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Landscape – Rhythm – Memory:

Contexts for mapping the music of George Enescu

Benedict Taylor

Enescu's Octet of 1900 sets out as if it were designed as a mission statement of the composer's future style. Unfurling as a long-breathed cantilena whose nominal C major is expanded by constant modal colouring, seemingly endless melodic arabesques and total freedom from the ostensible $\frac{3}{2}$ metre, the monodic line of the opening *Très modéré* suggests almost infinite possibilities for extension across an unknown musical terrain. Monody gives way to polyphony, and two-dimensional linearity to three-dimensional density, but still the music strides forward, setting forth in enormous paragraphs that conquer ever greater sonic spaces even while earlier passages return like varied refrains which striate the musical territory uncovered into larger rhythms and patterns of organisation. A brief lull arising at the close of this twelve-minute exposition proves illusory: the coiled dynamism that has been latent throughout the first movement explodes in the rhythmic vitality of the scherzo (*Très fougueux*) that follows on directly, reworking familiar ideas in often violent conflagrations. In contrast, the ensuing *Lentement* provides a softer moment of introspective lyricism, continuing the constant evolution of musical material as it likewise remembers landscapes earlier traversed. But it is in the finale, marked *Mouvement de Valse bien rythmée*, that the work's full cyclic network unfolds in magnificent complexity, as the music of the preceding movements is swept up into a gigantic waltz, whose hypnotic rhythmic momentum and contrapuntal intricacy seems almost preternatural in its mastery over the domains of musical time and space. The ending on an enormous D $\flat$ –C inflection is defiant, pointing forward to Enescu's modal expansion of tonal language as much as it looks back to the work's opening paragraph and pays homage to Schubert's C major Quintet three quarters of a century before (a work Enescu considered 'miraculous').¹ This work, in its gigantic

I would like to thank Gary Barnett, Sebastian Wedler, and the two reviewers for this journal for their helpful comments on this article. An earlier version of part of this paper was presented at conferences in Stellenbosch in 2013 and Bucharest in 2015, and I am likewise grateful to all those audience members who offered comments and questions, in particular Jonathan Cross, Daniel Grimley, and Cristina Lascu.

forty-minute expanse and interleaving two-dimensional sonata design, is the epitome of the cyclic instrumental sonata at the turn of the twentieth century: Arnold Schoenberg would attempt something similar in his own Op. 7, the Quartet in D minor, a few years later. Yet Enescu's music occupies a different world, breathes a different air. It forms a statement of individual intent from the precocious eighteen-year old composer. Not for nothing did he feel that in this work he had "found himself" as a creative voice.²

The case of George Enescu (1881–1955) is a curious one, but in many ways not untypical of a generation of musicians of enormous talent caught up in the volatile European scene of the first decades of the twentieth century. Although numerous testimonies survive to his musical genius – such witnesses as Pau Casals, Nadia Boulanger, Arthur Honegger and Yehudi Menuhin leave the reader as to no doubt of the composer's overwhelming abilities – Enescu's music still lacks wide exposure and recognition.

In one sense reasons for his music's relative neglect are obvious: a modest personality unaccustomed to self-promotion, Enescu did little to build forcefully on his early success as a composer in Paris in the early 1900s. One of the greatest violinists of the century (as well as numbering among the leading conductors of his generation, a consummate pianist whom Alfred Cortot held in awe, and apparently a very able cellist), he became as famous in his lifetime as a performer as a composer, which unavoidably led to the assumption by some that here was a great re-creative musician

¹ *Entretiens avec Georges Enesco* (a series of conversations between Enescu and Bernard Gavoty broadcast in twenty instalments by French Radio in 1951–2), quoted in George Oprea and Mihail Jora (eds.), *George Enescu* (with Fernanda Foni, Nicolae Missir, Mircea Voicana and Elena Zottoviceanu as contributing authors) (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală, 1964), p. 63. An edited and compressed version of these radio interviews was published by Bernard Gavoty as *Les Souvenirs de Georges Enesco* (Paris: Flammarion, 1955; repr. Kryos, 2006), though the passage cited does not appear in this volume. Gavoty's publication is probably the most accessible introduction to the composer's views on music. The most detailed account of Enescu's life is the two-volume *George Enescu: Monografie* (in Romanian), edited by Mircea Voicana, Clemansa Firca, Alfred Hoffman and Elena Zottoviceanu in collaboration with Myriam Marbe, Ștefan Niculescu and Adrian Ratiu (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1971), which includes some useful analytical details on the music often taken from earlier articles that are hard to obtain outside Romania. The composer's published correspondence (*Scrisori*, ed. Viorel Cosma, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală, 1974–81)) is of more limited use, primarily revealing Enescu's extraordinarily busy performing schedule, but does contain some insights into his mind and personality, his sense of humour and the strength of his affection for Marie (Maruca) Cantacuzino, his future wife.

² Gavoty, *Les Souvenirs de Georges Enesco*, p. 68.

who occasionally dabbled in his own music. As a native of Romania he perhaps inevitably became seen as a nationalist voice from the eastern fringes of Europe, a purveyor of folk rhapsodies – exotic, charming, but ultimately peripheral (a notion not helped by the fact that by far his most popular work was just such a piece from early in his career) – this despite the fact that he had left his native country at the age of eight, learnt his trade in the cosmopolitan musical centres of Vienna and Paris, and lived much of his life in France. His compositions are simultaneously highly individual and yet reveal the amalgamation of a bewildering array of techniques. He could show a Brahmsian material logic, a Franckian control of cyclic structure, a Straussian brilliance of orchestration, a harmonic refinement akin to his teacher Fauré or classmate Ravel, a proto-Bartókian use of folk material in modernist context, and a contrapuntal ability quite his own. Not merely reactive to trends but often prophetic or simply *sui generis*, Enescu was neoclassical before neoclassicism existed (witnessed by the Second Suites for Piano (1903) and Orchestra (1915)), and classical during (seen in his monumental opera *Œdipe*, 1910–31) – in a darkly expressive, Romantic manner.

Most broadly, there seems to be a historiographical problem in fitting the composer into customary narratives of twentieth-century music history. Enescu belongs to a group of composers who reached early maturity in the first decade of the century during the last wave of late-Romantic modernism, but before the more radical modernism of Schoenberg or Stravinsky took hold, forming hegemonic influences for the next century of critical thought. James Hepokoski has written insightfully concerning the predicament of figures born around 1860 such as Elgar, Mahler, Strauss, Nielsen and Sibelius, who found their brand of musical modernism suddenly outdated around 1910 with the rise of a new avant-garde.³ In the case of Enescu's generation, however, its composers did not even have enough time to establish themselves as belonging to a subsequent wave of musical evolution before this category was revaluated and its members consigned to the nationalist hinterland of conservative tonal modernists.⁴ It is

³ See James Hepokoski, 'Fiery-pulsed Libertine or Domestic Hero? Strauss's *Don Juan* Reinvestigated', in *Richard Strauss: New Perspectives on the Composer and His Work*, ed. Bryan Gilliam (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1992), pp. 135–75, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), and 'Elgar', in *The Nineteenth-Century Symphony*, ed. D. Kern Holoman (New York: Schirmer, 1996), pp. 327–44. Hepokoski drew some starting points from the work of Carl Dahlhaus.

⁴ Broadly speaking of course, Enescu belongs to the same generation as that of the new avant-garde: he was in fact younger, albeit more precocious, than Schoenberg or indeed Bartók (his elder by a few

indeed hard to place the enormously talented figures of this age (looking out eastwards from Vienna one might similarly think of Zemlinsky, Dohnányi, Szymanowski, Kodály, or Kalomiris), especially when they did not become a figurehead for a radically modernist movement. Enescu is part of a lost generation, and arguably the most prodigiously gifted member of this marginalised group.

Related to this point is an even more basic question: whether there is any value in applying such terms as ‘modernist’ to Enescu at all. Modernism and its relation to the late Romantic inheritance of the nineteenth century and the twentieth-century avant-garde or New Music is of course a contested category in modern scholarship.⁵ Attempts have been made to reevaluate high-profile early twentieth-century composers by suggesting that although dismissed by the self-styled avant-garde they were yet in some sense ‘really’ modernist – if modernism is redefined sufficiently.⁶ But it is not clear that such a strategy, even if valid for other figures, is of any use for considering Enescu, whose multifaceted compositional output collapses such terms. The monolithic terms

months), but slightly senior to Stravinsky, Webern and Berg. The point I am making here is that composers of this generation whose style was largely formed before the advent of Schoenberg’s and Stravinsky’s developments after 1910 and did not follow the path of their most radical contemporaries have subsequently become marginalised in historiography (even those, such as Szymanowski and Kodály, who were for a time accepted as progressives).

⁵ See Peter Franklin’s *Reclaiming Late-Romantic Music: Singing Devils and Distant Sounds* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2014), who directly addresses the problematic issue of defining late-Romanticism as opposed to modernism and decadence, while a round table in a recent issue of *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* (139/1, 2014) is devoted to this question. Most recently, Julian Johnson has offered a radically dehistoricised conceptualisation of the idea of modernity in *Out of Time: Music and the Making of Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), which has notable resonances with the aims of my current study.

⁶ See J.P.E. Harper-Scott, *Edward Elgar: Modernist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007), taking some bearings from the work of Hepokoski, and the more guarded account by Daniel M. Grimley, *Carl Nielsen and the Idea of Modernism* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010); Harper-Scott offers a revised perspective in his more recent *The Quilting Points of Musical Modernism: Revolution, Reaction, and William Walton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Related accounts aligning contemporary figures to a broader understanding of early twentieth-century modernism include Stephen Downes, *Music and Decadence in European Modernism: The Case of Central and Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) (though significantly – and probably rightly – Enescu makes no appearance in Downes’s account), and Michael Puri’s *Ravel the Decadent: Memory, Sublimation, and Desire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

of Romanticism, Modernism, Neo-Classicism, Nationalism et al simply cannot do justice to the range and variety of his achievement.

In sum, his musical activities were astounding, but evinced almost too much richness. Enescu was and still is too many things for music history to cope with: his position, caught between Romanticism and Modernism, between crude notions of East and West with their later political divisions, has made him hard to categorise. As his compatriot Pascal Bentoiu notes, “the evaluative criteria of modern European music can scarcely grapple” with Enescu’s music.⁷

If the familiar behemoths of late-Romanticism, Nationalism or Modernism pass by Enescu’s oeuvre leaving it more or less untouched, what conceptions might find firmer hold? This article seeks to offer some more pertinent aesthetic categories for Enescu’s music, by looking at some even more basic and fundamental criteria that cross the boundaries between established music-historical periods, effectively undercutting or ‘deterritorialising’ these historiographical concepts. Taking some inspiration from Julian Johnson’s recent approach in *Out of Time*, I would like to argue that Enescu’s music often displays a characteristic and individual approach to musical time and space, one which, although in some respects he shares with aspects of his contemporaries, is nevertheless significant and distinguishing trait of his music.⁸ One might observe, of course, that this was precisely the historical period when these categories – time and space – were being radically rethought across a range of disciplines and art forms. Though noting this cultural context, I do not intend to make any wild claim for Enescu’s work embodying Einsteinian relativity in some musical space-time or creating a proto-cubist musical idiom (ideas that have nevertheless been mooted in earlier papers). However, the views of a number of twentieth-century thinkers, especially some of those living and working in Enescu’s adopted homeland of France, do show a sometimes

⁷ Pascal Bentoiu, ‘George Enescu’, in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001), Personenteil, vol. VI, col. 333. This idea of Enescu’s stylistic diversity as a problem for his reception is common in Romanian scholarship; see also Mircea Voicana, ‘Das Problem des Stils und die Entfaltung der schöpferischen Persönlichkeit des Komponisten Enescu’, in Mircea Voicana (ed.), *Enesciana 1 (Personnalité artistique de Georges Enesco)*, Proceedings of the 1973 Enescu Conference, Bucharest (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1976), pp. 13–17.

⁸ In a recent study Constantin Secară has similarly proposed that one of the “defining characteristics of Enescu’s musical style is the complexity of his articulation of musical time” and his fluid handling of time and space (‘Finalurile enesciene, de la „încununarea operei” la modelarea percepției timpului muzical’, in *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei: Teatru, Muzică, Cinematografie*, 3 (2009), 75).

unexpected resonance with these attributes of Enescu's music, and their thought provides a useful context for engaging with his oeuvre.⁹ Among the most distinctive of the ways in which Enescu's work mediates between music as an art of time and its perceived spatial attributes are in its evocation of landscape, its sense of motion, rhythm (understood in numerous ways), and memory.

*

I. 1902: Native Landscapes and National Memories

Romanian Rhapsody No. 2 in D major, Op. 11

“A general characteristic that emerges from our national music...is sorrow even amidst joy.

This feeling is inspired by our valleys and hills, by the particular colour of our sky...”

George Enescu, ‘Muzica românească’ (1912)¹⁰

As a composer, Enescu has become most famous for his two Romanian Rhapsodies, Op. 11, which have gone on to stylise him as a colourful nationalist voice at the expense of recognising the full range and variety of his musical oeuvre. Most specifically, audiences have fastened onto the first in A major, which with its extrovert dance melodies and brilliant orchestration is possibly the finest example of the national rhapsody in the tradition of Liszt (and a piece which Enescu became thoroughly sick with having performed). But I would like to look at its less celebrated, more lyrical brother, and how it may construct – metaphorically, connotatively – a sense of landscape. Now the notion of musical ‘landscape’ is as popular in our understanding of music across the last two centuries as it is analytically and philosophically tricky to pin down how a predominantly temporal, aural art-form gives rise to primarily spatial and

⁹ Writers drawn upon here include contemporaneous figures such Henri Bergson, Gaston Bachelard, and Lucian Blaga; the post-Bergsonian philosophy of Gilles Deleuze; and to a lesser extent the work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Henri Lefebvre.

¹⁰ “O caracteristică generală ce desprinde din muzica noastră națională...este tristețea chiar în veselie. Sentimentul acesta este inspirat de văile și dealurile noastre, de culoare deosebită a cerului nostrum”, Al. Serban [Constantin Banu], ‘Muzica românească: Interviu cu George Enescu’, in *Flacăra*, 1/47 (8 September 1912), 369–70, quoted in Voicana et al, *Monografie*, vol. I, p. 400. The entire interview is reproduced in Laura Manolache (ed.), *George Enescu: Interviuuri din presa românească*, 2 vols. (Bucharest, Editura Muzicală, 1988–91), vol. II (1936–1946), pp. 216–18.

visual interpretations.¹¹ However, such philosophical scruples aside, it is no less an undeniable historical and cultural fact that nineteenth- and twentieth-century instrumental music has often been heard as conveying a sense of landscape. Enescu himself seemed to share this idea of landscape, judging by his frequent descriptive titles and markings in his scores (one of his very first pieces, written at the age of five, was entitled *Pământ românesc (Romanian Land)* – an ‘opera’ for violin and piano), his comments on the extramusical meanings and inspirations behind passages of his music, and assorted broader aesthetic remarks that have been left on record.¹² In fact for the composer’s near-contemporary Lucian Blaga (1895–1961), the very nature of Romanian art and creativity was bound up with the quality of the Romanian landscape – the ‘mioritic space’ that lay deep in the national subconscious (a feature that will be returned to in this article’s final section).¹³

A schematic representation of the Rhapsody’s design is given in Table 1. While the work’s brief introduction, based motivically on a folk dance (‘*Sîrba lui Pompieru*’ – ‘Serbian dance of the Fireman’), is not in itself especially suggestive of landscape, the unison presentation, unfurling out from the dominant pedal, certainly conveys a sense of projection out into some as yet unknown terrain, demarcating a space (tonal, national) that might become inhabited subsequently. Into this sonic ‘field’ there enters the great

¹¹ These philosophical and phenomenological issues are explored more deeply in my article ‘Seascape in the Mist: Lost in Mendelssohn’s *Hebrides*’, *19th-Century Music*, 39 (2016), 187–222. I am deliberately keeping the polysemous notion of landscape quite open here, though its range of potential meanings will be gradually clarified across the following account. In short, however, we could say that the term is initially taken in a looser, culturally associative or metaphorical sense (Enescu’s music being associated with an exotic or national locale both on the part of audiences and by the composer), gradually emerging in the central part of this study as a philosophical category emphasising music’s dynamic, world-making role, before becoming interiorised as a subjective site of memory in the article’s final section.

¹² See Gavoty, *Les Souvenirs de Georges Enesco*, p. 39. One should note in this context that landscape is particularly liable to be associated with music perceived as nationalist (i.e., from the ‘periphery’ of the Austro-German musical mainstream); the music of a composer from eastern Europe is already highly susceptible to be heard as evoking an exotic landscape for audiences in the west. This is part of its appeal, one from which composers such as Enescu – as with Dvořák before him – often benefited, until they became typecast as merely ‘national’ and not ‘universal’ (see further on this point Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of ‘Folk Music’ and ‘Art Music’: Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 236).

¹³ Lucian Blaga, *Spațiul mioritic* (1936), published in *Trilogia culturii* (Bucharest: Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă, 1944; repr. Humanitas, 2011).

tune of this Rhapsody: warmly nostalgic, ballad-like in tone, it is given an epic quality by the threefold presentation. There is something here in the use of the timpani (supported by bass pizzicato), in their continual tonic-dominant oscillation creating a stable tonal ground or bedrock, which again seems to contribute to this demarcation of a musical space. And in particular, the repetition of the melody seems cumulatively to create both a sense of space (one might say the more repetition there is, the more music implies space)¹⁴ and, in the increasing orchestral forces, a sense of growing community, the replication of the same at continually higher levels.

Table 1

This opening readily suggests a glorious affirmation of the composer's native land and people. Yet, although it seems Enescu had learned this melody from his childhood violin teacher, the noted gypsy fiddlist Chioru,¹⁵ it actually derives from a patriotic nineteenth-century ballad by the Romanian composer Alexandru Flechtenmacher (1823–98), 'Pe o stâncă neagră, într-un vechi castel' – 'On a dark rock, in an old castle'. In other words, its true folk credentials are questionable; there might remain an element of Romantic construction about this nationalism. Indeed, its affirmative quality is undermined by the closing theme appended to it, a darker, modally insecure idea whose third scale-degree persistently turns to the minor on descending, which introduces a more uncertain note. Though apparently freely written by Enescu in the folk-style of the *doina* (associated with a lamenting or nostalgic quality),¹⁶ one might say it seems more 'authentic' here than Flechtenmacher's song.

¹⁴ This refers specifically to the cognitive sense of 'chunking' temporal information into spatialised formal concepts that is articulated especially clearly by repetition patterns. See Barbara R. Barry, *Musical Time: The Sense of Order* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1990), pp. 58–69.

¹⁵ Recollected by Enescu's fellow pupil Gheorghe Ananiescu, as cited in Viorel Cosma, *Enescu azi: Premise la redimensionarea personalității și operei* (Timisoara: Facla, 1981), p. 43.

¹⁶ The *doina* is a term from traditional Romanian music and a key category of musical style for Enescu. It may exist either in instrumental or vocal forms, but in both is characterised by a melismatic line of often monophonic nature, freedom from metre, and continual improvisatory melodic variation to the extent that distinctions between theme and ornament become dissolved. It is typically associated with individual expression and a soulful or mournful sentiment (a link with the Romanian word *dor* – longing – has been conjectured). A good description is given by Noel Malcolm, *George Enescu: His Life and Music* (London: Toccata Press, 1990), pp. 22–4. On the wider background to appropriations of folk music at

Furthermore, this landscape evoked is not simply spatial either: it is temporal and historical, even mythic. Landscapes are inhabited spaces, inhabited by present dwellers and by the traces of the past, striated by paths made by humans or animals and occupied by previous signs of habitation. Enescu's use of an earlier ballad already suggests a relation to a remembered past, a tone of nostalgic sentiment and patriotic legend, and indeed these connotations extend deeper. Flechtenmacher's ballad sets a poem from Dimitrie Bolintineanu's *Legende istorice* (1865), 'Muma lui Ștefan cel Mare' (Mother of Stephen the Great), whose text speaks of the wife of a warrior waiting anxiously for his return from battle against the Turks. Her son, Stephen (future Stephen III of Moldavia, 1433–1504, 'Stephen the Great'), returns alone: the army has been defeated. But all is not lost. Stephen's mother, personifying in figurative language the Moldavian homeland, spurs her son on to glorious future accomplishment (which modern audiences of course know he attained). Encountering the ballad tune associated with these past heroic exploits within the musical soundscape of Enescu's Rhapsody is for the listener a fitting analogue for the old castle on the dark rock that still stands there within the Romanian landscape, a weathered relic of the nation's history.¹⁷ The subsequent *doina* theme brings the Romantic perceiver's attention back to the reality of the present, a mournful post-cadential after-history to the chivalric tales of the past.

From the modally inflected B minor to which the music has taken us, the introduction theme returns, as if attempting to summon the security of the ballad to follow once more. Instead, the music pauses over a sensuous dominant ninth, rapt, dream-like, and out of a sustained background of *ppp sul ponticello* string tremolo and cymbal (*pppp*) emerges the foreboding voice of the cor anglais with the second half of a folksong, 'Văleu, lupu mă mănîncă' ('Ow, the wolf is eating me', Ex. 1). Enescu called particular attention to this passage in his 1951 interview for French radio.¹⁸ More than anywhere

this time, especially in relation to peripheral or minority cultures, see Joshua Walden, *Sounding Authentic: The Rural Miniature and Musical Modernism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), though Enescu himself does not feature in Walden's account.

¹⁷ The historical territory of Moldavia is divided between present day Romania, Moldova, and the Ukraine: Stephen the Great is a Romanian hero (and recently canonised saint) as well as a Moldovan one. Enescu himself came from the village of Liveni in Romanian Moldavia, now renamed in his honour.

¹⁸ *Entretiens avec Georges Enesco*, cited in Voicana et al, *Monografie*, vol. I, p. 282. Ștefan Niculescu ('Aspecte ale folclorului in opera lui George Enescu', *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei*, 8 (1961) 419–20) finds this theme marked by many characteristic folk elements.

else in the piece, there is a palpable sense of landscape here, as if the ‘aesthetic observer’ is moving into the land at a deeper level: we are not just witnessing the depiction of an external landscape but becoming lost, swallowed up inside this. What seems especially crucial in evoking this sense of landscape is the manner in which timbre and orchestration create multiple musical layers that enfold in among themselves. The folk theme appears to arise out from the mysterious background environment, as if the previously mute expanse of terrain has given voice to a dark brooding presence in its midst. On a more naturalistic level, the cor anglais could well be taken for the sound of a rural inhabitant of this scene (a solitary shepherd piping a doina to his flock), a feature consistent with this instrument’s familiar rustic associations, but the passage might also give the sense that here we are hearing the actual voice of nature speaking – an idea consistent with the composer’s later works such as *Vox Maris (Voice of the Sea)* and the unfinished *Voix de la nature* cycle.

Ex. 1

What follows, for Pascal Bentoiu,

is the most explosive moment in the entire composition: the endless multiplication of the lonely melody murmured by the English horn. The timbres and the intensities echo from ever more distant places...and the landscape becomes larger, as if going from the isolation of a lone individual in a meadow to the far reaches of a whole country.¹⁹

And then, out of this medley of voices, an apotheosis occurs: the great ballad tune is regained, heard contrapuntally alongside the introductory theme, and leading for its second half into the second segment of the cor anglais ‘Wolf’ theme (Ex. 2). The two – 19th-century ballad and more genuine folksong – are intercut. It as if we are experiencing a subjective epiphany, the oneness of the bourgeois subject with nature, the land, and its folk. Hearing this landscape critically one could well imagine from the earlier stages of Enescu’s rhapsody some broadly Marxist critique of the bourgeois spectator, romanticising the land and its engrained historical traces, through the invented (i.e. false) tradition of the nineteenth-century ballad.²⁰ The process of

¹⁹ Pascal Bentoiu, *Capodopere enesciene* (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală, 1984), translated by Lory Wallfisch as *Masterworks of George Enescu: A Detailed Analysis* (Lanham, Toronto and Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2010), p. 47.

²⁰ For instance, for Raymond Williams the very idea of landscape implies separation and observation. Landscapes set us at a distance, turning us into detached spectators and the world into distance scenery to

Enescu's work is to problematise this wishful fiction through an encounter with a more primitive, wilder, and authentic voice (the 'other'), leading to an ecstatic sense of oneness with the land, its people and their history in the thematic fusion of the climax. Yet the intercutting of the two themes still retains a clear sense of difference between them: the identification of the Romantic subject with the external landscape is not total. And the Rhapsody's end leaves a question mark hanging in the air, unresolved.

Ex. 2

After the apparent nostalgic, contemplative close of the main piece, three types of music intrude, suggesting different aesthetic levels of pastness or distance. First an incongruous jog-trot on the viola (a dance, 'Tintaras cu cizme largi' – the mosquito with large boots), a rude intrusion of a folklike element, as if an incongruous aspect of quotidian reality is walking past the Romantic dreamer-protagonist; this mutates into an echo from the First Rhapsody (the 'Ciocârlia' theme), thus opening up Op. 11 No. 2's own 'space' to include an inter-opus memory; and after this in turn dies away, following the apparent final chords we hear a mysterious, modally inflected descent in the solo flute ($\hat{5}-\hat{\sharp 4}-\hat{3}-\hat{3}-1$). Haunting, mesmerising, the inscrutable voice of nature is still out there, untouched and as yet barely uncovered. It is as if the secret contained in this landscape remains.

The notion of musical landscape just mapped in the Second Romanian Rhapsody relies primarily on established metaphors of musical space – tonal, registral and textural – and cultural associations between particular types of musical material and their implied origins in a sense of place. We also saw, foreshadowing the final section of this paper, how this musical landscape is often a remembered one: music does not merely project a virtual space but implicates time and an implied human subject entering into a perspectival relationship with it. Such a relation will give rise to the important category of movement, one of the most important means by which music may construct this sense of space and changing subject-position (and one particularly idiosyncratic to

be visually observed (*The Country and the City* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1973), p. 126). Or following Terry Eagleton, the aesthetic (of which landscape, in this sense, surely forms a part) only becomes possible for the emancipated, spreading from the upper to middle classes across the eighteenth century (*Ideology of the Aesthetic* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990)).

Enescu's work). Movement or motion is both the traditional philosophical mediating term between space and time and what Roger Scruton calls music's "irreducible metaphor": "Whenever we hear music, we hear movement".²¹ But some twentieth-century philosophers in the continental tradition have gone further, in suggesting that music may not be merely analogous to landscape or afford spatial metaphors but in some significant respects might even constitute a dynamic activity which brings landscape and space into being. Although open to contention, such views nonetheless accord well with the particular qualities of Enescu's music.

*

II. 1903: Landscape, Territorialisation, Movement

Orchestral Suite No. 1 in C major, Op. 9

"For me, music is not a state, but an action, that is to say a set of phrases that express ideas, and movements that carry these ideas in such and such directions."

George Enescu, *Souvenirs*²²

The opening movement of Enescu's first orchestral suite, op. 9, the *Prélude à l'unisson*, is an extraordinary seven-minute monody for unison strings, joined only by the timpani later (Ex. 3). There is a compelling sense of landscape to this collective utterance, a searching quality to the melodic line that traverses and opens up wide and hitherto undisclosed expanses – tonal/modal, registral, expressive and figurative. Rather than filling out a predetermined structure of reality, the sense of space created here appears to arise from the music's own projection outwards: it is emergent from this primal act. In the words of Martin Heidegger, writing two decades after, "space is not in the subject, nor is the world in space. Space is rather 'in' the world in so far as space has been disclosed by that Being-in-the-world".²³

Ex. 3

²¹ Roger Scruton, *The Aesthetics of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 353 & 55.

²² Gavoty, *Les Souvenirs de Georges Enesco*, p. 69.

²³ Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), §24, p. 146, original emphasis removed.

Although in a more classical, Kantian understanding, time and space are the a priori conditions for perception and thus a temporal object (or activity) such as music necessarily takes place *in* time (as well as space), alternative lines of thought in the twentieth century would come to support this notion of time and space being emergent from a more primordial *act*, creating avenues for understanding musical landscape in a stronger sense. As Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari put it, “Time is not an a priori form; rather, the refrain is the a priori form of time, which in each case fabricates different times.”²⁴ It is thus at least arguable that music creates its own type of space, also overcoming the supposed separation between music as an art of time and spatial attributes. Maurice Merleau-Ponty speaks of the contrast between the visible space of the concert hall and “that other space through which...music is unfolded”. “Music is not in visible space, but it besieges, undermines and displaces that space.”²⁵ Understood from this perspective, too, we can make more sense of Deleuze and Guattari’s claim that “the melodic landscape is no longer a melody associated with a landscape; the melody itself is a sonorous landscape, in counterpoint to a virtual landscape.”²⁶

In fact, Deleuze and Guattari’s well-known notion of the refrain (*ritournelle*) finds a surprisingly precise correlate in Enescu’s music.²⁷ Here in the *Prélude a l’unisson*, the

²⁴ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, ‘1837: Of the Refrain’, in *A Thousand Plateaus*, trans. Brian Massumi (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 385. The manner in which Deleuze and Guattari turn Kant on his head may appear rather glib in this book, though Deleuze’s earlier work reveals a deeper engagement with his predecessor (see *Kant’s Critical Philosophy*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (London: Althone Press, 1983), and *Difference and Repetition*, trans. Paul Patton (London: Athlone Press, 1994); also the lecture ‘On Kant: Synthesis and Time’, <<http://deleuzelectures.blogspot.co.uk/2007/02/on-kant.html>>).

²⁵ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 258 & 262.

²⁶ Deleuze and Guattari, ‘1837: Of the Refrain’, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 351.

²⁷ I feel it incumbent upon me to offer the reader an explanation here on the extensive use of ideas from the work of Gilles Deleuze, especially his later collaboration with Félix Guattari – a source once fashionable in art circles, and in more recent years within musicology, but no longer cutting-edge now. There is a certain flamboyance about Deleuze and Guattari’s writing and an associated absence of hard detail that can grate on readers’ nerves, mine included. It is worth observing, though, that Deleuze’s earlier work reveals the deep grounding of much of his thought, and his philosophy remains the most significant continuation of Henri Bergson’s heritage (a figure much more relatable to Enescu’s historical and cultural milieu). The prominent use of these two in my study owes to the fact that some of what they have said strikes me as unusually relevant for understanding key aspects of Enescu’s music; indeed, the

idea of a refrain, a projection out into an unknown territory (already briefly suggested in considering the introduction to the *Rhapsody*) proves particularly apt. The music is a territorialising act; landscape is the vacant space that is filled out by the music's searching activity. As Deleuze and Guattari famously put it, "One ventures from home on the thread of a tune."²⁸

Contributing much to this searching quality is the lack of any obvious metre or hypermeter, the expository harmonic structure of the opening section (bb. 1–48), which moves in fifths from a modal C centre to V of the tritonal pole F# minor before starting over again, and above all the highly organic unfurling of the melodic line. This long thread of monody arises from Enescu's elaboration of just a few initial motives, a technique highly characteristic of his compositional style and plausibly related to the *doina* idiom of Romanian music.²⁹ Some scholars have even found the natural proportions of the Fibonacci Series and Golden Section built into the unfolding of the prelude, although as with applications of such ideas to the later music of Bartók this interpretation is imprecise in its details.³⁰ Especially intriguing is the fact that the melodic line, redolent in many ways of Enescu's solo violin writing, is presented in the collective. This could of course imply a plural subject, a poetic 'we' rather than the

famous account of music in *Mille Plateaux* finds a rare concrete exemplification in this repertoire. The political function of Deleuze and Guattari's writing is largely left to one side in the following account, though it surfaces briefly in the final section on understanding Enescu as 'minoritarian'.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 344. Deleuze and Guattari speak normally of the refrain as *detrterritorialising* a (previously striated) space, but implicitly grant that in itself it forms a territorialising act, i.e. that it conventionally functions in what we might call *reterritorialising* role. Here I am using the terms territorialise and detrterritorialise advisedly depending on the context: whether the music appears to be creating its own space (almost *ex nihilo*) as here in the *Prélude*, or is breaking down and reorganising previous systems of musical organisation.

²⁹ The authors of the *Monografie*, for instance, propose that this movement is a "magisterial realisation of the monodic principle, specifically that of our folk-music" (vol. I, p. 295).

³⁰ See Pascal Bentoiu, *Capodopere enesciene / Masterworks of George Enescu*, p. 54, who claims that the 130 bars of the 139-bar [sic] movement divide initially into the Fibonacci proportions of 50 and 30 bars, with the entrance of the timpani that forms the crux of the movement occurring at the Golden Section (b. 80). However, the exact proportions of Enescu's work are actually 48 bars (plus 1 bar rest) and 31 bars; and the overall length of the movement is 138 bars, making the timpani entry occur 58% of the way through. Besides, it is unclear as to what happens after b. 80. A sceptic might propose that two numbers on their own, inexactly matched and in reverse order, hardly constitute compelling grounds for forming part of a given infinite sequence.

conventional Romantic individual subject, the lyric ‘I’ commonly understood to be speaking in music, but the lack of any accompaniment or supporting polyphonic lines implies if anything an unpopulated landscape. As with the Second Rhapsody the effect suggests somehow that it is nature which is speaking.

The only polyphonic ‘dissonance’ in this movement is created by the entry two-thirds of the way through of the timpani. The effect is amazingly atmospheric, yet goes far beyond the mimetic depiction of thunder (or the Berliozian precedent of the ‘Scène aux champs’).³¹ On a more visceral level, there is something sublime, darkly chlothonic about this passage. It is as if this musical projection, the ‘refrain’, encounters here an opposing force, something already there in the empty landscape, some primal being that delimits its previously unchecked becoming.³²

What follows this remarkable opening movement is a gentle *Minuet lent*, scored for the full orchestra, and taking its melodic substance entirely from themes exposed in the prelude. The opening is clearly a recasting of the initial motive, while its continuation melds together two ideas that had appeared in embryo towards the closing stages of the movement (it begins to take definitive shape around figure 6, Ex. 4).³³ The unison prelude *becomes* the minuet. There is surely a new sense of warmth, of human presence, in this movement. Just as the orchestration of the ballad in the Second Rhapsody projected a sense of community, this minuet functions as “a kind of ‘singing together’” in Bentoiu’s words.³⁴ It is as if the exploratory projection of the prelude’s *ritournelle*, searching through a landscape, becomes actualised, manifested in the folk,

³¹ The extended timpani dominant pedal in the coda to the first movement of Bruckner’s Seventh Symphony also might form some precedent for Enescu here.

³² Despite my predominant recourse to twentieth-century thinkers in this article there is also a notable similarity with the earlier, subject-constituted philosophy of Fichte here: in the active movement of primal ego-assertion, the self moving out towards the infinite is checked by a boundary that appears to arise from itself (see J.G. Fichte, *Science of Knowledge*, trans. Peter Heath and John Lachs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 191–2). Similarly, in Enescu’s *Prélude* the opposing force sensed cannot be articulated ‘outside’ the very music that makes up the projection; the unison monody projected out is not countered by any concretely articulated ‘other’ than by something that seemingly arises from itself, by music.

³³ Noted earlier by Mircea Lucescu, ‘Suita I pentru orchestră’, *Musiza*, 6 (1956), 5; a phrase in the Minuet’s continuation also directly matches a prominent one appearing earlier in the Prelude. Other, less immediately obvious thematic relations connect the finale to the three preceding movements.

³⁴ Bentoiu, *Capodopere enesciene / Masterworks of George Enescu*, p. 49.

in the human actors that inhabit this landscape. We move from an austere, objective encounter with nature to finding something living in the landscape and responding. The territorialising activity of the opening monodic thread now demarcates and draws a circle around a ‘home’, a reading perfectly reflected in this movement’s extremely circular sense of construction, the music repeatedly looping round on itself at a medium-scale level in a manner idiosyncratic to Enescu.³⁵

Ex. 4

The third-movement *Intermède* inhabits this same lyrical world, its warm opening melody given to violins and cellos circling continually around its major-third scale-degree (C#) and supported by gentle bell-like oscillations in the double basses and harp. By the succession of two movements of very similar atmosphere, Enescu has built up a comfortable dwelling place for his musical refrain.³⁶ And then to close, the finale forms a deterritorialisation of this safely circumscribed home, where the “forces of chaos” that have been kept outside in the *Minuet lent* and *Intermède* are finally unleashed. Even though this is the one movement structured in terms of an underlying sonata form, the highly truncated recapitulation of the euphoric secondary group and incommensurable expressive change to the recapitulated first-group material now negates any circularity or sense of return here, with its extended coda opening out instead onto an unknown future. Especially noteworthy is the rhythmic interplay throughout this dynamic movement – the constant duple $\frac{6}{8}$ against triple $\frac{3}{4}$, and further alternation with triplet quavers and quadruplet crotchets – with the more generous triple-time second subject emerging from the darker march-like opening.³⁷ Corresponding to the third stage in

³⁵ See Deleuze and Guattari, ‘1837: Of the Refrain’, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 343.

³⁶ The mood is also similar to the two *Intermèdes* for strings, Op. 12, dating from this period (1902–3) – a work which would form an appealing addition to the modern string orchestra repertoire. Gustav Mahler chose to omit the intermezzo in a 1911 performance of Enescu’s suite in New York, and some commentators have wondered whether the two central movements are too similar in mood for the balance of the work as a whole. However, besides the undeniable attractiveness of Enescu’s two individual numbers the unperturbed state of warmth and security they create in the centre of the work is an important counterbalance to the exploratory openness of the outer movements.

³⁷ This gradual process of rhythmic becoming is one of the reasons for the audible affinities with the third movement of Tchaikovsky’s Sixth Symphony (in which a $\frac{4}{4}$ march conversely emerges from the scherzo-like opening in $\frac{12}{8}$). Revealingly, the composer confided to Bernard Gavoty that he detested

Deleuze and Guattari's description of the *ritournelle*, the music opens itself up onto a new future, taking motivic material from the opening two movements, but using it far more freely. "One opens the circle not on the side here the old forces of chaos press against it but in another region, one created by the circle itself."³⁸ Landscape becomes transmuted into movement, kinetics.

In the opening *Prélude à l'unisson* of the First Orchestral Suite the territorialising activity of the 'refrain' – the vast monody that Enescu's orchestra seems to project out from itself – has fabricated what Merleau-Ponty would call the music's own quasi-time and quasi-space. This creative activity can of course be understood simply in a metaphorical way, but the reading proposed may also receive some deeper justification on a phenomenological level as well as from the perspective of Deleuze's dynamic brand of metaphysics. 'Drawing a circle' around this territory uncovered (and checked by the inscrutable force heard in the timpani entry), the central two movements create a sense of 'place', an inhabited dwelling or home within this previously abstract expanse of unaccompanied musical terrain. And in the finale the sense of musical space and secure dwelling place created within will be opened up and overcome – traversed, or 'deterritorialised' – by the even more irresistible sense of musical movement. This concept of movement, alongside related terms such as rhythm and momentum, will form further indispensable categories for understanding Enescu's music.

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III. 1900: Movement, Rhythm, and the Refrain

Octet for Strings in C major, Op. 7

"Every conquest of structure is accompanied by the harmonisation of many rhythms"

Gaston Bachelard, *The Dialectic of Duration*³⁹

Tchaikovsky's Sixth – with the exception of this third movement (Gavoty, *Les Souvenirs de Georges Enesco*, p. 87).

³⁸ Deleuze and Guattari, '1837: Of the Refrain', *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 343.

³⁹ Gaston Bachelard, *The Dialectic of Duration* (1936), trans. Mary McAllester Jones (Manchester: Clinamen Press, 2000), p. 144.

Writing on the deterritorialising potential of the musical refrain, Deleuze and Guattari note that “in many directions refrains will be planted by a new seed that brings back modes, makes these modes communicate, undoes temperament, melds major and minor, and cuts the tonal system loose, slipping through its net instead of breaking with it”.⁴⁰ For anyone who is acquainted with the wonderful flexibility of Enescu’s command of a modalised melodic tonality (not to mention his use of quartertones in such works as *Œdipe* and the Third Violin Sonata) these words suggest a perfect context for a critical reengagement with his music. This is music from a composer of whom it could be said to an extent matched by few others, “reinvented new tonalities, brought a new amalgamation of major and minor, [and] conquered realms of continuous variation.”⁴¹ And in the Octet, the earliest work under consideration here, Enescu sets out many of these elements, ones which will go on to characterise his mature work. The Octet is distinguished by the continual variative return of themes combined with an irresistible sense of rhythmic propulsion. In fact the idea of the ‘refrain’ is apt, in that the opening projection of melody will striate the work’s spacious musical expanses into a formidable living architecture, its patterns of return creating their own sense of rhythm at the largest scale.

As with the *Prélude à l’unisson* of three years later, the opening of the Octet is essentially monodic (Ex. 5) – in Ștefan Niculescu’s words “a plenitude obviating any need for harmonic clothing”.⁴² Seven of the eight string parts join together to voice a grand statement of the work’s primary theme in octaves stretching across ten bars of a broad $\frac{3}{2}$ (since the tempo is moderate and the sense of metric stress continually variable it could easily be noted as thirty bars). The remaining second cello part joins in on the metrically unstressed second minim beat, clarifying the triadic root of the melody’s E and G with a sustained pedal in semiquavers on its bottom C which underscores the sense of latent energy contained within this opening phrase. In motivic content the melodic line consists of two simple elements: a dotted figure articulating the third and fifth degrees of the tonic triad (E and G), and a scalar descent from E, moving initially through an accented D passing note to C but which becomes chromaticised on its extension downwards towards degree $\hat{5}$ (B–B $\flat$ –A–A $\flat$). In much of the music that

⁴⁰ Deleuze and Guattari, ‘1837: Of the Refrain’, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 385.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁴² Ștefan Niculescu, ‘Octetul de coarde de George Enescu’, *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei*, 9 (1962), 157 (the article is reprinted in *Reflecții despre muzica* (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală, 1980), pp. 117–43).

follows, these two elements will be reused, varied and subjected to the most diverse forms of development.⁴³

Ex. 5

There is something in the profound simplicity of the work's initial construction of an entire world from a basic triadic-based figure followed by chromatic descent (besides perhaps the manner in which this theme reoccurs, punctuating the course of the first subject group), that inevitably calls to mind the precedent of Beethoven's *Eroica* Symphony. Yet the ethos of Enescu's work is quite different. There is a spaciousness to the melodic unfolding, something on the one hand more geometric (closer to Bach than the late nineteenth-century) about the manner in which the music seems to fill out a regular spatial-temporal framework (suggested in part by the constant semiquaver pulsation of the cello's tonic pedal), but yet on the other to possess an unmistakable modern quality in its sense of continually discovering this space, one which is indefinitely extendable. It occupies a different type of time and space from the music of the nineteenth century.

Although the long phrase that follows is formed clearly enough from an elaboration of these opening motives, from the continued mobility of his scale degrees Enescu is immediately able to open up implied adjacent tonal or modal realms such as A $\flat$ major, the parallel C minor that begins to jostle uneasily with the tonic major, and a Phrygian emphasis on D $\flat$. Any scale degree seemingly has the potential to be lowered; by the start of the sixth bar all twelve chromatic pitches have been heard. Yet the fundamentally monodic construction and the sustained tonic pedal never allow the sense of tonal grounding to be destroyed. The sense of tonality here is essentially melodic and linear, indeed to a significant degree modal. Harmony plays no real part.⁴⁴

⁴³ Already in the canonic subsidiary idea that enters at figure 1 (b. 11) Enescu will transform these two melodic archetypes into the ascending arpeggiation (decorated by chromatic neighbour notes) followed by chromatic descent from degree $\hat{8}$. More extended studies of the work's thematic working can be found in the analyses by Ștefan Niculescu, 'Octetul de coarde de George Enescu', and Bentiou, *Capodopere enesciene / Masterworks of George Enescu*, pp. 12–29.

⁴⁴ For Enescu, a sequence of harmonies merely amounted to "a sort of elementary improvisation." "I'm not at all a person for pretty successions of chords" (Gavoty, *Les Souvenirs de Georges Enesco*, p. 69).

Closely allied to the fluidity of Enescu's tonal language is the suppleness of his thematic working. These two elements work in conjunction: it is the flexibility of Enescu's modal mixture that opens up new tonal possibilities or harmonic spaces for the variative unfolding of the melodic line. As in the *Prélude à l'unisson*, variation and ornamentation is present everywhere. The opening paragraph corresponds to Noel Malcolm's definition of the *doina* as "essentially melodic, establishing tonal bases through the extended use of melodic devices of repetition and accentuation", being "richly ornamented...to a point where it becomes impossible to separate the ornaments from the nature of the melody itself."⁴⁵ In his later music Enescu's use of continual variation and modal inflection will become ever more fluid, but already in the Octet we see an example of Enescu's mature principle of the transformation of ornament into substance, or even the blurring of the two so as to make any distinction false.⁴⁶

In this tendency, we may see a curious and defining quality of Enescu's style: the significance of repetition, yet in a form in which recurrence is never identical but part of a constant process of variation. From his earliest period onwards the principle of repetition seems to have been at the root of Enescu's formal idiom. A pronounced tendency towards musical recurrence may be seen already in the *Andantino* for orchestra (1897), whose main theme continually returns as a type of refrain. Especially notable is the way in which it materialises yet again even after the listener thinks the work has ended, gently emerging from the valedictory hush of what had appeared to be the work's final chord. The looping construction of the opening part of the composer's first published work, the *Poème Roumain*, Op. 1, dating from the same year, is similar: the section appears to have ended many times before it actually ends. As the composer grew older, however, any sense of literal repetition still implied in the *Andantino* and *Poème* soon became replaced by the continuous variation of returning themes, a progression already noted in the *Minuet Lent* from the First Orchestral Suite.

It is surely not too much to relate this quality to dominant intellectual currents in early twentieth-century Paris. The composer belongs to the same worldview and ethos as that of Bergsonism. Enescu's music forms the perfect correlate to the sentiments expressed by Henri Bergson in his celebrated 1907 study of the dynamic universe, *Creative Evolution*: "to exist is to change, to change is to mature, to mature is to go on creating

⁴⁵ Malcolm, *George Enescu*, p. 24.

⁴⁶ See Bentoiu, *Capodopere enesciene / Masterworks of George Enescu*, p. 513.

oneself endlessly”. “Duration means invention, the creation of new forms, the continual elaboration of the absolutely new....The same concrete reality never recurs. Repetition is therefore possible only in the abstract”.⁴⁷ This aspect of Bergson’s thought would be developed in turn by his most prominent philosophical follower, Gilles Deleuze, whose concept of Repetition and Difference chimes remarkably well with the dynamic aspect of Enescu’s music. “Difference without a concept, non-mediated difference...is both the literal and spiritual primary sense of repetition”, “the essence of that in which every repetition exists.”⁴⁸ “Difference is internal to the Idea: it unfolds as pure movement, creative of a dynamic space and time which correspond to the Idea.”⁴⁹ Expressed even more succinctly by Henri Lefebvre, “Differences induced or produced by repetitions constitute the thread of time.”⁵⁰

This quality of repetition which maintains difference is present in Enescu’s music on multiple levels. It may be seen at a small scale in the *doina*-like elaboration of thematic variants in the unfolding of melodic lines, at medium-scale levels in the continued varied recycling of phrases within larger subject groups or movements (the Octet contains many pertinent examples, such as the return of the primary theme to round off both the first subject and entire movement exposition, the construction of the second group, and the varied rotations of the middle movements), and at the largest scale, in the cyclic construction of so many of his multi-movement works where the finale forms a transformed recapitulation of earlier movements, often of staggering proportions. In this sense, the concept of the musical ‘refrain’ is particularly apt. It is not just that Enescu’s opening projection of melody opens out or territorialises a virtual musical space, but the varied repetitions of this material across the entire expanse will additionally form a refrain (*ritournelle*) that ‘striates’ this space, articulating the work’s larger structural patterns or rhythms.

⁴⁷ Henri Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, trans. Arthur Mitchell (New York: Henry Holt, 1911), pp. 7, 11, 46. These ideas are present in Bergson’s work from the late 1880s onwards.

⁴⁸ Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, p. 28. Compare this with Bentoiu’s assertion that Enescu showed a marked “intolerance for identical, or even very similar, returns” (*Capodopere enesciene / Masterworks of George Enescu*, p. 513).

⁴⁹ Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, pp. 26–7.

⁵⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Eldon and Gerald Moore (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), p. 17.

This notion just raised – rhythm – is in turn another fundamental category for Enescu’s music, both in its musical and more figurative meanings. Rhythm, closely connected with movement or flow, is formed at the meeting point of time and space. It is both the imprinting of spatiality onto temporality, of the measure given by number onto the multiplicity of temporal distension, and more figuratively or visually an index of the concealed temporality of space, an expression of the sedimented history contained in a landscape.⁵¹ “The concept of rhythm is the fundamental concept of time” held the philosopher Gaston Bachelard in 1936.⁵² Music (the refrain) striates empty or ‘smooth’ time, introduces an order into it, a quasi-spatial structure in the listener’s mind. Through rhythm, music is thus able (in a manner of speaking) to control and subjugate time, to ‘territorialise’ it as Deleuze would have it.⁵³ But rhythm – patterns of textural stratification – also striates space into landscape.⁵⁴ In fact Bachelard would propose a concrete link between space and time through this notion of rhythm. Conjecturing that “matter must have wave and rhythmic characteristics”, it follows for him that matter “exists, in the fullest sense of the term, on the level of rhythm” – “in and only in a time that vibrates.”⁵⁵ Reversing the familiar adage, music becomes dynamised matter, landscape in the process of landscaping, fluid architecture. Rhythm is crucial for understanding Enescu’s music, its apparent meeting of dynamic propulsion and architecture, fluidity and landscape, of smooth and striated space, created through his

⁵¹ For a larger discussion of the idea of rhythm and its disputed historical meanings see Christopher Hasty, *Meter as Rhythm* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁵² Bachelard, *The Dialectic of Duration*, p. 20. Bachelard is an interesting figure in this context; living in an age and culture dominated intellectually by Bergsonism, his 1936 book on time rejects the idea of continuity – one of the key tenets of Bergson’s philosophy – yet to remains rooted in the wider ethos that is represented to the modern viewpoint most characteristically by Bergsonism.

⁵³ An idea set out in Schelling in his *Philosophy of Art*, trans. Douglas W. Stott (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), p. 205. This idea of music controlling time through its use of rhythm and metre is discussed more sceptically in Benedict Taylor, *The Melody of Time: Music and Temporality in the Romantic Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 83–99.

⁵⁴ These ideas have been productively applied to music by Daniel Grimley, drawing on the work of Kenneth Olwig, who implies rhythms of activity may be found in a landscape deriving from the word’s etymological connotations contained in the Scandinavian *landskab*: “ground that is cultivated, shaped, furrowed, or grooved (like the surface of a gramophone record)...a zone of activity, shaped and encoded through practices of occupation.” Daniel M. Grimley, ‘Music, Landscape, Attunement: Listening to Sibelius’s *Tapiola*’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 64 (2011), 395.

⁵⁵ Bachelard, *The Dialectic of Duration*, pp. 137–8.

use of repetition and the principle of the refrain. And in the irresistible rhythmic vitality of the Octet we may hear one of the finest examples of this tendency.

Moreover, there is not one but rather multiple structural rhythms ongoing in Enescu's work. The Octet is an example of a two-dimensional design in which the formal functions of the sonata operate simultaneously at different hierarchical levels.⁵⁶ In the composer's words, the piece "is divided into four distinct movements in the classic manner, each movement linked to the other to form a single symphonic movement, where the periods, on an enlarged scale, follow one another according to the rules of construction for the first movement of a symphony."⁵⁷ The first movement corresponds clearly enough to a sonata exposition – albeit one of considerable size and tonal lassitude, which moves from C to an extensive secondary group which starts in the tritonal pole of F# minor and closes in B – and the finale to a recapitulation of these earlier themes (though material from the inner movements, often themselves derived from the first movement, are also recalled). While the vital second-movement scherzo may well multitask for a development, the relation of the slow movement to an internal sonata function is less evident. Pascal Bentoiu notes how this movement is ostensibly curious for a second development section, owing to the number of themes that appear new (even if one may still trace some derivation from earlier material). One might perhaps better conceive this nocturnal-like section as corresponding to the slow episode inserted within many sonata deformations of the later nineteenth century, a developmental lyric flowering akin to that found in several of Brahms's sonata movements.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ On this concept of the two-dimensional sonata see Steven Vande Moortele, *Two-Dimensional Sonata Form: Form and Cycle in Single-Movement Instrumental Works by Liszt, Strauss, Schoenberg, and Zemlinsky* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009), pp. 20–31.

⁵⁷ Enescu, preface to new edition of score, published by Enoch & Co., Paris, 1950 (original ed. 1905), punctuation altered; similar observations are made in his interview with Gavoty (see *Les Souvenirs de Georges Enesco*, p. 70).

⁵⁸ See Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5*, pp. 6–7, who cites Brahms's *Tragic Overture*, Wagner's *Siegfried Idyll* and several examples by Strauss as examples of this family of sonata deformations. Hepokoski's idea of rotational form is also useful for understanding the internal structures of both second and third movements. Although previous analysts have sought sonata (Niculescu) or a conjunction of sonata with fugue and rondo designs (Bentoiu) in the scherzo, I prefer to think of the rotational structure implicit in the sonata as becoming predominant here, the successive recyclings of material being closely allied to the work's larger teleology and forming yet another example of the refrain principle.

It is in the work's finale, however, that the principle of thematic return inherent in the cyclic thematic structure becomes allied with the momentum created by the hypnotic reiteration of a simple rhythmic framework to create a sense of insatiable rhythmic power, the supremacy of musical motion and momentum. As Noel Malcolm puts it, this movement is

an extravaganza of cyclical form...with restatements, combinations and superimpositions of all the main thematic elements of the previous movements. The energy with which this happens is such that...it seems at times like a whirlpool in which fragments of melody appear suddenly at the surface, collide with other fragments and are then sucked down again.⁵⁹

Bentoïu speaks both of “a rebirth of the spirit of Baroque music” and of the movement as the “apotheosis of the waltz”.⁶⁰ It is “an enormous outburst of energy, under the empire of a unique primary rhythm” which “settles down like a quasi-absolute ruler”. In its “inner propelling force” we witness “the miracle of a permanently self-regenerating movement.”⁶¹ Combined with the further transformation and apparently inexhaustible polyphonic interweaving of these earlier themes the result is a remarkable added-dimensionality, a certain density to this dynamic musical space.

There is scarcely any new material introduced into this finale, but instead important themes from all three previous movements are recast into the ongoing $\frac{3}{4}$ metre and waltz rhythm, at times creating hemiolic effects or other metric dissonances. The form of the movement is irregular. Reprises of the opening idea (a transformation of the scherzo into a swinging waltz) seem to demarcate possible large-scale rotations (such as that at figure 64 which might correspond to a sonata-rondo like return initiating a developmental rotation, being soon followed by a canonic working out of a secondary theme), but forward impetus overrides a sense of formal symmetry. Such is the accumulated energy that even after the enormous dominant preparation starting at 68:10 has resolved to the tonic (70) the music continues without any apparent abatement through a lyrical recall of an idea from the *Lentement* over the finale's initial waltz theme. The tonic has been attained, but the momentum forces it onwards as the accompanimental ostinati continue relentlessly. Even a brief lull in proceedings (73:7) – a reminiscence of the veiled *Nachgesang* idea from the slow movement (52) which forms a brief nostalgic parenthesis – appears to serve as a necessary gathering of

⁵⁹ Malcolm, *George Enescu*, p. 79.

⁶⁰ Bentoïu, *Capodopere enesciene / Masterworks of George Enescu*, pp. 14 & 25.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25 & 26.

energies for the final assault. In the final pages the modal inflections of the work's opening re-emerge, as the finale's primary waltz theme is presented now in chromatic neighbour-note motion around the tonic rather than dominant scale-degree, harking back to the Phrygian D $\flat$ that had memorably decorated the cadence of the Octet's opening phrase. As the energy gradually drains off enough to allow some arrest to the momentum it is with this same gesture that the work will close. Yet it seems as if it could almost have continued indefinitely.

What is distinctive about Enescu's style as seen in the finale of the Octet is how the overriding sense of dynamic momentum is not ultimately teleological or tonally driven towards the attainment of a decisive cadence in the manner often attributed to Beethoven and prized by twentieth-century theorists such as Schenker (although tonal functions still clearly play a part in this music). Rather, its momentum is built up from rhythm, from repetition – the continual return and transformation of themes – and contrapuntally from polyrhythmic overlaying. It reaches a plateau of intensity, a polyphonic saturation, where the music's momentum appears to be unstoppable. Despite the work's breadth, it has density too.

For Enescu, polyphony was “the essential principle” of his musical language. “I am essentially a polyphonist” he told Gavoty.⁶² It is probably not for nothing that these comments were included within a discussion of the Octet, for the finale of this composition forms a polyphony of refrains, one which introduces a multidimensional complexity into the work's musical space. Here, too, the much-discussed notion of organicism may prove appropriate for describing Enescu's interlinked and dynamically evolving musical structures (unsurprisingly, the fact of the organic quality of the composer's music is often insisted upon by earlier commentators).⁶³ But in this case one should distinguish Enescu's dynamic brand of organicism, where the vital growth and proliferation of material constantly appear to break open any attempts at closure, from a more standard twentieth-century organicist emphasis on unity and coherence.

⁶² Gavoty, *Les Souvenirs de Georges Enesco*, p. 57.

⁶³ Ștefan Niculescu, for example, writes in conspicuously organicist, teleological terms of how in Enescu “musical ideas continue from one part to another, progressively metamorphosing, and are fully revealed only at the end of the work. In this manner phrases, sections and parts become unified into a broad dramaturgy” (‘Octetul de coarde de George Enescu’, 174). See also Myriam Marbe, ‘Variatatea tematică și unitatea structurală în lucrări de cameră de Enescu’, *Muzica*, 15/5 (1965), 21–6, Octavian-Lazăr Cosma, ‘The Thematic Process in Enescu's Creation’, in Voicana (ed.), *Enesciana 1*, pp. 19–23.

This is music written in 1900s Paris, the age of Bergson and the *élan vital*. Enescu's works typically form an open system, not a closed one, a multiplicity, not a simple unity. This type of dynamic polyphonic network, interconnected but open, would become a hallmark of Enescu's style. One might certainly call it organic; with a nod to Deleuze, one might likewise call it 'rhizomatic'.

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IV. 1912–14: Polyphonic Networks of Time and Space Symphony No. 2 in A major, Op. 17

“...a piece deserves to be called a composition only if one can distinguish
a line, a melody, or, even better, a superimposition of melodies.”

George Enescu, *Souvenirs*⁶⁴

For Deleuze and Guattari, the natural organism of the rhizome is particularly suited to a dynamic, deterritorialising type of thought, forming one of the central concepts of their philosophy. A rhizome in their understanding is a network, vegetal but not aborescent in nature (i.e. not hierarchical, like a tree): any point may be connected to any other.⁶⁵ It is a type of multiplicity – not “a combination of the many and the one, but rather an organisation belonging to the many as such, which has no need whatsoever of unity in order to form a system.”⁶⁶ Music, it transpires, forms a particularly good example. “Musical form, right down to its ruptures and proliferations, is comparable to a weed, a rhizome.”⁶⁷ “By placing all its components in continuous variation, music itself becomes a superlinear system, a rhizome instead of a tree”.⁶⁸ “Music has always sent out lines of flight, like so many ‘transformational multiplicities’, even overturning

⁶⁴ Gavoty, *Les Souvenirs de Georges Enesco*, p. 69.

⁶⁵ See Deleuze and Guattari, ‘Rhizome’, *A Thousand Plateaus*, pp. 7, 23 & 4.

⁶⁶ Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, p. 230. A broader background to this definition can be found in Deleuze's earlier *Bergsonism*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (New York: Urzone, 1988), pp. 38–47.

⁶⁷ Deleuze and Guattari, ‘Rhizome’, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 13.

⁶⁸ Deleuze and Guattari, ‘November 20, 1923: Postulates of Linguistics’, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 106

the very codes that structure or aborify it”.⁶⁹ Later they will note how “rhythms pertain to these interstratic movements, which are also acts of stratification.”⁷⁰ Such ideas could have been written expressly to characterise Enescu’s music. “We are launched into a quasi-vegetal universe, single and multiple, unitary and multiform, into a universe where the Idea is never offered in a simple and direct way, but always hidden in the ever-changing clothes of what is only apparently concrete.”⁷¹ Pascal Bertoïu is speaking of Enescu’s Piano Quintet Op. 29, but the phrase sounds like something that could easily have been taken from Deleuze – repetition that is difference, a multiplicity, a rhizome.

Probably the most complex and intricate example of such a rhizomatic network in Enescu’s music, a polyphonic interweaving of refrains through musical time and space, is the finale of his Symphony No. 2 in A major, Op. 17, a work written on the eve of the First World War. Although Enescu’s later music would become ever more refined and subtle in its use intricacy of polyphony, melodic variation and timbral colouring, nothing quite surpasses the monumental richness and complexity of this symphony (indeed, the composer himself later became unsure over whether there was simply too much here for his uncomprehending first audience). The continual varied return of material and almost mosaic-like, labyrinthine convolutions of past thematic ideas seen in the Octet are taken to a yet further degree in the symphony. Passages of this work are among the most densely worked of all Enescu’s oeuvre, and yet the overall effect is of an unquenchable élan and life force driving the symphony on through the tribulations encountered along its journey.

Propulsion is fundamental to much of the world of the symphony. Enescu’s opening, with its iridescent strings cascading down from their high A over energised woodwind triplets, recalls that of an earlier symphony in the same key by Mendelssohn (the ‘Italian’), albeit one supercharged through the Strauss of *Don Juan* or *Ein Heldenleben* (Ex. 6). Kinetics is key here. Enescu’s control of pacing and momentum is matched by the flexibility of his variative thematic working, differentiation of harmonic and timbral contexts, and the manner in which the wealth of often related ideas recur in different forms and combinations, often providing countermelodies for one another, each with its

⁶⁹ Deleuze and Guattari, ‘Rhizome’, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 13.

⁷⁰ Deleuze and Guattari, ‘Conclusion: Concrete Rules and Abstract Machines’, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 553.

⁷¹ Bertoïu, *Capodopere enesciene / Masterworks of George Enescu*, p. 432.

own sense of movement. Already in the first group musical ideas are evolved and contrapuntally overlapped to create gradations of polyphonic density and varied rhythms of return. Although the levels of intensity fluctuate continually, the overriding sense is of a powerful current of dynamism sweeping all before it.

Ex. 6

The only real let-up in this movement appears in the guise of a strangely distant, rather wistful second-subject theme in an Aeolian C# minor that appears to emanate from some far-away place or time (Ex. 7). Entering *piano* in a solo flute over a hypnotically static orchestral backdrop provided by harmonics and trills in cellos, divided violas, harp and celesta, the confined melodic range and *doina*-like ornamentation suggests a more native, folk-like provenance (it is sometimes called the ‘Romanian’ theme). In place of the dynamic thematic evolution of the preceding music the threefold repetition of the idea seems more ‘primitive’, even ritualistic, its stubborn resistance to development and folk-like reiterations calling up the Russian nationalist practice of changing background variation. Certainly it seems to issue from another realm than the cosmopolitan, Western European world of the surrounding movement, with its allusions to Mendelssohn, Strauss and Wagner.⁷² Its recapitulation, as much else in this clearly articulated sonata movement, is harmonically regular in that the theme returns in the tonic minor, but yet the orchestral sonority is strangely alienating, the clarinet in its highest register playing in unison with the piccolo in its lowest to create a distempered, rustic effect, as if the theme is now even more removed from the world of the rest of the symphony. The movement ends tranquilly in A major, with the remembered head-

⁷² The latter influence is suggested by the brief flare-up of a characteristic open D–A fifth on strings and high woodwind in the developmental core (28:6). Although on a local level this is merely the third stage of a large-scale sequence aimed at the attainment of the tonic minor at 30 (heralding a modified first-group recapitulation), the use of this sonority on this specific pitch level alongside the rising fifth motive in the horns and *fff* dynamic must surely have been intended as an audible allusion to the opening of *Der fliegende Holländer*. Enescu confessed to being ‘Wagnerian to the bone’ (Gavoty, *Les Souvenirs de Georges Enesco*, p. 95). Despite his great love of the Classical-Romantic tradition, such obvious allusions are rare in Enescu’s non-symphonic music: the fact that a similarly clear reference is made to the Passacaglia theme of Brahms’s Fourth Symphony in the first movement of the Third Symphony suggests that he was deliberately playing with such intertextuality as a marker of the symphonic genre.

motive of the first subject in a transformation (heard much earlier at 7) that will become fundamental in the finale.

Already in the first movement we see initial signs of the shattering of linear temporality into parallel streams. The second theme occupies a different world, belongs to a different order of temporality – a property it will maintain even when returning in the finale. In the manner in which this theme just *is*, endures without forming susceptible to dynamic change, it seems to connote something akin to a memory removed from present reality (a reminder of the composer’s homeland that he had left as a child?). This notion of musical memory played a part in constructing the national landscape mapped out in the Second Romanian Rhapsody, and will become a crucial idea in the final section of this article. On a more literal level, however, musical memory will also play a vital function in the construction of the present symphony in the breathtaking nature of the finale.

Ample testimony survives as to Enescu’s extraordinary musical memory; the composer himself (a person not known for boasting) claimed that left on a desert island with quill and sufficient manuscript paper he could rewrite a good part of the classical and Romantic repertory.⁷³ Although the size of his output – in his own estimation – was not large, the works written down for posterity constitute only part of those he felt had composed. The others existed inside his mind in virtually complete form, waiting for the time to be written down, time which in some cases sadly never arose in the busy performing schedule of this multitalented musician.

Ex. 7

But the effects of this remarkable cerebral capacity could also be seen on the music that Enescu did commit to paper. “With all the material of a work completely present to his mind at any moment,” argues Malcolm, “it is not surprising that Enescu became fascinated by the task of creating a complicated and delicate web of thematic interconnections in each piece, and using cyclical form to bring all those related elements into a final temporal conjunction at the climax of the work.”⁷⁴ Tiberiu Olah

⁷³ See Gavoty, *Les Souvenirs de Georges Enesco*, p. 51.

⁷⁴ Malcolm, *George Enescu*, pp. 13–14. Enescu told Gavoty that he had composed much of the symphony without a piano, and Malcolm believes this shows in the richness and intricacy of the texture, the profusion of melodic and ornamental inner voices.

likewise speaks of Enescu's "*stratification of musical time* through a play of memory that transposes *successive* musical events of the past into a *simultaneous* experience in the present."⁷⁵ Something similar has been seen in the finale of the Octet, but the complexity of the polyphonic interweaving found in the finale to the Second Symphony supersedes even this.

Pascal Bentoïu has described how many of the difficulties for understanding Enescu's music come from the demands he places on the listener's cognitive apprehension, the "extreme load of information in his major works."⁷⁶ There is something almost monstrous about the polyphonic intricacy of this final movement (especially apparent when one sees what Bentoïu fittingly calls the "wondrous jungle" of the score) – its interconnection of cyclically recalled themes, transformations and counter melodies, to an extent which makes the Octet still seem restrained in comparison.⁷⁷ The effect verges on the overwhelming. For Malcolm the constant recombining of fragments of earlier themes "must have seemed transparently clear to Enescu himself, with all the preceding music present to his mind, but to the listener it may pose a demanding or even bewildering task."⁷⁸ Here the organic open work has grown rampant with its sheer profusion of ideas and interrelations, a kind of rhizomatic sublime.

Having been preceded by a brief third movement that serves as a large-scale introduction, in which fragments of earlier music flit between menacing march rhythms on the side-drum and an ominous whole-tone descending figure in the brass outlining a tritone (reflecting perhaps the tonal polarity of the dreamy second movement in E $\flat$), the opening of the finale attempts a breakthrough into light. Yet the initial jubilant statement of the modified head-motive from the first movement is punctuated by silences, and the finale's earlier stages are still stalked by the shadows of earlier times. Gradually, however, the affirmative forces gather more strength as fragments of the first two movements are thrown into often unforeseen interrelation with the material of the finale and its introduction, creating innumerable criss-crossings between musical 'strata'. As if bearing out Mahler's famous claim, this symphony seems to contain an entire world. So many musical characters – threatening, heroic, lyrical, even comic and

⁷⁵ Tiberiu Olah, 'Poliheterofonia lui Enescu: O nouă metodă de organizare a materialului sonor', *Muzica*, 1–2 (1982), 19.

⁷⁶ Bentoïu, *Capodopere enesciene / Masterworks of George Enescu*, p. xi.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 139. Bentoïu finds this work "excessively" full of genius.

⁷⁸ Malcolm, *George Enescu*, p. 124.

grotesque – are whirled into its kaleidoscopic interplay of voices, what might be called, with a nod to Mikhail Bakhtin, the ‘carnavalesque’ quality of Enescu’s polyphony here.⁷⁹ The ‘Romanian’ second theme from the first movement, for example, emerges ever more strongly in the developmental area (following **89**), a wild or untamed element still retaining its rustic colouring, though now it appears almost caricatured within the medley of different character types. The listener is presented with a multiplicity of intersecting, colliding worlds (Bentoïu is onto this point when he perceives parallel musical structures in the finale, “a sort of cleavage and shattering of time into independent streaks, each one unfolding at its own speed”).⁸⁰ But yet despite these ruptures in the music’s temporal continuum, as the movement unfolds the listener gradually senses that these different times are all coming together to make up one larger, overriding time.

Towards the end of the work, these numerous diverse streams of sound and materials appear tending towards coalescing into a collective melos. Somehow, a ‘song’ is traced in the last half of the finale, amidst, or more properly through, all this polyphony of innumerable thematic voices, an effect created as much as anything from the fleeting relations traced between familiar motivic ideas, one theme often turning into one another, revealing unexpected relations.⁸¹ This is not exactly a synthesis, nor the simultaneity of motives into a closed unity: Enescu’s themes are never self-identical.⁸² But the diversity somehow congeals without sundering difference. Constantin Secară describes the end of the symphony as “reaching a plateau of temporal density and

⁷⁹ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1968); Bakhtin’s notion of polyphony (a literary metaphor taken originally from music) is outlined in *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984) alongside this idea of the carnivalesque.

⁸⁰ Bentoïu, *Capodopere enesciene / Masterworks of George Enescu*, pp. 155–6.

⁸¹ For example, the scalic descent of the ‘Romanian theme’ turns into the introduction’s whole-tone / tritone descent, which in turn is evidently an intervallic expansion of the very opening motive of the symphony, and related to the lyrical main theme of the slow movement.

⁸² Bentoïu, in his account of the symphony, likens a theme by Enescu “to a given species that will never return to its own identity but will partly reproduce its characters in ever newer species, similar and different at the same time” (*ibid.*, p. 140). To this extent, I differ from earlier commentators who emphasise the overriding unity of the finale (for instance Adrian Rațiu, who speaks in organicist terms of a “highly unified structure based on the cyclic principle” that exemplifies Enescu’s “unity in diversity” (‘Simfonia a II-a de George Enescu’, *Muzica*, 7 (1961), 9)): a multiplicity is not the same as a unity.

saturated information, where the [thematic] archetypes culminate and reach maximum coincidence”.⁸³ All these elements, colliding, reforming, coagulate together to make up some larger time of collected times, the collective singular time of history, even while each individual stream seems to bear its own time within itself. Enescu’s finale appears to bear out Bachelard’s contention that “time has several dimensions; it has density. Time seems continuous only in a certain density, thanks to the superimposition of several independent times.”⁸⁴

Enescu’s Second Symphony, in short, presents its auditors with a multiplicity, a vertiginous network of time and space, a musical distillation of a rhizomatic cosmos. By the closing stages of the symphony we are given a privileged perspective on this ‘time of times’.⁸⁵ Foreshadowing the apparent programmatic of the Third Symphony (1916–18) which followed soon after, one might well read some spiritual battle between the destruction of the war-machine and the positive human will that triumphs over it, an affirmation of the world and humanity. The end – as with Carl Nielsen’s ‘Inextinguishable’ of two years later – is a musical monument to indomitable human will. It is also an expressive monument to the breathtaking power of Enescu’s mind, his capacity for musical memory.

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V. 1937–8: Remembered Landscapes

Orchestral Suite No. 3 in D major *Suite Villageoise*, Op. 27

“Smooth space is constantly being translated, transversed into a striated space;
striated space is constantly being reversed, returned to a smooth space.”

Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Mille Plateaux*⁸⁶

⁸³ Secară, ‘Finalurile enesciene, de la „încununarea operei” la modelarea percepției timpului muzical’, 78.

⁸⁴ Bachelard, *The Dialectic of Duration*, p. 102.

⁸⁵ See Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984–8), vol. III, esp. pp. 249–61. More drastically, Doru Popovici and Costin Mieranu hear an “immense timeless heterophony” in this finale (*Inceputurile muzicii culte românești* (Bucharest: Tineretului, 1967), cited in Voicana et al, *Monografie*, vol. I, p. 433).

⁸⁶ Deleuze and Guattari, ‘1440: The Smooth and the Striated’, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 524.

In his 1936 study *Spațiul mioritic* the Romanian poet and thinker Lucian Blaga formulates the notion of the ‘mioritic space’ – “a philosophical attempt to explain the Romanian spirit through the Romanian landscape, which he saw as the stylistic matrix of Romanian culture.”⁸⁷ By ‘mioritic space’, Keith Hitchens explains,

Blaga was referring to the *plai* (the ridge or slope of a hill usually covered with meadows) of Rumanian folk ballads, especially *Miorița* (The Little Lamb). But the *plai* represented more to Blaga than topography; it was the spatial horizon specific to Rumanian culture, the ‘infinitely undulating horizon’ of hill and valley, which formed the ‘spiritual substratum’ of the anonymous creations of Rumanian popular culture.⁸⁸

“This horizon,” writes Blaga, “without retaining the words, emerges from the inner line of the *Doina*, resonating and projecting out the atmosphere and spirit of our ballads.” It is a concept that transcends time, “a kind of supremacy over the individual soul, ethnic or supra-ethnic.”⁸⁹ Hence the ‘mioritic space’ is not just a physical space but more importantly an internalised landscape, a spiritual landscape; it need not conform to the scene before one’s eyes but instead “delineates a geography of the Romanian poetic imagination”.⁹⁰ Its effects can purportedly be seen in the preference shown by Romanian folk poetry for alternating accented and unaccented syllables, in arrangements of peasant houses separated from each other by green spaces.

Although it appears Blaga himself was relatively non-political, his concept can easily be used to support questionable formations of national identity and the timeless essence of a given people (one which forms a uneasy corollary with the comparable case of Heidegger in Germany during this decade), while the fatalistic passivity inherent in the original *Miorița* story may in turn be exploited by those in power as a supposed innate characteristic of the Romanian population.⁹¹ But, as Richard Collins notes, Blaga’s

⁸⁷ Vlad Georgescu, *The Romanians: A History*, ed. Matei Călinescu, trans. Alexandra Bley-Vroman (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1991), p. 205.

⁸⁸ Keith Hitchens, *Rumania 1866–1947* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 309.

⁸⁹ “Acest orizont, neamintit cu cuvinte, se desprinde din linia interioară a doinei, din rezonanțele și din proiecțiile ei în afară, dar tot așa și din atmosfera și din duhul baladelor noastre....un fel de supremație asupra sufletului individual, etnic sau supraetnic.” Blaga, *Spațiul mioritic*, p. 165.

⁹⁰ Ileana Alexandra Orlich, ‘The Mioritic Space as Political Subversion: The Poetry of Marin Sorescu’, *Southeastern Europe*, 17 (1990), 3.

⁹¹ Despite being warned by the lamb of a plot by his rivals to murder him, in the ballad the young shepherd Aliorila meekly submits to fate, merely asking the lamb to tell his mother that he has in fact married a prince’s daughter at the gates of heaven. Mircea Eliade (*The Fate of Romanian Culture*, trans. Bogdan Ștefănescu (Bucharest: Editura Athena, 1995), p. 25) sees the story as one of Romania’s few truly

notion may also be used by an artist living in exile as a means to break down geographical boundaries and deterritorialise political structures. For alongside the narrative of autochthonous dwelling and rootedness lies one of displacement and wandering, of loss and its sublimation through poetic creation.⁹² Such concerns have clear resonance with the case of Enescu.

Having uncovered and conquered dynamic musical territories in the Romanian Rhapsody No. 2 and Orchestral Suite No. 1, having created immense spatio-temporal networks in works such as the Octet and Symphony No. 2, Enescu would nonetheless come to find an absence at the heart of such musical spaces: he had left them behind – in time, in the past. As befits a composer possessing such astounding memory, much of Enescu’s music is haunted with this idea of the past. As Harald Haslmayr, puts it, “landscape with Enescu is a remembered landscape.” “The musical work of Enescu, as for scarcely another composer, circles around memory...or more precisely formulated, with the experienced spaces of landscape and childhood.”⁹³ Enescu’s musical landscapes are not simply mythic or national spaces living in collective memory (as in the Rhapsody), but are also deeply bound up with his own personal memories, with his early childhood on the plains of north-eastern Romania.⁹⁴

We have already seen how Enescu creates a sense of landscape through the projective potential of the musical refrain, its dynamic capacity to suggest movement through an imaginary terrain, hence connecting musical time to a sense of virtual space. Landscape may also be conjured up, however, through more direct means of musical evocation. Throughout Enescu’s music, these remembered landscapes are frequently evoked by a strong predilection for musical onomatopoeia, for the sounds of the Romanian countryside and their sonic properties of diffusion across space. The precision with

indigenous myths. An English translation of the ballad is given in *Cinci balade populare (Five Folk Ballads)*, trans. W.D. Snodgrass (Bucharest: Editura Cartea Românească, 1993), pp. 9–17.

⁹² Richard Collins, ‘Andrei Codrescu’s Mioritic Space’, *MELUS*, 23 (1998), 83–101. In the original *Miorița* ballad, the shepherd Aliorila is duly killed, but the ewe lamb (*miorița*) wanders the realms of Romania telling the fictional tale, thus assuring him an artistic immortality denied to him in life.

⁹³ Harald Haslmayr, ‘Erinnerung und Landschaft im Werke George Enescu’, in Andreas Dorschel (ed.), *Resonanzen: Vom Erinnern in der Musik* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 2007), pp. 191, 185.

⁹⁴ The close reciprocity of music and remembered landscape for Enescu is demonstrated in the memoirs compiled by Gavoty, in which the composer starts with description of the remembered landscape of his childhood, and quickly turns to discussion of one of his many musical crystallisations of them in the *Impressions d’Enfance*.

which Enescu attempts this direct invocation of place separated both in space and time, and the consistency of their quasi-programmatic extra-musical suggestion, is striking.

This tendency towards nostalgia might quite reasonably be expected to increase as the composer grew older. On a creative level, it is noteworthy that as the Romanian musicologist Wilhelm G. Berger observes, nearly all of Enescu's music from the last two decades of his life is based on ideas he had been working on for years, often decades.⁹⁵ Yet the first clear instance of such nostalgic landscapes may be found as early as Enescu's Op. 1, the *Poème Roumain*, written when he was just fifteen.⁹⁶ According to the composer's account, the *Poème*, a symphonic suite about half an hour in length, depicts the passage from evening to morning in the Romanian countryside.⁹⁷ The opening *Moderato* calls up a balmy summer evening: church-bells resonate through the warm air and a wordless male chorus suggest the singing of Orthodox priests in the distance. As dusk descends in the second part (*Adagio*) a shepherd plays his *doina* on the flute, twice introducing an air of mystery to the moonlit reverie (it will recur again near the end of the work). This is succeeded by a storm (*Allegro vivo*), which gradually abates, leading through the night to cockcrow, the pealing of morning bells and a succession of folk dances to close the work as the villagers celebrate a public holiday.

Though the piece far less elaborately wrought than his later works, Enescu's Opus 1 nonetheless initiates a theme found repeatedly throughout his oeuvre in its programme of a summer night remembered in the Romanian landscape, its naturalistic musical depiction of bells and distant singing, the sound of the shepherd's pipe, the onomatopoeic projection of the night storm and diegetic dances. It raises the question as to why the teenage Enescu felt the urge to indulge in such musical nostalgia so early. Obviously in one sense playing on the exotic quality of his national provenance could have been beneficial for popular success, selling French audiences an appealing image of alterity, even though Enescu is rarely open to accusations of cynical self-advancement. Running deeper is probably the fact that his memories of Romania were

⁹⁵ Wilhelm G. Berger, *Muzica simfonică*, 5 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală, 1967–77), vol. V (Contemporană, 1950–1970), p. 93 (cited by Bentoîu, *Capodopere enesciene / Masterworks of George Enescu*, p. 476); the one exception after the Orchestral Suite No. 3 of 1938 is the *Impressions d'Enfance*, and this explicitly thematises the idea of past and memory

⁹⁶ In his interview with Gavoty, Enescu claims with some pride that he was "fifteen and a half" when he composed the *Poème*, though in an earlier letter of 1912 he states he was sixteen (*Scrisori*, vol. II, p. 35).

⁹⁷ Gavoty, *Les Souvenirs de Georges Enesco*, p. 66.

bound up with a time of childhood already over. Having left Romania at the age of eight, to study in Vienna and then Paris, the memories of his early childhood – its distinctive images and particularly its sounds – remained a special site of memory (*lieu de mémoire*) or ‘mioritic space’, a formative influence he would draw on until the end of his life.⁹⁸ This might explain why throughout the rest of his compositional career Enescu kept on returning to this idea of a musical distillation of a summer night on the Romanian plains as his peculiar *idée fixe*, to the sounds of the countryside, of bells, distant singing and folk music, to the noises of the natural world.

Examples may be found liberally throughout his oeuvre. The ‘Carillon Nocturne’ of 1916, the seventh and final number of the *Pièces Impromptues* (published as the Piano Suite No. 3, Op. 18), is a remarkable evocation of bells, capturing the distinctive quality of their sonorities in its use of bitonality to suggest dissonant overtones.⁹⁹ Also evident within this collection is Enescu’s predilection for performance directions that implicate music’s location within a real space, commonly through the effect of distance (the musical landscape implied in the second piece, ‘Voix de la Steppe’, is marked as ‘comme des voix dans la lointain’, and the sixth and penultimate piece, ‘Choral’, contains the direction ‘avec une sonorité d’orgue lointain’ in its central part). Nocturnal tintinnabulations crop up again in the third movement of the Piano Sonata No. 1 in F# minor, Op. 24 No. 1 (1924), a movement in which Enescu told Gavoty he wanted to capture the feeling of the Romanian plains at night.¹⁰⁰ Depending on which account we believe, the slow movement of the Violin Sonata No. 3 in A minor, Op. 25, *dans le caractère populaire roumain* (1926), is either an onomatopoeic depiction of the croaking of toads, or, more elevatedly “an evocation in sound of the mysterious feeling of summer nights in Romania: below, the silent, endless, deserted plain; above,

⁹⁸ See Pierre Nora’s famous ‘Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*’, *Representations*, 26 (1989), 7–25. Nora contends that “the moment of *lieux de mémoire* occurs at the same time that an immense and intimate fund of memory disappears” (12). Many of Enescu’s mature works were partly written or started while on holiday back in Romania during the summer months of the year, often in the small mountain town of Sinaia. Nonetheless, save for a few longer sojourns in his native land (such as across the period of the First World War), Paris remained his primary home for the rest of his life. Enescu could revisit the country of his birth, but not return to the time of his childhood. Following the accession of the Communist Party after the Second World War Enescu chose voluntary exile.

⁹⁹ The Second Piano Suite, Op. 10, was also briefly designated ‘Les cloches sonores’ by the composer on submitting it – successfully – for the Pleyel Prize in 1903.

¹⁰⁰ *Entretiens avec Georges Enesco*, cited by Malcolm, *George Enescu*, p. 181.

constellations leading off into infinity”.¹⁰¹ There is something unquestionably hypnotic about the music framing this movement, its short repeated notes bringing to mind the chattering of cicadas.

Fittingly, however, Enescu’s two most elaborate exercises in nostalgic musical landscapes belong to the later 1930s as the composer entered his sixth decade. The *Impressions d’enfance*, a suite for violin and piano, Op. 28 (1938), contains possibly the most detailed description of the composer’s personal reminiscences of childhood on the Romanian plains. Again, a programme outlining a temporal passage through the night from dusk to dawn is evoked through the most fastidious attention to naturalistic sounds: the remembered real musical sounds of childhood (the fiddling of the *lautar* or travelling player, the lullaby sung to the child) and the use of onomatopoeia (birdsong, the striking of the cuckoo-clock on the wall, chirping of crickets on the hearth, and eerie harmonics and glissandi calling up the night-wind howling through the chimney). Despite the detailed programme the composer provides, the music is not narrative so much as evocative, to the most concentrated degree; it works from the intensity of its recreated sensory impressions, from distilled power of sonic atmosphere.

Only mildly less literalistic, if arguably even more subtle in its refined impressionism, is the Orchestral Suite No. 3 in D, Op. 27 (*Suite Villageoise*), composed during the previous year, one of Enescu’s mature masterpieces and one of the few later works performed with any regularity. The *Suite Villageoise* presents a mature reworking of the concept first encountered in the *Poème Roumain* in a delicate, diaphanous tissue of lines and sounds that is the hallmark of Enescu’s music after *Œdipe* (a work complete in short score by the early 1920s, but which took much of the ensuing decade to orchestrate). Yet again, the music brings us back to the Romanian countryside, if now in springtime rather than summer, and more self-consciously nostalgic in looking back at childhood from the implicit vantage point of adulthood. And once more, a broad programmatic context is provided by the temporal passage from day through night to the dawn of the next day.

The pastoral tone of the suite is set out at once in the opening movement, ‘Springtime in the Country’ (Ex. 8). Everything combines to create a distinctive pastoral topos: the leisurely melismatic unfurling of the conjunct melodic line; the general simplicity of

¹⁰¹ According to the pianists Céliny Chailley-Richez and Alfred Cortot respectively; see Malcolm, *George Enescu*, pp. 186–7, and Voicana et al, *Monografie*, vol. I, p. 567.

texture and the faux-naïf scoring for the wind (flute and clarinet in unison) and solo violin an octave below suggestive of rustic pipes and fiddle; pedal drones that do not always move in exact synchrony with the melodic phrases and thus, alongside a mild propensity towards heterophony, often blur harmonic fields; gentle touches of modality (hints of Mixolydian natural $\hat{7}$ and Lydian $\sharp\hat{4}$) and frequent cadencing to the submediant minor. The overriding pandiatonic (or pan-Ionian) feel of the music conjures up an open harmonic space, while the myriad of potential musical lines, diverging and converging in some state between polyphony and heterophony, suggest the vernal profusion of natural growth.

Ex. 8

Passing over the second movement (a playful portrayal of children's games) we reach in the third movement the heart of Enescu's work: 'The old childhood home, at sunset. Shepherd. Migrating birds and crows. Evening bell.' Along with the ensuing 'River in the Moonlight' this movement forms a perfect distillation of Enescu's recurring theme, an aural evocation in subtle colours and lines of nightfall in the Romanian countryside. Naturalistic sounds, both diegetic and onomatopoeic, are present in the offstage oboe (calling to mind the shepherd's distant piping), the further assortment of offstage instruments mimicking the migrating birds, and the use of bells. Most extraordinary is the distant bleating of sheep heard in the movement's centre, created by chromatic clusters played between muted trumpets and trombones, with harmonium providing connecting backdrop.¹⁰² Though the mimesis of the specific sounds of a landscape is taken to an extreme, there is also a sense here that the bleating of the sheep is at times coming close to turning back into music.

Principally, however, this scene, as with the moonlit river of the next, is held together through the impressionistic of wisps of melodic line that gradually coalesce into a clearer theme, dissolve and meet again, forming an amorphous envelope of sound continually shifting through the interplay of timbres. As in Enescu's earlier music, we might speak of a refrain in the primary sense of the term (if not in Deleuze and Guattari's) – the music keeps on circling back in different, sometimes more or less

¹⁰² An idea famously foreshadowed by Richard Strauss in variation two of *Don Quixote*, who uses note clusters in oboes and flutter-tonguing clarinets, muted horns, trumpets and trombones, to depict sheep.

diffuse forms to the primary melody that lies behind everything. “Enescu seems here, as often in his later works, to love returning to his material yet another time, handling it again and placing it in a more distant, meditative light with a sort of introverted fascination.”¹⁰³ What is new in the composer’s later style is the fluidity of the musical refrain, “a type of characteristic floating melodic continuity” produced by “the endless variability” of the melodic lines.¹⁰⁴

W.G. Berger has spoken suggestively of Enescu’s ‘melopoeia’.¹⁰⁵ A familiar truism within Enescu scholarship is that as the composer developed and refined his musical language across the 1920s and ‘30s, his music gradually witnessed a progression from polyphony to heterophony. In the third and fourth movements of the Third Orchestral Suite, as in the finale of the Second Symphony, the listener is able to perceive the coalescence of a complex of voices into a unified refrain, the coagulation of separate times and *meloi* into one collective stream, a multiplicity. But now, even more than the earlier work, there is the sense in which the separate voices are all versions of one and the same idea. One could see the heterophony exemplified in Enescu’s rarefied later chamber works as tending towards the culmination of the twin monodic and polyphonic principles, a gradual refinement of this idea of monody as multiplicity.¹⁰⁶ Tiberiu Olah, in an earlier study, christened this technique ‘polyheterophony’: “the stratification of the contours of the same melody into a texture and of these textures into a complex polyheterophony”.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Malcolm, *George Enescu*, p. 73.

¹⁰⁴ Bentoïu, ‘George Enescu’, in *MGG*, vol. VI, col. 333ff.

¹⁰⁵ Berger, *Muzica simfonică*, vol. III, p. 286.

¹⁰⁶ An influential study calling attention to the composer’s later heterophony is given by Niculescu, ‘Aspecte ale creației enesciene în lumina Simfoniei de cameră’, *Studii muzicologice*, 2/8 (1958), later incorporated in the author’s discussion of the Chamber Symphony found in vol. II of the *Monografie* (pp. 1122–37) and his *Reflecții despre muzică* (pp. 60–89).

¹⁰⁷ Olah, ‘Poliheterofonia lui Enescu’, 19. The questions of monody, polyphony and heterophony are raised in many papers from Enescu conferences over the years: see for instance accounts by Elena Zottoviceanu, ‘Concordances esthétiques aux environs de 1900 à propos de la monodie énescienne’, in Voicana (ed.), *Enesciana 1*, pp. 25–30 (who oddly relates the use of monody to Art Nouveau); Clemansa-Liliana Firca and Gheorghe Firca, ‘Caractéristiques et fonctions de l’unisson chez Georges Enesco’, in Mircea Voicana (ed.), *Enesciana 2–3 (Georges Enesco musicien complexe)*, Proceedings of the 1974–1980 Enescu Conferences, Bucharest (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1981), pp. 57–61; Constanța Cristescu, ‘The Monody in Enescian Polystratifications’, in Mihai Cosma

From his childhood on, Enescu was strongly attached not only to his native landscape but to a sense of religious mysticism, notions that often elided with one another. He confided to Gavoty that his “two childhood divinities” were religion and the Romanian land. His father was a farmer, son of an Orthodox priest, and his mother the niece of another one, marking him thereby, in his own words, “with a double seal, both rustic and mystic.”¹⁰⁸ Harald Haslmayr has written insightfully on the affinity between Enescu’s conception of temporality and that of the Orthodox faith he grew up with, the apparent suspension of time and normal rules of causality common to both Enescu’s endless melodic arabesques and variative returns, and the decorative art of the Eastern Church.¹⁰⁹ There is a deeply meditative quality about the musical refrain that Enescu’s later music, most clearly this movement of the *Suite Villageoise*, will draw on, one that it imbued with nostalgic sentiment, but just possibly a mystic one too. The effect is as if the listener is privy to the natural song that arises from the land around Enescu’s childhood home. It is not just the shepherd’s pipe, sheep, birds, bells, but as if the entirety of the landscape has found voice, the ‘voice of nature’ Enescu was apparently seeking to capture in an unfinished trilogy of orchestral works during this period.¹¹⁰

Ex. 9

Once again, it is hard for Enescu to bid farewell: born perhaps of nostalgia, the ending of his third movement is drawn out beyond its apparent close.¹¹¹ The descending $\hat{5}$ – $\hat{2}$ incipit of the refrain theme blurs into the C# tonic chord, leaving an unresolved wash of added-note harmony (Ex. 9). As the pitches fade away, we hear the open fifths C#–G#–D# gently persisting underneath. Then, after these rings of harmony have dissipated into the air, a soft C#–D# dyad in the depths of the piano, marked *niente*, provides the

(ed.), *Proceedings of the George Enescu International Musicology Symposium Bucharest 2011* (Bucharest: Editura Muzicala, 2011), pp. 30–51; and Martin Kowalewski, ‘Monodie und Heterophonie – Das Schwanken der Raumperspektiven in Georges Enescu’s Oktett’, same volume, pp. 54–62.

¹⁰⁸ Gavoty, *Les Souvenirs de Georges Enesco*, p. 30.

¹⁰⁹ Haslmayr, ‘Erinnerung und Landschaft im Werke George Enescu’.

¹¹⁰ *Vox Maris*, Op. 31 (1929/54), the unfinished *Nuages d’automne sur les forêts*, and the projected *Soleil dans les Plaines*, which scholars hypothesise would have joined together to form the cycle *Voix de la nature*.

¹¹¹ Malcolm aptly speaks elsewhere of “Enescu’s love for endings which are almost endlessly prolonged” (*George Enescu*, p. 226).

last touch of finality. But even after this sound has died away, the listener may just discern a distant rumble in the bass drum – a kind of fundamental background, as if belonging to the resonance of the landscape lying around us. Calling up the atmosphere of the Prelude in unison from the First Orchestral Suite over three decades earlier, the landscape – primeval, inscrutable, which has briefly been enchanted by its native son into giving musical voice – endures beyond the last effective note of music.

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By Way of Conclusion: Towards a Minor Music

Enescu's music resists established systems of thought; this much was contended in the present article's introduction. Instead of which, we have tried to set forth terms for understanding Enescu's music from the perspective of its spatial-temporal dynamics, creating an emergent system or systems, a multiplicity, open ended, but intermittently coalescing around a number of recurring ideas. Using a variety of interconnected concepts such as landscape, rhythm and memory, we have mapped out the boundaries of a conceptual space for it to inhabit.¹¹² Crucial throughout has been the affinity of Enescu's dynamic musical language with the idea of the refrain – its ability to create and open up virtual spaces, striating and territorialising space through a variative repetition that preserves difference into patterns of rhythm resulting in multiplicities in vast stratified networks of space and time – and deterritorialising it into smooth spaces that encode their temporal traces and will eventually become preserved in memory.

Enescu's music undercuts the attempted national and historical stratification of twentieth-century historiography. So multifarious, diverse, and protean is the nature of his creativity – what Mircea Voicana calls the “kaleidoscopic differentiation of each individual work” – that it is exceedingly hard to ascertain Enescu's position with regard to familiar concepts of Modernity, Romanticism, Nationalism, and so on.¹¹³ All this is very much in the spirit of Deleuze's deterritorialising thought. We might extend this approach one step further, however, to viewing Enescu, and his position within music history, as being a perfect example of what Deleuze and Guattari term the

¹¹² In Deleuzian terms, we might say that this study has drawn an ‘assemblage’ around Enescu's music. A significant precedent to this conceit of essay as assemblage has been given by Michael Klein, ‘Debussy's *L'Isle joyeuse* as Territorial Assemblage’, *19th-Century Music*, 31 (2007), 28–52.

¹¹³ Voicana, ‘Das Problem des Stils’, p. 14.

‘minoritarian’.¹¹⁴ Enescu has obviously suffered from being seen as belonging to a minority, from his apparent peripheralisation within the Western-orientated geographies of European music history. But at the same time, this factor could be the cause of his particular importance.

It is certainly not by using a minor language as a dialect, be regionalising or ghettoising, that one becomes revolutionary; rather, by using a number of minority elements, by connecting, conjugating them, one invents a specific, unforeseen, autonomous becoming....That is the strength of authors termed ‘minor’, who are in fact the greatest, the only greats: having to conquer one’s own language, in other words, to attain that sobriety in the use of a major language, in order to place it in a state of continuous variation[.]¹¹⁵

‘Becoming minoritarian’ does not mean using a ‘minor language’ in place of a major language. Rather, ‘becoming minoritarian’ is an attribute of those writers from a supposedly peripheral or minor culture who write in a major language, those who take over and inhabit this majority culture as their own (as with the Prague-born Kafka’s use of his native German, or in his different way the Romanian-born Enescu’s fluency in the Western European idioms he absorbed so completely as a child in Vienna and Paris). As Deleuze and Guattari explain, “it is a question not of reterritorialising oneself on a dialect or a patois but of deterritorialising the major language.”¹¹⁶ In fact, the dynamic quality of language use characteristic of becoming-minoritarian increasingly reveals affinities to the musical: “the closer a language gets to this state, the closer it comes...to music itself.”¹¹⁷

In his deterritorialising use of the language and structures of Western European music, Enescu might constructively be understood as ‘becoming minoritarian’ in this sense. He

¹¹⁴ In this, I am taking my bearings from a profitable recent approach to Szymanowski by Kenneth Smith which suggested to me the idea of understanding Enescu also as ‘becoming-minoritarian’ (‘Szymanowski’s Local Mythologies’, paper presented at the Eighth European Music Analysis Conference, Leuven, 18 September 2014). The concept of ‘Becoming minoritarian’ is set out in Deleuze and Guattari, ‘November 20, 1923: Postulates of Linguistics’, *A Thousand Plateaus*, pp. 115–18, drawing on the same authors’ *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, trans. Dana Polan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986). Previous applications of the term to music include Michael P. Steinberg, *Listening to Reason: Culture, Subjectivity, and Nineteenth-Century Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 201–2, and Lawrence Kramer, *Interpreting Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), pp. 98–102.

¹¹⁵ Deleuze and Guattari, ‘November 20, 1923: Postulates of Linguistics’, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 118.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

uses techniques drawn from minority languages, but in such a way as to enrich and extend the *lingua franca* of the majority. For Deleuze and Guattari the folk and popular refrain is “tied to an immense song of the people...Polish, Auvergnat, German, Magyar, or Romanian”.¹¹⁸ One might similarly speak of Enescu’s ‘becoming folklike’, just as commentators such as Niculescu and Bentoïu speak of Enescu’s creation of a type of ‘super-folklore’ in works such as the Violin Sonata No. 3: “everything is like popular art, but infinitely more complex, because he who uses and masters without fail the fundamental tools of popular expression, possesses a musical conception of an entirely different scope and complexity.”¹¹⁹

All this might explain the fact of Enescu’s genuine cosmopolitanism that coexisted alongside a Romanian identity that never left him, his astounding ease writing in the majority language, yet his ability to slip through the tightening net of Western tonality rather than breaking with it and navigate himself with ease in the “realms of continuous variation”, modality and new amalgamations of major and minor through his flexible melopoeia and polyheterophonic textures.¹²⁰ Ultimately, irrespective of whether Enescu belongs to the Romantics, the Moderns, the Classics, or the Neoclassicists, his music forms a rich minoritarian discourse within the multifaceted tangle of narratives that is the twentieth century. One might further hope, as Yehudi Menuhin optimistically predicted, that it will become (if not a majoritarian discourse) at least a more central part of the musical repertoire in the twenty-first.

¹¹⁸ Deleuze and Guattari, ‘1837: Of the Refrain’, p. 385.

¹¹⁹ Bentoïu, *Capodopere enesciene / Masterworks of George Enescu*, p. 286.

¹²⁰ Indeed it could be claimed that Enescu’s interest in line (added to his freedom of melodic variation and opening up of tonal possibilities by his flexibility of modal alteration) addresses and overcomes – in some cases before it was even an issue – the Germanic dissolution of tonality familiar from Schoenbergian historiography. As scholars such as Niculescu, Rațiu and Bentoïu have noted, for Enescu the melodic principle (with its associated use of polyphony or heterophony and his process of continual variation) expands to fill the place of the diminished role played in the twentieth century by tonal harmony. There is a suggestive similarity here with Rudolph Réti’s mid-century conception of ‘pantonality’ (see Réti, *Tonality, Atonality, Pantonality: A Study of Some Trends in Twentieth Century Music* (London: Barries and Rockliff, 1958)). I explore some of these issues in my forthcoming study ‘Monotonicity and scalar modulation in Sibelius’s *Tapiola*’.