacson to Leonard Bernstein, dated 10 February 1975, Jack Gottlieb papers [unprocessed], Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>274</sup> Annotation by Leonard Bernstein in pencil. Letter from Michael Isaacson to Leonard Bernstein, dated 10 February 1975, Jack Gottlieb papers [unprocessed], Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>275</sup> Letter from Jack Gottlieb to Leonard Bernstein, dated 21 February 1975, Jack Gottlieb papers [unprocessed], Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>276</sup> “Leonard Bernstein in Austria to conduct at the Salzburg Festival, said, ‘I won't lift my baton for the entire year 1980’ so that he may concentrate on composing. ‘What will come out I don't know. But I don't think it will be a symphony. An opera, maybe. A cello sonata. Or perhaps a flute piece...It might,’ he said unexpectedly, ‘even be something very modest.’” Jennings Parrott, “Newsmakers,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 24, 1979.

commissions, requesting pieces, and suggesting projects. In 1986, Richard Botton, cantor at Central Synagogue in New York City wrote to Bernstein after having spoken with Jack Gottlieb, complaining:

The state of decent Jewish liturgical music in the modern synagogue is, save for a few synagogue strongholds, in severe crisis. The young rabbis now occupying pulpits, have been spawned in the 60's "folk"- guitar ere [sic]. Enamored of that, they have brought the least common denominator of that music into the synagogue – paying little heed to the meaning of the text. If the "ditty" is singable – it is done whether it is appropriate to the liturgy or not.

Now, as a cantor, I get my "kicks" once or twice a year when I'm asked to do a Bloch service or an Isadore Freed service or a Milhaud service by some orchestra or choral society. Of course, at Central there are many other opportunities during the year. But my less fortunate colleagues must sit by and watch Jewish music become more and more moribund (gad, what al[!]iteration!). Congregants could obviously not hear Bloch every week. The great composers, such as yourself, are not writing fine synagogue music which is at the same time access[i]ble to the average Jew without being trite!

Without trying to lay a Jewish guilt trip on you, I say, "Jewish Synagogue Music needs Leonard Bernstein's talent and art!"<sup>277</sup>

If Bernstein replied to Botton, we have no record of it. Needless to say, the trends referenced by Isaacson and Botton are not unique to Judaism, but rather are part of a broader cultural phenomenon across American liturgical faiths over the last fifty years which can still be seen today. And of course, throughout history there has never been any shortage of establishment figures bemoaning the musical mannerisms of the new generation. Nonetheless, these letters are representative of one facet of Bernstein's Jewish identity and the expectations laid upon it by members of the American community of synagogue musicians.

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<sup>277</sup> Letter from Richard Botton to Leonard Bernstein, dated 06 February 1955, Box 819, Folder 4, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Emphasis in original.

## The Publication and Reception of the *Lark* Choruses

Bernstein's incidental score for *The Lark* was eventually published in 1964, segmented into two sets, of French and Latin choruses, respectively, and setting aside their original order in the play; and received its first recorded concert performance on March 14, 1964, in Buffalo, New York by the Fredonia College Choir, conducted by Richard Sheil.<sup>278</sup> Outside Hellman's play, the choruses received positive reviews, alloyed with minor criticisms. In *The Musical Times* Elizabeth Poston wrote:

These consist of three French Choruses (with drum), alert springy writing in traditional French manner-pastiche, if you will, but good of its kind and fun to sing. The second set, five Latin Choruses (with bells in the last), are settings of liturgical texts, Exaudi, Benedictus, Sanctus, Requiem, Gloria, which seem to me less good as more contrived, better in dramatic context than out of it.<sup>279</sup>

In *Notes*, Richard Jackson described the choruses as:

...thick seven-part writing...distinguished by vital rhythms and pungent harmonies. It is writing which leans to the chordal rather than the contrapuntal, but how these chords move!...Anyone familiar with Bernstein's personality or his works (and who isn't by now?) will not be surprised at the presence of several theatrical gestures in the score: much hand clapping is called for in the first chorus (a drum may substitute "of clapping is not practical") and random bells in the last; the French section ends with everyone whistling. But tricks or no, the work has a great deal of quality. It is one of Bernstein's best.<sup>280</sup>

There is a dearth of nationally-released professional recordings of *The Lark* before the composition and premiere of the *Missa Brevis* in 1988. The New England Conservatory Chorus privately issued an LP including the choruses in 1967,<sup>281</sup> and the set of French choruses were recorded by the New Jersey All-State Chorus in 1968.<sup>282</sup> The full set of choruses were included by

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<sup>278</sup> Jack Gottlieb, *The Music of Leonard Bernstein: A Study of Melodic Manipulations* (D.M.A. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1964), 257.

<sup>279</sup> Elizabeth Poston, "Choral Music," *The Musical Times* 105, no. 1455 (1964): 373.

<sup>280</sup> Richard Jackson, review of *Review of Choruses from "The Lark," by Jean Anouilh. For Full Chorus of Mixed Voices (Or Septet of Solo Voices) A Cappella*, by Leonard Bernstein, *Notes* 22, no. 4 (1966): 1317.

<sup>281</sup> *Modern American Choral Music* (New England Conservatory Chorus/Lorna Cooke deVaron) [privately issued] LP, 1967.

<sup>282</sup> *1968 New Jersey All-State Concert* (New Jersey All-State Chorus/New Jersey All-State Orchestra), Vogt Quality Recordings LP CSRV 2186, 1968.

the Gregg Smith Singers on an 1977 LP set entitled *America Sings (1920-1950)*, which conveniently ignored the fact *The Lark* was composed in 1955;<sup>283</sup> and in 1983 the French choruses were again recorded separately, this time by the Vancouver Chamber Choir.<sup>284</sup> Not long after the premiere of the *Missa Brevis*, in 1989 Sante Fe Desert Chorale released all eight choruses of *The Lark* on a cassette tape.<sup>285</sup> (The Desert Chorale would release the French choruses separately as well in new compact disc recording in 2006).<sup>286</sup>

In 1992, Harry Christopher's British ensemble The Sixteen ventured into American repertoire and released an album including all eight *Lark* choruses,<sup>287</sup> whose reviewer gratefully noted, "This recording handily fills a long-standing gap in the availability of these *Choruses* on disc."<sup>288</sup> A release of the same set of repertoire a decade later by The Sixteen<sup>289</sup> garnered scarce attention for *The Lark*: a mere, "Leonard Bernstein's choruses from *The Lark* are included, both the French and the Latin choruses,"<sup>290</sup> and the slightly more appreciative: "Lenny's spunky settings are undeniably modern – yet they faithfully evoke the sound and spirit of Medieval music, both sacred and popular. It's all *a cappella*, save for intermittent bells and rhythmic hand-clapping."<sup>291</sup>

The most recent recording of *The Lark* choruses, under the direction of Bernstein's conducting protégé Marin Alsop, was released in 2015, pairing the choruses with their descendent,

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<sup>283</sup> *America Sings (1920-1950)* (Gregg Smith Singers/Gregg Smith), VoxBox LP SVBX 5353, 1977.

<sup>284</sup> *Music of the Americas* (Vancouver Chamber Choir/Jon Washburn), Grouse Records LP WRC1-2584, 1983.

<sup>285</sup> *Sounds from Santa Fe* (Sante Fe Desert Chorale/Lawrence Bandfield), Musical Heritage Society Cassette MHC 312460T, 1989.

<sup>286</sup> *Passion* (Santa Fe Desert Chorale/Linda Mack), Clarion CD CLR923CD, 2006. Reviewed without comment on *The Lark* in James Carson and William Zagorski, "Collections: Choral - 'Passion,'" *Fanfare* 29, no. 6 (August 2006): 245–46.

<sup>287</sup> *An American Collection* (The Sixteen/Harry Christophers), Collins Classics CD 12872, 1992.

<sup>288</sup> Hejduk, "Review of An American Collection (Agnus Dei and Reincarnations; The Hour Glass; Clapping Music; Choruses from 'The Lark'; Four Motets; 'Acrostic Song' from Final Alice) The Sixteen."

<sup>289</sup> Possibly a re-release of the same recording, although the author has been unable to verify this. *Barber Agnus Dei: An American Collection* (The Sixteen/Harry Christophers), CORO CD COR16031, 2005.

<sup>290</sup> David Castleberry, review of *Review of Barber Agnus Dei: An American Collection*, by Harry Christophers, *The Choral Journal* 46, no. 5 (2005): 107.

<sup>291</sup> Lindsay Koob, "Review: Agnus Dei: An American Collection," *American Record Guide* 68, no. 5, (September/October 2005): 200.



the *Missa Brevis*, and Bernstein's *Symphony No. 3 "Kaddish."*<sup>292</sup> From this recording, one review described *The Lark* as, a "mix of French rustic and lofty medieval,"<sup>293</sup> while another opined that, "neither piece [*The Lark* or the *Missa Brevis*] is anything special."<sup>294</sup>

In summary, in the reception history of *The Lark*'s incidental music, the choruses have generally been appreciated for their pleasant nature and idiosyncratic "medieval" aesthetic, but have frequently been overshadowed by larger works in recordings, to which they have usually served as 'makeweights' rounding out an album.

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<sup>292</sup> *Symphony No. 3 "Kaddish"* (Baltimore Symphony Orchestra/São Paulo Symphony Orchestra Choir/Marin Alsop), Naxos CD 8.559742, 2015.

<sup>293</sup> Edward Seckerson, "Bernstein: Symphony No 3, 'Kaddish,'" *Gramophone* 93, 2015, 50.

<sup>294</sup> Stephen Estep, "BERNSTEIN: Symphony 3; Missa Brevis; Lark," *American Record Guide* 79, no. 2, March/April 2016, 69.

## Chapter 4 - *The Lark Resurrected: Bernstein's Missa Brevis (1988)*

### Bernstein, Shaw, and the Atlanta Symphony: "When the Muse Descends"

Robert Shaw took the musical directorship of the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra in 1967, and in his twenty-one years at the helm worked along with civic leaders in Atlanta to elevate the institution to one of national eminence. Toward that end, he sought means to expand the Orchestra's endowment and in 1974 wrote to Bernstein, asking if he would consider guest-conducting at a concert fundraiser:

The Atlanta Orchestra is surely one of the youngest in the United States – but its playing – according to many guests – is beginning to rival many of the "top-ten." But, as a young orchestra, it does not have the back-log endowment of pension funds – so necessary to personnel stability.

Question: is there any possibility that you might be interested and/or available to conduct a special Pension Fund Concert sometime this or next season? (A Blitzstein *Airborne*, or any other personal favorite?)

I'm embarrassed to ask principally because you have exceptional demands upon your time, and because there is almost no way you can know how really fine this orchestra is.<sup>295</sup>

The ever-occupied Bernstein was forced to decline, writing:

[P]lease don't think me ungrateful for declining your invitation to conduct a Pension Fund Concert. I wish to God I could do thing like that (especially for a city like Atlanta), but these days are so committed to composition that I daren't make one more date. As it is, I don't know how I'm going to finish any or all of these commitments, but I have to try, and the only way is no conducting except the N.Y. Phil. in the spring (an annual umbilical cord). I know you understand.<sup>296</sup>

In 1975, Shaw and the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra performed Bernstein's *Mass* (1971) to glowing reception, about which he wrote to Bernstein:

It is somewhat inelegant to write concerning performances and performances in which one has had a personal hand, but in addition to the overwhelming visceral and

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<sup>295</sup> Letter from Robert Shaw to Leonard Bernstein, dated 11 November 1974, Box 280, Folder 5, Robert Shaw Papers, MSS 86, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University.

<sup>296</sup> Letter from Leonard Bernstein to Robert Shaw, dated 26 November 1974, Box 280, Folder 5, Robert Shaw Papers, MSS 86, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University.

spiritual reaction of the Atlanta community, there have been enough comments from people who have witnessed other performances of *Mass* to convince me that Atlanta's were indeed very special.

I seriously felt that the human involvement and accomplishment here were as though the piece had been written for this place at this time....

We may, happily be “forced” to repeat it next summer along with other possibilities in a Bernstein Festival of *Mass*, *West Side Story*, *Candide*, **or whatever may be available.**<sup>297</sup> [Emphasis added].

If, as the emphasized text could imply, Robert Shaw was laying breadcrumbs for a Bernstein commission for the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra, soon the way would be made more clear. In 1983 the Orchestra came by a source of commissioning funds from Mrs. M. G. Woodward, and initiated the American Music Project. Shaw swiftly wrote to Bernstein with a direct request:

Within the past few weeks the Atlanta Symphony has been given some significant and continuing funds for the commissioning of American Music.

Before I write to other composers, I would like to ask you if you find yourself in a position to accept a commission from us for a performance sometime within the next three seasons.

We have in mind an **orchestral work** [emphasis added], but would be pleased, of course, with any work of your pleasure.<sup>298</sup>

Bernstein wrote, “Favorably inclined,” atop Shaw’s letter, and Harry J. Kraut, executive vice-president of Amberson Productions, Bernstein’s corporate identity, added the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra to an internal Amberson document of “Composing Requests and Commission Proposals,” which was kept updated throughout the 1980s, under the category “Orchestral Works,” with a due date of 1985-86 and the note “with or without chorus.”<sup>299</sup> It should be noted that these internal documents began circa 1980 as composite summaries of all the commission requests

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<sup>297</sup> Letter from Robert Shaw to Leonard Bernstein, dated 11 September 1975, Box 51, Folder 2, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>298</sup> Letter from Robert Shaw to Leonard Bernstein, dated 17 February 1983, Box 818, Folder 8, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>299</sup> “Composing Requests and Commission Proposals,” dated 07 April 1983, Box 818, Folder 9, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Bernstein received,<sup>300</sup> and by 1987 had gradually become a confidential document listing the requests Bernstein actually intended to fulfill.<sup>301</sup>

In July of 1983, Nancy Bankoff, the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra's manager, wrote to Kraut, hoping to formalize the commission.<sup>302</sup> However, apparently by the mid-1980s it was standard policy at Amberson that Bernstein no longer accepted payment for his compositions, and Kraut replied, "Mr. Bernstein does not, in fact, take commissions, but he wants to try to write the piece for Bob."<sup>303</sup> Bankoff replied: "We are thrilled to learn that Mr. Bernstein is planning to write a piece for Mr. Shaw and the Atlanta Symphony.... Of course, we would be delighted if Mr. Bernstein could be here for the premiere and happy to have him conduct it if he chose."<sup>304</sup>

The next spring, Bankoff wrote to Kraut again, hoping to pin down a premiere date for the new orchestral work:

I am following up on my letter of September 12, 1983, to see if you might have any more idea when Mr. Bernstein might be able to write his work for Mr. Shaw and the Atlanta Symphony. We are now in the midst of planning the 1985-86 season and soon will be looking ahead to the 1986-87 season, and I would be grateful to have any idea from you of when would be preferable for Mr. Bernstein.<sup>305</sup>

If Kraut replied, his letter is no longer preserved.

In the summer of 1984, Shaw wrote to Bernstein, in hopes of enticing him to join the Atlanta Symphony for the 1986-87 season, Shaw's twentieth, as composer or guest-conductor:

The season of 1986-1987 will be my twentieth with the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra, and I want very much to "mark" that anniversary by the presentation only

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<sup>300</sup> "Composing Requests and Commission Proposals," dated 07 April 1980, Box 817, Folder 15, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>301</sup> "Composing Requests and Commission Proposals," dated 25 April 1987, Box 819, Folder 7, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>302</sup> Letter from Nancy Bankoff to Harry J. Kraut, dated 18 July 1983, Box 818, Folder 9, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>303</sup> Letter from Harry J. Kraut to Nancy Bankoff, dated 01 September 1983, Box 818, Folder 9, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>304</sup> Letter from Nancy Bankoff to Harry J. Kraut, dated 12 September 1983, Box 818, Folder 9, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>305</sup> Letter from Nancy Bankoff to Harry J. Kraut, dated 21 March 1984, Box 818, Folder 11, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

of American-born conductors and artists (together with a steady emphasis upon American composers). It would not be right to have that sort of “celebration” without your presence. Is there a week wherein you might be able to be with us? At this point I think we could work around your availability.

...all of us are grateful for your response of some months ago to our invitation to write something for the Atlanta forces. We have boys' and childrens' choirs of extraordinary quality – in addition to the finest adult chorus I've ever had. If you'd like to visit as composer only, or as conducting only a part of a program – or whatever, we would do everything possible to make it one of the very happy occasions of your life.<sup>306</sup>

Harry J. Kraut replied months later in December 1984 on Bernstein's behalf:

Lenny, who's been on the road almost continually, has asked me to send a belated answer to your letter, and to thank you for your patience.

Sorry to say, he won't be able to conduct during your 1986-1987 season, much as he would like to. He is forced to restrict his conducting severely in order to keep time free for composing.

Which brings us to the piece he hopes to write for you. At the moment he is beginning a six-month composing period, working on another opera, as well as your piece and another orchestral piece he's promised. Until now, the muse has not descended, but we're all hoping.<sup>307</sup>

To which Shaw cordially replied: “Please give my greetings to Lenny, and warmest thanks for his compositional efforts in our behalf. Very best wishes for the holiday season and the descent of the muse.”<sup>308</sup>

As the end of 1985 approached, Nancy Bankoff Chalifour (having married), wrote to Kraut once more, this time with a note of urgency as Shaw's imminent retirement from the Orchestra drew nearer:

Some time ago, our Music Director Robert Shaw was in touch with Mr. Bernstein, who had agreed in principle to write a work for the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra at some time in the future. Mr. Shaw has just entered into the first of his three final

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<sup>306</sup> Letter from Robert Shaw to Leonard Bernstein, dated 25 June 1984, Atlanta Symphony Orchestra records [unprocessed], Popular Music and Culture Collection. Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University.

<sup>307</sup> Letter from Harry J. Kraut to Robert Shaw, dated 12 December 1984, Box 280, Folder 5, Robert Shaw Papers, MSS 86, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University.

<sup>308</sup> Letter from Robert Shaw to Harry J. Kraut, dated 20 December 1984, Box 280, Folder 5, Robert Shaw Papers, MSS 86, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University.

years as Music Director. 1987-88 will be Mr. Shaw's final year as Music Director, and he becomes Conductor Laureate beginning in the 1988-89 season. We would therefore like to make the 1987-88 season very special and wondered if Mr. Bernstein might be able to have the commissioned work ready for a world premiere in that season.<sup>309</sup>

Unbeknownst to Shaw and Bankoff Chalifour, the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra piece's tentative due date had already been shifted to the 1987-88 season on internal Amberson documents since March of 1985.<sup>310</sup>

In late 1986, a measure of pessimism seems to have set in with the Shaw and the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra. A draft letter addressed directly to Bernstein, with manuscript annotations summarizing conversations with Jim Kendrick, the CEO of Boosey & Hawkes, the music publishing house for Bernstein and Amberson, bears witness to this. The draft, dated 17 November 1986, reads:

Dear Lenny:

My last season as Music Director is fast approaching with the 1987-88 season, and our orchestra is planning for its first European tour at the end of that season. We would all be thrilled if you could write a work for us, even a brief fanfare or overture. Some time ago I was in touch with you regarding the possibility of this, and at the time the answer appeared to be yes, but our management's attempts to come to any conclusions via Harry Kraut have been futile. Any chance?<sup>311</sup>

Below the draft are summaries of conversations in January of 1987 with Jim Kendrick, including:

1/13/87 Telecon w/Jim Kendrick – spoke to Harry Kraut & he said Lenny would like to do but still doesn't know when.

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<sup>309</sup> Letter from Nancy Bankoff Chalifour to Harry J. Kraut, dated 10 October 1985, Atlanta Symphony Orchestra records [unprocessed], Popular Music and Culture Collection. Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University.

<sup>310</sup> "Composing Requests and Commission Proposals," manuscript draft dated 12 March 1985, Box 819, Folder 7, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>311</sup> Draft letter with numerous annotations, from Robert Shaw to Leonard Bernstein, dated 17 November 1986, Atlanta Symphony Orchestra records [unprocessed], Popular Music and Culture Collection. Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University.

Thinks that perhaps my letters simply got passed on from Kraut's office & are sitting in a pile @ Bernstein's office.<sup>312</sup>

In May of 1987, Shaw wrote to Bernstein, outlining a planned All-Bernstein program set for April 1988 as part of his final season with the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra. He closed by saying:

Some months ago we corresponded about the possibility of your doing a commissioned work for us; and I now wonder if there might be a chance of something, however brief, being written for the opening of the concert.

This season will mark my last as music director of the orchestra, and it would be a great personal pleasure to have you here as our guest – if that, too, would be possible.<sup>313</sup>

It seems by this point that Shaw and the Orchestra felt their hope was mostly in vain. On the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra's American Music Project "Commission Timetable," updated 02 July 1987, next to Bernstein's name in the "Score Due" column read: "when the muse descends."<sup>314</sup> However, by the end of July, Amberson's own commission list had been updated. In the relatively recently christened "Revisions" section now read: "LARK Choruses as *Missa Brevis* for R. Shaw – April 21, 1988."<sup>315</sup> A decision had been made: the *Missa Brevis* was on its way, at last.

### **Creating the *Missa Brevis*, Contrafacting *The Lark***

Bernstein started writing the *Missa Brevis* in January of 1988, mere months before its scheduled April premiere. Sylvia Goldstein, Vice President of Business Affairs at Boosey & Hawkes, wrote to Nancy Bankoff Chalifour on 15 January 1988:

I am pleased to be able to confirm our telephone conversation and the various facets of Leonard Bernstein's involvement with the Atlanta Symphony.

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<sup>312</sup> Draft letter with numerous annotations, from Robert Shaw to Leonard Bernstein, dated 17 November 1986, Atlanta Symphony Orchestra records [unprocessed], Popular Music and Culture Collection. Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University.

<sup>313</sup> Letter from Robert Shaw to Leonard Bernstein, dated 28 May 1987, Box 280, Folder 5, Robert Shaw Papers, MSS 86, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University.

<sup>314</sup> [American Music Project] "Commission Timetable" dated 02 July 1987, Atlanta Symphony Orchestra records [unprocessed], Popular Music and Culture Collection. Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University.

<sup>315</sup> "Composing Requests and Commission Proposals," dated 29 July 1987, Box 819, Folder 7, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

MISSA BREVIS: Harry assures me that LB is working on this music as I write. If all goes as planned, copies may be available fairly quickly.<sup>316</sup>

It appears that the largely *a cappella* nature of the forthcoming *Missa Brevis* was unknown to either Goldstein or Bankoff Chalifour, who in her reply includes the postscript: “Please let me know the exact instrumentation for the Bernstein as soon as possible.”<sup>317</sup>

Some of Bernstein’s earliest work on the *Missa Brevis* is found at the Library of Congress, and consists of a printed vocal score of *The Lark* choruses, with a notepad sheet affixed to the cover labelled “Missa Brevis version, LB emendations 1/88.”<sup>318</sup> These emendations primarily consist of *contrafacta* written into the score in pencil above the staves of the printed music, as well as revised dynamic and expressive markings. At the end of the Kyrie, a one-page photocopy insert is paper-clipped to the score, consisting of a cadential extension which replace the original material on the page to which it is affixed. To all appearances, this prolongation is the only new musical material written by Bernstein for the premiere-version of the *Missa Brevis*.

In addition to this annotated score, a photocopy of a single leaf from a notepad in Bernstein’s hand summarizes his reorganization of material from *The Lark* into the *Missa Brevis*, with abbreviations such as L-#4, meaning ‘Latin Chorus #4,’ and F-#1, ‘French Chorus #1.’<sup>319</sup> Bernstein reused all the Latin-texted choruses, and the Spring Song, “Revecy venir le printemps,” but not the Court Song, Soldiers’ Song, or the Credo material he had previously sketched.

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<sup>316</sup> Letter from Sylvia Goldstein to Nancy [Bankoff] Chalifour, dated 15 January 1988, Atlanta Symphony Orchestra records [unprocessed], Popular Music and Culture Collection. Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University.

<sup>317</sup> Letter from Nancy Bankoff Chalifour to Sylvia Goldstein, dated 19 January 1988, Atlanta Symphony Orchestra records [unprocessed], Popular Music and Culture Collection. Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University.

<sup>318</sup> “Choruses from *The Lark: Missa Brevis* version,” print score with emendations, dated January 1988, Box 1290, Folder 2, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>319</sup> “*Missa Brevis (Lark)*,” single leaf, [January 1988], Box 104, Folder 4, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.



**Table 4.1: Reorganization of Movements from *The Lark* in the *Missa Brevis* (1988)<sup>320</sup>**

<u><i>Missa Brevis</i> Mvt.</u>	<u><i>The Lark</i> Mvt.</u>	<u><i>The Lark</i> Chorus</u> <u>Abbreviation</u>
1. Kyrie	Requiem	L-#4
2. Gloria	Gloria	L-#5
3. Sanctus	Sanctus	L-#3
3A. Benedictus	Benedictus	L-#2
4. Agnus Dei	Prelude. “Exaudi orationem”	L-#1
4A. Dona Nobis Pacem	Spring Song. “Revecy venir”	F-#1

The completed *Missa Brevis* was typeset and printed by March 1988, and on March 4<sup>th</sup> 235 scores were mailed by Boosey & Hawkes to the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra, where they arrived on the 10<sup>th</sup>, some forty days before the music’s scheduled premiere on April 21<sup>st</sup>.<sup>321</sup> Like Bernstein’s ‘emended’ score, these, too, were *contrafacta*, made using the same engraving as *The Lark*’s published score when possible, with substituted words in a new typeface replacing the original text where necessary, but leaving the original in place in the old typeface when no change was required.<sup>322</sup>

While Bernstein did not accept a commissioning fee for the *Missa Brevis*, he was paid \$5000.00 by the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra to cover Boosey & Hawkes’ expenses for preparing the vocal scores.<sup>323</sup>

The *Missa Brevis* was premiered on Thursday, April 21, 1988 by Robert Shaw and the 220-voice Atlanta Symphony Orchestra Chorus on an All-Bernstein concert program that included Bernstein’s *Chichester Psalms*, *Symphony No. 2 “The Age of Anxiety”* as well as the overture from *Candide*

<sup>320</sup> Summarized from: “Missa Brevis (Lark),” single leaf, [January 1988], Box 104, Folder 4, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>321</sup> cf. Letter from William K. Sisson to Nancy [Bankoff] Chalifour, with manuscript annotations, dated 07 March 1988, Atlanta Symphony Orchestra records [unprocessed], Popular Music and Culture Collection. Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University.

<sup>322</sup> See a surviving 1988 score, “Missa Brevis,” print score with manuscript markings by Leonard Bernstein, dated 1988, Box 1290, Folder 2, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>323</sup> “As you already know, Mr. Bernstein does not want a commission fee, but all agree he should not be out of pocket. We anticipate that the cost of preparing new vocal scores and the parts for the accompaniment can be produced for \$5,000.00, give or take a few dollars.” Letter from Sylvia Goldstein to Nancy [Bankoff] Chalifour, dated 15 January 1988, Atlanta Symphony Orchestra records [unprocessed], Popular Music and Culture Collection. Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University.

and symphonic excerpts from *Mass* and *West Side Story*.<sup>324</sup> Bernstein was unable to attend the premiere, although a recording of the performance was sent to him by Nancy Bankoff Chalifour:

We missed having you with us for the world premiere of *Missa Brevis*, but you were certainly here in spirit!

Enclosed is a copy of a tape from the performances, as well as a program, reviews, and a copy of the tribute book for Mr. Shaw which includes your letter.<sup>325</sup>

The letter to which Bankoff Chalifour refers was included with other letters of congratulation from eminent figures, including President Jimmy Carter, to Shaw in a keepsake program for his retirement ceremony,<sup>326</sup> and reads:

Dear Bob: Gloria!

More power to you on your retirement (though Heaven knows I thoroughly disagree with it and cannot understand your backing off at the height of your vigorous youth – unless, of course, you have a secret plan to run for U.S. President, which would not be such a bad idea!)

Always with the old faith and affection,  
Lenny<sup>327</sup>

## The Origin Question Revisited

Jack Gottlieb's program note crediting Robert Shaw for the idea of turning *The Lark* into a *missa brevis* was printed opposite the first page of music in the scores provided to the Atlanta

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<sup>324</sup> M233\_ASOProgram1988-04-21, Atlanta Symphony Orchestra records [unprocessed], Popular Music and Culture Collection. Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University.

<sup>325</sup> Letter from Nancy Bankoff Chalifour to Leonard Bernstein, dated 20 May 1988, Atlanta Symphony Orchestra records [unprocessed], Popular Music and Culture Collection. Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University.

<sup>326</sup> "A Tribute to Robert Shaw," program dated 22 May 1988, Box 51, Folder 2, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>327</sup> Copy of formal letter from Leonard Bernstein to Robert Shaw, dated 11 April 1988, Box 104, Folder 6, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Symphony Orchestra Chorus,<sup>328</sup> and was incorporated into the premiere concert's program,<sup>329</sup> and into the Orchestra's press release in advance of the concert:<sup>330</sup>

Robert Shaw attended one of the first performances and suggested to Mr. Bernstein that with some changes and additions the music would make an effective *Missa Brevis*. Thirty-three years later, in honor of Maestro Shaw's retirement as Music Director of the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra, Mr. Bernstein has followed his colleague's suggestions. In so doing, the two men continue a friendly association that began with Shaw's recording of Bernstein's *On the Town* in 1944.<sup>331</sup>

As a result, this narrative permeates all literature surrounding *The Lark* and the *Missa Brevis*, both academic and journalistic. As previously discussed in Chapter 3, there are numerous reasons to doubt this account, and indeed, three years after the premiere of the *Missa Brevis*, Robert Shaw himself did not seem especially sure it was his idea, either:

We commissioned [the *Missa Brevis*], oh three or four years ago, and Lenny said he wanted, he'd be happy to write it, wanted to write it. In his Forward [sic] to that piece, **he says it's my idea**. He took his choruses from *The Lark*, which he'd written for a Broadway play, which were written for seven voices.... **So he took these choruses and he said it was my idea** [emphasis added].<sup>332</sup>

Twice Shaw stated that Bernstein, 'said it was my idea,' without taking credit for it.

We have the benefit of hindsight of course, but this persistent myth and its origin in Bernstein's own orbit begs the question: why fashion a narrative that the *Missa Brevis* was Shaw's idea?

On the one hand, it is perfectly possible that Bernstein misremembered the truth of the matter and conflated his idea of a *missa brevis* for Juilliard with Shaw's interest in the *Lark* choruses as concert

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<sup>328</sup> See "Missa Brevis," print score with manuscript markings by Leonard Bernstein, dated 1988, Box 1290, Folder 2, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>329</sup> M233\_ASOpogram1988-04-21, Atlanta Symphony Orchestra records [unprocessed], Popular Music and Culture Collection. Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University.

<sup>330</sup> "Atlanta Symphony to Perform Leonard Bernstein World Premiere," press release date 29 March 1988, Atlanta Symphony Orchestra records [unprocessed], Popular Music and Culture Collection. Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University.

<sup>331</sup> Program note by Jack Gottlieb (opposite page 1), see Bernstein, *Missa Brevis* (1988).

<sup>332</sup> Shaw, [Leonard Bernstein and the *Missa Brevis*]. Original audio and transcript available at: "Shaw Musings | Leonard Bernstein and the *Missa Brevis*."

music, and that Gottlieb subsequently transmitted that errant narrative into writing on Bernstein's behalf, neither of them bothering to review their old correspondence.

Without necessarily ascribing intent, however, it must not be forgotten that in the last decade of his life Bernstein was very much concerned with cementing his legacy as a composer. He had explicitly cut back his conducting schedule from 1980 onward in order to devote more time to composition. Gottlieb's program note emphasizes a sense of fulfillment and an almost preordained destiny. Purposely or not, it does create a narrative that is more pleasing than the reality, a narrative that Bernstein would likely have found desirable.

As Bernstein's last choral work before his death in 1990, the *Missa Brevis* is a sort of swan song, a revival of a forgotten score from his distant, vibrant, and industrious youth, "when everything was possible and nothing made sense," to quote his *West Side Story* collaborator Stephen Sondheim,<sup>333</sup> but also representative of his failure to compose a new work for Robert Shaw and the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra. By recasting it as a fulfillment of a mythical suggestion by Shaw, Bernstein and Gottlieb were able to create a more satisfying narrative of coming full circle and bringing a task to completion.

### **A Less-Brief *Missa Brevis* (1988-1990)**

Later in 1988, Leonard Bernstein had occasion to show the newly-christened *Missa Brevis* to George Steel, a student of Bernstein's from the Tanglewood Institute who had been his production assistant for a revival of *Mass* in 1981, on account of Steel's long-standing interest and involvement in church music. As Steel recollects:

I told him I liked it, but that choirs might not perform it because it lacked the full text of the Gloria, and had a few other structural peculiarities. After a discussion of various meanings of 'Missa Brevis,' he challenged me to come up with a solution.

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<sup>333</sup> From *Follies*, "Waiting for the Girls Upstairs," see Sondheim, *Finishing the Hat: Collected Lyrics (1954-1981)*, 207.

So I went away and spent time with the music, devising a few ways to restructure and repeat the music, to change the text... I wrote the two inserts, which are very clearly based on the music elsewhere in the *Missa Brevis* – and my own knowledge about how his music was made.

I brought my completed solution to show him in Fairfield, CT. ...when he came to the “new” music I had written out. He gave it a forbidding scowl, and motioned us both to the piano, where we worked on it together. He refined the passages, looking for places where I had let the music become static, expertly pruning extraneous notes. And he had the brilliant idea to excise a particular chord entirely – all this, needless to say, made the music far better.<sup>334</sup>

The resulting expanded version of the *Missa Brevis*, a product of frank discussion and collaboration, included the full text of the Ordinary of the Mass, except the Credo. Steel’s annotated version of the original *Missa Brevis* and his two inserts, with Bernstein’s revisions in pencil, can be found in the Library of Congress.<sup>335</sup> His two inserts for the Gloria correspond to mm. 12-50 and mm. 73-95 in the score of the revised version. All told, the final published form of the revised *Missa Brevis* is fifteen pages longer than the original.<sup>336</sup> (For a complete concordance of the 1964 published versions of *The Lark* and *Missa Brevis*, see **Appendix H**).

Steel showed the revised *Missa Brevis* to Robert Ludwig, choirmaster at the Cathedral of the Incarnation in Garden City, New York, where Steel occasionally sang, who expressed an interest in premiering it. With Bernstein’s permission, the cathedral choir gave the premiere of the *Missa Brevis* as part of an Episcopal liturgy at 8:00 PM on Tuesday November 15, 1988, a service with a special collection that benefitted Jamaican victims of Hurricane Gilbert.<sup>337</sup> Philip Wilder, a friend of Steel’s, sang the countertenor solo.<sup>338</sup> The choir’s scores were temporary scores produced by special

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<sup>334</sup> George Steel, e-mail correspondence to author, March 20, 2019.

<sup>335</sup> Box 1290, Folder 3, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>336</sup> Bernstein, *Missa Brevis* (1988).

<sup>337</sup> “This Week on Long Island,” *New York Times*, November 13, 1988. George Steel, e-mail correspondence to author, March 20, 2019; Philip Wilder, e-mail correspondence to author, January 14, 2019.

<sup>338</sup> Steven Levering Rickards, *Twentieth-Century Countertenor Repertoire: A Guide* (Scarecrow Press, 2008), 15–16; Steven Levering Rickards, *A Listing of Repertoire for the Countertenor Voice Composed from 1950 to 1994, with an Emphasis on Compositions Found in the United States, Canada, and England* (D.M. treatise, Florida State University, 2001), 82–83.

arrangement with Boosey & Hawkes, which the cathedral was obliged to return for destruction after the premiere.<sup>339</sup>

Bernstein withdrew the original *Missa Brevis* and used a temporary score in February of 1989 to mark the final revisions which were incorporated into the published score of the expanded version, which was released in 1990, notwithstanding the 1988 copyright date, which was retained. One of the first ensembles to perform from the newly published version of the *Missa Brevis* was the Pacific Chorale, on Wednesday October 31, 1990 at the Orange County Performing Arts Center in Costa Mesa, California. Their conductor, John Alexander, remarked in a contemporaneous interview, “I was scared we weren't going to get it in time. We got it in September. It was just off the press.”<sup>340</sup> Robert Shaw would later guest-conduct the expanded *Missa Brevis* with the Dallas Symphony Chorus on February 21, 1991,<sup>341</sup> and apparently the additions to the score caught him by surprise, for he later remarked:

I'd scheduled an all-Bernstein program with the Dallas Symphony, and when the – which included the *Missa Brevis* – and when the parts arrived from the publisher, lo and behold there was almost twice as much music as there had been in the sort of manuscript copy which we'd used to record it. And I found out by telephoning and publishers and so on that a young friend of his, a student composer in Washington, D.C., had, with Mr. Bernstein's guidance, had undertaken to enlarge the text, so it included a whole mass text. It still was a *missa brevis* because there was very little repetition or anything, but instead of being sort of 7 or 8 minutes long, it was now 12 to 14 minutes long. It almost doubled the length of it, without adding much music, but by repeating, adding maybe only one or two pages of music, but repeating, and the piece was economical enough so it could stand the repetition. One didn't mind the repetition at all. One just became more sort of familiar with it, and it got a little more “motor-iety.” So it moved along. And so we did it.<sup>342</sup>

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<sup>339</sup> One of the temporary copies was used by Bernstein for making edits before the revised version's publication, see “Missa Brevis,” score bound with plastic comb, with manuscript revisions, “Amended edition, February 1989,” Box 1290, Folder 2, Leonard Bernstein Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>340</sup> Chris Pasles, “Pacific Chorale to Sing One of Leonard Bernstein's Last Works,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 30, 1990.

<sup>341</sup> “History of the Dallas Symphony Chorus,” Dallas Symphony Chorus, accessed October 9, 2018, <http://www.dschorus.com/history/archive.php>.

<sup>342</sup> Shaw, [Leonard Bernstein and the *Missa Brevis*]. Original audio and transcript available at: “Shaw Musings | Leonard Bernstein and the *Missa Brevis*.”

**Table 4.2: Summarized Editorial History of the *Missa Brevis* (1988)**

<u>Score</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>LoC LBC Box.Folder</u>
Contrafacted <i>Lark</i> score, with insert	January 1988	1290.2, item 1
Rough vocal score, Atlanta Symphony Orchestra Chorus	[February/March 1988]	1290.2, item 4
Revised version with Steel, with inserts	[April?] 1988	1290.3
Temporary vocal score, Cathedral of the Incarnation	November 1988	1290.2, item 2
Revised temporary vocal score	February 1989	1290.2, item 2
Published version	[~September 1990]	

### **The Reception of the *Missa Brevis***

When the original version of the *Missa Brevis* premiered on April 21, 1988 in Atlanta, it met with an average reception from *The Atlanta Constitution's* classical music critic, Derrick Henry, who wrote:

...*Missa Brevis*, a modest nine-minute commissioned work receiving its premiere at these concerts. It is not an original work, but rather an adaptation – at Shaw's suggestion – of atmospheric, slightly archaic French and Latin choruses....

The transformation is startling, with Bernstein's original scoring for seven solo voices transferred to Shaw's 220-voice ASO Chorus, abetted (as before) by percussion and countertenor solo. That the massed voices did not overwhelm Bernstein's evocative, fervent music is still another testament to the prowess of this chorus and Shaw's supreme skill as a choral conductor.<sup>343</sup>

In a later retrospective article covering Shaw's last season, Henry observed that, "Of the commissioned premieres, John Lewis' *Tales of the Willow Tree*, Alvin Singleton's *After Fallen Crumbs* and Leonard Bernstein's *Missa brevis* proved attractive, but slight."<sup>344</sup> [Italics added].

The first recording of Bernstein's *Missa Brevis* was of its original 1988 incarnation, recorded in 1989 by the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Robert Shaw.<sup>345</sup> Before the *Missa Brevis* had even been delivered, the Orchestra had an agreement with the record label Telarc to

<sup>343</sup> Derrick Henry, "All-Bernstein Program by ASO Is Illuminating Portrait of Composer," *The Atlanta Constitution*, April 23, 1988.

<sup>344</sup> Derrick Henry, "Slow Getting in Tune, ASO Finished Shaw's Final Season on a High Note," *The Atlanta Constitution*, May 29, 1988.

<sup>345</sup> *Walton: Belshazzar's Feast; Bernstein: Chichester Psalms; Missa Brevis* (Atlanta Symphony Orchestra & Chorus/Robert Shaw), Telarc CD CD-80181, 1989.

record it and the *Chichester Psalms*.<sup>346</sup> Later, William Walton's (1902-1983) *Belshazzar's Feast* was added to the planned album, presumably to fill out the time left open by the less-substantial-than-expected *Missa Brevis*.<sup>347</sup>

The album was well-received, and won the 1991 Grammy Award for Best Choral Performance from the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences, it seems largely on the merits of *Belshazzar's Feast*.<sup>348</sup> Record reviewers had been underwhelmed by the *Missa Brevis*' contribution to the album. David Mason Greene wrote in *American Record Guide*, "Bernstein whipped up his *Missa Brevis* in tribute to Shaw's retirement...this little work represents a rather minimal reworking of some of the choruses Bernstein wrote in 1955...."<sup>349</sup> while in *Musical America* Terry Teachout merely noted the inclusion of, "a 'new' *Missa brevis* that Bernstein cobbled together two years ago...."<sup>350</sup>

The premiere of the expanded version of the *Missa Brevis* had been unreviewed, but the conductor of its first recorded public performance after publication in 1990, John Alexander, the artistic director of the Pacific Chorale, shared his opinions about the piece in a critical pre-performance interview, without sparing the recently-deceased Bernstein from praise or judgment:

It's an extraordinary work and typically Bernstein in that there is a tremendous rhythmic drive...There are movements that are very chantlike, set against some events that could come out of *West Side Story*.

He uses the choir in percussion effects. It's very hard to sing. There is a lot of marcato (stressed) and staccato singing, which creates wonderful rhythmic effects.

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<sup>346</sup> Letter from Nancy Bankoff Chalifour to Sylvia Goldstein, dated 19 January 1988, Atlanta Symphony Orchestra records [unprocessed], Popular Music and Culture Collection. Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University.

<sup>347</sup> "Plans are for the remainder of this disc to be Walton's *Belshazzar's Feast*." Letter from Nancy Bankoff Chalifour to Sylvia Goldstein, dated 13 June 1988, Atlanta Symphony Orchestra records [unprocessed], Popular Music and Culture Collection. Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University.

<sup>348</sup> "Atlanta Symphony Orchestra Recording Earns Grammy Award," press release dated 21 February 1991, Atlanta Symphony Orchestra records [unprocessed], Popular Music and Culture Collection. Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University.

<sup>349</sup> David Mason Greene, "Walton: *Belshazzar's Feast*; Bernstein: *Chichester Psalms*; *Missa Brevis*. (William Stone, Derek Lee Ragin, Robert Shaw, Atlanta Symphony and Chorus)," *American Record Guide* 53, no. 2 (April 1990): 123.

<sup>350</sup> Terry Teachout, "Recordings in Review: Walton / Bernstein," *Musical America* 110, no. 5 (July 1990): 85.



But for singers, a linear line is what people train to sing, not rhythmic passages. The voice works more easily when the music is more horizontally conceived.

...Bernstein was a man who moved in many different fields. He was first of all a conductor, then a composer, a teacher and a poet....

Anyone who diversifies himself that much is not going to create the best in each field. At the same time, for a conductor, this diversity is exactly what you need. It can bring insight into the music, which is what the role of the conductor is. That's the reason I feel he is one of the major conductors of the century, and we have the recordings to prove that....That is where Bernstein's legacy will live.

I think anyone would agree that his compositional style is not consistent.... Bernstein...goes out on a limb. He mixes music of the theater with his classical background. Any time those type of diverse forms are mixed, you get something unique. Bernstein's music is unique and will live because of that uniqueness.<sup>351</sup>

In her review of the Pacific Chorale's performance under John Alexander, Susan Bliss opined that:

In its present version, an elemental power – imparted by strong homophonic passages, an abundance of open intervals, influence of Eastern chant style, percussion accompaniment and a countertenor soloist – forms a forceful combination with contemporary style.<sup>352</sup>

The revised *Missa Brevis* would not be professionally recorded until 2004, on an album under the direction of Leonard Slatkin where it once again was overshadowed by a larger work, in this case, Bernstein's own theodical *Symphony No. 3 "Kaddish,"* complete with narration provided by Bernstein's daughter, Jamie Bernstein.<sup>353</sup> The *Missa Brevis* received the barest of mentions in *BBC Music Magazine*,<sup>354</sup> whereas in *American Record Guide* Lindsay Koob described it in glowing terms: "This compact jewel – by turns lovely and lively – evokes a sense of exuberant spirituality."<sup>355</sup>

Between near-omission and praise lay the review of Michael Fine in *Fanfare*, "Much as I enjoyed the

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<sup>351</sup> Pasles, "Pacific Chorale to Sing One of Leonard Bernstein's Last Works."

<sup>352</sup> Susan Bliss, "Pacific Chorale Stands Alone in Season Premiere," *The Los Angeles Times*, November 1, 1990.

<sup>353</sup> *Bernstein: Kaddish, Chichester Psalms, Missa Brevis* (London Oratory School Schola/BBC Singers/BBC Symphony Chorus & Orchestra/Leonard Slatkin/Jamie Bernstein), Chandos CD CHAN 10172, 2004.

<sup>354</sup> Anthony Burton, "Reviews: Orchestral - Bernstein: Sympony No. 1 (Jeremiah), Concerto for Orchestra (Jubilee Games); Symphony No. 3 (Kaddish), Chichester Psalms, Missa Brevis," *BBC Music Magazine* 12, no. 7 (March 2004): 49–50.

<sup>355</sup> Lindsay Koob, "Guide to Records: Bernstein - 'Kaddish Symphony'; 'Chichester Psalms'; 'Missa Brevis,'" *American Record Guide* 67, no. 4 (July/August 2004): 87–88.

superlative sound of the BBC Singers in the extended version of *Missa brevis*, it is a work in which I struggle to discern Bernstein's voice. My fault, for sure, and I intend to keep listening."<sup>356</sup>

Two professional recordings of the *Missa Brevis* were released in 2015. The first, by Bernstein's conducting protégé Marin Alsop, also pairs it with the *Kaddish*, but also includes the *Lark* choruses.<sup>357</sup> In *Gramophone*, Edward Seckerson wrote of the *Missa Brevis*, "This pitchy but harmonically vibrant little piece is especially notable for its concluding 'Dona nobis pacem' – a moment that brings such outrage in his theatrical masterpiece *Mass* but here even manages a little dance of contrition."<sup>358</sup> Stephen Estep in the *American Record Guide* was less taken with *The Missa Brevis* than Seckerson, writing, "Neither piece [*The Lark* or *Missa Brevis*] is anything special; the choral writing in *Missa Brevis* is often shouty."<sup>359</sup>

The second recording released in 2015 consisted of American repertoire recorded by the British ensemble Polyphony, led by Stephen Layton.<sup>360</sup> In the *American Record Guide*, Philip Greenfield wrote:

It's [the *Missa Brevis*] performed stylishly here, with a warm, graceful Kyrie, an ecstatic Gloria, and an explosion of joy when the tubular bells and drums join forces with the voices for Lenny's rousing Benedictus. Though Bernstein was, God knows, an American original, the scale, timbre and overall feel of his mini-Mass are very much aligned with the British choral style. Clearly, the singers feel right at home."<sup>361</sup> Peter Dickinson was a touch more reserved in *Gramophone*, saying, "The oddity here is the Bernstein *Missa brevis*. It was put together from recycled material – and it shows – but it does offer an insight into unfamiliar Bernstein with echoes of before and after."<sup>362</sup>

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<sup>356</sup> Michael Fine, "Bernstein: Symphony No. 3, 'Kaddish'; 'Chichester Psalms'; 'Missa Brevis,'" *Fanfare* 28, no. 3 (February 2005): 86–87.

<sup>357</sup> *Symphony No. 3 "Kaddish"* (Baltimore Symphony Orchestra/São Paulo Symphony Orchestra Choir/Marin Alsop), Naxos CD 8.559742, 2015.

<sup>358</sup> Seckerson, "Bernstein."

<sup>359</sup> Estep, "Bernstein."

<sup>360</sup> *American Polyphony* (Polyphony/Stephen Layton), Hyperion CD CDA67929, 2015.

<sup>361</sup> Philip Greenfield, "American Choral," *American Record Guide*, December 2015.

<sup>362</sup> Peter Dickinson, "Voca; Reviews - Barber: 'Agnus Dei'; 'Reincarnations,' Op. 6; Two Choruses, Op; 8; Two Pieces, Op. 42; 'A Nun Takes the Veil, "Heaven-Haven";' Op. 13 No. 1; Bernstein: 'Missa Brevis'; Copland: Four Motets; Thompson 'Alleluia'; 'Fare Well,'" *Gramophone*, August 2015.

Overall, reviewers have struggled with the atypical Bernstein on display in the *Missa Brevis*, along with the work's brevity, which allows it to be easily overshadowed on an album by heftier musical works. While the *Missa Brevis* is not typical of Bernstein's *oeuvre*, recordings in recent years have garnered appreciation and praise from reviewers.

## Conclusion

*The Lark* and the *Missa Brevis* are both comparatively minor works within Leonard Bernstein's broader compositional *oeuvre*, and the only ones that show anything in the way of influence from early music and the historically-informed performance movement. Their relative musical conservatism has set them apart, and their brevity and lack of Bernstein's more common stylistic qualities has left them at the periphery of Bernstein scholarship. The circumstances surrounding the rushed transmutation of the one into the other have left us with a faulty origin narrative that is so entrenched as the 'factual' touchstone in all discussion regarding them over the past thirty years that we may never shake it.

Nonetheless, these two works are not without value, and study of the circumstances around their creation illuminates further facets of Bernstein's already multi-faceted life at the center of mid- to late-20<sup>th</sup>-century musical culture in the United States. It is the hope of the author that in addition to clarifying some facts regarding two thin segments of Leonard Bernstein's life that such resources as have been brought to light for the first time will be of use to future scholars in their multivarious endeavors.

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*Nota Bene:* All discographies are in chronological order and alphabetized by the last name of the conductor where multiple albums are released in single year.

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## Appendix A - Text and Translation for *The Lark* (1955)

Table A.1: Text and Translation for *The Lark* (1955) in Original Performance Order<sup>363</sup>

### ACT I

#### 1. Prelude

*Exaudi orationem meam, Domine.*

#### 1b.

*Qui tollis peccata mundi,  
miserere nobis.*

#### 2. Spring Song

*Revey venir le printemps.  
Laudate Dominum. Alleluia.*

#### 2b.

*Alleluia. Amen.*

#### 3. Court Song

*Fi, mari de vostre amour.  
Cor j'ai ami,  
noble et de bel a tour.  
Tout l'aime aussi.  
Fi, mari.*

*J'ai ami, noble et de bel amour,  
Ne sert de nuit et de jour!  
Tout l'aime aussi.  
Fi, mari!*

#### 4. Benedictus

*Benedictus qui venit in nomine  
Domini. Osanna in excelsis.*

### ACT II

#### 5. Soldiers' Song

*Vive la Jeanne!  
La jolie, jolie Jeanne!  
Jolie, jolou, jola, la, la  
Jeanni, Jeannou, Jeanna, na, na.  
O la jolie, jolie Jeanne.*

### ACT I

#### 1. Prelude

Hear my prayer, O Lord.

#### 1b.

You who take away the sins of the world, have mercy on us.

#### 2. Spring Song

See the springtime comes.  
O praise the Lord, Alleluia.

#### 2b.

Alleluia. Amen.

#### 3. Court Song

Fie, my husband, on your love.  
For I have a lover,  
noble and charming,  
and I love him completely.  
Fie, my husband.

For I have a lover, noble and charming.  
He serves me night and day,  
and I love him completely.  
Fie, my husband!

#### 4. Benedictus

Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

### ACT II

#### 5. Soldiers' Song

Long live Jeanne,  
pretty Jeanne,  
Jolie, jolou, jola, la, la  
Jeanni, Jeannou, Jeanna, na, na.  
O pretty, pretty Jeanne.

<sup>363</sup> Translations lightly adapted from Gottlieb, *Working with Bernstein*, 200–201.

**5b. [Soldiers' Song, Reprise]**  
[Untexted, whistling].

**1c. [Reprise]**

*Qui tollis peccata mundi,  
miserere nobis.*

**6. Sanctus**

*Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus,  
Dominus Deus Sabaoth.  
Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua.  
Osanna in excelsis.*

**7. Requiem**

*Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine.  
Et lux perpetua luceat eis.  
Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison.  
Kyrie eleison.*

**8. Gloria**

*Gloria in excelsis Deo.  
Regi nostro clarissimo.  
Regi nostro illustrissimo.  
Regi clarissimo electo Dei.*

**5b. [Soldiers' Song, Reprise]**  
[Untexted, whistling].

**1c. [Reprise]**

You who take away the sins of the world, have  
mercy on us.

**6. Sanctus**

Holy, holy, holy,  
Lord God of Hosts,  
Heaven and earth are full of your glory.  
Hosanna in the highest.

**7. Requiem**

Grant eternal rest to them, O Lord,  
And let everlasting light shine upon them.  
Lord, have mercy. Christ, have mercy.  
Lord, have mercy.

**8. Gloria**

Glory to God in the highest!  
Glory to our most glorious king.  
Glory to our most renowned king,  
[Our] glorious king, elect of God.

## Appendix B - Sound Cues for *The Lark* (1955)

Table B.1: Sound Cues for *The Lark* (1955)<sup>364</sup>

	<u>Cues</u>	<u>Volume</u>
<b>ACT I</b>		
<b>1. Prelude</b>	Go cue: House Out Fade last note – Do-mi- <u>ne</u> .	70 to 55
<b>1b. “Qui tollis”</b>	Out cue: Warwick stops on platform Med-Fade under and out.	
<b>2. Spring Song</b>	Go cue: “Mother, brother and <u>father</u> ” CHIME cue: Count 12 measures song – Hit chime <u>lightly</u> Sound out cue: Clapping starts again. Med fade under and out.	50
<b>2b. “Alleluia”</b>	Go cue: “ <u>go home now</u> ” On 2 <sup>nd</sup> “have pity” CHIME Fade song finish	50 Build to 65
<b>3. Court Song</b>	Go cue: “speak our <u>names</u> in a curse” Out cue: slow fade – end of song out	60
<b>4. Benedictus</b>	Go cue: “You’re getting better looking <u>Charles</u> ”  On cue: “Kneel down <u>Sire</u> ” Go to Song ends Shut off.	35 Sneak up to 40 55
<b>ACT II</b>		
<b>5. Soldiers’ Song</b>	Go cue: House out Last note of song fade to Out cue – as Joan turns to exit – Med fade under and out	at 75 60
<b>5b. [Soldiers’ Song, Reprise]</b>	Go cue: “Isn’t that true LaHire” End of chorus – shut off	30 48
<b>1c. [Reprise, “Qui tollis”]</b>	Go cue: “Did his heart” Out cue: after last choral chord Fade out	45

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<sup>364</sup> Transcribed from “Sound and Music Cues: The Lark,” May 1956, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Box 20, Folder 20, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives. A handwritten draft of this cue sheet may be found in the Lillian Hellman papers, Box 12, Folder 8, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

<b>6. Sanctus</b>	Go cue: “Please God <u>help</u> me now” End of song – shut off	55
<b>7. Requiem</b>	Go cue: “may God forgive us all” Out cue: LaHire reappears speaks, slow fade under and out.	50
<b>**** CHIMES</b>	Go cue: “act it out” – cut off on biz cue Charles steps down onto Center Platform #9	
<b>8. Gloria</b>	Go cue: Warwick “good as most” Build cue: “If nobody would mind” Out cue: AFTER CURTAIN – Fade out.	20 to 50 Build to 75



## Appendix C - Broadway Production Credits for *The Lark* (1955)

**Table C.1: Broadway Production Team Credits for *The Lark* (1955)**

Producer	Kermit Bloomgarden
Author	Jean Anouilh
Adaptor	Lillian Hellman
Director	Joseph Anthony
Set & Lighting Designer	Jo Mielziner
Costumer	Alvin Colt
Composer (Incidental Music)	Leonard Bernstein

**Table C.2: Broadway Performer Credits for *The Lark* (1955)**

Warwick	Christopher Plummer
Cauchon	Boris Karloff
Joan	Julie Harris
Her Father	Ward Costello
Mother	Lois Holmes
Brother	John Reese
The Promoter	Roger De Koven
The Inquisitor	Joseph Wiseman
Brother Ladvenu	Michael Higgins
Robert de Beaudricourt	Theodore Bikel
Agnes Sorel	Ann Hillary
The Young Queen	Joan Elan
The Dauphin	Paul Roebing
Queen Yolande	Rita Vale
Monsieur de la Tremouille	Bruce Gordon
Archbishop of Rheims	Richard Nicholls
Captain La Hire	Bruce Gordon
Executioner	Ralph Roberts
English Soldier	Edward Knight
Scribe	Joe Bernard
Ladies of the Court	Ruth Maynard, Elizabeth Lawrence
Monks and Soldiers	Michael Price, Joe Bernard, Michael Conrad, William Lennard, Milton Katselas, Edgar Grower
Choral Singers <sup>365</sup>	Russell Oberlin, Pauline Seim, Betty Wilson, Jean Hakes, Charles Bressler, Arthur Burrows, Brayton Lewis

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<sup>365</sup> Recorded and played from tape, “by arrangement with the New York Pro Musica Antiqua.”

Figure C.1 Original Playbill Billing for *The Lark* (1955)

*Longacre Theatre*

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Select Theatres Corporation

FIRE NOTICE: The exit indicated by a red light and sign nearest to the seat you occupy is the shortest route to the street. In the event of fire please do not run—WALK TO THAT EXIT.  
EDW. F. CAVANAGH, JR.  
FIRE COMMISSIONER

Thoughtless persons annoy patrons and distract actors and endanger the safety of others by lighting matches during the performance and intermissions. This violates a city ordinance and renders the offender liable to ARREST. It is urged that all patrons refrain from lighting matches in the auditorium of this theatre.

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THE · PLAYBILL · A · WEEKLY · PUBLICATION · OF · PLAYBILL · INCORPORATED

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Week beginning Monday, December 26, 1955      •      Matinees Wednesday and Saturday

**THIS IS ACTORS' FUND WEEK**

KERMIT BLOOMGARDEN  
presents  
**JULIE HARRIS**  
in  
**THE LARK**  
A Play by JEAN ANOUILH  
Adapted by LILLIAN HELLMAN  
also starring  
**BORIS KARLOFF**  
with  
Joseph WISEMAN      Christopher PLUMMER      Theodore BIKEL  
BRUCE GORDON      PAUL ROEBLING      ROGER DE KOVEN

Directed by JOSEPH ANTHONY  
Light-Setting by JO MIELZINER  
Costumes by ALVIN COLT  
Music composed by LEONARD BERNSTEIN

**CAST**

**WARWICK** ..... **CHRISTOPHER PLUMMER**  
**CAUCHON** ..... **BORIS KARLOFF**  
**JOAN** ..... **JULIE HARRIS**

Figure C.2 Cover, Original Playbill for *The Lark* (1955)

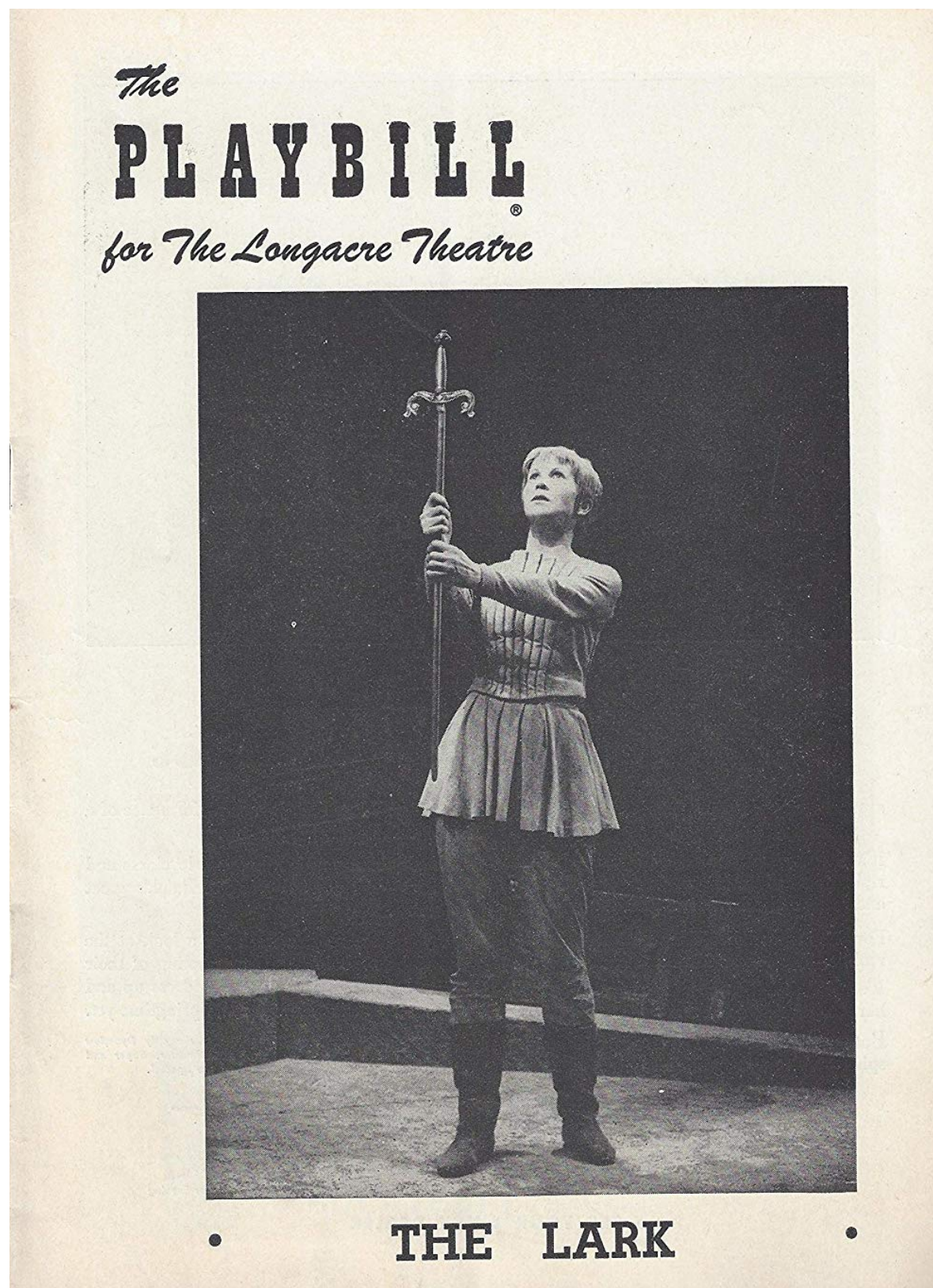




Figure C.3 Cover, Souvenir Program for *The Lark* (1955)



## Appendix D - Hallmark Hall of Fame Telecast Credits (1957)

**Table D.1: Television Production Team Credits for *The Lark* (1957)**

Author	Jean Anouilh
Adaptor	Lillian Hellman
Screenwriter	James Costigan
Producer	George Schaefer
Director	George Schaefer
Executive Producer	Mildred Freed Alberg
Scenery	Trew Hocker
Costumes	Noel Taylor
Lighting	William Knight
Audio	R. Philip Berge
Makeup	Dick Smith
Graphic Arts	Guy Fraumeni
Unit Manager	Thomas Madigan
Casting	Sybil Trubin
Associate Director	Adrienne Luraschi
Technical Director	Robert Long
NBC Program Supervisor	Joseph Cunneff
Associate to Producer	Robert Hartung

**Table D.2: Television Performer Credits for *The Lark* (1957)**

Warwick	Denholm Elliott
[Bishop] Cauchon	Boris Karloff*
Joan	Julie Harris*
Joan's Father	Ward Costello*
Joan's Mother	Mary Loane
The Promoter	Harold Winston
The Inquisitor	Basil Rathbone
Brother Ladvenu	Michael Higgins*
Robert de Beaudricourt	Jack Warden
Agnes Sorel	Jan Farrand
The Young Queen	Barbara Stanton
The Dauphin	Eli Wallach
Queen Yolande	Elsbeth March
Monsieur de la Tremouille	Gregory Morton
Archbishop of Rheims	Charles Penman
[Captain] La Hire	Bruce Gordon*
Executioner	Ralph Roberts*
English Soldier	Harry Davis

**Appendix E - Disparities between the Published Score of *The Lark*  
(1964) and the New York Pro Musica Tape (1955)**

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Please see the following page.

**Table E.1: Disparities between the Published Score of *The Lark* (1964) and the New York Pro Musica Tape (1955)<sup>366</sup>**

<u>Cue</u>	<u>Movement</u>	<u>Text</u>	<u>mm.</u>	<u>Written Tempo</u>	<u>NYPM Tempo</u>	<u>Tape Mark</u>	<u>Tape Notes</u>
1a	Prelude	Exaudi orationem meam, Domine	1-11	Grave ♩=72	♩ = c. 56	0'00"-0'58"	
1b		Qui tollis peccata mundi	12-20b	Piu mosso ♩=84	♩ = c. 66	0'59"-2'58"	
2a	Spring Song	Revecy venir le printemps	1-70	Allegro ♩=140	♩ = c. 124	3'02"-4'49"	Clapped, no drum, mm. 1-2 repeated mm. 65-69: MzT hums omitted mm. 66-69 repeated last beat of m. 69 omitted 2nd time
2b		Alleluia	71-91	<i>as before</i>	<i>as before</i>	4'52"-5'24"	mm. 88-89 <i>ad lib.</i> repeated once
3	Court Song	Fi, mari de vostre amour	1-26	Andante quasi allegretto	♩. = c. 64	5'24"-6'04"	mm. 14-26 cut
4	Benedictus	Benedictus. Osanna in excelsis.	1-5	Recitative	<i>N/A</i>	6'09"-6'39"	
		Benedictus qui venit	6-43	Presto, ♩. = 96	♩. = c. 84	6'39"-7'05"	mm. 40-43, bells not recorded
5a	Soldier's Song	Vive la Jeanne	1-42	Allegro ritmico	♩=120	7'09"-8'00"	No drum mm. 1-2 omitted m. 33 1 bar rest added b/f whistling mm. 33-42 repeated
5b		[Whistling Reprise]	33-42	<i>as before</i>	<i>as before</i>	8'04"-8'16"	
1c	[Reprise]	Qui tollis peccata mundi	12-20b	<i>as before</i>	<i>as before</i>	8'20"-10'17"	
6	Sanctus	Sanctus	1-33	Allegro molto ♩=160	♩ = 160	10'23"-11'00"	mm. 1-10 cut
7	Requiem	Requiem aeternam	1-14	Adagio ♩=104	♩ = c. 88	11'03"-12'57"	mm. 1-12 repeated
8	Gloria	Gloria in excelsis Deo	1-11	Grave, come prima	♩ = c.48	13'01"-13'30"	mm. 1-6.5 cut
		Gloria in excelsis Deo	12-35	Allegro molto ♩=168	♩=c. 160	13'30"-14'04"	

<sup>366</sup> Audio 477A/7, Kermit Bloomgarden papers, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives.

## Appendix F - Text and Translation for the *Missae Brevis* (1988)

Table F.1: Text and Translation for the *Missae Brevis* (1988)

### 1. Kyrie eleison

*Kyrie eleison.*  
*Christe eleison.*  
*Kyrie eleison.*

### 2. Gloria

*Gloria in excelsis Deo*  
*et in terra pax*  
*hominibus bonae voluntatis.*

*Domine Deus, Rex coelestis,*  
*Domine Fili unigenite.*  
*Domine Deus, Agnus Dei,*  
*Filius Patris.*

*Tu solus Sanctus,*  
*tu solus Dominus,*  
*tu solus Altissimus.*

### 3. Sanctus

*Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus,*  
*Dominus Deus Sabaoth.*  
*Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua.*  
*Osanna in excelsis.*

### 3A. Benedictus

*Benedictus qui venit*  
*in nomine Domini.*  
*Osanna in excelsis.*

### 4. Agnus Dei

*Agnus Dei, qui tollis*  
*peccata mundi, miserere nobis.*  
*Agnus Dei, qui tollis*  
*peccata mundi, miserere nobis.*

### 4A. Dona nobis pacem

*Dona nobis pacem*

*Laudate Dominum.*  
*Alleluia. Amen.*

### 1. Kyrie eleison

O Lord, have mercy.  
O Christ, have mercy.  
O Lord, have mercy.

### 2. Gloria

Glory be to God in the highest,  
and on earth peace  
to men of good will.

O Lord God, Heavenly King,  
O Lord, the only begotten Son.  
Lord God, Lamb of God,  
Son of the Father.

You alone are holy  
you alone are the Lord,  
you alone are the Most High.

### 3. Sanctus

Holy, holy, holy,  
Lord God of Hosts,  
Heaven and earth are full of your glory.  
Hosanna in the highest.

### 3A. Benedictus

Blessed is he who comes  
in the name of the Lord.  
Hosanna in the highest.

### 4. Agnus Dei

Lamb of God, who takes away  
the sins of the world, have mercy on us.  
Lamb of God, who takes away  
the sins of the world, have mercy on us.

### 4A. Dona nobis pacem

Grant us peace.

Sing unto the Lord.  
Alleluia. Amen.



## Appendix G - Text and Translation for the Revised *Missa Brevis*

Table G.1: Text and Translation for the Revised *Missa Brevis*

### 1. Kyrie eleison

*Kyrie eleison.*

*Christe eleison.*

*Kyrie eleison.*

### 2. Gloria

*Gloria in excelsis Deo*

*et in terra pax*

*hominibus bonæ voluntatis.*

*Laudamus te; benedicimus te;*

*adoramus te; glorificamus te.*

*Gratias agimus tibi*

*propter magnam gloriam tuam.*

*Domine Deus, Rex coelestis,*

*Deus Pater omnipotens.*

*Domine Fili unigenite Jesu Christe.*

*Domine Deus, Agnus Dei,*

*Filius Patris.*

*Qui tollis peccata mundi,*

*miserere nobis.*

*Qui tollis peccata mundi,*

*suscipe deprecationem nostram.*

*Qui sedes ad dextram Patris,*

*O miserere nobis.*

*Quoniam tu solus Sanctus,*

*tu solus Dominus,*

*tu solus Altissimus, Jesu Christe.*

*Cum Sancto Spiritu*

*in gloria Dei Patris.*

*Amen.*

### [Credo]

Not set.

### 1. Kyrie eleison

O Lord, have mercy.

O Christ, have mercy.

O Lord, have mercy.

### 2. Gloria

Glory be to God in the highest,

and on earth peace

to men of good will.

We praise you; we bless you;

we worship you; we glorify you.

We give thanks to you

for your great glory.

O Lord God, Heavenly King,

God the Father Almighty.

O Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son.

Lord God, Lamb of God,

Son of the Father.

You take away the sins of the world,

have mercy upon us.

You take away the sins of the world,

receive our prayer.

You are seated at the right hand of the Father,

have mercy upon us.

For you alone are holy

you alone are the Lord,

you alone are the Most High, Jesus Christ,

with the Holy Spirit

in the glory of God the Father.

Amen.

### [Credo]

Not set.

### **3. Sanctus**

*Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus,  
Dominus Deus Sabaoth.  
Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua.  
Osanna in excelsis.*

#### **3A. Benedictus**

*Benedictus qui venit  
in nomine Domini.  
Osanna in excelsis.*

#### **4. Agnus Dei**

*Agnus Dei, qui tollis  
peccata mundi, miserere nobis.  
Agnus Dei, qui tollis  
peccata mundi, miserere nobis.*

#### **4A. Dona Nobis Pacem**

*Agnus Dei, qui tollis  
peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem.*

*Laudate Dominum.  
Alleluia. Amen.*

### **3. Sanctus**

Holy, holy, holy,  
Lord God of Hosts,  
Heaven and earth are full of your glory.  
Hosanna in the highest.

#### **3A. Benedictus**

Blessed is he who comes  
in the name of the Lord.  
Hosanna in the highest.

#### **4. Agnus Dei**

Lamb of God, who takes away  
the sins of the world, have mercy on us.  
Lamb of God, who takes away  
the sins of the world, have mercy on us.

#### **4A. Dona Nobis Pacem**

Lamb of God, who takes away  
the sins of the world, grant us peace.

Sing unto the Lord.  
Alleluia. Amen.

## Appendix H - Concordance of *The Lark* and the *Missa Brevis*

### General Notes

Differing divisions of like-voice parts into staves still singing at the unison are not noted. In the 1990 score, the Countertenor part was printed in treble clef throughout, rather than with ottava bassa treble clef, as in 1964. Similarly, the score order was changed, moving the Countertenor line from its place between the Alto and Tenor lines in 1964 to the top of the score in 1990. The 1964 score used traditional flagged vocal notation, while the 1990 score uses more modern beamed vocal notation.

Notes below that do not specify voice part are understood to encompass all voices sounding at the time. Measure numbers are held in common between *The Lark* source material and the resulting *Missa Brevis* movement unless a second column of measure marks is presented.

### 1. Kyrie

	<u><i>Lark</i> (1964) Requiem</u>		<u><i>Missa Brevis</i> (1990) Kyrie</u>
<i>Voicing:</i>	SATBB +CT		SAATBB
<i>Instruments:</i>	N/A		+Timp.
m. 1	<b>Adagio</b> ♩ =104	m. 1	<b>Adagio</b> ♩ =96
	“Requiem”		CT: <i>tacet</i> , replaced by A2 Retexted “Kyrie eleison,” etc.
m. 4		m. 4	<i>cresc.</i>
m. 5		m. 5	<i>cresc. mp</i>
m. 6		m. 6	SA1: <b>mp</b> <i>cresc.</i>
m. 7		m. 7	<b>mf</b> <i>cresc.</i>
m. 8		m. 8	<i>cresc. f</i>
m. 9		m. 9	SA1: <b>f</b>
m. 10-12			CUT
m. 13-14		m. 10-14	Rewritten with ‘built-in’ rhythmic <i>ritard.</i> and <i>decresc.</i> to <b>pp</b> +Timp.

## 2. Gloria

<u><i>Lark</i> (1964) Gloria</u>		<u><i>Missa Brevis</i> (1990) Gloria</u>	
<i>Voicing:</i>	SSATBB +CT		SSAATTBB + CT
<i>Instruments:</i>	+Bells		+Bells
m. 1	<b>Grave, come prima</b> [♩=72]	m. 1	<b>Grave</b> ♩ =80
m. 1-6		m. 1-6	CT: <i>tacet</i>
m. 7-11	CT: "Gloria"	m. 7-11	CT: Retexted "Et in terra..." with rhythmic and melodic alterations
m. 11		m. 11	<i>rit., fermata</i> Coro: <i>descresc.</i>
		m. 12	<b>Molto piu presto</b> ♩ =72
			[STEEL INSERT A mm. 12-50]
		m. 12-24	"Laudamus te"
			[Adapted from <i>The Lark's</i> Benedictus, mm. 6-18]
		m. 24-36	"Adoramus te" [Newly composed material, thematically related preceding section]
		m. 37-50	"Gratias agimus" [Loosely adapted from <i>The Lark's</i> Benedictus, mm. 26-30]
m. 12-32	<b>Allegro molto</b> ♩ =168 "Gloria"	m. 51-72	<b>Meno mosso (in 3)</b> ♩ =168
	<b><i>ff</i></b>		Retexted "Domine Deus," with rhythmic alterations
			<b><i>f</i></b>
			[STEEL INSERT B mm. 73-95]
		m. 73-75	"Agnus Dei" [Newly composed material, thematically related preceding section]
		m. 76-79	"Qui tollis" [Theme drawn from <i>The Lark's</i> Prelude, m. 14-15]
		m. 80-81	"Miserere nobis" [Newly composed material, motivically related to mm. 54-55/60-61/65]
		m. 82-84	"Qui tollis" [Motivically related to m. 76-79]
		m. 85-89	"Suscipe"
			[S drawn from CT, <i>Lark</i> Prelude mm. 17-20]
		m. 90-95	"Qui sedes"
			[Adapted from <i>Lark</i> Prelude m. 18b-20b]
m. 12-32	"Gloria"	m. 96-119	Retexted "Quoniam," with rhythmic alterations

### 3. Sanctus

	<u><i>Lark</i> (1964) Sanctus</u>	<u><i>Missae Brevis</i> (1990) Sanctus</u>
<i>Voicing:</i>	SSATBB +CT	SSATBB +CT
<i>Instruments:</i>	N/A	N/A
m. 1	<b>Allegro molto</b> ♩ =160	<b>Allegro molto</b> ♩ =126
	<b><i>f</i> marcato</b>	<b><i>p</i> misterioso</b>
m. 2		> on beat 1
m. 5	CT: <b>freely</b>	
m. 6		<b><i>p</i> cresc.</b>
m. 7		> on beat 2
m. 8	♩	<b>3/4</b> , beat 2 ♩ changed to ♩
m. 9		<b><i>fp</i></b> on beat 2
m. 11		<b><i>f</i></b>
m. 12	> on beat 2	> on beat 1
m. 13		<b><i>fp</i></b> on beat 2
m. 14	SA: decresc.	SATB: decresc.
m. 15		<b><i>f</i></b>
m. 16	> on beat 2	> on beat 1
m. 17		<b><i>fp</i></b> on beat 2
m. 18		CT: ( <b><i>f</i></b> )
m. 23		<i>sempre ff al fine</i>
m. 33		CT: <i>ossia d</i> "

### 3A. Benedictus

	<u><i>Lark</i> (1964) Benedictus</u>	<u><i>Missa Brevis</i> (1990) Benedictus</u>
<i>Voicing:</i>	SSATBB +CT	SSAATTTBB +CT
<i>Instruments:</i>	+Bell	+Bell, [S. Cymb., Tam. Opt.]
m. 1	<b>Recitative</b>	<b>Recitative</b> ♩=80
		+Bell
m. 2	<i>rapido</i>	<i>rapido</i> ♩=108
m. 6	<b>Presto</b> ♩=96	<b>Prestissimo</b> ♩=88
m. 10-14	+A +T	+A1, down the 8ve, doubled by T1 at the unison +T2, doubled by A2 at the unison
m. 14		S1/S2: <i>molto marcato</i>
m. 15		A1/A2: <i>div. to unis.</i> A T1/T2" <i>div. to unis.</i> T
m. 18-20		B1: "optional," tied to CT <i>ossia</i>
m. 18-23		CT: up the 8ve, with original notes as low <i>ossia</i>
m. 26-35		S2 & A: parts exchanged
m. 26-43		CT: <i>tacet</i>
	T: <i>ossia 8va</i>	T: 8va
m. 31		+Bell
m. 36		+Bell, [S. Cymb., Tam. opt.]
m. 36-40	"Benedictus..."	Retexted "Osanna in excelsis"

### 4. Agnus Dei [I & II]

	<u><i>Lark</i> (1964) Prelude</u>	<u><i>Missa Brevis</i> (1990) Agnus Dei</u>
<i>Voicing:</i>	SSATBB +CT	SSATBB +CT
<i>Instruments:</i>	N/A	N/A
m. 1-6	<b>Grave</b> ♩=72 "Exaudi"	m. 1-6 <b>Grave</b> ♩=72 Retexted "Agnus Dei," with rhythmic alterations
m. 7-11		CUT
m. 12	<b>Più mosso</b> ♩=84	m. 7 <b>Più mosso</b> ♩=84
m. 20	Repeat to m. 13, "Qui tollis"	m. 15 AT "Qui tollis" entrance omitted Repeat to top, "Agnus Dei"

#### 4A. Agnus Dei [III]

	<u><b>Lark</b></u> (1964) Prelude		<u><b>Missa Brevis</b></u> (1990) Agnus Dei
<i>Voicing:</i>	SSATBB +CT		SSATBB +CT
<i>Instruments:</i>	N/A		N/A
m. 1-6	<b>Grave</b> ♩=72 “Exaudi”	m. 1-6	<b>Grave come prima</b> ♩=72 Retexted “Agnus Dei,” with rhythmic alterations
m.7-11	“Domine”	m. 7-11	NOT CUT Retexted “Dona nobis,” with rhythmic alterations

#### 4A (cont.). Dona Nobis Pacem

	<u><b>Lark</b></u> (1964) Spring Song		<u><b>Missa Brevis</b></u> (1990) Dona Nobis
<i>Voicing:</i>	SSATBB +CT		SSATBB +CT
<i>Instruments:</i>	Clapping		Hand drum, tabor, tambourine, et al. (opt. clapping)
m. 1	<b>Allegro</b> ♩=140 <b>6/8 + 3/4</b>	m. 11	<b>Allegro</b> ♩=144 (♩=♩ prec.) <b>3/4</b>
m. 3	Perc: ♩♩♩♩	m. 13	<b>p</b> Perc: ♩♩♩
m. 4	<b>mp</b> “Revecy...”		<b>p</b> Singers not instructed to clap their rhythm
m. 12-26		m. 22-36	Retexted “Dona nobis,” with rhythmic alterations +Tabor, tambourine, et al.
m. 26	CT: <b>mp dolce</b>	m. 36	CT: <b>fp dolce</b> +Bell
m. 43	“La la la”	m. 53	Retexted “Alleluia”
m. 59-65	B1B2: <i>Clapping</i>		
m. 60-65	CT: Sustain	m. 70-74	CT: Tacet CUT
m. 66-84		m. 75	+Bell
m. 85		m. 78	+Perc.
m. 88	A: <i>Clapping</i>	m. 78-81	Written out repeat
m. 88-89	<i>repeat ad libitum</i>		
m. 91	A: ♩♩ <i>Staccato</i> , beat 3	m. 83	Perc: Tacet ^ beat 3