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Manuel de Falla and his European contemporaries : encounters, relationships and influences.

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**MANUEL DE FALLA AND HIS
EUROPEAN CONTEMPORARIES:
ENCOUNTERS, RELATIONSHIPS
AND INFLUENCES**

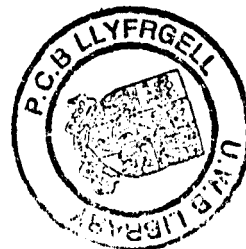
CHRISTOPHER GUY COLLINS

VOLUME 2 (OF 2)

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PhD
University of Wales, Bangor
2002



5 KOECHLIN

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The relationship between Falla and Charles Koechlin is rather curious. In spite of wide differences between their sources of inspiration, their musical styles and their artistic outlook, the two men struck up a keen personal and artistic sympathy which lasted for at least twenty years.

Their friendship placed both men on an equal footing. Koechlin's seniority over Falla (he was nine years older) was countered by Falla's wider recognition as a composer throughout Europe (including France). Indeed, the growth of Falla's fame during the 1920s sets Koechlin's relative obscurity in sharp relief; this is especially evident in the frequency of each man's attendance at performances of the other's music. Judging from the correspondence, Koechlin heard at least five of Falla's compositions in the years following 1923,¹ whereas Falla's attendance at performances of works by Koechlin is documented on only four occasions, all but one of them before the First World War.²

Citations not given in the text or footnotes may be found in the following appendices:

Correspondence between Falla and Koechlin.....	Appendix 5.A
Printed music by Koechlin in Falla's library	Appendix 5.B
Performances of works by Koechlin attended by Falla	Appendix 5.C
Works of theory and other books by Koechlin in Falla's library	Appendix 5.D

¹ These are: *Master Peter's Puppet Show* (letter of 3 May [1925]), *El amor brujo* (letter of [13, 20 or 27 June 1925]), *Concerto* (letter of 15 [May] 1927), *Soneto a Córdoba* (ditto) and *The Three-Cornered Hat* (letter of [between 10 January and 14 February 1933]; lost). In addition, he was almost certainly present at the performance of *Trois Mélodies* at the Salle Gaveau on 4 May 1910, for a movement from his own *Suite javanaise* was heard in the same concert (programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1910-002).

² This latter observation is construed from evidence presented in Falla's collection of concert programmes in addition to the Falla-Koechlin correspondence.

The two men combined an intense respect for one another's work with a genuine personal friendship; Falla alluded to the two sides of this same coin in a letter to Koechlin:

Vous savez depuis longtemps quels sont mes sentiments pour l'artiste admirable et pour l'ami fidèle que vous êtes.³

You've known for a long time how I feel about the admirable artist and faithful friend that you are.

Their affection is constantly evident in their correspondence, which is both extensive and regular, continuing even during Koechlin's visit to the United States in 1928.⁴ Koechlin's letter-writing style is spontaneous and fluent, like Ravel's (see § 4.2.6); this is reflected in the hasty script (about which Falla once had cause to complain – and about which Koechlin felt obliged to apologise).⁵ He tended to write more than the strictly necessary, and was fond of jotting down personal musings. Two examples will suffice. The first is a poignant account of his war service:

C'est un réconfort pour nous de n'être pas tout à fait inutiles en ces moments bien que nous eussions de beaucoup préféré aller au service de santé plus près du 'front', ce que nous n'avons que faire pour diverses raisons de famille. Le moral des blessés est excellent et tous sont de braves gens, pour le plupart *intelligents* et *résolus*; c'est beaucoup, pour le résultat final. Mais nous savons qu'il se passera encore du temps avant d'y arriver.⁶

It's a comfort for us not to be completely useless at this time, though we'd have much preferred to have gone into the medical service closer to the 'front' – as we would have done were it not for various family reasons. The morale of the wounded is excellent, and they're all great people, *intelligent* and *resolute* for the most part, which will be plenty to make sure of the final result. But we know it'll take time to get there.

The second example is a description of a holiday in Athens, a curious mixture of picture-postcard triviality and philosophical profundity:

³ Letter from Falla to Koechlin, 24 March 1928.

⁴ It has also survived remarkably well, for both composers preserved copies of most of one another's letters.

⁵ Letter from Falla to Koechlin, 14 July 1922; letter from Koechlin to Falla, 29 July [1922].

⁶ Letter from Koechlin to Falla, 18 January [1915].

Je rentre d'un voyage à Athènes avec ma femme – nous y avons passé deux semaines. L'Acropole est un vision de rêve, dont le beauté plane sur le monde moderne – modèle inégalable mais non décourageant.⁷

I've just got back from a trip to Athens with my wife – we spent two weeks there. The Acropolis is like a vision from a dream: its beauty hangs over the modern world – a matchless model, but not a discouraging one.

⁷ Letter from Koechlin to Falla, 4 November [1930]. In his autobiographical sketch 'Étude sur Charles Koechlin par lui-même', he comments on his inspiration by Greek architecture (*La Revue musicale*, 340-1 [1981], 63; translated in Robert Orledge, *Charles Koechlin (1867-1950): His Life and Works* [Chur, 1989], 315).

5.2 THE FRIENDSHIP

Koechlin and Falla became friends in Paris before the First World War. The earliest surviving item of correspondence between them is a letter from Koechlin, dating from January 1914, and alluding to Falla's attendance at SMI committee meetings. Indeed, it is possible that they met for the first time as a result of this society's activities.⁸ The programme of the second concert of the SMI, held on 4 May 1910, featured works by both composers: Falla's *Trois Mélodies* and two movements of Koechlin's *Suite javanaise*.⁹ The similarity of their aesthetic standpoints is apparent even at this early stage; while 'Chinoiserie' makes use of piano sonorities inspired by oriental music, the *Suite javanaise* consists of transcriptions for Western instruments of Javanese gamelan music.

Koechlin's letter of January 1914 accompanied a copy of his review of the Paris performance of *La vida breve*, recently published in *Chronique des arts*.¹⁰ Falla replied on 31 January, noting that he expected shortly to be able to thank him in person – a further hint that their encounters were frequent. (As will be seen later, it seems probable that the two men reminisced about the circumstances of their early friendship when Koechlin visited Granada in 1932: on this occasion Koechlin promised to send Falla copies of both his *La vida breve* article and his 'transcription javanaise'.)¹¹

⁸ Koechlin was a founding member (Orledge, *Charles Koechlin*, 8-9; Jean-Michel Nectoux, 'Ravel/Fauré et les débuts de la Société Musicale Indépendante', *Revue de Musicologie*, lxi, 2 [1975], 302-3; Michel Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale et ses sociétés à Paris de 1871 à 1939* [Sprimont, 1997], 66). As noted in § 4.2.1, Falla too was very closely involved in this society, from its very inception.

⁹ Programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1910-002. The Koechlin work is listed in the programme as *Deux Pièces Javanaises*. Its ultimate title is identified in Orledge, *Charles Koechlin*, 230.

¹⁰ The precise date of the issue is unknown, but the article appeared on pages 28-9. It is quoted in Madeleine Li-Koechlin, 'Charles Koechlin 1867-1950 Correspondance', *La Revue musicale*, 348-50 (1982), 18-21.

¹¹ Letter from Koechlin to Falla, 28 April [1932]. In fact, Falla may have already owned the article, and he certainly owned a copy of the first movement of the *Suite javanaise*. The latter was published in the journal *S. I. M.* in October 1910 (vi, 10, pp. 548-63); a complete 1910 run

Koechlin was one of the French composers to whom Falla wrote on his return to Madrid at the outbreak of the war; his letter is lost, but the reply survives.¹² Falla may have written again at the Armistice (as he did to other friends), though no such letter survives. Koechlin, however, was in the United States at this time.¹³ Moreover, he had moved from the centre of Paris to the village of Valmondois on its outskirts;¹⁴ it is clear from their next item of correspondence that Falla was unaware of his new address.¹⁵

This next letter was Koechlin's reply to an invitation to the 1922 *cante jondo* competition.¹⁶ In it, Koechlin observes: 'Il y a bien longtemps que je n'ai eu la plaisir de vous voir et de causer avec vous' ('It's a really long time since I had the pleasure of seeing you and talking with you'); it seems very probable therefore that no letters were exchanged – or at least received – during the preceding seven years (certainly none has survived), and also that the two men did not meet on any of Falla's visits to Paris during this period.

By the time the invitation to the *cante jondo* competition had been forwarded to Koechlin from his old address, it was too late for him to make arrangements for the journey. It is clear that he genuinely regretted his inability to attend: his desire to visit Granada, and Falla's wish to have him visit, are subjects that were to recur frequently in their correspondence over the next ten years.¹⁷

of this journal as preserved at *E-GRmf*, inventory number 6097. (Incidentally, there is an inaccuracy in the caption on the first page of the transcription, stating that the work was performed at the SMI in June – not May – 1910.) It is not clear whether the copy of the review of *La vida breve* at *E-GRmf* (press cuttings folder 6380) was sent by Koechlin in 1914 or in 1933.

¹² Letter from Koechlin to Falla, 18 January [1915].

¹³ Orledge, *Charles Koechlin*, 12.

¹⁴ Orledge, *Charles Koechlin*, 10.

¹⁵ Letter from Koechlin to Falla, 10 June [1922].

¹⁶ The invitations were sent by the Centro Artístico de Granada, but it is clear that Falla supplied the addresses.

¹⁷ Letters from Koechlin to Falla, 29 July [1922], 1 November [1922], 8 September [1923], 26 September 1928, 19 January 1930, 8 June 1930, 4 November [1930], 25 March 1931, 19 July [1931] and 15 February 1932; from Falla to Koechlin, 25 October 1922, 31 August 1923, [before 19 January 1930], [shortly before 25 March 1931] and 7 March 1932.

The resumption of their friendship led to a flurry of letters: no fewer than eight in the five months between 10 June and 27 November 1922. The main *raison d'être* for this correspondence was their mutual wish to exchange copies of their recent works; indeed, Koechlin sent a copy of his book *Étude sur les notes de passage* with his reply to the *cante jondo* invitation. The sending of books and scores, and each man's appreciation of the work of the other, became a central theme of their correspondence from this point onwards.

Fewer letters were written in 1923, but the two men did meet in Paris during both of Falla's visits to the city that year. The undated letter that Koechlin sent shortly before the premiere of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* at the Princesse de Polignac's salon in June reveals that he was not present on this occasion, but that he and Falla had recently dined together at a Spanish restaurant.¹⁸ Koechlin's diary reveals that this was at lunchtime on 11 June,¹⁹ and that the two men then went together to a rehearsal of *Les Noces* (due to receive its first staged performance at the Gaîté Lyrique two days later).²⁰ In the evening, they both went to a concert at the Le Vieux Colombier, organised by *La Revue musicale*, and featuring works by Ravel, Caplet, Delage, Stravinsky and Roland-Manuel.²¹

Koechlin did attend the performance of the *Puppet Show*, conducted by Falla, at the Salle des Agriculteurs on 13 November,²² and they may have met on this occasion; Falla's letter of 19 December implies that their encounter during his November visit was hasty and brief. A few days later, on Boxing Day 1923, Koechlin sought to convince Falla that the scoring of the work in question was sufficiently large to fill the Théâtre du Châtelet, where Gabriel

¹⁸ Letter from Koechlin to Falla, [shortly before 25 June 1923].

¹⁹ Koechlin's diaries are preserved in the Koechlin archives. Information about their contents was kindly supplied by Robert Orledge in conversation with the present author, 14 August 2002.

²⁰ Stephen Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring: Russia and France, 1882-1934* (London, 2000), 546.

²¹ Information about this concert is conflated from an advertisement in *La Revue musicale*, iv, 8 (1 June 1923), p. iii, and from a review of the concert by A. H. (Arthur Hærée?) in *loc. cit.*, iv, 9 (1 July 1923), 252-3.

²² This is revealed in Koechlin's letter to Falla of 3 May [1925].

Pierné wished to conduct it at the Concerts Colonne. The clear implication is that Falla had objected to the idea of a performance of the work in this hall. There is no trace of such an objection in his correspondence with Pierné, though it is possible that it was raised at a meeting between them in Paris in November.²³ Koechlin was an old friend of Pierné's,²⁴ and it is probable that he was led to support his cause out of friendship.

The next meeting between Falla and Koechlin was in 1925. In May and June of that year, both men were booked to conduct Mme Bériza's ballet performances of their own works (*Jacob chez Laban* and *El amor brujo*),²⁵ but, judging from Koechlin's undated letter of this period,²⁶ they do not seem to have been at the podium on the same night. They did meet, however, on 2 June, when Koechlin paid Falla a visit, presumably at his hotel.^{26A}

Contrary to accepted belief, there is no evidence that they met at the 1926 ISCM Festival in Zurich; a photograph taken on that occasion shows Falla not with Koechlin (as has been claimed elsewhere)^{26B} but with Emil Hertzka, the managing director of Universal-Edition.^{26C}

They did not meet in 1927 either; Koechlin's letter of 15 May of that year (which he inadvertently dated 15 June) reveals that he had been present at part of Falla's concert at the Salle Pleyel the previous evening, but that he had been obliged to leave before the end, thereby depriving himself of an opportunity to

²³ Falla's relationship with Pierné is examined in § 6.10.

²⁴ Orledge, *Charles Koechlin*, 9.

²⁵ Flyer and programme for some of these performances preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1925-006 and FE 1925-007 respectively. The flyer notes that Falla conducted *El amor brujo* on the evenings of 22, 23 and 24 May. Performances of *Jacob chez Laban* were given on the evenings of 18, 19, 20 and 21 May and on the afternoon of 24 May, but Koechlin is not billed as the conductor. Koechlin's letter of [13, 20 or 27 June 1925] reveals that both men attended performances of one another's works during the following month.

²⁶ Letter from Koechlin to Falla, [13, 20 or 27 June 1925].

^{26A} Koechlin's diaries.

^{26B} IC, 131.

^{26C} *E-GRmf*, photograph number 7/41.

.....

speak with him.²⁷ The following year, Koechlin sent Falla his telephone number, asking him to ring him when he arrived in Paris in order that they could arrange to meet for lunch or dinner at his house.²⁸ They met on 14 March 1928, at a reception in Falla's honour,^{28A} and Falla must again have promised to come for lunch or dinner. His next letter, however, sent from Tours (where he was resting for a few days) on 24 March 1928, reveals that he had tried to telephone him, but had obtained no response. Koechlin had left Paris by the time he returned from Tours.

Their failure to meet in Paris during these years confounded their best intentions;²⁹ Koechlin once observed that

Malheureusement vous êtes si accaparé par tout de personnes, durant ces séjours!³⁰

Unfortunately you're monopolized by all kinds of people during these visits!

As each of these visits passed by, their determination increased that they would meet next time. On 22 October 1930, Falla wrote:

Combien j'ai regretté ne pas vous voir ce dernier printemps à Paris. Pour la prochaine fois nous prendrons rendez vous dès Grenade, avant mon départ.

How sorry I was not to see you last spring in Paris. Next time, we'll make arrangements to meet before I leave Granada.

Having concluded that Falla would never visit him at his home, Koechlin made the following offer on 25 March 1931:

²⁷ In fact, it is clear that he not only left early but also arrived late. He notes that the only two works he heard were the *Concerto* and the *Soneto a Córdoba*. The programme (several copies preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1927-013 to 041) reveals that these were preceded by the *Fantasia bætica*.

²⁸ Letter from Koechlin to Falla, 18 January 1928.

^{28A} Koechlin's diaries.

²⁹ Their hopes of seeing one another in Paris are expressed in letters from Koechlin to Falla, 3 May [1925], 7 December [1926], 15 [May] 1927, 18 January 1928, 6 April 1928, 19 January 1930 and 25 March 1931; and letters from Falla to Koechlin, 31 August 1923, 28 April 1925, 2 February 1927, 7 January 1928 and 22 October 1930.

³⁰ Letter from Koechlin to Falla, 19 January 1930.

Si vous pouvez me faire signe lors de votre arrivée à Paris, j'irai très volontiers vous voir.

If you can let me know when you arrive in Paris, I'll be very happy to visit you.

Ironically, it was at Koechlin's home that the two men did meet in 1931, on the evening of 18 July.³¹ As with his intentions to visit Dukas, Schmitt and Ravel at this time (see §§ 2.2.5, 4.2.3 and 4.2.6 respectively), it may be that Falla recognised the possibility that this would be his last trip to Paris, and, therefore, his last opportunity to greet old friends in person. (If this is so, then there is a further irony in that Koechlin should have visited Falla in Granada just nine months later.)

It must have been on this occasion that Koechlin or his wife mentioned their country retreat at Le Canadel on the Provence coast. His description of Provence, along with Dukas's (see § 2.2.5), may have been the stimulus for his decision to spend a few weeks in the south of France in August and September of that year. After their meeting, Falla's secretary Pilar Cruz (also in Paris at the time) wrote to Koechlin informing him of his travel plans. Koechlin replied giving his address at Le Canadel in addition to full details of when he would be there, and expressing his hope that they would be able to meet there or in nearby Bormes.³² It is unlikely that they did meet, however. Koechlin noted that he would be returning to Paris around 20 August. Three days after this, Falla was in Évian on Lake Geneva,³³ having travelled there from Paris via Annecy.³⁴

Koechlin's long-cherished desire to visit Granada finally came to fruition in April 1932. The circumstances of this trip had their origins in negotiations over a conducting engagement in Valencia.³⁵ Falla sought to arrange a concert

³¹ Letters from Koechlin to Falla, 16 and 19 July [1931]. Koechlin's diary records that Falla did not stay to dinner.

³² Letter from Koechlin to Falla, [after 19 July 1931].

³³ Letter from Falla to Kurt Schindler, 23 August 1931, sketch preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7605.

³⁴ Letter from Falla to Juan J. Viniestra, 7 December 1932, quoted in V, 252.

³⁵ Letter from Koechlin to Falla, 25 March 1931.

for Koechlin in Barcelona too,³⁶ but, as he noted in his letter of 7 March 1932, 'circonstances exceptionnelles' ('exceptional circumstances') – of a political nature no doubt – conspired against its realisation.

The correspondence leading up to this trip is confusing. Koechlin's letters to Falla detail no less than three changes of plan, while only one of Falla's replies has survived (that of 26 March 1932, which was returned to him having failed to reach its addressee).³⁷ However, Koechlin's diary confirms that he arrived in Granada from Cordova (having also visited Seville) on the evening of 15 April 1932,³⁸ and departed three days later.³⁹

The circumstances of his visit may have been rather strained: on 4 April, María del Carmen suffered a fall and was admitted to hospital, where she remained throughout Koechlin's stay.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, Koechlin's diary records that they toured the Alhambra no fewer than three times in two days (16 and 17 April), and also visited the Generalife and the Albaicín (on the sixteenth and seventeenth respectively). He also went to Falla's house twice – once for dinner (16 April) – and his letter of 28 April reveals that they had opportunity to talk 'tranquillement' ('calmly' – in contrast, it may be assumed, to their rushed conversations in Paris). As noted earlier, one topic of their conversation was almost certainly memories of pre-war Paris, for Koechlin promised to send Falla copies of his 'transcription javanaise' and his article on *La vida breve* on his return to Paris. (Presumably, Falla had mislaid his original copies.)

³⁶ It is probable that the address which Pilar Cruz sent to Koechlin in Paris was that of an impresario or concert promoter in Barcelona (see letter from Koechlin to Falla, [shortly after 19 July 1931]).

³⁷ Falla sent the letter to Koechlin again on 10 January 1933, though by this time its purpose had expired.

³⁸ Letter from Koechlin to Falla, 11 April [1932]; Koechlin's diaries.

³⁹ In his letter of 28 March 1932, Koechlin told Falla that he would be leaving on 18 April. This date is confirmed in his diary. On 19 April, Falla forwarded a letter to him in Paris.

⁴⁰ Letters from Falla to Segismundo Romero, 11 and 18 April 1932, quoted in Manuel de Falla, *Cartas a Segismundo Romero* (Granada, 1976), 278-81. Koechlin expressed his hope that she was recovered in his letter of 28 April [1932].

DAMAGED

TEXT

In between meetings, the correspondence between the two men thrived, with the exchange of books and scores as its vital force. After Koechlin's visit to Granada, their letter-writing continued with its former regularity for just one more year, during which Falla did not renounce the possibility of Koechlin giving concerts in Spain,⁴¹ and during which neither man forgot about Koechlin's promise to send the movement from the *Suite javanaise* and his review of *La vida breve*.⁴²

Koechlin seems never to have sent the *Suite*; Falla's copy of the volume of *S. I. M.* in which it is found was almost certainly acquired at the time of its publication in 1910, for it forms part of a complete run of the journal for that year.⁴³ But he did eventually send a copy of the article; it was dispatched with his letter of 5 March 1933. Falla was staying in Majorca at the time, and it was forwarded to him there; he thanked Koechlin for it on 25 April. Only one further item of correspondence seems to have passed between the two men: a curious letter dated 17 January 1936 in which Falla thanks Koechlin for having sent a further copy of that article, handwritten this time:

Ce n'est que maintenant que j'apprends par notre ami de Majorque l'abbé Thomas que vous avez dû prendre la peine de faire la copie de votre si précieux compte rendu de la lère de la *Vie brève* à Paris. Il m'envoie votre autographe (que j'aimerais tant pouvoir garder) en même temps que les copies qu'il en a fait, et j'ai été tellement ému de cette nouvelle preuve d'affection que je vous dois, qu'il me faut vous le dire sans retard.

It's only now that I learn from our friend in Majorca the Abbot Thomas that you had to go to the trouble of making a copy of your review – so precious – of the premiere of *La vida breve* in Paris. He sends me your manuscript (which I very much wish I was able to keep) as well as the copies he's made of it, and I was so moved by this new sign of affection I owe to you that I had to tell you straight away.

The circumstances surrounding the sending of this manuscript copy of the article are described by Juan María Thomas (the 'Abbé Thomas' mentioned in

⁴¹ Letter from Falla to Koechlin, 10 January 1933.

⁴² Letters from Falla to Koechlin, [after 28 April 1932], and 10 January 1933; from Koechlin to Falla, [before 10 January 1933].

⁴³ *S. I. M.*, vi, 10 (15 October 1910). Falla's run of this journal is conserved at E-G^{Rmf} under the inventory number 6097.

the above quotation) in his book *Manuel de Falla en la isla*, though his account does not entirely square with the documentary evidence.⁴⁴ Thomas records that Falla lost his copy of Koechlin's article between Majorca and Granada – probably on his way home around the end of June 1933,⁴⁵ a few weeks after receiving it. He searched for it in vain when he returned to the island later that year, and finally wrote to Koechlin asking for another copy. According to Thomas, Koechlin sent another cutting of the article, requesting that it be returned to him (since it was his only copy) as soon as a transcription had been made. (Both men's letters are lost.) Thomas himself offered to copy the article, but then he too mislaid it, and found it again only towards the end of 1935, when he forwarded it to Falla (now back in Granada) along with the copies he had made by that time.⁴⁶

It cannot be that Falla mistook Thomas's handwriting for Koechlin's; it is clear from his letter of 17 January 1936 that he received both Koechlin's manuscript and Thomas's transcriptions of the article. Thomas has to be wrong, therefore, in describing the second copy of the article as a cutting; it must have been handwritten.⁴⁷ When Koechlin sent the manuscript to him in Palma, Falla was ill,⁴⁸ and was probably having his correspondence read to him; this would explain why he did not immediately realise that the new copy of the article was handwritten.

It was probably also in 1936 that Koechlin sent his last gifts to Falla: copies of the *Solfège progressif à deux voix* and *à trois voix*. If Falla replied, his letter

⁴⁴ Juan María Thomas, *Manuel de Falla en la isla* (rev. edn., Majorca, 1996), 208-11.

⁴⁵ Date from Falla, *Cartas a Segismundo Romero*, 108.

⁴⁶ Thomas records that he sent these materials to Falla on 29 December 1935 (*Manuel de Falla en la isla*, 210).

⁴⁷ This is not Thomas's only mistake; he also claims that the article in question was originally published in *Le Monde musical* (*Manuel de Falla en la isla*, 208).

⁴⁸ In a letter to Roland-Manuel dated 21 July 1934 (written shortly after returning to Granada from his second stay in Majorca), Falla complained that 'Notre séjour à Palma n'a pas été très heureux à cause d'une grippe suivie d'une ennuyeuse et longue convalescence dont mon travail a beaucoup souffert' ('Our stay in Palma wasn't very happy on account of influenza, followed by a long and annoying convalescence, from which my work greatly suffered') (letter preserved in private collection; photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7521). The illness is mentioned also in the draft of a letter that Falla sent to both Harry Kling and Eugène Cools on 2 March 1934 (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7449).

has not survived. The Spanish Civil War broke out in July of that year; one of its casualties would seem to have been the correspondence between these two men.

5.3 THE ARTISTIC RELATIONSHIP

It has already been noted (§ 5.2) that the exchanging of scores and books was central to the relationship between Falla and Koechlin.

It is highly probable that every Koechlin score in Falla's library was a gift from the composer or from his publishers, Senart or Philippo.⁴⁹ This was certainly so in all but three cases, as the correspondence proves (see Table 5.3.i).

Two of the three exceptions are the second copies of the Flute and Cello Sonatas, which do not bear manuscript dedications from Koechlin himself. It is probable that these were sent directly to Falla by Senart as a result of a misunderstanding with Koechlin over the question of who was responsible for sending him copies of his latest works.

The third exception is the score of the Double Flute Sonata, which is not mentioned at all in the correspondence. A surviving letter from Senart to Falla, dated 6 November 1922,⁵⁰ is a note of dispatch for the First String Quartet and the Violin Sonata (both of which Koechlin had promised in his letters of 1 and 4 November). No copy of the latter survives at the Falla Archive, and it is probable that the Double Flute Sonata (which also bears a 1922 copyright date) was sent instead, in error.⁵¹ (In Falla's letter of 11 November, the titles of the works he received are not specified.)

⁴⁹ Excepting periodical supplements, of course.

⁵⁰ Preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6937.

⁵¹ This is the most likely explanation. It should be noted that the Flute Sonata also has a 1922 copyright date, and so it is possible that this was the work which Senart sent in lieu of the Violin Sonata, and that the Double Flute Sonata was sent by Senart on another occasion or acquired by some other means.

WORK	DATE OF PUBLICATION	DATE DISPATCH ANNOUNCED	DATE RECEIPT ACKNOWLEDGED
<i>Douze Petites Pièces</i>	1921	–	25 October 1922
<i>Méodies</i> , i-iv	[1922]	4 November 1922	11 November 1922
String Quartet No. 1	1921	1 and 4 November 1922 (Koechlin); 6 November 1922 (Senart)	11 November 1922
? Sonata for Violin and Piano, op. 64	1922 ⁵²	1 and 4 November 1922 (Koechlin); 6 November 1922 (Senart)	[not received?]
<i>Douze Esquisses</i> , op. 41, no. 1	1922	shortly before 25 June 1923	31 August 1923
<i>Douze Esquisses</i> , op. 41, no. 2	1922	shortly before 25 June 1923	31 August 1923
Sonata for Flute and Piano	1922	shortly before 25 June 1923	31 August 1923
<i>Chansons de Bilitis</i>	1923	–	19 December 1923
<i>Pastorales</i>	1923	–	19 December 1923
Sonata for Piano and Viola	1923	–	19 December 1923
Sonata for Cello and Piano	1923	–	19 December 1923
String Quartet No. 3	1924	3 May 1925	–
Trio for Flute, Clarinet and Bassoon	1928	6 April 1928	21 April 1928
<i>Chansons bretonnes</i> , i and ii	1934	–	17 January 1936

Table 5.3.i

Dates of Falla's acquisition of scores of music by Koechlin. All evidence from the Falla-Koechlin correspondence, unless otherwise indicated.

The correspondence presents a similar chronicle of Koechlin's gifts of his pedagogical and musicological publications (see Table 5.3.ii), only four of which are not mentioned in their letters. Two of them – the third volume of the *Traité de l'harmonie* and the *Étude sur le choral d'école d'après J.-S. Bach* – were almost certainly the works for which Falla thanked Koechlin in his letter (lost) of January 1930. The other two are the books of *Solfège progressif (à deux voix* and *à trois voix*). It is clear that these were gifts too: both bear

⁵² Date of publication from Orledge, *Charles Koechlin*, 352.

manuscript dedications from Koechlin and are stamped 'Hommage des éditeurs' ('Compliments of the publishers'). Their publication date (1936) indicates that they were sent at a date after the last surviving item of correspondence between the two men.

TITLE	DATE OF PUBLICATION	DATE DISPATCH ANNOUNCED	DATE RECEIPT ACKNOWLEDGED
<i>Étude sur les notes de passage</i>	1922	–	14 July 1922
<i>Précis des règles du contrepoint</i>	1926	7 December 1926	2 February 1927
<i>Les Maîtres de la musique: Gabriel Fauré (E-GRmf, 1388)</i>	1927	–	7 January 1928
<i>Les Musiciens célèbres: Debussy</i>	1927	–	7 January 1928
<i>Traité de l'harmonie, i</i>	1928	–	2 September 1928
? <i>Traité de l'harmonie, iii</i>	1928	–	[before 19 January 1930]
? <i>Étude sur le chorale d'école d'après J.-S. Bach</i>	1929	–	[before 19 January 1930]
<i>Traité de l'harmonie, ii</i>	1930	8 June 1930	22 October 1930
<i>Étude sur l'écriture de la fugue d'école</i>	1933	–	25 April 1933
<i>Théorie de la musique</i>	1935	–	17 January 1936

Table 5.3.ii

Dates of Falla's acquisition of books by Koechlin. All evidence from the Falla-Koechlin correspondence.

These gifts account for the majority of Koechlin's published output between 1921 and 1936: all of the pedagogic and musicological works, and around two-thirds of the music.⁵³ Falla reciprocated by sending copies of only a selection of his published works, though the apparent meagreness is partly explained by the fact that he composed so little, and wrote no books. The scores he is known to have sent are shown in Table 5.3.iii. In addition, he almost certainly arranged in 1922 for Eschig to send a copy of *Nights in the*

⁵³ This information derived from Orledge, *Charles Koechlin*, 343-80 and 418.

Gardens of Spain, at the same time as the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs*; Koechlin was acquainted with the work and quoted an excerpt from it in the second volume of his *Traité de l'harmonie* (see below). (Eschig may also have sent *La vida breve* at the same time.)

WORK	DATE OF PUBLICATION	DATE DISPATCH ANNOUNCED	DATE RECEIPT ACKNOWLEDGED
<i>Seven Popular Spanish Songs</i>	1922	–	between 29 July and 25 October 1922
<i>Master Peter's Puppet Show</i>	1924	28 April 1925	3 May 1925
<i>Concerto</i>	1928	2 September 1928	–

Table 5.3.iii

Known dates of Koechlin's acquisition of scores of music by Falla. All evidence from the Falla-Koechlin correspondence.

Koechlin's gifts of scores and books were almost always preceded, accompanied or followed by a brief description of his intentions in writing the work in question. He also wrote on occasion about works in progress.⁵⁴ He clearly enjoyed talking about his work, and no doubt recognised Falla as a sympathiser with whom he could discuss such topics. These comments are often highly illuminating, and are of some significance to Koechlin scholarship;⁵⁵ those relating to specific works (including works of pedagogy) are collected and reproduced in Table 5.3.v at the end of this section.

Falla was much more reticent about his own work. He made direct observations about it only once: this was in his letter of 25 October 1922, when he listed engraving errors in *Fantasia bætica* so that Koechlin could make corrections to his copy. (These errors were corrected in later editions of the score.) Never did he reveal anything of his aesthetic or extra-musical intentions, as Koechlin did.

⁵⁴ Notably, he recorded his intention to write a book about modal music in his letter of 4 November [1930]. This work was the three-volume *Traité de la polyphonie modale*, written in 1931-2, but never published (Orledge, *Charles Koechlin*, 419).

⁵⁵ Robert Orledge quotes from Koechlin's letters of shortly before 25 June and 26 December 1923 in his discussions of the Flute, Cello and Viola Sonatas (*Charles Koechlin*, 106-7, 111, and 116 respectively), and from Koechlin's letter of 3 May 1925 in his discussion of *Jacob chez Laban* (*ibid.*, 98).

the score.) Never did he reveal anything of his aesthetic or extra-musical intentions, as Koechlin did.

As far as this correspondence is concerned, Falla's artistic intentions are revealed most clearly in his approval of Koechlin's comments on his works. It is frustrating that his observations on the 'Asturiana' of the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs* (made in a letter written some time between 29 July and 25 October 1922) should have been lost. It would have been fascinating to have known them, for, in his reply, Falla declared: 'Et quelle admirable justesse dans votre commentaire de l'Asturienne...' ('And how admirably accurate is your commentary on the "Asturiana"...').⁵⁶

Juan María Thomas records the 'particular cariño' ('particular affection') that Falla had for Koechlin's 1914 article on *La vida breve*.⁵⁷ Falla told Koechlin of his admiration for it on two occasions: on 31 January 1914, shortly after reading it for the first time, and on 25 April 1933, after receiving the second copy of it from Koechlin. In the later of these two letters, he wrote:

... jamais on a rien dit d'aussi *aigu* sur cet ouvrage – presque d'écolier – qui sans Paris et sans vous tous serait resté dans mes tiroirs comme simple souvenir des espoirs déçus ...

... nothing more *acute* has ever been said about this work – practically that of a novice – which without Paris and without you all would have remained in my drawer as a simple souvenir of lost hopes ...

His approval is expressed in more specific terms in the earlier letter:

Vous avez deviné mes intentions d'une façon admirable et je suis fier d'être compris et jugé si exactement, *et avec tant de bonté aussi*, par le pur artiste que vous êtes. Ce que vous dites sur Albéniz est absolument juste. Je n'oublierai jamais ce que je dois à ce grand artiste malheureusement disparu, car si j'ai fait, en effet, la *Vida breve* sans connaître encore sa musique, c'est bien lui qui, après avoir entendu mon ouvrage, m'a marqué le chemin à suivre pour l'avenir.

You have worked out my intentions admirably, and I'm proud to be understood and judged so precisely, *and also with such kindness*, by the pure artist that you are. What you say about Albéniz is absolutely right. I'll never forget what I owe to that

⁵⁶ Letter from Falla to Koechlin, 25 October 1922.

⁵⁷ Thomas, *Manuel de Falla en la isla*, 208.

This last sentence actually succeeds in making sense of a contradiction in Koechlin's article. Koechlin observes that Albéniz set the Spanish musical renaissance in motion, and implies that *La vida breve* is an extension of this movement; but he also points out (albeit in a footnote) that Falla did not know Albéniz's work when he composed the opera.⁵⁸ It may be that the only comment on Albéniz of which he approved was this latter one. But this is unlikely given his specific praise for the accuracy of Koechlin's judgment. Almost half of the article is devoted to Albéniz; Koechlin describes the character of his work – '... langage simple, clair, rythmé, volontairement trivial par instants ...' ('... simple, clear, rhythmical language, willingly trivial at moments ...') – and then steps to the discussion of Falla's work with the words: 'Ces caractères généraux marquent aussi la *Vie brève*' ('These characteristics mark *La vida breve* too').

In his criticism of the opera itself, two of the ingredients he notes are 'simplicité' and 'pureté'; it is clear from Falla's comments elsewhere (notably in the *cante jondo* essay) that he would have considered this last word in particular to be eminently complimentary.⁵⁹ Indeed, as we have seen, it was a compliment which Falla returned in this very letter of 31 December 1914, addressing Koechlin as 'le pur artiste que vous êtes' ('the pure artist that you are').⁶⁰

In return, Koechlin attached great value to Falla's appreciative comments on his own work; on several occasions, he expressed his feelings on this matter with exactly the same words (albeit in different configurations):

⁵⁸ Koechlin may have obtained this information from another critic, such as Georges Jean-Aubry. It is more likely, however, that he learned it directly from Falla.

⁵⁹ See Chris Collins, 'Manuel de Falla, *L'Acoustique nouvelle* and natural resonance', forthcoming in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, cxxviii, 1 (May 2003). The word also features prominently in Falla's response to questions posed by the journal *Musique* (ii, 8 [15 May 1929], 897 [FEs, 119-20; FO, 73]), a portion of which is reproduced in § 5.4.

⁶⁰ Falla also expressed his gratitude for Koechlin's favourable comments on his works in his letters of 24 March 1924 and 14 February 1933.

... l'approbation d'un musicien tel que vous m'est précieuse.⁶¹
 ... the approval of a musician such as you is precious to me.

Votre approbation m'est des plus précieuses.⁶²
 Your approval is most precious to me.

Merci de votre approbation, qui m'est précieuse extrêmement.⁶³
 Thank you for your approval, which is extremely precious to me.

Merci ... de votre sympathie pour ma musique et pour mes ouvrages
 d'enseignement. Rien ne m'est plus précieux, venant d'un musicien
 tel que vous.⁶⁴

Thank you ... for your sympathy for my music and for my educational works.
 Nothing is more precious to me, coming from a musician such as you.

In spite of the similarities, these are not empty courtesies. The importance to him of Falla's admiration is evident in an autobiographical sketch (written in the third person) dating from 1935-9, which includes the following:

M. de Falla, Florent Schmitt, Roussel, Milhaud l'ont mis assez haut pour qu'il n'ait pas à se plaindre de l'incompréhension de ses confrères les meilleurs!⁶⁵

Manuel de Falla, Florent Schmitt, Roussel and Milhaud placed him high enough for him not to need to complain [to have no cause for complaint?] that his most valued colleagues did not understand him!

His own admiration for Falla's music is implicit in comments such as these; other sources, however, make it explicit. In his review of *La vida breve*, he describes Falla as 'doué comme peut-être un musicien de premier ordre' ('gifted as a first-class musician perhaps'). Paradoxically, it is the qualifying adverb that imparts a sense of sincerity to this observation. After re-reading this article nearly twenty years later, he told Falla: '... je me félicite ... d'avoir été bon prophète en mettant ma confiance dans votre musique' ('... I

⁶¹ Letter from Koechlin to Falla, 8 September [1923].

⁶² Letter from Koechlin to Falla, 26 December [1923].

⁶³ Letter from Koechlin to Falla, 18 January 1928.

⁶⁴ Letter from Koechlin to Falla, 19 January 1930.

⁶⁵ Koechlin, 'Étude sur Charles Koechlin par lui-même', 71-2. English translation by Susan Ironfield, from Orledge, *Charles Koechlin*, 321.

congratulate myself ... for having been a good prophet by placing my confidence in your music').⁶⁶

His esteem is also evident in his inclusion of extracts from Falla's music in his theoretical works.⁶⁷ The second volume of the *Traité de l'harmonie* contains five such excerpts; these are shown in Table 5.3.iv.

PAGE	EXTRACT
227	<i>Seven Popular Spanish Songs</i> , 'El paño moruno', bars 25-6.
238	<i>Id.</i> , <i>id.</i> , bar 60 (piano part only).
244	<i>Id.</i> , 'Seguidilla murciana', bars 25-7.
249	<i>Master Peter's Puppet Show</i> (piano transcription), figure 4, bar 1 (incorrectly transcribed) and bars 5-6. <i>Id.</i> , figure 5, bars 4-6 (full-size staves only).
250	<i>Id.</i> , figure 5, bar 9, to figure 6, bar 1 (top three staves only). <i>Nights in the Gardens of Spain</i> , 'En el Generalife', figure 9, bars 1-3 (reduction to two staves).

Table 5.3.iv

Extracts from works by Falla in Koechlin, *Traité de l'harmonie*, ii.

Comparing Koechlin's article on *La vida breve* to his comments in his letters to Falla, we find a clear and consistent recognition of the qualities of Falla's work which he most admired. His appreciation of its purity and simplicity has already been mentioned; over fifteen years later, contrasting it with the work of Paul Dupin, he commented on its related qualities of 'ordre', 'clarté' and 'concision'.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Letter from Koechlin to Falla, 5 March 1933.

⁶⁷ He first expressed his desire to do this in his letter of 10 June [1922].

⁶⁸ Letter from Koechlin to Falla, 19 July [1931]. Pahissa also mentions an article by Koechlin on *El amor brujo*, published in 'the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* of Paris', which he describes as follows: 'En él hace resaltar la pureza de líneas en la escritura, la simplicidad dentro de la riqueza, y la originalidad, sin exageración, de esta música' ('What stands out in it is the purity of line in the writing, the simplicity within the richness, and the originality, without exaggeration of the music') (PV, 95 [PM, 87; my translation]). Pahissa goes on to note that this was 'una de las opiniones que mejor recuerda Falla' ('one of the opinions that Falla

In the article, he also comments on Falla's careful use of popular material; he discusses 'le difficile problème d'unir une musique moderne à celle du *folklore*' ('the difficult problem of combining a modern [style of] music with that of folklore') but concludes that 'il semble bien que M. de Falla y soit heureusement parvenu' ('it really seems as though M. de Falla has happily achieved it'). This mirrors his later comments on *El amor brujo*:

Il y a là une union intime de votre musique avec la folklore espagnol – comme dans vos sept chansons populaires notamment – et quelle orchestration parfaite! Tous mes félicitations pour la complète réussite de cette œuvre.⁶⁹

In it, your music is intimately linked with Spanish folklore – as in your seven popular songs notably – and what perfect orchestration! My congratulations on the complete success of this work.

Koechlin admired another dichotomy in the *Concerto* and *Soneto a Córdoba*; in a letter to Falla, he wrote:

J'aime beaucoup ces deux œuvres – le tradition du passé, (d'une passé parfois lointain, car on y pense par instants aux musiciens de la renaissance) s'allié à une indépendance d'écriture qui est, dans le meilleur sens du mot, moderne et très vibrante.⁷⁰

I very much like these two works – the tradition of the past (of a distant past, perhaps, for at times I thought of the musicians of the Renaissance) allied with an independence of writing which is, in the best sense of the word, modern and very vibrant.

remembers best'; PV, 95 [this sentence is not translated in PM]). Demarquez quotes what she claims to be a passage from this article; in reality, however, it is more or less a direct translation into French of Pahissa's description of it: 'D'une telle œuvre jaillit la pureté de lignes de l'écriture, la simplicité parmi la richesse et l'originalité sans exagération' (D, 82). I have been unable to locate Koechlin's article, and, significantly, no copy is present in Falla's own collection of press cuttings preserved at *E-GRmf*. It is therefore probable that the article in question never existed, and that Falla (or Pahissa) was incorrectly remembering Koechlin's earlier article on *La vida breve*, which contains observations of a remarkably similar nature. Demarquez, by extension, probably mistook Pahissa's paraphrasing of Koechlin's opinions for a direct quotation of them.

⁶⁹ Letter from Koechlin to Falla, [13, 20 or 27 June 1925].

⁷⁰ Letter from Koechlin to Falla, 15 [May] 1927. In addition to *La vida breve*, the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs*, *El amor brujo*, the *Concerto* and *Soneto a Córdoba*, Koechlin also expressed his admiration for *Master Peter's Puppet Show* (letter of 3 May [1925]) and *The Three-Cornered Hat* (letter of [shortly before 24 March 1928]; lost).

In comparison, Falla's comments on Koechlin's compositions seem rather general; they certainly reveal much less about the precise qualities that moved him. He comments on the 'si rare pureté musicale' ('such rare musical purity') – that word again! – of the *Hommage à Gabriel Fauré*, and observes that 'le thème est si ingénieusement employé' ('the theme is employed so ingeniously').⁷¹ In the same letter, he writes of the 'belle souplesse rythmique' ('fine rhythmic suppleness') of the *Douze Petites Pièces*. Commenting on the 'belles' ('beautiful') *Chansons bretonnes* (which make use of genuine folk material),⁷² he proclaims: 'Et avec quelle belle parure vous les avez rehaussées!' ('And with what fine livery you have adorned them!').⁷³ Perhaps his most revealing comments on Koechlin's music are those he reserved for the *Douze Esquisses* and the Flute Sonata; we shall return to these later (§ 5.4).⁷⁴

The Koechlin scores in Falla's collection reveal little more about the qualities of it that he admired. While all of these scores betray evidence of having been read (though not necessarily by Falla, of course), he annotated only two. These are the two volumes of *Chansons bretonnes* for cello and piano, and the annotations amount to no more than a few numbers on the title pages of each score: 'I - III - V - VI' in Volume 1, and '1 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6' in Volume 2. These numbers clearly relate to movements – each volume contains six – and they probably indicate those that he liked best.

What distinguishes these movements from the others is that their musical language is more fundamentally tonal. The third movement of the second volume ('Le Baron de Jaouioz'), for instance, is unmistakably in F major throughout; there is not a single accidental. Most of the movements make

⁷¹ Letter from Falla to Koechlin, 25 October 1922. The theme in question was based on Fauré's name; see Arbie Orenstein, *A Ravel Reader: correspondence, articles, interviews* (New York, 1990), 210, n. 3.

⁷² Orledge, *Charles Koechlin*, 152-3.

⁷³ Letter from Falla to Koechlin, 17 January 1936.

⁷⁴ Letter from Falla to Koechlin, 31 August 1923. In addition to those already mentioned, other works by Koechlin of which Falla expressed his admiration are the *Mélodies* and String Quartet No. 1 (and possibly also the Sonata for two flutes; see above) (letter of 11 November 1922), *Chansons de Bilitis* ([19 December 1923]), and *Jacob chez Laban* ([11 June 1925 or shortly afterwards]).

much use of essentially triadic harmonies; this is especially true of the first and fifth movements of Volume 1 ('La Prophétie de Gwenc'hlan' and 'Saint-Efflam et le Roi Arthur'), which centre on minor and major triads respectively (Example 5.3.i).

CELLO *Maestoso, pas trop lent* (♩ = 78)

PIANO *mf soutenu, l'archet à la corde*

The score shows the Cello part in the upper staff and the Piano part in the lower staff. The Cello part consists of a series of eighth notes with a melodic line. The Piano part features a sustained triadic accompaniment in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The tempo is marked 'Maestoso, pas trop lent' with a quarter note equal to 78 beats per minute. The dynamic is 'mf' (mezzo-forte) and the performance instruction is 'soutenu, l'archet à la corde'.

Koechlin, *Chansons bretonnes*, i, 'La Prophétie de Gwenc'hlan', bars 1-3.

CELLO *Maestoso, soutenu (avec une allure de procession)*

PIANO *mf (à cette 8^{ve})*

The score shows the Cello part in the upper staff and the Piano part in the lower staff. The Cello part has a melodic line with a steady rhythm. The Piano part features a sustained triadic accompaniment in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The tempo is marked 'Maestoso, soutenu (avec une allure de procession)'. The dynamic is 'mf' (mezzo-forte) and the performance instruction is '(à cette 8^{ve})'. The piano part also includes the instruction '(sans dureté) (lumineux)'.

Koechlin, *Chansons bretonnes*, i, 'Saint-Efflam et le Roi Arthur', bars 1-6.

Example 5.3.i

The sixth piece ('Les Laboueurs') includes a drone throughout the majority of its length; most often, this drone features a bare fifth. Fifths are also important in the first movement of the second volume ('Les Trois Moines rouges'; see Example 5.3.ii).

Moderato (♩ = 92 à 96)

CELLO

PIANO

f *ff*

Red.

Koechlin, *Chansons bretonnes*, ii, 'Les Trois Moines rouges', bar 1.

Example 5.3.ii

One of the other movements that Falla selected ('Le Vin des gaulois': volume 1, movement 2) features extensive semitone motion, mostly in the form of chromatic scales (Example 5.3.iii).

CELLO

PIANO

8^{va}

Koechlin, *Chansons bretonnes*, i, 'Le Vin des gaulois', bars 27-9.

Example 5.3.iii

These methods – the adherence to tonal values, the preference for triadic harmonies (especially at cadences), the use of bare fifths and quartal harmonies for specific effects, and the fondness for semitone motion – are all features of Falla's own compositional practice: features for which he found

theoretical justification in Louis Lucas's *L'Acoustique nouvelle*.⁷⁵ We may assume that Koechlin's example (like Ravel's before it; see § 4.4) presented a kind of practical justification for them.

Falla's search for justification in Koechlin's music is mirrored by his evident enthusiasm for his works of theory,⁷⁶ almost all of which deal with strictly tonal music.⁷⁷ He expressed his admiration for the *Précis des règles du contrepoint* in the following terms:

Par sa concision – si sage! – par sa clarté et par tant d'autres qualités précieuses il est d'une telle utilité pratique que dès ce moment, je le recommande chaudement aux aspirants... et aux écoles de musique qui me demandent des conseils. Je vous félicite de tout cœur, cher ami. Il faut être un grand artiste pour pouvoir signaler d'une si rare façon le chemin à suivre pour le devenir.⁷⁸

Through its concision – so wise! – through its clarity and through so many other precious qualities, it's of such practical use that, from now on, I'll warmly recommend it to students ... and to the music schools that ask for my advice. I warmly congratulate you, dear friend. It takes a great artist to be able to indicate in such an exceptional way the path to follow for the future.

And he described the *Théorie de la musique* as a

livre vraiment *unique* parmi les ouvrages analogues qui me sont connus. C'est bien mieux qu'une *Théorie*; vous nous avez donné une véritable Introduction à l'Art de la Musique ...⁷⁹

⁷⁵ See Collins, 'Manuel de Falla, *L'Acoustique nouvelle* and natural resonance'.

⁷⁶ This enthusiasm extended to Koechlin's books and articles in general. Speaking of his biographies of Debussy and Fauré (*Les Musiciens célèbres: Debussy* [Paris, 1927] and *Les Maîtres de la musique: Gabriel Fauré* [Paris, 1927]), he told him: 'Il faut un homme comme vous pour traiter des pareils sujets avec une si sereine clairvoyance!...' ('It takes a man like you to treat of such subjects with such serene perceptiveness!...'; letter of 7 January 1928). With reference to Koechlin's article in the special issue of *La Revue musicale* devoted to Fauré ('Le Théâtre', iii, 11 [15 October 1922], 34-49), he wrote: 'L'article sur le théâtre de Fauré m'a vivement intéressé, comme d'ailleurs tous les vôtres parus dans *La Revue musicale*' ('Your article on Fauré's theat[r]ical music] keenly interested me, as indeed have all of yours published in *La Revue musicale*'; letter of 25 October 1922). None of the many articles by Koechlin in Falla's library are annotated.

⁷⁷ The only exception among Koechlin's theoretical works in Falla's library is the part of the second volume of the *Traité de l'harmonie* which handles the work of contemporary composers.

⁷⁸ Letter from Falla to Koechlin, 2 February 1927.

⁷⁹ Letter from Falla to Koechlin, 17 January 1936. In addition to these works, he also expressed his admiration of the *Étude sur les notes de passage*, describing it as 'un livre

truly *unique* book among the works of its type that I know. It's much more than a *Théorie*; you've given us a veritable Introduction to the Art of Music ...

Moreover, he recommended that *Étude sur les notes de passage* be one of the set texts for theory classes at the Madrid Conservatoire.⁸⁰ (The date at which he did so is unknown, but it was presumably before any other of Koechlin's works of theory had been published, for otherwise he would no doubt have recommended more of them.)

Falla's copies of these works are far more heavily annotated than his scores of Koechlin's music. Handwritten notes are found in four of these treatises: *Étude sur les notes de passage*, *Précis des règles du contrepoint*, *Étude sur le choral d'école d'après J.-S. Bach*, and *Étude sur l'écriture de la fugue d'école*. It is unlikely, however, that he read any of these books in their entirety; in two of them, many of the pages remain uncut, and the fact that he annotated pages that just happened to be open because of the binding process indicate that his perusal of these books was fairly casual.⁸¹

Most of the annotations in these books take the form of crosses in the margin, drawing attention to passages and examples of interest. The first few pages of each book are usually more heavily annotated than the remainder. Occasional words are underlined, and a few of the musical examples contain markings which attest to Falla's close analysis of them. Given this and the facts of their distribution through the books, it is probable that the marginalia signal nothing more than his approval of and agreement with certain observations.

précieux dans tout le sens du mot' ('a precious work in every sense of the word' [it should be noted that the word 'précieux' also has the connotation of 'invaluable']; letter of 14 July 1922. Curiously, he seems not to have been especially interested in this work when it was earlier published in serial form in *Le Monde musical*; one installment of it remains uncut in Falla's copy (xxxii, 23-24 [December 1920]; *E-GRmf*, inventory number 7861).

⁸⁰ The memorandum in which he did so is preserved at *E-GRmf*, and has been published (in French translation) in Falla, *Écrits sur la musique et sur les musiciens* (Arles, 1992), 91-2.

⁸¹ Marginalia are found on pages 64-5 of *Précis sur les règles du contrepoint*, but the pages either side of them are uncut. These page numbers are not specifically listed in the index to the book, so Falla must have read this page simply because it was open, and could not be bothered to cut the pages before and after.

Given that all four of these treatises deal with strict musical forms, it is perhaps unsurprising that Falla drew attention to Koechlin's more audacious comments on the circumstances in which some freedom is permitted.⁸² A significant portion of the book on Bach's chorale style is devoted to the discussion of 'Libertés diverses' ('Various liberties'): acceptable uses of consecutive fifths and octaves, and so on. Most of Falla's marginalia in this book are found on these pages.⁸³ Falla also annotated the handling of similar topics in the book on passing notes, including, for instance, comments on the circumstances in which it is admissible for passing notes in two parts to form consecutive parallel ninths.⁸⁴

In commenting on these books in his letters to Koechlin, Falla is careful to emphasise that he considers them the work of an artist: the implication is that they are not the work of a mere theorist. He must have been led to this conclusion by sentences such as the following, found in the book on counterpoint, and marked with a cross in the margin:

L'étude des exemples précédents montre à quel point il est difficile, en certains cas, de poser des règles fixes, et qu'on doit toujours se reporter à l'impression de l'oreille.⁸⁵

The study of the preceding examples shows just how difficult it is, in certain cases, to set down fixed rules, and that how it sounds to the ear should always be taken into account.

Another passage which Falla marked in the *Précis des règles du contrepoint* seems to tie in with his evident dislike of repetition:

L'étude du contrepoint ayant pour but de développer, chez l'élève, l'imagination qui invente des mouvements de parties aisés et divers, on évitera, dans un exercice donné, de répéter une même formule mélodique. Ou bien, si l'on se voit contraint de le faire, que cela soit à quelque distance. Il résulte de cette règle que jamais l'on n'écrira de

⁸² See, for instance, *Étude sur l'écriture de la fugue d'école*, 8.

⁸³ Pages 32-40.

⁸⁴ *Étude sur les notes de passage*, 40.

⁸⁵ *Précis des règles du contrepoint*, 8.

marches d'harmonie: au contraire, on devra toujours chercher des variantes.⁸⁶

Since the aim of studying counterpoint is to develop in the pupil *the imagination* which invents fluent and varied movements in the parts, the repetition of a particular melodic formula in a given exercise should be avoided. Or at least, if it cannot be avoided, then it should be done at some distance. The result of this rule is that repeated harmonic patterns are never written: on the contrary, variants should always be sought.

Exact repetition was something that Falla avoided even in works where it is expected, such as the *Concerto*. The variation form of the second movement is an obvious device for avoiding exact repetition while maintaining integrity; the extended closed-binary form of the third and the unique form of the first (where the old tune 'De los álamos vengo, madre' is fragmented, receiving a full statement only at the end of the movement) are more original solutions to the same problem.

It is in the final part of *Atlántida* that Falla's music most closely approaches the strict musical styles studied in these theoretical works. 'La nit suprema' opens fugally, with a real answer a fifth higher, while 'La Salve en el mar' is modelled on the Latin motet (the Catholic equivalent, perhaps, to the Bach chorale). Counterpoint, Renaissance in style if not in vocabulary, is central to Falla's purpose of evoking the fifteenth-century setting of this part of the work.

Some of the annotations in Koechlin's treatises may well be associated with the composition of this work: notably, one of the few sections of the *Précis des règles du contrepoint* that he cut was the Appendix,⁸⁷ which discusses in detail the modal language of Gregorian chant. In the *Étude sur le choral d'école d'après J.-S. Bach*, his annotations point to the thirteenth-century tune of 'Christ ist erstanden',⁸⁸ and to the 'ancien thème liturgique' ('ancient

⁸⁶ *Précis des règles du contrepoint*, 10.

⁸⁷ Pages 128-37.

⁸⁸ BWV 276; *Étude sur le choral d'école*, 50.

liturgical theme'), in the Phrygian mode, of the chorale 'Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir'.⁸⁹

But it is Falla's all-embracing fascination with music theory, rather than the specific pertinence of Koechlin's observations to his music, that is most apparent in his annotations in these volumes. We have already noted his concern to justify his own musical language in theoretical terms. Given the modernity of his music, it cannot have been easy for him to find such justification. This is precisely what Koechlin supplies, however, with his comments on liberties and, perhaps most significantly, on 'l'impression de l'oreille' ('how it sounds to the ear').⁹⁰

⁸⁹ From the cantata BWV 38; *Étude sur le choral d'école*, 74.

⁹⁰ It may not have been only devices in his own music that he sought to analyse in this way. He may have recognised the relationship between a device he noted in Ravel's *Trois Chansons* (see § 4.4) and the following sentence that he marked in the *Étude sur les notes de passage* (page 51): 'Si l'on veut permettre certaines licences à l'élève déjà expérimenté, il sera possible alors qu'il s'exerce à résoudre (ou même à préparer) les dissonances *par échange entre les parties*, moyen très employé dans la musique moderne (particulièrement, et de la façon la plus heureuse, par M. G. Fauré)' ('If it is desirable to allow some freedom to an experienced pupil, then it would be possible for him to practise resolving (or even preparing) dissonances *by part-exchange*, a method used very much in modern music (particularly, and most happily, by M.[onsieur] G. Fauré)').

TITLE OF WORK AND SOURCE OF COMMENT	KOECHLIN'S COMMENTS ON THE WORK(S)
<p><i>Méodies</i> Letter dated 4 November [1922]</p>	<p>Je vous fais envoyer par l'éditeur Philippo un récent tirage de mes principales mélodies, en 4 recueils. Cela ne vaut pas l'ancien tirage, – (à part quelques corrections <i>musicales</i> qui m'ont paru nécessaires, notamment dans la <i>Jeune Tarentine</i> et à la dernière page de <i>Déclin d'amour</i>, qui est je crois beaucoup plus expressive avec la nouvelle réalisation).</p> <p>I'm getting the publisher Philippo to send you a recent edition of my most important songs, in 4 volumes. It's not as good as the old edition (apart from some <i>musical</i> corrections which seemed necessary to me, notably in 'La Jeune Tarentine' and on the last page of 'Declin d'amour', which I think is much more expressive in the new realisation).</p>
<p><i>Douze Esquisses, op. 41 nos. 1 and 2</i> Undated letter [shortly before 25 June 1923]</p>	<p>... la 1ère série de mes Esquisses pour piano, petites pièces que j'ai écrites déjà il y a longtemps (sauf la 1ère, récente) sans y attacher autrement d'importance, mais que j'ai jugées cependant assez musicales pour être éditées. On a écrit, ou voulu écrire, bien de choses sublimes, il y a vingt ans, au temps où j'écrivais ces petites pièces de musique familière...</p> <p>... pour le 2de [série] il y a erreur au sujet de la dédicace[:] lisez <i>François Berthet</i>, qui est, comme Fred Barlow, un de mes élèves, et de réelle valeur.⁹¹</p> <p>... the 1st series of my <i>Esquisses</i> for piano, little pieces I wrote a long time ago (except for the 1st, which is recent) without attaching any particular importance to them, but which I nevertheless judged sufficiently musical to be published. I wrote – or wanted to write – lots of sublime things twenty years ago when I wrote these little pieces of light music ...</p> <p>... in the 2nd [series], there's an error in the subject of the dedication: read <i>François Berthet</i>, who is, like Fred Barlow, one of my pupils, and of real merit.</p>
<p><i>Sonata for Flute and Piano</i> Undated letter [shortly before 25 June 1923]</p>	<p>Ma sonate de flûte gagnerait peut être à être orchestrée (surtout le final), je tenterai un jour de la faire si j'en ai le temps.</p> <p>Ce sont des impressions méditerranéennes: I. – Calme d'un matin d'été, sur la mer[.] II. – Églogue de Virgile. Se terminant par le classique: majoresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae. III. – Nymphes et chasseuses dans le forêt païenne.</p> <p>My flute sonata would perhaps benefit from being orchestrated (especially the finale); I'll try to do it one day if I have time.</p> <p>It consists of Mediterranean impressions: I. – Calm of a summer morning, at sea. II. – Eclogue by Virgil. Ending in the classical <i>majoresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae</i>. III. – Nymphs and huntresses in the pagan forest.</p>

Table 5.3.v (continued overleaf)

⁹¹ The printed dedication in the second series of *Douze Esquisses* (op. 41, no. 2) is to 'François Barlow' (*sic*: the first series is dedicated to Fred Barlow). The opus number is also incorrect on the front cover, but the correct number is given inside the score.

TITLE OF WORK AND SOURCE OF COMMENT	KOECHLIN'S COMMENTS ON THE WORK(S)
<p><i>La Course de printemps</i>, op. 95</p> <p>? 24 <i>Chorals sur de thèmes anciens</i>, op. 82</p> <p>? <i>Trois Réalisations d'un même choral</i>, op. 82bis</p> <p>? 18 <i>Chorals</i>, op. 83</p> <p>Letter dated 8 September 1923</p>	<p>Je n'aurai certainement pas fini, en rentrant à Méry, les poèmes symphoniques que j'ai entrepris, mais j'espère que le plus important sera à peu près épuisé, et alors le plus difficile sera fait. On voudrait pouvoir arrêter le temps et faire durer indéfiniment ces calmes et admirables journées de septembre, et ces loisirs consacrés au travail.</p> <p>Je m'efforce d'en traduire quelque chose, de ce calme et de cette sérénité, dans des chorales a capella que j'ai écrits, et dont l'harmonie consonante me montre que le langage polytonal (auquel j'ai recours d'une façon dévergondée dans mes poèmes symphoniques actuels) n'est pas le seul possible. Mais tout dépend de l'idée musicale, et de ce qu'on veut dire.</p> <p>When I get back to Méry, I certainly won't have finished the symphonic poems that I've begun, but I hope that the most important one will be pretty much out of the way, and so the most difficult will be done. I wish it was possible to stop time and make these calm and wonderful September days last forever, and this time leisurely devoted to work.</p> <p>I'm endeavouring to translate something of this calm and serenity in some <i>a capella</i> chorales that I've written, the consonant harmony of which demonstrates to me that a polytonal language (to which I resort shamelessly in my current symphonic poems) isn't the only one possible. But it all depends on the musical idea, and on what you want to say.</p>
<p><i>Chansons de Bilitis</i></p> <p>Letter dated 26 December [1923]</p>	<p>[In reply to Falla's expression of amazement that these songs date from 1898 ([19 December 1923]):]</p> <p>Vous savez que c'est le 1ère[,] seulement, qui date de 1898 – les autres sont été écrites, si je me souviens bien, de 1906 à 1908. Mais elles étaient, encore alors, assez nouvelles, et même au comité de la S. M. I.[] Il n'y avait eu guère que Jean Huré qui les avait goûtés, je crois[.]</p> <p>You realise that it's only the 1st which dates from 1898. The others were written, if I remember correctly, between 1906 and 1908. But they were rather new even then, and even to the committee of the SMI. Jean Huré was just about the only one who appreciated them, I believe.</p>
<p><i>Sonata for Piano and Viola</i></p> <p><i>Pastorales</i></p> <p>Letter dated 26 December [1923]</p>	<p>La sonate d'alto est une longue plainte, inspirée par la timbre même de l'instrument, et par le poésie de R. d'Humières: <i>Sur la grève</i>, (que vous retrouverez dans l'un des recueils de mélodies que je vous ai envoyés, je crois)[.] Elle est, il me semble, à l'opposé de mes <i>Pastorales</i>, et c'est plutôt une sorte de symphonie à je pense l'orchestrer quelque jour.</p> <p>The Viola Sonata is a long plaint, inspired by the very timbre of the instrument, and by R. d'Humières's poem 'Sur la grève' (which you'll find in one of the volumes of songs that I sent you, I think). It seems to me to be the opposite to my <i>Pastorales</i>, and it's more a sort of symphony that I'm thinking of orchestrating some day.</p>

Table 5.3.v (continued overleaf)

TITLE OF WORK AND SOURCE OF COMMENT	KOECHLIN'S COMMENTS ON THE WORK(S)
<p>Sonata for Cello and Piano Letter dated 26 December [1923]</p>	<p>Pour le sonate de violoncelle, le final vous fera sans doute penser à diverses choses des jeunes français (Milhaud, etc.) mais elle date de 1917 et c'est donc analogie de sentiments et de langage, plutôt qu' 'influence des Six'.</p> <p>As for the Cello Sonata, the finale will no doubt make you think of various things by the 'jeunes Français' (Milhaud, etc.), but it dates from 1917 and so it's therefore an analogy in [terms of] sentiment and language, rather than [a case of] the 'influence of Les Six'.</p>
<p>Jacob chez Laban Letter dated 3 May [1925]</p> <p>Undated letter [13, 20 or 27 June 1925]</p>	<p>Mme Bériza va monter aussi une petite pastorale biblique, que j'avais écrite il y a a quelque vingt ans, <i>Jacob chez Laban</i> – dont je ne renie pas la musique bien qu'elle soit assez différente de ce que j'ai écrit ces dernières années. Mais je crois que le nature des accords importe peu, et qu'on peut aussi bien faire de la musique avec des accords parfaits qu'avec de la bitonalité, ou de l'atonalité.</p> <p>Mme Bériza is also going to stage a little Biblical pastoral, which I wrote twenty years ago, <i>Jacob chez Laban</i> – whose music I'm not ashamed of even though it's rather different to what I've written in recent years. But I don't think that the nature of the chords is very important, and I think it's as possible to make good music with common chords as with bitonality, or atonality.</p> <p>Dans mon idée, ce <i>Jacob chez Laban</i> est comme une 'cantate du prix de Rome' où je me suis efforcé de réaliser ce qu'on devrait faire comme <i>musique</i>, dans ce genre de composition. La prélude est déjà ancien, je l'avais écrit étant encore au Conservatoire! Mais je ne le renie pas.</p> <p>To my mind, <i>Jacob chez Laban</i> is like a 'Prix de Rome cantata' in which I forced myself to write the sort of <i>music</i> which has to be written for this kind of composition. The prelude is really old: I wrote it when I was still at the Conservatoire! But I'm not ashamed of it.</p>
<p>String Quartet No. 3 Handwritten comment in Falla's score</p>	<p>[On the title page, Koechlin has crossed out 'en Ré' ('in D') and written:]</p> <p>C'est le 1er qui est en Ré! Celui-ci n'est dans aucun ton bien déterminé.</p> <p>It's the first [quartet] which is in D! This one isn't in any key really.</p>

Table 5.3.v (concluded overleaf)

TITLE OF WORK AND SOURCE OF COMMENT	KOECHLIN'S COMMENTS ON THE WORK(S)
<p><i>Traité de l'harmonie</i>, ii Letter dated 8 June 1930</p>	<p>Je continue à vous faire envoyer mes ouvrages d'enseignement, mais j'ai presque scrupule à vous obliger de lire ce 2d volume (dernier gravé) de mon <i>Traité de l'Harmonie</i>, dont la plupart des chapitres sont plutôt destinés à des élèves, et ne disent que des choses que vous savez depuis longtemps – notamment dans toute la longue histoire de l'évolution de l'harmonie – mais vous réservez toujours un si aimable accueil à chacun de mes envois, qui je vais vous faire adresser, d'ici peu, ce 2d volume par la maison Eschig. J'y ai mis plusieurs de mes réalisations de leçons d'harmonie sur des textes de concours, qui, j'espère, vous intéresseront.</p> <p>I'm still having my educational works sent to you, but I've some qualms about making you read this second volume (the last one to be engraved) of my <i>Traité de l'harmonie</i>, most of the chapters of which are aimed more at students and say nothing that you haven't known for ages – notably in all the long history of the evolution of harmony – but you always warmly welcome everything I send, so I'm going to get the house of Eschig to send you this second volume soon. I've included several of my realisations of harmony exercises based on competition texts, which, I hope, will interest you.</p>
<p><i>Étude sur l'écriture de la fugue d'école</i> Letter dated 8 June 1930</p>	<p>Je suis resté assez tard dans la Midi où j'ai travaillé à un ouvrage sur l'<i>écriture de la Fugue d'école</i>, destiné à montrer aux élèves les nombreuses ressources des notes du passage, rencontres de notes etc, auxquelles en général ils ne pensent pas assez. Les élèves restent le plus souvent de timides harmonistes, ou bien ils se servent à d'anarchiques 'audaces' en fait de mouvements de parties; il y a un équilibre entre ces deux extrêmes, trop rarement atteint, et vers lequel je voudrais guider les élèves.</p> <p>I stayed quite late in the south of France, where I worked on a study of <i>the writing of academic fugue</i>, intended to show students the numerous resources of passing notes, collisions of notes, etc., which in general they don't think about enough. Most often, students remain timid writers of harmony, or else they use anarchical 'audacities' in the voice-leading; there's a balance between these two extremes, too rarely attained, and towards which I'd like to guide students.</p>

Table 5.3.v

Koechlin's comments on his own works in his correspondence with Falla.

5.4 CONCLUSION: PARALLELS AND ANALOGIES

Falla's comments on Koechlin's works, and his annotations in copies of them in his library, reveal that his interest in them was founded on his recognition of the parallels with his own work that they present.

These parallels relate to aesthetic values. It was noted earlier (§ 5.3) that Falla's most revealing comments on Koechlin's music were applied to the *Douze Esquisses* and the Flute Sonata. But those observations really relate to his oeuvre as a whole:

J'y ai admiré une fois de plus cette émotion, aussi intense que sereine[,] et cette valeur de moyens mis au service de l'expression[,] qui caractérisent toujours votre musique.⁹²

[In these works] I've admired once more that emotion, as intense as it is serene, and that wealth of resources placed at the service of the expression, which always characterise your music.

The juxtaposition of two of these words – 'moyens' and 'expression' – presents an important link with the answer Falla gave to the question 'Quel sont [les] pôles d'attraction ... de votre art[?]' ('What are the focuses of attention ... in your work?') posed in 1928 by the periodical *Musique*:⁹³

a) Une pure substance musicale.

b) La musique où les lois éternelles du rythme et de tonalité – étroitement unies – soient consciemment observées.

Cette affirmation, cependant, ne doit jamais supposer un blâme pour ceux qui – noblement – agissent d'une façon opposée. Je crois, par contre, que le progrès dans la technique d'un art, ainsi que la

⁹² Letter from Falla to Koechlin, 31 August 1923. In addition to those already mentioned, other works by Koechlin of which Falla expressed his admiration are the *Mélodies* and String Quartet No. 1 (and possibly also the Sonata for Two Flutes; see above) (letter of 11 November 1922), *Chansons de Bilitis* ([19 December 1923]), and *Jacob chez Laban* ([11 June 1925 or shortly afterwards]).

⁹³ *Musique*, i. 10 (15 July 1928), 437.

découverte de possibilités réelles qui doivent contribuer à son plus grand épanouissement, sont dûs souvent à l'emploi de procédés en apparence arbitraires, soumis plus tard aux lois éternelles et immuables.

c) Tout ce qui représente un renouvellement dans les *moyens* techniques d'*expression*, même si par malheur, la réalisation était imparfaite.⁹⁴

a) Purity of musical material.

b) Music where the eternal laws of rhythm and tonality – closely united – are consciously observed.

This assertion, however, must not be taken to imply a rebuke to those who – nobly – act in an opposite way. On the contrary, I think that progress in the technique of an art, as well as the discovery of real possibilities which may well contribute to its greater blossoming, are often due to the use of procedures which may seem arbitrary, [but which] later submit to eternal and immutable laws.

c) Everything which represents a renewal of the technical *means* of *expression*, even if, unfortunately, the realisation was imperfect.

Falla discovered many of these values in Koechlin's work. In addition to the aforementioned comments on the means of expression in *Douze Esquisses* and the Flute Sonata, we have seen (§ 5.3) that he found purity in the *Hommage à Gabriel Fauré*,⁹⁵ and that he once addressed Koechlin as a 'pur artiste' ('pure artist').⁹⁶ He undoubtedly recognised in the *Suite javanaise* – perhaps the first piece by Koechlin he ever heard (§ 5.2) – an archetypal representation of 'a renewal of the technical means of expression'; it is to be recalled that he himself attempted a more radical synthesis of Eastern and Western music around the same time, in 'Chinoiserie'. Most significantly, we have seen from his annotations to scores and treatises how Falla's interest in his work centred on its use of or reference to tonal principles.

Koechlin's appraisal of Falla's work presents a direct analogy with this. It has been noted (§ 5.3) that purity was a quality he found in *La vida breve* when he reviewed it in 1914. He recognised Falla's attempts to find new modes of expression in *Soneto a Córdoba* and the *Concerto* through the synthesis of

⁹⁴ *Musique*, ii, 8 (15 May 1929), 897 (FEs, 119-20; FO, 73); my italics.

⁹⁵ Letter from Falla to Koechlin, 25 October 1922.

⁹⁶ Letter from Falla to Koechlin, 31 January 1914.

disparate elements. Moreover, Koechlin's pointed references to the tonal nature of some of his works in his letters to Falla (see Table 5.3.v) seem to demonstrate a desire to identify his own aesthetic with Falla's adherence to tonality:

... je crois ... qu'on peut aussi bien faire de la musique avec des accords parfaits qu'avec de la bitonalité, ou de l'atonalité.⁹⁷

... I think ... it's as possible to make good music with common chords as with bitonality, or atonality.

So both men were well aware of the correspondences in their art. It is this fact, coupled with their enormous mutual respect and affection, which makes this one of the most interesting of Falla's relationships with his contemporaries.

⁹⁷ Letter from Koechlin to Falla, 3 May [1925].

6 OTHER FRENCH COMPOSERS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Though Falla was acquainted with most French composers of his own generation, his interest was focused on the work of only a few of them. This fact was noted in Chapter 4, in relation to Falla's preference for Ravel's music over that of the other Apaches – even those (such as Schmitt) whom he counted among his closest friends.

The music of all twelve composers whose contacts with Falla are considered in the present chapter was of limited interest to him. All are very poorly represented in his library of scores; indeed, he owned nothing at all by four of them (Nadia Boulanger, Raoul Laparra, Paul Le Flem and Edgar Varèse). In their correspondence, substantially more attention is paid to their work in other musical spheres: as musicologists, conductors, performers, arrangers and critics. Moreover, it is clear that none of these composers – except Henri Collet and perhaps Gustave Samazeuilh and Louis Aubert – was on intimate terms with Falla in the same way as Debussy, Dukas, Ravel or Koechlin; indeed, most of them were little more than acquaintances.

Citations not given in the text or footnotes may be found in the following appendices:

	Aubert	Boulanger	Canteloube	Charpentier	Collet	Grovez
Correspondence	6.A.a	6.B.a	6.C.a	6.D.a	6.E.a	6.F.a
Printed music	6.A.b	N/A	6.C.b	6.D.b	6.E.b	6.F.b
Books	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	6.E.c	N/A
Performances	6.A.c	6.B.b	N/A	6.D.c	N/A	6.F.c
Recordings	N/A	N/A	N/A	6.D.d	N/A	N/A

	Laparra	Le Flem	Pierné	Samazeuilh	Satie	Varèse
Correspondence	6.G.a	6.H.a	6.J.a	6.K.a	N/A	6.M
Printed music	N/A	N/A	6.J.b	6.K.b	6.L.a	N/A
Performances	6.G.b	6.H.b	6.J.c	6.K.c	6.L.b	N/A

6.2 AUBERT

Louis Aubert undoubtedly came to know Falla before the outbreak of the First World War; he was a founding committee member of the Société Musicale Indépendante,¹ with which Falla was heavily involved from its inception (see § 4.2.1), and whose committee he had himself joined by 1914.² Not only were Aubert's works heard frequently at the SMI before the war; he also regularly took part in its concerts as a pianist.³

The earliest documentary evidence of his friendship with Falla is found in the copy of his *Six Poèmes arabes* (settings of poems by Franz Toussaint), which Aubert inscribed to him, 'bien affectueusement' ('very affectionately' – a sign that they were probably old friends), in June 1920. A few days earlier, both men played in a concert of the Société Nationale de Musique at the former Paris Conservatoire; Falla accompanied Magdeleine Greslé in his *Seven Popular Spanish Songs*, while Aubert accompanied Hélène Demellier in three of his own songs: *Nuit mauresque*, *Odelette* and *Roses de soir*.⁴

All of the surviving correspondence between the two men dates from between 1923 (when Aubert apologised for being unable because of illness to attend the first performance of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* at the home of the Princesse de Polignac)⁵ and 1930. Their letters deal mainly with two matters. First is Aubert's desire to have the soprano Madeleine Grey introduced to Falla: he hoped that such a meeting could be arranged before Falla's departure

¹ Michel Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale et ses sociétés à Paris de 1871 à 1939* (Sprimont, 1997), 66.

² Letter from Koechlin to Falla, undated [before 31 January 1914]; see Appendix 5.A.

³ Programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: NFE 1910-003, 026 and 027; NFE 1911-036 and 043; NFE 1912-006; Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale*, 305-10.

⁴ Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale*, 279.

⁵ Letter from Aubert to Falla, 1 July 1923.

from Paris in July 1923,⁶ and in April 1924 he invited Falla to accompany her in a performance in Paris of the *Seven Songs*.⁷ In fact, Falla did not meet Grey until June 1927,⁸ but they later came to know one another quite well; in November 1928, she sang in Ravel's concert in Granada (see § 4.2.6).

The second subject of Falla's correspondence with Aubert concerns the latter's work as a journalist. On 5 May 1926, Aubert wrote to Falla to invite him to contribute an article to *Chantecler*. Falla turned down Aubert's invitation, but not his hopes: 'vous pouvez en compter aussitôt qu'il me sera possible' ('you can count on it as soon as I'm able').⁹ He also twice thanked Aubert for favourable reviews of his work.¹⁰ In response to a lengthy notice of the Falla triple-bill at the Opéra-Comique in 1928 (which Aubert begins with the words 'Voilà ce qui s'appelle un événement' ['Here's what you'd call an event']),¹¹ Falla wrote:

J'ai lu votre bel article avec la plus profonde émotion et souhaite vivement vous voir. J'espère avoir cette joie demain chez Pleyel. Là nous fixerons un jour pour causer *longuement*.¹²

I've read your fine article with the deepest emotion and I'm eagerly looking forward to seeing you. I hope to have that joy tomorrow at the [Maison] Pleyel. There, we'll fix a day to talk *at length*.

It was probably at that meeting that Aubert reminded him of his promise to write something for *Chantecler*; a few days later, Falla contributed two

⁶ Letter from Aubert to Falla, 1 July 1923.

⁷ Letter from Aubert to Falla, 17 April 1924. The performance was to take place on 27 May.

⁸ Letters from Madeleine Grey to Falla, undated [31 May 1927], 4 June 1927 and 10 October 1927, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7084.

⁹ Letter from Falla to Aubert, 8 May 1926.

¹⁰ Letter from Falla to Aubert, [15 or 18 March 1928]; visiting card sent to Aubert by Falla, [after 14 May 1930].

¹¹ 'Les répétitions générales', *Paris-Soir*, 11 March 1928 (cutting preserved at *E-GRmf*, folder 6387). *La vida breve*, *El amor brujo* and *Master Peter's Puppet Show* were performed on 9 March 1928 (programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1928-005 and 006).

¹² Letter from Falla to Aubert, [15 or 18 March 1928].

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paragraphs to that journal's 'Déclarations à l'occasion du dixième anniversaire de la mort de Claude Debussy'.¹³

Mutual affection and the desire to see one another is continually expressed in the correspondence between these two men – a sign that their friendship was genuine. Each man's esteem for the other's music is clear too. Falla – who knew Aubert's work better than that of many of his French contemporaries – greeted the news that his opera *La Forêt-bleue* was to be reprised at the Opéra-Comique with the observation that 'je souhaite vivement avoir l'occasion de l'entendre bientôt' ('I keenly hope to have a chance to hear it soon').¹⁴ For his part, Aubert recognised true greatness in Falla's work:

Depuis de longues années, sans l'ombre d'académisme, cet Andalou solitaire incarne aux yeux du monde entier la musique espagnole. Sort peu commun, et qui semble réservé aux plus grands!¹⁵

For many years, without a shadow of academicism, this solitary Andalusian embodies Spanish music in the eyes of the whole world. A rare fate, and one that seems to be reserved for the very greatest!

¹³ *Chantecler*, 24 March 1928 (reprinted in Manuel de Falla, *Écrits sur la musique et sur les musiciens* [Arles, 1992], 115).

¹⁴ Letter from Falla to Aubert, [22 April 1924].

¹⁵ Aubert, 'Les répétitions générales'.

6.3 NADIA BOULANGER

Speaking of Falla, Nadia Boulanger said:

I greatly admired him and knew him quite well, without being so close to him as to know exactly how much time he spent in Paris and when he returned to Spain for good.¹⁶

That assessment ties in with the paucity of archival evidence relating to their friendship: four letters and a visiting card from Boulanger preserved at the Falla Archive, and an inscribed copy of Falla's *Concerto*, at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.¹⁷ None of Boulanger's letters is dated (though one, happily, is postmarked). All but one were written during Falla's visits to Paris, probably in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and deal with very immediate concerns: apologies for not being present at Falla's concerts,¹⁸ and two invitations to dinner.¹⁹ Throughout, she addresses him as 'Maître'.

That formality is not borne out in the only record of an actual meeting between the two composers (one of many, no doubt). This is an anecdotal account, given by Boulanger herself to Bruno Monsaingeon, of an encounter following a concert given at the Paris Opéra by the eleven-year-old Yehudi Menuhin:

Coming out of the concert ... I met two of my pupils and ... Manuel de Falla, whom I asked to come and spend a few minutes with us at the Café de la Paix, so that I could introduce my pupils, who dreamed of making his acquaintance.

'I can't, I'm ill, I promised my sister that I'd go and lie down.'

'Look, tell your sister I'll take responsibility. Ten minutes won't change your health. Come for ten minutes.'

¹⁶ Bruno Monsaingeon (translated by Robyn Marsack), *Mademoiselle: Conversations with Nadia Boulanger* (Manchester, 1985), 90.

¹⁷ *F-Pn*, Musique, Rés. Vmc. 182.

¹⁸ Letter from Boulanger to Falla, 12 March 1928.

¹⁹ Letters from Boulanger to Falla, [c. 1930] and unknown date (1).

He came. His conversation was dazzling and charmed my two pupils, whose combined ages didn't add up to his. Then he returned to Menuhin's concert, 'Yes, yes, it overwhelms me, a child prodigy. But what shatters me even more is an elderly prodigy. Verdi writing *Falstaff* at eighty astounds me more than Mozart writing his masterpieces at twenty.'²⁰

That was in May or June 1927,²¹ and it is clear from the anecdote that Falla and Boulanger already knew one another. Their acquaintance may have been preceded by Falla's awareness of her talent: he heard a performance of her *Dnégouchka* at a Concert Colonne in 1910, and, in a 1921 letter to Gustave Samazeuilh, he described her pianistic abilities as 'magnifiques'.²² Yet it is friendship – rather than artistic admiration – which is manifested in the inscription in her copy of the *Concerto*:

à Nadia Boulanger,
en très fidèle dévotion
et vive reconnaissance,
et avec tous mes vœux
pour l'Année qui commence.
Manuel de Falla.
1929 22A

to Nadia Boulanger,
with very faithful devotion
and keen gratitude,
and with my best wishes
for the new year.
Manuel de Falla.
1929

Boulanger, however, openly acknowledged her admiration for Falla's work. Her biographer Alan Kendall records that she sometimes referred to Falla's music in the course of her teaching; he notes, no doubt paraphrasing one of her pupils, that she considered 'a particular rhythm in the Seven Songs ... a revelation, the movement of the planets, life itself'.²³

²⁰ Monsaingeon, *Mademoiselle*, 90.

²¹ Boulanger describes Menuhin's concert as taking place 'A little while after his Paris debut' (Monsaingeon, *Mademoiselle*, 89), and notes that the violinist was still eleven at the time. Menuhin was born on 22 April 1916, and his Paris debut took place in February 1927 (Ronald Kinloch Anderson, 'Yehudi Menuhin', in NG, xii, 167).

²² Letter from Falla to Samazeuilh, 21 April 1921 (see Appendix 6.K.a).

^{22A} *F-Pn*, Musique, Rés. Vmc. 182, p. iv. A draft of the dedication survives at *E-GRmf* (correspondence folder 6795), where a precise date is given: 16 January 1929.

²³ Alan Kendall, *The Tender Tyrant: Nadia Boulanger: A Life Devoted to Music* (London, 1976), 104.

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In her letter of thanks for Falla's gift of a score of the *Concerto*, she describes the work as '*admirable, rayonnante et si belle*' ('*admirable, radiant and so beautiful*').²⁴ The copy itself betrays evidence of her study of it: on the first six of its worn pages, she pencilled in bar numbers at the beginning of each system.

²⁴ Letter from Boulanger to Falla, [shortly after 16 January 1929].

6.4 CANTELOUBE

The correspondence between Falla and Joseph Canteloube has already been discussed (§ 4.2.1); it consists of just two letters, dealing primarily with the association of Falla's name with a society promoting the work of Déodat de Sévéric.

Also evident, however, is the esteem in which Falla and Canteloube held each other's work. Canteloube actually observes that he has chosen to write personally to Falla because of his intense admiration for his music.²⁵ In reply, Falla expresses his delight at this acclamation from 'un artiste tel que vous' ('an artist like you').²⁶

His knowledge of Canteloube's music, however, was almost certainly by reputation rather than by experience. There is no evidence that he heard performances of any of Canteloube's works, and the only one that he owned in printed form was a short piece for violin and piano published as a supplement to *La Revue musicale*. Nor does it seem likely that they ever met; certainly, the formal tone of the compliments Canteloube pays to Falla seems to indicate that they were not acquainted at that time.

Canteloube was clearly well versed in Falla's music, however. He attached great significance to Falla's works as models for his own, and he particularly admired their regional elements:

... elles m'ont montré (dans la vie matériellement terre à terre d'aujourd'hui, où dominant l'argent, l'intérêt et la vanité des artistes) ce qu'est la vraie mission de l'artiste: *servir* l'art et *élever* ses semblables, en puisant son inspiration au tréfonds de sa race propre, au lieu de s'internationaliser comme le font trop de confrères!²⁷

²⁵ Letter from Canteloube to Falla, [before 12 July 1930].

²⁶ Letter from Falla to Canteloube, 12 July 1930.

²⁷ Letter from Canteloube to Falla, [before 12 July 1930]; see Appendix 6.C.a.

.....

... they've shown me (in the mundane material world of today, ruled by money, self-interest and the vanity of artists) the true mission of the artist: *to serve* art and *to elevate* one's fellow-creatures, drawing one's inspiration from the innermost depths of one's own race, instead of internationalising, as too many colleagues are doing!

The aesthetic kinship of these two composers is obvious. Both men published folksong arrangements (the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs* in Falla's case and, notably, the *Songs of the Auvergne* in Canteloube's) and most of both composers' original works are firmly rooted in the soil of their respective nations.²⁸

²⁸ The anonymous article on Canteloube in NG (iii, 720-1) notes that 'his original works ... include two operas, *Le Mas*, a deeply felt tribute to his home country, and *Vercingétorix*, which celebrates the birth of national unity under the Gaulish leader'.

6.5 CHARPENTIER

There are only two surviving items of correspondence between Gustave Charpentier and Falla. Both were written by the former, and both contain messages of extreme brevity. In one of them, he expresses his enthusiasm for *The Three-Cornered Hat*: 'Je ne me lasse pas d'entendre et d'applaudir votre belle œuvre' ('I never tire of hearing and applauding your fine work');²⁹ the other, undated, is an apology, clearly in reply to a lost missive from Falla – the contents of which we can only guess, but which may have been nothing more than a new-year greeting with a casual comment about their failure to keep in touch.

The first of these two items reveals Charpentier's admiration for Falla's music, while the second betrays a certain familiarity between the two men. They were certainly not close friends – the term of address is 'mon cher confrère' ('my dear colleague'), not 'mon cher ami' ('my dear friend') – but the informal tone of Charpentier's apology – 'Je suis vraiment trop étourdi!' ('I really am thoughtless!') – implies that they were acquaintances. Charpentier may well have been aware of Falla and his work (notably *La vida breve*) before the First World War, but there is no evidence of their having met at that time.

Falla's familiarity with Charpentier's work, however, long predates Charpentier's awareness of Falla's. He owned scores of two of his works: a piano transcription of the first movement of *Impressions d'Italie* (not annotated, but in poor condition, and perhaps purchased second-hand),³⁰ and the vocal score of *Louise*. Since this last item is stamped by Casa Dotesio, Falla probably purchased it before his departure for Paris in 1907. Indeed, this opera, with its naive and maltreated young female heroine, bears obvious parallels with *La vida breve*, and it may have been with that in mind that Falla

²⁹ Letter from Charpentier to Falla, 11 February 1920.

³⁰ The cover of this score bears a sticker from a music shop in Bordeaux, a city that Falla does not seem to have visited.

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purchased the score, during the composition of – or shortly before starting work on – his own opera. In the absence of documentary evidence (apart from a very few annotations in the score, almost all of them seeking to link together melodic lines divided between the two staves of the piano reduction, and revealing that Falla had at least read through the score), a study of correlations between these two works falls outside the scope of the present investigation. Nevertheless, it is abundantly clear that *La vida breve* is closer in musical style to *Louise* than to most other contemporary operas – and it is tempting to speculate how Falla's opera would have turned out had he purchased the vocal score of *Pelléas et Mélisande* instead.

An indication of Falla's enduring affection for Charpentier's work is his possession of a recording of two of the movements of *Impressions d'Italie*; one of only four works in his record collection by composers studied in the present investigation.³¹

³¹ The other three are Debussy's *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* (see Appendix 3.E), Ravel's *Boléro* (Appendix 4.A.e) and Stravinsky's *Petrushka* (Appendix 8.E).

6.6 COLLET

Falla ended his 1916 'prologue' to the Spanish translation of Jean-Aubry's *La musique française d'aujourd'hui* with the following plea:

Él [Jean-Aubry] y Henri Collet han sido en Francia los más perseverantes y eficaces propagandistas de nuestra música. Desde aquí, y en nombre de mi patria, les envío un saludo lleno de vivo reconocimiento. Es más; reclamo de los poderes públicos un testimonio de gratitud para esos dos grandes amigos de España a quienes tanto debe nuestra música y a quienes tanto tienen que agradecer los que la cultivan con nuevos ideales.³²

He [Jean-Aubry] and Henri Collet have been the most persistent and effective publicists of our music in France. From here, and in the name of my fatherland, I salute them with keen gratitude. Moreover, I demand from the public powers a sign of gratitude for these two great friends of Spain, to whom our music owes so much, and to whom thanks are due from those who cultivate our music with new ideals.

The earliest correspondence between Falla and the French musicologist, Hispanicist and composer Henri Collet dates from 29 March 1909, when Collet wrote to Falla asking for more information about the *Four Spanish Pieces*, on which he intended to write an article. They were already acquainted at that time; Collet reveals that they had recently discussed the fourth piece, 'Andaluza'. No doubt delighted to have an opportunity to write in Spanish (which was to remain their language of communication), Falla wrote an unusually long reply, which constitutes a vital source of information about his aesthetic intentions in composing the *Spanish Pieces*.³³ The present writer has been unable to trace the resulting article (assuming, that is, that it was actually written), but Collet did lecture on Falla's music in Madrid the following year,

³² FA (FEs, 50 [FO, 26]).

³³ Letter from Falla to Collet, 15 April 1909.

at a concert given by Ricardo Viñes, in which he played 'Montañesa' and 'Andaluza'.³⁴ Two articles on *La vida breve* followed in 1913 and 1914.³⁵

At that time, the two men must have seen very little of one another: when not visiting Spain, Collet lived in Bordeaux. He had moved to Paris, however, by the time of Falla's departure; moreover, he was living at 10 Avenue Kléber, just around the corner from Falla's lodgings in the Rue de Belloy.³⁶ The casual way in which Falla informs Collet of his intention to call round in his letter of 25 July 1914 – 'De no recibir aviso suyo en contra iré a verle mañana domingo, por la noche, de 9¹/₂ a 10' ('If I don't receive word from you to the contrary, I'll come and see you tomorrow (Sunday) evening, between 9.30 and 10.00') – suggests that they were in regular social contact at that time.

It may have been at meetings such as those that Collet gave Falla copies of his *El Escorial* (a 'poème symphonique' for piano) and of his book *Le Mysticisme musical espagnol au XVIe siècle*;³⁷ handwritten dedications in Falla's copies are dated February 1911 and April 1913 respectively. None of the scores of Collet's music in Falla's library bears any evidence that he studied or even played them. But the book did interest him: he read most of it (only a few pages are uncut), and he annotated the section on Victoria.

Apart from two letters from Falla (one sent shortly after his return to Madrid, the other on the occasion of the Armistice), both full of expressions of French patriotism, the two men do not seem to have remained in touch during the First World War. Their friendship resumed, however, on Falla's first post-war

³⁴ The lecture-recital was given at the Ateneo on 6 May 1910; a photocopy of the programme is preserved at *E-GRmf*: FN 1910-001.

³⁵ The first of these was published in *L'Espagne* in late 1913, but the present writer has been unable to track down a copy. The second was 'Manuel de Falla i "La Vida breve"', *Revista Musical Catalana*, xi, 125 (15 May 1914), 135-40 (copy preserved at *E-GRmf*, inventory number 6096).

³⁶ Letter from Falla to Collet, 25 July 1914; also letter from Falla to Jean-Aubry, 25 July 1914, preserved in a private collection (photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7133).

³⁷ The inscription from Collet to Falla on the first page is dated April 1913.

visit to Paris, early in 1920: Collet invited him to dinner at least twice during his stay,³⁸ and it is clear that Falla accepted at least one of those invitations.³⁹

The two men maintained regular contact for the next three years; they exchanged scores,⁴⁰ kept one another informed about their work,⁴¹ expressed the wish to see one another,⁴² and even negotiated publishing contracts with A. Z. Mathot for Falla's compatriots Conrado del Campo and Vicente Arregui.⁴³ They saw one another on 25 May 1920, when Collet gave Falla copies of his *Cinq Poèmes de Francis Jammes* and *Chants de Castille*,⁴⁴ and Falla heard a performance of Collet's piano quintet *Castellanos* three years later at Collet's home.⁴⁵ Collet wrote the plot synopsis in the programme for the private performance of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* on 25 June 1923 at the Princesse de Polignac's home,⁴⁶ and it is clear that he was there to hear the work too: when he was unable to go to the first public performance in Paris later that year,⁴⁷ he expressed his disappointment by observing that 'hubiera querido oír el Retablo sin que me distrajera el espectáculo' ('I'd have liked to hear the *Puppet Show* without being distracted by the staging').⁴⁸

During that three-year period, Collet wrote two fairly lengthy articles for *Comœdia* about Falla's music: an article on *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*

³⁸ Letters from Collet to Falla, 17 January and 3 February 1920.

³⁹ Letter from Falla to Collet, 17 February 1920.

⁴⁰ Falla sent Collet a copy of the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs* in Summer 1922, and a copy of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* around the beginning of 1923 (letter from Falla to Collet, 19 January 1923). As noted below, Collet gave Falla copies of *Chants de Castille* and *Cinq Poèmes de Francis Jammes* on 25 May 1920.

⁴¹ Letters from Collet to Falla, 29 December 1920 and 25 January 1923; letter from Falla to Collet, 19 January 1923.

⁴² Letter from Falla to Collet, 19 January 1923; letter from Collet to Falla, 25 January 1923.

⁴³ Letters from Collet to Falla, 13 April and 30 June 1920.

⁴⁴ This is the date of the handwritten dedications in both scores.

⁴⁵ Letter from Collet to Falla, 29 December 1920.

⁴⁶ 13 copies of the programmes are preserved at *E-GRmf* (FE 1923-015 to 027).

⁴⁷ 13 November 1923, at the Salle des Agriculteurs (programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1923-030 to 034).

⁴⁸ Letter from Collet to Falla, [13] November 1923.

appeared on 9 January 1920 (shortly after its Paris premiere),⁴⁹ and one on the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs* on 17 July 1922.⁵⁰ Unsurprisingly given Collet's Hispanophilia, it is the national elements of those works on which he focuses; he even goes so far as to observe that 'l'hispanisme de Manuel de Falla est tel qu'il vous effraie' ('the Spanishness of Manuel de Falla is enough to frighten you').⁵¹ It is clear that the two men had discussed both works in some detail, for these articles contain several aesthetic observations that are clearly Falla's own; he notes, for instance, that in *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* 'il n'y a point de relations thématiques' ('there are no thematic relationships')⁵² – an anti-Germanic tendency close to Falla's heart (see § 9.4). There are also a few tangential comments of which Falla is the only possible source: the observation that Debussy considered his pupil's use of the orchestra 'égal en beauté à celui de Rimsky-Korsakov' ('equal in beauty to that of Rimsky-Korsakov'),⁵³ for example. On occasion, Collet is even anecdotal: 'Manuel de Falla me disait un jour, d'un ton profondément convaincu, qu'il se "sentait arabe"' ('Manuel de Falla told me one day, in a tone of deep conviction, that he "felt Arabian"').⁵⁴

After 1923, their friendship began to cool. A two-year silence in their correspondence was broken towards the end of 1925 when Collet sent Falla a score of his *Trio castillan* and a copy of his book *Albéniz et Granados*. Falla thanked him on 10 December, expressing his hope that they would meet soon and talk about both works at length. It is not known whether that meeting took place. No correspondence survives from 1926 or 1927.⁵⁵ When Falla was in

⁴⁹ 4 January 1920, at the Paris Opéra (D, 246; letter from Casella to Falla, [2 January 1920] [see Appendix 7.A.a]).

⁵⁰ Both were articles in Collet's 'La musique chez soi' column; copies are preserved at *E-GRmf* (press-cuttings folder 6831).

⁵¹ Collet, 'La musique chez soi XI: Œuvres de musique espagnole moderne', *Comædia*, 9 January 1920.

⁵² Collet, 'La musique chez soi XI'.

⁵³ Collet, 'La musique chez soi XI'.

⁵⁴ Collet, 'La musique chez soi CXXVII: Œuvres de Manuel de Falla (1)', *Comædia*, 17 July 1922.

⁵⁵ It should be noted, however, that there is one item of correspondence which is impossible to date: a visiting card from Collet, introducing a Monsieur Ancel.

Paris in March 1928, Collet invited him to dinner,⁵⁶ but he was unable to go.⁵⁷ Only one further exchange of letters took place; this was in 1935, when Falla was elected to the Institut de France and Collet awarded the Légion d'Honneur.⁵⁸ The tone of those letters remains cordial, but the dearth of other correspondence clearly reveals that their devotion to one another had waned. That fact is apparent also in Collet's critical writings: his articles on the festivals of Falla's music in Paris in 1928 and 1930,⁵⁹ and in Barcelona in 1934,⁶⁰ are little more than notices.

In his letter of 21 April 1928, Falla thanked Collet for his article about that year's festival of his works, but he gave only a cautious welcome to the news that Collet was writing a book on twentieth-century Spanish music.⁶¹ This is partly due to the fact that he knew it was being written for entry in a contest organised by the Institut d'Études Hispaniques – a contest which one of Falla's favoured apologists, Adolfo Salazar, was also planning to enter.⁶² But there is another reason for Falla's caution: plainly, he had lost confidence in Collet's writing.

This is evident in Falla's copy of Collet's *Albéniz et Granados*. It is heavily annotated – but, unusually, most of his markings draw attention to observations with which he disagreed, often vehemently: on the blank page, he even provided an index to some of these 'disparates' ('stupid things'). He raises objections, for instance, to Collet's labelling of various of Albéniz's

⁵⁶ Letter from Collet to Falla, [before 21 March 1928].

⁵⁷ Letter from Falla to Collet, 21 April 1928.

⁵⁸ Letter from Collet to Falla, 28 January 1935; letter from Falla to Collet, 16 February 1935.

⁵⁹ Collet, 'Festival De Falla', *Lyrice*, vii, 74 (April 1928), 1172; *Id.*, 'Concert Manuel de Falla', *Lyrice*, ix, 95 (May 1930), page number not known.

⁶⁰ Collet, 'Espagne', *Le Menestrel*, 8 December 1934.

⁶¹ Presumably, that book was *L'Essor de la musique espagnole au 20e siècle* (Paris, 1929). Falla does not seem to have owned a copy of it.

⁶² Letter from Falla to Salazar, 5 February 1928, carbon copy preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7573. Salazar's book was *La música contemporánea en España* (Madrid, 1930). Ultimately, Collet's book won the first prize of 2000 francs; Salazar's won 1000 francs (letter from Salazar to Falla, 4 December 1928, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7571).

pieces as specific Spanish traditional dances: his annotations to the discussion of *Iberia* reveals that he disagrees that 'Evocation' is a *fandanguillo*, 'Puerto' a *polo*, 'Fête-Dieu à Séville' a *saeta*, 'Triana' a *paso-doble*, or 'Rondeña' similar to a *guajira*.⁶³ And he describes as an 'Invencción disparatada de Collet!' ('Crazy invention of Collet's!') the claim that Albéniz, had he lived longer, would have modified *Navarra* so as to eliminate resemblances to movements from *Iberia*.⁶⁴

Falla also draws attention to factual errors: Collet's observation that there is a monument to Albéniz in the Alhambra – 'au centre même de l'"acropole" arabe' ('in the very centre of the Arabian "Acropolis"')⁶⁵ – is marked by a question mark in the margin. There is no such monument.

But he reserves his greatest displeasure for inaccurate comments in which his own name features – understandably, given that Collet acknowledges Falla's assistance at the beginning of the book.⁶⁶ Falla has annotated the following passage, for instance, with the words 'Falso! y una gran injusticia!' ('False! and a great injustice!'); he was always keen to emphasise his ignorance of Albéniz's music at the time when he composed *La vida breve*:⁶⁷

C'est là le grand fait d'importance mondiale: Albéniz fonde l'École espagnole dès 1880, par quelques morceaux de piano, écrits comme en se jouant.

Et ces œuvres qui vont susciter en Ibérie, après tant de succès publics, tant de controverses passionnées d'artistes, il les traite de 'petites saletés'; il rougit de les montrer à un Chausson ou à un d'Indy... Ces œuvres qui ne seront qu'amplifiées par *Iberia* d'où naîtra un Manuel de Falla, pour un peu il les renierait, les jetterait au feu... En tout cas, il n'en tient aucun compte et ignore jusqu'à leur nombre exact, jusqu'à leurs titres...⁶⁸

⁶³ Collet, *Albéniz et Granados* (Paris, 1926), 168-72.

⁶⁴ Collet, *Albéniz et Granados*, 160-1.

⁶⁵ Collet, *Albéniz et Granados* (Paris, 1926), 82.

⁶⁶ Collet, *Albéniz et Granados*, 6-7, n.

⁶⁷ See, for example, Falla's letter to Koechlin of 31 January 1914 (Appendix 5.A).

⁶⁸ Collet, *Albéniz et Granados*, 108-9.

This is the major fact of worldwide importance: Albéniz founds the Spanish school in 1880, with a few piano pieces, written without even trying.

And he treats those works – which after so much public success were to arouse passionate controversy among artists in Iberia – as ‘a load of rubbish’; he is ashamed to show them to people like Chausson and d’Indy... Those works – which will develop into *Iberia*, the source from which a man like Manuel de Falla springs – he would disown them for a while, he would throw them on the fire... At any rate, he takes no account of them and doesn’t even know exactly how many of them there are, nor even their titles...

Similarly, the following passage is marked ‘ojo!’ (‘watch out!’). Presumably, the anecdote is fictional (or, at least, misreported):

Ce besoin de surcharge, cet aspect touffu d’*Iberia*, correspondent bien à la générosité du cœur d’Albéniz. Mais il en résulte une réelle difficulté de lecture devant laquelle la plupart des amateurs reculent... L’auteur s’en rendit compte, mais trop tard. MM. Manuel de Falla et Ricardo Viñes le rencontrèrent un jour, rue Erlanger, dans un état navrant de désespoir: ‘J’ai failli hier soir, leur confie-t-il, détruire les manuscrits d’*Iberia*, car je m’aperçois que mon œuvre est injouable!’⁶⁹

This need for over-abundance, this dense aspect of *Iberia*, corresponds closely with the generosity of Albéniz’s heart. But, as a result, it is truly difficult to read, and this makes most amateurs shrink from it... The composer recognised this, but too late. Messieurs Manuel de Falla and Ricardo Viñes met him one day, in the rue Erlanger, in a distressed and despairing state of mind: ‘Last night,’ he confided in them, ‘I almost destroyed the manuscripts of *Iberia*, for I realised that my work is unplayable!’

Such examples – and there are plenty of others – explain Falla’s mistrust of Collet’s writing; and perhaps also why their friendship cooled.

In 1947, it was Collet who wrote Falla’s obituary in *La Revue musicale*.⁷⁰ His article touches on several aspects of their friendship; it clearly stems from a re-reading of Falla’s letters to him, three of which he cites directly.⁷¹ But it also reveals that he himself was at some point (probably before the First World War) under Falla’s tutelage:

⁶⁹ Collet, *Albéniz et Granados*, 163.

⁷⁰ Collet, ‘La mort de Manuel de Falla’, *La Revue musicale*, xxiii, 204 (January 1947), 27-8.

⁷¹ Viz. those of 23 October 1914, 10 December 1925 and 21 April 1928.

Je lui dois précieux conseils d'orchestration. Il avait l'horreur des redoublements: *Hace sucio*, me disait-il (cela 'fait sale') en corrigeant mes essais où j'avais appliqué les règles d'alors. Et il est certain que ces règles, excellentes pour les musiques dites 'profondes' ne conviennent guère aux musiques méridionales. Bizet l'avait bien senti, qui, dans *Carmen*, se borne à faire circuler librement au-dessus des quatre voix équipollentes du quatuor classique, des arabesques de timbres purs.

Mais, pour qui sait employer chaque instrument dans les meilleurs registres et possède l'instinct du dosage, qui peut douter l'effet de puissance de ces amalgames? Tout joyeux de l'instrumentation du *Retable*, Falla me disait: 'Vous verrez qu'avec vingt instruments je fais autant de bruit qu'avec cent!'. Et c'était vrai...⁷²

To him I owe precious advice about orchestration. He loathed doublings: 'That's murky,' he used to tell me while correcting my attempts, in which I had applied the rules of that time. And it is certain that those rules, excellent for so-called 'deep' music, hardly suit southern music. Bizet knew this well: in *Carmen*, he contents himself with allowing arabesques of pure timbres to circulate freely over the four equipollent voices of the classical quartet.

But can anyone who knows to use each instrument in its best registers and who instinctively knows the correct proportions doubt the effect of the power of these blends? Delighted by the instrumentation of the *Puppet Show*, Falla said to me: 'You'll see that I make as much noise with twenty instruments as with a hundred!' And it was true...

But what is most remarkable in this article is the following claim:

Je dois, pour fixer un point d'histoire, signaler qu'il trouva dans un de mes poèmes de Francis Jammes (*ce sont de grandes lignes paisibles...*) le point de départ de ses *Nuits dans les Jardins d'Espagne*. Mais, tel était son génie transformateur que s'il ne me l'avait dit, je ne m'en serais jamais aperçu...⁷³

I must point out, to record a fact of history, that he found the point of departure for his *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* in one of my *Poèmes de Francis Jammes* ('Ce sont de grandes lignes paisibles'). But, such was his genius at transforming things that if he had not told me, I would never have been aware of it...

'Ce sont de grandes lignes paisibles' is the third of Collet's *Cinq Poèmes de Francis Jammes*; as already noted, Collet gave Falla a copy of the score in 1920, but a caption on the last page of the collection reveals that the songs were composed in 1909-10, when Falla may well have heard them in Paris.

⁷² Collet, 'La mort de Manuel de Falla', 27.

⁷³ Collet, 'La mort de Manuel de Falla', 28.

The song begins with an undulating melodic pattern in the right hand of the piano part, and it is just about conceivable that the first three notes of this passage (on two pitches a semitone apart) may have suggested the opening theme of 'En el Generalife', or that the developed version of that theme at figure 10 of 'En el Generalife' may owe something to the shape of Collet's melody (Example 6.6.i).

PIANO *dolce très lié*

Collet, *Cinq Poèmes de Francis Jammes*,
'Ce sont de grandes lignes paisibles', bars 1-3 (piano part only).

HARP *mf sulla tavola* *f*

Falla, *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*,
'En el Generalife', bars 1-4 (harp part only).

PIANO Solo *(a tempo, ma flessibile)* *p espr.* *f*

Falla, *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*,
'En el Generalife', figure 10, bars 1-4 (piano part only).

Example 6.6.i

Yvan Nommick, who has made a detailed study of sources of inspiration for *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*,⁷⁴ is not convinced by Collet's assertion. He concludes that he is unable to find

una prueba de la influencia de la melodía de Collet sobre el tema principal de la primera parte de las *Noches*. Pensamos por el contrario que el origen de este tema bien podría ser popular ...⁷⁵

proof of the influence of Collet's melody on the principal theme of the first part of *Nights*. On the contrary, I think this theme could well be of popular origin ...

The present writer agrees. It has already been noted in relation to Collet's *Albéniz et Granados* that his anecdotal observations are often inaccurate and occasionally entirely fictitious. Some doubt may be cast, therefore, on Collet's assertion that Falla admitted having been influenced by one of his songs (particularly since Collet also acknowledges that the influence is not at all obvious). In claiming a role for 'Ce sont de grandes lignes paisibles' in the conception of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, Collet may well have been seeking to stamp his name on – and take some of the credit for – a work by the greatest twentieth-century Spanish composer.

In fact, his assertion actually contradicts an observation Collet himself made in his 1920 article on *Nights* – an observation that moreover confirms Nommick's considered conviction that the theme in question is of folkloric inspiration:

... dans l'œuvre entière il n'est de vraiment populaire que quatre courtes mesures du premier temps: où s'expose le thème générateur.⁷⁶

... the only popular material in the entire work is found in four short bars of the first movement: where the generative theme is stated.

⁷⁴ Yvan Nommick, '*Noches en los jardines de España: génesis y composición de una obra*', in Elena García de Paredes (ed.), *Jardines de España: De Santiago Rusiñol a Manuel de Falla* (Granada, 1996), 5-25.

⁷⁵ Nommick, '*Noches*', 15.

⁷⁶ Collet, '*La musique chez soi XI*'.

6.7 GROVLEZ

Gabriel Grovlez was another composer who befriended Falla in the years leading up to the First World War. He was one of the Frenchmen to whom Falla wrote immediately after his return to Spain (that letter is lost, but Grovlez's reply survives),⁷⁷ and Georges Jean-Aubry kept him up to date with Grovlez's news on no fewer than three occasions during the war.⁷⁸

Grovlez must have been among the first people Falla visited when he returned to Paris at the end of 1919. Pencilled on the back of Ravel's letter of 16 December 1919 (which must have reached Falla in Madrid a matter of days before his departure) are Grovlez's name and address, the name of the nearest Métro station, and the time of an appointment ('11h $\frac{3}{4}$ *mercredi* ['11.45 *Wednesday*']).⁷⁹ Elsewhere on the same sheet, he has written 'Lundi 26 – Chansons Grovlez' ('Monday 26 – Grovlez songs'; the month must have been January).⁸⁰ The meaning of this last note is unclear, but three days earlier (23 January 1920) Grovlez had conducted the French premiere of *The Three-Cornered Hat* at the Paris Opéra,⁸¹ and the appointment may have been made then.

As Grovlez complained fifteen years later, the two men never met again.⁸² But it is evident that they hoped to do so, for their intention to see one another is

⁷⁷ Letter from Grovlez to Falla, 12 January [1915].

⁷⁸ Letters from Jean-Aubry to Falla, [before 10 January 1915], 4 April 1915 and [before 23 July 1916], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7131/1.

⁷⁹ The full annotation reads: '7, rue Boursault / Grovlez [/] Métro Rome – 11h $\frac{3}{4}$ *mercredi*'.

⁸⁰ January is only the month during Falla's stay in Paris in late 1919 and early 1920 when the twenty-sixth fell on a Monday.

⁸¹ Programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1920-011. Grovlez is not named in the programme; the evidence that he conducted the performance is found in his letter to Falla of 26 May 1921.

⁸² Letter from Grovlez to Falla, 6 February 1935.

repeatedly expressed in their correspondence.⁸³ on three occasions, Grovlez extended to Falla an open invitation to dine with him;⁸⁴ Falla, meanwhile, arranged for Grovlez to be invited to the *cante jondo* competition in Granada in 1922 (he was unable to go),⁸⁵ and to the private performance of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* at the home of the Princesse de Polignac on 25 June 1923 (the invitation did not reach him).⁸⁶

They remained in fairly regular contact by letter until 1924, however, and they exchanged letters again in 1935 and 1936, requesting signed photographs of one another.⁸⁷ Much of their correspondence concerns Grovlez's wife Madeleine, a distinguished concert pianist who performed *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* on several occasions,⁸⁸ and who gave the French premiere of *Fantasia bætica*.⁸⁹ Grovlez liked to send Falla press reviews of her performances of his music, and he solicited Falla's help in trying to arrange a series of concert engagements for her in Spain.⁹⁰ (Falla promised to do all he could, but pointed out that the major Spanish musical centres were distant from Granada.)⁹¹

Falla probably knew little of Grovlez's music. It is represented in his library solely by periodical supplements, and only one performance of a work by him

⁸³ Letters from Grovlez to Falla, 21 January 1921, 26 May 1921, [before 13 June 1921], 11 December 1922, 11 January [1924], [after 21 November 1924], 6 February 1935 and 31 January 1936; letters from Falla to Grovlez, 7 December 1922, [shortly after 11 January 1924], 29 January 1936.

⁸⁴ Letters from Grovlez to Falla, 11 January [1924], 6 February 1935 and 31 January 1936.

⁸⁵ Letter from Grovlez to Falla, [before 13 June 1921].

⁸⁶ Letter from Falla to Grovlez, [shortly after 11 January 1924].

⁸⁷ The signed photograph of Grovlez is preserved at *E-GRmf* (photograph number 8/23); the inscription reads 'A Manuel de Falla[,] son ami fidèle, son admirateur Gabriel Grovlez, 1936' ('To Manuel de Falla, his loyal friend and admirer Gabriel Grovlez, 1936').

⁸⁸ Grovlez sent Falla programmes of three concerts in which Madeleine performed that work: 19 January 1924, Maison Gaveau (*E-GRmf*: FE 1924-001); 9 November 1924, Conservatoire Nationale de Musique (FE 1924-012); 21 November 1924, Maison Gaveau (FE 1924-013).

⁸⁹ This was given at the Salle Pleyel on 7 December 1922 (Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale*, 316).

⁹⁰ Letter from Grovlez to Falla, 14 October 1922.

⁹¹ Letter from Falla to Grovlez, 7 December 1922.

is listed in his collection of programmes. In his last letter to Grovlez, Falla claimed that he attached great value to his 'art',⁹² but this observation was probably mere courtesy.

Grovlez, however, greatly appreciated Falla's music; he was enthusiastic about *Fantasia bætica*,⁹³ and he described *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* as 'délicieuses', and, on two occasions, 'admirables'.⁹⁴ In 1921, he joined Ricardo Viñes and Gustave Samazeuilh in playing the latter's arrangement for piano duet of the orchestral parts of *Nights*.⁹⁵ Three years later (when that work had become part of his wife's repertoire), he advocated arranging the orchestral parts for a single pianist, and even observed that, if Samazeuilh had not already been involved, he would have been interested in making the transcription himself.⁹⁶

⁹² Letter from Falla to Grovlez, 29 January 1936.

⁹³ Letter from Grovlez to Falla, 11 December 1922.

⁹⁴ Letters from Grovlez to Falla, [after 21 November 1924], 11 January [1924] and 14 April 1924 respectively.

⁹⁵ This performance took place at the Salle de la Société des Concerts (in the former Paris Conservatoire) on 21 May 1921 (Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale*, 281; letter from Samazeuilh to Falla, 6 December [1921] [see Appendix 6.K.a]).

⁹⁶ Letter from Grovlez to Falla, 11 January [1924].

6.8 LAPARRA

Falla probably first heard the name Raoul Laparra shortly after his arrival in Paris in 1907. As he told Albéniz in a letter dated 11 January 1908:

Milliet sigue tan animado como antes con *La Vida Breve*, pero me ha dicho que ya no será posible estrenarla en esta temporada en la Ópera Cómica, puesto que tienen en estudio otra obra de asunto español, *La Habanera*, de Laparra.⁹⁷

Milliet remains as excited as before about *La vida breve*, but he has told me that it won't now be possible to premiere it at the Opéra-Comique this season, because they're preparing another work on a Spanish subject, *La Habanera*, by Laparra.

Even though *La Habanera* may have cost Falla an earlier staging of *La vida breve*, he held no grudge against its composer. When they first came into contact, in 1922, he wrote: 'No olvido la impresión que me produjo su *Habanera* cuando le oí en París' ('I haven't forgotten the impression which your *Habanera* produced in me when I heard it in Paris').⁹⁸

Their correspondence was initiated by Laparra's receipt of an invitation to attend the *cante jondo* competition in Granada. Since the two composers were at that time unacquainted, it seems probable that the organisers obtained Laparra's address from a source other than Falla's address book; Laparra, like Collet, was an Hispanophile (Spanish was the language of his correspondence with Falla), and he had already been to Granada.⁹⁹

Laparra was unable to attend the competition, but, in sending his apologies, he seized the opportunity to make contact with the 'compositor de tantas obras que admiro' ('composer of so many works that I admire').¹⁰⁰ He also invited

⁹⁷ Quoted in SV, 51; English translation in PO, 55 (this translation by the present writer).

⁹⁸ Letter from Falla to Laparra, 10 July 1922.

⁹⁹ This is made clear in Laparra's letter of 10 June 1922.

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Laparra to Falla, 10 June 1922.

Falla to compose a work for piano and orchestra, to be played by his Spanish piano pupil Eduardo del Pueyo, under the direction of Gabriel Pierné (who had requested a Spanish work); Falla refused, and politely suggested that Laparra was sufficiently versed in Spanish music to write it himself.¹⁰¹ He also expressed his hope that they would meet in Paris the following year: news that Laparra greeted enthusiastically.¹⁰²

The two men exchanged no letters for the following five years, but it is clear from Falla's next letter (28 May 1927) that they did meet during that time.¹⁰³ That encounter probably took place in June 1923, when an invitation to Laparra's home was passed on by Collet.¹⁰⁴ In May 1927, Falla expressed his intention to find time to visit Laparra again before leaving Paris,¹⁰⁵ but there is no evidence that such a meeting took place.

In spite of his admiration for *La Habanera*, Falla knew little of Laparra's music: there is none of it at all in his library.

¹⁰¹ Letter from Falla to Laparra, 10 July 1922.

¹⁰² Letter from Laparra to Falla, 25 September 1922.

¹⁰³ Falla writes, 'en cuanto pueda disponer de mi tiempo iré a saludarle y a charlar con Vd., como desde hace años *nuevamente* deseo' ('as soon as I can spare some time I'll come to visit you and talk with you, as I've wanted to do *again* for many years'; my emphasis).

¹⁰⁴ Letter from Collet to Falla, 21 June 1923; see Appendix 6.E.a.

¹⁰⁵ Letter from Falla to Laparra, 28 May 1927.

6.9 LE FLEM

The surviving correspondence between Falla and Paul Le Flem consists solely of a letter and a visiting-card expressing Falla's thanks for two of Le Flem's press reviews of performances of his works; it is clear from the letter, however, that they were acquainted.¹⁰⁶ Though Falla probably heard performances of at least two of Le Flem's own compositions, his opinion of them is not known.

The article to which Falla's letter responds is a review of the first Paris performance of the *Concerto*,¹⁰⁷ in which Le Flem draws attention to its admirable combination of French and Spanish qualities – precisely the sort of interpretation of his work that Falla would have appreciated most:

... si cet art est, par ses attaches, solidement ancré sur le vieux fonds espagnol et s'il y puise sa force essentielle, il ne s'est pas dédaigneusement détourné de ce qui se passait au delà de la frontière. De Falla vécut de bonne heure dans la plus intime familiarité avec la musique française. Il en aimait la lucidité qui s'accordait avec les lumières nettes et vives qu'il apportait d'Espagne. Heureuse confrontation qui devait aider et parfaire l'éclosion de l'une des personnalités musicales contemporaines les plus attachantes.¹⁰⁸

... though this art is, through its connections, solidly anchored on Spanish ground, and though it takes its essential force from it, it has not disdainfully turned its back on what was happening across the border. Early [in his career], de Falla lived in the most intimate familiarity with French music. He liked its lucidity, which matched the clear, bright light which he brought from Spain. A happy combination which was to assist and complete the blossoming of one of the most captivating of contemporary musical personalities.

¹⁰⁶ Letter from Falla to Le Flem, 21 May 1927.

¹⁰⁷ 14 May 1924, at the Salle Pleyel (programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1927-013 to 041).

¹⁰⁸ Paul Le Flem, 'La semaine musicale', *Comædia* (Paris), 16 May 1927. Le Flem made a similar point in relation to *Master Peter's Puppet Show* in an article headed 'La musique au concert' in *Comædia* of 19 November 1923.

6.10 PIERNÉ

The terms of Falla's relationship with Gabriel Pierné were rather formal. In their correspondence, Falla consistently addresses Pierné as 'maître'. Pierné's replies are less reserved (in one letter he even addresses Falla as his 'confrère'),¹⁰⁹ but they contain no suggestion of familiarity. The contrast in the way these two men approached one another was probably due to the great difference in their age. Pierné was born in 1863; he was therefore thirteen years older than Falla, and is one of the oldest composers studied here.

It is clear from their correspondence that Falla considered Pierné first and foremost a conductor rather than a composer; he makes no reference at all to any of Pierné's compositions. This is surprising, for he heard performances of several of them.

Their earliest letters, dating from 1920 and 1922, are concerned exclusively with projects for performances by Falla of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* under Pierné's direction.¹¹⁰ Falla played through the work at Pierné's home in February 1920;¹¹¹ it seems that Pierné agreed in principle to conduct the work, and asked Falla to inform him in advance of his next trip to Paris so that a date could be set.¹¹² For various logistical reasons, however, that performance never took place, and Falla's plans seem to have been made redundant in January 1923, when Pierné's orchestra – albeit conducted by Enrique Fernández Arbós – accompanied Ricardo Viñes in two performances of the

¹⁰⁹ Letter from Pierné to Falla, 10 June 1922.

¹¹⁰ Letters from Pierné to Falla, 3 February 1920 and 6 March 1920; letters from Falla to Pierné, 19 February 1922 and 6 March 1922.

¹¹¹ Letter from Pierné to Falla, 3 February 1920; letter from Falla to Pierné, 19 February 1922.

¹¹² This evidence from Falla's letter to Pierné of 19 February 1922.

work.¹¹³ (Pierné later conducted performances of several of Falla's works, including *Nights*.)¹¹⁴

Their dealings with one another were not, however, entirely devoted to business. Pierné was another of the French composers invited to the *cante jondo* competition in 1922; he wrote a cordial letter expressing support for the cause and apologising for his inability to attend,¹¹⁵ and Falla's reply is equally charming.¹¹⁶ During Falla's 1928 visit to Paris, the two men met on more than one occasion.¹¹⁷ And they were on sufficiently friendly terms at that time for Falla to write a letter of introduction to Pierné the following year for the Valencian pianist Leopoldo Querol.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ The performances took place on 27 and 28 January 1923 at the Théâtre du Châtelet (programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1920-001). Pierné informed Falla of the success of those performances in his letter of 31 January 1923.

¹¹⁴ At the Salle Pleyel on 3 December 1928, Pierné conducted *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* and excerpts from *La vida breve*, *The Three-Cornered Hat* and *El amor brujo* (programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1928-032). He conducted *Nights* again on 21 November 1931, at the Théâtre du Châtelet (*E-GRmf*: FE 1931-053).

¹¹⁵ Letter from Pierné to Falla, 10 June 1922.

¹¹⁶ Letter from Falla to Pierné, 4 September 1922.

¹¹⁷ Letter from Falla to Pierné, 20 April 1929.

¹¹⁸ Letter from Falla to Pierné, 20 April 1929.

6.11 SAMAZEUILH

Falla's relationship with Gustave Samazeuilh was more professional than most. Samazeuilh was responsible for making the arrangements published by Max Eschig of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* for three pianists on two pianos, the two dances from *La vida breve* for piano duet, and the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs* for high voice.¹¹⁹ He also arranged the dances from *La vida breve* for player-piano.¹²⁰ The correspondence between the two men centres on the work involved in making these arrangements, in which Falla took a very close interest: he looked over Samazeuilh's manuscripts, made suggestions and modifications, double-checked the proofs, and so on.

They were not merely professional partners, however, but also friends. They first met in Paris before World War I,¹²¹ and they clearly met there again in late 1919 or early 1920, when they made initial plans for a performance of the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs* at the Société Nationale de Musique.¹²² But their cordiality was not infallible: Samazeuilh's irritation is palpable in a note he left at Falla's Paris lodgings in 1923, after having called three times and been refused a meeting: 'Vous n'êtes pas facile à joindre!' ('You are not easy to contact!'),¹²³ he writes.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ Samazeuilh's name does not appear in the latter score, but the arrangement is identified as his work in his letters to Falla of 3 June and 14 August 1922, and in his two undated letters from 1923.

¹²⁰ Letters from Samazeuilh to Falla, 25 November [1925] and 10 September 1928; letter from Falla to Samazeuilh, 21 December 1925.

¹²¹ Gustave Samazeuilh, *Musiciens de mon temps: Chroniques et souvenirs* (Paris, 1947), 336-7.

¹²² Letter from Samazeuilh to Falla, 17 March 1920. The performance was given by Magdeleine Greslé, accompanied by Falla, on 29 May 1920 (Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale*, 279).

¹²³ Letter from Samazeuilh to Falla, [May-June or November 1923] (2).

¹²⁴ These attempted visits were probably the source of a distorted (though humorous) anecdote recorded by Juan J. Viniegra (V, 90-1). Viniegra claims that Samazeuilh tried to visit Falla at his lodgings in the Avenue Mozart in order to retrieve his copy of the score of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, a rehearsal of which he was about to conduct at the Opéra. In fact, it

In several of their letters, the possibility is raised of seeing one another in the Basque country, where Samazeuilh regularly spent his summers.¹²⁵ They also shared a number of mutual friends, including Ravel, Viñes, Joaquín Nin and Enrique Fernández Arbós.¹²⁶ Falla sent condolences on the deaths of both Samazeuilh's parents,¹²⁷ and Samazeuilh frequently expressed his concern for the state of Falla's own health;¹²⁸ he continued to worry about it long after their letter-writing had ceased, as his cousin R. C. Samazeuilh (a music critic based in Bordeaux) told Falla in a letter dated 10 January 1939.¹²⁹

They also exchanged scores of several of their compositions, which both men greeted enthusiastically. Having asked Chester to send Samazeuilh a copy of *Fantasia bætica*, Falla provided him with the same list of corrections that he had sent to Koechlin,¹³⁰ which Samazeuilh passed on to Madeleine Grovlez before she gave the Paris premiere of the work on 7 December 1922.¹³¹ Falla also arranged for him to receive copies of *The Three-Cornered Hat* and the *Concerto*.¹³²

Samazeuilh gave Falla a copy of his *Le Chant de la mer* in Paris in May 1920,¹³³ and sent a copy of his orchestral work *Gitane* (probably in

is clear from Samazeuilh's two undated letters from 1923 that the score in question was that of the high-voice transcription of the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs*, which he was about to perform with Suzanne Balguérie.

¹²⁵ Letters from Samazeuilh to Falla, 5 July 1920, 29 July 1920 and 14 August [1922].

¹²⁶ Letters from Samazeuilh to Falla, 6 September [1921], 27 September [1921] and 10 September 1928.

¹²⁷ Letters from Falla to Samazeuilh, 3 November 1921 and 21 December 1925.

¹²⁸ Letters from Samazeuilh to Falla, 7 November [1921], 30 November [1921], 6 December [1921] and 25 November [1925].

¹²⁹ Preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7579/2.

¹³⁰ Letter from Falla to Samazeuilh, 1 November 1922; letter from Falla to Koechlin, 25 October 1922 (see Appendix 5.A).

¹³¹ Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale*, 316; letter from Samazeuilh to Falla, 18 December 1922.

¹³² Letter from Samazeuilh to Falla, 12 April 1921; letter from Falla to Samazeuilh, [3 September 1928].

¹³³ This information from the handwritten dedication on p. 1 of the score.

manuscript) some time before 3 September 1928.¹³⁴ (As noted in § 3.3, he probably also gave Falla an uncorrected proof, printed in negative, of his own two-piano arrangement of Debussy's *Fantaisie*.) He also alerted Falla to the publication of his *Chant d'Espagne* in the supplement to the May 1925 issue of *La Revue musicale*; the piece bears a printed dedication to Falla, which Samazeuilh described as

... un témoignage de mon admiration pour l'artiste et de mes sentiments déjà bien anciennement affectueux pour l'excellent camarade que vous avez toujours été pour moi.¹³⁵

... an expression of my admiration for you as an artist, and of my feelings – already affectionate a very long time ago – for the excellent comrade you've always been to me.

It is significant that two of these works are – explicitly or implicitly – Spanish in nature. Samazeuilh held Falla's music in great esteem; after having made the transcription of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* for six hands, he told Falla, 'J'ai été heureux de voir de près les *Nuits*; c'est une façon certaine, pour un musicien, de les apprécier davantage' ('I was happy to see the *Nights* at close range; it's a certain way for a musician to appreciate them more').¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Falla expressed his fondness for it in his letter of that date.

¹³⁵ Letter from Samazeuilh to Falla, 9 May 1925.

¹³⁶ Letter from Samazeuilh to Falla, 5 July 1920.

6.12 SATIE

No correspondence survives between Falla and Erik Satie. Pahissa records one encounter between them; this was at Debussy's home before 1914, and it took place in circumstances that were hardly congenial.¹³⁷ It is inconceivable, however, that they did not meet on numerous other occasions. Satie was a close friend of both Debussy and Koechlin,¹³⁸ and he shared many other mutual acquaintances with Falla. In two letters written shortly after the outbreak of the First World War, Jean-Aubry passes on Satie's news to Falla as though he were keeping two friends in touch with one another;¹³⁹ he mentions meeting him at Ravel's house on one occasion and at the Godebskis' on the other: two places where he may easily have met Falla before the war (see § 4.2.1).

Falla was certainly aware of Satie's music, and – more significantly – of the high regard in which it was held by many of his colleagues; in 'Introducción a la música nueva' (1916), he describes him as a 'precursor'¹⁴⁰ – precisely the same word that Satie himself used in a 1913 account of how he was perceived by contemporaries such as Ravel, Calvocoressi and Roland-Manuel.¹⁴¹ It is therefore astonishing that the only work by Satie of which Falla owned a copy was the song 'Que me font ces vallons, ces palais', printed in the 'Tombeau de Debussy' supplement to the December 1920 issue of *La Revue musicale* – and even that volume is now missing from his library.¹⁴²

¹³⁷ PM, 47. This was the occasion when Falla – who had been waiting for Debussy's return in a room in his house filled with Japanese and Chinese masks, and whose presence had been forgotten – frightened Emma Debussy and left hurriedly.

¹³⁸ Robert Orledge, *Satie the Composer* (Cambridge, 1990), 39 and 114 respectively.

¹³⁹ Letters from Jean-Aubry to Falla, undated [shortly before 10 January 1915] and 4 April 1915, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7131/1.

¹⁴⁰ FI (FEs, 41 [FO, 20]).

¹⁴¹ Quoted in Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, 2.

¹⁴² Supplement to *La Revue musicale*, i, 2 (1 December 1920). Though the supplement is missing, Falla's copy of the journal itself has survived (*E-GRmf*, inventory number 5875).

6.13 VARÈSE

Edgar Varèse's only known contact with Falla was in his capacity as a director of the International Composers' Guild of New York. In a note added to a letter from Robert E. Schmitz (founder of the Franco-American Musical Society) of 19 June 1924, Varèse pledged his organisation's support for a proposal to invite Falla to conduct a performance of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* in the United States. Falla replied to both men on 4 July, observing that he was unable to accept their invitation because of his health and his work schedule. Though both letters are courteous and sincere, neither contains anything which reveals the composers' respect for one another's work, or even their specific knowledge of it.

7 CASELLA AND MALIPIERO

7.1 INTRODUCTION

7.1.1 Falla and the Italians

Falla was extremely fond of Italy; Alfredo Casella recalled that he once said that he loved it 'come una seconda patria' ('as a second fatherland'),¹ an epithet he normally reserved for France. His affection for the country was reciprocated both by the Italian public (José Segura's account of the reception of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* in Venice in 1932 has already been cited, in § 1.1) and by Italian composers. Close friendship and a strong mutual respect existed between Falla and several of his younger Italian contemporaries, not least Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco (who even invited Falla to his wedding, in 1924)² and Vittorio Rieti.³

Citations not given in the text or footnotes may be found in the following appendices:

	Casella	Malipiero
Correspondence	Appendix 7.A.a	Appendix 7.B.a
Printed music	Appendix 7.A.b	Appendix 7.B.b
Performances by Falla	Appendix 7.A.c	N/A
Performances attended by Falla	Appendix 7.A.d	Appendix 7.B.c

¹ Alfredo Casella, 'Visita a Falla', *L'Italia letteraria*, 2 February 1930, 5 (article reprinted in Casella, 21 + 26 [Rome, 1931], 195-202; this reference on pp. 200-1).

² The invitation is preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6832. The wedding took place in Florence, and Falla was not present. Three of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's works carry printed dedications to Falla: the movement of 'b-a-ba' entitled 'Dans les jardins d'Espagne' (1930), and the *Dos romances viejos* (1934). Inscribed copies of each are preserved at *E-GRmf* (inventory numbers 857, 860 and 861 respectively), as are thirteen items of correspondence between the two men (correspondence folders 6382 and 7084).

³ During his visit to Italy in May 1923, Falla accepted an invitation to Tivoli from Rieti, but he found the place disagreeable and cut short his stay. Pahissa records Rieti's 'disappointment' at this turn of events (PM, 118-19) – but his emotion reads more like

Besides Stravinsky, Falla counted among his confidants only two foreign composers of his own generation who were not French: both were Italian. They were Alfredo Casella and Gian Francesco Malipiero,⁴ both of whom he held especially dear.

He once told Malipiero that he placed him in the 'toute première ligue' ('very first league') of his friends.⁵ His correspondence with Casella teems with modes of address such as 'carísimo' or 'carissimo' ('very dearest' – sometimes, courteously, in the other's native tongue, though their principal language of communication was French), and for a time after their 1932 encounter in Venice he even signed his letters simply 'Manuel' (though he later reverted to his full name).⁶ His fondness for both is visible in dedications the dedications he wrote on photographs and in copies of his scores that he sent them:

A Alfr.[edo] C.[asella], amigo ejemplar y muy querido.

To Alfredo Casella, [my] exemplary and very dear friend.

A mi queridísimo F.[rancesco] M.[alipiero] con toda mi vieja devoción[.]⁷

To my very dear Francesco Malipiero with all my old devotion.

disillusionment in the letter he wrote to Falla shortly afterwards: 'J'espère que vous êtes satisfait de Frascati' ('I hope that Frascati pleases you') (letter from Rieti to Falla, 10 May 1923; preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7489). One further Italian composer of the younger generation deserves to be mentioned here: Remy Principe, who in 1934 composed a piece for violin and piano, entitled *El campiello*, as an homage to Falla: Falla's inscribed copy is preserved at *E-GRmf* (inventory number 920).

⁴ There is evidence that he was also acquainted with Franco Alfano also – via María del Carmen, he asked Casella for Alfano's news in her letter of 19 August 1930 – but they do not seem to have corresponded directly.

⁵ Letter from Falla to G. F. and Anna Malipiero, 20 August 1924.

⁶ The letters signed 'Manuel' are those dated [23?] January 1933, 14 November 1934 and 1 June 1937.

⁷ Drafts of dedications preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6830.

Both friendships were remarkably long-lasting; the correspondence alone extends from 1914 to 1939 in Casella's case, and from 1923 to 1946 – the year of Falla's death – in Malipiero's.

Their intimacy is further demonstrated by Falla's friendships with both composers' wives. His camaraderie with Anna Malipiero is particularly telling, for her letters are markedly more affectionate and demonstrative towards Falla than her husband's. (For this reason, an exception to a general rule has been made, and her letters are transcribed in Appendix 7.B.a along with those of her husband.) To some extent, Yvonne Casella's friendship with Falla also had a life of its own: she sent Falla postcards separately from her husband on at least two occasions.⁸ (Incidentally, it is clear that Falla also met Casella's mother,⁹ and the familiarity between the two men is further evident in the ebullience with which Casella informed Falla of the birth of his daughter in his letter of 17 November 1928.)

Casella and Malipiero were themselves good friends,¹⁰ and the three men socialised together during all three of Falla's visits to Italy in the 1920s and 1930s. Their shared friendship is plainly evinced in a famous photograph taken in Venice in 1932 (Figure 7.1.1.i); Falla is in the middle, unusually linking arms with both of his colleagues. The copy that Casella and Malipiero dedicated to Falla is preserved at the Archivo Manuel de Falla;¹¹ the inscription reads:

⁸ Yvonne Casella added her signature to cards sent to Falla by the Marquis of Casa Fuerte and Vittorio and Elsie Rieti (5 October 1928, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7489) and by Andrés Segovia and Alis and J. Pallotelli (undated [28 January 1932], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7613).

⁹ Letter from Falla to Casella, 14 November 1934.

¹⁰ In his autobiography, Casella notes that he and Malipiero became friends in Paris shortly before the First World War (*Music in My Time* [Norman, 1955], 111); a few years later, they were founding committee members of the Società Nazionale di Musica (*Ibid.*, 140). The Casellas spent two months in the summer of 1923 in Asolo, as neighbours to the Malipieros (*Ibid.*, 157-8; letter from Anna Malipiero to Falla, undated [15 September 1923?]), and Falla told Malipiero that they talked about on the occasion of Casella's visit to Granada in January 1930 (letter from Falla to G. F. and Anna Malipiero, 24 January 1930).

¹¹ *E-GRmf*, photograph number 7/27.

al grande Manuel[,] in ricordo fraterno del suo mirabile 'Retablo' e delle belle serate veneziane di settembre 1932

Casella

G. Francesco Malipiero

to the great Manuel, in fraternal memory of his wonderful *Puppet Show* and of the fine Venetian evenings of September 1932

Casella

G. Francesco Malipiero

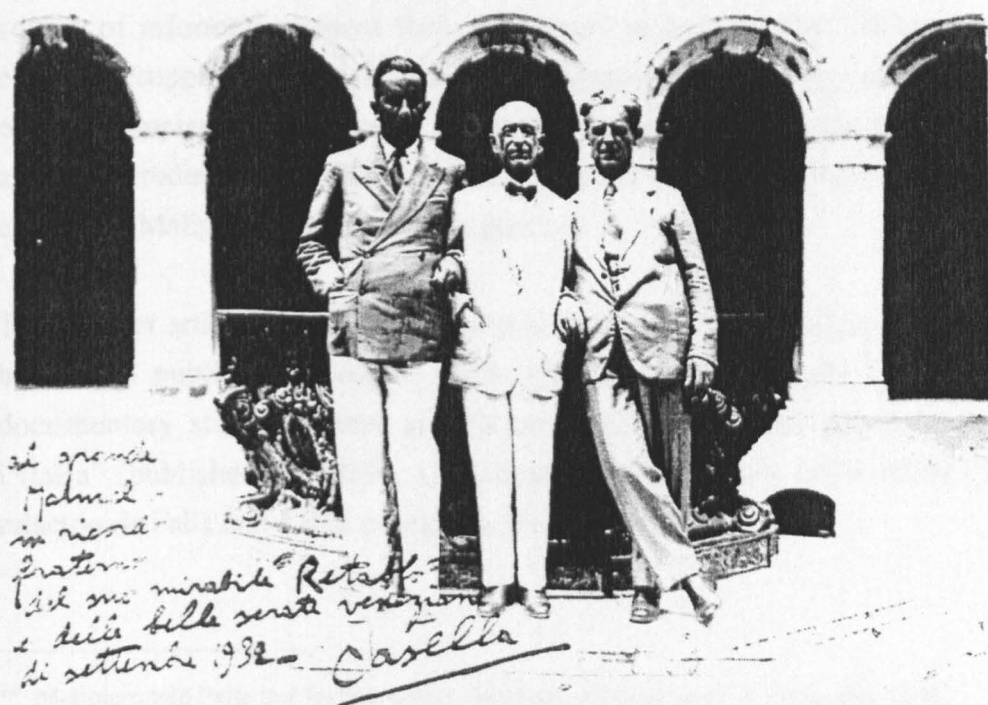


Figure 7.1.1.i

(Left to right:) Casella, Falla and Malipiero in Venice, September 1932

(E-GRmf, photograph number 7/27).

(Reproduced by kind permission of the Archivo Manuel de Falla, Granada.)

Casella wrote of his friendship with Falla twice: in an article entitled 'Visita a Manuel de Falla', published in *L'Italia letteraria* shortly after his trip to Granada in January 1930 (and reprinted the following year in his collection of essays entitled *21 + 26*),¹² and in his autobiography *I segreti della giara* (1941).¹³

¹² Cited in note 1 above.

¹³ Alfredo Casella, *I segreti della giara* (Florence, 1941). In the present study, reference is made to the English translation, *Music in My Time*.

Malipiero made Falla the subject of an entire book, written around 1946,¹⁴ but unpublished in its original form until 1993 (owing in the first place to the shortage of paper in the aftermath of the war).¹⁵ (Prior to 1993, it was published in two different Spanish translations.)¹⁶ Essentially, this book is a short biography of Falla interspersed with paraphrases of and extensive quotations from his articles on Debussy and *cante jondo*. Within the text, little allusion is made to their friendship, though Malipiero does append an affectionate open letter from his wife Anna to Falla, which is an important source of information about their encounters in Italy.¹⁷ The 1983 Spanish edition is supplemented with remarkably inaccurate, illogically-ordered and often incomplete translations of the correspondence between the two men,¹⁸ and an introductory essay by Federico Sopeña which sets the book in the context of Malipiero's own aesthetic position.¹⁹

Two further articles on Falla's contacts with Italy and with Italian composers have been published in recent years, and both are extremely valuable as documentary studies. These are Fiamma Nicolodi's 1987 paper 'Falla e l'Italia' (published in 1989), and Montserrat Bergadà's 2000 article 'La relación de Falla con Italia: crónico de un diálogo'.²⁰

¹⁴ Malipiero told Falla that he had written this book in his letter of 12 September 1946.

¹⁵ It is published in Manuel de Falla, *Scritti sulla musica e i musicisti* (Modena, 1993), 199-219. The reference to the cost of paper is found in Malipiero's letter to Falla of 12 September 1946.

¹⁶ G. F. Malipiero (translated by H. Siccardi), *Manuel de Falla* (Buenos Aires, 1955); *Id.* (translated by Andres Soria), *Manuel de Falla (Evocación y correspondencia)* (Granada, 1983).

¹⁷ Malipiero, *Manuel de Falla (Evocación y correspondencia)*, 31-4. Her memory of these events matches closely with evidence from contemporary documents. She recalls, for example, that J. B. Trend visited Siena in 1928 with 'el director de la Galería de Manchester' (p. 33). The identity of this gentleman is confirmed in a letter from Dent to Falla, 25 August 1928 (preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6904) as Mr Hansard, director of the Manchester Municipal Museum.

¹⁸ Malipiero, *Manuel de Falla (Evocación y correspondencia)*, 36-53.

¹⁹ Malipiero, *Manuel de Falla (Evocación y correspondencia)*, 7-11.

²⁰ Fiamma Nicolodi, 'Falla e l'Italia', in SE, 215-67; Montserrat Bergadà, 'La relación de Falla con Italia: crónico de un diálogo', in Yvan Nommick (ed.), *Manuel de Falla e Italia* (Granada, 2000), 17-61.

Nicolodi's article is especially rich in its discussion of Italian documents; it includes as appendices listings of performances of works by Falla in Italy between 1920 and 1940,²¹ Italian press reviews of the performances of the *Concerto* and *Master Peter's Puppet Show* in 1928 (Siena) and 1932 (Venice) respectively,²² and near-complete transcriptions of Falla's correspondence with Casella and with Malipiero.²³ Bergadà freely admits that she has not consulted Italian sources,²⁴ but her article undertakes a very thorough examination of documents relating to Falla's Italian contacts preserved at the Archivo Manuel de Falla, a number of which she reproduces in facsimile. Particularly interesting are her observations about the places in Italy that Falla visited as a tourist during his visits in 1923, 1928 and 1932.²⁵

²¹ Nicolodi, 'Falla e l'Italia', 233-6.

²² Nicolodi, 'Falla e l'Italia', 236-8.

²³ Nicolodi, 'Falla e l'Italia', 238-67.

²⁴ Bergadà, 'La relación de Falla con Italia', 19-20.

²⁵ Bergadà, 'La relación de Falla con Italia', 30, 41-2 and 54-5.

7.1.2 Falla and Respighi

Falla never struck up a friendship with Ottorino Respighi, though the two men met at least twice. The first occasion was in Rome, probably in 1923, when they were photographed standing together (Figure 7.1.2.i).²⁶ It is clear from the body-language and facial expressions shown in this photograph, however, that the two composers were not well-acquainted. (Falla was perhaps not amused by the indecent statue behind them either.) Their second meeting was in Venice in September 1932, when, in the same programme given on two separate nights, Falla conducted *Master Peter's Puppet Show* and Respighi conducted *Maria Egiziaca*.²⁷

Falla had little interest in Respighi's work, though he probably heard performances of at least a few of his compositions; notably, the Ballets Russes performed *La Boutique fantasque* several times in London during Falla's 1919 visit to that city.²⁸ Curiously, his library includes only one of his works: the orchestral suite *Rossiniana*, based (like *La Boutique fantasque*) on themes of Rossini and therefore hardly representative. He owned both miniature and full-size scores of this work.²⁹ They may have been gifts (perhaps from Respighi himself, in 1932); alternatively, the suite may have been one of those considered for inclusion in the repertoire of the Orquesta Bética de Cámara.

²⁶ *E-GRmf*, photograph number 7/40.

²⁷ Programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1932-015 and 017. The performances took place at the Teatro Goldini on 10 and 13 September.

²⁸ Programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: NFE 1919-002. Other performances at which Falla's presence is certain or probable, represented by programmes at *E-GRmf*, are *La Boutique fantasque* at the Paris Opéra, 20 May 1920 (FE 1920-009), and *Fountains of Rome* at the Palacio de Carlos V, Granada, during the Corpus Christi festival in June 1922 (FN 1922-014).

²⁹ *E-GRmf*, inventory numbers 880 and 1199 respectively. Both were published by D. Rahter, Leipzig, in 1927.



Figure 7.1.2.i
 (Left to right:) Respighi,
 Rosa Ponzelle (singer),
 Falla and Elsa de
 Respighi in Rome,
 May 1923 (*E-GRmf*,
 photograph number 7/40).
 (Reproduced by kind
 permission of the Archivo
 Manuel de Falla, Granada.)

The reason for Falla's lack of interest in Respighi's work is apparent in the circumstances surrounding the aforementioned performances of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* and *Maria Egiziaca* in September 1932. Pahissa, presumably paraphrasing Falla, writes:

Falla was not very pleased to find that his work was to figure in a programme beside a piece with such a plot as that of *Maria Egiziaca*, in which Respighi describes the licentious life led by the Saint before she gave herself up to mortification and penance.³⁰

³⁰ PM, 124.

.....

Such a work as this can hardly have failed to disturb the devout and celibate Falla, who, it would seem, never knew anything but mortification and penance.³¹ It created a gulf which could not be bridged by the clear aesthetic parallels between other aspects of their art, most apparent in the the two composers' evocative orchestral works: *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, and many of Respighi's best-known compositions, including *The Pines of Rome*, *The Fountains of Rome* and *Roman Festivals*.

³¹ At the time in question (September 1932), Falla was especially sensible to any false and immoral perceptions of his music. In February of that year, he had written the following clause in his will: '... exijo, del modo más formal y terminante, que en la ejecución e interpretación escénica de mis obras se observe siempre – y sin ninguna posible excepción – la más limpia moral cristiana, así como que sean siempre acompañadas por obras de evidente dignidad de espíritu moral y artística' ('... I demand, in the most formal and definitive manner, that the purest Christian morals are always observed – without any possible exception – in the performance and scenic interpretation of my works, and that they are always accompanied by works which evince a dignified moral and artistic spirit') (quoted in SV, 244).

7.2 THE FRIENDSHIPS

7.2.1 Casella

Falla and Casella became friends in Paris before the First World War; their first item of correspondence (19 October 1914, from Casella) attests to an existing close friendship. Their first contacts almost certainly resulted from their mutual membership of the same artistic circles. Casella's close involvement with the Parisian Société Musicale Indépendante has already been noted (§ 4.2.1); in Falla's first letter to him after the outbreak of war, he asked for 'des nouvelles de nos camarades de la SMI' ('news of our SMI comrades').³² Casella also regularly attended the Godebski salon,³³ was acquainted with Debussy,³⁴ and was a particularly close friend of Ravel's.³⁵

It is possible that their first encounter took place during Falla's earliest days in Paris. During his short concert tour in northern Spain in 1908, Falla played a work by Casella listed in the programme as *Canción napolitane*; since this work is apparently unpublished, it is tempting to think that Casella himself may have suggested it to Falla and his fellow performers, and that Falla may even have sought his advice before playing it.

In his autobiography, Casella implies that he and Falla were drawn together in Paris by their mutual interest in transferring to their own countries the musical revolution taking place in France.³⁶ This is an important topic of their wartime correspondence. On 1 December 1915, Casella consulted Falla about an

³² Letter from Falla to Casella, 30 October 1914.

³³ Casella, *Music in My Time*, 108.

³⁴ Casella, *Music in My Time*, 62-3 and 117-19.

³⁵ Casella, *Music in My Time*, 102.

³⁶ Casella, *Music in My Time*, 89.

ambitious plan to create a 'Union musicale latin', with between 15,000 and 20,000 members and branches in Italy, France and Spain. Even at this stage, he had worked out the details of the project with great intricacy: he even went so far as to suggest a list of honorary committee members for the Spanish section. Of course, there was a hidden agenda too: his careful use the term 'Latin' exposes his desire – seasoned by the war in progress – to present a combined 'Latin' front against the Teutons.

Falla almost certainly replied, but that letter is lost; in it, he probably told Casella of the foundation of the Sociedad Nacional de Música, whose goals were similar to those of the SMI. In his autobiography, Casella cites the Sociedad Nacional as one of the models for the Società Nazionale di Musica, which he founded in Rome in 1916.³⁷

The 'Union' plan remained on the drawing board for some time; Casella mentioned it again in a letter to Falla dated 16 January 1918. The precise purpose of this projected organisation is not known (the pamphlet he sent Falla, 'résumant les buts principaux de la chose' ['summarising the principal aims of the thing'],³⁸ is lost), but it was probably related to another scheme, which he described to Falla on 17 December 1916. This was the establishment of a system of exchange between the Sociedad Nacional and the Società Nazionale (in addition to societies in other countries, including France, England and Russia), whereby

a/ Vous nous donneriez chaque année quelques unes des œuvres nouvelles meilleures que vous avez revélé, et nous les jouons à Rome, dans les meilleures conditions possibles;

b/ Vous faites la même chose à Madrid pour nous.³⁹

a/ Every year, you would give us a few of the best new works that you have made known, and we [would] play them in Rome, in the best possible conditions;

b/ You [would] do the same thing in Madrid for us.

³⁷ 'Another society with the same name had been founded in Spain the preceding year by Manuel de Falla with the support of the best young Iberian composers and had begun a highly meritorious activity' (Casella, *Music in My Time*, 139-40).

³⁸ Letter from Casella to Falla, 1 December 1915.

³⁹ Letter from Casella to Falla, 17 December 1916. Casella also mentions this system of exchange in *Music in My Time*, 143.

Noting that the Società Nazionale was to begin staging concerts in March, Casella indicated his wish to include something by Falla (and also by Turina) in the first season. Since so few of his works were published at this stage, Falla suggested the *Trois Mélodies* and *Four Spanish Pieces*. The two works were heard respectively in 1917 at the Società Nazionale and in 1918 at the Società Italiana di Musica (which had by then replaced it).⁴⁰

These were the earliest of several occasions on which Casella strived to promote Falla's work in Italy. Italian performances of his music which resulted at least partially from these efforts are shown in Table 7.2.1.i. To this list, we should add three abortive attempts. The first of these was in 1917, when, following Count San Martino's lead of the year before,⁴¹ he sought to have *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* performed at the Augusteo in Rome.⁴² (Falla's reply to this invitation is lost, but it is clear from Casella's next letter – 16 January 1918 – that he seriously considered accepting it; he even went to so far as to work out a schedule.)⁴³ The other two concerned plans for performances in Venice of *Master Peter's Puppet Show*, in 1926 and in 1930;⁴⁴ the latter is discussed in more detail below.

Casella also conducted Falla's music in the United States on at least one occasion (the work in question was one of the suites from *The Three-Cornered*

⁴⁰ Casella, *Music in My Time*, 142-5; Nicolodi, 'Falla e l'Italia', 233.

⁴¹ On 4 November 1916, acting on Serge Diaghilev's recommendation, Count San Martino (director of the Regia Accademia de Santa Cecilia, Rome) invited Falla to perform his newly-completed 'suite per pianoforte e orchestra' at the Augusteo in Rome (letter preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7593). (Diaghilev also wrote to Falla around this time, encouraging him to accept this invitation [postcard, undated [c. November 1916], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6908].)

⁴² Letter from Casella to Falla, 27 November 1917.

⁴³ This schedule is pencilled at the foot of Casella's letter of 16 January 1918:

24 febrero	24 February
26 Paris	26 Paris
28 al 8 Roma	28 to 8 Rome
9 marzo	9 March
10 Paris	10 Paris
11 Salida	11 Departure
13 Madrid	13 Madrid
20 días.	20 days.

⁴⁴ Letters from Casella to Falla, 5 October 1925, 7 February 1930 and 27 July [1930].

Hat, with the Boston Symphony Orchestra, around June 1928),⁴⁵ and he was on the panel which selected the *Sinfonietta* of Falla's pupil Ernesto Halffter at the ISCM Festival in Oxford in 1931; he even offered to conduct the work.⁴⁶

WORK	DETAILS OF PERFORMANCE (where known)	EVIDENCE FOR CASELLA'S INVOLVEMENT
<i>Four Spanish Pieces</i>	20 April 1917, Sala Sgambati, Rome.	Letter from Casella to Falla, 17 December 1916; letter from Falla to Casella, 2 February 1917; Casella, <i>Music in My Time</i> , 142-5; precise date from Nicolodi, 'Falla e l'Italia', 233.
<i>Trois Mélodies</i>	15 February 1928, Sala Sgambati, Rome.	Letter from Falla to Casella, 2 February 1917; Casella, <i>op. cit.</i> , 145; precise date from Nicolodi, 'Falla e l'Italia', 233.
<i>Psyché</i>	? unknown date in April 1926, unknown location in Rome.	Letter from Casella to Falla, 5 October 1925; letter from Falla to Casella, 28 October 1925.
<i>Concerto</i>	12 September 1928, Salone Chigi Saracini, Siena.	Letter from Casella to Falla, 15 June 1928; programme preserved at <i>E-GRmf</i> : FE 1928-025.
Unspecified suite from <i>The Three-Cornered Hat</i>	7 September 1930, Teatro La Fenice, Venice.	Letter from Casella to Falla, 27 July [1930].
<i>Master Peter's Puppet Show</i>	10 and 13 September 1932, Teatro Goldini, Venice.	Letters from Casella to Falla, 18 April [1932] and 18 May 1932; letter from Falla to Malipiero, 5 April 1932.
<i>El amor brujo</i>	1 and 4 August 1934, broadcast performance on Rome Radio.	Letter from Casella to Falla, 7 September 1934. In <i>Music in My Time</i> , 197, Casella incorrectly dates these performances as August 1933.
<i>Fantasia batica</i>	unknown date in September 1937, unknown location in Venice.	Letter from Casella to Falla, 17 May 1937; letter from Falla to Casella, 29 March 1938.

Table 7.2.1.i

Italian performances of works by Falla conducted, organised or supported by Casella.

⁴⁵ Letter from Casella to Falla, 15 June 1928.

⁴⁶ Letters from Casella to Falla, 14 January and 20 June 1931. The performance took place at the Sheldonian Theatre on 23 July 1931 under Halffter's direction (programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: NFE 1931-013). The other members of the International Jury were Alban Berg, Désiré Defauw, Gregor Fitelberg, Charles Koechlin and Adrian Boult.

Falla's wartime correspondence with Casella is more extensive than that with any other foreign composer. This is clearly due to the neutral status in the war of both composers' countries; apart from Stravinsky, all Falla's other foreign composer friends at this time were French. Casella was in Italy when the war broke out, but he returned to Paris in October 1914 (shortly after Falla's departure).⁴⁷ His initial reason for re-establishing contact with Falla was his interest (forced on him by material considerations) in securing a concert engagement in Spain as a pianist.⁴⁸ Approaches to concert societies were made by both Falla and Casella during the first few months of the war, with a view first to a concert with Jane Bathori,⁴⁹ then with Marya Freund.⁵⁰ There was also talk of a tour with Pablo Casals.⁵¹ However, it seems unlikely that Casella did perform in Spain during the war; he mentions no such engagement in his autobiography.

Casella was to ask Falla for help in securing concert engagements in Spain on three further occasions. On the first two, it was separate appearances that he sought, one as pianist and one as conductor: in 1920, he proposed a tour with Maria Freund and one or two orchestral concerts in Madrid;⁵² and in 1923, he suggested both a tour as a solo pianist and a single orchestral concert in which he would conduct his piano-and-orchestra arrangement of Albéniz's *Rapsodia española* and some of his own works.⁵³ He did conduct the Casals Orchestra in a concert of his own works in Barcelona in June 1922,⁵⁴ but it seems that neither of his requests to Falla ever bore fruit. Falla's answer to the 1920 request is lost,⁵⁵ but it is clear that the two men discussed possibilities when

⁴⁷ Casella, *Music in My Time*, 121.

⁴⁸ Letter from Casella to Falla, 19 October 1914.

⁴⁹ Letter from Falla to Casella, 30 October 1914.

⁵⁰ Letter from Casella to Falla, 17 and 23 November 1914.

⁵¹ Letter from Casella to Falla, 2 November 1914.

⁵² Letter from Casella to Falla, 6 April 1920.

⁵³ Letter from Casella to Falla, 25 March 1923.

⁵⁴ Letter from Casella to Falla, 25 March 1923.

⁵⁵ A reply is known to have been written, however: Falla pencilled the reply date '8. 5. 920' at the top of Casella's letter of 6 April 1920.

they met in Rome in 1923, from which city Falla wrote to the Daniel concert agency in Madrid.⁵⁶ On his return to Spain, he also made enquiries with Bartolomé Pérez Casas, conductor of the Orquesta Filarmónica de Madrid.⁵⁷ Casella's diary was full by the time Falla got back to him, however – though he did express his intention to make something of these contacts in a subsequent year.⁵⁸

The third of Casella's requests to Falla was the only one which actually led to an engagement. On 5 August 1929, he wrote to Falla to ask if he could arrange concerts in Granada and Seville which could be fitted into a tour of Spain organised by César Figuerido, to take place in January 1930 and to consist of concerts given by a trio comprising the violinist Arrigo Serato, the cellist Arturo Bonucci and Casella as pianist.⁵⁹ The correspondence which follows is complex and incomplete. Falla immediately discounted the possibility of a concert in Seville, and was also pessimistic about Granada, observing that such a concert would have to be arranged privately, and noting the financial loss made by Ravel's concert the previous November.⁶⁰ He suggested the alternative of a concert in March 1930, when Casella planned to return to Spain to give a lecture at the Ateneo in Madrid,⁶¹ an idea which Figuerido thought good when he was told of it.⁶²

⁵⁶ Falla mentions that he wrote to Daniel from Rome in his letter to Casella of 13 October 1923.

⁵⁷ Letter from Falla to Casella, 13 October 1920.

⁵⁸ Letter from Casella to Falla, 10 November 1923.

⁵⁹ In *Music in My Time*, 183, Casella notes that the trio gave twelve concerts during this tour. He also conducted the Casals Orchestra in Barcelona a few months previously (letter from Casella to Falla, 17 October 1929). Figuerido was the impresario who also arranged Ravel's tour of Spain in 1928 (see § 4.2.6) and – less successfully – Bartók's in 1931 (§ 9.1.3).

⁶⁰ Letters from Falla to Casella, 23 August and 4 October 1929.

⁶¹ Letter from Falla to Casella, 4 October 1929.

⁶² Letters: from Falla to Figuerido, 3 October 1929, carbon copy preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6984; from Figuerido to Falla, 9 October 1929, preserved in the same location.

Ultimately, however, the Granada concert took place as part of the trio tour; it was held at the Casa de los Tiros on 18 January 1930.⁶³ According to the lengthy account that Casella published in *L'Italia letteraria* a few days later,⁶⁴ the trio arrived in Granada on the morning of 17 January, and departed on the overnight train to Madrid after the concert on the subsequent evening. Portions of both days were spent with Falla in his house: Casella records that topics of conversation included Scarlatti and *Atlántida*. The four musicians also visited the Generalife on 17 January and the Alhambra on 18 January; several snapshots were taken during this visit,⁶⁵ two of which are reproduced here (Figures 7.2.1.i and 7.2.1.ii).

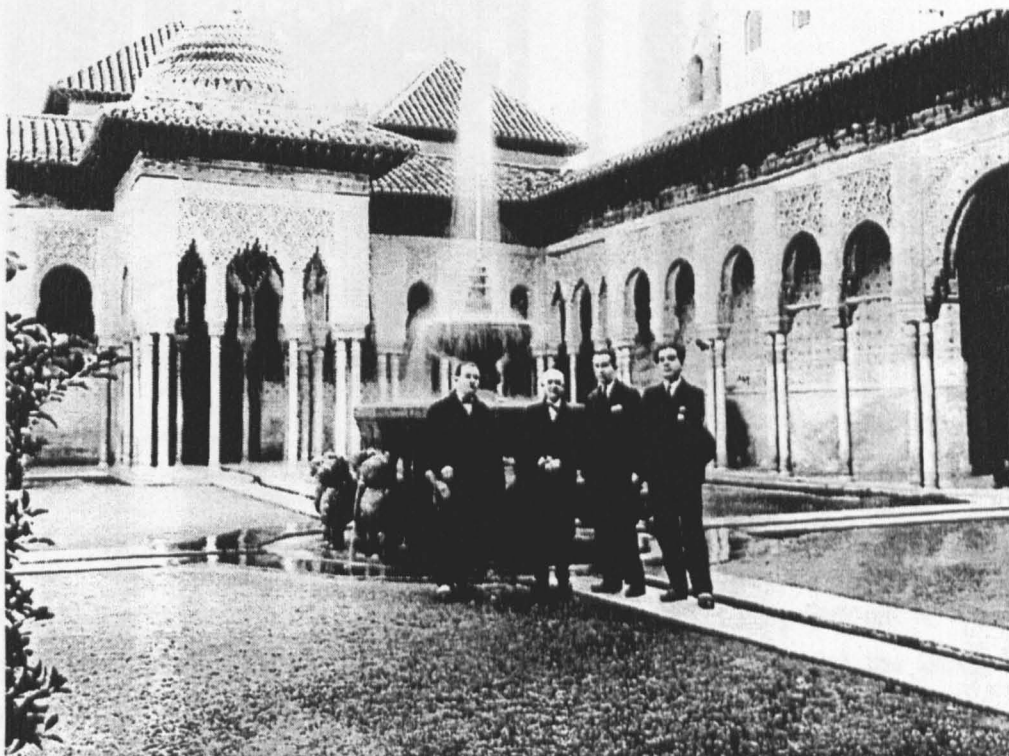


Figure 7.2.1.i

Falla with Casella, Arrigo Serato and Arturo Bonucci in the Alhambra, January 1930 (*E-GRmf*, photograph number 7/142).

(Reproduced by kind permission of the Archivo Manuel de Falla, Granada.)

⁶³ The location is mentioned in Falla's letter to Casella of 14 November 1934; the date has been inferred from a cutting from an unspecified newspaper, 19 January 1930, preserved at *E-GRmf*, press cuttings folder 6417. Montserrat Bergadà incorrectly states that this concert took place on 18 January 1929 ('La relación de Falla con Italia', 47).

⁶⁴ Casella, 'Visita a Manuel de Falla' (reprinted in Casella, 21 + 26, 195-202).

⁶⁵ *E-GRmf*, photographs 7/142, 7/143, 7/144, 7/145 and 7/146.



Figure 7.2.1.ii
 Falla and Casella in
 the Alhambra,
 January 1930
 (*E-GRmf*, photograph
 number 7/145.)
 (Reproduced by kind
 permission of the
 Archivo Manuel de Falla,
 Granada.)

(Casella sent a copy of his article to Falla shortly after its publication, and, a year later, he sent a dedicated copy of his book *21 + 26*, in which the article is reprinted.⁶⁶ Falla expressed his approval on both occasions.)⁶⁷

Though Casella does not say so, it is probable that his own music was a further topic of conversation on this occasion. Falla may have expressed a desire to know more of it, for it was shortly after this trip that Casella sent him a copy

⁶⁶ Both are preserved at *E-GRmf*: the article in press cuttings folder 6389, and the book under the inventory number 1397.

⁶⁷ Letters from Falla to Casella, 14 February 1930 and 27 May 1931.

of his *Serenata*, the only Casella score in Falla's library.⁶⁸ Another topic of discussion must have been the plans (ultimately abandoned; see above) for a performance of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* at the first Venice International Music Festival in September 1930. This festival was Casella's brainchild,⁶⁹ and is undoubtedly the 'grand projet' to which he enigmatically referred in the correspondence immediately preceding his trip to Granada.⁷⁰ Clearly, he intended to have Falla conduct the work:⁷¹ one of several Italian concert engagements that he offered to Falla between 1917 and 1932.⁷² Falla accepted only two of these offers, resulting in his final two visits to Italy.

It has already been noted (§ 7.1.1) that the two men met in Italy three times. The first of these encounters was in Rome during 1923, when Casella was one of the musicians taking part in the concerts of chamber music which were ostensibly his purpose for making the trip.⁷³ Falla's affection for his colleague is clear from his sending of a telegram to inform him of his arrival,⁷⁴ and from the fact that it was to Casella's address that he asked for his mail to be forwarded.⁷⁵ Indeed, they may have met and made this arrangement in Paris shortly before Falla left the city; they certainly met there a couple of months

⁶⁸ María del Carmen acknowledged receipt of this score in her letter of [23 January 1931]. The inscription on page 3 of the score is dated 1930.

⁶⁹ Casella, *Music in My Time*, 185.

⁷⁰ Letters from Casella to Falla, 5 August 1929 and 30 August [1929].

⁷¹ This intention is implicit in his letter to Falla of 27 July [1930].

⁷² Letters from Casella to Falla, 27 November 1917, 16 January 1918, 8 April 1920, 15 June 1928, 18 April [1932] and 18 May 1932.

⁷³ Programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: NFE 1923-003 and 004. Falla was invited to Rome to attend two concerts of chamber music organised by Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge (telegram from Kurt Schindler to Falla, 20 March 1923, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7605).

⁷⁴ Telegram from Falla to Casella, [shortly before 1 May 1923].

⁷⁵ A postcard to Falla from the Belgian composer Gaston Knosp, dated 3 May 1923, is addressed 'aux bons soins de Monsieur Alfredo Casella, Via Guirino Visconti 11, Rome' (see Appendix 9.H.a). Casella forwarded another letter (this time from the Concerts Rouge in Paris) to Falla in Tivoli; this fact is recorded in Rieti's letter to Falla, 10 May 1923 (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7489).

later, for the inscription in Casella's copy of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* is dated 'Paris 3. 7. 23'.⁷⁶

The two men evidently spent a considerable amount of time together during Falla's stay in Rome that year. They amused themselves by sending postcards to their mutual friend Louise Alvar,⁷⁷ and by undertaking 'promenades



Figure 7.2.1.iii
Falla and Yvonne and
Alfredo Casella in Rome,
May 1923 (*E-GRmf*,
photograph number 7/43).
(Reproduced by kind
permission of the Archivo
Manuel de Falla, Granada.)

⁷⁶ Nicolodi, 'Falla e l'Italia', 244, n. 8.

⁷⁷ Postcard from Falla, the Malipieros, Casella and Lionel Tertis to Louise Alvar, 5 May 1923 (original in a private collection; photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6696).

romaines' together (including a visit to the Palentine Hill).⁷⁸ It was during this stay that Falla met Casella's second wife Yvonne for the first time,⁷⁹ and the three friends are pictured relaxing in one another's company in three snapshots,⁸⁰ one of which is reproduced here (Figure 7.2.1.iii).

Five years later, in Siena, Casella and Falla again jointly sent a postcard to Louise Alvar, and this time Malipiero signed it too.⁸¹ There were further social diversions too: Malipiero recalls a meal at which he, Casella and Falla were guests of honour – an event made memorable by the fact that Falla was served a spectacularly rotten fish.⁸²

In addition to the four Italian and Spanish encounters discussed so far, there is one more post-war occasion on which the two men are known to have met. This was in Paris in June and/or July 1931. In an undated note to Falla, written on headed stationery from the Osborne Hotel, Casella makes his excuses for being unable to meet Falla for lunch, suggesting that they meet that evening for tea instead.⁸³ The evidence that they did meet on this occasion is found in a letter from Falla to Malipiero concerning arrangements for the performances of the *Puppet Show* in Venice in 1932: 'Alfredo Casella m'en avait parlé cet été à Paris' ('Alfredo Casella had talked to me about it this summer in Paris').⁸⁴

⁷⁸ Mentioned in letter from Falla to Casella, 13 October 1923.

⁷⁹ A few weeks later, Yvonne wrote Falla a personal letter (now lost) from Salzburg; Casella enclosed it with his letter of 22 August 1923. Casella records that he separated from his first wife in 1919 (*Music in My Time*, 76). It is probable that he had known her in Paris; she was certainly known to Joaquín Nin (letter from Nin to Falla, 25 November 1920, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7333).

⁸⁰ *E-GRmf*, photograph numbers 7/43, 7/44, 7/45.

⁸¹ Postcard dated 17 September 1928 (original in a private collection; photocopy preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6696).

⁸² Malipiero, *Manuel de Falla (Evocación y correspondencia)*, 33, n. 13. This account is also quoted in *SV*, 185, n. 11.

⁸³ Letter from Falla to Casella, undated [June-July 1931].

⁸⁴ Letter from Falla to Malipiero, 5 April 1932.

But we may be fairly certain that there were two further occasions on which they met. The first of these was in Paris in January 1920, when Casella wrote to Falla (at 66 Avenue Mozart, presumably) from the Hôtel Regina, requesting two tickets for a performance of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*;⁸⁵ the casual tone of the letter implies that it can only have been a matter of days since their last conversation, and not five years. Their other meeting was at the 1926 ISCM Festival in Zurich, which included performances of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* and Casella's *Partita*, the latter conducted by its composer.⁸⁶

Their desire to meet again was one of the causes of their very last exchange of letters. This was in 1939, when Casella invited Falla to the Venice Festival, and afterwards to a Vivaldi festival in Siena.⁸⁷ Unfortunately, the Second World War intervened; in Falla's reply (actually written on the boat, *en route* for Argentina), he wrote:

Sans ce voyage et sans les graves circonstances présentes nous nous serions rencontrés à Venise et à [Siena] (quels beaux souvenirs!), mais Dieu voudra que ce soit dans de moments plus heureux pour tous, ce qui je souhaite de tout mon cœur.⁸⁸

If it weren't for this journey and serious present circumstances, we'd all have met in Venice and in [Siena] (what fine memories!), but God wills that this should happen at a time that's happier for all of us, and which I hope for with all my heart.

The correspondence between these two men reveals two very different sides to their relationship, one very practical, and the other aesthetic and intellectual. The first of these is manifested in their attempts to secure concert engagements for one another, but it is perhaps clearest in Falla's request to Casella, made at

⁸⁵ Letter from Casella to Falla, undated [2 January 1920]. The performance in question took place at the Paris Opéra on 4 January 1920 (D, 246).

⁸⁶ Two performances of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* were given on 20 June 1926, at the Kunstgewerbemuseum, while the *Partita* was performed at the Großen Tonhalle on 22 June (programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1926-017). Falla's presence at this festival is confirmed in PM, 122, and by various photographs (*E-GRmf*, photographs 7/40bis, 7/41 and 7/127bis, the first two of which are reproduced as Figures 7.1.2.i and 5.2.i). It may have been Casella's memory of this performance of the *Puppet Show* which led to the acquisition of the same puppets for the performance given at the Venice Festival in 1932 (programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1932-017).

⁸⁷ Letter from Alfredo and Yvonne Casella, Serato and Bonucci to Falla, 7 October 1939.

⁸⁸ Letter from Falla to Casella, 7 October 1939. The word 'Siena' is indistinct.

a time of financial difficulty resulting from the Spanish Civil War, that he make enquires with the Italian Society of Authors with a view to having his Italian royalties paid directly to him.⁸⁹ Casella was unable to help, but he nevertheless assured Falla:

Dans tous les cas, si je puis encore vous être utile, disposez de moi comme d'un frère.⁹⁰

In any case, if I can still be of use to you, treat me like a brother.

Their relationship as two mutually-respectful artists is plainly revealed in their admiration for one another's work. Casella told Falla '*Avec quelle joie*' ('With what joy') he conducted *El amor brujo* for Italian radio,⁹¹ and he described the *Concerto* as 'un modèle de perfection et de style' ('a model of perfection and style').⁹² The copy of his *Serenata* that he sent to Falla is inscribed:

à Manuel de Falla,
'principe della musica' –
per vivissimo afetto –
Casella
MCMXXX

to Manuel de Falla,
'prince of music' –
with keenest affection –
Casella
MCMXXX

For his part, Falla dedicated a copy of the *Concerto* to 'Alfredo Casella, el magnífico ...' ('Alfredo Casella, the magnificent ...'),⁹³ and María del Carmen told him that Falla's study of the score of his *Serenata* was actually helping his recovery from an illness, 'prestándole algo de la fuerza vital que tiene la obra' ('lending him something of the work's living force').⁹⁴

But it is probably fair to say that it was for Casella's critical and musicological work that Falla reserved the greatest admiration. In relation to an article by

⁸⁹ Letter from Falla to Casella, 29 March 1938.

⁹⁰ Letter from Casella to Falla, 19 April 1938.

⁹¹ Letter from Casella to Falla, 7 September 1934.

⁹² Letter from Casella to Falla, 17 November [1928].

⁹³ Draft of dedication preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6830.

⁹⁴ Letter from María del Carmen de Falla to Casella, undated [23 January 1931].

Casella on modern Spanish music,⁹⁵ he wrote: 'J'y trouve encore une fois votre grand cerveau et, pour moi, votre grand cœur' ('There I find once again your great intellect and, for me, your great heart').⁹⁶ Something of his esteem for his colleague is evident also in his confidence in Casella's abilities to smooth over potential difficulties arising from the inclusion of both Trend's and Salazar's notes on the *Concerto* in the programme of the 1928 ISCM Festival: 'Je compte donc sur *vos lumières* – si appréciées de tous...' ('I count then on *your great wisdom* – so appreciated by everyone...').⁹⁷

Indeed, their artistic bond seems to have surpassed what may be expressed in words; writing from Athens in 1930, Casella told Falla:

L'impression que l'on ressent devant cette beauté est une chose si forte que l'on n'aime pas en parler. Mais quelqu'un comme vous comprend par l'intuition et n'a pas besoin de paroles.⁹⁸

The impression one feels before this beauty is so strong that it doesn't seem right to talk about it. But a man such as you understands by intuition, and has no need of words.

Falla may have recognised as significant the fact that he had been searching for the Temple of Hercules off the coast by Cadiz at precisely the same time as Casella had been at the Acropolis; he was too ill to reply, but he asked María del Carmen to point out the coincidence.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Casella, 'Il "Renacimiento" musicale iberico', *Pègaso*, ii, 7 (July 1930), 57-66. Falla's copy of this issue, with annotations in the margins of Casella's article and on an inserted sheet of paper, is preserved at *E-GRmf* (inventory number 6048).

⁹⁶ Letter from Falla to Casella, 17 October 1930. Falla must have been embarrassed by the way in which the article focusses almost exclusively on his own work, for in this letter he supplied Casella with a list of other Spanish composers that he could have mentioned. Casella was not offended; he thanked Falla for the list, noting that it would be useful for 'mes prochaines études sur la musique de votre pays' ('my next studies of the music of your country') in his letter of 4 December 1930.

⁹⁷ Letter from Falla to Casella, 3 August 1928.

⁹⁸ Letter from Casella to Falla, 4 December 1930.

⁹⁹ Letter from María del Carmen de Falla to Casella, undated [23 January 1931].

Both aspects of their relationship are founded on a profound personal understanding. In a letter written during the Spanish Civil War, Casella observed:

L'on me dit ... que vous attendez – comme tous vos compatriotes et aussi comme tous les vrais amis de votre grand pays – la libération totale de la patrie espagnole, libération laquelle – nous le souhaitons tous de tout cœur – ne saurait tarder beaucoup. Croyez que nous sommes tous près de vous, et que votre joie finale sera celle de tout le monde civilisé et en particulier celle des italiens, lesquels ont donné à votre Gouvernement non seulement un appui matériel, mais encore et surtout une si grande contribution morale.¹⁰⁰

I hear ... that you're in good health and that you're awaiting – as are all your compatriots and all the true friends of your great country – the total liberation of the Spanish homeland, a liberation which – we hope with all our hearts – is not too long off. Rest assured that our thoughts are with you, and that your final joy will be the joy of all the civilised world, and in particular that of the Italians, who have given to your Government not only material support, but also – and more importantly – such a great moral contribution.

María del Carmen noted Falla's approval of these words:

Mi hermano agradece muy de corazón la profunda comprensión y amor por España que Usted demuestra en su carta y que son los mismos con que su generoso país nos alienta y nos ayuda a continuar nuestra Cruzada.¹⁰¹

My brother warmly thanks you for the profound understanding and love for Spain that you demonstrate in your letter: the same understanding and love with which your country is supporting us and assisting us to continue our Crusade.

Falla was normally somewhat reticent on such subjects. Casella's ability to divine his political views correctly is therefore a testament to the strength of their attachment.

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Casella to Falla, 17 May 1937.

¹⁰¹ Letter from María del Carmen de Falla to Casella, 1 June 1937.

7.2.2 Malipiero

Although Malipiero spent some time in Paris before the First World War,¹⁰² he and Falla met on only three occasions, and always in Italy. Given the infrequency of their meetings, it is unsurprising that their correspondence is less rich in interest than Falla's with Casella. This is compensated for in two ways, however: Falla's very clear references to his admiration for Malipiero's work (much clearer than in the Casella correspondence, and attributable at least partly to the fact that he owned copies of more of Malipiero's music), and the exceptional fondness which Malipiero's wife Anna manifested towards Falla.

This latter circumstance is almost unique in Falla's relationships with his contemporaries; the closest parallel to it is the friendship between Falla and Emma Debussy (see § 3.2.4), though Anna Malipiero's affection was even warmer. She added her name and a greeting to eight of her husband's twelve surviving letters, while seven of Falla's twelve surviving letters to the Malipieros are addressed equally to husband and wife. Falla and Anna also each sent one letter addressed solely to the other.¹⁰³

The circumstances of their meeting, and the reasons for their attachment, are found in the open letter to Falla that Anna wrote as an appendix to Malipiero's book on their Spanish friend.¹⁰⁴ She observes that they were neighbours at table as guests of Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge during Falla's stay in Rome in May 1923:¹⁰⁵

Tímidos los dos, ha sido menester algún tiempo antes de tomar contacto el uno con el otro. Lo que nos unió fue el sufrimiento común

¹⁰² Casella records that Malipiero arrived in Paris in June 1913 (*Music in My Time*, 111).

¹⁰³ Both Anna's letter to Falla and Falla's letter to Anna are transcribed in Appendix 7.B.a, as are words addressed to one another within letters to and from her husband.

¹⁰⁴ Malipiero, *Manuel de Falla (Evocación y correspondencia)*, 31-4.

¹⁰⁵ She makes the same observation in her letter to Falla, undated [15 September 1923?].

por faltar el café al final de las comidas. ... fue el alba de la amistad y yo era quien le llevaba a un bar de vía Babuino, donde nos saciábamos de un óptimo Moka.¹⁰⁶

Both shy, it took some time before we spoke to one another. What united us was the common suffering as a result of there being no coffee at the end of each meal. ... that was the dawn of our friendship and it was I who took you to a bar in the Vía Babuino, where we had a superlative mocha.

Anna recalls another link between them: their joint presence at mass.¹⁰⁷ Her descriptions of the times spent together in Rome, Siena and Venice include references to a day trip to Óstia, a walk, and a conversation on matters of Roman Catholic doctrine.¹⁰⁸ The only reference to her husband in this open letter is a mention of his name as one of those present at a private reading of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* during that same visit to Rome – though, judging from references in the correspondence between the two men, he was almost certainly with them most of the time.¹⁰⁹

It seems that, on this first trip at least, Falla made a greater personal impression on Anna than on Gian Francesco. Both the Malipieros wrote to Falla some time after his return to Spain (both probably on 15 September 1923),¹¹⁰ but Anna's letter is over twice as long as her husband's; it is also much less formal and much more demonstrative, with a more vivid evocation of their meeting in Italy. Moreover, it is in French (albeit imperfect French), probably the language in which they conversed in Rome, and the sole language of their correspondence from this time on. Curiously, this first letter from her husband is in Italian (a language Falla did not speak).

¹⁰⁶ Words of Anna Malipiero (translated into Spanish by Andres Soria) in Malipiero, *Manuel de Falla (Evocación y correspondencia)*, 31-2.

¹⁰⁷ Malipiero, *Manuel de Falla (Evocación y correspondencia)*, 32.

¹⁰⁸ Malipiero, *Manuel de Falla (Evocación y correspondencia)*, 32-3.

¹⁰⁹ Letters: from Falla to Malipiero, 11 August 1923 and 20 August 1924; from Malipiero to Falla, 15 September 1923.

¹¹⁰ Malipiero's letter is headed with this date. Anna's is undated, but it seems likely that it was written at the same time, and perhaps even enclosed in the same envelope. For a fuller discussion, see Appendix 7.B.a.

It is in Anna's postscript to Malipiero's next letter (7 August 1924) that we find the first of many references to Falla's cat Confucius – clearly one of their topics of conversation in Rome. She felt some attachment to this cat she had never seen: three of her postscripts to her husband's letters serve no other purpose than that of sending her regards to Confucius, Malipiero having already passed on her regards to Falla!¹¹¹ (Incidentally, she continued to send greetings to Confucius even after Falla had informed her that he had died and been replaced by Pirulín.)¹¹²

In his letter of 20 August 1924, Falla commented that: 'Le souvenir de notre rencontre à Rome reste toujours en moi parmi les meilleurs' ('The memory of our meeting in Rome is still one of my best'). A sign of the affection that Falla and the Malipieros developed for one another during their very first meeting is the exchange of scores which took place soon afterwards.¹¹³ Such exchanges were to continue into the 1930s,¹¹⁴ when Falla asked Malipiero:

Dites moi, je vous prie, ce que vous manque de mes ouvrages afin d'avoir le grand plaisir de vous le faire envoyer.¹¹⁵

Please let me know which of my works you don't have so I can have the great pleasure of having them sent to you.

Over subsequent years their affection only strengthened. Finding the Malipieros absent on his arrival in Siena in September 1928, he sent a

¹¹¹ Letters from Malipiero to Falla, 28 February 1926, 3 August 1930 and 28 March 1932.

¹¹² Letter from María del Carmen de Falla to Malipiero, 19 August 1930; letter from G. F. and Anna Malipiero to Falla, 28 March 1932.

¹¹³ Some time before 11 August 1923, Falla sent Malipiero the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs* and *Nights in the Gardens* and Malipiero sent Falla *San Francesco d'Assisi* (evidence in letter from Falla to Malipiero of this date).

¹¹⁴ Malipiero also sent Falla *Tre Commedie Goldoniane* and the first part of *Impressioni dal Vero* (see § 7.3), in addition to arranging for him to receive his edition of the complete works of Monteverdi (see below). In addition to the *Seven Songs* and *Nights*, Falla sent Malipiero copies of the *Concerto*, *Psyché* and (probably) *Soneto a Córdoba* (letter from Falla to Malipiero, 5 April 1932; letter from Malipiero to Falla, 15 September 1923; draft of inscription for Malipiero's copy of the *Concerto* preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7232).

¹¹⁵ Letter from Falla to Malipiero, 5 April 1932.

telegram expressing his disappointment.¹¹⁶ (Ultimately, they did meet on this occasion.) When he heard that there had been an earthquake near the Malipieros' home in Asolo, Falla immediately sent a message of concern,¹¹⁷ despite his doctor's ban on letter-writing.¹¹⁸ On the occasion of Falla's stay in Venice in 1932, Malipiero sent a note to his hotel, inviting him to lunch.¹¹⁹

A recurring subject in the correspondence – and, no doubt, a constant topic of conversation – is their intended visits to one another's homes:¹²⁰ 'Quand pourrai-je vous faire une visite à Asolo... ou recevoir la votre à Grenade??' ('When can I pay you a visit in Asolo ... or receive you in Granada??') Falla asks in his letter of 20 August 1924. In her open letter to Falla, Anna notes that a trip to Granada was being planned when they were in Siena together,¹²¹ but it is evident from Malipiero's first letter to Falla that they had already discussed the subject in Rome.¹²² Ultimately, neither composer visited the other on their home ground.

Falla's personal attachment to Malipiero is mirrored in his sympathy for his work. This is evident in the correspondence: he described *San Francesco d'Assisi* as 'émouvante' ('moving'),¹²³ and expressed his unreserved approval for Madame Bériza's plan to include his *Sette Canzoni* in the same programme as *Master Peter's Puppet Show*.¹²⁴ Falla also asked Malipiero – twice – to

¹¹⁶ Telegram from Falla to Malipiero, undated [September 1928].

¹¹⁷ Letter from Falla to G. F. and Anna Malipiero, 27 July 1930.

¹¹⁸ This ban is mentioned in Falla's letters to Gerardo Diego, 7 July 1930 (published in Federico Sopeña (ed.), *Correspondencia Gerardo Diego-Manuel de Falla* [Santander, 1988], 165), and to Canteloube, 12 July 1930 (see Appendix 6.4). The letter to Casella of 19 August 1930 was mostly written by María del Carmen.

¹¹⁹ Letter from G. F. and Anna Malipiero, 9 September 1932.

¹²⁰ Letters from Malipiero (G. F. and/or Anna) to Falla: 15 September 1923, undated [15 September 1923?], 7 August 1924, 27 February 1925, 28 February 1926, 10 April 1930, 28 March 1932, 7 April 1932, 24 [April] 1932 and 12 September 1946; letter from Falla to Malipiero, 20 August 1924.

¹²¹ Malipiero, *Manuel de Falla (Evocación y correspondencia)*, 34.

¹²² Letter from Malipiero to Falla, 15 September 1923.

¹²³ Letter from Falla to Malipiero, 11 August 1923.

¹²⁴ 'Inutile de vous dire à quel point cela me plaît!' ('It goes without saying that I'm enormously pleased by it!'; letter from Falla to Malipiero, 20 December 1924). He may have

suggest works of his that could be played by the Orquesta Bética de Cámara (something he never asked Casella to do!).¹²⁵ Falla was careful with his compliments, and comments and requests such as these may be regarded as a telling sign of his esteem for this colleague.

Evidently he also respected Malipiero's musicological work on earlier Italian music. He sought his advice on works from this repertoire that could be played by the Orquesta Bética de Cámara,¹²⁶ and he took the reply very seriously,¹²⁷ passing on Malipiero's recommendations to the orchestra's administrator Segismundo Romero.¹²⁸

Falla too was fascinated by early music, and this must have been a topic of conversation with Malipiero in Rome and Siena. (Ancient literature certainly was. In Siena, it appears, Falla expressed his interest in owning complete editions of works by Virgil and Horace, for the following month, Malipiero sent him late-eighteenth-century copies of works by both.)¹²⁹ However, it took

heard a performance of an excerpt from the *Sette Canzoni* in a *Revue musicale* concert at Le Vieux Colombier on 15 June 1923 (the concert is reviewed by Henry Prunières in *La Revue musicale*, iv, 10 [1 August 1923], 76). Falla also expressed his approval of Bériza's plan in a letter to Prunières, 15 December 1924, draft preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453. Ultimately, the *Puppet Show* was dropped in favour of *El amor brujo*, but Bériza performed this work in the same programme as the *Sette Canzoni* on at least one occasion: this was on 18 June 1925, at the Trianon-Lyrique in Paris (information from cutting from *Semaine Musicale*, date unknown, preserved at *E-GRmf*, press cuttings folder 6384).

¹²⁵ Letters from Falla to Malipiero, 20 August and 20 December 1924. In Malipiero's letter of 27 February 1925, he suggested the first part of *Impressioni dal Vero* and *Grottesco*. It is not known if either of these entered the orchestra's repertoire; however, it did play Malipiero's *Suite orientale* at Claridge's Hotel in London on 13 July 1925, under Ernesto Halffter's direction (programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: NFE 1925-004).

¹²⁶ Letter from Falla to Malipiero, 20 December 1924.

¹²⁷ Letter from Malipiero to Falla, 27 February 1925.

¹²⁸ Letter from Falla to Romero, 9 April 1925, quoted in Falla, *Cartas a Segismundo Romero*, 211-12.

¹²⁹ Virgil, *Buccolica e Georgica* (Venice: Presso Antonio Zatta qu: Giacomo, 1796); Horace, *Satire, epistole, arte poetica: Le odi* (Venice: Presso Antonio Zatta qu: Giacomo, 1798); both preserved at *E-GRmf*, inventory number 3931 and unclassified document respectively. The first contains the following inscription on the front flysheet: 'Al carissimo amico Manuel de Falla[,] in ricordo dei giorni di Siena[,] G. Francesco Malipiero[,] Asolo, ottobre 1928' ('To my very dear friend Manuel de Falla, in memory of the days in Siena. G. Francesco Malipiero, Asolo, October 1928'). That Falla had expressed an interest in owning them is clear from the surviving draft of a thank-you letter (undated [between October and 12 November 1928]). A deleted section reads: 'Pour [Horace] vous m'envoyez beaucoup plus de ce que je vous avais indiqué, or c'est Virgile qui reste incomplet' ('As for the

some prompting from Henry Prunières for Malipiero to arrange for Falla to receive – free of charge, thanks to a wealthy patron – his edition of the complete works of Monteverdi.¹³⁰ It is not clear whether Falla received all sixteen volumes; only nine are preserved at the Falla Archive.¹³¹ Curiously, the pages of all of these volumes remain uncut, though marginalia have been pencilled on a very few of the pages that happen to be open as a result of the folding and binding process. Nevertheless, there are a significant number of annotations in his copy of Malipiero's 1923 edition of Monteverdi's *Orfeo*,¹³² some of them very interesting.¹³³

Since he had not studied the complete Monteverdi edition, Falla ensured that his observations on its value were more general than specific: he made comments such as: 'Combien est grande la reconnaissance que nous vous devons tous pour votre magnifique édition!' ('How great is the gratitude that we all owe you for your magnificent edition!').¹³⁴ Malipiero once described Monteverdi as 'le père de toute la musique moderne' ('the father of all modern music');¹³⁵ inevitably, Falla's interest in Monteverdi did not match that of his friend.








Malipiero expressed his appreciation of Falla's music much less freely than *vice versa*. Indeed, Malipiero commented directly on Falla's work on only one occasion, and that comment is fairly objective, albeit astute; referring to the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs*, he observes: 'Sono tanto spagnole pur non

[Horace], you send me much more than I asked you for, and it's the Virgil which is incomplete'). This replacement for this sentence changes the complaint into a commendation: 'Ma joie s'est accrue par la surprise de trouver l'Horace complet...' ('My joy is enhanced by the surprise of finding the Horace complete...').

¹³⁰ Letter from Malipiero to Falla, 10 April 1930. The patron in question was Riccardo Gualino.

¹³¹ These are: Volumes 1-6, 10, 13 and 14 (all catalogued together under inventory number 1018).

¹³² (London: Chester, 1923); *E-GRmf*, inventory number 1017.

¹³³ On page 33, for instance, Falla observes how the sinfonia is built from seven rhythmic cells: 'x' ; 'a' ; 'b' ; 'c' ; 'd' ; 'e' ; 'f' .

¹³⁴ Letter from Falla to Malipiero, 5 April 1932. Very similar comments may be found in his letters of [1 May 1930] and 27 July 1930.

¹³⁵ Letter from Malipiero to Falla, 3 August 1930.

essendo la solita musica del vostro paese!' ('They're very Spanish even though they're not the usual music of your country!').¹³⁶ Malipiero's attitude to Falla the musician was more that of a professional colleague than that of an kindred spirit: in what is only his second letter to Falla, he enthusiastically passes on the news that Emil Hertzka is interested in becoming Falla's publisher.¹³⁷

His admiration for Falla, however, is manifested more clearly in his actions than in his words. Like Casella, he worked hard to ensure the performance of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* at the 1932 Venice Festival,¹³⁸ and it was Malipiero rather than Casella with whom Falla corresponded most on this matter.¹³⁹ Within months of their first meeting, Malipiero dedicated to Falla his short opera *La Bottega da Caffè* (one of the *Tre Commedie Goldoniane*).¹⁴⁰ His *Dialogo No. 1* of 1955-6 is subtitled 'con Manuel de Falla, in memoria', and in 1959 he contributed a variation on the 7/8 theme of the 'Pantomima' from *El amor brujo* to the House of Chester Centenary Album.

Shortly before Falla's death, Malipiero wrote the monograph about him which, as we have seen, was to go unpublished for almost ten years.¹⁴¹ This book is entirely approving of Falla's work; Federico Sopeña observes that this is in marked contrast to the unsympathetic study of Stravinsky which he wrote around the same time.¹⁴² But the book is essentially objective,

¹³⁶ Letter from Malipiero to Falla, 15 September 1923. Translation prepared by Virginia Giannelli, and revised by the present writer.

¹³⁷ Letter from Malipiero to Falla, 7 August 1924. Emil Hertzka was the managing director of Universal-Edition in Vienna. Two years later, Falla and Hertzka met at the ISCM Festival in Zurich; they were photographed together (*E-GRmf*, photograph number 7/41, formerly believed to show Falla and Koechlin).

¹³⁸ Letters from Malipiero to Falla, 28 March, 7 April, 24 [April] 1932.

¹³⁹ Letters from Falla to Malipiero, 5 April and 20 May 1932.

¹⁴⁰ Malipiero announced this dedication in his letter of 7 August 1924.

¹⁴¹ Malipiero, *Manuel de Falla* (reprinted as *Id.*, *Manuel de Falla (Evocación y correspondencia)*). Letter from Malipiero to Falla, 12 September 1946.

¹⁴² Malipiero, *Manuel de Falla (Evocación y correspondencia)*, 7-8. *Id.*, *Stravinsky* (Venice, 1945).

preferring lengthy citations of Falla's own writings to Malipiero's personal observations. It is entirely in keeping with the nature of their relationship that he delegated the task of describing Falla the man to his wife, whose warm and evocative open letter rises admirably to the challenge.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ Malipiero, *Manuel de Falla (Evocación y correspondencia)*, 31-4.

7.3 FALLA'S EXPERIENCE OF THE WORK OF THESE COMPOSERS

It is remarkable how much less of his Italian colleagues' music Falla knew than that of his most eminent French contemporaries.

His experience of Casella's work was acquired principally through concert-going – though it is a sign of Spanish indifference towards Casella that, apart from Viñes's performances of *In modo di minuetto* at the Sociedad Nacional de Música in 1918, every one of the concert performances of his works represented by the programmes or press cuttings in Falla's collection took place in Paris before the war, at ISCM Festivals, or at Casella's concert in Granada in January 1930.

Given the extent of his knowledge of Casella's work, it is curious that he possessed only one score – that of the chamber version of the *Serenata*, scored for clarinet, bassoon, trumpet, violin and cello – and, as we have seen, Casella himself sent him this, as late as 1930. His failure to obtain further scores (especially prior to this date) seems all the more extraordinary when it is borne in mind that his professed esteem for the music (implicit throughout the correspondence, and explicit in relation to the *Serenata*) had some foundation in his performance of at least one of Casella's works in the first decade of the century (see § 7.2.1).

Malipiero's work is better represented in Falla's library – four scores and two works published in supplements to *La Revue musicale* – but less well in his collection of programmes. In fact, it is unlikely that Falla had heard anything by Malipiero before the performance of the '*Rispetti e Strambotti*' *Quartet* which coincided with their first meeting in Rome in 1923. His earliest experience of Malipiero's music was probably the homage to Debussy published alongside his own in the supplement to *La Revue musicale* of December 1920.¹⁴⁴ As far as the four scores in his collection are concerned, at

¹⁴⁴ Falla's copy of this supplement is missing.

.....

least three (*San Francesco d'Assisi*, *Tre Commedie Goldoniane* and the first part of *Impressioni dal Vero*) were gifts from Malipiero.¹⁴⁵

In fact, not one score by either composer is annotated. To some extent, this may be explained in terms of the lateness of their acquisition, for it is a general rule that the earlier Falla obtained a score, the more inclined he was to make notes in it. But it is precisely this lateness that is extraordinary, especially in the case of Casella's work. A lack of annotations does not demonstrate a lack of interest – but the same cannot easily be said of the failure to obtain any scores in the first place.

¹⁴⁵ Letters from Falla to Malipiero, 11 August 1923 and 20 December 1924; letter from Malipiero to Falla, 27 February 1925.

7.4 CONCLUSION

It is abundantly clear from the enormous imbalance between the strength of Falla's personal relationships with these composers and the extent of his knowledge of their work that he attached far greater importance to their friendship than to their art. His correspondence contains many more references to his wish to be reunited with his old friends than to his desire to hear their music; the lack of comment on the latter subject is particularly evident in the correspondence leading up to and following Casella's concert in Granada.¹⁴⁶

It is difficult, however, to reconcile Falla's apparent lack of interest in Casella's and Malipiero's actual compositions with his professed esteem for their work. This esteem may be partly accounted for by extra-musical considerations: it is perhaps significant, for instance, that the first Malipiero score that Falla obtained was *San Francesco d'Assisi*, a religious theme treated in a manner of which he clearly approved. It has already been noted that he deeply appreciated Casella's critical and musicological work, and much of his admiration for Malipiero was geared towards that composer's work as the editor of the complete works of Monteverdi. Early music was an interest of all three composers: in addition to Malipiero's Monteverdi editions, we may cite Casella's promotion of Vivaldi,¹⁴⁷ Falla's addition of expression marks to motets by Victoria and other sixteenth-century Spanish composers,¹⁴⁸ and the admiration for Scarlatti and for Pérotin manifested by both Casella and Falla.¹⁴⁹ There can be no doubt that early music was an important topic of their conversation, though it is barely touched upon in the surviving correspondence.

¹⁴⁶ Letters from Falla to Casella, 4 October and 23 November 1929.

¹⁴⁷ Letter from Casella et al to Falla, 19 August 1939.

¹⁴⁸ PM, 154-5. Several of these 'expressive editions' are preserved in manuscript at *E-GRmf*.

¹⁴⁹ References to Scarlatti: Casella, *Music in My Time*, 172-3 and 183-4; T, 148-51; RM, 54; PM, 103 and 136. References to Pérotin: Casella, *op. cit.*, 56 and 84; PM, 90.

But Falla's admiration for his Italian contemporaries' forays into criticism and musicology does not wholly explain his professed admiration of their own music. He appreciated the critical work of other composers (Paul Le Flem, for instance; see § 6.9) without ever venturing comments on their musical compositions.

It is clear that he recognised some general correlation between his own work and that of Casella and Malipiero – its spirit, perhaps, rather than its letter. This perception is founded in Falla's belief in the existence of a kinship between the Latin nations. This conviction undoubtedly owes much to those countries' Roman Catholic affinities, and was consolidated by the First World War and Falla's resulting ill-feeling towards the Teutonic countries. This too had religious overtones, as is evident, for instance, in the letter he wrote to Henri Collet on 23 October 1914:

No tengo que asegurarle que mi pensamiento está siempre en Francia, mi amada segunda Patria, y que he visto con grande alegría la huida de los teutones de nuestro París.

Tambien creo inútil decirle la indignación que me produjo el bárbaro atentado de esos salvajes contra la catedral de Reims. No hay palabras para calificar este hecho, más que abominable, y jamás podré olvidarse!¹⁵⁰

I don't need to assure you that my thoughts are always with France, my beloved second homeland, and that it was with great delight that I saw the flight of the Teutons from our Paris.

I also needn't describe the indignation which the barbaric assault of those savages on Reims Cathedral produced in me. No words exist to justify this deed, worse than abominable, and I'll never be able to forget it!

But a Latin kinship was something that Falla most often observed in the domain of art. It is clear that he considered the use of the adjective 'Latin' as one of the greatest compliments he could pay in describing the work of other composers.¹⁵¹ In a letter to the Belgian composer Gaston Knosp, he defined his admiration for Bizet's music in the following terms:

¹⁵⁰ See Appendix 6.E.a.

¹⁵¹ He used the word in two undated letters to the younger French composer Claude Duboscq ([13 April 1923 or shortly before] and [after 10 July 1923]; drafts of both preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6926), and to Poulenc, whose *Les Biches* he described as

Son hispanisme – par reflet – a une rare puissance évocatrice des temps plus ou moins prétérits, et son latinisme a toujours touché le plus profond de mon cœur.¹⁵²

His Spanishness – by reflection – has a rare power evoking a period that is more or less 'preterite', and his Latinism has always touched the depths of my feeling.

Casella's views on Latinity closely mirrored Falla's in both nature and strength. This is clear in his keen desire to found the 'Union musicale latine' and to create systems of communication between societies promoting modern music in Italy, France and Spain. It is also clear from the wording of his programme proposal for his projected concerts in Spain with Jane Bathori:

Nous pouvions peut-être faire deux concerts de musique moderne latine, avec Fauré, Chabrier, Debussy, Ravel, Dukas, Albéniz, Granados, Falla, Turina, Pizzetti, Casella, etc.¹⁵³

Perhaps we could do two concerts of modern Latin music, with Fauré, Chabrier, Debussy, Ravel, Dukas, Albéniz, Granados, Falla, Turina, Pizzetti, Casella, etc.

Casella put forward a more polarised view of the character of Latin music in a 1925 article published in *Le Courrier musical*, in which he describes it as 'indépendant', in contrast to that of Stravinsky ('polytonal') and Schoenberg ('atonal').¹⁵⁴ And a reference to Latinity in a humorous context reveals that he was fully conscious of the significance he attached to it: 'Je compte sur une réponse fraternelle et ... latine!' ('I'm counting on a reply that is fraternal and ... Latin!').¹⁵⁵

It is highly probable, therefore, that Falla's identification with Casella and Malipiero was built on his recognition in their work of virtues he admired in his French contemporaries. This enabled him to recognise those virtues as 'Latin' rather than 'French', thereby giving Spain as well as Italy an equal

'Une musique si latine, si française' ('A music [that is] so Latin, so French') (letter of September 1924, original in a private collection; photocopy preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7441).

¹⁵² Letter from Falla to Knosp, undated [24 August 1923] (see Appendix 9.H.a).

¹⁵³ Letter from Casella to Falla, 2 November 1914.

¹⁵⁴ *Le Courrier musical*, 15 October 1925 (cited in Bergadà, 'La relación de Falla con Italia', 39, n. 72).

¹⁵⁵ Letter from Casella to Falla, 17 December 1916.

claim to them. But he may also have seen a musical alliance between Italy, Spain and France as a valuable strengthening of border defences against the music of the Teutons.¹⁵⁶

In this light, Falla's appreciation of his Italian contemporaries's music transcended a need to be widely acquainted with it. Nevertheless, there must have been much in the work of Casella and Malipiero that he did admire: its clarity, sonorous brilliance and clearly-defined tonality are essential ingredients of his own style.

¹⁵⁶ His dislike of German and Austrian music is most clearly manifested in FI (FEs, 39 and 42-3 [FO, 18-19 and 21]).

8 STRAVINSKY

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Falla's friendship to Stravinsky was especially close. They met unusually often, exchanged letters regularly, and expressed their personal affection for one another in a manner unequalled in Falla's relations with other composers. Falla also knew more music by Stravinsky than by any other of his contemporaries except Debussy – and he pronounced freely on its worth and significance.

Their relationship is unusually well-documented too,¹ though surprisingly little has been written about it – a situation all the more remarkable considering the immense historical significance of both composers, and the fact that neither made any secret of his friendship and admiration for the other. Several years after Falla's death, Stravinsky even went so far as to describe him as 'the most devoted of all my musical friends'.²

Even so, this very interesting subject has not entirely escaped the attention of musicologists. Three articles on it have been published in recent years; their contents are summarised below.

Citations not given in the text or footnotes may be found in the following appendices:

Correspondence between Falla and Stravinsky	Appendix 8.A
Printed music by Stravinsky in Falla's library	Appendix 8.B
Performances of works by Stravinsky given by Falla	Appendix 8.C
Performances of works by Stravinsky attended by Falla	Appendix 8.D
Recording of work by Stravinsky in Falla's library	Appendix 8.E

¹ Notably, there are no obvious gaps in the correspondence. However, at least one item of correspondence has not survived: the letter of introduction that Falla wrote to Stravinsky for Ann Livermore (mentioned in Livermore, *A Short History of Spanish Music* [London, 1972], ix). It is not clear at what date that letter was written.

² Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (London, 1960), 81.

Gianfranco Vinay, 'La lezione di Scarlatti e di Stravinsky nel *Concerto* per clavicembalo di Falla', in Paolo Pinamonti (ed.), *Manuel de Falla tra la Spagna e l'Europa* (Florence, 1989) [SE], 179-88.

The major part of this article comprises an analysis of Falla's use of Scarlattian elements in the third movement of the *Concerto*. Vinay likens Falla's methods to Stravinsky's neoclassical procedures, which, he suggests, may have been a source of inspiration.

Gianfranco Vinay, 'Falla et Stravinsky: confrontation en deux volets', in Louis Jambou (ed.), *Manuel de Falla: Latinité et universalité* (Paris, 1999) [LU], 405-17.

This article is in two parts. The first (pp. 405-12) seeks to define the indirect nature of Stravinsky's influence on Falla, by comparing excerpts from works by both composers (which Vinay admits to choosing *ad hoc* [p. 405]); no reference is made here to any documentary evidence. The second section (pp. 412-17) comprises a fairly lengthy summary of the personal relationship between Falla and Stravinsky as evinced in the correspondence and in published writings by the two composers.

Louis Jambou, 'Stravinsky y Falla: Influencias y paralelismos: Parámetros para un estudio', in Antonio Álvarez Cañibano, Pilar V. Gutiérrez Dorado and Cristina Marcos Patiño (eds.), *Relaciones musicales entre España y Rusia* (Madrid, 1999), 103-16.

This article covers some of the same ground as the foregoing study by Vinay. The first section (pp. 105-10) comprises a commentary on the correspondence between the two composers. Some valuable observations are made on the differences in the ways in which the two men conduct themselves; Jambou notes, for instance, that Falla tends to allude to his admiration for Stravinsky's latest works, while Stravinsky's letters are motivated more by self-interest (pp. 107-8). No further archival evidence is examined (though there are references to published sources, including FS and *Chroniques de ma vie*). The second part (pp. 110-12) draws parallels between the two composers' interest in the use of popular music, especially that of Spanish origin; particular reference is made to Stravinsky's article 'Les Espagnols aux Ballets russes' (*Comœdia*, 15 May 1921; reproduced in Vicente García-Márquez [ed.], *España y los Ballets Russes* [n.l., 1989], 87). In the concluding section (pp. 112-16), Jambou discusses the influence of early music on both composers, and observes that the stylistic elements of new music listed in FI, and those of Stravinsky's music listed in FS, prevail also in Falla's.

In the last two of these three articles, discussion of the personal relationship between Falla and Stravinsky is based largely on analysis of their correspondence. The attention paid to this body of evidence, and the total neglect of other documentary sources, is explained by the fact that their letters have been published – albeit only in an English translation by Robert Craft which is unidiomatic, sometimes incomplete, and often inaccurate.³

³ Robert Craft (ed.), *Stravinsky: Selected Correspondence*, ii (London, 1984), 160-76. The errors in these translations include the omission of passages which are difficult to read or to understand (a fault that occurs especially in the translation of Falla's letter of 7 July 1916 [p. 160]), the inappropriate direct translation of French courtesies and formulae (such as 'I embrace you with all of my great affection and devotion' [p. 168] for 'Je vous embrasse avec toute ma grande affection et dévotion' in Falla's letter of 18 March 1929), and inaccurate transcriptions of titles and personal names (note 'Madame Lejeune' for 'Madame Leymo' in Falla's letter of 31 December 1916 [p. 161], and 'Señor Luis Hoffe' for 'Señor Don

By failing to take other documentary sources into account, Vinay and Jambou are unable to make an comprehensive study of the relationship between the two composers; in particular, they are prevented from fully assessing the frequency and nature of their encounters. This is especially regrettable given both the importance of their meetings and the quantity of surviving evidence relating to them.⁴

This neglect of much of the source material also has unfortunate consequences for both authors' analyses of the similarities in the work of the two composers. Vinay's analysis is based purely on comparative analysis of the musical texts; Jambou's is more convincing in that it is founded on the composers' own comments. Neither author, however, backs up his theories with concrete documentary evidence. As will be seen (§§ 8.3 and 8.4), detailed study of sources preserved at the Falla Archive – including scores, programmes and manuscript evidence – reveals much about the nature and extent of Falla's study of Stravinsky's work, and sheds light on some of the ways in which his own music may have been directly influenced by it.

Jambou concedes that his article is merely an 'estudio preparatorio' ('preparatory study'), and he concludes by urging musicologists to 'entrar en el meollo de las relaciones entre los dos compositores' ('enter into the heart of the relationship between the two composers') by investigating their employment of the musical devices and stylistic traits discussed by Falla in his

Quichotte' in Falla's letter of 19 April 1929 [p. 169; identified by Craft as '[?] 1929']. Jambou hints that he has studied the letters in their original French ('Stravinsky y Falla: Influencias y paralelismos: Parámetros para un estudio', in Antonio Álvarez Cañibano, Pilar V. Gutiérrez Dorado and Cristina Marcos Patiño (eds.), *Relaciones musicales entre España y Rusia* (Madrid, 1999), 107), but he does not quote from any of them, and a telltale comment about 'las [cartas] editadas hasta hoy' ('the [letters] published so far'; *ibid.*, 107) suggests that he has relied primarily on the published translations. Vinay's quotations from this correspondence are evidently retranslated into French from Craft's English versions.

⁴ The failure to refer to other documentary evidence has also resulted in misunderstandings. For instance, Vinay completely misinterprets a comment in Stravinsky's letter of 12 February 1929 as an objection to Falla's comments in FS about the Russian character of his music ('Falla et Stravinsky: confrontation en deux volets', in LU, 415); in fact, knowledge of the wording of Falla's handwritten dedication in Stravinsky's copy of the *Concerto* (jotted alongside the draft of Falla's letter of 26 January 1929) reveals the comment to be part of an elaborate joke. See § 8.2.3.

1916 articles 'Introducción a la música nueva' and 'El gran músico de nuestro tiempo: Igor Stravinsky'.⁵

That would be an extremely valuable exercise, though it falls outside the scope of the present investigation. Instead, I propose a fresh approach to the study of the relationship between these two men and their work, focusing on evidence presented in a wider range of source materials than have been considered hitherto, and with far closer attention to detail.

⁵ Jambou, 'Stravinsky y Falla', 116. The two articles (FI and FS) are reproduced in FEs, 30-43 and 27-30 respectively (unsatisfactory English translations may be found in FO, 13-21 and 9-12).

8.2 THE FRIENDSHIP

8.2.1 Paris, 1910-14

Stravinsky's autobiographical remarks are notoriously unreliable,⁶ but his comments about his relationship with Falla have a ring of truth about them; moreover, most of them are supported by documentary evidence, or at any rate not contradicted by it. In his 1934 'autobiography' *Chroniques de ma vie*,⁷ he recalls that he first met Falla – in addition to Debussy, Ravel and Schmitt – during his visit to Paris on the occasion of the first performance of *The Firebird*,⁸ in June and July 1910.⁹ In *Memories and Commentaries* (1960), he specifically places that first encounter at the home of the Godebski family.¹⁰

It seems most probable that it was at gatherings there and at Delage's Auteuil home that the two men became friends. They must have met in both places on numerous occasions between 1910 and 1914; there is no shortage of evidence corroborating Stravinsky's close association with members of the Apaches and the Godbeski circle during his visits to Paris.¹¹ It was almost certainly at Delage's home that Stravinsky presented Falla with a copy of the vocal score of *The Nightingale* in 1914; the inscription on the cover reads:

⁶ See the discussion of this topic in Stephen Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring: Russia and France, 1882-1934* (London, 2000), x.

⁷ Igor Stravinsky, *Chroniques de ma vie* (Paris, 1935). This book was largely ghost-written by Walter Nouvel. In the present chapter, references are made to the anonymous English translation published as *An Autobiography (1903-1934)* (London, 1975).

⁸ Stravinsky, *An Autobiography*, 30.

⁹ Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring*, 140-5.

¹⁰ Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries*, 80.

¹¹ See Jann Pasler, 'Stravinsky and the Apaches', *Musical Times*, cxxiii (1982), 403-7, *passim*.

A Falla
que j'aime
Igor Stravinsky
Auteuil
1/VI 1914

To Falla
whom I love
Igor Stravinsky
Auteuil
1/VI 1914

The intimacy revealed in that inscription probably developed in June-July 1913, when Stravinsky spent six weeks in a nursing home in Neuilly-sur-Seine, suffering from typhoid fever.¹² In *Chroniques de ma vie*, Stravinsky names Falla as one of the friends who visited him 'frequently' at that time (he mentions also Debussy, Ravel, Schmitt, Casella and Delage).¹³ The truth of this is corroborated in a letter which Falla wrote to Georges Jean-Aubry in Le Havre on 19 June – a letter that also includes a striking demonstration of his own appreciation of *The Rite of Spring*:

Avez-vous entendu le *Sacre*? Trouvez-vous la musique aussi admirable que je vous l'avez dit? Stravinsky va beaucoup mieux. Vous saurez déjà qu'il a été très sérieusement malade.¹⁴

Have you heard the *Rite*? Do you find the music as admirable as I told you? Stravinsky is getting much better. As you know, he has been seriously ill.

It was during his stay in the nursing home that Stravinsky dedicated a copy of the piano-duet score of *The Rite of Spring* to Falla,¹⁵ writing on the title page:

A Manuel de Falla
en toute affection et admiration
Igor Stravinsky
Paris 6/VI 1913.

To Manuel de Falla
with all my affection and admiration
Igor Stravinsky
Paris 6/VI 1913.

This dedication is instructive on account of Stravinsky's use of the word 'admiration', which suggests that he had some knowledge of Falla's music – and, moreover, that he approved of it. Both composers must have had ample opportunity at the Delage and Godebski houses to hear private performances of one another's works and to share their aesthetic opinions and musical

¹² Stravinsky, *An Autobiography*, 49; Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring*, 210.

¹³ Stravinsky, *An Autobiography*, 50.

¹⁴ Letter from Falla to Jean-Aubry, 19 June 1913 (private collection; photocopy at E-GRmf, correspondence folder 7133).

¹⁵ He was admitted on 3 June 1913 (Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring*, 210).

discoveries. It is not clear which of Falla's works Stravinsky knew, however: the *Four Spanish Pieces* almost certainly, but perhaps also the *Trois Mélodies*, *La vida breve*, and maybe even early sketches for *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*.

Of course, Falla had far greater opportunity to hear music by Stravinsky (see § 8.3); it was surely impossible for him to miss the performances of the three ballets given by Diaghilev's troupe. No doubt he shared his fellow-Apaches' enthusiasm for the exotic Russian qualities of *The Firebird*.¹⁶ It is clear from his 1916 article for *La Tribuna*, 'El gran músico de nuestro tiempo', that he thought *Petrushka* even finer,¹⁷ and his opinion of *The Rite of Spring*, as expressed in the letter to Jean-Aubry, has already been reported.

(There is one further anecdote concerning Falla's friendship with Stravinsky before the war. Pahissa records that 'Albéniz's widow, shortly after his death, went to Falla to ask him to suggest to Debussy, Ravel and Stravinsky that they should orchestrate some of Albéniz's works'.¹⁸ This does not entirely ring true. Albéniz died on 18 May 1909, and Stravinsky's first visit to Paris did not take place until June of the next year. Even at that time, Stravinsky was something of an unknown quantity, and seems an unlikely choice for such a task: both Debussy and Ravel had written much music in a Spanish vein, but Stravinsky had not.)

¹⁶ Ravel's enthusiastic reaction to Stravinsky's first ballet is recorded in Victor Seroff, *Ravel* (New York, 1953), 161. Falla's appreciation of Musorgsky's *Boris Godunov* and Rimsky-Korsakov's *Antar*, to which he was introduced by the Apaches, is recorded in Viñes's diary (Nina Gubisch, *Ricardo Viñes à travers son journal et sa correspondance* [doctoral thesis, Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1977], 157-8).

¹⁷ FS (FEs, 28 [FO, 10]).

¹⁸ PM, 47.

8.2.2 Spain, 1914-19

For the first few months after Falla's return to Madrid in late 1914, he was kept informed of Stravinsky's whereabouts and activities by Jean-Aubry.¹⁹ This source of information dried up at the beginning of 1915, and Falla received no further news about Stravinsky until they were reunited in Madrid in May and June 1916.²⁰ (Stravinsky was the only major foreign composer whom Falla encountered during the war.)

Stravinsky went to Madrid to attend the first staged performances in Spain of *The Firebird* and *Petrushka*, which took place on 25, 28, 30 and 31 May, and 3, 6 and 9 June.²¹ The immediate fruit of his reunion with Falla was the latter's article 'El gran músico de nuestro tiempo: Igor Stravinsky', published in *La Tribuna* on 5 June.²² As the title makes clear, this is a lavish eulogy of Stravinsky's work. Its more immediate purpose, however, seems to have been to forestall the critical opposition to *Petrushka* that Falla's experience of *The Rite of Spring* in Paris had led him to expect; the article was published the day before its first performance. He writes:

Pero la masa anónima que forma lo que llamaríamos gran público ¿sabe hasta qué punto tiene importancia para nosotros que un artista de la altura eminente de Stravinsky venga a renovar nuestra viciada atmósfera musical con el aire recio o sutil, pero siempre fresco y limpio, de su arte? ¿Sabe Madrid que tiene como huésped a uno de los más grandes artistas de Europa? ¿Sabe, en fin, desentenderse de los que le digan que el arte de este compositor sirve más para

¹⁹ In an undated letter from that period (before 10 January 1915), Jean-Aubry observes that Stravinsky's brother, serving in the Russian army, has been injured, though not seriously. In a letter dated 18 January 1915, he provides Falla with Stravinsky address: Château d'Oex, Vaud, Switzerland. (Letters preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7133.)

²⁰ Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring*, 265.

²¹ Vera Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents* (London, 1979), 142-3. Contrary to some assertions (not least Falla's own in FS [FEs, 27 (FO, 19)]), Stravinsky did not conduct these performances.

²² FS.

desorientar que para conducir por el camino de la verdad? ¡Esto es lo que sobre todo yo quisiera que supiese!²³

But the anonymous mass which makes up what we would term the public at large, does it know just how important it is for us that such a highly eminent artist as Stravinsky has come to renew our stuffy musical atmosphere with the robust and subtle air – but always fresh and clear – of his art? Does Madrid know that she has as her guest one of Europe's greatest artists? Does she know, moreover, how to dissociate herself from those who say that this composer's art serves more to disorientate than to indicate the path of truth? This is what I would like to make known above all!

Though ostensibly on a professional engagement, Stravinsky was by no means averse to some socialising. He remained in Spain for almost two weeks after the last performance of *Petrushka*, and it seems that he would have stayed longer and travelled with Falla and Diaghilev to Granada had some unknown eventuality not forced him suddenly to change his plans.²⁴

His autobiography mentions trips to Toledo and El Escorial;²⁵ in a letter written many years later, Falla recalled that they visited the nearby city of Segovia together,²⁶ and it may be that he accompanied him on the other two excursions too. It is clear from the long letter that he wrote to Stravinsky shortly after his departure that the two men had spent some considerable time in one another's company.²⁷ Falla hints at conversations about Stravinsky's intention (ultimately unfulfilled) to return to Spain in October and about his desire to visit Andalusia, and also speaks of a banquet at which they shared a table. It may have been on this occasion that the two men were photographed together for a formal group portrait featuring also Conrado del Campo, Ernest

²³ FS (FEs, 27 [FO, 9]).

²⁴ Letters from Falla to Stravinsky, 7 July 1916 and 19 April 1929. The change of plans may have had something to do with his short-lived affair with the dancer Lydia Lopokova (Stravinsky and Craft, *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents*, 141-2; Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring*, 263-4).

²⁵ Stravinsky, *An Autobiography*, 63.

²⁶ Letter from Falla to Stravinsky, 19 April 1929.

²⁷ Letter from Falla to Stravinsky, 7 July 1916.

.....
 Ansermet, Diaghilev and Miguel Salvador; Falla and Stravinsky are seated together.²⁸

Vera Stravinsky and Robert Craft observe that Stravinsky heard a performance of three of Falla's songs (though they do not say which ones) at the Hotel Ritz on 23 May, a day or two after his arrival in Madrid.²⁹ It seems that he was also treated to informal performances of at least two more of Falla's works. The casual way in which *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, and Diaghilev's plans to make a ballet of it, are mentioned in Falla's first letter to Stravinsky clearly implies that the latter knew both the music and Diaghilev's intentions.³⁰ It must have been at this time that a conversation recorded by Pahissa took place,³¹ in which Stravinsky tried to calm Falla's fears about turning *Nights* into a ballet by telling him how *Petrushka* had begun life as a concert piece for piano and orchestra.

The other work Falla played to Stravinsky was the then-unfinished *El corregidor y la molinera*. Fascinatingly, it seems that Stravinsky actually criticised certain passages; in the letter he wrote shortly afterwards, Falla told him that

Le musique de la meunière qui ne vous allait pas a été déjà substituée, et la Danse un peu développée.³²

The music for the Miller's Wife that didn't go down well with you has already been replaced, and the Dance has been developed a little.

²⁸ This photograph is the property of the Association Ernest Ansermet, and is preserved at the Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire, Lausanne. A copy is kept at *E-GRmf* (photograph number 7/155). It has been widely reproduced; see, for instance, PO, 93; IC, 93; Manuel Orozco Diaz, *Falla* (Barcelona, 1985), 80; Jambou, 'Stravinsky y Falla', 113; Stravinsky and Craft, *Stravinsky in Pictures in Documents*, 141.

²⁹ Stravinsky and Craft, *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents*, 141. No programme for that concert is preserved at *E-GRmf*.

³⁰ Letter from Falla to Stravinsky, 7 July 1916.

³¹ PM, 97.

³² Letter from Falla to Stravinsky, 7 July 1916.

Unfortunately, the surviving sketches for *El corregidor* and *The Three-Cornered Hat* offer no evidence of these modifications.³³

In the same letter, Falla mentions an informal performance of *Les Noces* – or *Noces villageoises*, as it was known at that time – and recalls the ‘profonde impression’ that it made on him.³⁴ María Martínez Sierra, one of the new friends that Stravinsky made during his visit,³⁵ also recalls hearing this work:

Varias veces, mientras estábamos poniendo a punto *El tricornio*, vino [Stravinsky] a nuestra casa con Diaghilev y Miassin, y con su gracia de chiquillo (aun lo parecía) y su modestia de gran creador – únicamente las medianías son vanidosas – no tenía inconveniente en sentarse al piano y deleitarnos generosamente con su inspiración y su técnica igualmente prodigiosas. Estaba a la sazón componiendo su *Boda aldeana*, así es que tuve el privilegio de conocer y saborear la obra mucho antes que el público. En su sencillez, que en nada disminuía la conciencia del propio valer, en su optimismo inalterable, en su trato fácil y naturalmente afectuoso parecíase mucho a otros dos músicos ilustres, Mauricio Ravel y Joaquín Turina, y formaba contraste marcadísimo con la melancolía orgánica y el pesimismo suspicaz de Manuel de Falla.³⁶

Several times, while we were putting together *The Three-Cornered Hat*, [Stravinsky] came to our house with Diaghilev and Massine, and with his childlike humour (for so it seemed) and the modesty of a great creator – only the mediocre are conceited – he was more than happy to sit down at the piano and generously delight us with his equally prodigious inspiration and technique. At that time he was composing his *Noces villageoises*, and thus it is that I had the privilege of getting to know and appreciate the work long before the public. In his simplicity, which in no way diminished his self-esteem, in his unchanging optimism, in his easygoing and naturally affectionate manner, he closely resembled two other famous composers, Maurice Ravel and Joaquín Turina, and he made a very marked contrast with the innate melancholy and suspicious pessimism of Manuel de Falla.

³³ Many sketches for this work are preserved at *E-GRmf*, under the inventory numbers L and LIII.

³⁴ Letter from Falla to Stravinsky, 7 July 1916.

³⁵ Another was Eugenia de Errazuriz, the future dedicatee of both Stravinsky's *Ragtime* and Falla's *Soneto a Córdoba* (Stravinsky, *An Autobiography*, 63).

³⁶ María Martínez Sierra, *Gregorio y yo* (Mexico City, 1953), 144. María's assessment of the enormous difference between the characters of the two composers is corroborated by Stravinsky's own description of Falla: 'I took him ... for an *homme sérieux*; in fact, his nature was the most unpityingly religious I have ever known – and the least sensible to manifestations of humour. I have never seen anyone as shy' (Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries*, 80).

Falla's detailed knowledge of *Noces villageoises* and of another work in progress, *Renard* (then entitled *Le Coq et le renard*), is shown in 'El gran músico de nuestro tiempo', where the emphasis placed on the innovative nature of their orchestration reveals that he not only heard a play-through of the sketches, but must also have seen the sketches and discussed them with his colleague.³⁷

That first letter from Falla to Stravinsky was dated 7 July 1916. Stravinsky replied on 11 August, and as well as expressions of affection his letter contains a rare display of his admiration for Falla's music:

[E]xcusez pour ces quelques lignes en réponse de votre bonne lettre (qui m'est arrivée avec un retard inouï!)[.] Ils expriment avec la plus grande sincérité combien j'aime votre art, vous et combien m'est chère votre sympathie pour mon art et moi[.]

Excuse these few lines in reply to your kind letter (which reached me after an unbelievable delay!). They express with the greatest sincerity how fond I am of your art, you, and how dear to me are your understanding of my art and me.

Less than a month later, Stravinsky and Falla both went to San Sebastián,³⁸ where they may have met, however briefly. Falla told Ansermet that he would be arriving in that city on 6 August at the earliest;³⁹ Stravinsky left for Bordeaux on the seventh or eighth.⁴⁰ Falla certainly expected to see him: in a letter dated 9 September, Adolfo Salazar asked him to pass on his regards.⁴¹

³⁷ FS (FEs, 29-30 [FO, 11]). Falla's comments on the orchestration of *Renard* and *Les Noces* are discussed further in §§ 8.3 and 8.4.

³⁸ Falla was there to attend a concert of Spanish music (including *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* and a fragment from *La vida breve*) on 13 September (Programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FN 1916-016). Stravinsky had gone there to bid well to Diaghilev's troupe (including his mistress Lydia Lopokova) before it departed for America (Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring*, 268-9).

³⁹ Letter from Falla to Ansermet, [2 September 1916], transcribed in Claude Tappolet (ed.), *Ernest Ansermet: Correspondances avec des compositeurs européens (1916-1966)*, i (Geneva, 1994), 160.

⁴⁰ Walsh notes that Stravinsky was in Bordeaux on 8 August (*Stravinsky: A Creative Spring*, 268).

⁴¹ Letter preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7568.

Later that year, Falla and Stravinsky exchanged greetings via Ernest Ansermet and Ricardo Viñes;⁴² Stravinsky may have been present when these two musicians performed *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* at the Théâtre de Genève on 4 November.⁴³ And at the end of the year, the two composers exchanged best wishes just one day apart (Falla on 31 December, Stravinsky on 1 January); their postcards must have crossed in the post.

It was through Ansermet and another pianist that Falla and Stravinsky next came into contact. Around the beginning of 1918,⁴⁴ Ansermet sounded out the well-off Artur Rubinstein (then living in Spain), proposing that he might like to assist Stravinsky financially, given the precarious state of the latter's finances in the aftermath of the Russian revolution.⁴⁵ On 10 March, his letters to Rubinstein having failed to meet with any response, Ansermet wrote to Falla, asking him to suggest to Rubinstein that he consider commissioning a work for piano from Stravinsky.⁴⁶

This Falla did, and on 1 May he sent Stravinsky a cheque from Rubinstein for 5000 Swiss francs, observing in an accompanying letter that the pianist had placed no restrictions on the kind of work he was to compose. (The result was *Piano-Rag-Music*. At the same time, Rubinstein commissioned Falla to write *Fantasia bætica*.)⁴⁷ Falla also urged Stravinsky to accept an invitation from the *Círculo de Bellas Artes* and the *Sociedad Nacional de Música*, who wanted

⁴² Letter from Falla to Ansermet, 19 October 1916; telegram from Ansermet and Viñes to Falla, 8 November 1916; transcribed in Tappolet (ed.), *Ernest Ansermet: Correspondances*, i, 162-3 and 165 respectively.

⁴³ The programme for this concert is reproduced in Tappolet (ed.), *Ernest Ansermet: Correspondances*, i, 164.

⁴⁴ Ansermet obtained Rubinstein's address in Spain from Falla around the time (postcard from Ansermet to Falla, 3 January 1918 [transcribed in Tappolet (ed.), *Ernest Ansermet: Correspondances*, i, 166]).

⁴⁵ Claude Tappolet suggests this was the matter ('notre affaire') to which Falla alludes in his letter to Ansermet of 2 September 1916 (*Ernest Ansermet: Correspondances*, i, 209, n. 25). In fact, the matter in question almost certainly concerned the two men's wish to persuade Diaghilev to allow a concert performance of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* in Geneva ahead of its projected adaption as a ballet; this topic is discussed in Ansermet's letter to Falla of 3 September 1916 (*ibid.*, 160-1).

⁴⁶ Letter from Ansermet to Falla, 10 March 1918, transcribed in Tappolet (ed.), *Ernest Ansermet: Correspondances*, i, 167.

⁴⁷ PM, 106.

him to take part in concerts in Madrid, Barcelona and Lisbon.⁴⁸ In a letter to Ansermet of the same date, he revealed that he and Diaghilev were both involved in securing that engagement;⁴⁹ nevertheless, it did not come to fruition, and the two men did not meet again until 1920.

⁴⁸ This information from letter from Ansermet to Falla, 10 March 1918.

⁴⁹ Letter from Falla to Ansermet, 1 May 1918, transcribed in Tappolet (ed.), *Ernest Ansermet: Correspondances*, i, 168.

8.2.3 1920-31

Given that neither Falla or Stravinsky ever again visited the other in his home surroundings, it is extraordinary that they should have coincided so frequently on their travels; it is also extraordinary that so many of their meetings are reliably documented. They met on at least nine occasions between 1920 and 1930, in at least three different cities: Paris, Madrid and London. These meetings are summarised in Table 8.2.3.i.

DATE	PLACE
[January?]-February 1920	Paris
April 1921	Madrid
June 1921	London
June 1923	Paris
November 1923	Paris
March 1924	Madrid (probable meeting)
[May?]-June 1927	Paris
June 1927	London
May 1930	Paris

Table 8.2.3.i
Summary of Falla's meetings with Stravinsky, 1920-30.

Though Stravinsky did not hear directly from Falla in 1919 (there seems to have been no correspondence between them from May 1918 until January 1921), he was nevertheless kept abreast of his friend's news (perhaps by Diaghilev); indeed, it was Stravinsky who told Ravel of the sad circumstances surrounding Falla's departure from London on the day of the first performance of *The Three-Cornered Hat*.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Letter from Ravel to Falla, 19 September 1919; see Appendix 4.A.a.

Falla's first post-war encounter with Stravinsky took place early in 1920. Both were in Paris, Falla to attend the French premiere of *The Three-Cornered Hat*,⁵¹ and Stravinsky to attend the first staged performance of *The Song of the Nightingale*;⁵² each composer surely heard the other's work.⁵³ Their affection for one another was clearly as strong as ever. On 4 February, Stravinsky presented Falla with copies of both the vocal and the full score of *Pribaoutki*, signed 'A Manuel, Igor' – the earliest evidence that they were on first-name terms.⁵⁴ The extended inscription in the full score also presents an early demonstration of their bizarre sense of humour:

A Manuel, Igor
en présence d'Ernest
chambre No 311
à 2 lits
le 4 II 20
Paris

To Manuel, [from] Igor
in the presence of Ernest
room no. 311
with 2 beds
4 II 20
Paris

This inscription is intriguing, and calls to mind a delightful image of Falla returning with Stravinsky from some theatre, restaurant or café to the latter's hotel room, Ansermet tagging along, in order to retrieve copies of these scores from Stravinsky's suitcase.⁵⁵

Their next encounter was in Madrid, in early April 1921. Again, the Ballets Russes were the catalyst; Falla travelled up from Granada (at Diaghilev's expense)⁵⁶ to attend the Spanish premiere of *The Three-Cornered Hat* on

⁵¹ The French premiere was given on 4 January 1920 (D, 246).

⁵² That performance was given on 2 February (Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring*, 309).

⁵³ A performance of *The Three-Cornered Hat* was given the day after the premiere of *The Song of the Nightingale* (3 February; programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1920-012).

⁵⁴ Though this is the earliest instance of the two composers directly addressing one another by their Christian names, Falla had earlier alluded to Stravinsky as 'Igor' in his letter to Ansermet of 1 May 1918 (transcribed in Tappolet (ed.), *Ernest Ansermet: Correspondances*, i, 168).

⁵⁵ That very same day, Henry Prunières wrote to Falla inviting him to join Ravel, Stravinsky, Viñes and himself at an informal dinner the following Monday (9 February) (letter from Prunières to Falla, 4 February 1920, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453). Unfortunately, Falla had already left Paris by that date, as he informed Prunières in a letter dated 10 February (draft preserved in same location).

⁵⁶ Telegram from Diaghilev to Falla, undated [shortly before 4 April 1921], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6908.

4 April; Stravinsky was there to conduct *Petrushka*. On 24 March, Falla had told Henry Prunières that he would be going to Madrid only if he was informed that his presence was absolutely necessary. A few days later, Diaghilev sent a telegram to Falla demanding his presence at the rehearsal on the morning of the premiere, but it may have been the news that Stravinsky would be there too which really clinched his decision to go.⁵⁷ It was on this occasion that the second of the two extant photographs of both composers was taken: an informal snapshot this time.^{57A}

The day after the first performance of *The Three-Cornered Hat*, Stravinsky gave Falla scores of *Ragtime* and the 'petite suite' from *The Soldier's Tale*.⁵⁸ In his letter of 21 April, Falla described both as 'admirables', and mentioned that he would be in Paris around 10 May. They did not meet in Paris at that time,⁵⁹ but they almost certainly coincided in London in June; both attended the British concert premiere of *The Rite of Spring*, at the Queen's Hall on the seventh.⁶⁰

There seems to have been no direct contact between the two men in 1922, though it is difficult to imagine that Stravinsky would not have been one of the composers in Falla's address book invited to the *cante jondo* competition that June. Their next encounter was in June 1923, in Paris, when works by both composers received their first performances, in private, at the home of the Princesse de Polignac. The first of these was *Les Noces*, on 10 June. Falla

⁵⁷ *Doc. cit.*

^{57A} The photograph originally appeared in Boris Kochno, *Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes* (New York, 1970), 165; it has been reproduced in IC, 125, and PO, 93.

⁵⁸ Both scores have inscriptions dated 'Madrid, 5 avril 1921'. See Appendix 8.B for full transcriptions.

⁵⁹ Falla left Paris for London around 14 May (date given in letter from Falla to Prunières, 29 April 1921, draft preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453); he was back in Paris for no more than a few days before his departure on 13 June (letter to Charles Harding and Louise Alvar, 13 June [1921], private collection [photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6696]). Stravinsky did not arrive in Paris until late May or early June, had travelled to London by 7 June and remained there until at least the twenty-seventh (Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring*, 330-1).

⁶⁰ Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring*, 330. A copy of the programme is preserved at *E-GRmf* (see Appendix 8.D).

received a personal invitation to that performance from the Princesse,⁶¹ and was also invited to the banquet afterwards;⁶² it is astonishing to think that he had heard an early version of that work as much as seven years earlier! He was unable to attend the first staged performance at the Gaîté Lyrique three days later,⁶³ for he was performing that evening in a concert at Le Vieux Colombier.^{63A} He did, however, attend a rehearsal in the company of Koechlin (see § 5.2).

The second premiere at the Polignac salon was *Master Peter's Puppet Show*, on 25 June. Stravinsky's presence on that occasion was recorded by the Spanish journalist Corpus Barga, whose review for *El Sol* includes the following evocative description of the audience:

Así se halla Paul Valery [*sic*], el poeta de hoy, que hace gestos de náufrago entre las ondas de los hombros femeninos. En el quicio de una puerta, Henri de Regnier, el poeta de ayer, se halla todo rígido y despreciativo como sus bigotes cadentes y su monóculo altanero. El músico Stravinsky es un ratón entre las gatas. Y el pintor Picasso, de etiqueta, y rodeado por todas partes, parece que está apoyado en una esquina y que tiene la gorra caída sobre una ceja. El pintor José María Sert parece que nos hace los honores del palacio. Pero de los poetas, pintores y músicos – la corte de la princesa Edmond de Polignac –, el héroe de la noche es el maese Falla.⁶⁴

So we find Paul Valéry, the poet of today, making gestures like a shipwrecked mariner drowning in the waves of feminine men. Standing in a doorway, Henri de Regnier, the poet of yesterday, all rigid and disdainful, just like his drooping moustache and his haughty monocle. The composer Stravinsky is a mouse amongst the cats. And the painter Picasso, in dinner dress, and mobbed by everybody, seems as though he is resting in a corner with his hat pulled over his eyes. The painter José María Sert looks as if he's living up to the palace's reputation. But of all the poets, painters and musicians – [which make up] the court of the Princesse Edmond de Polignac –, the hero of the evening is the maestro Falla.

⁶¹ Letter from the Princesse de Polignac to Falla, 7 June [1923], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7432.

⁶² PV, 132 (this passage is omitted in PM).

⁶³ Date and location from Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring*, 366.

^{63A} Falla's concert is reviewed in *La Revue musicale*, iv, 10 (1 August 1923), 75-6.

⁶⁴ Corpus Barga, 'Reflejos de París: El retablo de maese Falla', *El Sol* (Madrid), 30 June 1923, p. 1.

This occasion is overlooked in *Chroniques de ma vie*,⁶⁵ though later, in *Memories and Commentaries*, Stravinsky recalled the following:

In the course of a party in his honour following a performance of *El Retablo de Maese Pedro* at the home of the Princess de Polignac ... it was suddenly noticed that Falla himself had disappeared; he was found sitting alone in the darkened room of the theatre holding one of Maese Pedro's puppets.⁶⁶

The two were reunited in Paris just five months later, when they took part in two concerts at the Salle des Agriculteurs six days apart; a single programme was printed covering both concerts.⁶⁷ Stravinsky's concert, on 7 November, featured (among other works) the Octet; Falla's, on the thirteenth, included the first public performance in France of the *Puppet Show*. Pahissa incorrectly states that those two works were given in the same concert;⁶⁸ assuming that the source of this information was Falla's fallible memory, it seems likely that he attended both. In any case, it is clear that they met, for (as Falla later told Segismundo Romero)⁶⁹ the two men discussed the selection of a work by Stravinsky to be performed by the newly-formed Orquesta Bética de Cámara. They also talked about the possibility of Stravinsky visiting Spain.⁷⁰

The work chosen for the Orquesta Bética was the *Pulcinella* suite. Falla wrote to Stravinsky on 2 January 1924, seeking to confirm that the trombone part in that work was playable on a valved instrument. In his reply, Stravinsky told Falla that it was, and informed him that he would be giving concerts in

⁶⁵ The private performance of *Les Noces* is discussed, however (Stravinsky, *An Autobiography*, 107).

⁶⁶ Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries*, 80. According to Pahissa, that party was not in Falla's honour (PV, 132; this passage is omitted from PM); indeed, he was not even invited. This is a more likely explanation of his despondency on that occasion, perhaps.

⁶⁷ Three copies of that programme are preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1923-030 to 032.

⁶⁸ PM, 121.

⁶⁹ Letters from Falla to Romero, 28 November and 18 December 1923 (transcribed in Falla, *Cartas a Segismundo Romero* [Granada, 1976], 160-1 and 162-3 respectively).

⁷⁰ Letter from Falla to Stravinsky, 2 January 1924: 'Pour quand votre voyage en Espagne? N'oubliez pas ce que nous avons parlé à ce sujet' ('When will you be coming to Spain? Don't forget what we said about that matter').

Barcelona in March.⁷¹ Falla immediately set about securing a further engagement for him (as he had presumably promised in Paris the previous November) conducting the Orquesta Filarmónica de Madrid.⁷² That concert took place on 25 March at the Teatro Real, and included performances, conducted by Stravinsky, of the *Firebird* suite and fragments from *Pulcinella*. There is no conclusive evidence that Falla was there, but it seems likely that he was, for he took part in performances of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* and *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* in the same city (albeit in a different theatre) just three days later.⁷³

The all-night session of music and conversation recalled by Mario Verdaguer, which took place in Madrid and at which Stravinsky, Falla, Viñes and Turina were present (among others), probably took place on this occasion.⁷⁴ The reliability of Verdaguer's memory is doubtful, but there may be some truth in the humorous contrast that he draws between Stravinsky's voracious social appetite and Falla's reticence.

The two men did not meet in 1925 or 1926. There was a hiatus in their correspondence during those years too, broken only by the gift of a score of the *Puppet Show*, sent in April 1925.⁷⁵

They were reunited in May-June 1927 in Paris. On 9 June, Stravinsky gave Falla a copy of the *Œdipus Rex* vocal score. As with *Les Noces* four years earlier, Falla was invited by the Princesse de Polignac to a private performance of that work at her home on 29 May.⁷⁶ He sent his apologies –

⁷¹ Letter from Stravinsky to Falla, 18 January 1924.

⁷² Falla states that it was he who proposed such a concert in his letter to Stravinsky of 1 March 1924.

⁷³ Programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FN 1924-012 to 014. Falla's concert was given at the Teatro de la Comedia.

⁷⁴ Mario Verdaguer, *Medio siglo de vida barcelonesa* (Barcelona, 1957), 141-2. There is an English translation of this passage in PO, 95.

⁷⁵ Letter from Falla to Stravinsky, 20 April 1925.

⁷⁶ Letter from Prunières to Falla, undated [28 May 1927], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453.

but he was almost certainly present at the public premiere the following evening.⁷⁷

From Paris, both composers undertook separate visits to London, arriving there – by coincidence – on the same day: 17 June.⁷⁸ Both men were there to take part in concerts. Stravinsky's, on 19 June, was a broadcast programme for the BBC, which included the Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments and the overture to *Mavra*;⁷⁹ Falla meanwhile participated in the London premieres of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* and the *Concerto* (which he played once on the harpsichord and once on the piano) at the Aeolian Hall on the twenty-second.⁸⁰ The anonymous reviewer of that concert for the next day's *The Scotsman* recorded that

The event attracted a distinguished audience, which included M. Igor Stravinsky, who was evidently interested with [*sic*] the Spanish composer's music.⁸¹

Stravinsky himself recalled the event in *Chroniques de ma vie*:

While in London I had an opportunity of hearing a very beautiful concert of the works of Manuel de Falla. With a decision and crispness meriting high praise, he conducted his remarkable *El Retablo de Maese Pedro*, in which he had the valuable assistance of Mme Vera Janacopoulos. I also greatly enjoyed hearing his concerto for harpsichord or piano, which he himself played on the latter instrument.⁸²

⁷⁷ He told Prunières that he expected to be there (letter of 30 May 1927, draft preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453).

⁷⁸ Philip Page, 'Music Notes: Distinguished Visitors', *Evening Standard* (London), 17 June 1927, page number unknown.

⁷⁹ Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring*, 450, and 649 n. 40. Stravinsky himself claimed that he conducted *Ædipus Rex* for the BBC (*An Autobiography*, 133); this is incorrect, though he did conduct Ballets Russes performances of *Petrushka*, *Pulcinella* and *The Firebird* a few days later (Walsh, *op. cit.*, 450).

⁸⁰ Programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1927-048 to 050. The programme states that both performances of the *Concerto* were to be given with piano, but the anonymous review in *The Scotsman* (see below) states otherwise.

⁸¹ Anon., 'Manuel de Falla in London: Concert of his works', *The Scotsman*, 23 June 1927, page number unknown.

⁸² Stravinsky, *An Autobiography*, 133.

And this is probably the concert that Stravinsky mentions in *Memories and Commentaries*, though his memory of the chronology is amiss: ‘... the last time I saw Falla was at a performance of this concerto in London in the 1930s’.⁸³

They did not meet in 1928 or 1929; it was partly as a consequence of that, perhaps, that it was during those two years that the frequency of their letter-writing reached its height. There was a flurry of correspondence in 1928 relating to a charity performance of *Petrushka* in Granada, for which Stravinsky secured a reduction in the costs of hiring the orchestral material.⁸⁴ 1929 began with an exchange of gifts: a copy of Falla’s *Concerto* for Stravinsky,⁸⁵ followed by copies of Picasso’s portraits of each composer.⁸⁶ (The gift that Falla wanted most of all was a copy of his 1916 article for *La Tribuna*. This was not forthcoming, for Stravinsky had lost his copy too.)⁸⁷ There was a sad note in this happy correspondence in August 1929, however, when Falla heard of Diaghilev’s death:

Je suis fortement impressionné par la mort de Diaghilew, et avant qu’à personne c’est à vous que je veux écrire de suite.

Quelle grosse perte pour tous! Il a fait des choses admirables dont la toute première a été votre révélation: c’est cela que nous lui devons surtout. Et sans vous, d’ailleurs, les *Ballets* n’auraient pu exister ...⁸⁸

Diaghilev’s death has upset me deeply, and I want to write to you straight away, before writing to anyone else.

What a huge loss for everyone! He did wonderful things, of which the very first was your discovery: we owe him that above all. And without you, moreover, the *Ballets* would never have been able to exist ...

⁸³ Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries*, 81. Their meeting on this occasion is also recalled in Falla’s letter to Stravinsky of 26 January 1929.

⁸⁴ Letters from Falla to Stravinsky, 9 May, 21 May and 26 June 1928; letter from Stravinsky to Falla, 16 May 1928; letter from Falla to G. Païtchadze (manager of Édition Russe de Musique), 21 May 1928 (draft preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6937).

⁸⁵ Letter from Falla to Stravinsky, 26 January 1929

⁸⁶ Letters from Stravinsky to Falla, 12 February and 25 March 1929; letters from Falla to Stravinsky, 18 March 1929 and 19 April 1929.

⁸⁷ Letters from Falla to Stravinsky, 26 January 1929 and 19 April 1929; letter from Stravinsky to Falla, 12 February 1929.

⁸⁸ Letter from Falla to Stravinsky, 22 August 1929.

Stravinsky did not reply (Fallá rebuked him for his silence in his next letter),^{88A} but Fallá's words must have touched him, for he chose to quote this letter in its entirety in *Memories and Commentaries* thirty years later.⁸⁹

The two men next coincided in Paris between May and July 1930. They met at least once: on 17 May, Stravinsky presented Fallá with a signed childhood portrait of himself (Figure 8.2.3.i).⁹⁰ But this was probably not their only encounter during that visit; many years later, Fallá told the painter Sergio de Castro that 'Souvent, à Paris, nous déjeunions ensemble, Stravinski et moi, sans personne d'autre' ('Often, in Paris, we had lunch together, Stravinsky and I, on our own'), and that on one such occasion they told one another of their latest projects, *Atlántida* and the *Symphony of Psalms*.⁹¹ That conversation must have taken place in 1930 (not 1929, as Castro suggests, for Fallá did not leave Spain at all that year); Stravinsky was actually in the process of composing the *Symphony of Psalms* in Paris at that time.⁹²

Those shared meals, however, were to represent their last face-to-face encounters. Fallá tried to arrange to meet Stravinsky for lunch in July 1931 when both were once again in Paris,⁹³ but Stravinsky did not respond.⁹⁴

^{88A} Letter from Fallá to Stravinsky, 4 January 1930.

⁸⁹ Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries*, 46.

⁹⁰ *E-GRmf*, photograph number 8/51.

⁹¹ Fallá, quoted in Sergio de Castro, 'Fallá en 1945-1946', in *LU*, 23. Castro's recollections are discussed in more detail in § 8.5 below.

⁹² Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring*, 496.

⁹³ Letter from Fallá to Stravinsky, 14 July 1931.

⁹⁴ Letter from Fallá to Stravinsky, January 1932. Robert Craft claims that Stravinsky had been in Voreppe, not Paris, at that time (*Stravinsky: Selected Correspondence*, ii, 172 n. 23). Stephen Walsh has disproved this; on the very day that Fallá wrote to him (14 July 1931), he was in Paris with Vera celebrating 'their tenth "anniversary"' (*Stravinsky: A Creative Spring*, 508).

A Manuel de Falla
que est ce fait adieu



de tout cœur
Igor Stravinsky
Paris 17-V-30

Figure 8.2.3.i

Childhood photograph of Stravinsky, presented to Falla in Paris in May 1930. (E-GRmf, photograph number 8/51).

(Reproduced by kind permission of the Archivo Manuel de Falla, Granada.)

The correspondence of the decade between 1921 and 1931 speaks volumes about the genuine and very strong friendship between these two men. Their affection for one another is something that both take pains to stress: 'J'ai une grande et vraie affection pour vous,' Stravinsky tells Falla in his letter of 25 March 1929; 'Je vous embrasse avec ma vieille affection *vraie*,' writes Falla in his reply (the emphasis is his).⁹⁵ The level of their familiarity is unsurpassed too. Two of Falla's letters actually begin 'Cher Igor';⁹⁶ first-name terms are exceptionally rare in Falla's correspondence. Their separation from

⁹⁵ Letter of 19 April 1929.

⁹⁶ Letters of 26 June 1928 and 12 August 1929.

one another bred anticipation of their next meetings. On 18 March 1929, Falla wrote:

Combien je souhaite l'occasion de causer longuement avec vous, et sur bien de choses ... Il y a presque deux ans qu'on ne se voit pas ... Et encore, pour ce printemps il me semble bien difficile d'aller à Paris. J'ai un si vif désir d'entendre vos œuvres dernières, et dirigées par vous!!

How I long for an opportunity to talk with you at length, and about so many things ... It's nearly two years since we last saw one another ... And, what's more, I think it will be very difficult for me to go to Paris this spring. I would so keenly like to hear your latest works, and conducted by you!!

In reply, Stravinsky sadly asks,

Est-ce vrai que vous ne viendrez pas à Paris ni au mois de mai ni en juin? Et alors on ne sais pas quand on se reverra de nouveau.⁹⁷

Is it true that you won't be coming to Paris in either May or June? If so, I don't know when we'll see one another again.

Falla constantly urged trips to Granada,⁹⁸ and Stravinsky once promised that 'je ferai l'impossible pour venir' ('I'll do my utmost to come').⁹⁹

Perhaps the most telling illustration of the strength of their friendship is the wonderfully ironic humour in which they indulged. Both men were able to say the complete opposite of their true meaning without fear of being misunderstood. Falla's words of dedication in Stravinsky's copy of the *Concerto*, for instance, read:

à Igor Stravinsky que j'aime tant, malgré ma profonde antipathie pour sa musique ...¹⁰⁰

to Igor Stravinsky whom I love so much, despite my profound antipathy towards his music ...

⁹⁷ Letter of 25 March 1929.

⁹⁸ Letters from Falla to Stravinsky, 2 January 1924, 21 February 1924, 20 April 1925, 21 May 1928, 26 June 1928 and 12 August 1929.

⁹⁹ Letter of 6 August 1929.

¹⁰⁰ The words of this dedication are found at the foot of the draft of Falla's letter to Stravinsky of 26 January 1929.

Stravinsky continues the joke in his letter of response. In apologising for being unable to send him a copy of 'El gran músico de nuestro tiempo', he writes:

... ne pensez surtout pas que je me range, en vous ne l'envoyant pas, de votre 'antipathie' pour ma musique que j'apprends dans votre bonne dédicace.¹⁰¹

... above all, don't think that in not sending it I'm falling in with your 'antipathy' for my music, which I learn about in your fine dedication.

Their appreciation of one another's work is not the only subject for humorous treatment; they also joke about their friendship. In his letter of 8 January 1930 (Figure 8.2.3.ii), Stravinsky assures Falla of his faithful affection for him – but instead of writing in Falla's name, he draws a dotted line and adds above it, in pencil, 'à remplir par le destinataire' ('to be filled in by the addressee').

But the correspondence also reveals enormous contrasts between the characters of the two men. Falla's letters are more effusive than Stravinsky's; he talks about a wider range of subjects, freely passes on his news, and informs Stravinsky of matters that he thinks will interest him. By comparison, Stravinsky's letters are generally shorter, and are more liable to be couched in formulae and generalities. Related to this is a striking difference in the number of letters each wrote: 17 of Falla's letters have survived from the period in question, as opposed to a mere nine of Stravinsky's.¹⁰² Falla twice berates Stravinsky for failing to reply.¹⁰³ Each time, Stravinsky hastens to assure Falla that he should not take this personally; the expressions of affection in the letter reproduced in Figure 8.2.3.ii constitute one such attempt at reparation.¹⁰⁴

Another telling indication of this disparity, as Louis Jambou has observed,¹⁰⁵ is the extent to which each composer expresses an interest in, praises, or

¹⁰¹ Letter from Stravinsky to Falla, 12 February 1929.

¹⁰² Falla may well have sent more than 17; given the care with which he maintained his archive of correspondence, however, it is unlikely that Stravinsky sent more than nine.

¹⁰³ Letters of January 1927 and 4 January 1930.

¹⁰⁴ Letter from Stravinsky to Falla, 8 January 1930. The other instance is found in Stravinsky's letter of 3 February 1927.

¹⁰⁵ Jambou, 'Falla y Stravinsky', 107-8.

Nice
Le 8 I 30

Mon très cher Falla,

Touché et confus quoique je
fais vous jurer que j'ai pen-
sé à vous à l'arrivée du nau-
vel an - Vous êtes l'âme de ma
crainte au nou, mais si vous
savez l'affection filiale que j'ai
pour vous... à remplir par le destinataire

J'absente ces jours-ci la direction
de ce pauvre Clément Logano de Bar-
celone pour savoir si je vais au
nou par là. Si c'est oui, j'y re-
tai pour régler un concert la se-
nière semaine de février, mais, hélas
par moyen cette fois-ci remplis de venir
à Grande - car je vais directement
à Paris.

Je part trois ou quatre en Alle-

Figure 8.2.3.ii

First page of Stravinsky's letter to Falla of 8 January 1930 (E-GRmf, correspondence folder 7457). The words 'à remplir par le destinataire' are written in pencil; the remainder is in ink.

(Reproduced by kind permission of the Archivo Manuel de Falla, Granada.)

merely mentions the other's music. Falla is inclined to do so frequently; there are references to the *Symphonies of Wind Instruments*, *The Soldier's Tale*, *Ragtime*, *Pulcinella*, *Apollon musagète* and *Petrushka* in the letters he wrote between 1921 and 1931 alone.¹⁰⁶ In addition, there are several laudatory remarks of a more general nature: in his letter of 20 April 1925, for instance, he speaks of 'votre œuvre étonnante' ('your astonishing work').

In contrast, Stravinsky only once mentions a work of Falla's in his letters to him; that work is the *Concerto*, which he describes – in his letter thanking him for the gift of the score – as 'délicieux'.¹⁰⁷ This gives little indication of the high regard in which he held that work (in *Memories and Commentaries* he observes that it is 'a piece I admire and have conducted myself').¹⁰⁸ The other work he professed to admire, the *Puppet Show*,¹⁰⁹ is not mentioned at all in his letters; even Falla's gift of a copy of the score went unacknowledged.

In two of his letters of this period (the only two that are not replies to letters from Falla), Stravinsky requests his colleague's advice on matters relating to his dealings with Spanish critics and impresarios,¹¹⁰ and it is clear from the manner in which he does so that he considered Falla a very great friend – perhaps his best friend in Spain. Falla, for his part, never involved Stravinsky in the business of his professional career. The closest he came to this was in his seeking of Stravinsky's intervention in acquiring the orchestral material for *Petrushka* at a reduced cost for the charity concert in Granada,¹¹¹ and it is illuminating that on that occasion it is not merely a friend to whom he addresses himself, but also a great artist.

¹⁰⁶ These references are found in his letters of [shortly before 25 January 1921], 21 April 1921, 2 January 1924, 21 February 1924, January 1928, 9 May 1928, 21 May 1928 and 26 June 1928.

¹⁰⁷ Letter from Stravinsky to Falla, 12 February 1929.

¹⁰⁸ Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries*, 81. Robert Craft notes that that performance took place at Dumbarton Oaks in 1947 (*Stravinsky: Selected Correspondence*, ii, 168-9 n. 16).

¹⁰⁹ Stravinsky, *An Autobiography*, 133.

¹¹⁰ In his letter of 15 April 1921, he asks Falla for the addresses of Miguel Salvador and Adolfo Salazar. In his letter of 6 August 1928, he asks about the credentials of the Barcelona impresario Clemente Lozano. To some extent, Falla had set the precedent by acting as the intermediary between Stravinsky and Rubinstein in 1918 (see § 8.2.2 above).

¹¹¹ Letters from Falla to Stravinsky, 9 May, 21 May and 26 June 1928.

8.2.4 1932-46

Though Falla did not meet Stravinsky again after 1930, his desire to do so never waned. When Stravinsky was conducting concerts in Barcelona in November 1933,¹¹² Falla sent him a telegram announcing his imminent arrival.¹¹³ They seem not to have coincided, however;¹¹⁴ nor did they meet in Madrid, as Falla had hoped.¹¹⁵

Between 1932 and 1934, they kept in regular contact by means of their written correspondence. Falla's letters continue in much the same vein as before. He continues, for instance, to make appreciative comments on Stravinsky's music; he describes *The Rite of Spring* as 'absolument extraordinaire', *Petrushka* as 'merveilleux', and expresses a strong desire to hear the *Symphony of Psalms*.¹¹⁶

Stravinsky's letters, however, undergo a significant change around this time. It is now he who takes most of the initiative, and it is Falla's turn to write the replies. The result is an even balance in the number of letters by each.

It is not obvious what brought about this change, but it may be that Stravinsky felt guilty about neglecting his friend: the flurry of correspondence over these three years was set in motion by another complaint from Falla about

¹¹² Stravinsky, *An Autobiography*, 172.

¹¹³ Falla took part in a concert of his own works in Barcelona on 2 December 1933 (programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FN 1933-020 and 021), before leaving for Majorca on the sixth (Falla, *Cartas a Segismundo Romero*, 110).

¹¹⁴ In his letter of 27 December 1933, written after his return to Paris and sent to Granada (not Palma de Mallorca), Stravinsky thanked Falla for his telegram; it is unlikely that he would have done so had they actually met.

¹¹⁵ This fact is revealed in Falla's letter to Stravinsky of 3 January 1934.

¹¹⁶ Letters from Falla to Stravinsky, 27 December 1932, 24 August 1933 and 3 January 1934 respectively.

Stravinsky's failure to reply to his letters.¹¹⁷ It is perhaps a symptom of guilt that Stravinsky's comments from now on respond more directly to Falla's. In his letter of January 1932, Falla sends Stravinsky his 'vœux de Paix et de justice' ('best wishes for Peace and for justice'); in his reply, Stravinsky writes:

... je vous envoie également dans mes vœux de paix pour votre esprit (sans 'justice', à laquelle je ne crois pas dans *ce* monde) ...¹¹⁸

... I too send you my wishes of peace for your mind (without 'justice', which is something I don't believe exists in *this* world) ...

Similarly, in reply to Falla's appreciative comments on *The Rite of Spring*,¹¹⁹ he writes:

... je vous envoie toute mon amitié fidèle et l'immense tendresse (faiblesse) que je ressens pour vous et votre art.¹²⁰

... I send you my faithful regards and [an expression of] the immense tenderness (weakness) that I feel for you and for your art.

– his first expression of genuine admiration for Falla's art since 1916.

It is the religiosity of Stravinsky's letters, however, that most clearly marks them out as different from those of the earlier period. The first reference to 'Dieu' creeps in in Stravinsky's letter of 16 May 1928, in the phrase 'Que Dieu vous garde' ('May God keep you'); the phrase is used again in Stravinsky's letter of 29 March 1929, and that letter is headed by a species of cross (no doubt symbolising the fact that, in 1929, 29 March was Good Friday). By 1934, it seems that his eyes are permanently turned heavenwards:

Que Dieu vous garde dans cette nouvelle année 1934 comme il vous avait gardé jusqu'ici et comme il vous avait préservé jusqu'ici de la

117 Letter from Falla to Stravinsky, January 1932.

118 Letter from Stravinsky to Falla, 4 February 1932.

119 Letter from Falla to Stravinsky, 27 December 1932.

120 Letter from Stravinsky to Falla, 31 December 1932.

méchanceté, de la platitude et de la grande bêtise de ce joli petit monde d'ici-bas.¹²¹

May God keep you in this new year 1934 as he has kept you up till now, and may he continue to keep you, as he has done so far. from the wickedness, the dullness and the great stupidity of this pretty little world here below.

The tone of these letters was probably pitched with their recipient in mind. In *Memories and Commentaries*, Stravinsky describes Falla's character as 'the most unputtingly religious I have ever known',¹²² and Falla's faith is the focus of one of his rare public declarations on his colleague's music:

En cuanto a mis preferencias personales, ... me gusta mucho Manuel de Falla, aun cuando no es de mi época. Pero admiro su espíritu profundamente religioso y esto me place, porque con la fe se hacen grandes obras. Sabrá usted que cuando la República se instaló en España Falla fue designado ciudadano honorario de Granada, y, considerando que un pueblo que incendiaba conventos e iglesias era un pueblo sacrilego, respondió: 'Yo creo en Cristo; por lo tanto, no acepto la distinción'. Es hermoso, ¿verdad? Y lo encuentro hermoso porque el materialismo es una cosa que está muy lejos de mí.¹²³

As for my personal preferences, ... I very much like Manuel de Falla, even when [his work] is not of my era. But I admire his profoundly religious spirit and that pleases me, because with faith great works can be produced. You will know that when the Republic was founded in Spain Falla was named an honorary citizen of Granada, and, believing that a people that burns convents and churches is a sacrilegious people, he replied: 'I believe in Christ; therefore, I am not accepting the distinction'. It's noble, isn't it? And I find it noble because materialism is very alien to me.

Stravinsky's own religious feeling did not go unnoticed by Falla: 'all Russians are deeply religious at heart,' Pahissa writes (presumably paraphrasing his master), 'as is Stravinsky for example'.¹²⁴ Surprisingly, then, Falla does not adopt the same blatantly religious language in his own letters. Instead, he makes do with Christian symbolism: at the top of three letters,¹²⁵ he has drawn

¹²¹ Letter from Stravinsky to Falla, 8 January 1934.

¹²² Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries*, 80.

¹²³ Stravinsky, quoted in anon., 'Opiniones de Strawinsky', *ABC* (Madrid), 29 May 1936 (cutting preserved at *E-GRmf*, folder 6421). The first sentence is intriguing for different reasons: it is clear that Stravinsky considered much of Falla's music to be old-fashioned.

¹²⁴ PM, 98.

¹²⁵ Letters of January 1932, 27 December 1932 and 3 January 1934.

a cross with the word 'pax' built into it – a device he used in his correspondence with many others around this time. Stravinsky's use of a similar symbol at the top of his letter of 4 February 1932 is perhaps a token of unanimity.

One reason for the solemnity of both composers' letters at this time is plain: the worsening political situation in Spain. Stravinsky was well aware of it: 'Quel dommage,' he writes in his letter of 27 December 1933, 'qu'on s'est vu en Espagne' ('How unfortunate, what's happening in Spain').

No letters survive from the years between 1934 and 1940;¹²⁶ it is probable that none was written. In 1937 and 1938, Falla received Stravinsky's news from their mutual friends the Roland-Manuels. On 29 July 1938, he was told of Stravinsky's success in America with *Jeu de cartes*.¹²⁷ Suzanne Roland-Manuel shared unhappy news on 30 November 1938, when she told Falla of the funeral of Stravinsky's daughter Lyudmilla, which she had just attended.¹²⁸ In his reply, sent some months later, Falla asked Suzanne for Stravinsky's Paris address, so that he could send his condolences;¹²⁹ clearly, the two men had lost touch completely.

It was Stravinsky who re-opened contact, on 2 August 1940, with a postcard sent from Mexico City to Falla's forwarding address in Córdoba, Argentina. (The postcard is signed also by several of Falla's old friends from Spain, including Rosita García-Ascot and Adolfo Salazar, who no doubt provided the address.) Falla replied on 26 November, professing his joy at having heard from him, and informing him of his address in Villa del Lago. True to form, he also expressed his hope that Stravinsky would visit Argentina: 'Il a été

¹²⁶ In *Stravinsky: Selected Correspondence*, ii, 175, Craft includes a letter from Stravinsky to Falla dated January 1936. This date is wrong; in fact, the letter in question is that of 27 December 1933.

¹²⁷ Letter preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7520.

¹²⁸ Letter preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7520.

¹²⁹ Letter from Falla to Suzanne Roland-Manuel, 8 March 1939, preserved in private collection (draft and photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7521 and 7520 respectively).

question de cela l'an dernier' ('Such things were in the air last year'), he writes.

Falla's last missive to Stravinsky was a postcard, sent in January 1945, with wishes for 'une nouvelle Année aussi bonne que possible dans ces temps de malheur et de laideur' ('a new year that's as happy as possible in these times of adversity and ugliness'). Stravinsky preserved that postcard in an envelope marked (in English): 'Last postcard I received from Manuel de Falla in 1945' – a touching symbol of the affection he felt for an old friend.

8.3 FALLA'S EXPERIENCE OF STRAVINSKY'S MUSIC

Though Falla may not have studied Stravinsky's music as thoroughly as he studied, say, Debussy's, it nevertheless occupied his attention more consistently and over a longer period of time than that of any other contemporary composer. This is nowhere more apparent than in his library of scores, where scores by Stravinsky are second in number only to those by Debussy: 29 scores in total, representing 26 different works, in addition to various excerpts published in *Le Monde musical* and *La Revue musicale*. From *Petrushka* (published in 1912) to *Apollon musagète* (1928), these scores were obtained steadily and continually, and the piano reduction of *Jeu de cartes* (published in 1937) must have been one of the last scores by any composer to come into Falla's hands.

Over half of these scores are annotated. There is little evidence, however, that Falla deliberately scoured Stravinsky's works for materials and methods that he could reproduce or emulate in his own music: only a very small proportion of the scores contain markings that draw attention to specific aspects of Stravinsky's musical language (see § 8.4 below).

Nevertheless, the annotations reveal that Falla's approach to Stravinsky's music was highly analytical. It was also very focused; in all but a few scores, his annotations are concentrated in particular sections of the work. In *The Nightingale*, for instance, they are confined to the entr'acte at the beginning of Act 2; the majority of the annotations in *Jeu de cartes*, meanwhile, apply to the 'Deuxième donne'.

Among the most interesting of the annotations in these scores are alternative French translations of the titles of various sections of *The Rite of Spring*, pencilled into the piano-duet score (where the titles are already printed in French translation, as well as in the original Russian). Falla wrote some of these translations immediately below the Russian titles, and this placement would seem to suggest that the alternative translations were dictated to him by

a Russian-speaker simultaneously running a finger along the Cyrillic text. There are two obvious contenders for this distinction: M. D. Calvocoressi, Falla's fellow-'Apache' and a close associate during his years in Paris;¹³⁰ and Stravinsky himself, who, as we have seen (§ 8.2.1), actually presented this score to Falla. The alternative translations are shown in Table 8.3.i.

PAGE NO.	PRINTED FRENCH TITLE	ALTERNATIVE TRANSLATION
9	L'Adoration de la terre.	'Le Baiser de la Terre'.
16	Les augures printaniers. Danses des adolescentes.	The Russian word 'щоголихъ' appears to be translated as 'enfants'.
42	Adoration de la terre (Le sage).	'Le baiser de la Terre (Le plus vieux – le plus sage).'
47	Le Sacrifice.	The word 'grand' is pencilled in between 'Le' and 'Sacrifice'.
53	Cercles mystérieux des adolescentes.	'Mistère des jeux des jeunes filles [/] Marcher en cercles'.
64	Evocation des ancêtres.	'Appel aux ancêtres'.
66	Action rituelle des ancêtres.	'Sautes des vieillards, les arrières pères du homme.'

Table 8.3.i

Alternative French translations of the Russian titles of sections of *The Rite of Spring*, which Falla has added to his copy of the piano-duet version of that work (*E-GRmf*, inventory number 1183).

The penetrating nature of Falla's study of his scores of Stravinsky's music is especially apparent in the large number of manuscript corrections found in their pages,¹³¹ almost all of them unmistakably in Falla's hand.¹³² Many of the

¹³⁰ Falla names Calvocoressi as a friend in the following letters from the period in question: to Salvador Viniegra, [c. September 1907], quoted in V, 76; to Felipe Pedrell, 9 February 1908, preserved at *E-Bc*; and to Carlos Fernández Shaw, 31 March 1910, transcribed in Guillermo Fernández-Shaw, *Larga Historia de 'La Vida Breve'* (Madrid, 1972), 96-100.

¹³¹ Nine scores contain corrections: the Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments, the *Firebird* suite, *Three Japanese Lyrics*, *Jeu de cartes*, *Les Noces*, *Petrushka*, *The Song of the Nightingale*, the full score of *The Rite of Spring* and the violin part accompanying the score of the 'Petite Suite' from *The Soldier's Tale*.

¹³² A small number of these corrections may not have been made by Falla himself. One correction that was definitely made by somebody else is found on page 38 of the miniature score of *The Rite of Spring*, where a note in the left margin indicates, in English, that the top note of the second cellos' chord on the first beat of figure 49, bar 1, is 'b, not g'. (In fact it is

errors he has corrected are obvious ones; at the end of the first bar of figure 107 of *The Rite of Spring*, for instance, he has inserted a treble clef, without which the notation makes no sense.¹³³ The corrections in his full scores of *Petrushka* and *The Song of the Nightingale* are transferred from two printed sheets of errata inserted in the volume, although there are a great many more corrections in those lists that Falla has not copied into the scores. His vocal score of *Œdipus Rex* also includes a list of engravers' errors, none of which he corrected in the score. It is clear from this that he did not set about marking in corrections systematically; rather, he referred to the list of errata only when his detailed study of each score led him to recognise the existence of an error.

In a small number of instances, it is evident that Falla was aware of errors in the scores but was unable to ascertain exactly what the correct reading should be. At the first bar of figure 40 of *Petrushka*,¹³⁴ for instance, he has scribbled question-marks above the first bassoon and second violin staves. These parts (along with the second bassoon) are printed in the score as shown in Example 8.3.i; Falla must have realised that the bassoons' and second violins' notes ought to agree, but he was unable to tell which part was correct. (The mistake is in the second violins.¹³⁵ Incidentally, this error is not included in either of the errata lists inserted in Falla's copy.)

A similar marking is found at bar 26 of the second of the *Three Japanese Lyrics* (a work that he may have performed in public; see below), where he speculates whether the notes in the cello part printed as e \sharp ' should really be e \flat ' (see Example 8.3.ii).¹³⁶ Falla may have reasoned that the latter would have made more harmonic sense, since they would produce an arpeggio up and down the harmonic series starting on the note c. The sharp sign has been maintained in subsequent editions of the score, however, and so there is no

'B., not G,') It is hard to imagine any circumstances under which Falla would have written this in English, a language which he understood but never used.

¹³³ Page 88 of the miniature score.

¹³⁴ Page 52 of Falla's score.

¹³⁵ This error remained uncorrected in the first printing of the full score of the 1947 version (where it occurs at figure 75), though it is noted on the errata sheet for that printing, and is corrected in later editions. The notes should be: quaver rest; quaver e \flat ; quaver rest; quaver f \flat .

¹³⁶ Page 13 of Falla's copy.

Musical score for Bassoon 1, Bassoon 2, and Violins 2. Bassoon 1 and 2 parts are in bass clef with dynamics *p* and *Solo* markings. Violins 2 are in treble clef with *p* and *pizz.* markings.

Example 8.3.i

Engraver's error in the original printing of the full score of *Petrushka*, p. 52. The correct pitches of the violin 2 lines are e' and f'.

Musical score for cello part in 2/4 time, marked *ff*, showing a chromatic line with a sharp sign before the fourth note.

Example 8.3.ii

Possible engraver's error in the full score of *Three Japanese Lyrics*, p. 13 ('Mazatsumi', bar 26, cello part only). Falla considered that the sharp sign before the fourth note should have been omitted.

reason to conclude that it is wrong; in any case, the musical language of this song is highly chromatic.

Two scores have annotations so curious that they warrant detailed discussion. The first is the Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments, which contains a number of handwritten dynamic and articulation markings. Some of these merely reinforce printed directions in the score (and thereby reveal that Falla played through the work himself, though almost certainly only in private).¹³⁷

¹³⁷ These particular annotations are found in the second piano part at figure 83, bars 3-4 (page 57 of the two-piano score).

Others, however, restore markings printed in the full score but omitted from the two-piano reduction.¹³⁸ Though no copy of the full score is preserved at the Falla Archive, he may well have had access to someone else's, or may even have owned a copy that he later mislaid. Alternatively (but less feasibly), he may have jotted down these markings during a performance of the work (though there is no evidence that he ever heard one). There is also a third possibility: the addenda may have been dictated to him by someone who knew the work well – perhaps even Stravinsky himself, during his visit to Madrid in 1924 or on the occasion of a subsequent meeting. (These annotations will be subjected to further examination in § 8.4.)

The annotations in the piano reduction of *Jeu de cartes* are even more curious.¹³⁹ There are occasional instrumental designations ('Vns.' at bar 2 of figure 46, and a reference to 'bajos' ['basses'] around figure 91),¹⁴⁰ but most of the markings indicate dynamics, gradual changes of tempo, and/or styles of articulation. In addition, Falla has corrected – or at least questioned – the pitches of four notes.¹⁴¹

In this case, the hypothesis that he may have had access to a full score does not hold water. One error in the piano score is merely circled and the correct pitch has not been inserted,¹⁴² while another note marked as incorrect is shown identically in the full score.¹⁴³ Furthermore, none of the dynamics, articulations or tempo indications that Falla has added is found in the full

138 There a large number of omissions from the piano score, some of them of major consequence (such as the omission of the 'Allegro' marking at figure 5 of the first movement; the preceding section is 'Largo').

139 One unusual thing about them is that they are mostly written in blue crayon rather than pencil.

140 Pages 12 and 22 respectively.

141 Figure 50, bar 3, fourth semiquaver beat, top stave (page 12): b corrected to b_♭; figure 75, bar 6, sixth semiquaver beat, top stave (page 19): 'mi?' ('E?') pencilled above g'; figure 77, bar 5, fourth quaver beat, lower stave (page 19): the chord here (consisting of e' and f') is circled, but no correction is suggested (page 40 of the full score has the f' as f_♯'); figure 90, bar 4, first beat, top stave (page 22): f' corrected to f_♯'.

142 This is the f_♯' in figure 77, bar 5 (p. 19 of the piano score), which is printed in the full score (p. 40) as f_♯'.

143 This is the g' in figure 75, bar 6 (p. 19 of the piano score), which Falla has marked as 'mi?' ('E?').

score; indeed, one of them is flatly contradicted.¹⁴⁴ Falla's markings must therefore be derived from elsewhere – most probably from hearing a performance of the work. *Jeu de cartes* is not listed in any of the programmes in Falla's collection, but this does not prove that he never heard it; he may, for instance, have heard a radio broadcast. It is known that he liked to score-read while he was listening to music; Trend notes that he was with Falla during a Madrid performance of Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé* 'during which we had stood up at the back of a box looking over the full score'.¹⁴⁵ It is probable, therefore, that the annotations in the piano score of *Jeu de cartes* represent the nuances of a specific performance.¹⁴⁶

As far as the chronological development of Falla's exposure to Stravinsky's music is concerned, it could not have got off to a better start. He was fortunate to be in the right place when the first three ballets and *The Nightingale* were premiered by Diaghilev's company, and though he owned no programmes from those performances in pre-war Paris, it is difficult to believe that he did not attend any. Indeed, the reference to the 'admirable' *Rite of Spring* in his letter to Jean-Aubry of 19 June 1913 (see § 8.2.1 above) strongly suggests that he had recently heard a performance of it (though it is possible, of course, that he had merely studied the copy of the score given to him two weeks earlier; see § 8.2.1 and below); there are, moreover, hints of his presence at performances of all three ballets and *The Nightingale* in 'El gran músico de nuestro tiempo' (though the information about their reception could just as easily have come from one of his friends – very possibly Ravel, who is mentioned in the anecdote of the premiere of *The Rite of Spring*).¹⁴⁷ And Falla's pre-war experience of Stravinsky's music was not limited to those four major theatrical works. It is almost certain that he was present at the first performance of the *Three Japanese Lyrics* at an SMI concert on 14 January

¹⁴⁴ Falla has marked 'p' at the first bar of figure 47 (p. 12); there is no printed dynamic indication at this point in the piano score. The full score, however, has 'f' at this point (p. 26).

¹⁴⁵ T, 49.

¹⁴⁶ It follows from this hypothesis that the g' he questioned in figure 75, bar 6, was incorrectly played as an e' by the flautist in that performance.

¹⁴⁷ FS (FEs, 28-9 [FO, 10]).

1914; Falla observed that he planned to be there in a letter to Georges Jean-Aubry of that date.¹⁴⁸

Undoubtedly, many more opportunities to hear Stravinsky's music arose at meetings of the Apaches and the Godebski salon at which both composers were present. Florent Schmitt recorded that a performance of *The Rite of Spring* took place 'en un lointain pavillon d'Auteuil' ('in a distant pavilion of Auteuil' – undoubtedly Maurice Delage's house) as early as November 1912,¹⁴⁹ and it is probable that Stravinsky's latest minor works were heard on such occasions too – works such as the *Two Poems of Verlaine* and the *Two Poems of Konstantin Balmont*.

As observed earlier (§ 8.2.1), Falla's acquisition of the piano scores of *The Rite of Spring* and *The Nightingale* dates from this period (they were inscribed on 6 June 1913 and 1 June 1914 respectively), and it is highly likely that he obtained the folio full score of *Petrushka* around the same time. A single tell-tale annotation in his copy of *The Rite of Spring* attests to his having played through the work:¹⁵⁰ something corroborated by María Martínez Sierra's recollection of her first meeting with Falla in Paris before the First World War:

Hallamos al 'maestro' sentado al piano descifrando la partitura de *La consagración de la primavera*, de Stravinski. ... Recibiéndonos con la refinada cortesía que era una de sus características, pero se negó en absoluto a hacernos oír música suya ... Pero nos deleitó – era prodigioso pianista – durante más de una hora con la formidable interpretación pianística de aquella partitura que estaba saboreando a solas cuando llamamos a su puerta.¹⁵¹

We found the 'maestro' sitting at the piano deciphering the score of *The Rite of Spring*, by Stravinsky. ... He received us with the refined courtesy that was one of his characteristics, but he absolutely refused to let us hear his own music ... But he delighted us – he was a prodigious pianist – for over an hour with a formidable

148 Preserved in a private collection; photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7133.

149 Schmitt, writing in the 12 November 1912 issue of *La France*, cited in Robert Craft, "'The Rite of Spring": Genesis of a masterpiece', in Igor Stravinsky, *The Rite of Spring Sketches 1911-1913* (London, 1969), p. xviii

150 The annotation in question reinforces the quintuplet marking at figure 141, bar 3, beat 1, *seconda* part (page 72 of the piano-duet score).

151 Martínez Sierra, *Gregorio y yo*, 122-3.

performance on the piano of the score he had been savouring on his own when we called at his door.

Judging from 'El gran músico de nuestro tiempo', of all Stravinsky's music up to that time (1916) the work Falla admired the most was *The Nightingale*; he describes it as an 'ópera en tres cuadros de un atrevimiento musical que en muchas de sus páginas supera al de la misma *Consagración de la primavera*' ('opera in three scenes whose musical audacity surpasses in many of its pages even that of *The Rite of Spring*').¹⁵² This preference is illuminating, for it is *The Nightingale* – rather than any of the three early ballets – that comes closest to the musical style of the French composers whose music Falla so much esteemed. The very opening of the opera is remarkably akin to the first few pages of Debussy's *Nocturnes*, and the exoticism of much of the quasi-Chinese music is reminiscent of Schmitt's *La Tragédie de Salomé* (a work that Stravinsky is known to have admired).¹⁵³ It is significant also that, in his article, Falla emphasises the power of Stravinsky's music to 'evoke' ('evocar')¹⁵⁴ – a word more commonly applied to the work of his French contemporaries.

Falla's article was his most conspicuous contribution to the promotion of Stravinsky's music in the years immediately following his return to Spain. It was during this period also that the first of his two documented performances of works by Stravinsky took place: at a concert of the Sociedad Nacional de Música on 13 December 1916, he accompanied Madeleine Leymo in two of the *Three Japanese Lyrics* (though it is not clear which two).¹⁵⁵ He must have obtained his copy of the score of that work shortly before that performance (it is stamped by Union Musical Española).

¹⁵² FS (FEs, 28 [FO, 10-11]).

¹⁵³ Letter from Stravinsky to Schmitt, 2 February 1912, preserved at *F-Pn*, L. a. Stravinsky (Igor) 8, quoted in Jann Pasler, 'Stravinsky and the Apaches', 406.

¹⁵⁴ FS (FEs, 30 [FO, 11]).

¹⁵⁵ In the same concert, Leymo and Falla gave performances of Roussel's *Ode chinoise*, Schmitt's *Ils ont tué trois petites filles* and the first two of Debussy's *Ariettes oubliées* (programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FN 1916-018 and 019).

That performance represented an opportunity for the Madrid public to widen their knowledge of Stravinsky's work significantly; very few of his other works were performed in Spain during the First World War. Nevertheless, Falla's collection of programmes chronicles four concert performances in 1916 and 1917 of excerpts from *The Firebird*, in Madrid and San Sebastián. The Ballets Russes gave performances of *The Firebird* and *Petrushka* throughout Spain during their visits in 1916, 1917 and 1918;¹⁵⁶ it is highly likely, since he owned the programme, that he was present at the first staged performance of *The Firebird* in Madrid on 28 May 1916, and it is probable that he attended at least one of the two performances of *Petrushka* given a few days later.¹⁵⁷

In spite of his self-imposed exile from the European mainstream during the war, Falla continued to keep abreast of Stravinsky's latest music. It has already been noted (§ 8.2.2) that Stravinsky played through early versions of *Les Noces* and *Renard* for Falla during his visit to Spain in May-June 1916, and that the former deeply impressed him.¹⁵⁸ It is fascinating to speculate on how different these pieces must have been in these early guises. Especially curious is Falla's description of their instrumentation; notably, he describes *Les Noces* as a 'ballet para gran música de cámara, ocho voces y dos coros' ('ballet for large chamber orchestra, four voices and two choirs').¹⁵⁹ In the description of the 'timbres autónomos' ('autonomous timbres') and 'puras líneas melódicas' ('pure melodic lines') which follows (see the fuller quotation in § 8.4 below), there is no hint that the orchestration of *Les Noces* would eventually consist of no more than four pianos and percussion.

It was probably very soon after its publication in 1917 that he acquired a copy of the vocal score of *Renard*, for it is stamped by the retailer Ildefonso Alier, of Madrid. The same stamp is found in Falla's copies of the *Three* and *Five*

¹⁵⁶ FS (FEs, 27 [FO,9]); S. L. Grigoriev, *The Diaghilev Ballet, 1909-1929* (Harmondsworth, 1960), 142; Vicente García-Márquez (ed.), *España y Los Ballets Russes* [catalogue of exhibition at the Auditorio Manuel de Falla, Granada, 17 June to 2 July 1989] (n. l., n. d.), 70-6.

¹⁵⁷ Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring*, 266.

¹⁵⁸ Letter from Falla to Stravinsky, 7 July 1916; FS (FEs, 29 [FO, 11]).

¹⁵⁹ FS (FEs, 29 [FO, 11]).

Easy Pieces for piano duet, and annotations in the latter score reveal that he attempted to play at least three of those pieces with his own two hands: in the 'Andante', 'Española', 'Napolitana' and the first bar of the 'Balalaïka', he has added the notes of the very simple *prima* part to the much more complex *seconda* part.¹⁶⁰

It was in the years immediately following the war, however, that he obtained most of his Stravinsky scores. In addition to the piano scores of *The Rite of Spring* and *The Nightingale* mentioned above, at least five more were gifts from Stravinsky himself. As noted earlier (§ 8.2.3), his two scores of *Pribaoutki* both bear handwritten dedications from 'Igor' to 'Manuel', and the inscription in the full score is dated 4 February 1920. Inscriptions in Falla's copies of *Rag-Time* and the *Soldier's Tale* 'petite' suite reveal that Stravinsky presented them to him in Madrid on 5 April 1921, while the dedication in his vocal score of *Œdipus Rex* is dated 9 June 1927. His two scores of the *Berceuses du chat* (published 1917) also contain handwritten dedications from their composer, though they are undated; the wording – 'A mon cher Falla[,] Strawinsky' – is not consistent with that in any of the other gifts, and so it is impossible to ascertain at which of their post-war meetings Falla received them.

Of the remaining scores, at least four were obtained in (or sent from) Paris; the miniature scores of *The Rite of Spring* and *The Song of the Nightingale* and the piano reduction of *Apollon musagète* are all stamped by Éditions Max Eschig, while the miniature score of the *Pulcinella* suite is stamped by the Société Anonyme des Grandes Éditions Musicales. It is not clear where any of the remaining ten scores were purchased, though Paris was probably the easiest place to procure them. It is possible, however, that Chester, as publishers of both composers, sent Falla copies of works issued by them (the *Firebird* suite, *Piano-Rag-Music*, the vocal score of *Pulcinella*, *Les cinq doigts*, *Les Noces* and the piano reduction of the 'grande' suite from *The Soldier's Tale*; all of these appeared in either 1920 or 1922). Certain parallels between the Concerto

¹⁶⁰ The subtitle of the *Five Easy Pieces* is 'Right Hand Easy': a remarkable error which remains uncorrected in current editions. The subtitle ought to read 'Prima Part Easy'. (A similar error, confusing the left hand and the *seconda* part, is found in the subtitle of the *Three Easy Pieces*.)

for Piano and Wind Instruments and Falla's own *Concerto* for keyboard and instruments (mainly woodwind) point to the probability that he acquired his copy of that score between 1924 (its date of publication) and 1926 (when his own *Concerto* was completed); those parallels will be examined in § 8.4. As noted earlier, the last score that came into his hands was almost certainly the piano reduction of *Jeu de cartes*, published in 1937, which he may have decided to buy after Roland-Manuel had mentioned its publication, in his letter of 29 July of that year.¹⁶¹

This growth in Falla's knowledge of Stravinsky's music in the post-war years is evident also in the far greater number of performances of it that he attended. Few of these, however, were in Spain; between 1919 and 1939 he heard performances of no more than eight works by Stravinsky (and probably no more than four) in his home country.¹⁶² He fared far better during his foreign trips; in Paris, he heard performances of 16 or 17 works,¹⁶³ in addition to two in London and two in Italy.¹⁶⁴

His championing of Stravinsky's work in Spain continued too. His views held considerable sway, as is shown by the following anecdote, which Falla told to Pahissa:

161 'Strawinsky ... a fait représenter en Amérique un nouveau ballet: *Partie de cartes* [sic] qui m'a paru à la lecture des plus réussis dans la manière allègre et la couleur quasi-Weberienne du *Capriccio*' ('Stravinsky ... has had a new ballet performed in America: *Partie de cartes* [sic]. When I read the score, it seemed to me to be one of the more successful works in the cheerful style and quasi-Weberian colour of the *Capriccio*'). Letter from Roland-Manuel to Falla, 29 July 1937, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7520.

162 The four that he is almost certain to have heard are *Apollon musagète*, the *Firebird* suite (or excerpts from it), *Petrushka* and unspecified fragments of *Pulcinella*. The other four are the *Three Movements from Petrushka* (for piano solo), *The Rite of Spring*, *The Soldier's Tale* and an unidentified work described as 'Quatre cançonetes festives', given at a concert of the Associació de Música 'Da Camera' de Barcelona.

163 The works he heard in France after 1919 are the *Berceuses du chat*, *The Firebird*, *Three Japanese Lyrics*, *Les Noces*, the Octet, *Œdipus Rex*, *Pastorale*, *Three Pieces for Solo Clarinet*, *Three Pieces for String Quartet*, *Two Poems of Balmont*, *Pribaoutki*, *Pulcinella*, *The Soldier's Tale*, excerpts from *Mavra*, two of the *Four Russian Songs*, at least two of the *Three Tales for Children*, and (less probably) the Fisherman's song from *The Nightingale*.

164 In London, he attended performances of *The Rite of Spring* (the British premiere, conducted by Eugène Goossens) and selected movements of *Pulcinella*. He attended a performance of *Les Noces* in Siena in 1928, and a performance of *Pastorale* in Venice in 1932.

In 1919 the Madrid Symphony Orchestra conducted by Arbós was rehearsing the *Firebird Suite*, by Stravinsky. When they reached *The Dance of the Katshei's Subjects* [sic] the musicians stopped playing and refused to continue, saying that the whole thing was a farce and completely meaningless. ... Arbós asked Falla, who was present at the rehearsal, to tell them that this music was accepted by audiences throughout the world. Falla's authoritative words had the desired effect, and the rehearsals continued the actual performance being excellent and highly successful.¹⁶⁵

It has already been noted (§ 8.2.3) that Falla corresponded with Stravinsky regarding the choice of a work of his to be included in programmes of the Orquesta Bética de Cámara. The work chosen was the suite from *Pulcinella*, which entered the orchestra's repertoire in 1924,¹⁶⁶ and which by 1932 had been joined by *The Soldier's Tale*.¹⁶⁷

In January 1923, Falla chose two movements from the 'petite suite' version of the latter work (scored for clarinet, violin and piano) for inclusion in the 'Títeres de Cachiporra' puppet plays staged at the Lorca family home; he played the piano part himself.¹⁶⁸ The movements in question were 'Danse du Diable' and the 'Valse' section of 'Tango-Valse-Rag'. The printed copy used for that performance was that given to Falla by Stravinsky on 5 April 1921, and annotations in all three instrumental parts reveal that significant cuts were made to both movements:¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ PM, 145. The date 1919 is clearly incorrect; the Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid had already played excerpts from *The Firebird*, under Arbós's direction, as early as 13 April 1916 (programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: NFN 1916-006).

¹⁶⁶ In his letter to Stravinsky of 21 February 1924, Falla stated that the Orquesta Bética de Cámara would be performing *Pulcinella* in May of that year. The earliest known performance of the work by that orchestra took place at the Teatro Llorens (in Seville?) on 11 June (see Appendix 8.D).

¹⁶⁷ The Orquesta Bética de Cámara performed *The Soldier's Tale* at the Coliseo España in Seville on 30 October 1932. Several copies of the programme are preserved at *E-GRmf*: FN 1932-022 to 029.

¹⁶⁸ The other instrumentalists were José Gómez (violin) and Alfredo Baldrés (clarinet) (programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FN 1923-001 to 008). The performance took place on 6 January.

¹⁶⁹ The cuts marked in the piano and clarinet parts are in Falla's hand; those in the violin part (apart from a correction on page 13) are in a different hand, most probably that of José Gómez.

-
- 'Valse'. After playing from the beginning (figure 10, bar 1) through to bar 70 (figure 17, bar 5), the three instrumentalists returned to bar 11 (figure 11, bar 1), and played through to bar 55 (figure 15, bar 7), where they ended. (The performance therefore consisted of bars 1-70, followed by a repeat of bars 11-55.) The purpose of this alteration was to avoid running into the 'Ragtime' section of the movement, which presumably did not suit the dramatic content of the puppet play – or was simply not to Falla's taste.
 - 'Danse du Diable'. Bars 9-55 (figure 1, bar 4, to figure 8, bar 6) and 62-70 (figure 9, bar 7, to figure 10, bar 8) were cut from the performance (which therefore consisted merely of bars 1-8, 56-61 and 71-3; a reduction in length from 73 bars to 17). Curiously, many performance-related annotations in the piano part (fingers, rolling tallies of repeated figures, etc.) reveal that Falla had practised the entire movement. The extent of the cut would therefore seem to suggest that a complete performance was beyond the capabilities of one or both of the other two instrumentalists, perhaps owing to the frequent changes of metre.

Finally, Stravinsky was one of the very small number of Falla's foreign contemporaries represented in his record collection. In his letter of 25 March 1929, Stravinsky asked if Falla had heard the recordings he had made for Columbia of *The Firebird*; in his reply of 19 April, Falla noted that he had not, but expressed his intention to obtain them. He did not (or perhaps could not) do so; nevertheless, he did own a copy of Stokowski's recording of *Petrushka* with the Philadelphia Orchestra, released in Spain by Gramófono Odeón.

8.4 FALLA'S DEBT TO STRAVINSKY

Falla made no secret of his belief in the value of studying Stravinsky's music. In his 1916 article 'El gran músico de nuestro tiempo', he wrote:

He hablado antes de la sinceridad artística de Igor Stravinsky. ... Pero dentro de esta sinceridad brillan dos cualidades que determinan la unidad de la obra total: el carácter nacional rítmico y melódico, fuertemente acusado, y la conquista de nuevas sonoridades. Sigamos nosotros este ejemplo, más precioso para España que para ningún otro país, puesto que los elementos populares, tradicional y religioso de la música rusa son los mismos que han dado origen a los cantos y a las danzas de nuestro pueblo.¹⁷⁰

I have spoken before about Igor Stravinsky's artistic sincerity. ... But within that sincerity, two qualities shine out which establish the unity of the entire work: the national rhythmic and melodic character, strongly pronounced, and the conquest of new sonorities. We ourselves follow this example, more precious for Spain than for any other country, for the popular, traditional and religious elements of Russian music are precisely those that gave rise to the songs and dances of our people.

While the 'sincerity' of Stravinsky's work is rather difficult to quantify, the two specific qualities described here as worthy of emulation – the treatment of folk material and the discovery of new sonorities – are concepts of a clearly defined nature.

The researches of F. W. Sternfeld, Lawrence Morton and (especially) Richard Taruskin have shed light on the processes behind Stravinsky's manipulation of folk material in *The Firebird*, *Petrushka* and *The Rite of Spring*.¹⁷¹ Essentially, Stravinsky made use of two such processes. The first involved the more-or-less direct quotation of popular tunes, found in published collections, imparted

¹⁷⁰ FS (FEs, 30 [FO, 11]).

¹⁷¹ F. W. Sternfeld, 'Some Russian Folk Songs in Stravinsky's *Petrushka*', *Music Library Association Notes*, ii (1945), 98-104 (reprinted in Stravinsky, *Petrushka* (edited by Charles Hamm) [New York, 1967], 203-15); Lawrence Morton, 'Footnotes to Stravinsky studies: "Le Sacre du printemps"', *Tempo*, 128 (March 1979), 9-16; Richard Taruskin, 'Russian Folk Melodies in *The Rite of Spring*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxxiii (1980), 501-43; *Id.*, 'From *Firebird* to *The Rite*: Folk Elements in Stravinsky's Scores', *Ballet Review*, x, 2 (Summer 1982), 72-87.

to Stravinsky by their collectors (including Rimsky-Korsakov), or even copied down 'live' by Stravinsky himself – a process most evident in *The Firebird* and *Petrushka*.¹⁷² The second process involved the distillation of melodic and rhythmic fragments from such tunes, which Stravinsky then blended, repeated and altered, shaping them into the fabric of his own music; it was by this process that he derived much of the melodic material for *The Rite of Spring*.

Taruskin has shown how Stravinsky's fascination with genuine Russian folksong extended into the period when he was composing *Les Noces*; as late as February 1916, Stravinsky wrote from Switzerland to his mother in Russia requesting that she send him some newly-published folksong transcriptions.¹⁷³ It was just three months later that Falla and Stravinsky met in Madrid and discussed their latest work. Among the fruits of that discussion were the snippets of advance information about the scoring of *Renard* and *Les Noces* which Falla included in his article (see § 8.3, and the discussion of orchestration below); it seems probable that the two men also discussed the Russian qualities of those works and how Stravinsky had gone about achieving them. Such matters must also have been topics of conversation for the two men in Paris before the war. Indeed, the alternative translations from the Russian in Falla's piano-duet score of *The Rite of Spring* (see § 8.3) may well have been jotted down during a conversation between the two composers about the Russian essence of that work.

It is significant, then, that Falla's approach to genuine folk material around that time was remarkably similar to Stravinsky's. In the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs* (1914), he employed both of the procedures described above: as Michael Christoforidis has conclusively demonstrated, he extracted the melodies (and, in some cases, the texts) of four of the *Songs* almost verbatim from sources (mainly folksong collections) then in his possession, while the melodic essence of the remaining three was derived from further folk tunes in

¹⁷² Sternfeld, 'Some Russian Folk Songs'; Taruskin, 'Russian Folk Melodies', 510; *Id.*, 'From *Firebird* to *The Rite*', 76.

¹⁷³ Taruskin, 'Russian Folk Melodies', 507-8.

the same and other such sources.¹⁷⁴ In addition, M. García Matos has observed Falla's use of both procedures (quotation and transformation) in *The Three-Cornered Hat* and *Master Peter's Puppet Show*.¹⁷⁵ There is even evidence (from two different sources: Pahissa and Massine) that Falla based the 'Neighbours' Dance' which opens Part 2 of *The Three-Cornered Hat* on a folk theme that he himself collected.¹⁷⁶

Curiously, it is not only between these two composers' treatment of folk material that parallels may be drawn, but also between their propagandising of the nature of that influence. Both sought to diminish the true extent of the quotation of folksongs in their early works; Stravinsky famously claimed that 'The opening bassoon melody in *Le Sacre du Printemps* is the only folk melody in that work',¹⁷⁷ while Falla professed that 'en el canto popular importa más el *espíritu* que la *letra*' ('in popular song it is the *spirit* rather than the *letter* that is most important'),¹⁷⁸ and had Pahissa state that some of the melodies of the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs* were 'original'.¹⁷⁹ Similarly, both composers tried to suggest that the process whereby they transformed genuine folk material was a subconscious one. Pahissa writes about the

174 Michael Christoforidis, 'Folksong models and their sources in Manuel de Falla's *Siete canciones populares españolas*', *Context*, 9 (Winter 1995), 12-21.

175 M. García Matos, 'Folklore en Falla', *Música*, 3-4 (January-June 1953), 41-68; *Id.*, 'Folklore en Falla II', *Música*, 6 (October-December 1953), 33-52. García Matos's findings in relation to *The Three-Cornered Hat* and *Master Peter's Puppet Show* are summarised in D, 95-105 and 117-32 respectively.

176 PV, 107: 'Está escrita sobre un tema que, en el viaje que con Diaguilev hicieron a Granada, oyeron tocar a un ciego. Les impresionó aquella música, y Falla la anotó' ('It is written on a theme which, on the trip he made to Granada with Diaghilev, they heard played by a blind man. That music made an impression on them, and Falla wrote it down'; my translation; Wagstaff's, in PM, 99, is inaccurate). Léonide Massine (edited by Phyllis Hartnoll and Robert Rubens), *My Life in Ballet* (London, 1968), 118: 'On our way back to the hotel we stopped to listen to a blind man playing a guitar. Falla spoke to the man, asking him to repeat the mournful little tune he was playing several times. While he did so, Falla stood with his eyes closed, humming it through and then methodically writing it down in his notebook. He later used that melody for the *sevillana* in the second part of our ballet, which we finally entitled *Le Tricorne*.'

177 Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries*, 98. That assertion is thoroughly disproved by Morton ('Footnotes to Stravinsky studies') and Taruskin ('Russian Folk Melodies'; 'From *Firebird* to *The Rite*').

178 FM (FEs, 57 [FO, 31]).

179 PV, 83; PM, 77.

'spontaneous' use in *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* of a melody which Falla later traced back to having heard in Madrid before 1907.¹⁸⁰ Stravinsky, meanwhile, asserted that 'If any of these pieces [*Pribaoutki*, *Four Russian Peasant Songs* for female chorus, *Four Russian Songs* and *Berceuses du chat*] sounds like aboriginal folk music, it may be because my powers of fabrication were able to tap some unconscious "folk" memory'.¹⁸¹

The other specific aspect of Stravinsky's technique that Falla praised in his 1916 article is 'la conquista de nuevas sonoridades' ('the conquest of new sonorities'). He makes the following precise observations about the projected instrumentation of *Renard* and *Les Noces* respectively:

La orquesta de estas obras – muy reducida en la primera e importantísima en la segunda – está constituida en forma absolutamente inédita.

En ella conserva cada instrumento todo su valor sonoro y expresivo y los mismos de cuerda sólo se usan como timbres autónomos y nunca en masas. La fuerza dinámica queda reservada a aquellos instrumentos que la poseen por sí mismos: las trompetas, los trombones y los timbales, por ejemplo. Los demás forman un tejido de puras líneas melódicas que se producen sin reclamar al auxilio de los otros timbres. ¿Se realizará con esto el verdadero ideal de la hasta ahora mal llamada música pura?¹⁸²

The orchestra in these works – highly reduced in the former and of extreme importance in the second – is constituted in a completely unprecedented manner.

In it [i.e. the orchestration], each instrument retains all its sonorous and expressive value, and this is true also of solo stringed instruments, which are used as independent timbres and never *en masse*. Dynamic force is reserved for those instruments which already possess it: the trumpets, the trombones and the timpani, for example. The others form a texture of pure melodic lines which are produced without requiring the help of the other timbres. Will it be thus that the true ideal of the hitherto incorrectly-named pure music will be achieved?

Falla's observation about the role of the 'dynamic' instruments in Stravinsky's music is significant given that his own use of those instruments was careful and economical. The trumpets in particular are often held back for special

180 PM, 94.

181 Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries*, 98.

182 FS (FEs, 29-30 [FO, 11]).

effect: there are passages in *El amor brujo*, *The Three-Cornered Hat* and *Master Peter's Puppet Show* where they play in a different key to the remainder of the ensemble.¹⁸³

The reference to the reduced size of the orchestra in *Renard* is significant too. Falla's own inclination towards small ensembles began with the original version of *El amor brujo* in 1915 (just a few months before he wrote his article on Stravinsky) – a consequence of the limitations placed on him by the meagre instrumental forces of the Teatro Lara. But it was not until some time later that he began fully to explore the possibilities of small and unusual ensembles, and this may have had something to do with his awareness of Stravinsky's experiments. In particular, the prominent role of the harpsichord in both *Master Peter's Puppet Show* and the *Concerto* may owe something to Stravinsky's employment of the cimbalom in *Renard*.

Also significant are Falla's comments on Stravinsky's use of solo instruments – including (as in Falla's own *Concerto*) solo strings – as 'timbres autónomos y nunca en masas' ('autonomous timbres and never *en masse*'). This single dictum was to become a central tenet of the orchestration of the *Puppet Show*, and its repercussions can be felt even in the Prologue to *Atlántida* (the only section that Falla himself fully scored): orchestral textures are more transparent than in his earlier orchestral music, and the character of each instrument is more clearly distinguished.

Interestingly, Stravinsky's name appears in Pahissa's rationale of Falla's use of a reduced ensemble in the *Puppet Show*:

The smallness of the orchestra is explained in two ways: first, by the fact that the work was intended for performance in a private house, and secondly, by the evolution of Falla's criterion of simplicity of expression. This coincided with the current fashion, as exemplified by the compositions of the most characteristic musicians of that time – Stravinsky, for example, with his habit of using an orchestra with a small string section.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ Examples: *El amor brujo*, figure 2; *The Three-Cornered Hat*, figure 46; *Master Peter's Puppet Show*, figure 9.

¹⁸⁴ PM, 128.

Furthermore, Pahissa's description of Falla's treatment of that ensemble teems with precisely the same vocabulary as Falla's description of the orchestration of *Renard* and the early version of *Les Noces*:

Su técnica armónica es de líneas limpias y precisas, sin armonías resonantes, y sin el empaste orquestal de doblamientos instrumentales. Los instrumentos justos para las voces justas que forman el tejido armónico de pocos hilos y poco tupido, pero más bien complejo que simple.¹⁸⁵

His harmonic technique has a clear precision of line, without resonant harmonies, and without the orchestral thickness of instrumental duplication. The instruments, each with its own part, form a harmonic texture made up of few threads, loosely woven, but more complex than simple.

Evidence of Falla's debt to his illustrious Russian contemporary is far less clear. Stravinsky's music turns up in only one manuscript source. This is the document headed 'contrapuntos rítmicos' ('rhythmical counterpoints'), one page of which was discussed in § 3.4.2.2 above;¹⁸⁶ that page, numbered '3', contains transcriptions on single-line staves of contrapuntal rhythmic patterns from Debussy's String Quartet. The first two pages of this document contain similar transcriptions taken from *The Rite of Spring*; they are reproduced here as Figures 8.4.i and 8.4.ii. The passages transcribed are listed in Table 8.4.i.

Falla copied these excerpts from the piano-duet score of Stravinsky's ballet; alongside each excerpt, he has noted the number of the page in that score on which it is to be found. This may seem to indicate that the transcriptions were made before he obtained a copy of the full score – that is, between 6 June 1913 (when Stravinsky presented Falla with a copy of the piano-duet version) and around 1921 (the date of publication of the full score). But it is likely that even after he obtained a copy of the full score, he would still have referred to the piano-duet version to make these transcriptions, for the counterpoint between rhythmic patterns is displayed far more clearly on four staves than on thirty or more.

¹⁸⁵ PV, 140; translation based partly on that of Wagstaff, from PM, 127.

¹⁸⁶ *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7915.

Contrapuntos rítmicos. =

Sacra - pag. 11.

etc

3d. pag. 12

sd.

sd.

Figure 8.4.i

The first page of a document entitled 'Contrapuntos rítmicos', containing transcriptions of rhythmic patterns from *The Rite of Spring* (E-GRmf, manuscripts folder 7915).

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2

p. 20

Prestissimo

p. 45

Lento

p. 69

Figure 8.4.ii
 The second page of the document headed 'Contrapuntos rítmicos' (E-GRmf, manuscripts folder 7915).
 (Reproduced by kind permission of the Archivo Manuel de Falla, Granada.)

PASSAGE	NO. OF STAVES	PAGE NOS. (PIANO-DUET SCORE)
Page 1		
Figure 5, bars 1-3	5, then 6	11
Figure 6, bars 8-10	3	12
Figure 7, bars 1-4	6	12
Page 2		
Figure 31, bars 1-5	4	23
3 bars (unspecified) from between figure 76, bar 7, and figure 77, bar 5	4	45
Figure 134, bar 1, beats 1-4 only (lower voice in <i>prima</i> left-hand part omitted [regular crotchets, played by the trumpets and trombones in the orchestral version])	4	63

Table 8.4.i

Passages from Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring* whose rhythms Falla transcribed in a document headed 'Contrapuntos rítmicos' (*E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7915).

In fact, it is impossible to date this document with certainty. However, it was most probably drawn up in the late 1910s or early 1920s, for – as observed in § 3.4.2.2 – it was only at that time that Falla's rhythmic language attained the height of complexity manifested in these examples (one of which involves the combination of triplet quavers and quintuplet semiquavers, further complicated by irregular-placed acciaccaturas). Rhythmic patterns from two sections of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* are shown in Example 8.4.1.i; correspondences with the transcribed passages from *The Rite of Spring* are obvious.

Master Peter's Puppet Show, figure 10, bars 6-11 (rhythmic values only).

Master Peter's Puppet Show, figure 67, bars 1-4 (rhythmic values only).

Example 8.4.i

Apart from the corrections and performance-related markings discussed in § 8.3 above, annotations in Falla's scores in Stravinsky's music are few – particularly when they are contrasted with those in scores of works by Debussy or Dukas. Indeed, they are found in a mere 11 out of the 30 scores in his collection,¹⁸⁷ and the majority of those contain annotations on less than a half-dozen of their pages.

Most of the annotations are cryptic; some have even worn away over time.¹⁸⁸ A small number seem to relate to issues of musical material, repetition, development and structure. Notably, comments jotted on the rear flysheet of the volume containing the miniature score of *The Song of the Nightingale* include references to the page numbers of the sections of that work in which the voices of the real and the mechanical nightingales are heard (figures 39 and 58 respectively).¹⁸⁹ This would seem to suggest that Falla studied the way in which Stravinsky contrasts the two types of birdsong. Both are scored for flute over a fairly similar accompanimental texture consisting of *pizzicato* strings, harps, piano and celesta; but the song of the real nightingale is *legato*, chromatic and lyrical in style, while that of the mechanical bird is made up of *staccato* pentatonic scales and arpeggios. A similar concern for the treatment of musical material is evinced in an annotation in the piano reduction of *Jeu de cartes*, which draws attention to a downward transposition from A major to A_♭ major of the 'Marcia' section of the 'Deuxième donne' (figure 43) where it returns in the coda (figure 89).¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Scores containing annotations other than corrections and performance-related markings are those of the Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments, the *Firebird* suite, *Jeu de cartes*, *The Nightingale*, *Les Noces*, the Octet, *Œdipus Rex*, the *Pulcinella* suite, *The Song of the Nightingale*, and both the piano and orchestral scores of *The Rite of Spring*. The instrumentation designations and dynamic markings inserted in the piano score of *Jeu de cartes* have been discussed in § 8.3, as have the alternative translations added to the piano score of *The Rite of Spring*. There is a single marking on the back cover of the score of the *Three Pieces for String Quartet*, which has nothing to do with that work; it reads: 'Miercoles a las 12 / Pianola' ('Wednesday at 12.00: Pianola').

¹⁸⁸ This is especially true of pencil markings on the back covers of the Octet and the *Firebird* suite. The markings seem to have consisted of hastily-scribbled musical notation, though the music itself is now completely illegible.

¹⁸⁹ Pages 39 and 54 of the miniature score. Falla also noted the page number of the section headed 'Pianissimo' beginning at figure 92 of that score (p. 79), though it is unclear why.

¹⁹⁰ The annotation is found in the margin of page 22 of the piano score, and reads 'ver bajos la vez (en la ♯)' ('see basses 1st time round (in A♯)').

Annotations relating to orchestration are more numerous, though hardly common. A very few instrumental designations are pencilled in the piano scores of *The Nightingale* and *Jeu de cartes*,¹⁹¹ and Falla's piano-duet score of *The Rite of Spring* contains two cross-references to the full score.¹⁹² But specific instrumental devices are marked in just three orchestral scores: *The Rite*, *The Song of the Nightingale* and the suite from *Pulcinella*.

The single annotation in the last-named score is curious: it is a reference, jotted on the last page of the volume, to the use of a 'cor 2o grave' ['low 2nd horn'] on page 3 of the score. In fact, the second horn's lowest note on that page is not particularly low: it is f# (sounding pitch).

The orchestration-related annotations in *The Rite of Spring* and *The Song of the Nightingale*, however, conform to a pattern: all draw attention to instrumental and orchestral effects that are specialised and highly unusual. This is consistent with the fact that both scores were published as late as 1921; Falla was at that time no longer studying everyday orchestral devices, as he had done under the direction of Dukas and Debussy in Paris before the war. Among the effects he has noted are *pizzicato glissandi* and *pizzicato* harmonics in the cellos,¹⁹³ various distinctive uses of harps and the piano,¹⁹⁴ and flutter-tongue effects in the flutes, piccolos and clarinets.¹⁹⁵ This last effect is the only one also found in Falla's post-1921 music (*Master Peter's Puppet Show*, figure 34, bar 2, and figure 66, bar 4) – though there is no reason to suppose that that instance was directly influenced by Stravinsky's example.

191 'Trb.' (for trombone) is marked at figure 65, bars 1 and 4, of *The Nightingale* (p. 51). In *Jeu de cartes*, 'Vns' (for violins) is marked at figure 46, bar 2 (p. 12), and there is a reference to 'bajos' ('basses') around figure 91 (p. 22).

192 Rehearsal figures 83 and 84 are marked on page 49 of that score.

193 *The Song of the Nightingale*, figure 74, bar 1, and figure 75, bar 1 (p. 67), and figure 39 onwards (p. 39) respectively.

194 *The Song of the Nightingale*, figure 39 (p. 39), and figures 45 and 46 (pp. 45-6).

195 *The Rite of Spring*, figure 103, bar 1 (p. 85); *The Song of the Nightingale*, figure 58 onwards (p. 54).

Annotations in the reduction for two pianos of the Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments constitute a special case. It has already been noted (§ 8.3) that there is every probability that Falla obtained that score shortly after its publication in 1924, when he was working on his own *Concerto*. This is significant given the very obvious parallels between the two works: both have three movements (fast, slow, fast), repeated chords are a prominent feature of the second movements of both, and – most obviously – both are scored for keyboard and solo instruments (entirely wind instruments in the Stravinsky, predominantly so in the Falla). Indeed, it may have been Stravinsky's example that led Falla to score his *Concerto* as a chamber work; the earliest reference to the work's ultimate instrumentation is found as late as 17 October 1925, in a letter to Wanda Landowska.¹⁹⁶

One of the reasons why it took Falla more than three years to complete his *Concerto* may have been that he found the matter of its formal structure problematical;¹⁹⁷ the plausibility of this theory is enhanced by the fact that the formal structures of the first and third movements of that work are so very innovative.¹⁹⁸ It is perhaps significant, then, that two asterisks pencilled in the essentially sonata-form first movement of Stravinsky's concerto draw attention to the points at which the first subject and revised second subjects of the recapitulation begin.¹⁹⁹ Ultimately, of course, Falla's solutions to his structural difficulties were markedly different.

¹⁹⁶ Carbon copy preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7171. It should be noted, however, that there are no surviving sketches for the *Concerto* which show any other scoring.

¹⁹⁷ Falla promised to compose the work some time in 1923, probably when he was in Paris between April and July; the earliest reference to the work is in a letter from Eve Landowska to Falla, 25 August 1923 (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7170).

¹⁹⁸ The first movement is based on the first phrase of the Castilian folksong 'De los álamos vengo, madre' (PM, 132), though the theme is not heard in full until two-thirds of the way through the movement (bar 89, out of 150; figure 13, bar 3); up to that point, its intervals are merely hinted at. The structure is therefore a kind of inverted sonata form, where development precedes exposition. The structure of the first part of the third movement is akin to that of a Scarlatti keyboard sonata, with a move to the dominant followed by a repeat of the opening (and hence a return to the tonic). In the remainder of the movement, however, the material is varied and much extended, and there is no sense of recapitulation.

¹⁹⁹ Figures 27 and 35 respectively (pp. 18 and 23 of the full score; the asterisk relating to figure 35 is actually in the right-hand margin of p. 22, alongside the very last bar of that page).

It was noted in § 8.3 that the majority of the annotations in this score comprise dynamic markings omitted from it but printed in the full score – a copy of which Falla does not seem to have owned. What is most significant about these annotations, however, is that they all occur at moments where the piano and the wind ensemble double one another, either exactly, in part, in different octaves, or in heterophony;²⁰⁰ this observation holds true even of the handwritten corrections and performance-related annotations.

These heterophonic textures are fairly common in the work, and are easily visible in the two-piano reduction, where the solo piano part is printed directly above the reduction of the instrumental accompaniment. When Falla had access to a copy of the full score, he must have paid special attention to these passages, in order to see exactly how they were scored – and, in so doing, he must have noticed the dynamics omitted from the two-piano reduction and decided to mark them in.

In his own *Concerto*, Falla made much more economical use of textures involving doublings between the harpsichord and the orchestral instruments. They occur hardly at all in the first movement, and only occasionally in the second.²⁰¹ It is in the third movement that passages most closely paralleling Stravinsky's technique may be observed; a comparison is made in Example 8.4.ii. Of course, it is impossible to ascertain whether Falla was here working under Stravinsky's influence. Nevertheless, the mere fact that he took the trouble to study the *Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments* in such detail is indicative of his willingness to learn from his younger colleague.

Annotations on the rear flysheet of the volume in which the miniature scores of both *The Rite of Spring* and *The Song of the Nightingale* are bound allude to the characteristically Stravinskian sounding of dissonant intervals (minor

²⁰⁰ The following passages are annotated: figure 18, bar 8 (p. 11 of the two-piano score); figure 19, bar 2 (p. 11; this is a correction) figure 27, bar 1 (p. 18), figure 34, bar 8 (p. 22), figure 59, bar 1 (p. 41; another correction), figure 82, bar 1 (p. 56), figure 82, bar 7, to figure 83, bar 4 (p. 57).

²⁰¹ Viz. at figure 17, and in the last two bars of the movement.

PICCOLO *p sub. marc.*

FLUTES *p sub. marc.*

OBOES *p sub. marc.*

COR ANGLAIS *p sub. marc.*

CLARINETS *p sub. marc.*

BASSOONS *p sub. ma marcato*

PIANO *sub. meno f* *m.d.*

HORNS 2, 3 & 4 *p ma poco marcato*

TRUMPETS 3 & 4 *p marc.*

DOUBLE BASS *p sub. ma marcato*

Stravinsky, Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments,
 third movement, figure 82, bars 1-3
 (all instruments except piccolo at sounding pitch).

Example 8.4.ii (continued overleaf)

Falla, *Concerto*, third movement, bars 3-4
(all instruments at sounding pitch).

Example 8.4.ii

seconds and major sevenths) in the former work, primarily in the brass.²⁰² This is an orchestral device that Falla never used. However, he also marked Stravinsky's use of dissonances such as these in the vocal parts of *The Nightingale* and *Les Noces* (as, indeed, in his score of Ravel's *Trois Chansons*; see § 4.4) – and these intervals are extensively used in the choral writing of *Atlántida*.

This is one of several elements of Stravinsky's technique of vocal and choral writing that interested Falla. Some are identified in annotations on the blank final page of his vocal score of *The Nightingale*, which refer to the use of the interval of a second between parts,²⁰³ to the crossing of the tenor and alto

²⁰² *The Rite of Spring*, figure 55, bar 2, trumpet and trombone parts (p. 44); figure 110, no parts specified (major sevenths most evident in French horn parts) (p. 90); figure 163, bars 2-4, third horn part (p. 120).

²⁰³ The passage to which these annotations refer begins at figure 61, bar 2 (p. 48 of the vocal score).

parts,²⁰⁴ and to what he describes as ‘unisonos y alejamientos’ (‘unisons and separations’) – note-by-note alternation between unisons and other intervals in the choral parts (as shown in Example 8.4.iii (c) below).²⁰⁵

Similar techniques are marked by crosses and brackets – without accompanying comments – in the margins of his miniature score of *Les Noces*; the prevalence of such markings makes this the most heavily annotated of all Falla’s Stravinsky scores. A significant number of these mark clashes of seconds and sevenths between the parts (and also, on one instance, between the tenors and the first piano),²⁰⁶ but other effects marked include repeated and parallel consonant intervals – unisons, thirds, fifths, sixths, octaves, and even entire triads – in the voice parts.²⁰⁷ Notes on the inside back cover of the vocal score of *Œdipus Rex* refer to passages which feature a further choral device: strongly rhythmical chant-like passages, harmonised primarily in octaves, thirds and fifths.²⁰⁸

Every one of the choral devices marked in these three Stravinsky scores re-appears in some form in the Prologue, Part 1 or Part 3 of *Atlántida* (the portions of the work wherein the choral parts were completed by Falla himself); it is perhaps significant that he obtained his copy of one of these scores – *Œdipus Rex* – in 1927,²⁰⁹ the very year in which he began to compose

²⁰⁴ Figure 64, bars 3-4 (p. 50).

²⁰⁵ Figure 62, bars 5-7 (pp. 48-9).

²⁰⁶ Annotations draw attention to such intervals in the following passages: figure 9, bars 1-2 (p. 7 of the miniature score); figure 10, bar 5 (p. 8); figure 11, bar 4 (p. 9); figure 40, bars 1-3 (p. 31); figure 42, bars 3-4 (pp. 33-4); figure 52, bar 7 (p. 43); figure 58, bars 4 and 7-8 (pp. 51-2); figure 59, bar 6 (p. 53); figure 69, bar 3 (p. 61); figure 70, bars 2 and 5 (p. 62); figure 78, bar 3 (p. 70; this is the aforementioned dissonance between the tenors and the first piano); figure 92, bars 1-6 (p. 83); figure 108, bars 6-7 (p. 101); figure 121, bars 2-5 (p. 113); figure 129, bars 1-2 (p. 124).

²⁰⁷ Figure 14, bars 2 and 5, and figure 15, bar 1 (p. 11); figure 17, bar 4 (p. 14); figure 27, bar 1 (p. 23); figure 44, bar 4, to figure 46, bar 3 (pp. 36-8); figure 48, bar 2 (p. 40); figure 49, bars 1-6 (pp. 40-1); figure 52, bar 7 (p. 43); figure 57, bars 4-5 (p. 49); figure 59, bars 1-2 (p. 52); figure 59, bar 6 (p. 53); figure 60, bar 2 (p. 54); figure 61, bar 3 (p. 56); figure 72, bars 3-4 (p. 63); figure 79, bar 5, to figure 80, bar 4 (p. 71).

²⁰⁸ Figure 25, bar 1, to figure 26, bar 5 (p. 14 of the vocal score); figure 49, bars 1-4 (p. 22); figure 55, bars 1-2 (p. 24); figure 61, bars 1-7 (p. 27); figure 68, bars 1-9 (p. 31); figure 117, bars 1-4 (p. 54).

²⁰⁹ It was a gift from Stravinsky; the handwritten dedication is dated 9 June 1927.

his cantata.²¹⁰ Falla's use of these devices, however, is sufficiently different from Stravinsky's to demonstrate that he did not consciously seek to emulate his Russian colleague's techniques, but rather that he had subconsciously absorbed them into his own.

Each of these devices is demonstrated in turn in the five passages from *Atlántida* reproduced over the next few pages in Example 8.4.iii. Shown alongside each one is a corresponding excerpt from *The Nightingale*, *Les Noces* or *Œdipus Rex*, selected from among the passages that Falla annotated.

²¹⁰ G, 277.

(a) Dissonant intervals

En - ca - ra el Tey - de gi - ta bo - cins de sa des - fer - ra,
 En - ca - ra el Tey - de gi - ta bo - cins de sa des - fer - ra,
 En - ca - ra el Tey - de gi - ta bo - cins de sa des - fer - ra,
 En - ca - ra el Tey - de gi - ta bo - cins de sa des - fer - ra,

Falla/Halfpfer, *Atlántida*, Prologue, bars 26-9 (choral parts only).

Note the dissonant intervals between the alto and bass parts in the first two bars of the excerpt, and between the soprano and bass in the last bar.

S
 Ку - харочка, ку - харочка, ска - жи намъ, ты ви - дѣ - ла вѣдь со - ло - вья?
 A
 Ку - харочка, ку - харочка, ска - жи намъ, ты ви - дѣ - ла вѣдь со - ло - вья?

Stravinsky, *The Nightingale*, Act 2, figure 61, bars 3-7 (Choir 2 parts only).

Note the major second between the second sopranos and second altos throughout this excerpt.

Example 8.4.iii (continued overleaf)

(b) Crossing of parts

il - lu - xit su - per ter -
 il - lu - xit su - per ter -
 sanc-ti - fi - ca - tus il - lu - xit su - per
 Di - es sanc - ti - fi - ca -

Falla/Halfpfer, *Atlántida*,
 Part 3, bars 507-10
 (choral parts only).

Note that the tenor part crosses
 the alto in the first three bars
 of the excerpt.

Stravinsky, *The Nightingale*, Act 2,
 figure 64, bars 3-4 (choral parts
 only).

Note that the alto line of Choir 2 falls
 below the tenor line of Choir 1.

CHOIR 1
 S
 A *mf* Зо - ло - ты - е блес - тять,
 T *mf* Зо - ло - ты - е блес - тять,
 CHOIR 2
 S
 A *p* Ор - ни - го - рять, *f*
 T Фо -

Example 8.4.iii (continued overleaf)

(c) 'Unisones y alejamientos'

pp possible

A Oh, glo-ria de Si-on, Pi-lar au-gus - to, Es-tel del Mont-serrat,

pp possible

T Oh, glo-ria de Si-on, Pi-lar au-gus - to, Es-tel del Mont-serrat,

Falla/Halfpfer, *Atlántida*, Part 3, bars 446-8 (choral parts; bass part omitted for purposes of clarity).

Note the change at the end of each phrase from a unison texture to a homophonic one.

pp *niente*

S Вотъ зо-ло - ты - е, зо-ло-ты-е фо-на-ри...

(de loin) *pp* *niente*

A Вотъ зо-ло - ты - е, зо-ло-ты-е фо-на-ри...

Stravinsky, *The Nightingale*, Act 2, figure 62, bars 5-7 (Choir 1 parts only).

Note how the interval between the two voices alternates between the unison and the third.

Example 8.4.iii (continued overleaf)

(d) Repeated consonant intervals

que a tra-vés de l'Eu-ro-pa, d'un mar a l'al-tre mar,
 que a tra-vés de l'Eu-ro-pa, d'un mar a l'al-tre mar,
 que a tra-vés de l'Eu-ro-pa, d'un mar a l'al-tre mar,
 que a tra-vés de l'Eu-ro-pa, d'un mar a l'al-tre mar,

Falla/Halfpfer, *Atlántida*, Part 1, bars 70-3 (choral parts only).

Бос-ло-ви Бо-жа, бос-ло-ви Бо-жа, Бо-жунь-ка
 Бос-ло-ви Бо-жа, бос-ло-ви Бо-жа, Бо-жунь-ка
 Бос-ло-ви Бо-жа, бос-ло-ви Бо-жа, Бо-жунь-ка

Stravinsky, *Les Noces*, figure 49, bars 1-3 (choral parts only).

Example 8.4.iii (continued overleaf)

(e) Strong rhythmic patterns, harmonised primarily in thirds, fifths, octaves and triads

pp

B I
"Ve - ni - ent an - nis sæ - cu - la se - ris, qui - bus O - ce - a - nus

pp

B II
"Ve - ni - ent an - nis sæ - cu - la se - ris, qui - bus O - ce - a - nus

B I
vin - cu - la re - rum la - xet et in - gens pa - te - at tel - lus,

B II
vin - cu - la re - rum la - xet et in - gens pa - te - at tel - lus,

Falla/Halfpfer, *Atlántida*, Part 3, bars 2-8 (choral parts only).

p

T
De - li - e, ex - spec - tamus, Mi - ne - rva fi - li - a Iovis, Di - a - na in trono in sidens.

p

B
De - li - e, ex - spec - tamus, Mi - ne - rva fi - li - a Iovis, Di - a - na in trono in sidens.

poco più f *psubito*

T
Et tu, Phæ - be in - si - gnis ia - cu - la - tor, suc - cur - ri - te no - bis.

poco più f *psubito*

B
Et tu, Phæ - be in - si - gnis ia - cu - la - tor, suc - cur - ri - te no - bis.

Stravinsky, *Oedipus Rex*, figure 61, bars 1-7 (choral parts only).

Example 8.4.iii

8.5 CONCLUSION

It is clear that Falla held Stravinsky in the very highest regard – not only as one of his greatest friends but also as a truly exceptional composer. The esteem in which he held the work of his Russian contemporary is constantly manifested in their correspondence: in his comments on individual works (see §§ 8.2.3 and 8.2.4), for instance, and in his assessment of Diaghilev's greatest achievement:

Il a fait des choses admirables dont la toute première a été votre révélation: c'est cela que nous lui devons surtout. Et sans vous, d'ailleurs, les *Ballets* n'auraient pu exister ...²¹¹

He did wonderful things, of which the very first was your discovery: we owe him that above all. And without you, moreover, the *Ballets* would never have been able to exist ...

His appreciation of the uniqueness of Stravinsky's gift is deftly expressed in the inscription he added to the copy of Picasso's portrait of himself that he sent to his colleague in 1929:

à Igor Stravinsky,
l'Élu,
avec toute ma
vieille et profonde
affection.²¹²

to Igor Stravinsky,
the Chosen One,
with all my
old and profound
affection.

'L'Élué' ('The Chosen One') is, of course, the title given to the sacrificial virgin in the final part of *The Rite of Spring*. At one level, therefore, Falla's description of Stravinsky himself as 'L'Élu' is merely a humorous allusion. But, at a higher level, the words are extremely meaningful, even carrying messianic overtones: it clearly seemed to Falla that Stravinsky had been 'chosen' for the evangelical task of revealing to the world a new realm of musical expression.

²¹¹ Letter from Falla to Stravinsky, 22 August 1929.

²¹² This portrait is preserved at *CH-Bps*.

This recognition of the historic and universal significance of Stravinsky's music is far more lucidly expressed, perhaps, in the mere title of his 1916 article for *La Tribuna*: 'El gran músico de nuestro tiempo: Igor Stravinsky'. The innovative nature of Stravinsky's art is a central theme of that article, but Falla also emphasises its sincerity:

... la obra de Stravinsky está impregnada de sinceridad, de esa sinceridad valiente y bravía del que dice lo que siente, sin temor a lo que digan los que no piensan o sienten como él.²¹³

... Stravinsky's work is impregnated with sincerity, with that courageous and fierce sincerity that says what it feels, without fear of what those who think and feel differently might say.

Falla had made a similar observation – albeit in a very different way – the previous year, in an interview conducted for *La Patria*:

¿Strawinsky? Un 'anarquista' genial, que será menos anarquista cuanto más tiempo vaya pasando.²¹⁴

Stravinsky? A brilliant 'anarchist', who will be less of an anarchist as time goes by.

Falla is not suggesting that Stravinsky's art will become more conservative in time; rather, he is saying that it will seem less innovative as more and more composers follow in his footsteps – a belief which was, of course, fully justified. All this attests to his certainty, even as early as 1915, that Stravinsky's path was intrinsically 'correct' and led to the future.²¹⁵

The special affection Falla reserved for Stravinsky's music is reflected also in the extensive holdings of it in his library (see § 8.3), and in the annotations which document his detailed study of those scores. Furthermore, Falla's personal closeness to Stravinsky presented ample opportunity for the two men to trade ideas and discoveries; their meetings in the 1910s and 1920s occurred

²¹³ FS (FEs, 27 [FO, 9]).

²¹⁴ Rafael Benedito, 'En Lara: "El Amor Brujo": Hablando con Manuel de Falla', *La Patria* (Madrid), 15 April 1915, page number unknown (cutting preserved at *E-GRmf*, folder 6409).

²¹⁵ '¿Sabe [Madrid] ... desentenderse de los que le digan que el arte de este compositor sirve más para desorientar que para conducir por el camino de la verdad?' ('Does [Madrid] know ... how to disassociate herself from those who say that this composer's art serves more to disorientate than to point the way towards the path of the future?'; FS [FEs, 27 (FO, 9)]).

with a frequency that is unsurpassed in Falla's dealings with his foreign contemporaries (see § 8.2.3).

Given all this, Falla could hardly fail to be influenced by his great friend. The evidence presented in § 8.4 suggests that this influence was direct. Other evidence points to his having been fully aware of it too.

First, there is the unambiguous statement in 'El gran músico de nuestro tiempo', already quoted at the beginning of § 8.4, in relation to Stravinsky's use of folk material and of new sonorities: 'Sigamos nosotros este ejemplo' ('We ourselves follows this example').²¹⁶ Many years later, via Pahissa's biography, Falla explicitly acknowledged Stravinsky's influence. He proof-read and approved the following passage:²¹⁷

... la obra de Stravinsky habrá influído sobre la de Falla, pero solo en el aspecto exterior, en fórmulas determinadas, o los medios de expresión, pero no en el fondo, en la orientación, en las ideas, cosa que sin embargo, puede mejor atribuirse a las corrientes de la época.²¹⁸

... Stravinsky's work may have influenced Falla's, but only in exterior appearance, in certain formulas, or in means of expression, and not in essentials, in orientation, in ideas – something which in any case is more correctly attributed to the trends of the time.

This wording is very careful. Stravinsky's influence is not denied outright, but Falla clearly wished to foster a belief that – in the 'essentials', 'orientation' and 'ideas' of his work at least – he was swept along by contemporary currents, of which Stravinsky's music was but a part. This assessment is undoubtedly true – but the enormous imbalance between his knowledge of Stravinsky's music and of that of his other contemporaries, and the fact that his interest in it extended over such a long period of time, indicates that his understanding of 'the trends of the time' was largely founded on his familiarity with the work of his great Russian contemporary.

²¹⁶ FS (FEs, 30 [FO, 11]).

²¹⁷ His approval of this passage is noted in PVr, 216.

²¹⁸ PV, 191 (my translation; that in PM, 171, is less faithful).

The most incontrovertible evidence that Falla was fully aware of Stravinsky's influence on him – or, at the very least, that he was fully aware of his susceptibility to that influence – is provided by the painter Sergio de Castro. He recalls the following conversation with Falla, which took place over lunch one day in September 1945:

Bref, nous parlions donc du hautbois: sa sonorité, la beauté de ses notes émises très rapidement par tons ou demi-tons; mais aussi, me dit-il, les magnifiques sauts de quinte ou de septième dans le registre moyen ... A ce moment, je l'interrompis: 'Bien sûr, comme par exemple au début de la Fugue instrumentale de la *Symphonie de Psaumes* de Stravinski', et je me mis à le chanter.

En m'écoutant, il faillit s'étrangler, avala de travers, devint tout rouge, et avec des gestes désespérés, me dit: 'Arrêtez! Arrêtez, je vous prie! ...' J'étais effrayé: 'Que se passe-t-il, don Manuel?' Il me raconta alors ceci:

'Souvent, à Paris, nous déjeunions ensemble, Stravinski et moi, sans personne d'autre. C'était chaque fois que Stravinski désirait me soumettre un problème de morale; il tenait à connaître mon avis là-dessus. Fin 1929, en terminant un de ces repas, chacun de nous s'est inquiété de savoir ce que l'autre était en train de composer. Je lui parlais donc des premières ébauches de *Atlántida* qui risquait de devenir une sorte d'Oratorio scénique, pour récitant, solistes, chœur et orchestre, etc. Stravinski me dit qu'il pensait, lui aussi, écrire une œuvre pour chœur et orchestre; une sorte de Symphonie basée sur trois Psaumes de David, etc., car il venait de recevoir une commande de Boston. Alors, nous nous sommes promis – solennellement – de ne jamais écouter une seule note de la partition de l'autre avant d'avoir terminé chacun la sienne. Afin qu'on ne puisse jamais dire que l'un d'entre nous avait copié ou influencé l'autre.'

Et don Manuel se conclure:

'Vous comprendrez, mon cher Sergio, que j'ai dû vous interrompre pour tenir parole.'²¹⁹

So, to cut a long story short, we were talking about the oboe: its sonority, the beauty of its notes produced very rapidly in tones or semitones; but also, he said to me, the magnificent leaps of a fifth or a seventh in the middle register ... At that moment, I interrupted him: 'Of course, like at the beginning of the instrumental Fugue of Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms*, for example,' and I began to sing it.

As he heard me, he began to choke, swallowed the wrong way, went all red, and with desperate gestures said to me: 'Stop! Stop, I beg you! ...' I was afraid: 'What's the matter, Don Manuel?' And he told me the following story:

²¹⁹ Falla, quoted in Sergio de Castro, 'Falla en 1945-1946', in LU, 23.

'Often, in Paris, we ate lunch together, Stravinsky and I, on our own. Each time, Stravinsky liked to set me some moral problem; he valued knowing my opinion about it. At the end of 1929, as we were finishing one of those meals, each of us inquired what the other was in the process of composing. So I told him of the first sketches for *Atlántida*, which was likely to turn out as a sort of scenic Oratorio, for narrator, soloists, choir and orchestra, etc. Stravinsky told me that he too was thinking of writing a work for choir and orchestra; a sort of Symphony based on three Psalms of David, etc., for he had just received a commission from Boston. So we promised one another – solemnly – never to listen to a single note of the other man's score until each of us had finished his own. And that's so that it could never be said that either one of us had copied or influenced the other.'

And Don Manuel finished by saying:

'You will understand, my dear Sergio, that I had to interrupt you in order to keep my word.'

Either Falla's or Castro's memory is faulty here: as has already been observed (§ 8.2.3), the meeting in Paris must have taken place in 1930, not 1929, for Falla did not visit France that year. The account of the meeting itself may not be entirely accurate either: it is doubtful whether Falla entered into such a compact with Stravinsky given that, four years later, he told him of his great desire to hear that very work.²²⁰ In essence, however, Castro's tale is entirely plausible. And even if that story of the covenant with Stravinsky was merely an elaborate deceit on Falla's part, his reasons for avoiding hearing the *Symphony of Psalms* remain the same: he can have been motivated only by an awareness that he might be unable to avoid its influence. (He cannot merely have wished to discourage others from suspecting that *Atlántida* was written under the influence of the *Symphony of Psalms*, for no critic convinced of that would have been believed Falla's protestations that he had never heard the work.) The implications are clear as regards the influence of the thirty or more works by Stravinsky that he did know.

In Paris before the First World War, it was the music of Debussy, Dukas, Ravel and Schmitt that served as the stylistic and aesthetic model to which Falla aspired. During the war, however, it must have seemed to him that Stravinsky's example represented the ideal way forward for his own musically-impoverished and conservative nation. This was largely due to the obvious adaptability, for composers working in Spain, of two elements in

²²⁰ Letter from Falla to Stravinsky, 1 January 1934.

Stravinsky's music: the innovative use of folk material, and the tendency towards the use of small instrumental ensembles (in Spain, symphony orchestras capable of playing modern music were few and far between).

This, of course, is precisely the point that Falla makes in 'El gran músico de nuestro tiempo'. It was just six months later that he wrote out his list of the most important elements of modern music in 'Introducción a la música nueva'.²²¹ In the order of the eleven contemporary composers whom he names in that article, Stravinsky is given pride of place, at the furthest end of a continuum stemming from Debussy. This is significant, for while each of the elements Falla lists is common to the work of various of these eleven composers, Stravinsky is the only one who used them all. Indeed, the passage as a whole reads like a description of the musical language of *The Rite of Spring*. An excerpt will suffice (the entire passage is reproduced in § 1.1):

... una aspiración ... de producir la más intensa emoción por medio de nuevas formas melódicas y modales; de nuevas combinaciones sonoras armónicas y contrapuntísticas, de ritmos obsesionantes que obedecen al espíritu primitivo de la música ...²²²

... an aspiration ... to produce the most intense emotion by means of new melodic and modal forms; of new harmonic and contrapuntal sound combinations; of obsessive rhythms emanating from the primitive spirit of the music ...

Significantly, it is Falla's own use of those very elements that sets his music apart from that of his compatriots. No-one was more qualified to recognise that fact than Stravinsky himself. Perhaps he detected the influence of his own work on *Master Peter's Puppet Show* and *Concerto* when he said that

In my opinion these two works give proof of the incontestable progress in the development of his great talent. He has, in them, deliberately emancipated himself from the folklorist influence under which he was in danger of stultifying himself.²²³

221 FI (FEs, 41-2 [FO, 20-1]).

222 FI (FEs, 41-2 [FO, 21]).

223 Stravinsky, *An Autobiography*, 133.

9 COMPOSERS OF OTHER NATIONALITIES

9.1 EASTERN EUROPEAN COMPOSERS

9.1.1 Introduction

Stravinsky was the only composer born east of Germany whom Falla counted among his close friends and associates. There is evidence, however, that he also met Kodály, Bartók and Szymanowski, and a small amount of correspondence survives between Falla and the first two.¹ It is unlikely, though, that these were the only eastern European composers of his generation whom he met – especially given the amount of time he spent in Paris – and others he may have encountered include George Enescu,² Bohuslav Martinů,³ and even Alexander Skryabin.⁴

¹ There is also some surviving correspondence between Falla and Prokofiev, though this last composer is excluded from the present study on account of his date of birth (23 April 1891). He wrote to Falla from Paris on 15 February 1934 requesting scores of his latest works for the library of the Moscow Composers' Union; he notes that Falla's music was very popular in Russia, but that Russian composers were unable to purchase copies of it 'car le transfert de la monnaie à l'étranger est strictement interdit' ('because the transfer of money to other countries is strictly forbidden') (letter preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7449). Falla seems not to have replied directly to Prokofiev, though he did arrange for him to receive some of his works direct from the houses of Chester to Eschig (draft of letters from María del Carmen de Falla to Harry Kling and to Eugène Cools, 2 March 1934, preserved at same location). Prokofiev thanked him for them on 1 April (letter preserved at same location).

² Enescu was a close friend of Casella in Paris before World War I (Alfredo Casella, *Music in my Time* [Norman, 1955], 80).

³ Martinů lived in Paris between 1923 and 1940; at the beginning of this period, he took composition lessons with Roussel (Brian Large, 'Martinů, Bohuslav', in *NG*, xi, 732).

⁴ Skryabin lived in Brussels during much of the period of Falla's residence in Paris (Hugh Macdonald, 'Skryabin, Alexander', in *NG*, xvii, 371); Falla visited Brussels twice around this time, and Skryabin probably made occasional visits to the French capital (where he had lived for several years previously).

Falla's knowledge and experience of the work of his Central and Eastern European contemporaries was very limited (except, of course, for that of Stravinsky). He owned a very small amount of printed music by Kodály, Bartók, Szymanowski, Enescu, Martinů, Rakhmaninov, Arensky, Glazunov, Glier and Grechaninov;⁵ he also probably heard performances of works by most of these composers, and he even accompanied a Grechaninov song himself.⁶ His guide to the work of these Russian composers seems to have been the American composer Kurt Schindler, whose editions of their songs and choral music were probably gifts to Falla. Among them are copies of the second and third movements of Rakhmaninov's *All-Night Vigil*, in 'private editions' prepared for the Schola Cantorum of New York. Falla annotated both of these: his markings in the second movement draw attention to Rakhmaninov's use of the interval of the seventh and of consecutive fifths and octaves, while his markings in the third movement highlight its unusual periodic structure.

⁵ Scores of works by Kodály, Bartók and Szymanowski in Falla's library are listed in Appendices 9.A.b, 9.B.b and 9.C.a respectively. He owned the following works by the other composers listed above:

Enescu: untitled piano piece on the name of Fauré (included in the supplement to *La Revue musicale*, iii, 11 [1 October 1922], pp. 11-13) (*E-GRmf*, inventory number 5875); *Deuxième Fantaisie* for piano (supplement to *Le Monde musical*, xlvi, 2 [28 February 1935]) (*E-GRmf*, 7861).

Martinů: *Trois Danses tchèques*, 'Okrocák' (supplement to *Le Monde musical*, xl, 12 [31 December 1929]) (*E-GRmf*, 7861); *Borová* (supplement to *Le Monde musical*, lxii, 11 [30 November 1931]) (*E-GRmf*, 7861).

Rakhmaninov: *All-Night Vigil*, second and third movements (private editions of Schola Cantorum of New York, 1919) (*E-GRmf*, inventory numbers 727 and 728 respectively); English translations of songs op. 4 nos. 2 and 5, op. 21 nos. 5 and 7, and op. 26 no. 10 included in *A Century of Russian Song*, collected and edited by Kurt Schindler (New York: Schirmer, 1911), pp. 223-39 (*E-GRmf*, 995); English translations of songs op. 4 nos. 3 and 4, op. 8 no. 4, op. 14 nos. 2 and 9, and op. 26 nos. 2 and 6 included in *Masters of Russian Song*, ii, collected and edited by Schindler (New York: Schirmer, 1917), pp. 82-105 (*E-GRmf*, 991).

Arensky: English translation of 'Pesn' ribki' (*Six Romances*, op. 27 no. 1) included in *A Century of Russian Song*, pp. 212-19.

Glazunov: English translation of 'Nerejeid' (*Six Songs*, op. 60 no. 3) included in *A Century of Russian Song*, pp. 220-2.

Glier: String quartet, op. 2 (Leipzig: Belaieff, 1902) (*E-GRmf*, 806).

Grechaninov: *Liturgy of St John Chrysotom*, op. 29: 'Kheruvimskaya Pièsn' (n.p. [private edition of Schola Cantorum of New York], n.d.) (*E-GRmf*, 808); *Detskiy al'bom*, op. 98 (Leipzig: Anton J. Benjamin, 1925) (*E-GRmf*, 809); *Album de Nina*, op. 141: 'Rêve d'enfant' (supplement to *Le Monde musical*, xlvi, 5 [31 May 1936]) (*E-GRmf*, 7861); English translations of songs op. 1 nos. 2, 4 and 5, and op. 5 no. 1, included in *Masters of Russian Song*, ii, pp. 72-81.

⁶ A song by this composer entitled 'La Steppe' was performed by Aga Lahowska and Falla at the Residencia de Estudiantes in Madrid on 4 December 1917 (programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FN 1917-015).

9.1.2 Kodály

There is evidence of only one meeting between Falla and Kodály. This was during the 1926 ISCM festival in Zurich, when Kodály presented Falla with a signed copy of the first volume of *Magyar népzene* ('Five Székely Ballads and Songs from Transylvania'). The dedication is dated 22 June 1926, two days after staged performances of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* and three days after the second of two performances of Kodály's *Psalmus hungaricus* (for which Falla owned a separate programme in addition to the one covering the entire festival).⁷ Falla also owned a vocal and a miniature orchestral score of *Psalmus hungaricus*, and it is likely that these too were given to him by the composer (though neither score is autographed).

Kodály had directly expressed his esteem for Falla two years earlier. On 15 August 1924 he sent him a postcard from the ISCM chamber music festival in Salzburg, jointly with his fellow composers Karel Boleslav Jirák, Václav Štěpán and Egon Wellesz (and with Edward J. Dent and J. B. Trend) (Figure 9.1.2.i). The dedication – 'al gran maestro del Occidente; En admiración' ('to the great master of the West; In admiration') – is in Trend's hand, though the other signatures are spaced in such a way as to suggest that the card was conceived as a collaborative effort on the part of all of them. Kodály's name heads the list.

Falla's awareness of and identification with Kodály's music is revealed in 'Introducción a la música nueva', where he is named as one of those composers sharing 'una aspiración unánime' ('a unanimous aspiration')⁸ that is clearly Falla's own. When he wrote that article in 1916, his knowledge of

Full citations for items of correspondence between Falla and Kodály, printed music by Kodály in Falla's library, and performances of works by Kodály attended by Falla may be found in Appendices 9.A.a, 9.A.b and 9.A.c respectively.

⁷ Programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1926-014 to 017, NFE 1926-003 and NFE 1926-014 to 017.

⁸ FI (FEs, 41 [FO, 21]).

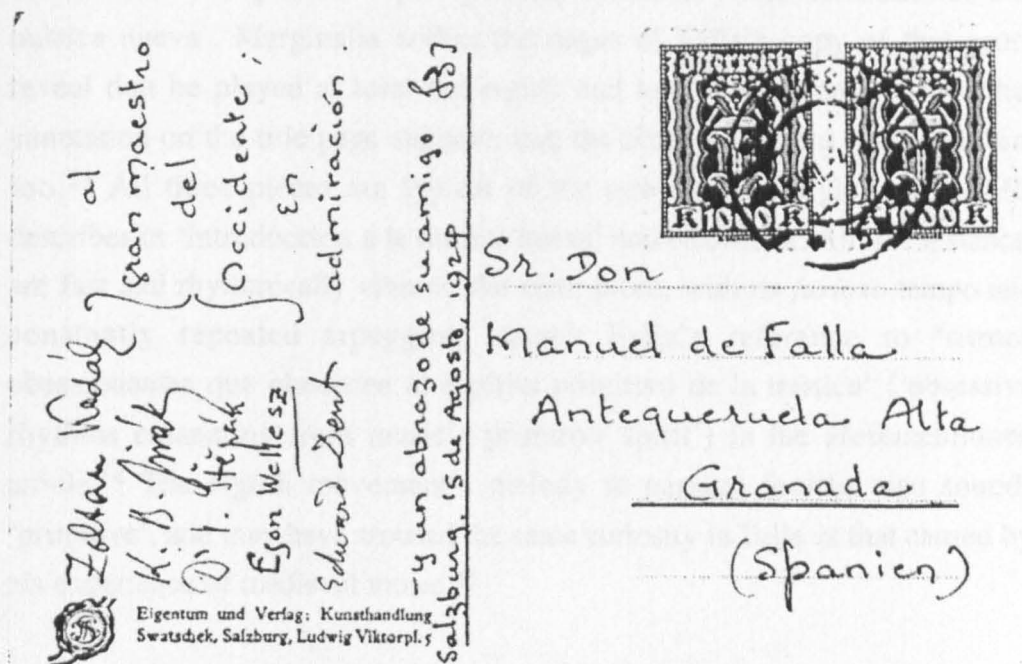


Figure 9.1.2.i

Postcard sent to Falla from Salzburg on 15 September 1924 by Zoltán Kodály, Karel Boleslav Jiráček, Václav Štěpán, Egon Wellesz, Edward J. Dent and J. B. Trend (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7696).

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Kodály's work was probably limited to instrumental and chamber pieces. The Cello Sonata, op. 4, was performed at an SMI concert on 3 May 1913,⁹ while six piano pieces were played by Théodore Szántó at the very first concert of that society (20 April 1910), at which Falla was almost certainly present.¹⁰

It is probable that at least three of those pieces were taken from the set of ten piano pieces published the same year under the title *Zongoramuzsika* (op. 3).¹¹

⁹ Michel Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale et ses sociétés à Paris de 1871 à 1939* (Sprimont, 1997), 308.

¹⁰ Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale*, 305. Falla's attendance is hinted at in PM, 75.

¹¹ The first of these pieces, 'Valsette', was omitted from later editions of this work. Three of the movements in *Zongoramuzsika* have identical (or near-identical) tempo markings to pieces

Falla later acquired a copy of these pieces in Madrid (his copy is stamped by Union Musical Española) – quite possibly before he wrote ‘Introducción a la música nueva’. Marginalia within the pages of Falla’s copy of that score reveal that he played at least the eighth and tenth movements;¹² a further annotation on the title page suggests that the sixth movement interested him too.¹³ All three pieces are typical of the new musical style which Falla describes in ‘Introducción a la música nueva’ and elsewhere. All, for instance, are fast and rhythmically vibrant; the sixth piece, with its *furioso* tempo and constantly repeated arpeggios, recalls Falla’s reference to ‘ritmos obsesionantes que obedecen al espíritu primitivo de la música’ (‘obsessive rhythms emanating from music’s primitive spirit’) in the aforementioned article.¹⁴ The eighth movement’s melody in parallel fourths also sounds ‘primitive’, and may have aroused the same curiosity in Falla as that caused by his experience of medieval music.¹⁵

All of the pieces in this collection are clearly inspired by Hungarian popular music, traces of which may be found throughout the set in the ever-present folksong-like melodies with limited spans, in the distinctive rhythmic patterns (notably the absence of upbeats, reflecting the first-syllable stress of the Hungarian language), and in the sustained harmonies reminiscent of the drone instruments of Hungarian folk music.¹⁶ The idiom is nevertheless distinctly modern, with much chromaticism in both the melodies and the harmonies. Parallels with Falla’s own technique are clear: Kodály is an archetypal

played at the SMI concert. These are no. 3 (*Andante poco rubato*), no. 5 (*Allegretto scherzando*) (*Allegretto scherzoso* in the SMI programme) and no. 7 (*Moderato triste*). There are further pieces in this collection with very similar tempo markings to others listed in the SMI programme; the seventh, for instance, is marked *Allegro giocoso*, while one of the pieces played by Szántó is marked *Allegretto giocoso*.

¹² These annotations consist of a phrase mark on page 20 (movement 8, bars 3-4) and two accent marks on page 25 (movement 10, bar 1).

¹³ This annotation reads ‘VI - VIII - X’.

¹⁴ FI (FEs, 42 [FO, 21]).

¹⁵ PM, 89-90 and 115.

¹⁶ Some of these elements of traditional Hungarian music are commented on Bálint Sárosi, ‘Hungary, §II: Folk music’, in NG, viii, 803-11.

.....

practitioner of Falla's later dictum that 'Les éléments essentiels de la musique, les sources d'inspiration sont dans les nations, les peuples' ('The essential elements of music, the sources of inspiration, are in nations, peoples').¹⁷

¹⁷ Anon., 'Un entretien avec le compositeur espagnol Manuel de Falla', *Excelsior*, 31 May 1925, page number unknown [FES, 119; FO, 71].

9.1.3 Bartók

Bartók is another composer whose name Falla included in the list of those sharing the same 'aspiración unánime' ('unanimous aspiration') in 'Introducción a la música nueva'.¹⁸ When he wrote that article, he probably knew even less of Bartók's music than of Kodály's.¹⁹ He may have heard some of it in Paris before the war: Halsey Stevens notes that the *First String Quartet* was heard in Paris in 1911,²⁰ and it is known that M. D. Calvocoressi lectured on Bartók's music at the *École des Hautes Études Sociales* between 1905 and 1914.²¹

The only Bartók score in his library is that of the *Ten Easy Pieces* (op. 51). He acquired it in Madrid after his return from Paris, most probably around the same time that he acquired Kodály's *Zongoramuzsika*.²² It is clear from the interpretative annotations pencilled into this score that Falla played at least three of the pieces, though there is no evidence that he ever did so in public. The pieces in question are the first ('Paraszti nóta' ['Peasant's song']), the ninth ('Ujjgyakorlat' ['Finger exercise']) and the tenth ('Medvetánc' ['Bear dance']). It is easy to see why he was interested in the first and last of these movements. 'Paraszti nóta' is striking for its monodic folk-like melody, played in bare octaves. An annotation on the cover of the score ('X - 2a?') reveals his interest in the continuous semitone clashes in the harmony throughout

Full citations for items of correspondence between Falla and Bartók, and printed music by Bartók in Falla's library, may be found in Appendices 9.B.a and 9.B.b respectively.

¹⁸ FI (FEs, 41 [FO, 21]).

¹⁹ Curiously, Bartók's name appears in no programmes for concerts that Falla may plausibly have attended preserved at *E-GRmf*.

²⁰ Halsey Stevens (revised by Malcolm Gillies), *The Life and Music of Béla Bartók* (Oxford, 1993), 46. This performance did not take place at the SMI, however.

²¹ M. D. Calvocoressi, *A Survey of Russian Music* (Harmondsworth, 1944), p. ii. He also lectured on Kodály's music.

²² The score of the *Ten Easy Pieces* – like that of *Zongoramuzsika* – is stamped by Union Musical Española.

'Medvetánc';²³ in bar 25, Falla added a natural sign to one of the chords in the left hand, clarifying the dissonance.²⁴ Similar clashes are prevalent in *Fantasia bætica* (Example 9.1.3.i).



Bartók, *Ten Easy Pieces*, op. 51, 'Medvetánc', bars 21-2.
(Note the clashes between a \flat and a,.)



Falla, *Fantasia bætica*, bars 11-12. (Note the clashes between g \sharp /g \natural and g \sharp .)

Example 9.1.3.i

The most curious of his annotations to Bartók's *Ten Easy Pieces* are found on the first page of the ninth movement.²⁵ At the top of this page, Falla has written out a four-note figure (see Example 9.1.3.ii (a)) whose rhythm and melodic contour are plainly derived from the main theme of the work, with halved note values and altered pitches; the most closely related passage in the Bartók is found in bars 29-30 (Example 9.1.3.ii (b)).

On the same page, Falla has written out a five-note chord in two different transpositions (one in the treble clef, the other in the bass clef). The chords are

²³ The intentionality of these semitone clashes is spelled out in an introductory note on page 3 of Falla's copy of the score. However, there are no annotations on this page.

²⁴ Page 14 of the score.

²⁵ Page 12 of the score.



- (a) Annotations on page 12 of Falla's copy of Bartók's *Ten Easy Pieces*, op. 51 (*E-GRmf*, inventory number 821).



- (b) Bartók, *Ten Easy Pieces*, op. 39, 'Ujjgyakorlat', bars 29-30.



- (c) *Ibid.*, bars 1-2.

Example 9.1.3.ii

more difficult to explain than the melodic figure, for at no point in the piece are these five pitches actually sounded together. They do feature in the two-bar accompanimental ostinato figure, however, and if Falla were to have held down the pedal, releasing it only once every other bar, then his ear may well have picked out this combination of pitches. Significantly, the notes in the bass-clef chord are first sounded in the left hand in bars 29-30, where the right-hand melody comes closest to the figure notated in Falla's other annotation on the page (Example 9.1.3.ii (b)). The treble-clef version of the chord may have been suggested by the very first two bars of the piece (Example 9.1.3.ii (c)).

The chord in question – a D major triad with the addition of C \sharp and G \sharp ‘appoggiaturas’ – is remarkably similar to various ones that Falla sketched in notes he made during the 1920s, not least in the ‘Superposiciones’ document and the ‘Retablo Notebook’.²⁶ Chords spread over three pages of the latter document include the following combinations of pitches (among others) – ²⁷



– and the following description of the procedure by which they were generated:

Notas vecinas conjuntas (apogaturas) a un semitono o a un tono de distancia de las notas reales del acorde perfecto o simplemente de una 5a justa.²⁸

Joined neighbour-notes (appoggiaturas) at the distance of a semitone or a tone from the real notes of a common chord or of a simple perfect fifth.

Most of these chords are mere theoretical experiments, but also included in these pages are four similar (though less spicy) combinations of pitches taken from his own works (namely *El amor brujo* and *Homenaje (Pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy)*). At least part of Falla’s purpose in undertaking this exercise, therefore, was to attempt to establish a theoretical rationale for his own harmonic practice. It may be that the chords jotted on this page of Bartók’s *Ten Easy Pieces* bear witness to Falla’s attempts to justify the musical language of his Hungarian contemporary in the same way.

* * *

²⁶ See Chris Collins, ‘Manuel de Falla, *L’Acoustique nouvelle* and natural resonance: a myth exposed’, forthcoming in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, cxviii, 1 (May 2003).

²⁷ E-GRmf, unclassified document (the ‘Retablo Notebook’), ff. 26-8.

²⁸ ‘Retablo Notebook’, ff. 26.

In 1931, a brief exchange of letters took place between Falla and Bartók concerning the latter's tour of northern Spain and Portugal in January and February of that year.²⁹ This correspondence brings to a close a complex chain of events, details of which may be inferred from the letters themselves.

Bartók's tour was organised by César Figuerido, the San Sebastián-based impresario who had organised Ravel's tour of Spain in 1928 (see § 4.2.6)³⁰ and Casella's in 1930 (§ 7.2.1),³¹ both of which involved concerts in Granada. The Ravel concert had been organised by the Centro Artístico de Granada; by 1930, however, that organisation had disbanded, and the Casella concert had to be organised and financed entirely by Falla's friends in the city. Figuerido clearly hoped that Bartók's tour of Spain could include a concert in Granada on the same terms as Casella's: indeed, it seems that he told Bartók that such an engagement was certain. Figuerido must have written to Falla, suggesting a date; Falla (or one of his friends) replied, explaining that he was ill, and requesting that the date be put back.³² Shortly afterwards, the Asociación de Cultura Musical (with which Falla had little involvement) announced a different concert for the same date, and so Falla or his representative telegraphed Figuerido again, informing him of the necessity of postponing Bartók's concert. According to Falla, 'Cela a été accepté, et plus tard refusé par M. Figuerido, que dès ce moment a employé des termes seulement justifiés entre "empresarios" et gens d'affaires' ('M. Figuerido accepted this, then later

²⁹ Bartók gave concerts in San Sebastián on 19 January, in Lisbon on 24 January, in Oviedo on 3 February, and in Barcelona on 7 February (D. Dille [ed.], *Documenta Bartókiana*, iii [Budapest, 1968], 160, n. 4).

³⁰ Letters: from Falla to Figuerido, 4 and 11 November 1928, carbon copies preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6984; from Figuerido to Falla, undated [November 1928], original in same location; from Figuerido to Fernando de los Ríos, 12 November 1928, same location; from Madeleine Grey to Falla, 13 November 1928, *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7476.

³¹ Letters: from Figuerido to Falla, 6 September 1929, 9 October 1929, and undated [between 14 October and 11 November 1929], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6984; from Falla to Figuerido, 3 and 14 October 1929, 11 November 1929, and 6 December 1929, carbon copies at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6894; Casella to Falla, 5 August 1929 and 30 August [1929] (see Appendix 7.A.a); Falla to Casella, 4 October [1929] (see Appendix 7.A.a).

³² In Falla's letter to Bartók of 22 February 1931 (the source of this information), he repeatedly uses the pronoun 'nous' ('we/us') in relation to his activity in this affair.

refused it; at which point he used language acceptable only between “impresarios” and businessmen’).³³ The concert was accordingly cancelled.

It is at this point that the direct correspondence between Bartók and Falla takes over. On 22 January 1931, and in spite of his ill health, Falla telegraphed Bartók via Figuerido in San Sebastián, expressing his disappointment at the cancellation of the concert, and extending a personal invitation to Granada.³⁴ Bartók telegraphed a reply to Falla, at Figuerido’s behest, explaining that a change of date was impossible. (Since this telegram is lost, it cannot be proved to be subsequent to Falla’s telegram of 22 January, though the correspondence as a whole suggests that it was.)³⁵

Bartók wrote a detailed letter of explanation to Falla on 8 February, the day of his departure from Spain. In it, he expresses his hope that Falla’s health is improved, and he declares his disappointment at having been unable to visit him. It is annoyance rather than disappointment that is most clearly manifested in this letter, however – annoyance directed towards Figuerido. Bartók describes the tour as ‘si mal organisée’ (‘so badly organised’), and is at pains to clarify that it was Figuerido – not he himself – who insisted on an indemnity, and who insisted that he should send a personal telegram to Falla. (In fact, the question of paying an indemnity cannot have been a deciding factor, for it had never been the desire of Falla and his friends to cancel the concert, but merely to postpone it.) Falla replied on 22 February, explaining the full – and honourable – circumstances of the affair. Incidentally, Falla seems to have had no further dealings with Figuerido after this episode.

Evident in the correspondence relating to this affair is the very great respect that these two men had for one another, and for one another’s work. Bartók

³³ Letter from Falla to Bartók, 22 February 1931.

³⁴ Telegram from Falla to Bartók, 22 January 1931. It should be noted that Bartók would have had plenty of time between his concerts in Lisbon (24 January) and Oviedo (3 February) to visit Falla in Granada. It is unclear why he did not, but it is a very real possibility that the telegram was delayed, or that Figuerido did not immediately pass it on to Bartók. It is clear from Bartók’s comments in his letter of 8 February that he did receive it eventually, however.

³⁵ This telegram is described as [between 22 January and 18 February 1931] in Appendix 9.B.a.

notes that the engagement in Granada and the possibility of meeting Falla were among his main reasons for undertaking the tour, and his waiving of an indemnity proves that his wish to see Falla outweighed any desire for material gain.³⁶ Falla's reciprocation of his esteem is most apparent in the fact that he went to the trouble of writing at all; in the postscript to his letter, he notes: 'cette lettre est presque la seule que j'ai écrite depuis la maladie dont je suis encore convalescent...' ('this letter is almost the only one I've written since the illness from which I'm still recovering').³⁷ Equally telling is his offer to take personal charge of arranging – '*sans intermédiaires*' ('without intermediaries'; emphasis original) – a future concert engagement for Bartók in Granada. This seems to be the only occasion on which he made such a generous offer.

There is one important difference in their attitudes towards one another, however, and this is manifested most conspicuously in their terms of address. Bartók opens his letter 'Cher Monsieur', but he later addresses Falla as 'Cher Maître'. Falla's reply begins 'Cher Monsieur et Confrère', and the latter term is used again towards the end of the letter. Falla always chose his words carefully (this is apparent from the deletions and alterations visible in the surviving drafts of many of his letters), and so it is reasonable to attach some significance to this difference. Bartók was not a composer whose music Falla played in public – yet, in direct contrast, Falla's work figured prominently in Bartók's repertoire.³⁸ It is understandable, therefore, that Bartók perceived his Spanish contemporary as a 'master', while Falla felt able to recognise Bartók only as a 'colleague' – a term of address which is, after all, hardly uncomplimentary.

Interestingly, Falla's letter reveals that they had met on an earlier occasion:

³⁶ Letter from Bartók to Falla, 8 February 1931.

³⁷ Letter from Falla to Bartók, 22 February 1931. Indeed, this is the only letter written by Falla (and not by María del Carmen) that month of which I am aware.

³⁸ János Demény notes that Bartók played *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* in Budapest on 26 and 27 October 1924 ('The Pianist', in Malcolm Gillies [ed.], *The Bartók Companion* [London, 1993], 71).

... inutile de vous dire avec quelle impatience j'attendais le moment de vous revoir ici et de pouvoir admirer de près – et encore une fois – votre musique.³⁹

... I don't have to tell you how eagerly I awaited the moment of seeing you here again and of being able to admire your music at close quarters – and once more.

It is highly probable that they met in Barcelona in March 1927. Bartók arrived in the city on 23 March;⁴⁰ the next day, he took part in a performance of his *Rhapsody for piano and orchestra*, op. 1, at the Gran Teatre del Liceu.⁴¹ Falla conducted concerts of his own music in Barcelona on 17 and 20 March,⁴² and was still there on the evening of the twenty-fourth, when he visited the graves of Pedrell and Albéniz, and took part in a tribute to Granados.⁴³ It is not known if he subsequently attended Bartók's concert.

There is no reason to conclude that this was their only meeting, however. They may have been introduced to one another as early as 1906, when Bartók made his first trip to Spain.⁴⁴ It is also possible that they met in Paris – perhaps during Bartók's visit in December 1909,⁴⁵ but more probably during the 1920s.⁴⁶

³⁹ Letter from Falla to Bartók, 22 February 1931. Incidentally, the draft version of this letter preserved at *E-GRmf* has 'voir' for 'revoir'.

⁴⁰ Letter from Bartók to Antal Fleischer, 12 March 1927, transcribed in János Demény (ed.), *Béla Bartók Letters* (London, 1971), 183.

⁴¹ Bartók played the piano in that performance; he was accompanied by the Orquestra Pau Casals under the direction of Antal Fleischer (information conflated from Demény [ed.], *Béla Bartók Letters*, 405, and from programmes preserved at *E-GRmf* [FN 1927-003 to 007]).

⁴² Programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FN 1927-008 to 019.

⁴³ This information from cuttings from *El Sol* (Madrid), 24 March 1927, and *El Día Gráfico* (Barcelona), 25 March 1927 (both preserved at *E-GRmf*, press cuttings folder 6415).

⁴⁴ He accompanied the violinist Ferenc Vecsey in a Madrid concert (Stevens, *The Life and Music of Béla Bartók*, 34-5; Paul Griffiths, *Bartók* [London, 1984], 37).

⁴⁵ Stevens, *The Life and Music of Béla Bartók*, 45; Griffiths, *Bartók*, 52.

⁴⁶ They did not, as D. Dille claims, meet at Bartók's concert in Paris on 8 April 1922, however (*Documenta Bartókiana*, iii, 160, n. 5); Falla was in Spain at the time. Henry Cowell claimed that Bartók arranged for him to play for Falla in Paris, some time after December 1923 (Erik Chisholm quoted in Malcolm Gillies [ed.], *Bartók Remembered* [London, 1990], 118; Stevens, *The Life and Music of Béla Bartók*, 67). This audition cannot have taken place before May 1925 (for this was when Falla was next in Paris), and it may not have taken place at all.

9.1.4 Szymanowski

It is conceivable that Falla encountered Karol Szymanowski on the occasion of that composer's first visit to Paris, around May 1914.⁴⁷ They may also have met in 1921, when both composers were next in Paris at the same time. Szymanowski was present at a reunion of musicians – ostensibly in Falla's honour – held at the home of Henry Prunières on 8 May that year; Falla himself, however, failed to reach Paris in time to be there.⁴⁸

The first documented meeting between Falla and Szymanowski took place on 13 June 1923, when both composers participated in a concert at the Vieux Colombier in Paris, organised by *La Revue musicale* and devoted entirely to their works. The programme comprised Szymanowski's *Violin Sonata*, *Mythes*, the three *Masques* for piano, *Three Lullabies* and the *Four Songs* to texts by Rabindranathe Tagore, in addition to Falla's *Seven Popular Spanish Songs*, *Fantasia bætica*, and dances from *El amor brujo*.⁴⁹

The violinist at this concert was Szymanowski's compatriot Pawel Kochanski, whose 1907 concert in Bilbao, with Falla as accompanist, had indirectly prompted the latter's departure for Paris later that year.⁵⁰ When, in 1924,

Full citations for printed music by Szymanowski in Falla's library, and performances of works by Szymanowski attended by Falla, may be found in Appendices 9.C.a and 9.C.b respectively.

⁴⁷ Alistair Wightman, *Karol Szymanowski: His Life and Work* (Aldershot, 1999), 124. Two of Szymanowski's letters, sent from Paris on 28 May 1914, are transcribed in *ibid.*, 130.

⁴⁸ Letters from Henry Prunières (who organised this reunion) to Falla, 3 May [1921] and 9 May 1921, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453.

⁴⁹ Szymanowski and Falla played the piano in their own works, with the exception of *Masques*, played by Horszchowski. The violinist was Pawel Kochanski and the singer was Marya Freund. Details of this concert conflated from an advertisement in *La Revue musicale*, iv, 8 (1 June 1923), i, and from a review by Henry Prunières in *loc. cit.*, iv, 10 (1 August 1923), 75-6. The concert is also mentioned in Wightman, *Karol Szymanowski*, 264.

⁵⁰ PM, 38-9. Federico Sopeña gives the date of this concert as 11 January 1907 (SV, 46 and 55), but this does not square with Pahissa's account, which indicates that this concert took place at a subsequent date to the Madrid concert in which Falla played Debussy's *Danses sacrée et profane* (4 February 1907; programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FN 1907-001 & 002).

Kochanski arranged six of Falla's *Seven Popular Spanish Songs* for violin and piano (under the title *Suite populaire espagnole*), he wrote to tell him of the favourable reaction of two mutual acquaintances: 'Arthur Rubinstein et Szymanowski sont absolument fous d'enthousiasme' ('Artur Rubinstein and Szymanowski are absolutely wild with enthusiasm').⁵¹ In his reply, Falla requested: 'Si vous voyez Arthur R.[ubinstein] et Szymanowski je vous prie de leur transmettre toutes mes amitiés' ('If you see Artur R.[ubinstein] and Szymanowski, would you be so kind as to pass on my regards?').⁵²

Falla knew much more music by Szymanowski than by his Hungarian contemporaries. He owned a score of *Mythes*, and his library contained four further pieces published as supplements to *La Revue musicale*, including two of the *Three Lullabies* performed in the concert at Le Vieux Colombier. In addition to the works played on that occasion, he heard a number of others, including excerpts from *King Roger* (Paris, 1930) and from the *Stabat Mater* (Majorca, 1934). Unfortunately, he left no clue as to the opinion of the work of his Polish contemporary: there are no annotations in any of these scores, and Szymanowski's name appears in none of his published writings or in any of the official biographies.

(It is possible that Sopeña is confusing the Bilbao date with that of a further concert given by Falla in Madrid on 11 April 1907.)

⁵¹ Letter from Kochanski to Falla, 31 July 1924, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7152.

⁵² Letter from Falla to Kochanski, 15 August 1924, draft preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7152.

9.2 BRITISH COMPOSERS:

ALBERT COATES, LEIGH HENRY, HOLST AND VAUGHAN WILLIAMS

Given Falla's close links with the United Kingdom – his four trips to London, his representation by a British publishing house (Chester), the popularity of his music with the British public,⁵³ and the close friendship he enjoyed with one Englishman in particular (J. B. Trend) – it is surprising that he had such little contact with composers of that nationality. He corresponded with only four British composers, two of whom – Eugène Goossens and Ursula Greville (the latter better known as an eminent soprano and as editor of *The Sackbut*)⁵⁴ – fall outside the scope of the present investigation on account of their dates of birth.⁵⁵ The third was Albert Coates (1882-1953), who wrote to Falla in 1919,

Full citations for the following items discussed in this section may be found in the appendices listed below:

Correspondence between Falla and Albert Coates Appendix 9.D
 Correspondence between Falla and Leigh Henry Appendix 9.E.a
 Performances of works by Leigh Henry attended by Falla Appendix 9.E.b
 Printed music by Vaughan Williams in Falla's library Appendix 9.F
 Printed music by Holst in Falla's library Appendix 9.G

⁵³ See T, 65-6 and 175.

⁵⁴ Seven items of correspondence between Goossens and Falla survive at *E-GRmf* (correspondence folder 7067), in addition to two signed photographs of Goossens, dated June 1919 and May 1921 (photographs 8/116 and 8/113 respectively). Preserved at the same location are six items of correspondence between Falla and Greville (correspondence folder 7083). Falla also met – and was photographed – with both (*E-GRmf*, photographs 7/30, 7/31, 7/34 and 7/35 [Goossens], and 6/48 [Greville; see below for further discussion of this photograph]).

⁵⁵ Goossens was born in 1893. Greville's birthdate is not known, though according to Peter Warlock she was described by the *Daily Mirror* as 'editress at seventeen – London's youngest girl editor' when she took over from him as editor of *The Sackbut* in 1921 (letter from Warlock to Colin Taylor, 17 October 1921, cited in Barry Smith, *Peter Warlock: The Life of Philip Heseltine* [Oxford, 1994], 185); even if the *Mirror* (or Warlock) were exaggerating, it is unlikely that she was born before 1890. Though they did not exchange letters, it is probable that Falla also met William Walton (born 1902) at the 1928 ISCM Festival in Siena, where the latter conducted a performance of *Façade* (14 September, Teatro della Real Academia dei Rozzi; programme preserved at *E-GRmf* [FE 1928-025]). The scores of the *Façade* suite, *Portsmouth Point* and *Siesta* in Falla's archive were probably presented to him by Walton on that occasion (*E-GRmf*, inventory numbers 663, 664 and 665 respectively); all three scores were published in 1927 or 1928, and are stamped 'complimentary copy'. He seems also to have met Arthur Bliss (born 1891), probably at the home of Leigh Henry in London on 2 June 1921 (see below). In a letter to Falla dated 7 July 1928, J. B. Trend mentioned that he and Bliss had together attended a Ballets Russes performance of *The Three-Cornered Hat* the

enquiring (as conductor rather than composer) about his published works for orchestra. Falla's reply does not survive, though its contents may be easily surmised: at that time, all of his orchestral works remained in manuscript. There is no evidence that he knew any of Coates's compositions.

The fourth British composer with whom Falla corresponded only just meets the birthdate criterion. He was Leigh Henry (1889-1958), better known as a music critic and chiefly remembered as editor of the short-lived but celebrated magazine *Fanfare*. (He was also a conductor.)

Falla and Henry became acquainted when Falla was staying in London in May and June 1921. Their first meeting may well have taken place on 2 June, when Henry invited Falla to lunch at his home in Belsize Park;⁵⁶ also invited were Ernest Ansermet and Arthur Bliss. The immediate fruit of that meeting was Henry's two-part article on Falla for *Musical Opinion*,⁵⁷ in which is mentioned an impromptu private performance by Falla of the then-unpublished *Fantasia bætica*.⁵⁸

A few weeks later, Henry wrote to Falla in Granada to invite him to contribute a 'Fanfare pour une fête' for the newly-founded *Fanfare*.⁵⁹ Falla accepted both the commission and Henry's suggested title,⁶⁰ and his work appeared in the first issue of the magazine, dated 1 October 1921.⁶¹

previous evening, and had talked about Falla (letter preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7696/2). In his reply, dated 12 July 1928, Falla requested: 'Cuando vea usted a Bliss no deje de darle mis mejores recuerdos' ('When you see Bliss, don't forget to pass on to him my best regards') (original preserved at *E-GRu*; photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7698).

⁵⁶ Letter from Henry to Falla, 1 June 1921.

⁵⁷ Leigh Henry, 'Contemporaries: Manuel de Falla', *Musical Opinion*, xliv, 526 (July 1921), 847-8; xliv, 527 (August 1921), 929-30.

⁵⁸ *Musical Opinion*, xliv, 527 (August 1921), 930.

⁵⁹ Letter from Henry to Falla, 27 July 1921.

⁶⁰ Letter from Falla to Henry, undated [9 August 1921].

⁶¹ Page 10.

The following year Henry travelled to Granada with Ursula Greville,⁶² for whom (at Henry's behest)⁶³ Falla arranged a concert engagement at the Alhambra Palace Hotel a few days after the *cante jondo* competition.⁶⁴ Henry and Greville missed the competition proper (they did not leave Madrid until the day it finished),⁶⁵ but they did arrive in time for the banquet in Falla's honour at the Casino Palace: in a famous group photograph taken on that occasion, Greville and Henry have pride of place on either side of Falla.⁶⁶

Greville's concert took place on 21 June and consisted of songs by Martin Shaw, Percival Garratt, Maurice Besly, Edgar Bainton, Felix White and Leigh Henry himself (in all of which she was accompanied by Kurt Schindler), in addition to four folksong arrangements by Maurice Jacobson which Falla himself accompanied. The recital was preceded by an address given (in French) by Henry, in which he spoke about contemporary British composers' interest in folk music. Judging from the summary of this speech printed in *Noticiero Granadino*, it seems probable that he had spent the preceding few days in Granada reading the newly-published *El 'cante jondo' (canto primitivo andaluz)* – and perhaps deep in conversation with its author – for his conclusions about the relationship between folk and art music in Britain are remarkably similar to Falla's comments about the situation in Andalusia:

Durante todo el siglo pasado, esta música tenía una base alemana. Pero después del ejemplo de los nacionalistas rusos, que libertan la música de su país, por una vuelta a las canciones populares, nuestros jóvenes compositores comienzan a estudiar los ritmos y modalidades de sus tradiciones populares. ...

Podría decirse que ésta especie de música es decorativa, en análogo sentido que las canciones populares ornamentales de Andalucía. Ejemplo de este método, derivado de la tradición popular, pero aplicado a la música moderna, es la canción de Felix White *Visperas*,

⁶² Telegram from Henry to Falla, 14 June 1922.

⁶³ Telegram from Henry to Falla, 10 June 1922.

⁶⁴ Programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FN 1922-016 and 017. A review of this concert, entitled 'Concierto de músicos ingleses' and credited to 'X.', was published in the 22 June 1922 issue of the newspaper *Noticiero Granadino*; a copy is preserved at *E-GRmf* (press cuttings folder 6411).

⁶⁵ Telegram from Henry to Falla, 14 June 1922.

⁶⁶ *E-GRmf*, photograph number 6/48; reproduced in IC, 101, and PO, 160.

basada en un motivo ornamental derivado del canto de un pájaro. Muchas canciones de la vieja Inglaterra tienen las melodías basadas en esto. Tales causas naturales, combinadas con el particularísimo de las sonoridades producidas por los instrumentos primitivos en las distintas localidades, han contribuido a hacer las modalidades que caracterizan a la música popular británica.⁶⁷

During the whole of the last century, this music had a German foundation. But following the example of the Russian nationalists, who are liberating the music of their country by means of a return to popular songs, our young composers are beginning to study the rhythms and modalities of their popular traditions.

It could be said that this kind of music is decorative, in a similar way to the ornamental popular songs of Andalusia. An example of this method, derived from popular tradition but applied to modern music, is Felix White's song *Visperas*, based on an ornamental motif derived from birdsong. Many old English songs have melodies based on that. Such natural bases, combined with the essence of the very distinct sounds made by the primitive instruments of the various regions, have contributed to the creation of the modalities which characterise British popular music.

During his stay in Granada, Henry composed a short work for strings entitled *Cymric Elegy*, which he dedicated to Falla with the words 'hommage à sa musique et expression d'une sympathie personnelle' ('homage to his music and expression of a personal affection'); the short-score manuscript is preserved at the Falla Archive.⁶⁸ The work reflects Henry's interest in Welsh tradition; in a footnote to the score, he instructs that

L'expression doit être d'une caractèrè plus intensive que sentimentale, en reproduisant quelque ressemblance aux sonorités du *cwerth* [*sic*], – l'ancien violon celtique.

The expression must be more intense than sentimental in character, while reproducing some resemblance [*sic*] to the sound of the *cwerth* [*sic*; he means *crwth*], the ancient Celtic violin.

It is clear that the two men became friends during Henry's stay in Granada. On his way home, he sent Falla a postcard from Paris informing him of his safe

⁶⁷ 'X.', 'Concierto de músicos ingleses', *Noticiero Granadino*, 22 June 1922. Falla makes similar observations about the example of Russian composers in FI (FEs, 41 [FO, 20]) and in FC, 13-16 (FEs, 172-5 [FO, 106-8]). In FC (p. 11 [FEs, 170 (FO, 104)]), he refers directly to Louis Lucas's comments on the role of birdsong in the creation of music (*L'Acoustique nouvelle* [Paris, 1854], 28 n.).

⁶⁸ Unclassified document. It is reproduced in full in Yvan Nommick, 'Des Hommages de Falla aux "Hommages" à Falla', in LU, 540, and in Yvan Nommick and Eduardo Quesada Dorador (eds.), *Manuel de Falla en Granada* (Granada, 2001), 63.

arrival in that city,⁶⁹ and it was presumably shortly after returning to London that he sent a copy of his portrait, signed 'de son ami Leigh Henry' ('from his friend Leigh Henry').⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the two did not correspond further after 1922, and there is no evidence that they ever met again.

The only major British composer of Falla's own generation whom he is known to have met is Ralph Vaughan Williams. A passing reference to that meeting is found in a letter sent by Falla to Trend on 4 July 1928, shortly after a series of opera performances at the Court Theatre in London which included *Master Peter's Puppet Show* in the same programme as Vaughan Williams's *The Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains*.⁷¹ Vaughan Williams was among a group of well-wishers who sent a congratulatory telegram (now, alas, lost) to Falla on the occasion of these performances; here, Falla asks Trend to pass on his gratitude to its signatories:

... Boulton, Cranmer, Douglas y Vaughan Williams, a quien tanto deseo volver a ver, después de más de quince años que hace nos encontramos en París. Ya sabe usted mi vieja admiración por su música. ¡Cuánto me hubiera gustado haber oído ahora sus 'Pastores'! ⁷²

... Boulton, Cranmer, Douglas and Vaughan Williams, whom I'd very much like to see again; it's over fifteen years since we met in Paris. You already know my old admiration for his work. How I'd have liked to have heard his 'Shepherds' just now!

The mention here of an intervening period of fifteen years suggests that they met when Falla was living in Paris before the war. They may have become acquainted around February 1912, when Vaughan Williams attended a

⁶⁹ Postcard from Henry to Falla, 6 July 1922.

⁷⁰ *E-GRmf*, photograph number 8/114. The full dedication reads: 'Manuel de Falla [/] avec des souvenirs les plus cordiales [*sic*] de Granada, juin-juillet 1922 [/] de son ami Leigh Henry' ('Manuel de Falla [/] with warmest memories of Granada, June-July 1922 [/] from his friend Leigh Henry').

⁷¹ Performances of these works were given between 12 and 25 June; the season was announced in *The Times* of 21 May 1928, p. 14.

⁷² Letter from Falla to Trend, 4 July 1928, carbon copy preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7697. Other than Vaughan Williams, the signatories of that lost telegram of Falla may be identified as Adrian Boulton, Arthur Cranmer (the English baritone who sang the role of Don Quixote in the performances in question), and W. Douglas-Johnston (the theatrical impresario responsible for the production).

performance of *On Wenlock Edge* at the SMI;⁷³ it is highly likely that Falla was present at that concert too. But it is also conceivable that they had been introduced on an earlier occasion, perhaps at one of the Godebskis' soirées (Casella mentions Vaughan Williams's presence at these events),⁷⁴ or even as early as 1907, when Vaughan Williams was studying with Ravel;⁷⁵ a mutual friend at that time was M. D. Calvocoressi,⁷⁶ at whose home Falla's first meeting with Ravel had taken place just a few weeks before Vaughan Williams's arrival.⁷⁷

This is not the only letter to Trend in which Falla writes of his admiration for Vaughan Williams's music. Four years before, in response to a detailed description by Trend of an earlier performance of *The Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains*, given at the same festival in Bristol as the British premiere of the *Puppet Show*, he had written:

Muy bello el botón de muestra que me envía Vd. de la ópera de Vaughan Williams. Ya sabe Vd. que desde hace años su música me ha interesado grandemente. ¡Cuanto me hubiera gustado oírlo[!]78

⁷³ This performance took place at the Salle Gaveau on 29 February 1912 (Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale*, 307); Vaughan Williams's presence is mentioned in Ursula Vaughan Williams, *R. V. W.* (London, 1964), 103.

⁷⁴ Casella, *Music in My Time*, 108.

⁷⁵ Vaughan Williams arrived in Paris for composition lessons from Ravel on 12 December 1907 (this date given in letter from Vaughan Williams to Ravel, quoted in Vaughan Williams, *R. V. W.*, 79), and he returned to London some time before 3 March 1908 (date of letter from Ravel to Vaughan Williams, quoted in *ibid.*, 81).

⁷⁶ Calvocoressi made the initial suggestion to Vaughan Williams that he should study with Ravel (Calvocoressi, *Musicians Gallery: Music and Ballet in Paris and London* [London, 1933], 283-5; Vaughan Williams, *R. V. W.*, 79).

⁷⁷ Nina Gubisch, *Ricardo Viñes à travers son journal et sa correspondance* (doctoral dissertation, Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1977), 155-6.

⁷⁸ Letter from Falla to Trend, 24 October 1924, preserved at *E-GRu* (photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7698). Trend's description of *The Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains*, to which Falla alludes here, is found in a letter to Falla dated 16 October 1924 (preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7696). Having detailed the work's instrumentation (which is quite similar to that of *Master Peter's Puppet Show*), he continues: 'Es casi un auto sacramental, tirado del romance místico del siglo XVII "Pilgrim's Progress" (El progreso del Pelegrino); y trata de las aventuras de "Christian" que huye de la "City of Destruction" y viaja penosamente a la Ciudad Celestial. En las Montañas Deleitosas encuentra a tres pastores, Watchful (Vigilante), Knowledge (Sabiduría) y Sincere. Luego viene el Mensajero Celestial. Christian sale para el Río: y poco después las trompas suenan para él – un efecto muy sencillo, pero resulta hermosísima con dos coros (tiples y altos), trompas, arpa, campanas y bajón; y al fin los dos coros a cuatro y los tres pastores. [/] Vaughan Williams en

You sent me a very fine *impression* of Vaughan Williams's opera. As you know, his music has interested me enormously for many years. How I'd have liked to hear it!

Falla never did hear that opera – though he did know some of Vaughan Williams's other works. In addition to *On Wenlock Edge*, some of his English folksong arrangements and further original songs were given at the SMI before the war,⁷⁹ though programmes from those particular concerts are not preserved at the Falla Archive.

Of the six Vaughan Williams scores in Falla's library,⁸⁰ four are choral folksong arrangements, probably sent to him by Curwen Edition in 1921:⁸¹ *Alister McAlpine's Lament*, *Mannin Veen* and two copies of *The Turtle Dove*.⁸² In a letter to the British critic Edwin Evans, he described these scores (along with the Holst setting mentioned a little later) as 'si intéressant' ('so interesting');⁸³ however, there are no annotations in any of them.

general se apoya más en las cuerdas que Vd., pero hace cosas tan admirables con el oboe y cor anglais que yo hubiera preferido menos cuerda y más viento; sobre todo con los profesores de orquesta de aquí, que son muy indiferentes.' ('It's almost an *auto sacramental* [= a specific kind of Spanish religious drama], taken from the seventeenth-century mystic romance *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and it tells of the adventures of "Christian" who is fleeing from the "City of Destruction" and travelling laboriously to the Celestial City. In the Delectable Mountains he meets three shepherds, Watchful, Knowledge and Sincere. Then the Heavenly Messenger arrives. Christian leaves down the River: and a little later the horns sound out for him – a very simple but very beautiful effect, with two choirs (trebles and altos), horns, harp, bells and double bass, and, at the end, the two choirs in four parts and the three shepherds. [/] In general, Vaughan Williams relies more on the strings than you do, but he does such wonderful things with the oboe and cor anglais that I'd have preferred less of the strings and more of the winds; especially with the orchestral players here, who are very mediocre.')

⁷⁹ Such works were included in an SMI concert at the Salle Gaveau on 28 May 1913 (Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale*, 308). The titles of the pieces in question are not known.

⁸⁰ Full citations for these scores may be found in Appendix 9.F.

⁸¹ Falla thanked Edwin Evans for arranging for these scores to be sent to him in a letter of 31 October 1921 (draft at the foot of letter from Evans to Falla, 3 October 1921, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6957).

⁸² While it is probable that Falla's ownership of two copies of *The Turtle Dove* is due to Curwen having sent two copies (perhaps in error), it is also possible that he acquired one of the copies at an earlier date, perhaps in London or Paris. Alternatively, this may have been one of the two works sent by J. B. Trend in 1929, though the interpretation given in the next paragraph of the main text is much more feasible.

⁸³ Letter from Falla to Evans, 31 October 1921 (draft at the foot of letter from Evans to Falla, 3 October 1921, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6957).

The other two Vaughan Williams scores were sent by J. B. Trend in 1929, following a conversation between them during Trend's visit to Granada earlier that year, and also perhaps as a consequence of Falla's profession of admiration for that composer's music in the letter of 4 July 1928, quoted above. Falla thanked Trend for these gifts in a postcard written on New Year's Eve of that year: 'He tenido la alegría de recibir dos obras de V. Williams, entre ellas aquella de que hablamos' ('I was overjoyed to receive two works by V. Williams, among them the one we talked about').⁸⁴ The work they discussed was probably *On Wenlock Edge* (which, as has been noted, Falla had almost certainly heard seventeen years previously). The other work was almost certainly *Sancta Civitas*, and it is this score which presents the most tangible evidence of Falla's interest in Vaughan Williams's work, for it is annotated.

All of Falla's markings in this score relate to the choral parts. Falla's interest in this aspect of the work is unsurprising given that he had recently begun work on *Atlántida* and had written no choral music since *La vida breve*. Of the four devices he marked in *Sancta Civitas*, only one fails to resurface in *Atlántida*.⁸⁵ The others (including a device similar to Stravinsky's technique of alternating between unisons and other intervals in the choral parts; see § 8.4) are listed in Table 9.2.i, along with analogous passages in *Atlántida*. (Illustrations of these similarities are given in Examples 9.2.i, 9.2.ii and 9.2.iii.)

⁸⁴ Postcard from Falla to Trend, 31 December 1929, preserved at *E-GRu* (photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7698). Maria del Carmen also passed on Falla's thanks for these scores in her letter to Trend of 18 February 1930 (original and photocopy in the aforementioned locations), and mentioned his intention to write a note of gratitude to Vaughan Williams too. In his next letter to Falla (2 March 1930; *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7696), Trend assured him that this was unnecessary.

⁸⁵ This device is the scoring for sopranos and tenors in unison at bars 2-5 of figure 51 of *Sancta Civitas*, though the annotation may have been intended to draw attention to the fugal entries (as between figure 19, bar 8, and figure 20, bar 2; see Table 9.3.i) rather than the unison scoring.

DEVICE	PASSAGE ANNOTATED IN <i>SANCTA CIVITAS</i>	PARALLEL PASSAGES IN <i>ATLÁNTIDA</i>	EXAMPLE
Alternation between open unisons/octaves and a fully homophonic texture in the four voices of the choir	Figure 13, bar 1, to figure 14, bar 3	Prologue, bars 64-7	10.2.i
Stretto fugal-like entries	Figure 19, bar 8, to figure 20, bar 2	Part 1, bars 67-9	10.2.ii
		Part 1, bar 99 onwards	
		Part 3, bar 27 onwards	
Two-part canonic effects, spread across the entire chorus	Figure 20, bars 4-6	Part 1, bars 63-6	10.2.iii
		Part 1, bar 420 onwards	

Table 9.2.i

Falla's annotations in his copy of the vocal score of Vaughan Williams's *Sancta Civitas* (*E-GRmf*, inventory number 662) and similar passages in *Atlántida*, with references to accompanying music examples (see overleaf).

The only other significant British composer of Vaughan Williams's generation represented in Falla's library is Gustav Holst, whose SATB arrangement of *Matthew, Mark, Luke and John* was probably sent by Curwen around 1921 along with the Vaughan Williams part-songs already mentioned.⁸⁶ There is one annotation in this score: a bracket across the piano rehearsal part from the beginning of bar 22 to the first beat of bar 23. No doubt this indicates Falla's appreciation of the chain of consecutive fifths in the alto line: a device of which he himself had made extensive use in his earlier orchestral works.⁸⁷

[text continues after Figure 9.2.iii]

⁸⁶ It should be noted there is one further Curwen score in Falla's library bearing his annotations: W. G. Whittaker's *The Keel Row: North Country Folksong*, for SSAA chorus (London: Curwen, 1918; *E-GRmf*, inventory number 666).

⁸⁷ Examples: *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, 'En el Generalife', figure 16; *El amor brujo*, 'El círculo mágico', bar 4.

And out of his mouth go-eth a two edged sword, that with it he should smite the na-tions,
 And out of his mouth go-eth a two edged sword, that with it he should smite the na-tions,
 And out of his mouth go-eth a two edged sword, that with it he should smite the na-tions,
 And out of his mouth go-eth a two edged sword, that with it he should smite the na-tions,

Vaughan Williams, *Sancta Civitas*, figure 13, bar 9, to figure 14, bar 3 (full chorus parts only).

f assai e ben marcato *sf ff* *ten.*
 e-ra pe-tit per veu-re' la pler de cap a cap. ten.
 e-ra pe-tit per veu-re' la pler de cap a cap. ten.
 e-ra pe-tit per veu-re' la pler de cap a cap. ten.
 e-ra pe-tit per veu-re' la pler de cap a cap.

Falla/Halfpfer, *Atlántida*, Prologue, bars 64-7 (choral parts only).

Example 9.2.i

were gath-er'd to - geth-er,
 were gath-er'd to - geth-er,
 were gath-er'd to - geth-er, gath-er'd to - geth-er,
 were gath-er'd to - geth-er, gath-er'd to - geth-er,

Vaughan Williams, *Sancta Civitas*, figure 19, bar 8, to figure 20, bar 2 (full chorus parts only).

sempre f
 A - par ser-pent im-men - sa d'es-ca - ta ver-me - llo - sa,
 I. Meta.
 A-par ser-pent im - men - sa,
 I. Meta.
 A-par ser-pent im-men-sa d'es-ca - ta ver-me - llo - sa,

Falla/Halfpfer, *Atlántida*, Part 1, bars 67-9 (choral parts only).

Example 9.2.ii

f
To make war a - gainst him that sat upon the horse and a - gainst his arm - y.

f
To make war a - gainst him that sat upon the horse and a - gainst his arm - y.

f
To make war a - gainst him that sat upon the horse and a - gainst his arm - y.

f
To make war a - gainst him that sat upon the horse and a - gainst his arm - y.

Vaughan Williams, *Sancta Civitas*, figure 20, bars 4-6 (full chorus parts only).

f marc.
D'Al - ci - des és la fi - lla ge - gant!

f marc.
D'Al - ci - des és la fi - lla ge - gant, la fi - lla ge - gant!

f marc.
D'Al - ci - des és la fi - lla ge - gant!

f marc.
D'Al - ci - des és la fi - lla ge - gant, la fi - lla ge - gant!

Falla/Halfpfer, *Atlántida*, Part 1, bars 420-3 (choral parts only).

Example 9.2.iii

In a letter from Edwin Evans to Falla dated 18 December 1928, there is a tantalising suggestion that Holst may have visited Falla in Granada:

Le but de ma lettre c'était de vous prévenir que vous aurez probablement la visite de mon ami Gustav Holst, un de nos compositeurs les plus éminents. Entre autres qualités il partage notre enthousiasme pour le folklore. S'il se présente, tâchez donc de lui faire entendre du flamenco dans le paysage qui lui est propre.⁸⁸

The purpose of my letter was to let you know that you'll probably receive a visit from my friend Gustav Holst, one of our most eminent composers. Among other qualities, he shares our enthusiasm for folklore. If he shows up, would you be so kind as to take him to hear some flamenco in the setting to which it belongs?

Falla replied on 2 January 1929:

Heureux d'avoir de vos nouvelles je serai également de recevoir la visite de Gustav Holst et, dans ces possibilités – qui ne sont pas très grands à Granada – nous lui ferons entendre le peu qui, malheureusement, nous reste ici de *cante jondo*. A Seville c'est beaucoup plus facile; or je tâcherai de lui faciliter la chose autant que possible.⁸⁹

I'm delighted to hear your news, and I'll be equally delighted to receive Gustav Holst's visit: we'll make the most of opportunities – which in Granada aren't very numerous – to enable him to hear the little that remains to us here, sadly, of *cante jondo*. It would be much easier in Seville; but I'll try to arrange something for him as far as possible.

Unfortunately, there is no evidence that this visit took place.

(Incidentally, it is clear that Falla had forgotten about Holst in the seven years between receiving his copy of *Matthew, Mark, Luke and John* and the announcement of his visit. When he first drafted his letter to Evans, he could not remember Holst's name, and so he marked in a dashed horizontal line instead.)

⁸⁸ Letter from Evans to Falla, 18 December 1928, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6957.

⁸⁹ Letter from Falla to Evans, 1 January 1929 [really 2 January 1929], draft preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6957. The true date of this letter is taken from the reply date pencilled on Evans's letter of 18 December 1928.

Falla's experience of the work of his other British contemporaries seems to have extended little beyond hearing occasional concert performances of their works; three such composers were Ireland, Bridge and Rebecca Clarke.⁹⁰ A special case may be made for Lord Berners, performances of whose works he attended on a number of occasions, among them staged productions of *La Carosse du Saint Sacrement* and *Le Triomphe de Neptune*.⁹¹ He also owned a number of scores by Lord Berners – mainly piano works and songs, though he also possessed a full score of the *Fantaisie espagnole*.⁹² There is nothing to suggest that he was particularly interested in Berners's work, however, and his acquisition of these scores may have been due merely to their having been sent by the publishers of both composers, J. & W. Chester.

⁹⁰ He probably heard the following performances of works by these three composers: Ireland: Prelude to *The Forgotten Rite*, 7 June 1921, Queen's Hall, London (programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: NFE 1921-004 and 005); Bridge, String Quartet No. 3, 12 September 1928, Salone Chigi Saracini, Siena (FE 1928-025); Clarke, Trio for Violin, Viola and Piano, 2 May 1923, American Academy, Rome (NFE 1923-003 and 004).

⁹¹ Falla was present during the Théâtre Bériza's performances of *La Carosse du Saint Sacrement* on 22, 23 and 24 May 1925 at the Théâtre du Trianon-Lyrique, Paris (details from undated cutting from *Semaine Musicale* preserved at *E-GRmf*, press cuttings folder 6384); he conducted *El amor brujo* in the same programme. He was also present for a performance of *Jadis et naguères* at 24 April 1920, Hotel Ritz, Madrid (programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FN 1920-004), and may even have been the accompanist for that performance. He may also have attended performances of the *Fantaisie espagnole* (7 June 1921, Queen's Hall, London [NFE 1921-004 and 005]) and *Le Triomphe de Neptune* (27 and/or 31 May, and/or 7 and/or 9 June 1927, Théâtre Sarah-Bernhardt, Paris [NFE 1927-006]).

⁹² Falla owned scores of *Trois morceaux pour piano à quatre mains*, *Dialogue between Tom Filuter and his Man by Ned the Dog Stealer*, *Fantaisie espagnole*, *Trois Chansons* and *Valses bourgeoises* (*E-GRmf*, inventory numbers 649, 650, 651, 652 and 653 respectively).

9.3 A BELGIAN COMPOSER: GASTON KNOSP

Between 1923 and 1933, Falla exchanged no fewer than 41 letters (of which 37 survive) with the now-forgotten Belgian composer, musicologist and critic Gaston Knosp (1874-1942). The frequency of this correspondence is remarkable: around the beginning of that ten-year period, letters were being exchanged every two to four days! Nevertheless, the two men never actually met.⁹³

Though he was slightly older than Falla, Knosp approached him very much as an aficionado and admirer. Indeed, their correspondence originated in Knosp's desire to express his appreciation of Falla's work; after attending a performance of *La vida breve* in Brussels, he told him that

... je l'ai écouté avec un indicible plaisir et ai retenu du Tableau de Grenade, le soir descendant sur la ville, une impression profonde comme j'en ai peu reçues. ... Or, depuis longtemps je n'avais reçu une si parfaite, si complète impression d'art que l'autre soir, en écoutant la *Vie brève*.⁹⁴

... I listened to it with inexpressible pleasure, and the Tableau in Granada – evening descending over the town – left me with a profound impression such as I've rarely received. ... For it's a long time since I've received such a perfect, complete artistic impression as I did the other evening, listening to *La vida breve*.

Knosp's praise for *La vida breve* is a constantly recurring theme in his letters.⁹⁵ His repetitiveness on the subject carries an air of naive enthusiasm, and this comes hand-in-hand with apparent arrogance: he is not at all afraid,

Full citations for items of correspondence between Falla and Knosp, printed music by Knosp in Falla's library, and the performance of a work by Knosp that Falla is known to have attended, may be found in Appendices 9.H.a, 9.H.b and 9.H.c respectively. The main source of information about Knosp's life and works is Joseph Houziaux, *Un musicien belge méconnu: Gaston Knosp 1874-1942* (Tilff, 1970).

⁹³ Nevertheless, both men lived in Paris between 1907 and 1911 (Houziaux, *Un musicien belge méconnu*, 57), and they shared a mutual friend in Florent Schmitt (*ibid.*, 89).

⁹⁴ Letter from Knosp to Falla, 20 April 1923.

⁹⁵ Letters from Knosp to Falla, 27 April 1923, 23 June 1923, late August 1923, 5 August 1924, 10 November 1924, 8 December 1924, 1 February 1927 and 5 February 1927.

for instance, to ask Falla to put in a good word for him at the house of Eschig,⁹⁶ nor to suggest that Falla use his influence to urge theatres in Spain to stage his works.⁹⁷ Knosp's naiveté is also accompanied by slight ineptitude. He twice addressed letters to 60 Avenue Mozart instead of number 66,⁹⁸ and once sent a postcard to Falla in 'Granados' rather than Granada.⁹⁹ On one occasion, he even announced that he was working to promote Falla's '5 mélodies espagnoles'.¹⁰⁰

Knosp wrote a number of critical articles on Falla's work,¹⁰¹ copies of which he sent to him, though none survives at the Archivo Manuel de Falla.¹⁰² What do survive, however, are inscribed copies of two musical compositions that he sent: a 'Japanese drama' for voice and piano entitled *Le Yakounine* and a set of six pieces for piano entitled *Ex Orient Lux*. The first piece of the latter set ('Caravaniers de Djeddah') bears a printed dedication to Falla.

Knosp attached great importance to Falla's opinion both of his musical compositions and of his critical articles. In his postcard of 8 December 1924 he wrote:

Mais votre opinion, ô confrère lumineux, voilà ce que j'attends avec impatience ... Pensez! De Falla dixit!

But your opinion, O brilliant colleague, that's what I'm impatiently waiting for... Imagine! De Falla dixit!

⁹⁶ Letters from Knosp to Falla, 7 July and 5 August 1924.

⁹⁷ Postcard from Knosp to Falla, 16 July 1929.

⁹⁸ Postcards from Knosp to Falla, 23 June 1923 and 1 May 1928.

⁹⁹ Postcard from Knosp to Falla, 1 February 1927.

¹⁰⁰ Postcard from Knosp to Falla, 8 December 1923.

¹⁰¹ Such articles are mentioned in Knosp's letters to Falla of 20 April 1923, 23 April 1923, 27 April 1923, 3 May 1923, 14 June 1923, 23 June 1923, 10 November 1924, 5 February 1927 and 1 May 1928, and in Falla's letters to Knosp of 6 July 1923, [24 August 1923] and 17 February 1927.

¹⁰² The only article by Knosp preserved at *E-GRmf* is 'La musique en Belgique: Chronique de la Monnaie', *Lyrice*, iii, 34 (December 1924), 434 (*E-GRmf*, inventory number 6095), which includes a one-paragraph of the 1924 Brussels production of *La vida breve*. This article is mentioned in Knosp's letter to Falla of 10 November 1924.

Falla was always magnanimous in his replies; he was even careful not to draw Knosp's attention to his miscounting of the number of *Popular Spanish Songs*.¹⁰³ His letters are also affectionate and engaging – not merely cordial (his more usual attitude towards his admirers) or grateful in conventional terms (as was his manner with most journalists and critics). He was enthusiastic about Knosp's compositions (or, at least, he pretended to be), and he made efforts to comply with his various requests; he even wrote that letter of recommendation to Eschig.¹⁰⁴

* * *

What interested Knosp most about Falla's music was its Spanish qualities. As is evident from the mere titles of his works, Knosp himself was fascinated by the Far East: he had spent the years from 1898 to 1904 undertaking ethnomusicological research in Indo-China.¹⁰⁵ For him, the Spanish elements of Falla's work must have seemed to be a new form of exoticism.

Falla was inspired by the Orient too – most obviously in 'Chinoiserie', though it was the oriental influences on Andalusian folk music that interested him most. The exoticism of Knosp's music is that of distant lands; that of Falla's is his own. This is precisely the divergence between the two composers' styles observed by Henri Collet in a 1920 article on Knosp's *Le Yakounine*:

La musique japonaise ne saurait s'implanter directement en Occident. Il lui faut un truchement, un interprète, tout comme le fut Laparra pour la musique d'Espagne, lorsqu'il nous donna cette *Habanera* destinée à devenir le pendant de *Carmen*, tandis que *La Vie Brève* de Manuel de Falla reste trop de son terroir pour pouvoir prendre racine en France.

Donc, Gaston Knosp est, à cette heure, le seul traducteur possible des musiques nippones. Il l'est parce que la sève mélodique japonaise coule à même dans ses veines ...¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Letter from Falla to Knosp, undated [26 December 1923].

¹⁰⁴ Letter from Falla to Knosp, 14 October 1924.

¹⁰⁵ The report of this investigation was published as *Rapport sur une mission officielle d'étude musicale en Indo-chine* (Leyde, 1911).

¹⁰⁶ Henri Collet, 'La Musique chez soi: Un musicien belge: Gaston Knosp', *Comœdia* (Paris), 9 October 1920, quoted in Houziaux, *Un musicien belge méconnu*, 190-1.

Japanese music cannot be implanted directly into the West. It requires a medium, an interpreter, to do what Laparra did for Spanish music when he gave us that *Habanera* destined to become a match for *Carmen*, whereas Manuel de Falla's *La vida breve* lies too deep in its own soil to be able to take root in France.

At the present time, therefore, Gaston Knosp is the only possible translator of Japanese music. He is so because the melodic sap of Japan runs through his very veins ...

(Knosp draws Falla's attention to this article in his very first letter, though he misconstrues the disparity observed by Collet [intentionally, perhaps] as 'une parallèle entre nos deux "manières"' ['a parallel between our two "styles"'].)¹⁰⁷

Their shared interest in exotic music led to their only quarrel. Falla's letter of 24 August 1923 contains the following observation, countering a comment made by Knosp in one of his articles on *La vida breve*:¹⁰⁸

Quant aux origines du chant populaire andalou – la vraie – il faut reconnaître qu'il procède plutôt du chant liturgique primitif, et du chant indou (élément gitane) que du chant arabe. Ce n'est qu'au point de vue rythmique que nous devons quelque chose aux mores inconnus. Avez-vous lu la brochure publiée à l'occasion du concours de chant pr.[imitif] and.[alou] célébré l'an dernier à Granada? La *Revue musicale* de Paris a publié la traduction de sa plus grande partie.

As for the origins of popular Andalusian song – the true sort – it must be recognised that it stems more from primitive liturgical chant and Indian song (the gypsy element) than from Arabian song. It's only from the point of view of rhythm that we owe anything to the unknown Moors. Have you read the brochure published on the occasion of the Andalusian primitive song competition held last year in Granada? The Paris *Revue musicale* has published a translation of most of it.

Knosp had clearly perceived Arabian qualities in Falla's work; he commented on them again in his reply to the above letter:

Ce qui m'a séduit dans votre œuvre, c'est son caractère *chaud*, méditerranéen (qui fut aussi le propre de Bizet)[.] et la musique hispano-arabe, c'est déjà de l'Orient – de là mon grand désir de connaître l'ouvrage que vous me signalez, d'autant plus que vous me

¹⁰⁷ Letter from Knosp to Falla, 20 April 1923.

¹⁰⁸ I have been unable to trace the article in question.

parlez d'infiltrations hindoues et que là nous nous trouvons l'un en face de l'autre.¹⁰⁹

What seduced me in your work is its *warm*, Mediterranean character (which also belonged to Bizet), and Hispano-Arabian music is pretty much Oriental. Hence my great desire to know the essay that you have indicated, especially since you mention Indian infiltrations, and since that will bring us closer together.

Falla sent Knosp a copy of *El 'cante jondo' (canto primitivo andaluz)* on 17 October 1923, along with his article on Pedrell (presumably to back up the Pedrell quotation in the *cante jondo* pamphlet arguing that Spanish folk music owes little to Arabian influences).¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, Knosp remained firm in his own conviction:

Plus j'écoute vos œuvres (j'ai lu attentivement votre orchestre des *Nuits dans les Jardins d'Espagne*) et plus j'en reviens à ma thèse que votre belle musique d'Espagne vient de la musique arabe – elle est grave, fataliste, émouvante, cordiale, languissante tout comme la musique arabe; la musique hindoue a d'autres qualités, mais pas celles-là. Elle est plus contemplative, plus apaisée, bouddhique et se rapproche déjà de la musique 'rituelle' d'Extrême Orient. Nous ne sommes pas d'accord, je le sais ...¹¹¹

The more I listen to your works (I've studied the orchestration of the *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* attentively) the more I return to my thesis that your fine Spanish music comes from Arabian music – it's solemn, fatalistic, emotional, warm, languishing just like Arabian music; Indian music has other qualities, but not those. It's more meditative, calmer, more Buddhistic and approaches indeed the 'ritual' music of the Far East. We don't agree, I know ...

In spite of his professions of enthusiasm for Knosp's music, Falla's true interest in it was probably slight. Apart from the two scores in his library (neither of which is annotated), he knew very little of it. There is only one work of which he is known to have heard a performance: the *Deux Scherzare*, given by Ricardo Viñes in the same SMI concert as the first performances of Ravel's *Trois Poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé*, Delage's *Quatre poèmes hindous* and Stravinsky's *Three Japanese Lyrics*, on 14 January 1914.

¹⁰⁹ Letter from Knosp to Falla, late August 1923.

¹¹⁰ 'nuestra música no debe nada esencial a los árabes ni a los moros ...' ('our music owes nothing essential to the Arabs or to the Moors ...') (FC, 7 [FEs, 166 (FO, 101)]).

¹¹¹ Letter from Knosp to Falla, 10 November 1924.

Knosp, of course, was much better acquainted with Falla's music. In addition to *La vida breve* (which he claimed to know 'ligne par ligne' ['line by line']),¹¹² he knew the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs*, *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* and *El amor brujo*.¹¹³ He was particularly enthusiastic about the latter work; in his last letter to Falla, dated 7 January 1933, he told him that he was making his composition pupils study it, 'vue l'atmosphère que vous y avez réalisée' ('on account of the atmosphere you've created in it').

In the same letter, he notes that he has just completed his one-act opera on a Spanish subject, *La fiesta a Valencia*. It is tempting to speculate on the influence of Falla's music on that work – but unfortunately it remains unpublished.

112 Letter from Knosp to Falla, late August 1923.

113 Knosp's knowledge of the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs* is mentioned in his letter of 8 December 1923; his knowledge of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* in his letters of 10 November 1924 and 22 February 1925; and his knowledge of *El amor brujo* in his letters of 14 April 1925, 1 May 1928, 9 July 1928 and 7 January 1933.

9.4 GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN COMPOSERS

Falla's attitude towards German and Austrian music was frankly hostile. Pahissa – in an anecdote cut from the first edition of *Vida y obra de Manuel de Falla* at Falla's request – records Falla's immediate reaction to the critic Rafael Moragas's expressions of admiration for Schumann: '¡Nada de germanismo en música!' ('Absolutely nothing German in music!')¹¹⁴

Falla befriended no German or Austrian composers (unless one counts the American ethnomusicologist, arranger and composer Kurt Schindler, who was born and educated in Germany),¹¹⁵ and apart from a brief visit to Germany during the tour of Wurmser's *L'Enfant prodigue* in 1907,¹¹⁶ he did not set foot in either country. Moreover, he owned very few scores of contemporary Austro-German music.

Among those he did own, however, are Mahler's *The Song of the Earth* (discussed in § 3.4.3 above),¹¹⁷ Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*,¹¹⁸ and Richard Strauss's *Aus Italien* and *Don Juan*;¹¹⁹ the latter score contains a significant number of annotations relating to the orchestration of the work. He also owned and made copious notes in a French translation of Strauss's commentary on

¹¹⁴ PVR, 217.

¹¹⁵ 15 items of correspondence between Falla and Schindler are preserved at *E-GRmf* (correspondence folder 7605), in addition to a signed photograph of Schindler (photograph number 8/25), and no fewer than 31 vocal and choral arrangements of folksongs, early music and contemporary Russian music (inventory numbers 522, 524-41 inclusive, 730, 731, 732, 797, 799-805 inclusive, and 807), and six collections of Russian songs (inventory numbers 990-3 and 995-6).

¹¹⁶ Letter from Falla to Shaw, 16 August 1907, published in Guillermo Fernández-Shaw, *Larga Historia de 'La vida breve'* (Madrid, 1972), 76-9.

¹¹⁷ *E-GRmf*, inventory number 1190.

¹¹⁸ *E-GRmf*, inventory number 819.

¹¹⁹ *E-GRmf*, inventory numbers 582 and 580 respectively. (Curiously, there is no inventory number 581 at *E-GRmf*.)

Berlioz's orchestration treatise;¹²⁰ as was seen in § 3.4.2.1, he even transcribed a passage from it in his handwritten notes on instrumentation.¹²¹ There are several references to Strauss's *Till Eulenspiegel*, *Don Quixote* and *Ein Heldenleben* in Falla's annotations to that book and in his pre-war orchestration notes;¹²² he must have owned copies of those scores at that time (or, at least, he must have had access to them). He even made an analysis of the tonal structure of *Till Eulenspiegel*.¹²³

Falla heard concert performances of much of Strauss's music:¹²⁴ it was played frequently in pre-war Paris (where he even heard *Till Eulenspiegel* and *Don Juan* under Strauss's own direction on 26 and 27 April 1908),¹²⁵ and was equally popular in Spain after his return to that country in 1914. In 1917, he accompanied the soprano Aga Lahowska in a performance of a Strauss song (though it is not known which one).¹²⁶ The names of other German and Austrian composers featured much less frequently in the programmes of concerts he attended: he heard the first French performance of Mahler's second symphony, under the composer's baton, at the Théâtre du Châtelet on 17 April 1910,¹²⁷ and he probably heard the performance of Schoenberg's

¹²⁰ Richard Strauss, *Le Traité d'orchestration d'Hector Berlioz: Commentaires et adjonctions* (Leipzig, 1909) (*E-GRmf*, inventory number 1243).

¹²¹ *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7915. The passage concerns the use of the clarinet and is found on p. 54 of Strauss's book.

¹²² References to *Till Eulenspiegel* are found in two sheets of notes preserved in *E-GRmf* manuscripts folder 7915, and a further two sheets in manuscripts folder 7916. Pencilled references to *Don Quixote* and *Ein Heldenleben* are found on pp. 59 and 24 respectively of Falla's copy of Strauss's *Le Traité d'orchestration d'Hector Berlioz* (*E-GRmf*, inventory number 1243).

¹²³ *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7915.

¹²⁴ The Falla Archive preserves programmes for no fewer than 28 concerts including works by Strauss that Falla may have attended, judging from which he may have heard *Till Eulenspiegel* and *Don Quixote* at least six times each, *Don Juan* five times, *Death and Transfiguration* four times and *Ein Heldenleben* three times.

¹²⁵ Programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: NFE 1908-001.

¹²⁶ This performance took place at an unknown location in Bilbao on 15 December 1917 (programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FN 1917-025).

¹²⁷ Programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: NFE 1910-022.

Wind Quintet, op. 26, performed at the 1926 ISCM Festival in Zurich.¹²⁸ It is likely that he was exposed to further works by these composers at private meetings and soirées in Paris and elsewhere.

It is clear that Falla initially held Strauss's music in high regard. His admiration for it, however, quickly soured. His distaste for German and Austrian music was largely due to his perception of it as conservative. In 'Introducción a la música nueva', he observes that

... si exceptuamos a Ricardo Strauss, en Alemania, y a Schönberg, en Austria, difícil, si no imposible, nos será hallar otro compositor de ambos países cuyas obras acusen, como forma y como técnica, el menor progreso sobre las conquistas sonoras de Richard Wagner.

Y es tan abrumador el peso de la tradición sobre los compositores de esa raza, que ni Strauss ni el mismo Schönberg han podido libertarse de él enteramente.¹²⁹

... if we were to exclude Richard Strauss in Germany, and Schoenberg in Austria, it would be difficult, if not impossible, for us to find another composer from either country whose works demonstrate, in form and technique, the slightest progress over the musical conquests of Richard Wagner.

And the weight of tradition is so onerous for composers of that race that neither Strauss nor even Schoenberg has been able to break free from it entirely.

In the context of the article, this perception of conservatism contrasts sharply with Falla's praise for other composers who, inspired by Debussy's example, were seeking new means of expression.

Falla attributed the conservatism of Austro-German music to two restraining forces of historical origin. The first of these was Romanticism, which he saw epitomised in Brahms –

¹²⁸ This performance took place in the Kleinen Tonhalle in Zurich on 19 June 1926 (programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1926-014 to 017). He probably also heard Webern's *Five Pieces*, op. 10, at the Großen Tonhalle three days later (listed in the same programme), and almost certainly heard the same composer's String Trio, op. 20, at the Salone Chigi Saracini during the 1928 ISCM Festival in Siena (programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1928-025); Falla took part in a performance of the *Concerto* in the same concert.

¹²⁹ FI (FEs, 39 [FO, 19]).

Música llena de vanidad, como su autor, y con largas barbas, como su autor también. Claro está que la música con largas barbas infunde gran respeto.¹³⁰

Music full of vanity, like its author, and with a large beard, like its author too. Of course, music with a large beard arouses great respect.

– but which he also observed in Wagner, whose ‘romanticismo exasperado’ (‘irksome romanticism’) diminished his great respect for that composer’s work.¹³¹

The second restraining force, according to Falla, was the tradition of structural rigour. When interviewed by the *Daily Mail* in 1919, he was so outspoken in this opinion that it found its way into the headline, ‘Senor Manuel de Falla and German formalism’:

Most nineteenth-century music is to be mistrusted, and as regards the classical symphonies and concertos the teacher’s one duty is to utter warnings against them. The freedom and spontaneity of the eighteenth century were only recaptured by such non-German composers as Rimsky-Korsakoff and Debussy.¹³²

He must have recognised continued adherence to strict formal principles as flying in the face of Debussy’s example:

... gracias a él, la música se sirve libremente de sus elementos esenciales, sin las trabas inútiles ni los rutinarios prejuicios que la encadenaban.¹³³

... thanks to him, music is able to use its essential elements freely, without the pointless obstacles and routine prejudices with which it used to be enchained.

Towards the end of ‘Introducción a la música nueva’, Falla includes Schoenberg’s name – but not Strauss’s – in his list of composers sharing ‘una

¹³⁰ Letter from Falla to Salazar, 5 February 1928 (carbon copy preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7573; excerpt quoted in FEs, 125-6).

¹³¹ FW (FEs, 138 [FO, 82]).

¹³² Falla, quoted in anon., ‘To the young composer: Senor Manuel de Falla and German formalism’, *Daily Mail*, 18 July 1919, page number not known.

¹³³ Falla, quoted in R. W., ‘Ayer en el Ateneo: Homenaje a Debussy’, *El Universo*, 28 April 1918.

aspiración unánime' ('a unanimous aspiration') which embraced 'Destruyendo la forma tradicional del desarrollo temático' ('Destroying the traditional form of thematic development').¹³⁴ Significantly, this article was written before Schoenberg's invention of serialism. Falla would no doubt have considered that system a mere extension of the Germanic obsession with externally-defined structure.

Even in those pre-serialism days, Falla complained that

La música de Schönberg, particularmente, es atonal y a ese gravísimo error se debe, sin duda, el desagrado que muchas de sus composiciones nos producen.¹³⁵

Schoenberg's music, particularly, is atonal, and the displeasure which many of his compositions produce in us is undoubtedly due to this very serious mistake.

For Falla, atonality was tantamount to sacrilege; his confidant J. B. Trend recorded that 'He would resent an accusation of atonality as he would resent an accusation of atheism'.¹³⁶

So Falla perceived Latin and Teutonic music as occupying opposite poles: he recognised a clear-cut (but paradoxical) disparity between the tonal clarity and formal liberty of the former, and the harmonic decadence and formal constraints of the latter.

But there is another, darker reason why Falla's attitude towards German and Austrian music soured. His repugnance for all things Teutonic is constantly evident in sources dating from the years following his return from Paris – and the single cause of that repugnance was the First World War. He expressed his sense of disgust at the German offensive as early as 1914, in letters to his friends in both France and Spain;¹³⁷ he was particularly incensed by the

¹³⁴ FI (FEs, 41-2 [FO, 21]).

¹³⁵ FI (FEs, 42 [FO, 21]).

¹³⁶ T, 153.

¹³⁷ Letters from Falla to: Leopoldo Matos, 9 August 1914 (preserved at *E-LPah*; photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7265/2); Jean-Aubry, 4 September 1914 (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7132/1); Dukas, 30 September 1914 (Appendix 2.A); Collet, 23 October 1914 (Appendix 6.E.a).

.....

destruction of the cathedral at Reims, as he told Henri Collet in his letter of 23 October 1914, quoted in § 7.4 above. The extent to which that abhorrence affected his musical sensibilities is revealed in Joaquín Turina's anecdote about the music they used play together in piano duet arrangements shortly after their return to Spain:

... Musorgsky, Strawinsky, hasta Tchaikovsky, que a Falla no le gustaba del todo, porque, según él, tenía demasiada influencia alemana, y él, aterrado por la guerra y aliadófilo incondicional, aborrecía todo lo alemán, hasta el punto de renegar de sus antiguos dioses Beethoven y Wagner; no se salvaba de la guerra otro germano que Weber, no sé por qué.¹³⁸

... Musorgsky, Stravinsky, even Tchaikovsky, which didn't please Falla at all, because, according to him, it had too much German influence, and he, terrified by the war and unconditionally devoted to the Allied cause, detested everything German, to the extent that he renounced his former gods Beethoven and Wagner. The only German who escaped the war was Weber; I don't know why.

¹³⁸ Sixth speech given by Turina at the Institución Hispano Cubana de Cultura in Havana, March-April 1929, quoted in Mariano Pérez Gutiérrez, *Falla y Turina a través de su epistolario* (Madrid, 1982), 61-2.

10 CONCLUSIONS

10.1 THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE TO FALLA OF HIS EUROPEAN CONTEMPORARIES

10.1.1 Eclecticism versus bias

In 1928, the French periodical *Musique* invited a number of prominent composers to take part in a survey consisting of two questions:

Quels sont:

- 1) Vos modèles et vos maîtres?
- 2) Vos directions: fondements et dogmes de votre esthétique; pôles d'attraction et de répulsion de votre art?¹

What are:

- 1) Your models and your masters?
- 2) Your directions: foundations and dogmas of your aesthetic; poles of attraction and of repulsion in your art?

Among those who responded were Schoenberg, Malipiero, D'Indy, Migot, Ferroud, Dukas and Casella.² Falla's reply, characteristically, was the last one to be received by the journal.³

In answer to the first question, Falla writes:

¹ *Musique*, i, 10 (15 July 1928), 437.

² Schoenberg: *Musique*, i, 10 (15 July 1928), 440; Malipiero, D'Indy and Migot: i, 11-12 (15 September 1928), 499-509; Ferroud and Dukas: ii, 1 (15 October 1928), 584-5; Casella: ii, 2 (15 November 1928), 622.

³ It is published in *Musique*, ii, 8 (15 May 1929), 897 (Spanish translation in FEs, 199-20; English translation from the Spanish in FO, 73).

Mes modèles et mes maîtres: Tous ceux qui m'offrent un chemin à suivre pour trouver et pour développer les moyens techniques de dire et de faire ce que je me propose.

My models and my masters: All those who offer me a path to follow in order to find and develop the technical means to say and to do what I intend.

What is most illuminating about this statement is the word 'tous' ('all'): a clear and unambiguous declaration that technical features of his musical language – though not aesthetic ones – were at least partly derived from his study of the work of other composers. He does not plainly state that those composers included his contemporaries – but the present investigation has shown this to be indisputably the case.

His answer to the question about the 'poles of attraction' in his art is even more indicative of his deferential attitude to his contemporaries (part of it has already been quoted, in § 5.4):

Pôles d'attraction:

a) Une pure substance musicale.

b) La musique où les lois éternelles du rythme et de tonalité – étroitement unies – soient consciemment observées.

Cette affirmation, cependant, ne doit jamais supposer un blâme pour ceux qui – noblement – agissent d'une façon opposée. Je crois, par contre, que le progrès dans la technique d'un art, ainsi que la découverte de possibilités réelles qui doivent contribuer à son plus grand épanouissement, sont dûs souvent à l'emploi de procédés en apparence arbitraires, soumis plus tard aux lois éternelles et immuables.

c) Tout ce qui représente un renouvellement dans les moyens techniques d'expression, même si par malheur, la réalisation était imparfaite.

Poles of attraction:

a) A pure musical substance.

b) Music in which the eternal laws of rhythm and tonality – closely unified – are consciously observed.

This statement, however, should not be taken to imply a rebuke to those who – nobly – act in an opposing manner. On the contrary: I think that progress in the technique of an art, and the discovery of real possibilities which contribute to its greater blossoming, are often due to the use of apparently arbitrary procedures, subjected later to eternal and unchanging laws.

.....

c) All that represents a renewal in the technical means of expression, even if, unfortunately, they are realised imperfectly.

The allusion to those who do not observe 'les lois éternelles du rythme et de tonalité' ('the eternal laws of rhythm and tonality') is a clear reference to Schoenberg and his followers; it has already been noted (§ 9.4), that as early as 1916 Falla had described the atonality of that composer's music as an 'error'.⁴ Yet it is significant that he should not seek to dissociate Schoenberg's methods from his own, but rather actually to justify them: 'Cette affirmation ... ne doit jamais supposer un blâme pour ceux qui – *noblement* – agissent d'une façon opposée' ('This statement ... should not be taken to imply a rebuke to those who – *nobly* – act in an opposing manner'; my emphasis).

So, in 1928, Falla was keen to be seen as a composer who was well aware of contemporary trends throughout Europe, and whose methods embraced them.

This, however, was merely a publicity exercise. In truth, Falla's interest in contemporary music was far from eclectic. It was moulded by his experiences: the concerts he heard, the scores he purchased, the prevailing fashions of the countries where he lived and which he visited, and – most importantly, perhaps – the friendships he enjoyed with other composers. And, if his interests were guided by his experiences, it is true also that his choice of experiences was largely dictated by his interests.

Each of Falla's contemporaries was important to him for a different reason, and some were more important than others. A few took on the role of teachers, some were guides to new repertoires, while others simply provided reassurance and support. A very few offered none of these things, but still enjoyed professional relationships with Falla. Some of the differences among them will be examined in the next subsection.

Another important variable affecting Falla's approach to his contemporaries is nationality. He favoured music by composers from two kinds of nations (Spain falls into both categories). In the first group (examined in § 10.1.3 below) are

⁴ FI (FEs, 42 [FO, 21]).

.....

two countries sharing close linguistic, liturgical and – to some extent – cultural links with Spain: France and Italy. The second category consists of countries set apart from the western European mainstream, geographically as well as culturally, whose music is consequently stamped with a strong national imprint: the United Kingdom, Hungary, Poland and Russia (§ 10.1.4). Two countries are excluded from both categories, and this is significant. They are Germany and Austria, whose music Falla detested, ostensibly on account of its tendency towards formal rigidity (see § 9.4).

10.1.2 Influence versus encouragement

Every one of the composers among Falla's friends was an admirer of his work, and every one provided him with encouragement and moral support. Not all, however, exerted a direct influence.

Two composers whose influence on Falla is indisputable are Dukas and Debussy – the only two, apart from Pedrell, whom he openly acknowledged as his 'maîtres' (see § 2.1.1). Annotations and other manuscript evidence reveal that he subjected their music to far greater scrutiny than that of any other composer. Moreover, he received from them direct advice and tuition on a more-or-less formal basis; their guidance in the field of orchestration was especially valuable. Falla never forgot his debt to Dukas and Debussy, as is clear from the fact that they were the only two foreign composers in whose memory he composed homages. His published writings repeatedly expound his belief that Debussy changed the art of music for ever:

... puede afirmarse, sin temor a ser desmentido, que de su obra ha partido de una manera definitiva el movimiento innovador del arte sonoro.⁵

... it may be stated, without fear of contradiction, that his work is the definitive starting-point for the innovative tendencies of the art of sound.

And almost everywhere that Debussy's name appears in those writings, Dukas's is not far away; even in 'Claude Debussy et Espagne', for instance, Falla writes:

Lors de la dernière Exposition Universelle du Champs de Mars, on pût voir deux jeunes musiciens français qui allaient ensemble entendre les musiques exotiques ... Ces deux musiciens – dont les

⁵ FI (FEs, 37 [FO, 18]). Similar observations are made in: FA (FEs, 47 [FO, 24]); FD, 209 [FEs, 77; FO, 44-5]; FC, 17 (FEs, 177 [FO, 109]); and R. W., 'Ayer en el Ateneo: Homenaje a Debussy', *El Universo*, 28 April 1918 (transcription and translation in Appendix 3.F).

noms devaient compter plus tard parmi les plus illustres de la musique contemporaine – étaient Paul Dukas et Claude Debussy.⁶

At the last Exposition Universelle at the Champs de Mars were seen two young French musicians who had gone together to hear exotic music ... Those two musicians – who would later figure among the most illustrious names in contemporary music – were Paul Dukas and Claude Debussy.

Falla's correspondence with both men is markedly more formal than that with other composers. Debussy did not live long enough for his friendship with Falla to soften. Dukas did – but traces of their original master-pupil relationship remain in their correspondence to the very end: even after Falla had been elected to the Institut de France in 1935, and Dukas had assured him that they were now 'confrères',⁷ Falla continued to address him as 'maître'.

It is significant that both Dukas and Debussy were over ten years older than Falla, and thoroughly established as composers when he met them for the first time. Falla was in general far less directly influenced by the work of composers of his own age, even where – as in the case of Ravel, for instance – he knew a large amount of their music. (The exception is, of course, Stravinsky, to whom we shall return shortly.)

His friendships with this generation of composers seem to have been founded on feelings of fellowship and artistic commonality; much of their correspondence consists of welcome expressions of mutual admiration. This fact, however, does not in any way diminish the direct effects of their friendship on Falla's music. It was probably through his social contacts with composers such as Ravel and the other Apaches that his musical horizons were most extensively widened. It was to them, for instance, that he owed his discovery of Oriental music and his exposure to an extraordinarily wide range of contemporary music, of which their own was but a part.

The significance of certain other composers was more aesthetic and philosophical than musical. One such composer was Gaston Knosp (see § 9.3), who challenged Falla's strongly-held beliefs about the Oriental derivation of

⁶ FC, 206 [FEs, 72-3; FO, 41].

⁷ Letter from Dukas to Falla, 26 January 1935 (see Appendix 2.A).

Andalusian folk music. Both Casella and Malipiero fall into this category too, as 'Latin' composers whose work Falla sought to associate with his own, though he knew little of it and was probably in no way influenced by it. So too does Charles Koechlin (see Chapter 5), whose works of pedagogy seem to have been of far greater interest to Falla than his music, owing to the theoretical justification for Falla's own musical language found within their pages.

Finally, there are two special cases. The first is Vaughan Williams, whose *Sancta Civitas* clearly influenced the choral writing in *Atlántida* (see § 9.2). The second is Stravinsky, with whom Falla was on extraordinarily close terms, and whose music is more extensively represented in Falla's library than that of any other composer bar Debussy. Falla himself liked to think of his Russian colleague as an equal; this at any rate is the impression he sought to promote via Pahissa. But Stravinsky exerted a palpable influence on Falla from around 1915 onwards (see § 10.2 below), and that influence is documented in some detail (see Chapter 8).

10.1.3 A Latin art

Falla had a strong leaning towards French music – a bias reflected in his published writings, in his library, and, of course, in the number of Frenchmen among his friends. To some extent, his esteem for French music must have been due to his wide experience of it. He spent more time in France than in any other foreign country (longer even than in Argentina): seven years before World War I, then short visits almost every year during the subsequent decade.

Falla would have settled in France permanently in 1914 had it not been for the war,⁸ and he again considered moving there at the time of his last visit, in 1931.⁹ On more than one occasion, he declared it to be his 'seconde patrie' ('second fatherland'),¹⁰ and, during the war, he put up a united front with the Allies (one of Falla's very rare steps into the realms of politics, for that view that was by no means the prevailing one in officially-neutral Spain).¹¹ Georges Jean-Aubry records that

... ce jour où quittant Paris au début de la guerre et venant me dire adieu, il entra chez moi, plein de son amitié entière pour la France, en disant: '*Nous* avons pris Mulhouse.'¹²

⁸ PM, 79-80.

⁹ PM, 44 and 154. He also considered emigrating to Switzerland around that time.

¹⁰ For instance, in letters to: Henri Collet, 23 October 1914 (Appendix 6.E.a); Paul Dukas, 30 September 1914 and 2 February 1935 (Appendix 2.A); Gabriel Grovlez, 29 January 1936 (Appendix 6.F.a); Schmitt, 6 November 1914 (Appendix 4.B.a); Charles-Marie Widor, undated [shortly after 26 January 1935] (draft at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7781).

¹¹ See Francisco J. Romero Salvadó, *Twentieth-Century Spain: Politics and Society in Spain, 1898-1998* (Basingstoke, 1999), 30.

¹² Georges Jean-Aubry, *La Musique et les nations* (Paris and London, 1922), 130; the emphasis is Jean-Aubry's. In fact, Falla did not leave Paris until around the end of August (as revealed in his letter to Dukas of 30 September 1914; see Appendix 2.A), and he did not visit Jean-Aubry on the day of his departure; in a letter sent to him from Madrid on 4 September 1914, he apologised that 'Je ne vous ai pas prévenu de mon départ de Paris, comme j'aurais voulu faire' ('I didn't warn you before I left Paris, as I'd have liked to have done'; letter preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7132/1). The meeting in question probably took place on 27 July 1914 (letter from Falla to Jean-Aubry, 25 July 1914, preserved in private collection; photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7133).

... that day when, leaving Paris at the beginning of the war, he came to bid me farewell, he came into my house, full of his complete friendship for France, saying: 'We have taken Mulhouse.'

Falla sought to justify his personal affiliation with France on cultural – and even genetic – terms; he perceived the French and Spanish peoples as belonging to a single Latin race. In the last letter he is known to have written before his departure from Paris in 1914, he celebrated the first French successes of the war with the words: '¡Viva *nuestra* raza, la inmortal, la grande!' ('Long live *our* immortal, great race!'; emphasis mine).¹³

In the closing months of the war, he made a similar declaration in order to claim racial kinship with Debussy:

Dígnese recogerlo su patria, la noble y gloriosa Francia, y nosotros, españoles, no olvidemos que el gran artista también nos pertenece en cierto modo.

Pensem con noble orgullo que fue un latino, uno de los nuestros, de esta gran familia de raza inmortal e invencible.¹⁴

We remember his homeland, the noble and glorious France, and we Spaniards should not forget that, in a way, the great artist also belongs to us.

We should bear in mind, with noble pride, that he was of Latin blood, one of us, of that great family of immortal and invincible race.

The epithet 'Latin' flowed from Falla's pen on more than one subsequent occasion. When Francis Poulenc sent him a copy of *Les Biches* in August 1924,¹⁵ he replied by congratulating him on having written 'une musique si latine, si française!' ('a music [that is] so Latin, so French!').¹⁶ He made a similar observation in a letter to the obscure French composer Claude Duboscq (1897-1938):

¹³ Letter from Falla to Leopoldo Matos, 9 August 1914, preserved at *E-LPah*; photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7265/2.

¹⁴ Falla, 'El arte profundo de Claudio Debussy', quoted in R. W., 'Ayer en el Aterneo' (see Appendix 3.F).

¹⁵ *E-GRmf*, inventory number 1167. The date is from the inscription.

¹⁶ Postcard from Falla to Poulenc, September 1924, preserved in a private collection (photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7441).

Sur le point de partir pour Bruxelles je vous écrit en hâte pour vous dire ma joie en recevant vos M.[atines], S.[arabandes] et G.[aillardes]¹⁷ qui m'ont vivement intéressé, d'autant plus qu'elles sont dans cette voie d'art latine qui nous est si chère ...¹⁸

On the verge of leaving for Brussels, I'm writing to you in haste to express to you my joy at receiving your *Matines, Sarabandes et Gaillardes* which have keenly interested me, especially since they're in that Latin mode of art which is so dear to us ...

Falla also claimed kinship with the Italians; according to Casella, he described Italy too as his 'seconda patria' ('second homeland'),¹⁹ and his wartime correspondence with that composer revolves around the shared concept of a brotherhood of Latin musical nations: France, Italy and Spain. Falla visited Italy on four occasions (indeed, his last trip abroad before 1939 was to Venice), and he counted at least four Italian composers among his friends (including Rieti and Castelnuovo-Tedesco as well as Casella and Malipiero).²⁰ He was, however, far less interested in Italian music than in French – partly, no doubt, because he was exposed to less of it.

This suggests that his belief in the 'nouvel art latin' (as Casella called it)²¹ was founded on theory rather than on a real awareness of specific musical or even aesthetic similarities. It was probably motivated largely by a political reaction to the Germanic music that he so despised, exacerbated no doubt by his sense of indignation at the horrors of the First World War.

¹⁷ Falla's copy of Duboscq's *Matines, Sarabandes et Gaillardes* is preserved at *E-GRmf*, inventory number 337.

¹⁸ Letter from Falla to Duboscq, undated [13 April 1923 or shortly before], draft preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6296).

¹⁹ Alfredo Casella, 'Visita a Falla', *L'Italia letteraria*, 2 February 1930, 5 (article reprinted in Casella, 21 + 26 [Rome, 1931], 195-202; this reference on pp. 200-1).

²⁰ See § 7.1.1.

²¹ Letter from Casella to Falla, 1 December 1915 (see Appendix 7.A.a).

10.1.4 A national art

French and Italian composers apart, most of the foreign composers whose names appear in Falla's address book originated from countries on the geographical and cultural peripheries of Europe. Among the northern and eastern European composers whose music he admired were Bartók, Kodály and Vaughan Williams. These three composers are linked with Falla by similarities in their methods of combining the most progressive contemporary trends with distinctive national characteristics derived from folk music. Falla would probably have been even more interested in the work of his British and Hungarian contemporaries had he had greater opportunity to hear and study their work.

By far the most influential composer in this category, however, is one whose music Falla knew intimately: Stravinsky. Falla commented in plain terms on his belief in Stravinsky's significance for contemporary Spanish composers in 'El gran músico de nuestro tiempo', and it is the national elements of Stravinsky's art to which he draws most attention:

Sigamos nosotros este ejemplo, más precioso para España que para ningún otro país, puesto que los elementos populares, tradicional y religioso de la música rusa son los mismos que han dado origen a los cantos y a las danzas de nuestro pueblo.²²

We ourselves follow this example, more precious for Spain than for any other country, for the popular, traditional and religious elements of Russian music are precisely those that gave rise to the songs and dances of our people.

He concludes this article by referring to the Spanish-style compositions of older generations of Russian composers:

²² FS (FEs, 30 [FO, 11]).

No olvidemos que los compositores rusos (Glinka y Rimsky-Korsakov, entre otros) fueron los que primero han hecho música sinfónica española ...²³

Let's not forget that Russian composers (Glinka and Rimsky-Korsakov, among others) were the first to compose Spanish symphonic music ...

He returned to this topic in *El 'cante jondo' (canto primitivo andaluz)*,²⁴ where he notes that Stravinsky intended to compose a piece based on 'nuestros cantos y nuestros ritmos' ('our songs and our rhythms').²⁵ He also comments on the important contributions to 'Spanish' music made by Debussy and Ravel.²⁶ As has been seen (§ 3.4.2.2), Falla considered Debussy's use of Spanish idioms to be revelatory.

The use of folk material by composers of other nationalities was clearly a subject of great interest to Falla, and it may safely be assumed that his study of it contributed much to his own distinctive use of popular elements: it has already been noted (§ 8.4) that his approach to popular music was very similar to Stravinsky's. And he did not learn only from foreign composers' methods of using the music of their own people; he was also influenced by their employment of Spanish material.

(It is curious, however, that Falla seems to have had little interest in the work of his Scandinavian and Finnish contemporaries, especially given his childhood enthusiasm for Grieg.²⁷ Admittedly, he is unlikely to have known much music by the likes of Sibelius and Nielsen; neither was a popular composer in contemporary Spain and France, and none of their compositions is found in Falla's library.)

²³ FS (FEs, 30 [FO, 11]).

²⁴ FC, 13-16 (FEs, 172-5 [FO, 106-8]).

²⁵ FC, 16 (FEs, 175 [FO, 108]).

²⁶ FC, 16-18 (FEs, 175-7 [FO, 108-9]).

²⁷ RM, 19.

10.2 THE INFLUENCE OF FALLA'S CONTEMPORARIES: AN OVERVIEW

The evolution of Falla's musical style is linked chronologically with his travels in Europe and his friendships with foreign composers. Before 1907, his knowledge of contemporary music outside Spain was severely limited: 'l'auteur de *la Vie brève*', writes Roland-Manuel, 'ignorait complètement, à cette époque, les trouvailles de l'École russe et le grand miracle debussyste' ('the composer of *La vida breve* knew nothing, at that time, of the work of the Russian School and of the great Debussian miracle').²⁸ Nevertheless, it was his experience of a small number of modern French works – Dukas's *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*, Debussy's *Danses sacrée et profane* and Ravel's *Sonatine* (see §§ 2.3, 3.3 and 4.3 respectively) – which confirmed his desire to study in France. The move to Paris was undoubtedly the most momentous decision of his entire life – a fact that he himself recognised almost as soon as he arrived there: 'Lástima del tiempo que he perdido en Madrid' ('What a shame about the time I wasted in Madrid'), he wrote in a contemporary letter to Salvador Viniegra.²⁹

With the hindsight of almost thirty years, Falla told Pahissa:

Sin París, yo hubiera quedado enterrado en Madrid, hundido y olvidado, arrastrando una vida oscura, viviendo miserablemente de unas lecciones y guardando, como un recuerdo de familia, en un marco, el premio, y en un armario, la partitura de mi ópera.³⁰

Without Paris, I would have remained buried in Madrid, submerged and forgotten, dragging out an obscure existence, living miserably by giving a few lessons, with the prize certificate framed as a family memento and the score of my opera in a cupboard.

²⁸ RM, 23.

²⁹ The letter is quoted in V, 76. It was probably sent around the end of 1907.

³⁰ PV, 43; translation by Jean Wagstaff from PM, 38. The prize certificate to which Falla refers is that which he won in 1905 for the composition of *La vida breve*. Falla makes a very similar observation in his letter to Koehlin of 25 April 1933 (see Appendix 5.A).

It was during that stay in Paris between 1907 and 1914 that Falla was most deeply immersed in international musical life and in most regular contact with his foreign contemporaries. Unsurprisingly, it is also the period when his music changed most dramatically and profoundly.

We know that it was by means of his detailed study of contemporary French music at that time, under the tutelage of Dukas and Debussy, that he obtained his mastery of orchestration. The rewards reaped through that course of study may be observed in the remarkably refined orchestration of the final version of *La vida breve*, its marked advance on the original scoring (as revealed by the few fragments to have survived),³¹ and its employment of certain instruments and devices whose use Falla had studied in works by his two 'maîtres' (see §§ 2.4.1.2 and 3.4.2.1). The shimmering orchestration of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, begun in France in 1909 (though not completed until 1915), is even more obviously indebted to his French contemporaries.

The immediate effects of his exposure to modern French music may be seen in the first two works he composed after arriving in Paris. The second of those works, the *Trois Mélodies* (1910; settings in the original French of poems by Gautier) demonstrate Falla's proficiency at pastiche and his keen sensibility towards contemporary fashions. The first, 'Les Colombes', is a beautiful but typical French *chanson*, with a soaring, syllabic vocal line and an undulating piano accompaniment of broken chords; nothing in the song identifies it as the work of a Spaniard. In length, mood, metre and key, it may be compared directly with 'En sourdine', the first of Debussy's *Fêtes galantes* (Example 10.2.i). Its modal language is similar too: 'Les Colombes' concludes with a G♯ Phrygian melody over a G♯ minor harmony, while the G♯ Aeolian melody at the end of 'En sourdine' has shades of B major in the bass. Falla's copy of the first volume of *Fêtes galantes* bears evidence of having been heavily used;³² it is stamped by Durand, and was probably acquired during his stay in Paris before the war – very probably before he composed the *Trois Mélodies*.

³¹ See Yvan Nommick, 'Manuel de Falla: De *La vida breve* de 1905 à *La vie brève* de 1913: genèse et évolution d'une œuvre', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, xxx, 3 (1994), 83-5.

³² See § 3.3 and Appendix 3.B.

PIANO

pp

pp *poco*

2 Ped.

morendo *poco rit.*

pp

ppp

Falla, *Trois Mélodies*, 'Les Colombes', last five bars (piano part only).

PIANO

più pp

m. d. *m. g.* *m. g.* *m. d.*

En se perdant

Debussy, *Fêtes galantes*, i, 'En sourdine', last five bars (piano part only).

Example 10.2.i

As has been seen (§ 3.4.1.2), the second of the set, 'Chinoiserie', was actually reworked in accordance with Debussy's specific recommendations. Its quasi-oriental style – suggestions of pentatonic scales and sonorities reminiscent of the gamelan – is typical of much French music of the period; an example which Falla would have known at that time is Debussy's 'Pagodes' (from

Estampes).³³ Finally, the third song in the set, 'Seguidille', is a fine pastiche of the entirely diatonic mock-Spanish style so popular in France at the time: not so much *à la* Debussy as *à la* Bizet.

The *Four Spanish Pieces* (1909) present an even neater illustration of the evolution of Falla's style during this period. The first two pieces in this set were composed in Madrid before his departure for France in 1907, the last two entirely in Paris.³⁴ The first two are certainly the most original and demanding works for piano that Falla had written up to then; nevertheless, their harmonic and pianistic language represents little advance on the style of, say, Liszt. But with the third piece, 'Montañesa', comes a perceptible shift in style. For one thing, the directions to the pianist are more exacting: there are more dynamic and pedal markings and a much wider range of articulation. The harmony is no longer diatonic with chromatic inflections (as in the first two pieces); instead, it is flooded with added sixths, unresolved sevenths and quartal harmonies. Pentatonic scales are used to evoke the sound of bells; Debussy used precisely the same device in 'La cathédrale engloutie' (*Préludes*, Book 1) at almost exactly the same time (1910) (Example 10.2.ii). The relationship between the melody and the accompaniment recalls Debussian techniques too: there are similarities, for instance, between the way in which the opening arabesque unfurls over a static harmony in 'La soirée dans Grenade' (from *Estampes*) and the treatment of the melodies at the 'Più animato' of 'Montañesa' (bar 29 onwards) and the 'Doppio più lento ma sempre mosso' of the fourth piece, 'Andaluza' (bar 49 onwards) (Example 10.2.iii).

That these stylistic changes are due to a specifically French influence is confirmed by the far greater number of French words and phrases in the score in the last two pieces, not least in the subtitle to the third: 'Paysage'. There is no French at all in the first of the set, while the second has just three short

³³ Falla's copy of the *Estampes* was probably acquired in Madrid in or before 1907; it is stamped by Casa Dotesio. See Appendix 3.B.

³⁴ Pahissa claims that Falla had begun the third piece before he left Madrid, but this assertion is contradicted by Falla's letter to Collet of 15 April 1909 (see Appendix 6.E.a), in which he explains that this piece was inspired by the scenery he encountered during his concert tour in northern Spain in January 1908.

Musical score for Falla's *Four Spanish Pieces*, 'Montañesa', bars 1-2. The score is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. The upper staff features a melodic line with a slur over the first two measures. The lower staff has a bass line with a '2^{da} Red.' marking and a 'p.' dynamic marking. The instruction *pp quasi campani* is written above the first measure.

Falla, *Four Spanish Pieces*, 'Montañesa', bars 1-2.

Musical score for Debussy's *Préludes*, i, 'La Cathédrale engloutie', bars 1-2. The score is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 4/2 time signature. The upper staff has a complex texture with a slur and an '8' marking above it. The lower staff has a bass line with a slur and an '8' marking. The instruction *pp* is written above the first measure.

Debussy, *Préludes*, i, 'La Cathédrale engloutie', bars 1-2.

Example 10.2.ii

Musical score for Falla's *Four Spanish Pieces*, 'Andaluza', bars 49-51. The score is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. The upper staff has a melodic line with slurs and markings for triplets (3) and quintuplets (5). The lower staff has a bass line with slurs and accents. The instruction *f bien chantant très expressif et la mélodie toujours bien en dehors* is written above the first measure. A 'Red.' marking is present below the first measure.

Falla, *Four Spanish Pieces*, 'Andaluza', bars 49-51.

Musical score for Debussy's *Estampes*, 'La soirée dans Grenade', bars 7-11. The score is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 4/4 time signature. The upper staff has a melodic line with a slur and an '8' marking above it. The lower staff has a bass line with a slur and an '8' marking. The instruction *pp expressif* is written below the first measure. A '3' marking is present below the fifth measure.

Debussy, *Estampes*, 'La soirée dans Grenade', bars 7-11.

Example 10.2.iii

words ('court', 'cédez' and 'expressif'), perhaps added after Falla's arrival in France. The French markings in the last two pieces are much longer and more imaginative: 'Montañesa' has 'le chant bien en dehors' and 'comme un écho' (tellingly, 'Cubana' had used 'come un eco'), while 'Andaluza' has (among others) 'lointain', 'très rythmé et avec un sentiment sauvage', and (as seen in Example 10.2.iii above) 'bien chantant[,] très expressif et la mélodie toujours bien en dehors'. These directions all relate to the expressive interpretation of the music rather than to its technical execution, and their precision recalls similar instructions which abound in contemporary French piano music; 'en dehors' was a particular favourite of both Debussy and Ravel.

After *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, the French influence on Falla abated. But he continued to write in a typically French style on occasion, where circumstances demanded it. An obvious case is the *Homenaje (Pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy)*, in which he deliberately emulated elements of Debussy's musical language. Another is *Psyché*, his only setting, other than the *Trois Mélodies*, of a French text. The Gallicism of that work is largely due to two factors: the orchestration (flute, harp, violin, viola and cello), reminiscent especially of Ravel's *Introduction and Allegro*; and the arabesque flute writing, which calls to mind Debussy's *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune*.

That Falla's post-1915 music sounds less French is largely due to the growth of another influence: that of Stravinsky. It has already been noted (§§ 8.4 and 10.1.4) that Falla perceived Stravinsky's example to represent the best way forward for progressive Spanish composers, largely on account of his use of smaller ensembles and his approach to the employment of popular material. (It was probably around this time too that Falla began to take an interest in the national styles of other contemporary composers, including Bartók and Kodály;³⁵ see §§ 9.1.2 and 9.1.3.)

El amor brujo (1915), *The Three-Cornered Hat* (1916-19) and *Fantasia bætica* (1919) are all heavily indebted to *Petrushka* and *The Rite of Spring*, not least in terms of their rhythmic language; it is difficult to imagine that Falla

³⁵ Both composers are mentioned in FI, written in 1916 (FEs, 41 [FO, 21]).

would have created the static harmonies and ostinato rhythms of the 'Ritual Fire Dance' or the 'Miller's Dance' had he not been exposed to Stravinsky's ballets (see Example 10.2.iv). *Petrushka* and *The Rite* also exerted a considerable influence on the formal structure of *El amor brujo* and *The Three-Cornered Hat*: all are built up of short, discrete sections – in marked contrast to the more fluid structures of *Daphnis et Chloé* and *Jeux*, for instance.

Moderato assai, molto ritmico e pesante

BASSOONS *ff*

HORNS *ff*

HARP (sulla tavola) *ff*

VIOLINS 1 *ff* sul pont.

VIOLINS 2 *ff* sul pont.

VIOLAS *ff* sul pont.

CELLOS *ff* sul pont.

DOUBLE BASSES *ff marc.* pizz.

Falla, *The Three-Cornered Hat*, 'The Miller's Dance', figure 2, bars 1-4.
All instruments except double basses at sounding pitch.

Example 10.2.iv (continued overleaf)

Moderato

CLARINETS 3 & 4

HORNS

TUBA

TIMPANI

VIOLINS 1

VIOLINS 2

VIOLAS

CELLOS

DOUBLE BASSES

Stravinsky, *Petrushka* (1911 version), 'Danse des cochers et des palefreniers', figure 108, bars 1-6. All instruments except double basses at sounding pitch.

Example 10.2.iv

To judge from the contents of Falla's library, Stravinsky was the only composer whose music he kept under close observation throughout the 1920s. As has been seen (§ 8.4), the scoring and some of the textures of Falla's *Concerto* may have been suggested by Stravinsky's *Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments*. This, however, is an isolated case of direct influence. In the 1920s, Falla seems to have been swayed more by the spirit than by the letter of Stravinsky's music. It may be, for instance, that the dramatic form of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* owes something to *The Nightingale*, *Renard* and even *The Soldier's Tale* – its stylised manner is certainly more closely related to those three works than to *Pelléas et Mélisande*, *Ariane et Barbe-bleue* or *L'Heure espagnole* – though it is clear that Falla did not seek to emulate any

of them directly. Similarly, *Renard* may have influenced the orchestration of the *Puppet Show*: both make use of reduced instrumental ensembles and unusual instruments (the cimbalom and the harpsichord), but in very different ways.

Perhaps the most obvious example of the filtered nature of Stravinsky's influence on Falla in the 1920s lies in the two composers' approaches to the use of early music in their own compositions. Falla's neo-classicism is markedly different from Stravinsky's: essentially, it involved techniques of deconstruction and collage similar to those used by both men in their adaptation of authentic folksongs (see § 8.4). Occasional quotations apart, Falla created his original material from the modes, sonorities and ornamental figures of early music; he was never content to reuse music by earlier composers in more or less its original form, as Stravinsky did in *Pulcinella* and *The Fairy's Kiss*. Stravinsky's later neo-classical works (not least the Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments) are indebted to the structures and aesthetics of early music, but shy away from its actual sound. Nevertheless, the neo-classical elements of Falla's musical language would probably never have developed in the absence of Stravinsky's pioneering example.

Falla's decision to set Verdaguer's *Atlántida* reveals that at the end of the decade he was still being swept along by contemporary currents. Large-scale works were in vogue again, as were mythological and religious subjects: in 1926, the year before he began to compose *Atlántida*, he heard performances of Honegger's *King David* and Kodály's *Psalmus hungaricus* at the ISCM Festival in Zurich.³⁶ The following year, he was given a copy of *Ædipus Rex*,³⁷ and two years later he was sent a score of *Sancta Civitas*.³⁸

Falla's self-enforced avoidance of hearing the *Symphony of Psalms* (see § 8.4) was undoubtedly motivated by a desire to save *Atlántida* from succumbing to Stravinsky's all-pervading influence. That decision, made in 1930, coincides

³⁶ Performances of both works took place on 17 and 18 June 1926 at the Großen Tonhalleaal (programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: NFE 1926-003. and FE 1926-014 to 017).

³⁷ See Appendix 8.B.

³⁸ See Appendix 9.F.

with the beginning of the decline in Falla's exposure to contemporary European music. The reasons for this decline are well known: ill health and isolation in provincial Argentina, following on from political unrest and the Spanish Civil War. But Falla's isolation was not entirely forced on him, for he could have chosen to live in any one of a number of major musical centres unaffected by the conflicts of the 1930s and 40s; in 1931, for instance, he considered moving to Switzerland.³⁹

It is tempting to conclude, therefore, that he had come to find the influence of his contemporaries so overwhelming that he felt that it inhibited his own inspiration. This ties in with the documentary evidence: by the end of the 1920s, he had almost entirely ceased to purchase scores of contemporary music. Most of his copies of the musical supplements to 1930s issues of *Le Monde musical* remained uncut,⁴⁰ and he owned few recordings of contemporary music (though much light music).

Yet, even in the absence of such influence, he was unable to complete *Atlántida*. Paradoxically, almost everything he completed after 1927 was based on themes that were not his own: the *Balada de Mallorca* (1933; based on a Chopin's F major *Ballade*, op. 38), *Pour le tombeau de Paul Dukas* (1935; based on themes from Dukas's Piano Sonata), and the remaining movements of the *Homenajes* suite: the fanfare on a theme created from the letters of the name of E. F. Arbós (1934), and 'Pedrelliana' (1938-9; based on themes from Pedrell's *La Celestina*). This fact raises the tantalising possibility that the work of his contemporaries was an indispensable catalyst to his own powers of invention.

³⁹ PM, 154.

⁴⁰ E-GRmf, inventory number 7861.

10.3 SOME POSSIBLE DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The present study lays the foundation for further investigation into the nature and significance of Falla's relationships with contemporary composers of other nationalities. There are two directions that such research may take.

First, the investigation might be widened by carrying out a similar study of Falla's relations with composers of other nationalities (notably South American composers, and even Spanish ones), and of different generations. An especially interesting field of enquiry would involve the younger generation of European composers whom Falla befriended after World War I: composers such as Francis Poulenc, Darius Milhaud, Georges Auric, Arthur Honegger, Henri Sauguet, Pierre-Octave Ferroud and Georges Migot in France,⁴¹ Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Vittorio Rieti in Italy,⁴² and Eugène Goossens and William Walton in Britain.⁴³

As noted at the beginning of this dissertation (§ 1.2.1), Falla's interaction with these men was different from that with composers of his own generation. Many of them looked up to him as a master; they sent him copies of their

⁴¹ There are 24 surviving items of correspondence between Falla and Poulenc (private collection and *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7441), 42 between Falla and Milhaud (private collection and *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7282), 13 between Falla and Auric (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6725), five between Falla and Sauguet (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7601), 12 between Falla and Ferroud (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6981), and four between Falla and Migot (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7281). Falla and Honegger were photographed together at the ICSM Festival in Zurich in 1926 (*E-GRmf*, photograph number 7/40 bis).

⁴² There are 12 surviving items of correspondence between Falla and Castelnuovo-Tedesco (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6832), and two from Rieti to Falla (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7489).

⁴³ There are seven surviving items of correspondence between Falla and Goossens (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7067). No correspondence survives between Falla and Walton, but it is probable that they met in Siena in 1928 (Walton conducted a performance of *Façade* there on 14 September [programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1928-025]), when Walton may have given Falla copies of the three works by that composer in his library: *Façade*, *Portsmouth Point* and *Siesta* (*E-GRmf*, inventory numbers 663, 664 and 665 respectively).

latest scores and several dedicated compositions to him. In return, Falla offered unconditional praise (albeit usually in the most general terms), and occasionally even presented them with specific compositional advice (notably in the case of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Dos romances viejos*).⁴⁴

A study of his relations with these younger composers would be unlikely to reveal that he was directly influenced by them. Nevertheless, it would shed light on his attitude towards the work of his younger contemporaries, and, if approached via the archives of the other composers concerned, it might well produce evidence of how and where they were influenced by him. This was an influence that at least some of them recognised, not least Poulenc; the handwritten dedication in Falla's copy of *Concert champêtre* for harpsichord and orchestra (1927-8), for instance, reads:

Pour vous, mon cher Falla,
ce tout petit frère de votre si magnifique Concerto –
Fr. Poulenc⁴⁵

For you, my dear Falla,
this tiny little brother to your quite magnificent *Concerto* –
Fr. Poulenc

Secondly, the present study might be extended by the undertaking of an analytical investigation into similarities of style and technique in the work of Falla and his contemporaries.⁴⁶ This would undoubtedly reveal further European influences on Falla's work, and might even suggest ways in which he exerted his own influence on composers of his generation. Moreover, an investigation of that nature would not need to be restricted to composers with whom Falla was personally acquainted, or to pieces of music that he knew; for scores in his library and works listed in concert programmes in his collection

⁴⁴ Letter from Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Falla, 15 March 1934, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6832; letter from Falla to Castelnuovo-Tedesco, 27 March 1934, draft preserved at same location.

⁴⁵ The dedication is in Falla's copy of the miniature score (*E-GRmf*, inventory number 1166).

⁴⁶ As noted in § 8.1 above, this is an area of research urged also by Louis Jambou in 'Stravinsky y Falla: Influencias y paralelismos: Parámetros para un estudio', in Antonio Álvarez Cañibano, Pilar V. Gutiérrez Dorado and Cristina Marcos Patiño (eds.), *Relaciones musicales entre España y Rusia* (Madrid, 1999), 116.

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can represent only a fraction of the total amount of music he must have heard. And surely not every instance of direct influence is documented.

Research of this nature has been carried out in relation to the influence on Falla of only two composers. Anna Rita Addessi has investigated some of the correspondences between Falla's music and Debussy's,⁴⁷ and Gianfranco Vinay has skimmed the surface of the relationship between Falla's work and Stravinsky's.⁴⁸ Both of these studies founder in one important respect, however: the purely hypothetical nature of their findings. This is a pitfall of any analytical research which fails to take account of contextual evidence. It is hoped that the present dissertation will provide the necessary historical and documentary foundation of a broad comparative study of the musical language of Falla and of his European contemporaries.

⁴⁷ Anna Rita Addessi, 'Aspects de l'"influence" stylistique de Debussy sur Manuel de Falla', in LU, 179-203; *Id.*, *Claude Debussy e Manuel de Falla: un caso di influenza stilistica* (Bologna, 2000).

⁴⁸ Gianfranco Vinay, 'Falla et Stravinsky: confrontation en deux volets', in LU, 405-17.

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