

with lay listeners, so it is the listener that makes and completes the program. Evocation takes place, and each listener's program is bound to be different.

Eisenstein describes Prokofiev conducting a film cue.

His lanky figure hidden to the waist by the sweeping movements of the musician's bows seemed to be swaying in the midst of rippling corn. He leaned over towards the musicians, listening intently to the interplay of the various instruments' motifs. *En passant*, he whispered to me, pointing first to one of the musicians and then to another, commenting: "That one is playing the light flickering across the waves . . . that one the billowing of the waves . . . that one the wide expanses of the ocean . . . and that one the mysteries of the deep. . . ." <sup>59</sup>

Lowbrow literalism? Maybe partly, but like Liszt, or Leonard Bernstein, Eisenstein is aware of one reason for the persistence of programmatic, extrinsic tendencies. "Like" and "as" may be seen as a harness restricting music's power and freedom, but they are also the first words of poetry, not to mention teaching. And Eisenstein's latter poetics, such as the stunningly operatic Prokofiev/Eisenstein collaborations, especially the "Ivan" films, remind us how expansive and multivalent "like" and "as" can be. As he says, "[music] is never merely illustrative."<sup>60</sup>

We have seen that program music is largely unappreciated because of the feeling that "the natural architecture of music was not that of poetry."<sup>61</sup> But that claim does not hold when we take poetry to be receptive or writerly, and allow that context—history, ideology, intention, reception—can be an architectural element. This is the foundation upon which music's poetic elaborations rest.

Gino Stefani suggests that "'musical genres' give us evidence of social practices in music."<sup>62</sup> Program music, and classical music in film, give this evidence in superlative fashion. Considering the same issues central to program and quotation debates, Stefani discusses high competence and popular competence in relation to musical understanding. He maintains that both are an essential part of the mix. Notwithstanding a nagging rift between musicological and sociological disciplines, should they not combine, to mutual advantage? While being aware of historical sepa-