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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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

Collins, Chris

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**MANUEL DE FALLA AND HIS
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ENCOUNTERS, RELATIONSHIPS
AND INFLUENCES**

CHRISTOPHER GUY COLLINS

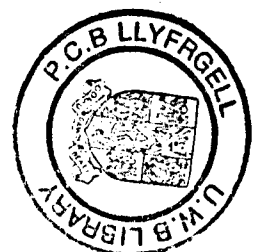
VOLUME 1 (OF 2)

(pages 1-353)

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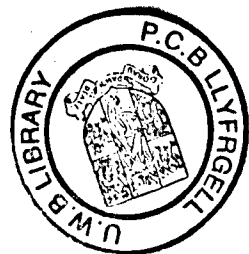
**MANUEL DE FALLA AND HIS
EUROPEAN CONTEMPORARIES:
ENCOUNTERS, RELATIONSHIPS
AND INFLUENCES**

CHRISTOPHER GUY COLLINS

Dissertation submitted in whole fulfilment
of the requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Wales, Bangor

19 July 2002



CHRISTOPHER GUY COLLINS

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

SUMMARY

Manuel de Falla was the only Spanish composer of his generation whose music was – and is – widely performed and admired outside his own country. The universal acceptance of his work is due in no small part to the cosmopolitan elements of his musical language: elements which developed as a result of his wide experience of music by contemporary composers of other nationalities.

This dissertation investigates relationships between Falla and other European composers of his own generation (except fellow Spaniards), including Dukas, Debussy, Ravel, Schmitt, Roussel, Delage, Koechlin, Casella, Malipiero, Stravinsky, Kodály, Bartók, Szymanowski, Vaughan Williams and others. Falla's friendship with each composer is discussed, as is his knowledge and experience of their music, and documented instances (where they exist) of their influence on his own work.

The investigation is based on examination of historical documents (most of them preserved at the Archivo Manuel de Falla, Granada) and primary sources, including items of correspondence (mostly unpublished), printed scores (including Falla's own annotated collection), concert programmes, contemporary press reviews and articles, manuscripts, published memoirs, and photographs.

Transcriptions of surviving correspondence between Falla and his European contemporaries are included as appendices, along with inventories of scores of contemporary music in his library, and of performances of it which he gave and at which he was present.

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Chris Collins

Bangor, 19 July 2002

ABBREVIATIONS

Bibliographical abbreviations

- D Suzanne Demarquez, *Manuel de Falla* (Paris, 1963).
- G Antonio Gallego, *Catalogo de obras de Manuel de Falla* (Madrid, 1987).
- IC Javier Suárez-Pajares (ed.), *Iconography: Manuel de Falla 1876-1946: The image of a musician* (translated by Yolanda F. Acker) (Madrid, 1995).
- LU Louis Jambou (ed.), *Manuel de Falla: Latinité et Universalité: Actes du Colloque International tenu en Sorbonne 18-21 novembre 1996* (Paris, 1999).
- NG Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980).
- NGr Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2nd edn., London, 2001).
- PM Jaime Pahissa, *Manuel de Falla: His Life and Works* (translated by Jean Wagstaff) (London, 1954).
- PO Gonzalo Armero and Jorge de Persia (eds.), *Manuel de Falla: His Life and Works* (translated by Tom Skipp) (London, 1999) [originally published in Spanish as *Poesía*, 36-7 (Autumn-Winter 1991-2); same page numbers apply].
- PV Jaime Pahissa, *Vida y obra de Manuel de Falla* (Buenos Aires, 1947). [Page numbers in this source are identical to those in PVr.]
- PVr Jaime Pahissa, *Vida y obra de Manuel de Falla* (2nd edn., Buenos Aires, 1956).
- RM Roland-Manuel, *Manuel de Falla* (Paris, 1930; reprinted 1977).
- SE Paolo Pinamonti (ed.), *Manuel de Falla tra la Spagna e l'Europa: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Venezia, 15-17 maggio 1987)* (Florence, 1989).
- SV Federico Sopena, *Vida y obra de Manuel de Falla* (Madrid, 1988).
- T J. B. Trend, *Manuel de Falla and Spanish Music* (London, 1929).
- V Juan J. Viniegra (with Carmen and Carlos Martel Viniegra), *Vida íntima de Manuel de Falla y Matheu* (Cadiz, 1966).

Writings of Falla

- FA Manuel de Falla, 'Prólogo a *La música francesa contemporánea* de G. Jean-Aubry', *Revista musical hispanoamericana*, 31 August 1916, 2-4 [reproduced in FEs, 43-50; translated in FO, 22-6].
- FC Anon. [Manuel de Falla], *El 'cante jondo' (canto primitivo andaluz)* (Granada, 1922; reprinted 1997) [reproduced in FEs, 163-86; translated in FO, 99-117].
- FD Manuel de Falla, 'Claude Debussy et l'Espagne', *La Revue musicale*, i, 2 (1 December 1920), 206-10 [Spanish translation in FEs, 72-8; English translations in FO, 41-5, and Edward Lockspeiser, *Debussy: His Life and Mind*, ii (London, 1965), 255-61].
- FES Manuel de Falla (ed. Federico Sopena), *Escritos sobre música y músicos*, 4th edn. (Madrid, 1988).
- FI Manuel de Falla, 'Introducción a la música nueva', *Revista musical hispanoamericana*, 31 December 1916, 4-6 [reproduced in FEs, 30-43; translated in FO, 13-21].
- FM Falla, 'Nuestra música', *Música*, 9 (June 1917), 1-5 [reproduced in FEs, 54-8; translated in FO, 30-3].
- FO Manuel de Falla (ed. Federico Sopena), *On Music and Musicians* (translated by David Urman and J. M. Thomson) (London, 1979).
- FP Manuel de Falla, 'Felipe Pedrell, 1841-1922', *La Revue musicale*, iv, 4 (1 February 1923), 1-11 [original Spanish text in FEs, 84-99; translated in FO, 54-64].
- FR Manuel de Falla, 'Notes sur Ravel', *La Revue musicale*, xx, 189 (March 1939), 81-6 [original Spanish text in FEs, 150-6; translated in FO, 93-7].
- FS Manuel de Falla, 'El gran músico de nuestro tiempo: Igor Stravinsky', *La Tribuna* (Madrid), 5 June 1916, 4 [reproduced in FEs, 27-30; translated in FO, 9-12].
- FW Manuel de Falla, 'Notas sobre Wagner en su cincuentenario', *Cruz y raya*, 6 (September 1933), 65-81 [reproduced in FEs, 137-46; translated in FO, 81-7].

Archive sigla

<i>E-Bc</i>	Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona, Spain.
<i>E-GRmf</i>	Archivo Manuel de Falla, Granada, Spain.
<i>E-GRu</i>	Universidad de Granada, Granada, Spain.
<i>E-LPah</i>	Archivo Histórico, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Spain.
<i>E-MOma</i>	Museu-Arxiu, Montblanc i Comarca, Spain.
<i>F-Pn</i>	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France.

1 PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

1.1 THE PURPOSE OF THIS INVESTIGATION

There is a tendency for historians of twentieth-century music to confine their commentary on Falla's music to a brief discussion of its most obviously Spanish qualities.¹ To some extent this is understandable: Falla was intensely proud of his nationality, and almost all of his music is clothed in the colours of his country and its culture, whether by contextual means (settings of Spanish literary texts, 'tone-pictures' of places in Spain, declared allusions to typically Spanish traditions, etc.)² or by purely musical ones (quotations of Spanish early music, use of cadential figures typical of Spanish folk music, sonorities suggestive of the flamenco guitar, etc.).³

Indeed, Spanishness was an essential ingredient of his inspiration, without which he was unable to compose. This is evident in *Psyché*: a setting of a French-language poem which has no obvious Spanish connotations. Of all his works apart from *Atlántida*, this one perhaps had the most difficult birth: he received the poem from its author Georges Jean-Aubry in June 1917,⁴ but it

¹ See, for instance, Donald Jay Grout and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music* (5th edn., New York, 1996), 676-7.

² The specific pieces I have in mind are respectively *Master Peter's Puppet Show* (a near-verbatim setting of Cervantes), *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, and the second movement of the *Concerto* (which, in the score, is dated 'A. Dom. MCMXXVI. In Festo Corporis Christi', and whose slow rhythm in regular crotchets, allied with tolling bell effects [figure 7], clearly connotes a traditional Spanish religious procession).

³ Here, I am thinking of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* (which quotes from music by the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century composers Francisco de Salinas, Francisco Guerrero and Gaspar Sanz [see Antonio Gallego, 'Dulcinea en el Prado (Verde y Florido)', in *Revista de Musicología*, x, 2 (1987), 685-99]), *El amor brujo* (where cadences often involve the flattened supertonic typical of Andalusian folk music), and *Fantasia bætica*.

⁴ Letter from Jean-Aubry to Falla, 20 June 1917, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7131/1.

was not until 1921 that he began to set it to music,⁵ and it took him a further three years to complete it.⁶ Falla solved the difficulties it posed by devising a Spanish context for the piece that was completely independent of the poem itself, and which he describes in the preface to the score:

Me rappelant que Philippe V et sa femme Isabelle Farnèse ont habité vers 1730 le palais de l'Alhambra, j'ai imaginé, en composant cette *Psyché*, un petit concert de cour qui aurait lieu à ce Boudoir de la Reine, que nous nommons 'tocador de la Reina' et qui, placé sur une haute tour, découvre une vue parfaitement magnifique. L'intérieur de cet appartement est décoré dans la manière qui a illustré cette époque, ma musique s'est efforcée de lui ressembler et il n'y a rien que de très naturel à ce que les dames de la Reine jouent et chantent sur un sujet mythologique fort en honneur en ce temps-là.⁷

Remembering that Philip V and his wife Elizabeth Farnese lived in the Alhambra palace around 1730, I imagined, in composing this *Psyché*, a little courtly concert which would have taken place in the Queen's Bedchamber, which we call 'tocador de la Reina' and which, situated at the top of a high tower, looks out over a perfectly magnificent view. The interior of that apartment is decorated in a manner typical of that period; my music endeavours to resemble it and it would be entirely natural for the Queen's ladies-in-waiting to play and sing on a mythological subject very much in favour at that time.

But, while there can be no value in playing down the Spanish characteristics of Falla's oeuvre, any assessment of it that takes no account of the universality of his musical language – of its alignment with developments in contemporary music on the other side of the Pyrenees – is only partly satisfactory; for it is precisely the European elements of his art which set it apart from that of other Spanish composers of his generation and make it so much more rewarding.

Falla was himself well-aware of the pan-European qualities of his work. In a remarkable article that he wrote in 1916, 'Introducción a la música nueva' ('Introduction to the new music'), he lists the most important and defining elements of the best contemporary music; all are prime ingredients of his own

⁵ Letter from Falla to Jean-Aubry, 21 September 1921, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7132/1.

⁶ The words 'Granada, 1924' are printed on the last page of the score (London: Chester, 1927).

⁷ Miniature score of *Psyché*, facing page 1; translation by the present writer. The preface is in the form of a letter to the dedicatee of the work, the singer Louise Alvar.

work. It is not to his own music that he relates his discussion, however, but to that of eleven representative composers of international reputation:

El espíritu y la tendencia de ese arte, que empezó a manifestarse de un modo preciso en las obras de Claude Debussy ... llega hasta las de Igor Stravinsky pasando por Paul Dukas y Florent Schmitt, en algunas de sus admirables producciones; por Erik Satie, que ha sido en cierto modo un precursor, por Maurice Ravel, Isaac Albéniz, Zoltan Kodály, Béla Bartók, Arnold Schönberg, Scriabin y otras de menor cuantía.

En todos estos compositores, de técnica absolutamente opuesta en muchos casos, encuéntrase una aspiración unánime: la 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, que no fue otro que el actual y el que siempre debiera haber conservado; un arte mágico de evocación de sentimientos, de seres y aun de lugares por medio del ritmo y de la sonoridad.

Abandonando las formas melódicas imperantes en los siglos XVII, XVIII y en los dos primeros tercios del XIX (esas formas más poeticoliterarias que musicales, procedentes del aria de carácter teatral las más veces y aplicadas sin excepción a composiciones puramente instrumentales).

Abandonando, de modo más o menos absoluto las dos únicas escalas que han venido usándose por espacio de tres siglos: los modos jónico y eólico de los griegos, que conocemos vulgarmente con los nombres de escala mayor y menor.

Efectuando superposiciones tonales con predominio de una tonalidad.

Restituyendo a la música los modos antiguos abandonados y creando libremente otros que obedecieran más directamente a la intención musical del compositor.

Destruyendo la forma tradicional del desarrollo temático (de no estar justificada por una causa especial) y dando a la música una forma exterior que sea como consecuencia inmediata del sentimiento interno de la misma, y todo ello dentro de las grandes divisiones establecidas por el ritmo y la tonalidad.⁸

The spirit and tendency of this art, which first appeared in a precise manner in the works of Claude Debussy, flows through to those of Igor Stravinsky via some of the fine achievements of Paul Dukas and Florent Schmitt; via Erik Satie, who has been to some extent a precursor, via Maurice Ravel, Isaac Albéniz, Zoltán Kodály, Béla Bartók, Arnold Schoenberg, Skryabin and others of less significance.

⁸ FI (FEs, 41-2 [FO, 20-1]); translation by the present writer.

In all these composers, whose techniques are in many cases completely opposed to one another's, a unanimous aspiration is encountered: that of producing 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, which is very much of the here-and-now and ought always to have been preserved; a magical art evoking feelings, things and even places by means of rhythm and sonority.

Abandoning the melodic forms that prevailed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth (forms that were more poetic and literary than musical, originating from the theatrical aria in most cases, and freely applied to purely instrumental compositions).

Abandoning more or less completely the two scales that have come to be used exclusively for three whole centuries: the Ionian and Aeolian modes of the Greeks, which we vulgarly term the major and minor scales.

Carrying out tonal superimpositions with one tonality predominating.

Restoring to music the abandoned ancient modes and freely creating others which accord more directly with the composer's musical intentions.

Destroying the traditional form of thematic development (if it is not justified by special circumstances) and giving to music an exterior form which is an immediate consequence of its internal feeling, and all that within the large divisions set out by the rhythm and the tonality.

It is evident from this excerpt that Falla's knowledge and experience of the work of his contemporaries was both profound and far-reaching, even in 1916. That knowledge was acquired not in Spain but in France: from 1907 to 1914 he lived in Paris, where he was exposed to the most progressive trends in contemporary music on an everyday basis. Between 1919 and 1932, he widened his musical horizons on regular and lengthy trips to other countries (especially France, England and Italy). In particular, he attended three festivals of contemporary music: the 1926 and 1928 ISCM festivals, in Zurich and Siena respectively, and the 1932 Festival Internazionale di Musica in Venice.⁹ The work of his European contemporaries is also well represented in his library of scores (many of which he studied closely), and he was kept up-to-date with the very latest developments as a subscriber to several music periodicals (including *La Revue musicale* and *Le Monde musical*). On occasion, he even took part in concert performances of his contemporaries' works.

⁹ Programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1926-014 to 017, FE 1928-025, and FE 1932-015.

Just as important as his interest in the latest European music is the way in which he interacted with the composers themselves. He came into some kind of social contact with many – perhaps most – of his major European contemporaries, especially those of French, Italian, British, Russian and Hungarian nationalities. Moreover, he enjoyed very close friendships with a number of them. It was through these associations that he was able to hear much of their work, to discuss it, and to share ideas; by the same token, it was his interest in and admiration of their work that fanned his desire to get to know them and to be counted as one of their number.

Curiously, failure to take full account of the universal context of Falla's work is a recent phenomenon. During his lifetime, it was taken for granted. It is significant that just as many of his major works were given their world premieres outside Spain as within it,¹⁰ and also that, from 1909 onwards, none of his works was published in Spain, all of them appearing instead in France, Great Britain or Italy. His music was held in the very highest esteem throughout western Europe by critics, composers and the general public alike. In 1929, J. B. Trend wrote that

The Puppet Show and the Harpsichord Concerto broke new ground by showing that a Spanish composer could cease to be obviously and recognizably Spanish and yet hold the attention of the whole of musical Europe. Falla's music ... gave everyone the chance of becoming acquainted with the tendencies of serious contemporary composers. His methods sometimes reminded the audience of Stravinsky, Bartók, or Vaughan Williams; but they seemed to be more immediately accessible, while the boldness of his design and the vigour of his execution never left his meaning in doubt.¹¹

Specifically, Trend recalls the following reaction to the London premiere of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*:

¹⁰ Viz. *Four Spanish Pieces*, *Trois Mélodies*, *La vida breve* and the first staged performance of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* (all given in Paris), *The Three-Cornered Hat* (premiered in London), the *Homenajes* suite (premiered in Buenos Aires), and the first staged performance of *Atlántida* (given in Milan).

¹¹ T, 175.

... Falla's Nocturnes stood out as serious, genuine music, and the audience at the Queen's Hall, though it will applaud most new things out of politeness, does not often break into cheers, as it did on this occasion.¹²

José Segura tells a similar tale about the reception of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* at the 1932 Venice International Music Festival:¹³

Ayer por la noche fue el concierto de Falla. Fue un éxito inmenso. El teatro estaba de bote en bote. Nosotros teníamos un palco y había tales compromisos, por la gente que se quedaba sin poder entrar, que al final tuvimos que cerrar la puerta del palco ... Yo no tenía idea del entusiasmo que por la música de don Manuel había en el extranjero. Las ovaciones fueron inmensas, al final ya se negó a salir más porque estaba fatigado.¹⁴

Last night was Falla's concert. It was an enormous success. The theatre was packed. We had a box and the circumstances were so awkward, with people who couldn't get in, that in the end we had to close the door of the box ... I had no idea of the enthusiasm that exists in other countries for Don Manuel's music. The ovations were enormous; in the end, he refused to come out any more because he was tired.

At the ISCM festival in Siena four years earlier, a performance of the *Concerto* was preceded by Webern's String Trio, op. 20.¹⁵ Juan Gisbert records the enormous difference in the audience's reaction to the two works, beginning with the Trio:

La tormenta comenzó desde el primer compás. Al final las protestas y las impresiones del público saltaron como un torrente. ... mi vecino de localidad, que resultó ser el crítico musical del 'Corriere della Sera', se puso en pie sobre la butaca y clamó a voz en grito: 'Yo protesto en nombre de Italia de esta música indecente'. ... Una vez calladas las protesta en la sala, Falla salió para dirigir la orquesta y interpretar él la parte del clavicémbalo. ¡Qué vehemencia y qué entusiasmo puso! Los dedos le sangraron y el teclado de clave, al

¹² T, 66.

¹³ The performance took place at the Teatro Goldoni on 13 September (programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1932-017).

¹⁴ Notes (probably diary entries) by José Segura, quoted in SV, 182.

¹⁵ 12 September 1928, at the Salone Chigi Saracini (programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1928-025).

final, aparecía manchado de rojo. Pero el triunfo fue enorme. Todos los congresistas acudieron para abrazar al gran músico español.¹⁶

The storm had begun by the end of the very first bar. At the end, the protests and emotions of the public leapt like a torrent. ... the man sitting next to me, who turned out to be the music critic of *Il Corriere della Sera*, climbed on to his seat and yelled out: 'I object in the name of Italy to this indecent music'. ... Once the protest in the hall had died down, Falla came out to conduct the orchestra and himself play the harpsichord part. What vehemence and what enthusiasm he presented! His fingers were bleeding and the harpsichord's keyboard, at the end, appeared to be stained red. But the triumph was enormous. All the delegates came to embrace the great Spanish composer.

Falla's music was especially popular in France. Festivals devoted to his works were given in Paris in 1928 and 1930.¹⁷ In a review of the second of these festivals, Louis Aubert observed that

... les Parisiens ont été ravis de témoigner au grand musicien qui leur faisait visite, le plaisir qu'ils éprouvaient de le voir présent parmi eux, et de l'assurer, une fois de plus, de leur affectueuse sympathie.¹⁸

... the people of Paris were delighted to demonstrate to the great visiting musician their pleasure at having him present amongst them, and to assure him, once again, of their affectionate admiration.

It is significant that Aubert was a composer as well as a critic. Sixteen years earlier, another composer, Ravel, had observed, in a review of *La vida breve*, that

Parmi ses compatriotes, M. de Falla est celui qui offre le plus d'affinités avec les musiciens français d'aujourd'hui.¹⁹

¹⁶ Juan Gisbert, quoted in SV, 179. A similar account by Gisbert is partly quoted and partly paraphrased by Viniegra in V, 265-6. Viniegra's version, with typical inaccuracy, sites this event in Vienna, and does not name Webern as the composer of the other work.

¹⁷ The 1928 festival took place at the Opéra-Comique on 9 March (programmes preserved at E-GRmf: FE 1928-005 and 006), and at the Grande Salle Pleyel on 19 March (FE 1928-008 to 010). The 1930 festival was held at the Grande Salle Pleyel on 14 May (FE 1930-022 to 027), and was preceded by a concert at the École Normale de Musique on 8 May (FE 1930-017 to 021).

¹⁸ *Le Journal* (Paris), 14 June 1930.

¹⁹ Maurice Ravel, 'A l'Opéra-Comique: Francesca da Rimini et La Vie brève', *Comœdia illustré*, v, 8 (20 January 1914), 390-1. English translation from Arbie Orenstein (ed.), *A Ravel Reader: correspondence, articles, interviews* (New York, 1990), 373-4.

.....

Among his compatriots, M. Falla offers the closest affinity with present-day French musicians.

The universality of Falla's art was perceived even in Spain, though not always without resentment: in 1925, the critic Luis Leon complained that his music was heard more often outside Spain than within it.²⁰ Two years later, the anonymous critic for the Granada newspaper *El Defensor* wrote that

Falla ha conseguido ser un músico mundial, como es mundial Stravinsky y por la misma razón que éste. Arte nacional y universal al propio tiempo.²¹

Falla has managed to become an artist of world standing, in the same way as Stravinsky and for the same reason. National and universal art at the same time.

This was an assessment with which Falla would have agreed. Stravinsky – one of his closest friends – said that

When, after the *première* of his *Tricorné*, I told him that the best music in his score was not necessarily the most 'Spanish', I knew my remark would impress him.²²

In its simplicity, the assessment of the *El Defensor* critic is remarkably astute: 'National and universal art at the same time'. It is unfortunate, therefore, that in today's perception of Falla's output the universal elements are completely eclipsed by the national.

It is my contention that Falla's relationships with the most important European composers of his generation – their encounters, their correspondence and his knowledge of their work – contributed significantly to the universality of his achievement. The aim of my research has been to examine the nature and extent of that contribution.

²⁰ Luis Leon, 'Crónica: La semana Falla', *Correo de Andalucía* (Seville), 22 October 1925. Eleven years earlier, Ravel observed that Falla's fame in Spain was preceded by his discovery abroad (letter from to Falla, 15 November 1914, transcribed and translated in Appendix 4.A.a).

²¹ Anon., 'Manuel de Falla: Significación nacional de su obra', *El Defensor* (Granada), 5 February 1927.

²² Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (London, 1960), 81.

1.2 SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

1.2.1 Scope

Falla came into personal contact with a large number of his major European contemporaries, and he was acquainted with the work of an even larger number. In order to keep this dissertation within the scope of a PhD programme, it has been necessary to limit the number of composers with which it is concerned.

The scope of the investigation may be summarised thus: it examines Falla's personal relations with European composers of his own generation (except other Spanish ones), his knowledge of their work, and documented instances of their influence on his own music.

The criteria for inclusion are defined in more detail below. While some of the limits may appear to be arbitrary, all are in fact justifiable, and are based on observations made during the initial stages of the research.

'Personal relations'

All of the composers studied here corresponded with Falla, or were personally acquainted with him, or both. Only in rare cases (such as the study of Falla's attitude to German and Austrian music in § 9.4) has reference been made to the extent or value of his knowledge of the work of composers with whom he did not come into contact.

'European composers'

Falla's relationships with Spanish and American composers are excluded from this investigation. This decision was made at an early stage, and was based on the recognition that a study of those relationships would be better served by a Spanish scholar, or by someone more knowledgeable than the present writer about Spanish and Latin-American history and culture, and better versed in the Castilian language. Nevertheless, reference has been made to Falla's relations with such composers where they yield information pertinent to the present investigation.

'Composers of his own generation'

I have considered composers of Falla's generation to be those born between 1862 and 1890 – that is, those no more than 14 years older or younger than Falla himself. The earlier date coincides with the birth of Debussy, the eldest of Falla's contemporaries with whom he was on close and affable terms; his relations with older composers (notably Widor, Saint-Saëns and Fauré)²³ were too respectful to have allowed him to gain their confidence. The later date, meanwhile, excludes a younger generation of composers (of whom the oldest were Roland-Manuel, Georges Migot and Serge Prokofiev, all born in 1891) with many of whom Falla was on very friendly terms, though it is clear that he did not share the same camaraderie with these composers as with those of his own age. Although he was consistently supportive of their work, the physical condition of the scores of their music in his library demonstrates that his interest in it was not very deep. As for the younger composers themselves, they tended to idolise Falla, recognising in his art, perhaps, a Latin counterpart to that of Stravinsky.

²³ Falla's Parisian encounters with Saint-Saëns, Fauré and Messager are mentioned in PM, 18, 43-4 and 56-8 respectively. He had already met Saint-Saëns in Cadiz many years earlier (RM, 16-17). Six items of correspondence with Widor are preserved at *E-GRmf* (correspondence folders 6665 and 7781), as are five letters between Falla and Messager (correspondence folder 7278). Messager was the only one of these composers to have any direct influence on Falla: he recommended that he compose the second dance of Act 2 of *La vida breve* (PM, 58 and 72).

'Documented instances of their influence'

Finally, discussion of the influence of Falla's contemporaries on his music is founded entirely on documentary evidence, and analytical procedures are employed only where they help to shed light on evidence presented by the sources. It must be emphasised that this is a documentary study, not a purely analytical one; the latter would far exceed the scope of a PhD.

1.2.2 Sources

A very wide range of primary sources has been consulted in the process of this investigation, and a brief description of the various types seems worthwhile. They may be divided into two categories: published material and archival sources. In the former category are published writings by Falla and the other composers, 'official' biographies of Falla, and contemporary press reports and articles. The second category largely comprises documents preserved at the Archivo Manuel de Falla in Granada, including written correspondence, the contents of Falla's personal library (including scores, periodicals, recordings and concert programmes), photographs, and various manuscript sources.

PUBLISHED SOURCES

Published writings of Falla and other composers

The composers' own published writings yield valuable information of two kinds. First, they reveal much about the nature of their contacts with one another. Alfredo Casella's 1930 article 'Visita a Falla', for instance, fills in the detail of his stay in Granada that year,²⁴ while information about Stravinsky's visit to Madrid in 1916 may be gleaned from Falla's contemporary article on that composer.²⁵ Secondly, much may be learned from these writings about the extent of the composers' knowledge of one another's work, and their opinions of it. Falla's writings on Debussy, for instance, shed valuable light on the nature of his debt to that composer,²⁶ while reviews of *La vida breve* by

²⁴ Alfredo Casella, 'Visita a Falla', *L'Italia letteraria*, 2 February 1930, 5 (article reprinted in Casella, 21 + 26 [Rome, 1931], 195-202). See § 7.2.1.

²⁵ FS (FEs, 29-30 [FO, 11]). See §§ 8.2.2 and 8.3.

²⁶ FA (FEs, 47-9 [FO, 24-5]); FI (FEs, 37-8 [FO, 17-18]); FD [FEs, 72-8; FO, 41-5]); quotations in R. W., 'Ayer en el Ateneo: Homenaje a Debussy', *El Universo*, 28 April 1918. See § 3.4.2.2.

Ravel and Koechlin indicate how favourably Falla's music was received by his French colleagues.²⁷

Unless otherwise indicated, the English translations of these sources provided here are by the present writer. Most of Falla's published prose is collected in the fourth edition of *Escritos sobre música y músicos*, edited by Federico Sopena,²⁸ and this is the source used for most of the articles of which the original language is Spanish (including 'Notes sur Ravel',²⁹ published in *La Revue musicale* in a French translation by Roland-Manuel).³⁰ Exceptions are 'El arte profundo de Claudio Debussy', which remains unpublished in its original language (and is included here as Appendix 3.F),³¹ and the anonymously-published pamphlet *El 'cante jondo' (canto primitivo andaluz)*, quotations from which are transcribed from the recently-published facsimile.³² Falla wrote 'Claude Debussy et l'Espagne' in French (the Spanish translation in *Escritos* is by Sopena),³³ and quotations from that article are therefore taken from its original publication, in the December 1920 issue of *La Revue musicale*.³⁴

The published English-language version of an earlier edition of *Escritos* (*On Music and Musicians*, translated by David Urman and J. M. Thomson)³⁵ is over-simplified and often inaccurate; no use is made of it here. Where

²⁷ Ravel's review was published in *Comœdia illustré*, v, 8 (20 January 1914), 390-1 (English translation in Arbië Orenstein [ed.], *A Ravel Reader*, 372-5); see § 4.5. Koechlin's appeared in *Chroniques des arts* around January 1930; it is quoted in Madeleine Li-Koechlin, 'Charles Koechlin 1867-1950 Correspondance', *La Revue musicale*, 348-50 (1982), 18-21, and is discussed here in § 5.3.

²⁸ FEs.

²⁹ FR.

³⁰ Falla sent the Spanish-language version of the article to Roland-Manuel on 10 March 1939, apologising in advance for any difficulties that its translation would present him (letter preserved in a private collection; photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7521).

³¹ Excerpts quoted in R. W., 'Ayer en el Ateneo'.

³² FC.

³³ That the article was written in French is revealed in a letter from Joaquín Nin, 25 November 1920, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7333.

³⁴ FD.

³⁵ FO.

appropriate, however, references to page numbers in both *Escritos* and *On Music and Musicians* are provided in the footnotes, so that a reader with access to one or other of these standard volumes may be able to see the context of passages quoted or alluded to in the text.

'Official' biographies of Falla

Falla wrote no autobiography, though he did collaborate closely with the writers of two biographies – so closely, in fact, that these sources may be considered to have been 'officially' approved by him. They are Roland-Manuel's *Manuel de Falla* (1930)³⁶ and Jaime Pahissa's *Vida y obra de Manuel de Falla* (1947).³⁷ A revised edition of the latter was published in 1956, reinstating some of the material that was cut from the original version at Falla's behest.³⁸ These biographies contain some factual inaccuracies, but they are extremely informative and reliable in their recording of Falla's opinions and beliefs. Both are treated here as primary sources.

J. B. Trend's *Manuel de Falla and Spanish Music* (1929)³⁹ is valuable for a different reason. It was written by a man who knew Falla very well, but without his direct collaboration.⁴⁰ Trend's comments, therefore, have a unique candour, even though (or, perhaps, especially because) Falla himself did not always approve of the way he was portrayed.

³⁶ RM. Falla's involvement in the preparation of that book is revealed in various items of correspondence with Roland-Manuel, notably Falla's letters of 28 September 1928, 30 December 1928 and 19 February 1930 (originals, photocopies and/or drafts at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7520 and 7521), and Roland-Manuel's of 11 December 1928 and 9 January 1929 (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7520).

³⁷ PV. Pahissa himself notes that this book was compiled as a result of a series of conversations with Falla (PM, vii), and notes that Falla made amendments to the proofs (PVR, 213). His involvement is also revealed in a telegram from Falla to Pahissa, 22 October 1946, and an undated letter from María del Carmen de Falla to Pahissa (drafts of both preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7373).

³⁸ PVR. The additional material is printed on pp. 207-8 and 213-17.

³⁹ T.

⁴⁰ Falla complained in his letter to Roland-Manuel of 10 February 1930 (preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7521) about Trend's failure to send him a copy of the manuscript.

Occasional reference is made to the published memoirs of others who knew Falla personally, such as María Martínez Sierra, Juan J. Viniegra and Mario Verdaguer.⁴¹ These too are frequently inaccurate (particularly in details of chronology and in identities of 'minor characters'), and caution has been employed.

Translations of quotations from most of these sources are by the present writer. Quotations from Pahissa's biography, however, are taken from Jean Wagstaff's translation,⁴² which has the virtue of being perhaps the only accurate English translation of a book on Falla ever published. However, a small number of passages are omitted from that translation, and so occasional reference is made to the Spanish edition.

Contemporary press reports and articles

Press reports have proved extremely valuable in helping to determine exactly when Falla may have met his contemporaries. Particular use has been made of Falla's own extensive collection of press-cuttings (now preserved at the Archivo Manuel de Falla in Granada), built up over many years by his subscriptions to agencies dealing with press-cuttings from around the world.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Correspondence

Falla maintained files of his correspondence meticulously. He preserved almost every missive he received after 1914 in addition to the most important ones he received before that date. He marked each one with the date on which he replied, and also kept drafts or (after 1925, when he obtained a typewriter) carbon copies of his own letters. This remarkable collection – which includes

⁴¹ Respectively: María Martínez Sierra, *Gregorio y yo* (Mexico, 1953); V; Mario Verdaguer, *Medio siglo de vida íntima barcelonesa* (Barcelona, 1957).

⁴² PM.

postcards, telegrams, notes scribbled on hotel notepaper and even visiting-cards in addition to letters – is now preserved at the Archivo Manuel de Falla. The Archive also has a policy of purchasing Falla's letters when they become available; a very recent acquisition of this kind (received early in 2002) is a set of seven letters to Dukas, written between 1914 and 1935.⁴³ The collection is still in the process of being catalogued, but the Archive estimates the total number of items to be more than 23,000.⁴⁴ Almost 3000 of them have been consulted in the course of the present investigation.

Also kept at the Archivo Manuel de Falla are photocopies of many of the collections of Falla's letters preserved in other public and private collections, including materials held by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the Paul Sacher Stiftung and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice. These photocopies have mostly proved adequate for purposes of consultation, and only very occasionally has it proved necessary to refer to the original sources.

Since remarkably little of this correspondence has been published – and given that there are gaps and inaccuracies in the few transcriptions that have appeared – the decision was made to include in the appendices to the present study a new transcription and translation of every letter between Falla and each of the composers in question.

Falla's personal library

Falla was equally meticulous in his maintenance of an extensive library, comprising not only books and scores, but also periodicals, recordings and concert programmes. It is now preserved *in toto* at the Archivo Manuel de Falla.

His collection of programmes represents well over a thousand concerts, in addition to a much smaller number of opera and ballet performances. Contemporary music features prominently; around a third of the

⁴³ These letters are identified in Appendix 2.A.

⁴⁴ <http://www.archivo-falla.es/docshtml/archivo.html>

performances took place in Paris, where much more new music was heard than in Spain. Great care has been exercised, however, in gathering evidence of Falla's concert-going from these sources. His ownership of a programme cannot be relied upon alone to demonstrate that he was present at the concert in question; many – especially those representing concerts in which Falla's own works were performed – were sent to him by colleagues and admirers. Indeed, his known whereabouts at specific times precludes the possibility of his presence at many of the events; moreover, some of the concerts were given in countries he never even visited (including the United States and Japan). By the same token, however, other evidence (correspondence, press reports, comments in the 'official' biographies, etc.) reveals that he attended further concerts not represented in his collection of programmes.

But even so, the collection identifies a large number of performances which, on the balance of probabilities, he is likely to have heard, and it furnishes valuable additional information about events at which his presence is corroborated by other sources. In addition, it provides reliable data about Falla's participation, as a pianist, in performances of his colleagues' music.

Contemporary music also accounts for a sizeable proportion of his collection of over a thousand scores. French composers are especially well represented: he owned twenty or more scores each by Ravel and Koechlin, and almost double that number by Debussy. The ten Dukas scores in the collection amount to almost all of that composer's published output. Russia is represented by Stravinsky and Rakhmaninov; Britain by Vaughan Williams, Holst and Lord Berners; Italy by Casella, Malipiero and Respighi; Hungary by Bartók, Kodály and Dohnányi; and Poland by Szymanowski.

It is possible to establish the date at which Falla obtained many of these scores. A considerable number were given to him by their composers, and contain cordial handwritten dedications, most of which are dated. Many others bear the stamps of music retailers, and this also assists with their dating.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Notably, scores stamped 'Casa Dotesio' were probably acquired before Falla's departure for Paris in 1907, while those stamped 'Union Musical Española' were purchased after his return to Spain in 1914. This distinction is explained in § 2.3.

The extent to which Falla perused each of the scores in his collection is hinted at by their physical condition. In many cases, his detailed study of them is attested to by handwritten marginalia; such markings are especially prevalent in the works of composers of his own generation (though they are extremely scarce in scores by younger composers).⁴⁶ Some of these annotations relate to interpretation, and reveal that he played in private a great many more pieces of contemporary music than he performed in public. Other markings correct engravers' errors. While some of these errors are obvious (missing mid-stave clefs, for instance), many others are not, and Falla can have been aware of them only through hearing performances of the works in question or by having them pointed out to him by the composers themselves.

As far as the present study is concerned, the most interesting annotations are those which attest to his study of compositional aspects of the music. Formal, rhythmic, melodic and harmonic analyses are found in a very few scores. A larger number have marginalia drawing attention to matters of orchestration, with special instrumental effects receiving the greatest scrutiny. But the majority of Falla's annotations are cryptic, consisting of crosses in margins, rings around notes, and square brackets above and below the staves; a sample page, taken from his copy of Stravinsky's *Les Noces*,⁴⁷ is reproduced overleaf as Figure 1.2.2.i.

In this study, the attempt is made to interpret the majority of these markings. It must be conceded, however, that many of them may have been made in a very casual manner, perhaps while listening to a performance of the work in question.⁴⁸ Joaquín Nin-Culmell, one of Falla's few pupils, recalled the tentative way in which his teacher annotated his work:

When he decided to look at a score, he would study it and take notes which sometimes one would find tucked away in some obscure corner of the score. The latter would always be in light pencil in order

⁴⁶ Only one annotation is found in all Falla's scores of works by French composers born after 1890: a note on the last page of the vocal score of Milhaud's *La Délivrance de Thésée* (E-GRmf, inventory number 365), drawing attention to rehearsal figure 145 on page 19.

⁴⁷ E-GRmf, inventory number 1560.

⁴⁸ J. B. Trend records how Falla studied the full score of *Daphnis et Chloé* during a concert performance of that work at which both men were present (T, 48-9).

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Во-лочь перстеньъ ро-лочь съ-ла-ра- га-нь съ-ха-ме-ня-нь
l'as-leon do-re l'as-leon do-re ga-ri bis toutor-ad

Ю-мь-ль Па-ла-ге-я, хо-диль Спа-мь-ль, хо-диль Па-ла-ге-я, хо-диль Спа-мь-ль
Ga-l, gal, le poue(r)u le poue(r)u Pa-la-ga-l, ho-uit plus gal, ho-uit plus gal, ho-uit plus gal, ho-uit plus gal

Ю-мь-ль Па-ла-ге-я, хо-диль Спа-мь-ль, хо-диль Па-ла-ге-я, хо-диль Спа-мь-ль
Ga-l, gal, le poue(r)u le poue(r)u Pa-la-ga-l, ho-uit plus gal, ho-uit plus gal, ho-uit plus gal, ho-uit plus gal

По-те-р-я-ль во-лочь перстеньъ съ-ла-ра-га-нь съ-ха-ме-ня-нь
pe-er du l'as-leon do-re et d'as-leon toutor-ad

W. P. V. 204 J. W. C. 418

Figure 1.2.2.i
Page 83 of Falla’s annotated copy of Stravinsky’s *Les Noces* (E-GRmf, inventory number 1560).
(Reproduced by kind permission of the Archivo Manuel de Falla, Granada.)

that – as he would say – one might erase them more easily. And he would be in dead earnest when he would say this.⁴⁹

Similar annotations are found in his books and periodicals too. His collection of the latter is extensive; notably, he possessed a complete run of *La Revue musicale* from its inception in 1920 to its temporary cessation in 1940,⁵⁰ and he owned almost every issue of *Le Monde musical* published between 1919 and 1939.⁵¹ By subscribing to these journals, he was able to keep abreast of his contemporaries' work not only via critical and analytical articles, but also through excerpts from their latest works published in the musical supplements that came with them.

Falla also owned a record player, and a fairly small number of sets of shellac discs (less than a hundred). Surprisingly, contemporary music by foreign composers is very poorly represented in his collection: he owned records of one work each by Debussy, Ravel, Gustave Charpentier, Stravinsky and Poulenc.⁵²

Full details of Falla's library holdings appertaining to the composers studied here are listed in the appendices to each chapter.

Photographs

Within the Archivo Manuel de Falla is an archive of photographs, ranging from posed portraits of Falla to his holiday snapshots. The archive includes a number of signed portraits of other composers, and several photographs (both

⁴⁹ Unpublished notes made (in English) by Joaquín Nin-Culmell around 1989, preserved at *E-GRmf*.

⁵⁰ The run is catalogued at *E-GRmf* under the inventory number 5875.

⁵¹ *E-GRmf*, inventory number 7861.

⁵² The Debussy, Ravel, Charpentier and Stravinsky records are listed in Appendices 3.E, 4.A.e, 6.D.d and 8.E respectively. The work by Poulenc is the *Trio for oboe, bassoon and piano*; the record (Columbia D 14213/14; *E-GRmf*, inventory number 8636) was sent to Falla by the composer himself shortly before 26 September 1929 (letter from Falla to Poulenc of that date, preserved in a private collection; photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7441; English translation in Francis Poulenc [ed. Sidney Buckland], *'Echo and Source': Selected Correspondence 1915-1963* [London, 1991], 87-8).

formal and informal) of Falla in the company of other composers. Some of these are copies of photographs from other collections. By kind permission of the Archivo Manuel de Falla, some of the photographs in their copyright are reproduced here.

Manuscript sources

Finally, various manuscript sources preserved at the Archivo Manuel de Falla have been consulted during the course of this investigation. These include compositional sketches of Falla's own works, examples of instrumental devices and orchestral textures copied out from scores of works by other composers, formal analyses of pieces of contemporary music, and notes on advice furnished during meetings with other composers. Many of these manuscripts are discussed here for the first time, and a number of them are reproduced photographically.

1.2.3 Conventions

Citations and archival references

Each printed source is identified with a full citation the first time it is alluded to in each chapter. A short title is used for any further references to the source in the same chapter. A system of abbreviations is used for frequently-cited sources, and *RISM*-style sigla are used to identify certain libraries and archives. These abbreviations are listed on pages 10-12.

To avoid needless repetition, full source references for items of correspondence and for the holdings of Falla's personal library are given only in the appendices to each chapter.

Titles

Titles of individual compositions are given in the form in which they are most commonly known in the United Kingdom. Hence '*Nights in the Gardens of Spain*' is used instead of '*Noches en los jardines de España*', but '*El amor brujo*' is preferred to '*Love, the Magician*'. Similarly, I refer to *The Firebird* and *The Rite of Spring* in English, but to *Renard* and *Jeu de cartes* in French.

Though this may appear inconsistent, the present writer believes that it is preferable to the enforced use of original titles in unfamiliar languages. In any case, it is often impossible to ascertain which title of a given work was the original one; this is notably true of the ballet known variously as *The Three-Cornered Hat*, *Le Tricorne*, *El sombrero de tres picos* and *El tricornio*.

1.2.4 Notes on the appendices

The appendices to each chapter (bound separately) contain transcriptions and translations of the complete surviving correspondence between Falla and the composers in question, in addition to listings of scores and recordings of music by those composers in Falla's library, of performances of their works in which he participated, and of performances he is known – or is likely – to have attended. The appendices to Chapter 3 also contain a transcription and translation of the surviving extracts from Falla's little-known speech 'El arte profundo de Claudio Debussy'; those to Chapter 5 include a list of Koechlin's pedagogical works in Falla's library.

The contents and layout of each set of appendices are discussed below.

CORRESPONDENCE

Headings

Each transcribed item of correspondence is preceded by a summary showing the date when it was sent, the identities and addresses of its sender and recipient, the present location of the original document, and (where applicable) citations of published transcriptions and/or translations. For ease of differentiation between the correspondents, the summaries preceding letters written by Falla (or by his sister and occasional amanuensis María del Carmen) are always shaded. Where the date of a given letter has been construed from its contents, or from evidence presented in other sources (such as reply dates pencilled on other items of correspondence), that date (or the part of the date that has been construed in that way) is shown in square brackets.⁵³ It is sometimes possible to ascertain the date and/or the contents of

⁵³ It should be noted that Falla and some of his contemporaries frequently mixed up dates, accidentally writing the previous month or the previous year. Hence, for example, a number of Falla's letters marked January 1919 in fact date from January 1920.

items of correspondence that have not survived. Brief details of such letters are supplied in summary format.

Sources

Unless otherwise indicated, transcriptions of items of correspondence are made from the best available original source. In many cases, this is the original document; in others, it may be a handwritten draft, a carbon copy, or a photocopy of the original item.

Transcriptions

Modern French and Spanish orthography is used throughout: notably, redundant accents have been removed from Spanish words (such as 'á' and 'ó'), and French month names are consistently shown with a lower-case initial letter. Obvious spelling and grammatical errors are corrected without notice. Words and passages that are underlined in the original sources are reproduced here in italics. Single quotation-marks are used throughout. All ellipses are in the original sources. The wording of printed letterheads is reproduced in small capitals, though headings such as 'CARTE POSTALE' are normally omitted. No attempt has been made to standardise capitalisation, punctuation or the format of dates and addresses.

Translations

All translations are by the present writer unless otherwise indicated. They are essentially free, seeking to preserve the mood and idiom of the original text without sacrificing the meaning. Particular liberty has been taken with the translation of French and Spanish closing formulae, which are much more varied than their English counterparts. The myriad shades of differentiation in such formulae cannot be rendered in English without the result seeming awkward or excessively affectionate. Nevertheless, I have made some attempt to reflect the significance of each individual formula: it is clear from revisions

made to drafts of Falla's letters that he took great care over the wording of such phrases.

Standard English capitalisation and punctuation are used, and titles of compositions are given in the same form as elsewhere in the dissertation, regardless of the form used in the original letter.

PRINTED MUSIC

Details of printed music in Falla's library is shown in tabular format, arranged for each composer in alphabetical order by title. Included in the 'NOTES' column are details of annotations, retailers' stamps, handwritten dedications, matters relating to the binding, etc. Shading distinguishes scores containing Falla's annotations. The figure in the right-hand column (headed '*E-GRmf*') is the inventory number of that item at the Archivo Manuel de Falla.

PERFORMANCES GIVEN BY AND ATTENDED BY FALLA

Information relating to performances of contemporary music given by and attended by Falla is derived from analysis of a range of sources, including concert programmes in his collection, press reports, and references in items of correspondence and in the 'official' biographies. It is important to remember, however, that Falla must have attended many more performances of his contemporaries' works than are listed in these appendices. An attempt has been made to distinguish between performances which he definitely or very probably attended, and those at which his presence is rather less certain; the latter are shown in italics.

1.3 FALLA IN EUROPE: A GEOGRAPHICAL OVERVIEW

Since the vast majority of Falla's encounters with his contemporaries took place outside Spain, it seems worthwhile to summarise the dates of his European travels and the specific places that he visited. Every location outside Spain that Falla visited between 1907 and 1932 is listed below, ordered alphabetically by country and town or city.

BELGIUM

3 visits: summer 1907; July 1908; April 1923.

Brussels	July 1908 April 1923
Spa	Summer 1907
[unknown location(s)]	Summer 1907

FRANCE

12 visits: summer 1907 to August 1914; December 1919 to February 1920; May to June 1920; May 1921 to June 1921; April 1923 to July 1923; November 1923; May to June 1925; May to June 1927; February to April 1928; May to June 1930; June to September 1931; September 1932.

Aix-en-Provence	September 1931
Amboise	May 1927
Arles	September 1932
Evian and environs	September 1912 August to September 1931
Dieppe	c. September/October 1908
Le Havre	October/November 1910
Nice	January to April 1913

FRANCE (continued)

Paris	Summer 1907 to January 1913 (with occasional absences) April 1913 to August 1914 December 1919 to February 1920 May to June 1920 May to June 1921 April to July 1923 November 1923 May to June 1925 May to June 1927 February to April 1928 May to June 1930 June to July/August 1931
Tours	March 1928
[unknown location(s)]	Summer 1907

GERMANY

1 visit: Summer 1907.

[unknown location(s)]	Summer 1907
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ITALY

4 visits: September 1912; May 1923; September 1928; September 1932.

Florence	May 1923
Frascati	May 1923
Milan	September 1912 September 1932
Padua	September 1932
Rome	May 1923
San Remo	September 1932
Siena	September 1928
Tivoli	May 1923

ITALY (continued)

Venice	September 1932
Verona	September 1932
Vicenza	September 1932
[unknown location(s)]	Summer 1907 December 1907

LUXEMBOURG

2 visits: Summer 1907; December 1907.

Luxembourg	Summer 1907 December 1907
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SWITZERLAND

3 visits: Summer 1907; June 1926; September 1932.

Geneva	Summer 1907 June 1926 September 1932
Kulm (Rigi)	June 1926
Winterthur	June 1926
Zurich	June 1926
[unknown location(s)]	Summer 1907

UNITED KINGDOM

5 visits: May 1911; June to July 1919; May to June 1921; June 1927; June 1931.

London	May 1911 June to July 1919 May to June 1921 June 1927 June 1931
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2 DUKAS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

2.1.1 Debussy and Dukas as Falla's '*maîtres*'

Il est trois noms que le musicien du *Retable* ne prononce jamais sans tendresse, ceux de Felipe Pedrell, de Claude Debussy et de M. Paul Dukas.¹

There are three names that the composer of the *Puppet Show* always pronounces with affection: those of Felipe Pedrell, Claude Debussy and M. Paul Dukas.

Of the many composers whom Falla encountered, Pedrell, Debussy and Dukas were the only three whom he openly acknowledged as '*maîtres*' or '*maestros*'.² His esteem for these three men may be gauged by the fact that they were the only composers for whose memory he composed homages.

He drew this distinction between his '*maîtres*' and his '*confrères*' from an early date.³ It is evident, for instance, in the different ways in which he

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

Correspondence between Falla and Dukas Appendix 2.A
 Printed music by Dukas in Falla's library Appendix 2.B
 Performances of works by Dukas attended by Falla Appendix 2.C

¹ Roland-Manuel, 'Visite à Falla', *Revue Pleyel*, 25 (October 1925), 17.

² The English word 'master' does not convey the full meaning of the French *maître* (or the Spanish *maestro*). It is not only teachers who are addressed as '*maître*' by their pupils; rather it is a term of address used by younger men to address elder, highly-accomplished and well-respected artists, especially those who have set an example. Among the younger composers who addressed Falla as '*maître*' are Henri Sauguet, Georges Migot, Roland-Manuel and Prokofiev, none of whom were taught by him. Though Falla used the term mainly with those composers who *did* teach him, the word must have meant much more to him than 'teacher'.

³ *Confrère* = colleague (connoting, perhaps, a greater degree of fellowship than the English word). Falla used this word to describe composers of his own generation, such as Ravel and Stravinsky.

referred to Dukas, Debussy and Ravel in a letter he wrote to Georges Jean-Aubry in 1910:⁴

Arrivé à Paris il y a trois ans, je n'ai que de motifs de grande gratitude pour les Maîtres Claude Debussy et Paul Dukas. Ils ont bien voulu m'encourager et me donner des précieux conseils. Ce sont eux, avec M. Maurice Ravel (pour qui j'ai aussi plus d'un motif de reconnaissance)[,] qui ont fait publier par la Maison Durand mes Pièces Espagnoles.⁵

Having arrived in Paris three years ago, I have only feelings of gratitude for the Masters Claude Debussy and Paul Dukas. They saw fit to encourage me and to give me precious advice. It was they, with M. Maurice Ravel (to whom I also owe more than one vote of thanks), who arranged for my Spanish Pieces to be published by the house of Durand.

This difference is indicative not only of Falla's opinions of his contemporaries, but also of the way in which he related to them. During the years of his residency in Paris, his encounters with composers of his own generation (his 'confrères') took place in an atmosphere of comradeship, involving attendance at *soirées*, concerts and operas, shared experience of new and exotic music, and so on. From Debussy and Dukas, by contrast, Falla sought criticism of his music and advice for its improvement, and practical assistance in (for instance) recommending his music to publishers.

In addition to being friends of Falla, Debussy and Dukas knew one another very well, and were great admirers of each other's work.⁶ It is likely, therefore, that their influences on Falla complemented and incorporated one

⁴ Letter from Falla to Jean-Aubry, 28 August 1910 (private collection; photocopy preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7133; excerpt quoted in Yvan Nommick, 'La vida breve entre 1905 y 1914: evolución formal y orquestal', in Nommick (ed.), *Manuel de Falla: La vida breve* [Granada, 1997], 33-4). Falla's purpose in writing this letter was to provide biographical information for the printed programme of a concert in Le Havre on 30 August 1910, in which he participated. A copy of the programme for this concert (including Jean-Aubry's notes) is preserved at *E-GRmf*, inventory number FE 1910-006.

⁵ A similar distinction may be discerned from Falla's letter to Carlos Fernández Shaw of 31 March 1910 (part of which is quoted in § 2.2.1 below), and in his letter to Jules Ecorcheville of 15 November 1912 (location of original unknown; quoted in Arbie Orenstein, 'Ravel and Falla: an unpublished correspondence, 1914-1933', in Edmond Strainchamps and Maria Rika Maniates [eds.], *Music and Civilization: Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang* [New York, 1984], 335).

⁶ Dukas made this clear in his contribution to 'Le Florilège de Claude Debussy' (the programme for the Debussy tribute concert at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées on 17 June 1932, to which Falla also contributed; a copy is preserved at *E-GRmf* NFE 1932-005).

another. Dukas's destructive self-criticism is well-known,⁷ and it is easy to imagine him using Debussy's work, rather than his own, as an example.⁸ And it follows from this premise that some of Falla's most important insights into Debussy may have come from Dukas too.

⁷ See Georges Favre, *Paul Dukas: sa vie – son œuvre* (Paris, 1948), 21.

⁸ It is known that he used scores of works by Debussy, D'Indy and Ravel in his composition teaching at the Paris Conservatoire from 1928 onwards. Favre, *Paul Dukas*, 38.

2.1.2 Falla and Dukas: an unexplored relationship

Curiously, the relationship between Dukas and Falla has been subjected to scarcely any musicological investigation.⁹ This deficiency is all the more conspicuous given the body of published research on Falla's relationship with Debussy (see § 3.1).

There are two obvious reasons for this. First, it is a symptom of the general lack of musicological interest in Dukas's music. This is partly the result of the smallness of Dukas's oeuvre, especially in comparison to that of a composer such as Debussy. In fact, the immense popularity of Dukas's most famous work – *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*, with its Disney connotations – has undermined his reputation as a serious composer.

Secondly, the discovery in recent years of a wealth of documentary evidence testifying to Falla's contacts with Debussy in Paris before the First World War (see §§ 3.2.2 and 3.4.1) has not been mirrored in the case of Dukas.

This is not to suggest that Dukas's example was any less important to him than Debussy's. In fact, it is evident that he attached enormous significance to the support Dukas gave him: references to him in the published writings and the authorised biographies are frequent and markedly more effusive than his allusions to Debussy. Indeed, Pahissa goes so far as to state that their first meeting 'was to change the whole course of his life'.¹⁰ And while it is true that Falla's comments on Debussy's *work* are more extensive and more engaging than those on Dukas's, it is clear that this results on the one hand from the small size of Dukas's oeuvre, and on the other from Debussy's use of

⁹ The only exception is Yvan Nommick, '*La vida breve* entre 1905 y 1914', which includes a study of Dukas's contribution to Falla's study of instrumentation during the years he spent in Paris.

¹⁰ PM, 42.

Spanish styles and subjects (a favourite topic of Falla's,¹¹ and one on which he was asked to write).¹²

Falla's personal fondness for Dukas shines through in the correspondence between the two men, of which 38 items survive in total.¹³ Towards the end of his life, Falla told Pahissa: 'Dukas fue, hasta su muerte, uno de los amigos más grandes y verdaderos que he tenido. Y es porque fui agradecido con él y se lo demostré en lo que pude' ('Dukas was, until his death, one of my best and truest friends. And this is why I was grateful to him and showed my gratitude whenever I could').¹⁴

¹¹ Falla wrote on this topic on two occasions (FD, *passim* [FEs, 72-8; FO, 41-5], and FC, 16-18 [FEs, 175-7 (FO, 108-9)]).

¹² Letter from Henry Prunières to Falla, 4 February 1920, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453.

¹³ Four of these, all of them letters from Falla to Dukas, were acquired by the Archivo Manuel de Falla early in 2002.

¹⁴ PV, 51 (translation based on that by Jean Wagstaff from PM, 44).

2.2 THE FRIENDSHIP

2.2.1 First meeting, 1907

Roland-Manuel and Pahissa disagree as to whether the first composer whom Falla visited after arriving in Paris was Dukas or Debussy.¹⁵ Pahissa's conviction – that it was Dukas – is the correct one. This is confirmed by two near-contemporary sources. One of these is a letter from Falla to Pedrell, dated 9 February 1908, in which he describes Dukas as 'el primero a quien hice conocer *La Vida breve*' ('the first person to whom I made *La vida breve* known').¹⁶ Even more explicit about this event is Falla's letter to Carlos Fernández Shaw (the librettist of *La vida breve*), dated 31 March 1910:

Mi primera gran satisfacción en París, la tuve poco después de mi llegada, cuando visité a Dukas. (Debussy estaba entonces ausente[.]) En aquella primera visita hice ver a Dukas los propósitos que me traían a París: trabajar y estudiar por conocer los procedimientos técnicos de la escuela moderna francesa, por ser los que encontraba aplicables a mi manera de sentir en música. Me pidió que le hiciera conocer algún trabajo para saber el camino que me convenía seguir; le hice oír *La vida breve*, y jamás olvidaré la bondad y el interés con que atendió a mi lectura. Hasta entonces había estado reservado (cosa muy natural, pues no solo era aquella la vez primera que me hablaba, sino que fui a verle sin llevar siquiera una tarjeta de presentación[.]); pero desde que oyó mis trabajos todo varió, y tales ánimos me dieron sus palabras que, como le dije, me parecía que despertaba de un mal sueño. Me recomendó con insistencia que cuidase mucho en no cambiar mi sentimiento personal en música y que siguiese trabajando particularmente, como entonces hacía. Me indicó con gran precisión el plan que debía seguir, ofreciéndoseme para cuantas consultas quisiera hacerle, como también para examinar cuanto siguiese escribiendo.¹⁷

¹⁵ RM, 32; PM, 42.

¹⁶ Original preserved at *E-Bc*; photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7389.

¹⁷ Letter from Falla to Carlos Fernández Shaw, 31 March 1910, transcribed in 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), 91. (This letter has also been transcribed, inaccurately and with the incorrect date 31 May 1910, in Guillermo

I had my first great satisfaction in Paris shortly after my arrival, when I visited Dukas. (Debussy was absent at the time.) During that first meeting, I described to Dukas the intentions which brought me to Paris: to work and to study so that I might learn about the technical procedures of the modern French school, for these were what I found appropriate for my mode of musical expression. He asked me to show him a work [of mine] so that he could see what path I was following; I played him *La vida breve*, and I'll never forget the kindness and the interest with which he listened as I played it. Up till then he had been reserved (which was very natural, for not only was that the first time that he'd spoken to me, but also I'd gone to see him without taking even a visiting card[]); but when he heard my work everything changed, and his words were so animated that, as they say, it seemed to me as though [I] was waking up from a bad dream. He insistently recommended that I be very careful not to change my own musical feelings, and that I continue working on my own, as I had done up till then. With great precision, he showed me the plan that I ought to follow, offering me as many consultations as I should like to take, so that he'd be able to see how my work was going.

Pahissa's account of the same event is unusually consistent with the earlier one:

Dukas received him with a reserve only natural when meeting a young, unknown foreigner. Falla showed him the score of *La Vida Breve* and asked if he would care to hear some of it. Dukas courteously agreed, and Falla, after insisting that he should stop when he had heard enough, began to play. After a while Falla himself, afraid to presume too much, stopped, saying that he did not wish to tire him; but Dukas insisted that he should go and, when he had finished, said:

'We are going to put this on at the Opéra Comique.'

'You can't mean it!' exclaimed Falla, looking at him as if he could hardly believe his ears and feeling that he must be dreaming.

They discussed the work. Falla was overjoyed. He told Dukas that he would like to study instrumentation under him and that he thought of going to the Schola Cantorum, where Turina was studying under D'Indy.

'There is no need for you to go there,' replied Dukas. 'Work on your own, and come to me for advice.'¹⁸

By conflating information from Pahissa's biography with documentary sources, it is possible to hazard a date for this first meeting. Pahissa indicates

Fernandez-Shaw, *Larga Historia de 'La Vida Breve'* [Madrid, 1972], 96-100, and a translation of this incorrect reading has been published in PO, 52.)

¹⁸ PM, 42.

that Falla met Isaac Albéniz for the first time three days later, on which occasion Albéniz inscribed a copy of the third book of *Iberia* for him.¹⁹ This score survives at the Falla Archive, and it bears the following dedication:

Al buen colega y amigo Señor Falla
su affmo
Albeniz [sic]
Paris 25 septiembre 1907 ²⁰

To my fine colleague and friend Señor Falla
yours truly
Albéniz
Paris 25 September 1907

So Falla's first encounter with Dukas would seem to have taken place on 22 September or (allowing for poetic licence on Pahissa's part) thereabouts.²¹ The location – Dukas's home – is confirmed in two letters from Falla to Dukas of a much later date; in one, he recalled 'le temps déjà lointain, de la rue Washington où j'ai été pour la première fois honoré de votre parrainage' ('the time, already long ago, in the rue Washington when I was honoured with your patronage for the first time').²²

Pahissa records an earlier attempt to visit Dukas, when Falla learnt that he was 'away for the summer, at Saint-Cloud, but that he came home one day each week'.²³ It is clear that Dukas was in Paris more frequently than once a week, for Pahissa records that he was also at Falla's subsequent first meeting with Albéniz.²⁴ It is probable that the abortive attempt to visit him took place much

¹⁹ PV, 50 (incorrectly translated in PM, 43, where 'el penúltimo cuaderno de *Iberia*' is rendered as 'the second book of *Iberia*').

²⁰ *E-GRmf*, inventory number 3.

²¹ Falla's corrections to Roland-Manuel's biography state that his first meeting with Albéniz took place *two* days after that with Dukas (undated draft of letter from Falla to Roland-Manuel [30 December 1928], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7520).

²² The quotation is from Falla's letter of 6 April 1931. The other letter which mentions the Rue Washington is that of 2 February 1935.

²³ PM, 42.

²⁴ PM, 43.

earlier in the month (or maybe even in August), when Dukas is known to have been not in Saint-Cloud but in Switzerland.²⁵

Pahissa also records that Falla had already attempted, unsuccessfully, to meet Debussy;²⁶ again, this visit must have taken place earlier than Pahissa claims (Debussy's absence at the beginning of September is verified by other sources; see § 3.2.2). The obstacles that Falla faced in meeting these two men for the first time go some way towards explaining how Roland-Manuel's erroneous account of these events came to be approved by Falla: 'Le maître de *l'Apprenti sorcier* était absent. Le maître de *Pelléas* était au logis' ('The master of *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* was absent. The master of *Pelléas* was at home').²⁷

It is unsurprising that Debussy headed Falla's list of people he wished to meet, given that Falla had performed some of his music, and that the two men had already corresponded (see § 3.2.1). His reasons for placing Dukas next on the list, however, are unclear.²⁸ There are at least two other composers whose names in this position would have been less surprising: Camille Saint-Saëns and Vincent d'Indy, works by whom he had performed as a concert pianist,²⁹ and with whom he shared mutual acquaintances;³⁰ he had even met

²⁵ Dukas sent at least six letters to his brother Adrien from locations in Switzerland (principally Lausanne) between 18 and 30 August 1907 (Georges Favre [ed.], *Correspondance de Paul Dukas* [Paris, 1971], 56-62). In the last of these missives, he indicated that he hoped to return home on 2 September, though it is not known whether he did so.

²⁶ PM 42.

²⁷ RM, 32.

²⁸ Sopena has suggested that he may have read some of Dukas's published criticism. SV, 49.

²⁹ Falla played the piano part of Saint-Saëns's *Allegro appassionato* at concerts in Cádiz on 10 September 1899 and 22 September 1901, and in Madrid on 6 May 1900 (programmes preserved at E-GRmf: FN 1899-003 and 004, FN 1901-001 to 003, and FN 1900-001 to 003 respectively). He also played *Etude en forme de valse* as part of his successful performance in the Ortiz y Cussó piano competition in Madrid on 24 April 1905 (E-GRmf: FN 1905-001). He performed d'Indy's 'Laufenburg' (one of the three waltzes grouped as *Helvetia*, op. 17) in the same concert as Debussy's *Danses sacrée et profane* (4 February 1907) (E-GRmf: FN 1907-001 and 002 [this programme is reproduced in PO, 46]; the score of d'Indy's *Helvetia* is preserved at E-GRmf, inventory number 434).

³⁰ Pahissa records that Viniegra was 'a great friend of Saint-Saëns' (PM, 18). Turina was studying composition with Vincent d'Indy at this time (Carlos Gómez Amat, 'Turina, Joaquín', in NG, xix, 264).

Saint-Saëns in Cádiz as a youth.³¹ His knowledge of Dukas's work at this time probably did not extend far beyond *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*,³² which he heard at a concert in Madrid on 13 April 1907,³³ and of which he bought the score around the same time.³⁴ Of these three names, d'Indy would seem to have been the obvious choice for a young composer seeking a teacher, and – as Pahissa records – Falla did at first consider enrolling at the Schola Cantorum (something from which, as we have seen, he was subsequently dissuaded by Dukas).³⁵

Nevertheless, he chose to visit Dukas first. This indicates that Falla found in *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* – as in the works of Debussy that he knew at this time – some quality which he especially admired, and to which he was sympathetic – and which he did not find in Saint-Saëns or d'Indy. This is made quite clear by his statement in his letter to Fernández Shaw that he found 'los procedimientos técnicos de la escuela moderna francesa' ('the technical procedures of the modern French school') – i.e. Debussy and Dukas, not Saint-Saëns and d'Indy – to be 'los que encontraba aplicables a mi manera de sentir en música' ('appropriate for my mode of musical expression').

If we assume that his account is accurate, Pahissa provides a clue as to the nature of this quality – or, at least, a part of it. He records that what Falla wished to study with Dukas, even at the time of this first meeting, was instrumentation. Dukas was not renowned as a teacher of orchestration at this time, as he would be a little later, when this was his job at the Paris Conservatoire;³⁶ indeed, he was not even in vogue as a composer of orchestral

³¹ RM, 16-17.

³² His knowledge may also have included some of the piano pieces of which he owned copies, such as the *Sonata* and the *Variations, Interlude et Finale sur un thème de Rameau* (E-GRmf, inventory numbers 343 and 344 respectively). See § 2.3.

³³ Programme preserved at E-GRmf: NFN 1907-002.

³⁴ E-GRmf, inventory number 340. See § 2.3 for further discussion.

³⁵ PM, 42.

³⁶ He was appointed as a teacher of orchestration in 1910. G. W. Hopkins, 'Dukas, Paul', in NG, v, 692; Favre, *Paul Dukas*, 32.

music, having written nothing in this genre for ten years.³⁷ We know that Falla entertained doubts about his own skills in this field; he expressed these to Debussy and Dukas as late as 1913.³⁸ This was an element of his technique that he would have hoped to improve while in Paris, and having heard in Madrid a work with as many original instrumental touches as *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*, he undoubtedly wished to learn from its composer. The study of orchestration was to become a major factor in their Paris relationship (see §§ 2.2.2 and 2.4.1.1).

As soon as they had met, Dukas undertook to smooth the way for Falla's introductions to other important musical figures in Paris. He was so impressed by *La vida breve* that he spoke of it to Debussy,³⁹ and this proved useful to Falla when he met him shortly afterwards. Dukas also arranged for him to meet Albéniz,⁴⁰ a relationship which was to prove extremely fruitful.⁴¹

³⁷ His last orchestral work before *La Péri* (1911) was *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* (1897).

³⁸ PM, 59.

³⁹ PM, 45.

⁴⁰ RM, 32; PM, 43.

⁴¹ The two men attended concerts together (Mariano Pérez Gutiérrez, *Falla y Turina a través de su epistolario* [Madrid, 1982], 28-32), and it was through Albéniz that he came into contact with Fauré (PM, 43), and perhaps d'Indy too (Pérez Gutiérrez, *Falla y Turina*, 28). More significantly, early in 1908 Albéniz secured for Falla a bursary of 1000 francs from King Alfonso XIII, which enabled him to concentrate on composing for some months (letter from Falla to Albéniz, 17 January 1908, quoted in SV, 51-2).

2.2.2 In Paris, 1907-14

The letter to Fernández Shaw, quoted in § 2.2.1 above, reveals an extremely significant detail about the nature of Falla's contacts with Dukas: it is implied that Dukas invited Falla to consult him on compositional matters not only as frequently as he wished but also without being charged a fee.

It is difficult to estimate the frequency of these consultations. The date of only one meeting can be ascertained from the correspondence between the two men: 24 June 1909.⁴² It is clear that they met much more frequently than this, and that their meetings spanned the entire period of Falla's residency in Paris: we know that Falla was continuing to consult him as late as 1913,⁴³ and that he would have visited him before leaving for Madrid in 1914 had there been more time.⁴⁴

In accordance with Dukas's request at their first meeting, Falla took advantage of these consultations to show him his latest works, to discuss his plans for future compositions (such as an opera based on *The Barber of Seville*, an idea to which Dukas did not take kindly),⁴⁵ and perhaps even to seek advice on works in progress. It may have been that during his seven years in Paris he showed him an early version of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*; in a letter dated 24 January 1923, he reminded Dukas of the occasion when he first showed this work to him, and this in turn caused Dukas to recall in some detail the circumstances surrounding the event when he replied to Falla on 7 February. (The most probable date for this, however, is January 1920; see § 2.2.4.)

⁴² Letter from Dukas to Falla, 21 June 1909.

⁴³ PM, 59.

⁴⁴ Letter from Falla to Dukas, 30 September 1914.

⁴⁵ PV, 118-19. (This passage is abridged in PM, 109-10.)

Falla also played him the *Four Spanish Pieces*.⁴⁶ Dukas later wrote to him to inform him that he had recommended them to Rouart, Lerolle et Cie.,⁴⁷ the publishers of his own Symphony. Pahissa implies that when approaches to this company failed, Dukas recommended the pieces to Durand (as did Debussy and Ravel).⁴⁸ Ultimately, it was Durand who published them,⁴⁹ though the following year Rouart did publish the *Trois Mélodies*, and it may be that Dukas had a hand in this too. Falla freely acknowledged Dukas's assistance in having his music published.⁵⁰

Falla's principal concern at his meetings with Dukas was to improve his skills in orchestration; as we have seen (§ 2.2.1), he had expressed a wish to study this aspect of composition with Dukas the first time they met, and Pahissa records that he sought his advice on the orchestration of *La vida breve* shortly before the opera's premiere in Nice in 1913.⁵¹ This aspect of Dukas's influence is examined in more detail in § 2.4.1.1.

But Dukas was also ready to offer Falla advice of a more practical nature. Just before Falla left for Nice in 1913, Dukas recommended a course of action for dealing with conductors who may have wished to alter the orchestration of Falla's opera – advice which, according to Pahissa, came in very useful:

‘If during rehearsals the conductor of the orchestra tells you that a passage needs modifying or changing because he does not think it sounds all right, you must simply say to him “play it again exactly as it is written” and, if it still sounds wrong, “play it again”, and eventually you will find that it sounds just as you had imagined it.’⁵²

⁴⁶ Falla mentions this in a letter to Carlos Fernández Shaw, 11 July 1908, quoted in Fernandez-Shaw, *Larga Historia de “La Vida Breve”*, 85-7.

⁴⁷ Letter from Dukas to Falla, undated [between c. July and 16 October 1908].

⁴⁸ PM, 48.

⁴⁹ Pahissa records Dukas's reaction to the news that Durand was to publish them: ‘[You got] as much as I was paid for *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*’. PM, 49.

⁵⁰ Letter from Falla to Fernández Shaw, 31 March 1910 (full citation in § 2.2.1); letter from Falla to Jean-Aubry, 28 August 1910 (full citation in § 3.1.1); PM, 48-9.

⁵¹ PM, 59.

⁵² PM, 59.

Indeed, it is evident from the correspondence – both from the Paris years and from later – that the relationship between these two men was not only that of master and pupil, but also that of friends. The Falla Archive preserves five of Dukas's visiting cards on which he wrote greetings to Falla; at least four of these are replies to cordial greetings sent by Falla, at least three date from Falla's Paris years, and two are positively identifiable as replies to new-year greetings for 1911 and 1914.⁵³ The last, written within days of the first Paris performance of '*La Vie brève*',⁵⁴ illustrates Dukas's sense of humour:

Mille remerciements (un peu confus de votre excès de bonne grâce)
et mille vœux les meilleurs pour 1914 ... et la *Vie LONGUE!*⁵⁵

A thousand thanks (a little taken aback by your excess of good grace) and a thousand best wishes for 1914 ... and *LONG Life!*

The greetings from Falla which inspired these reciprocations are all lost, but we may speculate from Dukas's evident embarrassment in at least two of his replies that they were of an effusive or expensive nature.⁵⁶ It is possible that Falla's new-year greetings consisted of pictures or postcards of Spain; this is known to be the case of the greeting which he sent to Debussy around new year 1910 (see § 3.2.2).

There is further evidence of friendship in the dedications which Dukas wrote inside Falla's miniature scores of *Ariane et Barbe-bleue* and *La Péri*. Indeed, it is possible that Dukas presented these two scores to Falla as gifts; this would explain why the other Dukas scores he owned at this time do not bear dedications, even though he would have had ample opportunity to have them inscribed. These may not have been the only gifts given to Falla by Dukas; it is possible that a 1910 programme preserved at the Falla Archive, from a

⁵³ All of these visiting cards are undated. One of them (1) is impossible to date, but the following inferences may be made for the remaining four: (2) [c. January 1911], (3) [c. January 1914], (4) [unknown date between 1907 and 1914], (5) [unknown date; possibly c. January 1908, 1909, 1910, 1912 or 1913]. The four replies are numbers 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the above list.

⁵⁴ The *répétition générale* took place on 30 December 1913 (programmes preserved at E-GRmf: FE 1913-006 & 007).

⁵⁵ Visiting card from Dukas to Falla, undated [c. January 1914].

⁵⁶ The two replies in question are [c. January 1911] and [c. January 1914].

series of concerts of French music in Munich at which Dukas and Saint-Saëns conducted, also falls into this category.⁵⁷

Conversation between the two men must have covered a wide range of musical subjects. It is probable, for instance, that Dukas told Falla of his experience of exotic music; Falla mentioned Dukas's discovery of it at a World Fair (though he got the date wrong) in 'Claude Debussy et l'Espagne'.⁵⁸ This was a subject which interested Falla intensely at this time, relating to the composition of 'Chinoiserie', and to his fascination with Louis Lucas's theories.⁵⁹ They undoubtedly discussed Spain and Spanish music too (a very fashionable subject in contemporary Parisian circles).⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: NFE 1910-028. The concerts took place on 18, 19 and 20 September 1910.

⁵⁸ FD, 206 [FEs, 72-3; FO, 41].

⁵⁹ See Chris Collins, 'Manuel de Falla, *L'Acoustique nouvelle* and natural resonance: a myth exposed', forthcoming in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, cxxviii, 1 (May 2003).

⁶⁰ Dukas made his long-held admiration for Spain quite clear in his letter to Falla of 7 February 1923.

2.2.3 During World War I

Dukas must have been one of the first people to whom Falla wrote when he arrived back in Madrid around the end of August 1914.⁶¹ That first letter is lost, however, and it may be that it never reached its destination. But Dukas did receive Falla's second letter, dated 30 September 1914, in which he describes the haste surrounding his arrangements to leave Paris, and apologises for not having been able to visit Dukas before his departure. He also expresses his confidence in France's eventual victory and his delight at recent victories at the expense of the 'Teutons', and he asks Dukas to send him his news.

Dukas did not reply immediately; Falla had certainly not yet heard from him when he sent his next missive in January 1915, wishing him a happy new year and informing him of the success of *La vida breve* in Madrid.

Dukas must have responded eventually, however, and it is possible that one of the extant undated letters from Dukas to Falla is in fact that reply.⁶² The letter in question is written on paper with a black border – owing, perhaps, to the death of Dukas's father in 1915.⁶³ The emotions expressed within seem to accord with Falla's patriotic comments, especially the sentence 'Je suis bien touché mon cher Falla de votre lettre chaleureuse et bien heureux des sentiments que vous m'exprimez' ('I'm very touched, my dear Falla, by your warm letter, and very happy at the feelings you express to me').

This correspondence is neatly mirrored by a further exchange of letters at the very end of the war. Falla's letter does not survive, but it is clear from Dukas's

⁶¹ Date inferred from letter from Falla to Dukas, 30 September 1914.

⁶² Letter from Dukas to Falla, undated [unknown date; possibly c. 1915].

⁶³ Favre, *Paul Dukas*, 34. Dukas's letter of c. 1908-9, relating to the publication of the *Four Spanish Pieces* (see § 2.2.2), is also written on black-bordered paper. This ties in with the death of his brother in April 1908 (*ibid.*, 34).

reply (28 November 1918) that it consisted of his expressions of joy at the French victory. (At least two letters of a similar nature have survived: one to the composer and musicologist Henri Collet, the other to the critic Émile Vuillermoz.)⁶⁴ Dukas's reply is remarkable for the way in which it fuses emotions of pain and of joy:

Votre enthousiasme me réjouit car je vous sais profondément sincère. Le moyen d'ailleurs, pour un être humain de n'être pas heureux de cette culbute des mensonges de la cruauté, de l'hypocrisie qui auraient fait revenir le monde à l'âge des cavernes?

Tout va bien: nous n'écrivons pas de sympathies préhistoriques avec des silex ... mais il a fallu trop de sang et de ruines pour nous en préserver et je crois que cette fois nous aurons la mémoire longue!⁶⁵

Your enthusiasm delights me, for I know that you're deeply sincere. How, anyway, could a human being be happy with this somersault of lies, of cruelty, of hypocrisy which would have returned the world to the Stone Age?

It has turned out well: we aren't writing with flints about prehistoric sympathies ... but saving ourselves has cost too much blood and too many ruins, and I think that this time our memories will be long!

The correspondence dating from the years in between these four letters is concerned principally with Falla's involvement, as a researcher, in the preparation of a new edition of some of Scarlatti's sonatas, commissioned by Durand and edited by Dukas.⁶⁶ It is not known exactly when Falla's involvement in this project began, but it had already done so by 9 July 1917, when Dukas wrote to Durand with the following news:

... j'ai reçu une lettre de Falla qui n'attend que la réouverture de l'Escorial pour courir à la Bibliothèque. Mais trouvera-t-il bien de nouveau? J'en doute.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Postcard from Falla to Collet, 18 November 1918, transcribed and translated in Appendix 6.E.a; postcard from Falla to Vuillermoz, 22 November [1918], original preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7769.

⁶⁵ Postcard from Dukas to Falla, 28 November 1918.

⁶⁶ Domenico Scarlatti (ed. Dukas), *Essercizi per gravicembalo* (Paris, 1919). Incidentally, no copy of this edition is preserved at *E-GRmf*.

⁶⁷ Letter from Dukas to Durand, 9 July 1917, quoted in Favre (ed.), *Correspondance de Paul Dukas*, 113.

... I've received a letter from Falla who will rush back to the Library as soon as El Escorial reopens. But will he find anything new? I doubt it.

The first letter from Dukas to Falla on this matter to have survived was written just three days later.⁶⁸

Falla's task, as witnessed in four letters from Dukas to Falla (all of Falla's letters on the subject are lost),⁶⁹ was to examine manuscript sources of Scarlatti sonatas in El Escorial,⁷⁰ to establish whether the sonatas in question remained unpublished, and if so, to transcribe them. (It is not clear whether Falla was requested to examine these specific manuscripts. It is equally possible that Dukas – or Durand – asked him to investigate the existence of Scarlatti manuscripts in Spain, and that these were the only ones he found.)

It seems that Falla did not initially understand the precise purpose of the exercise, for each of Dukas's letters serves to realign his researches in the correct direction. In the first of these letters to have survived (12 July 1917), he points out that Falla's task is not urgent, explaining that Durand is to begin by publishing the thirty *Essercizi* that were engraved during Scarlatti's lifetime.⁷¹ The second letter (14 January 1918) emphasises that he is not interested in finding new Scarlatti autographs, but rather any sources of

⁶⁸ Letter from Dukas to Falla, 12 July 1917.

⁶⁹ Letters from Dukas to Falla, 12 July 1917, 14 January 1918, 27 June 1918, and 28 November 1918 (postcard).

⁷⁰ In his letters to Falla, Dukas describes the sources as 'ces manuscrits de Tolède' ('these Toledo manuscripts') (letter from Dukas to Falla, 14 January 1918), and implies that this is where they are to be found ('... il y a une ou deux pièces que je vous demanderai sans doute de faire copier à Tolède' ['... there are one or two pieces that I'll certainly ask you to copy out in Toledo']) (postcard from Dukas to Falla, 28 November 1918). However, elsewhere (as in the letter to Durand cited above) he asserts that they are located in El Escorial. It is evident that the latter location was the correct one: in addition to having clearly informed Dukas that this was where he would find them (letter from Dukas to Durand, 9 July 1917), Falla is known to have spent much of summer 1918 there (letters from Falla to his parents, 13 June and 4 August 1918, quoted in PO, 100, and from Falla to Leopoldo Matos, 1 April 1918, preserved at *E-LPah* [photocopy held at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7265/2]). El Escorial is monastery town set in the mountains north-west of Madrid. It is popular as a summer resort, because of its cool climate.

⁷¹ Domenico Scarlatti, *Essercizi per gravicembalo* (London, 1738).

sonatas not included in Longo's comprehensive edition.⁷² Around 13 June 1918, Falla sent Dukas a list of the incipits of the sonatas contained in these manuscripts (a letter to his parents bearing this date reveals that he was in El Escorial at this time).⁷³ Dukas replied to Falla's letter on 27 June, and to a subsequent one on 28 November, informing him on both occasions that he hoped to ask him to transcribe some of the sonatas in full at a later date.

This correspondence would seem to suggest that some of the sonatas contained in these El Escorial manuscripts had not been included by Longo, whose edition would seem to have served as Dukas's copy-text (judging from his lack of interest in alternative readings of sonatas which Longo included). Unfortunately, Dukas completed only the first volume (comprising the thirty *Essercizi*) of the Durand Scarlatti edition, and he never specified the pieces that he wished Falla to transcribe.⁷⁴

Both men took advantage of the opportunities afforded by their Scarlatti-related correspondence to pass on their news. Falla must have discussed *The Three-Cornered Hat* (or *El corregidor y la molinera* as it may still have been at the time) shortly before 27 June 1918, for, in his reply, Dukas expressed his certainty that the ballet would interest him. Dukas liked to keep Falla informed about his acquaintances in Paris; on 14 January 1918, he told him about the recent marriage of Albéniz's daughter Laura, and also expressed his fears about the health of another mutual friend:

Nous sommes très inquiets de Debussy ... Sa maladie semble s'aggraver depuis deux ans (!) qu'il souffre et j'appréhende le pire, sans le dire, bien entendue, et en vous priant de garder mon impression pour vous. C'est un bien grand malheur, à tous les points de vue, qui se prépare ...

We're very worried about Debussy ... His illness seems to have been getting worse for 2 years (!) and I fear the worst – without saying so, of course, and I pray that you keep my opinion to yourself. There's a great misfortune coming, however you look at it ...

⁷² Domenico Scarlatti (ed. Alessandro Longo), *Opere complete per clavicembalo di Domenico Scarlatti* (11 vols., Milan, 1906-8).

⁷³ Quoted in PO, 100.

⁷⁴ The present writer has been unable to find any information about these El Escorial manuscripts.

The two men also remained in contact by a means other than written correspondence. The letter which Falla wrote shortly before 9 July 1917 (now lost) may have been a letter of introduction to Dukas for María Martínez Sierra (who had recently provided the libretti for *El amor brujo* and *El corregidor y la molinera*). She visited Dukas in Paris around this time, and no doubt exchanged Falla's news for Dukas's. Dukas's letter of 12 July is effusive in its expression of delight with his visitor.

2.2.4 1919-30

Between 1919 and 1930, Falla made no fewer than ten visits to Paris. It was in London, however, that he and Dukas were first reunited after the war, as Dukas revealed in a letter to Durand, written on 18 July 1919:

Nous sommes arrivés ici dimanche 13 et je compte être de retour mercredi ou jeudi prochain. La ville est en liesse et le temps ensoleillé. Les ballets russes fonctionnent et je dois voir aujourd'hui le bon Falla... il est à la veille d'une *première* ici, chez Diaghilev!! Comme on se retrouve!⁷⁵

We arrived here on Sunday 13th, and expect to return next Wednesday or Thursday. The city is jubilant and the weather sunny. The Ballets Russes are on, and today I'm to see good old Falla... he's about to have a premiere here, courtesy of Diaghilev!! How good to see him again!

It is clear that the two men did indeed meet in London at this time, perhaps on more than one occasion, and perhaps (judging from the use of the first person plural in the above quotation) in the presence of Dukas's wife also. (Dukas married in 1916.)⁷⁶ Much later, Dukas recalled 'les bonnes heures de Londres' ('happy hours spent in London') in a letter to Falla.⁷⁷

The *première* to which Dukas refers was that of *The Three-Cornered Hat*, which took place at the Alhambra Theatre four days later. Unfortunately, Falla was not present (owing to his immediate return to Madrid on the news of his mother's illness),⁷⁸ but it is clear that Dukas was: when he saw the ballet for a second time, in Paris the next January, he told Falla that '*Le Tricorne* me plaît plus que jamais' ('*The Three-Cornered Hat* pleases me more than ever').⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Letter from Dukas to Durand, written in London on 18 July 1919, quoted in Favre (ed.), *Correspondance de Paul Dukas*, 126-7.

⁷⁶ Favre, *Paul Dukas*, 34.

⁷⁷ Letter from Dukas to Falla, 5 January 1922.

⁷⁸ PM, 104.

⁷⁹ Letter from Dukas to Falla, 24 January 1920.

It has not been possible to ascertain exactly how many of those ten trips to Paris involved visits to Dukas. We can be certain of only two meetings in that city. The first was in January 1920, when Dukas attended the aforementioned performance of *The Three-Cornered Hat*, and wrote Falla a lengthy and mainly appreciative review – his only complaint being in relation to the standard of orchestral playing – the wording of which clearly indicates that they met either at or before the performance. Shortly afterwards, Dukas wrote again to Falla (who had by this time returned to Madrid)⁸⁰ from Villefranche-sur-Mer on the Provençal coast.⁸¹ His observation that they both left Paris at exactly the same time suggests that they met at least once during Falla's sojourn there. Falla must have told him of his future travel plans, for Dukas expresses his hope of seeing him in Paris again in May. Falla was indeed back in Paris in May and June 1920, and there is no reason to conclude that Dukas's hopes were dashed.

It was probably around this time (but perhaps, as we have seen, much earlier – see § 2.2.2) that Falla first introduced him to *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*. Dukas recalled this event in his letter of 7 February 1923, and his recollection of it – ‘le jour où Poujaud et vous m’avez cru mort parce que, vous attendant à la fenêtre je ne vous entendais pas cogner à ma porte!’ (‘the day when Poujaud and you thought I had died because, waiting for you at the window, I didn’t hear you knocking at my door!’)⁸² – is indicative of their familiarity and good humour.

⁸⁰ Falla left Paris on or shortly after 5 February and was probably back in Madrid by 10 February. (Evidence from two letters from Prunières to Falla, both 4 February 1920, and from draft of letter from Falla to Prunières, undated [probably 10 February 1920], all preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453.)

⁸¹ Postcard from Dukas to Falla, 24 February 1920.

⁸² Paul Poujaud was a barrister at the Court of Appeal in France (according to visiting card given to Falla and preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7440). He had been a student of D’Indy at the Schola Cantorum; his photograph, alongside D’Indy, Roussel, Séverac and others, is reproduced in Michel Duchesneau, *L’Avant-garde musicale et ses sociétés à Paris de 1871 à 1939* (Sprimont, 1997), 36. Favre records that Dukas befriended Poujaud, a fellow Wagner enthusiast, around 1886 (*Paul Dukas*, 17). It is clear from Dukas’s correspondence with Falla that they remained close friends: his name is mentioned not only in Dukas’s letter of 7 February 1923 but also in drafts of letters from Falla to Dukas, 24 January 1923 and undated [before 5 January 1924]. In the latter draft, it is implied that Poujaud was staying at Dukas’s house while the composer was away from Paris, and the same sheet of paper contains a draft of a new-year greeting from Falla to Poujaud himself. Two letters survive from Poujaud to Falla, dated 22 June 1923 and 5 January 1914 (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7440); the former reveals that he was one of those to whom Falla sent invitations to the private

The other occasion on which the two men are known to have met in Paris was in February, March or April 1928, when Falla was there to attend a festival of his works at the Opéra-Comique.⁸³ Joaquín Rodrigo, who was studying with Dukas at that time,⁸⁴ records that Falla paid an unexpected visit to Dukas at the École Normale de Musique, and that the visit actually interrupted his class.⁸⁵ Falla must have encountered Dukas again during his stay in the city, for Rodrigo also recalls that, a few days later, his teacher passed on a message to him from his elder compatriot. One topic of conversation between them was Louis Lucas's *L'Acoustique nouvelle*; when Adolfo Salazar asked Falla about that book a year later,⁸⁶ Falla replied that 'Dukas también desea mucho conocerlo' ('Dukas too would very much like to know it'; note the present tense).⁸⁷

It may be ascertained from the surviving correspondence that the two men did not meet in 1921 (though Falla tried to visit Dukas twice during his stay there in May and June)⁸⁸ or 1923.⁸⁹ It is evident, however, that their friendship did not wane and that the two men had every intention of seeing one another, even though their plans did not always come to fruition. Falla's letter of 26 December 1921 indicates the lengths he went to to see Dukas: he went to his

performance of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* at the Princesse de Polignac's salon on 25 June 1923, but that he was unable to attend. Poujaud was also a close friend of Déodat de Séverac, and is the dedicatee of Blanche Selva's book on the composer (*Déodat de Séverac* [Paris, 1930]).

⁸³ The *répétition générale* took place on 9 March 1928 (programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1928-005 and 006).

⁸⁴ Tomás Marco, 'Rodrigo, Joaquín', in NG, xxvi, 92; Raymond Calcraft, 'Rodrigo (Vidre), Joaquín', in NGr, xxi, 499. Marco incorrectly states that Rodrigo was Dukas's pupil at the Schola Cantorum. In fact, Dukas taught him at the École Normale de Musique, and later at the Paris Conservatoire.

⁸⁵ Joaquín Rodrigo, 'Los músicos que conocí a través de mis recuerdos: Manuel de Falla', in Antonio Iglesias (ed.), *Escritos de Joaquín Rodrigo* (Madrid, 1999), 100.

⁸⁶ Letter from Salazar to Falla, 11 August 1929, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7571.

⁸⁷ Carbon copy of letter from Falla to Salazar, 23 August 1929, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7573.

⁸⁸ Letter from Falla to Dukas, 26 December 1921.

⁸⁹ Letter from Falla to Dukas, undated [before 5 January 1924].

house twice, and sought him out at a rehearsal of *La Péri*, where Mme Dukas informed him of his absence. Falla expressed his hope that they would be able to meet during his visit to Paris in May and June 1925, so that he would be able to inscribe the copy of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* that he had sent earlier that year,⁹⁰ but it is not known whether he managed to make the visit. They remained on very cordial terms by means of their written correspondence; Falla sent new-year greetings for 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1926 and 1930,⁹¹ and may have sent more that are lost. Dukas replied to the first three of these at least,⁹² and Poujaud tells us that in 1924 (the first year when he didn't reply) he drank a glass of plum brandy to Falla's health.⁹³ Falla's letters to Dukas constantly express his admiration and his devotion, and extend salutations to his wife.⁹⁴

Falla's health had already begun to deteriorate by this time, and almost every one of Dukas's letters contains wishes for his recovery. It is evident that Dukas's concern was quite genuine; in his letter of 5 January 1922, he told Falla:

Cela irait mieux encore sans certains inquiétudes de santé pour mon entourage qui m'ont ces derniers temps assez tourmenté. Mieux vaut s'inquiéter pour son compte. Avec soin l'or s'arrange toujours. Et le travail est le meilleur remède; impossible à appliquer quand il s'agit des autres.

[Things] would be even better if I wasn't worrying about the health of certain members of my circle of friends, something which has been tormenting me recently. It's better to worry about your bank balance. With care, money is never a problem. Work is the best remedy; but it's impossible to work when it's a matter of other people.

⁹⁰ Letter from Falla to Dukas, 22 April 1925.

⁹¹ Letters from Falla to Dukas, 26 December 1921 [this being the new-year greeting for 1922], 24 January 1923, undated [before 5 January 1924], undated [January 1926], and 6 January 1930. The greeting for 1921 is lost, but Dukas's reply survives (undated [c. January 1921]).

⁹² Letters from Dukas to Falla, undated [c. January 1921], 5 January 1922, and 7 February 1923.

⁹³ Postcard from Poujaud to Falla, 5 January 1924, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7440. See also letter from Falla to Pierre Lalo, 21 January 1924, draft preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7164.

⁹⁴ Letter from Dukas to Falla, 24 February 1920; letters from Falla to Dukas, 26 December 1921 and undated [unknown date; perhaps shortly after 5 January 1922].

He also continued to be very interested in Falla's music. Falla cultivated this interest by sending him copies of his scores as they were published: *The Three-Cornered Hat* and *El amor brujo* on 28 December 1921,⁹⁵ *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* around 24 January 1923, and *Master Peter's Puppet Show* around 22 April 1925.⁹⁶ Dukas particularly admired *Nights*: in his letter of 7 February 1923, he describes it as 'votre ouvrage le plus achevé, le plus libre de forme et d'expression et celui qui vous exprime peut-être le mieux' ('your most accomplished work so far, the most free in form and expression, and the work which perhaps best expresses yourself'). In the same letter he mentions the performance of the work given by Viñes and the Orchestre des Concerts Colonne under Arbós at the Théâtre du Châtelet on 27 February 1923.⁹⁷ Though he himself was not present, he seems to have received a commendatory report of the performance from his friend Poujaud.

Dukas also went out of his way to comment on two of Falla's contributions to *La Revue musicale*, namely the article on Pedrell – which he read 'avec un vif intérêt' ('with keen interest')⁹⁸ – and the *Homenaje (Le Tombeau de Claude Debussy)*, of which he wrote: 'Votre hommage à Debussy est bien de ceux qu'il eut aimés et je l'ai moi-même vivement goûté et senti!' ('Debussy would certainly have like your homage, and I myself savoured it keenly!').⁹⁹

Since so few of Falla's letters to Dukas survive, it is impossible to ascertain whether this interest in Falla's music was reciprocated. If it was not, we may assume that Falla made a conscious decision not to mention the subject, on the

⁹⁵ Dukas's copy of *The Three-Cornered Hat* is preserved in a private collection. It bears the following dedication: 'au maître Paul Dukas, / avec ma profonde admiration et amitié / Manuel de Falla. / Granada 28 - XII - 21' ('to [my] master Paul Dukas, / with my profound admiration and friendship ...'). (A photocopy of the page bearing the dedication is preserved at *E-GRmf* in correspondence folder 6930.) Falla mentioned that he was sending *El amor brujo* too in his letter to Dukas of 26 December 1921.

⁹⁶ Falla warned Dukas of the arrival of these scores in the letters he wrote on the given dates.

⁹⁷ Programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1923-001. The programme does not state the name of the orchestra, but this information is found in a telegram from Joaquín Nin to Falla, undated [28 January 1923 or shortly afterwards], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7333.

⁹⁸ Letter from Dukas to Falla, 7 February 1923.

⁹⁹ Letter from Dukas to Falla, undated [c. January 1921].

grounds of tact; Dukas had composed nothing of consequence since *La Péri* in 1911.

Though there is a marked reduction in the quantity of the extant correspondence from around the second half of the 1920s, this can be indicative only of their failure to meet on a regular basis, which inevitably distanced them from one another, psychologically as well as physically.

2.2.5 1931-5

Falla and Dukas met for the last time in June or July 1931, in Paris.¹⁰⁰ Falla cherished his memory of this meeting: he gave Pahissa a surprisingly detailed account of it, part of which is included in the biography as a direct quotation:

At that time the signs of unrest which were to culminate in the bitter Civil War of 1936 had already begun to appear. Falla was thinking of moving from Granada to a more peaceful place, less disturbed by social upheavals. He had thought of the quiet of Provence. With deep emotion he recalled that time when, he said: 'I was convalescing from iritis, of which, fortunately, I was cured in only twenty days, and I had to wear dark glasses. Dukas, himself ill at the time, showed me photographs of Provence, kneeling down and holding them up to the sun that I might see them better. ...'¹⁰¹

A few months previously, Falla had written to Dukas to ask him if he would be his patron for an application to become an associate member ('sociétaire adjoint') of the French Société des Auteurs.¹⁰² Dukas was happy to comply.¹⁰³ (His other referee was Florent Schmitt; see § 4.2.3.)

This was the first of three matters which form the nucleus of the correspondence from 1931 onwards. The second was Dukas's petition, written on 21 November 1934, for Falla's support in Joaquín Rodrigo's candidature for a Count of Cartagena bursary. (Rodrigo also wrote directly to Falla to seek his support.¹⁰⁴ His letter reveals that two such bursaries were made available

¹⁰⁰ The date is given in PM, 44. 'Dukas' is one of the words in a list of people to visit, things to buy and matters to be resolved, which Falla pencilled on a letter from Henry Prunières dated 4 June 1931 (preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453); other people named include Koechlin and Schmitt.

¹⁰¹ PM, 44.

¹⁰² Letter from Falla to Dukas, 26 March 1931;

¹⁰³ Postcard from Dukas to Falla, 1 April 1931, location unknown (photocopy preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6930.)

¹⁰⁴ Letter from Rodrigo to Falla, 15 November 1934, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7503.

by the Academia de Bellas Artes in Madrid for musicians who wished to study outside Spain.) Dukas's request is shrouded with palpable embarrassment: he observes that he has been pestered to write by Rodrigo, and that he would have refused 'en principe' ('in principle') were it not for his admiration for his talent and abilities (especially, he hints, given his blindness).¹⁰⁵ Falla pledged his support for Rodrigo in a letter to the President of the Academia de Bellas Artes, though, as he freely admitted in his reply to Dukas's letter,¹⁰⁶ he wielded little influence over the Academia, never having been fully received as a member.¹⁰⁷ Rodrigo's application was successful nevertheless, and he returned to Paris as a student of musicology;¹⁰⁸ Falla expressed his delight at this outcome in his letter to Dukas of 2 February 1935.

(Twenty-five years earlier, Falla had attempted to influence Dukas in a similar matter, seeking his support for the admission of one of his Parisian piano students to the Paris Conservatoire. Dukas's distaste for such requests is already evident: he replied that he was unable to intervene since he was not a member of the jury.)¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Dukas refers to Rodrigo as 'ce charmant et malheureux garçon' ('this charming and unfortunate young man') (letter to Falla, 21 November 1934). Interestingly, in a letter to Falla dated 27 November 1928 (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7571), Salazar records Dukas's opinion (reported to him by the guitarist Andrés Segovia) that Rodrigo's technique was much more advanced when he arrived in Paris than Falla's had been.

¹⁰⁶ Letter from Falla to Dukas, 5 December 1934.

¹⁰⁷ This was principally a result of his objections to Conrado del Campo's exclusion from the Academia in his favour. See: letter from Falla to Salazar, 29 March 1929, carbon copy preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7573; letter from Falla to Leopoldo Matos, 30 March 1929, preserved at *E-LPah* (photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7265/2). A fascinating account – though very confused – of Falla's contacts with the Academia at this time, and of the very corrupt nature of the organisation, is given in SV, 171-2. Pahissa records that one of the reasons that Falla was not inaugurated as a member of the Academia was this organisation's refusal to elect Dukas as foreign member, something which he had requested in acknowledgment of Dukas's nomination of Falla as foreign member of the Institut de France (PM, 182). However, this does not agree with the chronology; Falla's nomination to the Academia took place in 1929, but he was not elected to the Institut de France until 1935. (His election to the Institut de France is discussed in more detail below.)

¹⁰⁸ Tomás Marco, 'Rodrigo, Joaquín', 92.

¹⁰⁹ Letter from Dukas to Falla, undated [c. 1908-9].

The third matter concerned Falla's nomination as a corresponding member of the Institut de France.¹¹⁰ Dukas informally notified him of his nomination on 26 January 1935,¹¹¹ freely expressing his pride at having Falla as his 'cher confrère' ('dear colleague'), and stating that it was he who had suggested Falla's name in the first place. Falla's reply, written on 2 February, is a remarkably effusive expression of gratitude to Dukas and his colleagues for bestowing such an honour on him. In it, he recalls the earliest days of their friendship:

Comment aurai-je pu supposer quand, en 1907, j'ai osé aller vous voir rue Washington, que vous même, le maître admiré auquel (et avec quelle crainte!) je soumettais un peu de musique, allait un jour proposer mon nom à l'Institut de France! ...

How could I have imagined, when in 1907 I dared to go and see you in the Rue Washington, that you yourself, the admired master to whom I submitted a piece of music (and with what trepidation!), would one day nominate me to the Institut de France! ...

The correspondence of this period continued to be full of personal affability; their health was a particular topic of mutual interest. New-year greetings were sent in 1932, 1933, 1934 and 1935.¹¹² Falla was overjoyed to receive one of Dukas's missives (that of 1 April 1931) in the form of a postcard bearing his friend's portrait, and it was on a postcard with his own portrait that he wrote his reply.¹¹³

Two remarkable expressions of Dukas's fondness for Falla – and his work – exist in dedications which he wrote in November 1934 in Falla's copies of *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* and *La Péri* (which by this time he had had bound together). The score of *La Péri* is the same one that Falla possessed in Paris before the First World War – the very one that Dukas had dedicated to him in

¹¹⁰ The full title is 'correspondant pour la section de composition musicale de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts de l'Institut de France'.

¹¹¹ The formal notification was sent on the same day by Widor; it is preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6665.

¹¹² Letters from Dukas to Falla, 2 February 1932, 21 January 1934 and 26 January 1935; letters from Falla to Dukas, 29 January 1932, 7 January 1933, 16 January 1934 and 5 December 1934.

¹¹³ Letter from Falla to Dukas, 6 April 1931.

1912. The new dedication is written directly underneath the first one, and refers back to it:

à Monsieur Manuel de Falla
En bien sympathique souvenir
Paul Dukas
Avril 1912

Après plus de 22 ans $1/2$, mon cher de Falla, je crois pouvoir dire que le 'bien sympathique souvenir' de 1912 n'était que le petit commencement de la grande et affectueuse amitié dont je charge encore *La Péri* de vous apporter le chaleureux témoignage:



Paul Dukas
Novembre 1934! ¹¹⁴

To Monsieur Manuel de Falla
With friendly regards
Paul Dukas
April 1912

After more than 22 $1/2$ years, my dear de Falla, I think I can say that the 'friendly regards' of 1912 was just the beginning of a great and fond friendship, to which I hope *La Péri* will once again warmly testify:

[musical notation]

Paul Dukas
November 1934!

Falla arranged to have these inscriptions added through the medium of Joaquín Nin-Culmell, who had been his pupil a few years earlier, and who was now studying with Dukas at the Paris Conservatoire.¹¹⁵ Falla probably made the request when Nin-Culmell visited him in Granada earlier that year (1934);¹¹⁶ on 21 November, he warned Dukas about Nin-Culmell's commission.

¹¹⁴ This dedication is reproduced in Nommick, '*La vida breve* entre 1905 y 1914', 34.

¹¹⁵ Aurelio de la Vega, 'Nin-Culmell, Joaquín María', in NG, xiii, 250. Falla expressed his pleasure on hearing that Nin-Culmell would be studying with Dukas in his letter to Dukas of 7 January 1933.

¹¹⁶ Nin-Culmell is known to have visited him in 1934 because Falla inscribed copies of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* and *El amor brujo* for him on this occasion (photocopies of the pages bearing the inscriptions are preserved at E-GRmf, in correspondence folder 7336).

Both of the dedications include a short musical quotation from the works in question (Falla specifically requested this in his letter of 21 November).¹¹⁷ That from *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* is a reduction to two staves of the last two bars of the work, to which Dukas has added a humorous interlaid text:

Au Père de l'*Amour Sorcier*.
 Au cher Manuel de Falla
 Le Peu de l'*Apprenti Sorcier*.
 En toute constante affection!
 Paul Dukas



Novembre 1934. ¹¹⁸

[In comparison] To the Great *Love, the Sorcerer*.
 To my dear Manuel de Falla
 The Small *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*.
 With constant affection!
 Paul Dukas

[musical notation]

November 1934.

It is clear from the inclusion of these musical examples and from the wit of the written comments that he took great care over these dedications to his old friend.

Dukas died on 17 May 1935, less than four months after his last letter to Falla. Falla sent a telegram of condolence to his wife: 'Douleureusement ému vous envoie vives condoléances perte maître inoubliable aussi aimé que admiré [sic]' ('Painfully moved, [I] send you [my] keenly-felt condolences [on the]

¹¹⁷ The excerpt from *La Péri* is from eight bars after figure 18 to two bars before figure 19.

¹¹⁸ The order in which the key signature and time signature appear in the quotation are as in the annotation.

loss [of the] unforgettable master[,] as much loved as admired').¹¹⁹ This message and those which Dukas wrote in Falla's scores of *La Péri* and *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* (especially the latter) together clearly reveal the two foundation blocks of their relationship: friendly affection for one another, and genuine admiration for each other's work.

¹¹⁹ Typed draft of telegram from Falla to Madame Dukas, undated [shortly after 17 May 1935], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6930.

2.3 FALLA'S EXPERIENCE OF DUKAS'S MUSIC

Falla owned ten scores of music by Dukas. Among them are two versions of *Ariane et Barbe-bleue* (the vocal score and the miniature orchestral score), and three of *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* (two identical copies of the miniature score, and a copy of the two-hand piano transcription by Victor Staub). He also possessed a copy of the January 1910 issue of *S. I. M.*, which included the *Prélude élégiaque* as part of a 'Hommage à Joseph Haydn', and the May 1924 issue of *La Revue musicale*, containing Dukas's contribution to the 'Tombeau de Ronsard'. In addition, he must have owned at least one copy of the supplement to the December 1920 issue of *La Revue musicale*, in which Dukas's homage to Debussy was published alongside Falla's. The ten different works represented account for two-thirds of Dukas's total published output.

There is evidence in the miniature scores of *Ariane*, *La Péri* and one of those of *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* which enables us to ascertain when Falla obtained them. The first two bear dedications from Dukas, dated 10 May 1913 and April 1912 respectively. The respective publication dates are 1907 and 1911, so we can be sure that he obtained them in Paris during his residence there. The vocal score of *Ariane* probably dates from this period too. As will be seen in § 2.4.1.2, Falla's annotations in this score denote orchestral effects which interested him. He must therefore have obtained the vocal score before the miniature full score – it is unlikely that he would have noted such things in the former had he had the latter to hand – and, as we have seen, we know the date by which he had acquired a full score. The existence of the handwritten dedication in this latter item raises the possibility that Dukas presented it to Falla as a gift; it is possible that Falla was unable to obtain – or to afford – a full score, and had regarded the purchase of a vocal score as a stopgap measure.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Falla did not own a vocal score of Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande*. In the case of *Pelléas*, he purchased a vocal score as early as

One of the first Dukas scores that Falla was purchased – if not the very first – was *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*. One of his copies bears the stamp of Casa Dotesio, a music shop in the Calle San Jerónimo in Madrid which had become Union Musical Española (and its stamp altered accordingly) by the time of his return to Spain in 1914.¹²¹ There is no copyright date in this score, but the British Library catalogue records that it was published in 1900. Falla may have acquired the item at any time between this date and his departure for Paris, therefore; but it is worth observing that he would have had an incentive to buy it immediately after hearing a performance of the piece by the Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid under Enrique Fernández Arbós, on 13 April 1907.

It is much more difficult to assess when Falla may have obtained his other six Dukas scores. The handwritten fingerings in the Piano Sonata (published 1906) and the *Variations, Interlude et Finale sur un thème de Rameau* would seem to indicate that they were purchased before or during the years he spent in Paris.¹²² He owned the original edition of the latter item, published (according to the British Library) in 1905; a revised edition appeared in 1907, so it is probable that he obtained his copy between these two dates (though copies of the old edition may have remained available for several years, and he may even have purchased it second-hand). The absence of retailers' stamps, the easier availability of French music in France and the dates of Falla's studies with Dukas lead to the probable conclusion that the *Vocalise Étude* and the Symphony were also purchased during his Paris years.

It is difficult to explain why he owned two identical copies of the orchestral score of *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*, only one of which (the Casa Dotesio copy) bears his annotations. There are four plausible explanations. First, he may have been given his second copy as a gift. Second, he may have

1908 (Falla's 1908 diary, preserved at E-MOma; discussed in Michael Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla, Debussy and *La vida breve*', *Musicology Australia*, xviii [1995], 4).

121 The possibility should be noted that some of the scores in Falla's ownership bearing the Casa Dotesio stamp may have been obtained second-hand at a later date.

122 Apart from those of pieces that Falla played in concerts, the only scores purchased in or after 1914 containing his indications for fingering are the second book of Debussy's *Préludes* and Bartók's *Ten Easy Pieces* (E-GRmf, inventory numbers 317 (2) and 821 respectively). In contrast, fingerings are found in many of the scores that he purchased in Madrid before 1907 and in Paris between 1907 and 1914.

purchased a second copy because he was alarmed at the increasingly dilapidated state of his original copy. Third, he may have temporarily mislaid his first copy, and felt it necessary to purchase another one in the interim. Fourth, he may have left his copy in Madrid when he went to Paris in 1907, and purchased another copy soon after his arrival there. If truth could be found in any of these last three hypotheses, this would indicate the very high regard in which he held *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* and the frequency with which he consulted it; in the case of the fourth hypothesis, he would have had to buy the second copy within four months of settling in Paris, for he would have been able to collect his original one when he returned to Madrid in January 1908.

In any case, the extent to which Falla consulted this score is betrayed by the condition of the Casa Dotesio copy. Reinforced bindings testify to his heavy use of other Dukas scores; it is clear that he himself commissioned the rebindings of the *Ariane et Barbe-bleue* vocal score, the second copy of *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* and *La Péri*. The last two are bound together, and some of Falla's annotations in the former have been lost to the binder's plough.

The pencilled marginalia in the scores present further evidence of Falla's detailed and close knowledge of this music. Annotations and cross-references in the two scores of *Ariane et Barbe-bleue* will be discussed later (§ 2.4.1.2). The fingerings in the third movement of the Piano Sonata and in the *Variations, Interlude et Finale sur un thème de Rameau* demonstrate that he played these pieces (though, as far as can be ascertained, he never did so in public). The notes he made in his scores of the Symphony and *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* (the Casa Dotesio copy) reveal that he made a close study of their orchestration (he even corrected a minor engraver's error in the latter).¹²³

However detailed Falla's knowledge of Dukas's music on paper, his experience of it in performance was more limited – though he did hear all of the major pieces, with the exception perhaps of the Symphony. He heard *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* on at least eight occasions between 1907 and 1930, on one occasion in a band arrangement. He heard *La Péri* at least twice, and may

¹²³ On page 65 of the Casa Dotesio score of *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* (inventory number 340), Falla has added a treble clef in the left-hand stave of the harp part, immediately before the sixth bar.

well have seen the first production of it in Paris in 1912.¹²⁴ Judging from the orchestration-related annotations in the vocal score of *Ariane et Barbe-bleue*, he seems to have attended a performance of this opera before he obtained the full score in (or before) 1913. His collection of concert programmes indicates that he heard the short prelude to Act 3 of the opera on 23 February 1910, and we know from his correspondence with the composer that he saw the opera again in May or June 1921, at the Paris Opéra-Comique.¹²⁵ As concerns piano pieces, the *Prélude élégiaque* was played (along with the other 'Homages à Haydn' by Debussy, d'Indy, Ravel, Widor and Reynaldo Hahn) at a concert of the Société Nationale de Musique at the Salle Pleyel on 11 March 1911, and an unknown work (probably a solo piano piece, played by Lazare Lévy) at the Salle Erard on 23 May 1908. Perhaps this last piece was the Piano Sonata: given Falla's selection of this piece for quotation in his *Pour le tombeau de Paul Dukas* (see § 2.4.4), it seems reasonable to suppose that he heard a performance of the work at some point.

¹²⁴ Favre, *Paul Dukas*, 33. Very few programmes from 1912 are preserved at *E-GRmf*, but this does not necessarily indicate that Falla attended fewer concerts than normal during that year.

¹²⁵ Falla told Dukas of his presence at such a performance in his letter of 26 December 1921. Favre records that the opera was revived around May 1921 (*Paul Dukas*, 31).

2.4 FALLA'S DEBT TO DUKAS

2.4.1 Instrumentation and orchestration

2.4.1.1 Dukas's advice to Falla ¹²⁶

It has already been mentioned that the study of instrumentation and orchestration was one of the main purposes of Falla's consultations with Dukas between 1907 and 1914 (§ 2.2.2). Pahissa records the method of study that Dukas recommended to him –

... Dukas advised him to study the methods of each instrument, this being the best way of learning its possibilities, scope and resources. Dukas had done this, and Falla did likewise.¹²⁷

– and goes on to record the success it had had by the time he came to revise *La vida breve* around 1913:

He had acquired a complete mastery of instrumentation by following the method advised by Dukas. This was to study each instrument's particular method and the technical exercises and works specially composed for each.¹²⁸

Three types of documentary evidence testify to the fact that Falla acted on Dukas's advice. First, there are several published instrumental methods

¹²⁶ The nature of Dukas's advice to Falla has also been considered by Yvan Nommick, in '*La vida breve* entre 1905 y 1914', 33-44.

¹²⁷ PM, 42.

¹²⁸ PM, 55.

bearing Falla's annotations,¹²⁹ all in French, several published around 1908-9, and all undoubtedly acquired during Falla's seven-year sojourn in Paris: annotations in one of them refer to *Ariane et Barbe-bleue* and *La Péri*,¹³⁰ scores of which Falla obtained at this time. Secondly, there are the copious annotations that he made in scores of music by a range of composers (including Dukas himself). Thirdly, many of Falla's handwritten notes survive on the capabilities of various instruments;¹³¹ in some of these manuscripts, he copied out relevant examples from the treatises and scores already mentioned.

It is unclear to what extent his studies in this subject were actually directed by Dukas. It is unlikely that the course was in any way programmed; to judge from Dukas's recommendations to Falla the first time they met (see § 2.2.1), it is probable that their formal consultations took place only when Falla felt in need of advice.

But it is likely that Dukas suggested scores at which Falla ought to look. The work of two composers features prominently among that which he studied: Debussy and Wagner.¹³² The probability of Dukas having used works by the

¹²⁹ The instruments to which Falla's annotations apply are the flute, the oboe (and cor anglais), the clarinet, the bassoon (and sarrusophone), the violin, and the cello. These methods are listed, with full references and *E-GRmf* inventory numbers, in Nommick, 'La vida breve entre 1905 y 1914', 36-7.

¹³⁰ Falla's copy of Charles-Marie Widor, *Technique de l'orchestre moderne faisant suite au Traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration de H. Berlioz* (2nd edn., Paris, 1904) (*E-GRmf*, inventory number 1240), p. 9. The page is reproduced and discussed in Nommick, 'La vida breve' entre 1905 y 1914', 93 and 38-9 respectively.

¹³¹ These have been catalogued, under the inventory numbers 7915 and 7916, by Yvan Nommick, who has commented on them in 'La vida breve entre 1905 y 1914', 39-61, citing in particular Falla's notes on the flute, the trombone and the trumpet, and transcripts in full score of excerpts from *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg* and *Pelléas et Mélisande*. A further document, containing notes on the use of the harp (in addition to the use of the orchestra in general, and with some comments in relation to the revision of *La vida breve*), is catalogued at *E-GRmf* under the inventory number 9001-36, and discussed in *ibid.*, 45-6. This latter document is very similar in appearance to the notes which Falla made at or after a meeting with Debussy on 10 October 1911 (see §§ 3.2.2 and 3.4.1.1), with which it is catalogued, and Michael Christoforidis has suggested that this document also may be a record of advice given to Falla by Debussy ('Manuel de Falla, Debussy and *La vida breve*', 6-8 and 11 n. 17).

¹³² This applies both to annotated scores and to the handwritten notes on instrumentation and orchestration preserved at *E-GRmf* under the inventory numbers 7915 and 7916. See Nommick, 'La vida breve entre 1905 y 1914', 39-61 *passim*.

former for illustration has already been commented upon (§ 2.1.1), while his enthusiasm for Wagner is well-documented,¹³³ not least by his articles on the subject.¹³⁴

The significance of this course of study to Falla's skills as an orchestrator is difficult to ascertain, since the post-1913 version of *La vida breve* is the earliest of his orchestral scores to survive. However, Yvan Nommick has made detailed comparisons between this score and surviving fragments of earlier versions,¹³⁵ and has concluded that the later version has (among other things) 'un orchestre ... plus brillant grâce à une meilleure connaissance des possibilités de chaque instrument' ('a brighter orchestra[tion] thanks to a better knowledge of each instrument's possibilities').¹³⁶ It is reasonable to assume that the far more varied and innovative orchestration of his later works was the fruit of the course of study recommended to him by Dukas, for, when he returned to Spain, his new skills would have had a role to play as a determining factor in the process of composition itself, rather than (as with *La vida breve*) as a gloss to a pre-conceived work.

¹³³ Hopkins, 'Dukas', 690; Favre, *Paul Dukas*, 17 and 28.

¹³⁴ Four articles by Dukas on Wagner are preserved at *E-GRmf*: 'L'influence wagnerienne', *La Revue musicale*, iv, 11 (1 October 1923), 1-9; 'La Valkyrie à l'Opéra', *Le Monde musical*, xli, 5 (31 May 1930), 181-3; 'Le prestige de Bayreuth', *Le Monde musical*, xliv, 3 (31 March 1933), 71-3; 'La musique et la littérature: A propos des idées et des écrits de Wagner', *La Revue musicale*, xviii, 174 (15 May 1937), 262-8. The third of these articles is annotated, and is examined in more detail in § 2.4.3 below.

¹³⁵ Nommick, 'Manuel de Falla: De *La vida breve* de 1905 à *La vie brève* de 1913', 83-5.

¹³⁶ Nommick, 'Manuel de Falla: De *La vida breve* de 1905 à *La vie brève* de 1913', 86.

2.4.1.2 The example of Dukas's music

We know from various sources that the perusal of Dukas's own music was an important element of Falla's study of orchestration. This is evident from references to works by Dukas in various handwritten notes on matters of orchestration. Falla almost certainly made these notes during the period in pre-war Paris when he was receiving compositional advice from Dukas himself.¹³⁷

Copied out on a sheet headed 'Estudios de orquesta (violín)' ('Orchestral studies (violin)') are three bars of the bassoon part of Dukas's Symphony (second movement), making use of the instrument's upper register at a *pianissimo* dynamic (Example 2.4.1.2.i);¹³⁸ on the same sheet are several similar extracts and two much lengthier extracts from Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* (see § 3.4.2.1; the entire sheet is reproduced as Figure 3.4.2.1.ii). There are many analogous uses of this instrument in Falla's works (though, in this register, it is most often doubled by another instrument, such as the violas or cellos). One such passage is shown in Example 2.4.1.2.i.

Another sheet, headed 'Estudio de instrumentos' ('Study of instruments'), contains a list of passages for clarinet in works by a number of composers (Figure 2.4.1.2.i).¹³⁹ One of these works is *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*. Next to the page reference for each passage (relating to the Durand miniature score), Falla has actually specified the way in which the clarinet is treated orchestrally. His notes may be interpreted as follows:

¹³⁷ *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7915 and 7916. Most of the sheets of the manuscript paper in folder 7916 are stamped 'H. Lardesnault [/] Ed. Bellamy Sr. [/] Paris'. Moreover, these manuscripts make extensive reference to *Pelléas et Mélisande*, a score which Falla did not obtain until 4 April 1908 (see § 3.3).

¹³⁸ *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7916. The passage is from the second movement, letter M, bars 6-8 (pages 116-17 of the Rouart et Lerolle miniature score).

¹³⁹ *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7915. The other works referred to are Wagner's *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*, Rossini's *The Barber of Seville*, Weber's *Der Freischütz*, Strauss's *Till Eulenspiegel* and *Don Juan*, and Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande*.



Dukas, Symphony, second movement, letter M, bars 6-8, first bassoon part.



Falla, *La vida breve*, Act 1, bars 84-9, bassoon parts.

Example 2.4.1.2.i

- page 12, rehearsal figure 17 [high woodwind instruments and glockenspiel in unison or octaves];
- page 27, fortissimo passage [i.e. from bar 7 of figure 2], violins, violas, oboes, flutes and piccolo [doubling the clarinet];
- pages 31-2, [clarinet in] unison [with] pizzicato violas;
- page 47, fortissimo passage [i.e. from bar 19 of figure 40], oboes, flutes, piccolo, harp, glockenspiel [doubling the clarinet] and cymbal;
- page 51, rehearsal figure 44, low register ('Región grave') [of the clarinet], [in] unison [with] bass clarinet and pizzicato violas;
- page 74, solo [clarinet], marked 'lontain'.

While there is nothing original in Dukas's scoring for the clarinet in unison (or at the octave) with the other high woodwind instruments, the other three devices found in these passages are to a greater or lesser extent distinctive and idiosyncratic. All are nevertheless found also in Falla's oeuvre.

In two of these passages from *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*, the clarinets play in unison with *pizzicato* violas; Falla's commentary on one of them also draws attention to the use of the clarinet's lowest registers. Falla was especially fond of doubling the clarinets and violas; remarkable analogues using *pizzicato* violas may be found in *The Three-Cornered Hat* and *Master Peter's Puppet*

Instrumente de instrumentos

Clarinete - Mätr. pag. 40 y 41 - 2º act

Mätr. y figg. - Mätr. act 2º pag. 35 y 36

Clarinete Rossini - Barber
Germ. 173

Id. id Weber - Freyschütz - g. 175

Till (12.13.) . 21 - 52 -

Gm. from Cor. 1 V. 1. obs. Clar. - 18 - 20 -

7 obs. to V. 1. Cor. 2. obs. - 24 - | 48. 1 obs. clle.

84. Effects ff. agudo. H.F. V. 13. | 73 7P. 1 obs. agudo
unis flüte

Apprentis Sorcier 12 [17] - 27. ff. V.A. H.F.P.

31. 22. min figg. A. - 47. ff. H.F.P. Ar. gl. Gm.

51 [46] Regin grande. Cl. B. figg. A. - 74 Solo (bruitain)

V. 1. 1. 1.

Figure 2.4.1.2.i

A list (in Falla's hand) of passages scored for clarinet in works by Wagner, Rossini, Weber, Strauss and Dukas (E-GRmf, manuscripts folder 7915).

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Show (see Example 2.4.1.2.ii). But Falla made much more extensive use of this grouping with bowed violas,¹⁴⁰ and this is especially true where he employs the clarinet's lower register. A notable example of this is the clarinets' and violas' unison trill on the note e which punctuates the 'Ritual Fire Dance' of *El amor brujo*; this blend of sonorities is also given particular importance in the orchestral version of Falla's homage to Debussy (Example 2.4.1.2.iii).

The last item in this list of passages from *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* relates to the final statement of the work's principal theme, in a mutated form, scored for a solo clarinet and marked 'lontain' ('distant'). A closely-related analogue is found in the second part of *The Three-Cornered Hat*, where the final statement of the theme of the Neighbours' Dance is also heard on the clarinet (Example 2.4.1.2.iv). Though the clarinetist is not directed to play 'distantly', this is to some extent implicit in the dramatic circumstances of the passage, acting as an epilogue to the Neighbours' merrymaking on 'a fine Andalusian night, perfumed, starlit, and mysterious'.¹⁴¹

Falla also made reference to Dukas's music in his studies of the capabilities of the flute. Copied out in a manuscript headed simply 'Flauta' ('Flute') are five short instances of writing for that instrument from *La Péri*, alongside examples from Strauss's *Till Eulenspiegel* and Ravel's *Rapsodie espagnole* (see § 4.4).¹⁴² The Dukas excerpts are grouped under the heading 'Notas agudas y pasos difíciles' ('High notes and difficult passages'), and come from the following sections of the score:

[text continues after Example 2.4.1.2.iv]

¹⁴⁰ Instances include: *La vida breve*, Act 1, bars 55-64; *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, 'En el Generalife', figure 12; *The Three-Cornered Hat*, Part 1, figure 11, bars 10-13; Part 2, figure 18, bars 12-13; *El amor brujo* (final version), figure 4; figure 6, bars 5-9.

¹⁴¹ The quotation is from the synopsis which prefaces the Chester miniature score.

¹⁴² *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7916.

CLARINETS (sounding pitch)

VIOLAS

f *pizz.* *arco*

Dukas, *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*, figure 30, bars 10-15,
clarinet and viola parts.

CLARINETS
(sounding pitch)

VIOLAS

mf *f* *pizz.* *f* *sfz*

Falla, *The Three-Cornered Hat*, Part 1, figure 20, bar 14, to figure 21, bar 1,
clarinet and viola parts.

CLARINET

VIOLA 2

mf *pizz.* *f* *mf*

Falla, *Master Peter's Puppet Show*, figure 47, bars 1-8,
clarinet and second viola parts.

Example 2.4.1.2.ii

CLARINETTS (sounding pitch)

BASS CLARINET (sounding pitch)

VIOLAS [pizz.]

p

Dukas, *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*, figure 44, bars 3-10,
clarinet, bass clarinet and viola parts.

CLARINET 2 (sounding pitch)

tr

pp ————— *f*

VIOLAS

tr

pp ————— *f*

Falla, *El amor brujo* (final version), figure 26, bars 1-4,
clarinet 2 and viola parts.

CLARINET (sounding pitch)

pp

FIRST VIOLAS

p

Falla, *Homenajes*, 'A Cl. Debussy (Elegía de la guitarra)',
bars 1-5, clarinet and first viola parts.

Example 2.4.1.2.iii



Dukas, *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*, figure 56, bars 7-9, first clarinet part.



Falla, *The Three-Cornered Hat*, Part 2, 'The Neighbours' Dance', figure 15, bars 8-12, first clarinet part.

Example 2.4.1.2.iv

- Figure 11, bar 16 (beat 2), to figure 12, bar 1 (pages 80-1 of the published score);
- Figure 12, bar 6 (beat 2) to bar 7 (pages 83-4);
- Figure 14 bis, bars 10-11 (page 101);
- Figure 18, bars 2-3 (page 119);
- Figure 2, bar 5 (beat 2) to bar 6 (pages 13-14).

All of these examples contain slurred scalic patterns, in short note values (mostly demisemiquavers) and with many notes in the instrument's top octave; two have momentary *arabesque* figures, and two have scales running in consecutive thirds.

In Falla's works, flute-writing in this register most frequently occurs in octaves with other woodwind instruments;¹⁴³ in *La Péri*, by contrast, the flute parts are distinct (though occasionally doubled by the first violins), and their role is essentially colouristic. The scalic patterns suggest occasional parallels in Falla's music, however, as is demonstrated in Example 2.4.1.2.v.

¹⁴³ For example: *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, 'En los jardines de la Sierra de Córdoba', bars 1-9; *The Three-Cornered Hat*, Part 1, figure 19, bars 1-11.



figure 35, bar 12 (i.e. the bar before figure 36); the second excerpt is taken from bars 7 to 13 of figure 37.¹⁴⁷ Both of these are loud (generally *fortissimo*) passages for the full orchestra. Falla divides the four staves of his reductions into two groups of two, where the upper group shows the melodic content and the lower group the harmonic content. Both of the passages in question are scored for near-full orchestral forces, and both are marked *ff*. There are two distinctive melodies in each passage too, interacting contrapuntally. Falla's reduction isolates these melodies on separate staves.

His purpose in making this reduction may have been to facilitate an analysis of the vertical structure of the passage by temporarily eliminating the issue of the scoring: indeed, there is not a single instrumental designation to be found anywhere on the sheet. The reduction therefore seems to be concerned primarily with structural matters, and it can be related only partly to his study of orchestration. It may be that he later returned to the original score in order to study the distribution of the musical material across the orchestra: but it is quite feasible that, in making this reduction, he was exclusively concerned with the contrapuntal and/or harmonic structure of each passage.

The most extensive evidence of Falla's study of Dukas's orchestral writing is found in the notes he made within the pages of the scores themselves. Among the instruments about which he was particularly curious are bassoons,¹⁴⁸ brass instruments,¹⁴⁹ and the low strings.¹⁵⁰ An annotation on the inside front cover of the Symphony draws particular attention to what Falla describes as 'Trem. ligado en la cuerda' ('*Legato tremolando* in the strings') at letter I of the last movement. This was to become one of his favourite orchestral techniques; it is

the same sheet: 'A estudiar: La Péri ps. 76-80 [/] Desde la p. 98 en adelante' ('To be studied: *La Péri*, pages 76-80 [and] From page 98 onwards').

¹⁴⁷ Neither passage is annotated in either of Falla's copies of the score.

¹⁴⁸ Annotations in *La Péri*, pp. 27 and 32.

¹⁴⁹ Annotations in: *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* (E-GRmf, 340), p. 52 and 59 (references on the dustjacket to pp. 55-7, 60-1, 63 and 72 also); Symphony, pp. 9 and 23 (reference on the inside rear cover to p. 72 also); *La Péri*, references on rear flysheet to pp. 55, 72-5, 101, 102-3, 106-7 and 111.

¹⁵⁰ Annotations in: *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* (E-GRmf, 340), p. 59 (reference on the dustjacket to pp. 60-1 also); Symphony, pp. 9 and 23 (references on the inside rear cover to pp. 134 onwards, 139 and 177 also); *La Péri*, reference on rear flysheet to p. 55.

evident even in *La vida breve* (Example 2.4.1.2.vi), where the device is even marked 'molto legato'.

Falla also noted the chromatic lines for the double basses in the last movement of this symphony;¹⁵¹ these may have been the inspiration for the haunting passage for low strings in the middle of the first movement of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* (Example 2.4.1.2.vii).

A pencilled note on the tissue-paper cover surrounding Falla's Casa Dotesio score of *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* reveals his interest in the trumpet and horn parts on pages 55, 56 and 57 of this score (i.e. from figure 47 to seven bars after figure 48).¹⁵² Throughout this passage, these instruments share a heavily-accented three-bar melody, heard seven times in succession. The trumpets and horns play similar passages in several of Falla's works; an early example, probably written around the time that he was studying orchestration with Dukas, is shown in Example 2.4.1.2.viii.

A large number of Falla's annotations in these scores relate to Dukas's use of the harp and tuned percussion instruments. This is especially true of one score in particular: not, paradoxically, an orchestral score, but rather the vocal score of *Ariane et Barbe-bleue*. As mentioned briefly in § 2.3, most of the annotations in this score mark out passages which interested Falla by virtue of their orchestration. He must have made the annotations during a performance of the opera, noting interesting effects as he heard them. When he later acquired a copy of the full score, he annotated it with a number of cross-references linking with page numbers of the vocal score, in order, no doubt, to assist in the task of scrutinising the passages that had interested him (rehearsal figures are printed in the full score only). He also provided cross-references in the vocal score, but, with one exception, he did not consider it necessary to

¹⁵¹ An annotation on the inside front cover of the score draws attention to the double bass parts on pages 134 (and following), 139 and 177 of the score.

¹⁵² The annotation reads: 'Pa 55-56-7 / Tr y Cor' ('Pp. 55-56-7 / Tr[umpet] and Horn').

Violins 2, Violas, and Cellos parts, bars 1-4. The score is in 2/4 time. Violins 2 and Violas play a melody of eighth notes, while Cellos play a bass line of eighth notes. The dynamics are *pp* (pianissimo) for all parts. The Cellos are marked *arco* (arco). The key signature has one sharp (F#).


Dukas, Symphony, third movement, letter I, bars 1-4,
second violin, viola and cello parts.

Violins 2, Violas, and Cellos parts, bars 396-8. The score is in 2/4 time. Violins 2 and Violas play a melody of eighth notes, while Cellos play a bass line of eighth notes. The dynamics are *ppp* (pianississimo) for all parts. The Cellos are marked *molto legato* (molto legato). The key signature has one sharp (F#).

Falla, *La vida breve*, Act 1, bars 396-8,
second violin, viola and cello parts.

Example 2.4.1.2.vi

CELLOS AND DOUBLE BASSES



Dukas, *Symphony*, third movement, letter P, bars 8-11, cello and double bass parts.

CELLOS AND DOUBLE BASSES


[Cellos:] con sord.
[Basses:] sul tasto



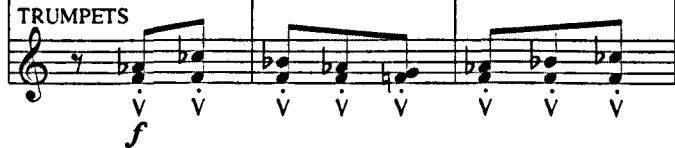
Falla, *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, 'En el Generalife', figure 12, bars 17-21, cello and double bass parts.

Example 2.4.1.2.vii

HORNS



TRUMPETS



Dukas, *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*, figure 47, bars 13-15, trumpet and horn parts (all at sounding pitch).

HORNS



TRUMPETS



Falla, *La vida breve*, Act 2, bars 225-32, horn and trumpet parts (all at sounding pitch).

Example 2.4.1.2.viii

transfer any other notes from the latter to the former.¹⁵³ The exception is the passage representing the chiming of a bell towards the end of Act 2;¹⁵⁴ we shall return to this a little later.

He must have been listening out especially for the harp and the tuned percussion (the opera has parts for two harps, celesta and glockenspiel), because one or more of these instruments feature in the majority of these passages.¹⁵⁵ He utilised some of the same effects in his final revision of the orchestration of *La vida breve*.

Incidentally, Falla annotated harp parts in other scores, notably in Debussy's 'Ibéria' (the second of the orchestral *Images*; see § 3.4.2.1). Handwritten notes

¹⁵³ The cross-references are marked as follows (graphite pencil unless otherwise marked):

Vocal score (<i>E-GRmf</i> , 1153)		Miniature full score (<i>E-GRmf</i> , 1154)	
Page number	Annotation	Page number	Annotation
46	'pag. 85'	85	'pag. 46'
76	'[fig.] 60 pag. 161'	161	'(pag. 76)'
89	'pag. 194'	194	'pag. 89'
93 (top of page)	'pag. 203'	203	'pag. 93'
93 (lowest system)	'pag. 206'	206	'pag. 93'
105	'233'	233	'105'
118	'(270)'	270	'118'
129	'298-301'	298	'129'
		301	'129'
131	'(308)'	308	'131'
133	'312-16'	316	'133'
152 (top of page)	'366' [red pencil]	366	'152' [red pencil]
152 (third system)	'367' [red pencil]	No corresponding annotation	
169	[trimmed; '410?']	No corresponding annotation	
170	'409' [red pencil]	409	'170' [red pencil]
194	'463'	No corresponding annotation	
195	'465'	465	'195'
197	'469'	469	'197'
200	'479'	479	'200'
201	'480'	480	'201'
205	'488'	488	'205'

¹⁵⁴ Vocal score, p. 143; full score, p. 341 (the annotation in *E-GRmf* 1154 relating to this passage is to be found on the rear flysheet).

¹⁵⁵ Annotations on the following pages in Falla's copy of the vocal score (*E-GRmf*, inventory number 1153) either certainly or probably relate to the harp, celesta and glockenspiel parts (the numbers in brackets are of the matching pages in the full score): 41 (72), 42 (74), 45 (83), 46 (85), 47 (89), 63 (134), 118 (270) 131 (308), 135 (321), 142 (339), 149 (356).

on separate sheets of paper also testify to his interest in and study of the harp's capabilities. One such document has been cited by both Michael Christoforidis and Yvan Nommick,¹⁵⁶ who make good cases for it being a record of Debussy's advice on the subject. It is equally possible that the advice was Dukas's. It is also interesting to note the important role played by the harp in Falla's later works, notably *Psyché* and the *Soneto a Córdoba*.

The annotations in the scores of *Ariane et Barbe-bleue* indicate that among the devices in which Falla was interested were the following:

- the simultaneous use of contradictory rhythmic patterns in the harp parts (e.g. vocal score, p. 47; full score, p. 89: where sextuplet semiquavers in the right hand are superimposed on standard semiquavers in the left – see Example 2.4.1.2.ix);
- contrary motion in the harp parts (e.g. vocal score, p. 118; full score, p. 270 – see Example 2.4.1.2.x);
- doubling of the harp part at the unison and/or the octave by the glockenspiel (e.g. vocal score, p. 41; full score, p. 72 – see Example 2.4.1.2.xi);
- use of the celesta to pick out the important notes of a more elaborate harp part (e.g. vocal score, p. 63; full score, pp. 134-5 – see Example 2.4.1.2.xii);
- the use of harp harmonics, doubled at the unison or the octave by the celesta (e.g. vocal score, p. 63; full score, pp. 134-5 – again, see Example 2.4.1.2.xii).

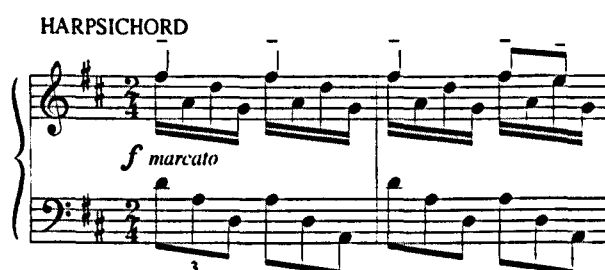
These five devices all have analogues in Falla's oeuvre. Particularly interesting parallels may be drawn between the first two and the harpsichord part of the *Concerto* (see Examples 2.4.1.2.ix and x), the style of which Falla was forced to assimilate from a range of disparate sources – including music for the harp, sonorously akin to the harpsichord – in the absence of an immediate precedent. But it is the last three devices in the above list that Falla was to recycle most directly. The doubling of the harp parts (or, at least, of the most important notes of them) by the tuned percussion instruments (including the piano) was one of his favourite devices. Passages in *Nights in the Gardens*

¹⁵⁶ *E-GRmf*, inventory number 9001-36. Quoted in: Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla, Debussy and *La vida breve*', 7-8; *Id.*, 'De *La vida breve* a *Atlántida*: algunos aspectos del magisterio de Claude Debussy sobre Manuel de Falla', *Cuadernos de música iberoamericana*, iv (1997), 23; Nommick, '*La vida breve* entre 1905 y 1914', 45-6. Reproduced in Nommick, *op. cit.*, 104-6.

of *Spain*, *The Three-Cornered Hat* and even the orchestral version of the *Homenaje Pour le Tombeau de Claude Debussy* demonstrate Falla's assimilation of Dukas's example;¹⁵⁷ instances in *La vida breve*, however, point to a much more direct influence. Like *Ariane*, *La vida breve* has parts for two harps, glockenspiel and celesta. Yvan Nommick has demonstrated that Falla added the latter two instruments during his sojourn in Paris,¹⁵⁸ and it is quite clear from the way in which he combines them with the harp that he added them after he had studied the score of Dukas's opera. Two passages from *Ariane* and their analogues in *La vida breve* are shown in Examples 2.4.1.2.xi and xii.



Dukas, *Ariane et Barbe-bleue*, Act 1, figure 35, bar 1, harp parts.



Falla, *Concerto*, first movement, bars 1-2, harpsichord part.

Example 2.4.1.2.ix

¹⁵⁷ Selected instances are *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, third movement, figure 33 to figure 36 (celesta, harp and piano doubling essential notes); *The Three-Cornered Hat*, Part 2, figure 12 to figure 13 (celesta doubling harp glissandi) and Final Dance, figure 31 to figure 33 (simultaneous glissandi in xylophone, piano and harp parts); *Homenajes*, 'A Cl. Debussy', figure 5, bars 3-5 (celesta doubling essential notes of the harp part).

¹⁵⁸ Nommick, 'La vida breve entre 1905 y 1914', 26-7.

Harmonic score for two harps. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#). Harp 1 (top) and Harp 2 (bottom) both play a descending chromatic scale from G#4 to G#1, marked with a forte (f) dynamic. The notation includes a '6' indicating a sixteenth-note rhythm. The Harp 2 part includes a bass clef and a '6' indicating a sixteenth-note rhythm.

Dukas, *Ariane et Barbe-bleue*, Act 2, figure 96, bar 4, harp parts.

Harmonic score for a harpsichord. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The piece is in 3/4 time. The notation shows a descending chromatic scale from G#4 to G#1, marked with a forte (f) dynamic. The Harpsichord part includes a bass clef and a '6' indicating a sixteenth-note rhythm.

Falla, *Concerto*, second movement, figure 1, bars 5-6, harpsichord part.

Example 2.4.1.2.x

Musical score for Glockenspiel and Harps. The Glockenspiel part is on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). It begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The Harps part consists of two staves (treble and bass clefs) with the same key signature. It also begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic. A dashed line labeled "8va" indicates an octave transposition for the Harps part. The music features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes.

Dukas, *Ariane et Barbe-bleue*, Act 1, figure 29, bars 3-4, glockenspiel and harp parts.

Musical score for Glockenspiel and Harp 1. The Glockenspiel part is on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). It begins with a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic and includes a *dim.* (diminuendo) marking. The Harp 1 part consists of two staves (treble and bass clefs) with the same key signature. It also begins with a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic and includes a *dim.* marking. The music features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes.

Falla, *La vida breve*, Act 2, bars 160-4, glockenspiel and harp 1 parts.

Example 2.4.1.2.xi

This musical score excerpt features three staves. The top staff is for HARP 1, marked *p dolce*, with a melodic line in the treble clef and a more active line in the bass clef. The middle staff is for HARP 2, marked *p*, with a simple melodic line in the treble clef and a line in the bass clef that includes a *vibrato* marking. The bottom staff is for CELESTA, marked *p*, with a melodic line in the treble clef and a line in the bass clef. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 4/4. The music is characterized by flowing, arpeggiated patterns in the harp parts and a more rhythmic, dotted melody in the celesta.

Dukas, *Ariane et Barbe-bleue*, Act 1, figure 50, bars 9-11, celesta and harp parts.

This musical score excerpt features three staves. The top staff is for CELESTA, with a melodic line in the treble clef. The middle staff is for HARP 1, marked *mf*, with a melodic line in the treble clef. The bottom staff is for HARP 2, marked *pp*, with a melodic line in the treble clef and a line in the bass clef. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The music is characterized by a simple, dotted melody in the celesta and harp parts. The harp 2 part includes the marking *près de la table*.

Falla, *La vida breve*, Act 2, bars 286-9, celesta and harp parts.

Example 2.4.1.2.xii

The second instance of the direct influence on Falla of Dukas's orchestration is more profound, relating not so much to the way in which the music is orchestrated, but rather to a specific case where the sonority and the musical material are inseparable. The case in question is the representation of a bell in the 'A Media noche' section of *El amor brujo*.¹⁵⁹ A direct precedent for this is found towards the end of the second act of *Ariane et Barbe-bleue*, where Bluebeard's wives, having broken a window in their dungeon, hear the chiming of a distant bell.¹⁶⁰ Falla singled out this passage for attention by means of an annotation on the rear flysheet of his full score of the opera: 'cloche / 341 etc.' ('bell / [page] 341 etc.');

he also ringed the first bar of this passage in the vocal score.¹⁶¹

The similarities between these two passages are extremely clear; see Examples 2.4.1.2.xiii and xiv. In both instances, twelve chimes are represented (it is midnight in *El amor brujo* and noon in *Ariane*), and both make use of a subtle echo effect on the third beat of each common-time bar. The most significant difference between them is that Falla, in impressionist mode, does not make use of a real bell for a realistic representation of the chimes themselves (as does Dukas), even though he goes on to employ tubular bells at the end of the ballet.¹⁶²

Of course, not all of the devices that Falla annotated in these scores found their way into his own works. He seems to have been particularly careful not to imitate Dukas's most idiosyncratic sonorities too closely; a notable example – which he never emulated in his own work – is the *pianissimo* scoring for brass, doubled by the strings, at letter N of the first movement of the *Symphony*.¹⁶³ Nevertheless, the notes that he made – both within the scores

¹⁵⁹ *El amor brujo* (final version), figure 23, bar 10 onwards.

¹⁶⁰ Full score, pp. 341-5 (figure 118 to figure 119).

¹⁶¹ Page 143.

¹⁶² *El amor brujo* (final version), figure 64 onwards.

¹⁶³ This passage (on page 72 of the Rouart et Lerolle miniature score) is referenced in Falla's annotations on the inside front cover of the score.

and on separate sheets of paper – constitute proof of his fascination with the remarkably skilful orchestration of Dukas's works, and there can be no doubt that he fully assimilated his master's example.

Sans presser davantage

HORNS
(sounding pitch)

TIMPANI

BELL

VIOLINS I

VIOLINS 2

VIOLAS

CELLOS

DOUBLE BASSES

tr

pp

(au loin, sur le théâtre)

f

Div.

pp

pp sur le chevalier

pp sur le chevalier

[pizz.]

p

Div. arco

p

Div.

p

Div.

pizz.

p

etc.

Example 2.4.1.2.xiii

Dukas, *Ariane et Barbe-bleue*, Act 2, figure 118, bars 1-8 (woodwind, trumpet, harp and voice parts omitted).

Lento e lontano

2 HORNS
(sounding
pitch)

TIMPANI

PIANO

VIOLINS 1

VIOLINS 2

VIOLAS

CELLOS

DOUBLE
BASSES

mf *p* *mf* *p* *mf* *p* *mf* *p* *mf* *p*

pp

mf *marc.* *p* *mf* *p* *mf* *p* *mf* *p* *mf* *p* *mf* *p*

ppp *pizz.* *mf*

pizz. *mf* *pizz.* *p*

ppp *ppp*

pizz. *mf*

ppp *2^a Corda* *pizz.* *mf*

Example 2.4.1.2.xiv

Falla, *El amor brujo*, 'A Media noche' (figure 23, bars 10-15) (woodwind parts omitted).

2.4.2 Other technical concerns

It has already been noted (§ 2.4.1.2) that the four-stave reductions which Falla made of two passages from *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* may be unrelated to his study of orchestration. His purpose in undertaking this exercise in simplification may equally have been to facilitate the analysis of another aspect of the passages in question, such as their harmonic or contrapuntal schemes.

Other sources at the Archivo Manuel de Falla attest more conclusively to Falla's study of elements of Dukas's works besides their instrumentation. Among his annotations on the inside front cover of the Symphony are three rhythmic figures, alongside the page numbers from which they have been taken:



These play significant structural roles in the second subject of the first movement of the symphony, in both the exposition and the recapitulation (though Falla has noted the page number of the third pattern's appearance in the recapitulation only). The second of them (found at rehearsal figures 3 and 18 of the score) forms the bridge passage. The first figure divides the two initial statements of the second subject first idea (letter B, bars 14-16; letter J, bars 14-16).¹⁶⁴ The third pattern leads from the first idea to the livelier second idea of the second subject (figure 4, bar 7 onwards; figure 19, bar 7 onwards).

¹⁶⁴ Falla's barring here (in 3/8 time) in the annotation is a simplification of Dukas's, which changes from 6/8 to 9/8.

That Falla chose to note these rhythms in particular plainly demonstrates his concern with the formal structure of the movement.¹⁶⁵

A sheet of handwritten notes tucked into the back of Falla's Casa Dotesio copy of *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* has been described as a formal analysis of this work,¹⁶⁶ but this interpretation is incorrect, as will be seen later (§ 2.4.4). Falla did analyse the tonal structure of *La Péri*, however (Figure 2.4.2.i); it survives among the many loose leaves of notepaper preserved at the Falla Archive.¹⁶⁷ This analysis may have been undertaken at a comparatively late date: the notepaper on which it is written is the same as that of the 'Retablo Notebook',¹⁶⁸ which dates from around 1920,¹⁶⁹ and from which several pages have been torn out. (This is not to seek to demonstrate that the sheet was torn directly from this particular notebook, for Falla no doubt owned and filled many similar ones.) On the reverse of the sheet is a tonal and thematic analysis of Strauss's *Till Eulenspiegel*.

It is impossible to ascertain from these analyses the extent to which Dukas's compositions served as structural models for Falla's. However, a further document attests to a specific correlation.

This document depicts eight scalic patterns, derived from various sources (Figure 2.4.2.ii).¹⁷⁰ Falla has marked the provenance of all but one of these

¹⁶⁵ The annotations on the inside front cover of this score also draw attention to pages 102 and 105 of the score (i.e. second movement, letters H and J). It was probably another rhythm which attracted Falla's attention here: the hypnotic syncopated pattern which passes from the strings at letter H to the woodwind at letter J. Falla was also fond of hypnotic rhythms (this is especially notable in *El amor brujo*), but his patterns tend to involve far less syncopation.

¹⁶⁶ Ken Murray, 'Manuel de Falla's *Homenajes* for orchestra', *Context*, 3 (Winter 1992), 12. Murray also incorrectly states that these notes are to be found on a blank page of the score, rather than on a separate sheet of paper.

¹⁶⁷ *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7915.

¹⁶⁸ *E-GRmf*, unclassified document. The name 'Retablo Notebook' was conferred on it by Michael Christoforidis.

¹⁶⁹ This date is suggested by the appearance of Falla's handwriting, and from the content of the document, which comprises preparatory notes for the composition of *Master Peter's Puppet Show*.

¹⁷⁰ *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7915. There is a brief allusion to this document in Michael Christoforidis, 'Hacia un nuevo mundo sonoro en *El Retablo de Maese Pedro*', in LU, 233.

mi.
mi. mi. mi. mi.
 1. 44 a.) mi. mi.
 " 27 a.) mi. mi. (desc.)
 " 36 a.) mi. mi. (desc.)
 " 46 a.) Transformed mi. mi.
 // 50 b.) mi. mi. (desc.)
 " 77 b.) (desc.) mi. mi.
 " 81 b.) mi. mi. (desc.)
 " 98 a.) mi. mi. (desc.)

 " 113 a.) mi. mi. (desc.)
 119 a.) mi. mi.
 126 a.) mi. mi.

Figure 2.4.2.i

Falla's analysis of the tonal structure of Dukas's *La Péri* (E-GRmf, manuscripts folder 7915).

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

scales. (The exception is the first, which also happens to be the only one written out in ascending order, and the only one which spans an entire octave: it is a Lydian-mode scale on F.) Each of the other seven scales appears twice: first in the keys in which they appeared in the original sources (or in slightly modified versions of these keys), and then transposed in such a way that all descend from the note F.

The scales numbered from 3 to 6 are taken from unspecified works by Saint-Saëns, Pedrell and Dukas. (In their transposed form, the two Saint-Saëns scales are revealed as identical.) The second scale is marked 'Montserrat', and almost certainly originates in the fourteenth-century *Libre Vermell*, extracts from which are transcribed in the third volume of Pedrell's *Cancionero musical popular español*.¹⁷¹ The last two scales are from *Master Peter's Puppet Show* and, in the transposed versions, arrows connect these two scales to those attributed to Dukas and Saint-Saëns. The other jottings on this sheet – two rough musical sketches (one marked 'Niños' ['Children' or 'Boys']) and the Paris address of Eugenia de Errazuriz (a wealthy Chilean music-lover and the dedicatee of *Soneto a Córdoba*) – are unrelated to the scales, and were probably written on completely different occasions.

The scale that Falla attributes to Dukas almost certainly comes from *Ariane et Barbe-bleue*, where it furnishes the notes for the recurring tune sung by the chorus of Bluebeard's wives, first heard towards the end of Act 1;¹⁷² this folk-scale is rendered conspicuous by its divergence from the chromaticism of Dukas's more usual musical language. The scale from the *Puppet Show* with which Falla associates it is that of the Trujamán's short melody at figure 59. Both of these extracts are shown in Example 2.4.2.i.

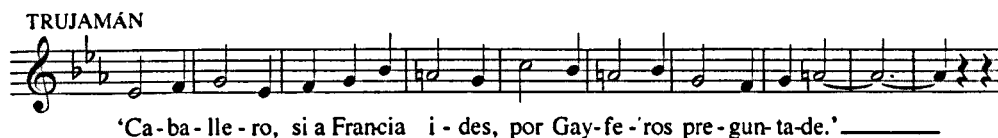
It is curious that Falla seemed to find some correlation between the modes of these two passages; in their transposed forms, they have only four notes (out of six) in common. (The *Puppet Show* scale is closer to the Saint-Saëns example – which shares five of its notes – than to the Dukas.) Nevertheless, the two passages have much in common in terms of style and context. The folkloric and archaic sound of the song sung by Bluebeard's wives reflects the timelessness of their imprisonment, their existential unity, and their loss of

¹⁷¹ (Valls, n. d.), pp. 3-13 of the main text and pp. 7-19 of the musical examples. Falla's annotated copy is preserved at *E-GRmf* (inventory number 1482). The piece from which this scale was extracted was probably 'Virgo splendens hic' (p. 7). An annotation on this page questions the exclusion of the note B in the second line (though it is used as a passing note elsewhere in the piece).

¹⁷² This theme begins at rehearsal figure 57, bar 13 (p. 72 of the vocal score; p. 153 of the miniature full score). In the document, Falla has simplified the original D \sharp minor by transposing it down a semitone.



Dukas, *Ariane et Barbe-bleue*, Act 1, figure 57, bars 13-16, vocal part.



Falla, *Master Peter's Puppet Show*, figure 59, bars 1-10, vocal part.

Example 2.4.2.i

individuality. The Trujamán's melody is genuine folklore (or, at least, early music very much in the public domain; according to Demarquez,^{172A} the theme is by the sixteenth-century composer Francisco de Salinas), and the Trujamán himself sets the tune in relief by introducing it with the words: '... según aquello del Romance, que dice ...' ('... as is told in the Ballad, which goes ...').¹⁷³

It is probable that all the scales written out in this document are related to *Master Peter's Puppet Show*, or to other works by Falla. As far as the 'Montserrat' scale is concerned, Falla is known to have alluded to specific pieces of early music in *Master Peter's Puppet Show*:¹⁷⁴ in one of the sketches for this work, he noted that the music accompanying the entry of Carlo Magno (figure 19 of the score) is 'D'après un thème de Sanz'.¹⁷⁵ A further sketch for the same work contains a transcription of the scale of the Sriraga mode

^{172A} D, 128.

¹⁷³ *Master Peter's Puppet Show*, figure 58, bars 16-19.

¹⁷⁴ See M. García Matos, 'Folklore en Falla II', *Música*, 6 (October-December 1953), 33-52; D, 117-32; Antonio Gallego, 'Dulcinea en el Prado (Verde y Florido)', *Revista de musicología*, x, 2 (1987), 685-99.

¹⁷⁵ *E-GRmf*, MS LXV A5. The reference is to Gaspar Sanz (1640-1710), the Spanish composer of guitar music.

discussed by Louis Lucas in *L'Acoustique nouvelle*.¹⁷⁶ It is possible, therefore, that Falla made similar use of scales derived from early music (including, perhaps, the *Libre Vermell* in Pedrell's edition).

However, it is clear that this document does not represent a stage in the composition of *Master Peter's Puppet Show*. Rather, it dates from after its completion. The way in which the scales are numbered indicates that Falla first wrote them out on the upper half of the page (in their original transpositions), and then proceeded to transpose them to begin on F. In the form in which they appear on the top half of the page, the scales from the *Puppet Show* are in different keys from those used by Dukas and Saint-Saëns; the arrows indicating the links between them are attached to the transposed versions only. This would seem to indicate that Falla extracted the two *Puppet Show* scales from the completed score of the work, and disproves the hypothesis that this document shows him actually deriving the scales from the Dukas and Saint-Saëns examples.

The Roman numerals that Falla wrote beneath the transposed versions of these scales would seem to imply an attempt to confer on them a systematic rationale, divorced from their specific association with the *Puppet Show*. This ties in with his proven desire to find theoretical justification for his finished compositions.¹⁷⁷

So Falla's mental association between the scale from *Ariane et Barbe-bleue* and that used in *Master Peter's Puppet Show* cannot be taken as proof that the one was derived from the other. All the same, this document does demonstrate that Dukas's example had a significant role to play in Falla's rationalisation of his own work, even as late as the 1920s.

¹⁷⁶ Louis Lucas, *L'Acoustique nouvelle* (Paris, 1854), 17; E-GRmf, MS LXV A5. For further discussion and a reproduction of this manuscript, see Collins, 'Manuel de Falla, *L'Acoustique nouvelle* and natural resonance'.

¹⁷⁷ See Collins, 'Manuel de Falla, *L'Acoustique nouvelle* and natural resonance'.

2.4.3 Shared views on Wagner

In March 1933, *Le Monde musical* printed an article by Dukas entitled 'Le Prestige de Bayreuth' – an article first published in the *Revue hebdomadaire* in 1901, and reprinted to mark the fiftieth anniversary of Wagner's death.¹⁷⁸

- Crosses and brackets pencilled in the margins of Falla's copy of this journal reveal that he read Dukas's article with close attention to detail. It is highly significant, therefore, that his own article on Wagner, published in *Cruz y raya* just six months later,¹⁷⁹ displays a number of marked similarities with Dukas's.

The ostensible purpose of Dukas's article - evident in its title – was to investigate the significance of the Bayreuth Festival Theatre in the promulgation of Wagner's art. Dukas quickly loses sight of this purpose, however; instead, he chooses to make use of the word 'Bayreuth' as shorthand for 'l'œuvre totale de Wagner' ('Wagner's entire oeuvre'),¹⁸⁰ and to investigate Wagner's legacy to contemporary musicians. He observes, for instance, that

C'est à Wagner que nous devons, en grande partie, le silence et le recueillement relatifs en lesquels on écoute aujourd'hui des ouvrages qui occupent toute une soirée sans cavatine et sans ballet.¹⁸¹

It is to Wagner that we owe, to a great extent, the relative silence and reverence in which works which take up a whole evening without [the diversion of] cavatinas or ballets are heard today.

¹⁷⁸ Paul Dukas, 'Le Prestige de Bayreuth', *Le Monde musical*, xliv, 3 (31 March 1933), 71-3. Falla's copy preserved at *E-GRmf* (inventory number 7861).

¹⁷⁹ FW (FEs, 137-46 [FO, 81-7]).

¹⁸⁰ Dukas, 'Le Prestige de Bayreuth', 71.

¹⁸¹ Dukas, 'Le Prestige de Bayreuth', 71.

He also notes Wagner's beneficial influence on the quality of operatic interpretation.¹⁸² He nevertheless concludes his essay by challenging the validity of Wagner's influence on contemporary composers, especially in matters of structure.

Falla's article also maintains an equilibrium between appreciation and deprecation of Wagner's art. In the former category, both pay tribute to the innovative and highly influential way in which Wagner combines music and drama. An early passage in Dukas's article reads:

Il faudrait s'aveugler pour méconnaître l'influence profonde de Bayreuth – j'entends par là l'œuvre totale de Wagner – sur les mœurs théâtrales de l'Europe entière, sur le rôle qu'a pris la musique dans le drame, et sur le répertoire même des concerts symphoniques ...¹⁸³

You would have to blind yourself in order to underestimate the profound influence of Bayreuth – by which I mean Wagner's entire oeuvre – on the theatrical practice of all Europe, on the role that music has taken within drama, and on the repertoire even of symphonic concerts ...

A pencilled bracket in the margin of Falla's copy of this article draws attention to the phrase 'sur le rôle qu'a pris la musique dans le drame' ('on the role that music has taken within drama') in the above passage. Significantly, Falla begins the conclusion of his own article with a similar observation:

Nadie antes que Wagner hizo campear la acción dramática en más propicio ambiente musical. En este sentido fue más que un extraordinario artista: podemos afirmar que fue un vidente.¹⁸⁴

Nobody comes before Wagner in making dramatic action prevail in a more favourable musical atmosphere. In this respect, he was more than an extraordinary artist: we can affirm that he was foresighted.

But where these two articles approach one another most closely is in their discussion of Wagner's negative influence. Indeed, both Dukas and Falla use the same rhetorical argument as a means of bridging their discussions of good and bad (all italics are mine):

¹⁸² Dukas, 'Le Prestige de Bayreuth', 71-2.

¹⁸³ Dukas, 'Le Prestige de Bayreuth', 71.

¹⁸⁴ FW (FEs, 145 [FO, 86-7]).

[Dukas:] Le progrès – très sensible – qu'a fait accomplir à la musique dramatique l'exemple de Wagner peut se constater, à peu près partout, dans la noblesse des intentions, dans *l'abandon des formules à effet*, dans la recherche sérieuse de l'unité de l'œuvre. Surtout en cette recherche de l'unité. L'erreur que nous signalons vient d'elle ... et il ne s'agit que de savoir si cette unité essentielle, dont la recherche l'a motivée, *ne peut être autrement obtenue*.¹⁸⁵

The progress – quite palpable – that Wagner's example has had on dramatic music may be noted – pretty much everywhere – in the nobility of the intentions, in *the abandonment of set formulae for special effects*, in the serious search for the unity of a work. Above all in this search for unity. The error that I am pointing out comes from this [search] ... and it is simply a matter of knowing whether this essential unity (the search for which caused [the error] to come about) *cannot be otherwise obtained*.

[Falla:] Al esfuerzo de Wagner debemos que la música prosiguiera, con paso victorioso, *su liberación de fórmulas prácticas*, que aun siendo buenas, y hasta en ciertos casos de un valor permanente, *no representaban únicas posibilidades*, como pretendieron quienes, en su mayoría, eran ajenos a la práctica del arte.¹⁸⁶

To Wagner's efforts we owe the successful ongoing *liberation of music from set formulae*, which – even where they are good, and even where, in certain cases, they are of lasting value – *do not represent the only possibilities*, as some people – most of whom have nothing to do with the practice of the art – would have liked to pretend.

From this observation, both authors go on to warn their colleagues against the overuse of Wagnerian methods and formulae. Towards the end of his essay, Dukas writes:

A moins qu'un génie créateur de la trempe de celui de Wagner ne retrouve son secret, – ce qui est peu probable, – il semble donc urgent de mettre en garde les auteurs et le public contre le dogmatisme de forme que, de ce côté, le prestige de Bayreuth a fait naître. Il importerait, tout en respectant le principe de l'unité thématique, de ne pas fermer la porte, de propos délibéré, à la fantaisie, et de ne pas échanger la liberté contre une convention plus lourde que toutes les conventions précédentes. Quand on voit tant de musiciens, qui peut-être écriraient des choses charmantes s'ils se laissaient aller, stériliser leurs efforts par l'adoption aveugle d'une schématisation dégénérante, on est tout près de s'affliger de l'influence qu'ils ont

¹⁸⁵ Dukas, 'Le Prestige de Bayreuth', 72.

¹⁸⁶ FW (FEs, 144 [FO, 86]).

subie. C'est, proprement, tendre l'arc d'Ulysse pour tirer aux moineaux.¹⁸⁷

Unless a creative genius of Wagner's calibre rediscovers his secret – which is not very likely – it seems important to put composers and the public on guard against the dogmatism of form to which, in this respect, the prestige of Bayreuth has given birth. It is important, while respecting the principle of thematic unity, not to close the door deliberately to fantasy, and not to exchange freedom for a convention that is heavier than all previous conventions. When so many musicians, capable perhaps of writing charming things if they were to let themselves go, are seen sterilising their efforts by blindly adopting a degenerating schematism, one comes close to grief at the influence to which they have succumbed. It is literally a case of using Ulysses's bow to shoot at sparrows.

Falla's annotations draw attention to a more succinct expression of these same sentiments earlier on in Dukas's article:

Wagner demeure inimitable, comme Beethoven, et le plus grand mal que nous ait fait son art vient de théories qui ont donné à croire qu'il pouvait et *devait* être imité.¹⁸⁸

Wagner remains inimitable, like Beethoven, and the worst that his art has done for us comes from theories which have led to the belief that he can and *should* be imitated.

This emphasis on Wagner's genius is mirrored by Falla's own comments on the error of imitating his techniques:

Pero si la vida de Wagner no ha de ser el objeto de estas notas, de su música, en cambio, creo que estamos obligados a señalar no sólo las virtudes, sino también, repito, aquellos aludidos yerros fundamentales que a ellas se mezclan, procurando evitar que esa influencia aún viva (a pesar del medio siglo transcurrido desde su muerte y de la espléndida reacción luego operada) contribuya a llenar los limbos de la Música. Y conste que con ello no pretendo menguar en lo más mínimo la gloria del gran músico. Al puntualizar esos errores he de pesar mis palabras con atención escrupulosa, inspirándolas en el futuro y ajeno beneficio que ellas puedan, tal vez, ocasionar, pero nunca en tendencias ni en predilecciones personales.¹⁸⁹

But though Wagner's life is not the subject of this essay, when it comes to his music I think we are obliged to point out not only its virtues, but also (I repeat) those aforementioned fundamental mistakes with which they are mixed, with a

187 Dukas, 'Le Prestige de Bayreuth', 73.

188 Dukas, 'Le Prestige de Bayreuth', 72.

189 FW (FEs, 139 [FO, 82-3]).

view to preventing that influence – still alive (in spite of the half-century which has passed since his death, and of the splendid reaction which then took place) – from helping to fill Music's empty void. And it should be noted that, in saying this, I don't wish to diminish in the slightest the glory of that great musician. In stating these errors, I must weigh my words with great care, finding inspiration in the future and distant benefits that they may have, and never in personal tendencies or preferences.

A single annotation is also to be found in Falla's copy of Debussy's article on Wagner, anthologised in *Monsieur Croche antidilletante*.¹⁹⁰ This article too has some things in common with Falla's, most notably each man's opinion that *Parsifal* was Wagner's most consummate work,¹⁹¹ and in the similarity between their descriptions of that opera, Debussy seeing it as a 'drame chrétien' ('Christian drama'), Falla as an 'auto sacramental' (a traditional kind of Spanish religious drama).¹⁹²

That annotation (consisting of a mere bracket, enclosing a passage which extends across two pages, and, related to it, the concise observation '¿?;!'
[sic]), however, highlights a disagreement between master and pupil about Wagner's humanity (or lack of it): whereas Falla noted that 'Wagner, a pesar de su marcado anhelo hacia un ideal puro, sólo obedecía a ese impulso cuando no contrariaba humanos egoísmos' ('Wagner, despite his marked aspiration towards a pure ideal, obeyed that impulse only when it did not contradict human selfishness'),¹⁹³ Debussy complained that 'il n'a manqué d'être un peu

¹⁹⁰ Claude Debussy, *Monsieur Croche antidilletante* (Paris, 1926), 135-43. Falla's copy preserved at E-GRmf (inventory number 1552). It should be noted that an annotation on pp. 39-40 of this book draws attention to Debussy's description of himself (in article on Saint-Saëns and the Prix de Rome) as 'wagnérien jusqu'à l'oubli des principes les plus simples de la civilité' ('Wagnerian up to the point of forgetting the simplest principles of civility').

¹⁹¹ 'Dans *Parsifal*, dernier effort d'un génie devant lequel il faut s'incliner, Wagner essaya d'être moins durement autoritaire pour la musique ...' ('In *Parsifal*, the final work of a genius before whom one must bow down, Wagner tried to be less harshly authoritarian towards music ...' (Debussy, *Monsieur Croche antidilletante*, 140); 'En *Parsifal* ... culmina la ya consignada tendencia de Wagner hacia un ideal puro ...' ('In *Parsifal* ... Wagner's aforementioned tendency towards a pure ideal reaches its culmination ...') (FW [FEs, 145 (FO, 86)]).

¹⁹² Debussy, *Monsieur Croche antidilletante*, 142; FW (FEs, 145 [FO, 86]).

¹⁹³ FW (FEs, 139 [FO, 82]).

plus humain pour être tout à fait grand' ('he needed only to be a little more human in order to be completely great').¹⁹⁴

There is evidence of a disagreement in Falla's copy of Dukas's article too: a question mark pencilled in the margin disputes Dukas's assertion that even Verdi fell under the spell of Bayreuth.¹⁹⁵ Falla also annotated other passages in the article which did not find their way into his own.

Nevertheless, it seems highly probable that his reading of 'Le Prestige de Bayreuth' preceded the writing of his 'Notas sobre Wagner': as a subscriber to *Le Monde musical*, he would have received each issue immediately on publication, and there is every reason to suppose that he read each issue as soon as he received it. It also seems likely that it was reading this article that led him to consult Debussy's comments on the same subject. If so, then his actions reveal a remarkably long-lasting deference to his former teachers' views.

Of the two articles by Debussy and Dukas, it is clearly the latter that exerted the greatest sway on Falla in the cementing of his own considered opinion of the significance of Wagner's art. Indeed, it may even have been his chance reading of that article which prompted him to propose something similar to his *Cruz y raya* collaborators.

¹⁹⁴ Debussy, *Monsieur Croche antidilletante*, 140.

¹⁹⁵ Dukas, 'Le Prestige de Bayreuth', 72.

2.4.4 *Pour le Tombeau de Paul Dukas*

Falla's musical homages to his three most influential teachers – Pedrell, Dukas and Debussy – are unique among his output: they are the only works in which he intentionally embraced, alluded to, imitated and even quoted elements of his teachers' own compositions.

Pour le Tombeau de Paul Dukas, for piano solo, was first published in the musical supplement to the May-June 1936 issue of *La Revue musicale*,¹⁹⁶ alongside works by Rodrigo, Pierné, Schmitt and Messiaen, among others. Three years later, Falla orchestrated it to form the third movement of the *Homenajes* suite, under the title 'A P. Dukas (Spes vitae)'.¹⁹⁷

Remarkably little has been written about this work. There are three reasons for this. First, the piece is very short – a mere 42 bars in length. Secondly, an unfortunate error in the English translation of Pahissa's biography has led musicologists in the English-speaking world to believe that it is an unimportant work: inexplicably, the sentence 'Entre otras obras de menor intensidad e inferiores en valor musical, está el homenaje de Falla compuesta para piano' ('Falla's homage, for piano, is found among works of less intensity and of inferior musical value')¹⁹⁸ is rendered as 'This piece for piano is one of Falla's lesser works from the musical viewpoint'.¹⁹⁹ Thirdly, research into the evolution and structure of the work is severely hampered by the fact that no manuscript sources for it survive at the Falla Archive. This is extremely unusual: sources in various stages of completion survive for almost

¹⁹⁶ 'Le Tombeau de Paul Dukas', supplement to *La Revue musicale*, xvii, 166 (May-June 1936), 7-9.

¹⁹⁷ Ken Murray has suggested that the scoring of this movement, for large orchestra, is itself a form of tribute to Falla's former orchestration teacher. 'Manuel de Falla's *Homenajes* for orchestra', 12.

¹⁹⁸ PV, 158 (translation by the present writer).

¹⁹⁹ PM, 146.

all of Falla's mature works, ranging in some cases from initial sketches right through to corrected proofs.

One reason for the absence of such sources may be the speed at which the work was composed. The date of completion printed in the published piano piece – 'XII, 1935' – is borne out in Falla's correspondence with Henry Prunières, the editor of *La Revue musicale*. In a letter dated 15 February 1936, Falla informed him that the work had been finished by January, but that he had been unable to write out a fair copy because of a recurrence of his eye complaint.²⁰⁰ (The manuscript was eventually delivered to *La Revue musicale* by Nin-Culmell, some time after 7 March.)²⁰¹ By Falla's usual standards, the piece was composed in a remarkably short time: he first expressed his interest in being involved in the 'Tombeau de Paul Dukas' project in a letter to Prunières of 2 October 1935.²⁰² Prunières replied on 7 October, furnishing him with full details of the project, including the names of some of the composers who had agreed to take part (the list included Roussel at this point), and informing him that a page had been reserved for his contribution, though he was welcome to write a longer piece.²⁰³ It is probable that composition began around this time – a related sketch is found on the address side of Prunières's postcard (see Figure 2.4.4.i below) – suggesting a total timescale of two to three months.

A second reason for the lack of sketch materials may be the very singular nature of Falla's compositional process for this piece. Something of this process may be observed by analytical means.

²⁰⁰ Carbon copy of this letter preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453.

²⁰¹ Letter from Falla to M. Romain (secretary for *La Revue musicale*), 7 March 1936 (carbon copy preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453). Falla sent the manuscript to Nin-Culmell on 6 March, with a covering letter (carbon copy preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7336).

²⁰² Carbon copy of this letter preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453.

²⁰³ Letter preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453.

We know that the work includes a quotation from Dukas's Piano Sonata: Pahissa hints at its presence,²⁰⁴ and Suzanne Demarquez has identified both its location in the homage (bars 36-8) and its origin in the third movement of the sonata, where it is (she claims) the 'sujet de fugato qui remplace le trio' ('the subject of the fugato which replaces the trio').²⁰⁵

In fact, as Ronald Crichton has observed,²⁰⁶ the passage which Falla quotes is taken not from the fugato subject but from the interlude immediately preceding it (bars 202-10).²⁰⁷ He has added grace-notes to reinforce the sonority (in much the same way as in the harpsichord part of the second movement of the *Concerto*), has reduced the texture to bare octaves, and has changed the key. But the melodic intervals remain unchanged, and, essentially, so does the rhythm (though the note-values have been shortened and the one-bar rest between the two phrases removed). The two versions are shown in Example 2.4.4.i.

The quotation is heard in full only near the end of the homage, where it is conspicuously framed between the only two rests in the entire piece (besides the first beat of the first bar). But the theme is almost constantly present throughout: in fact, the motto theme with which the homage opens is derived from it, as Example 2.4.4.ii illustrates. In essence, the thematic structure of the work is the same as that of the first movement of the *Concerto*, whose generative theme (the first phrase of the sixteenth-century song 'De los álamos vengo, madre') is suggested from the very first bars but not heard in its original form until three-fifths of the way through the movement.²⁰⁸ Significantly, the first application of this formal technique in Falla's work

²⁰⁴ 'The deep friendship which united them caused the theme of Dukas' *Sonata* to show through Falla's notes.' PM, 146.

²⁰⁵ D, 186.

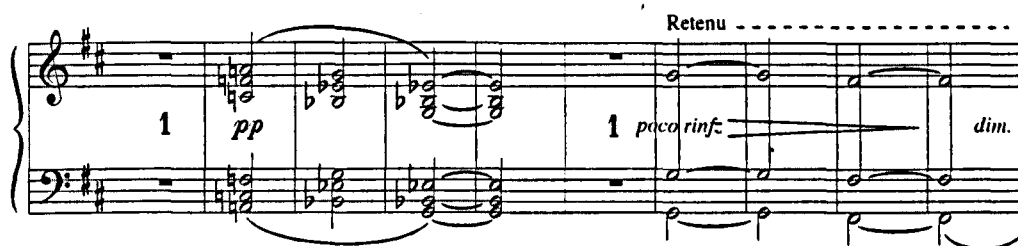
²⁰⁶ Ronald Crichton, *Falla* (London, 1982), 72.

²⁰⁷ The passage is also recalled in the last 19 bars of the movement.

²⁰⁸ The theme is first heard in the violin and the cello in bar 89 (figure 13, bar 3). This follows three false entries (flute and oboe parts at figure 3; flute and clarinet parts at figure 7, bar 2; and violin part at figure 12).



Falla, *Pour le Tombeau de Paul Dukas*, bars 36-8.



Dukas, *Piano Sonata*, third movement, bars 202-10.

Example 2.4.4.i



Falla, *Pour le Tombeau de Paul Dukas*.

Bars 36-7 (upper part).



Bars 1-2 (upper part).

Example 2.4.4.ii

occurs in the *Homenaje (Pour le Tombeau de Claude Debussy)* of 1920, to be discussed in § 3.4.3; Falla may well have had this earlier homage in mind when he began to compose *Pour le Tombeau de Paul Dukas*.

Other parts of the sonata are also recalled by this opening motto of the homage, notably the first bars of the first and second movements (related rhythmically and melodically respectively) (see Example 2.4.4.iii).

	<p>Dukas, Piano Sonata.</p> <p>First movement, bar 2.</p>
	<p>Second movement, bar 1.</p>

Example 2.4.4.iii

Another important rhythm from the sonata recurs throughout the homage. This is the crotchet-minim-crotchet pattern which figures in the second subject of the first movement (Example 2.4.4.iv: 'a' and 'b'). Its rhythm is hinted at in the sonata's very first bar ('c'), and is stated more clearly a few bars later ('d'). It occurs also in the fourth movement ('e'), and, in a diminished form, in the second ('f').

The first appearance of this figure in *Pour le Tombeau de Paul Dukas* is in the third bar ('g'), where it shares elements of its melodic shape with the pattern found in the first movement of the sonata. Its importance grows as the piece progresses (see examples 'h' and 'j'), leading up to a final statement of it ('k') which also incorporates the linear intervals of the opening motto (the circled notes in example 'k'). This final statement follows on the heels of the full quotation of Dukas's theme from the third movement, and Falla has even applied the crotchet-minim-crotchet figure to the quotation itself ('l').

Dukas, Piano Sonata.

Falla, *Pour le Tombeau de Paul Dukas*.



a: First movement, bar 33.



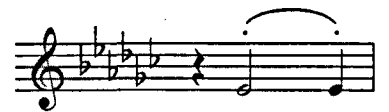
g: Bar 3.



b: First movement, bar 44.



h: Bars 16-17.



c: First movement, bar 1.



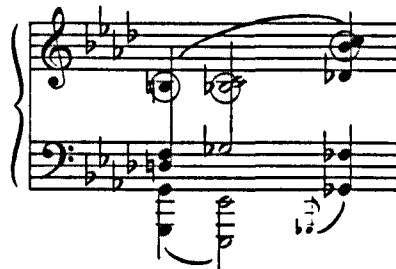
j: Bar 19.



d: First movement, bar 6.



e: Fourth movement, bar 80.



k: Bar 39.



f: Second movement, bar 163.



l: Bar 37.

Example 2.4.4.iv

To some extent, Dukas's sonata can be seen as a cyclical work: varied but recognisable motifs recur throughout the four movements. In *Pour le Tombeau de Paul Dukas*, Falla has cited some of these melodic patterns and rhythmic figures, subjecting them to further variation and combining them in different ways. It is therefore a remarkably complex and integrated tribute to his former mentor.²⁰⁹

Without any sketches, it is impossible to determine exactly how the Dukas homage evolved. But two surviving documents suggest that Falla's original conception of the work may have been somewhat different from its final form. They also seem to indicate that the sonata was not the only work of Dukas's to have exerted an influence on it.

The first of them is the postcard that Prunières sent to Falla on 7 October 1935, briefing Falla on the 'Tombeau de Paul Dukas' project (Figure 2.4.4.i).²¹⁰ Next to the address, Falla has pencilled a rough sketch – on an incomplete stave – of what was eventually to become the principal motif of *Pour le Tombeau de Paul Dukas*, albeit in a different key, in shorter note-values, and in triple time.

Inevitably, the 3/8 time recalls *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*, which Falla had studied so minutely earlier in his career (see §§ 2.3 and 2.4.1.2) – though the melodic shape of this figure owes much more to the sonata. Hence it is probable that Falla at first thought of combining elements from the sonata with elements from Dukas's most popular work. We can speculate about his reasons for ultimately choosing not to do so: references to *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* would draw far more attention to themselves than references to a much more obscure piano work, and this may have given his homage the aspect of a novelty piece. Nevertheless, one important element of this work does survive in the completed homage: the key – F minor.

²⁰⁹ The complexity of the relationship between *Pour le Tombeau de Paul Dukas* and Dukas's Piano Sonata has been noted elsewhere. Crichton observes 'a certain similarity ... to the first movement' (Falla, 72), and Demarquez cites two themes from the sonata (that of the second movement and the second theme of the first) which she considers to be source material for the homage, though she does not demonstrate how they are used (D, 186).

²¹⁰ Preserved at E-GRmf, correspondence folder 7453.

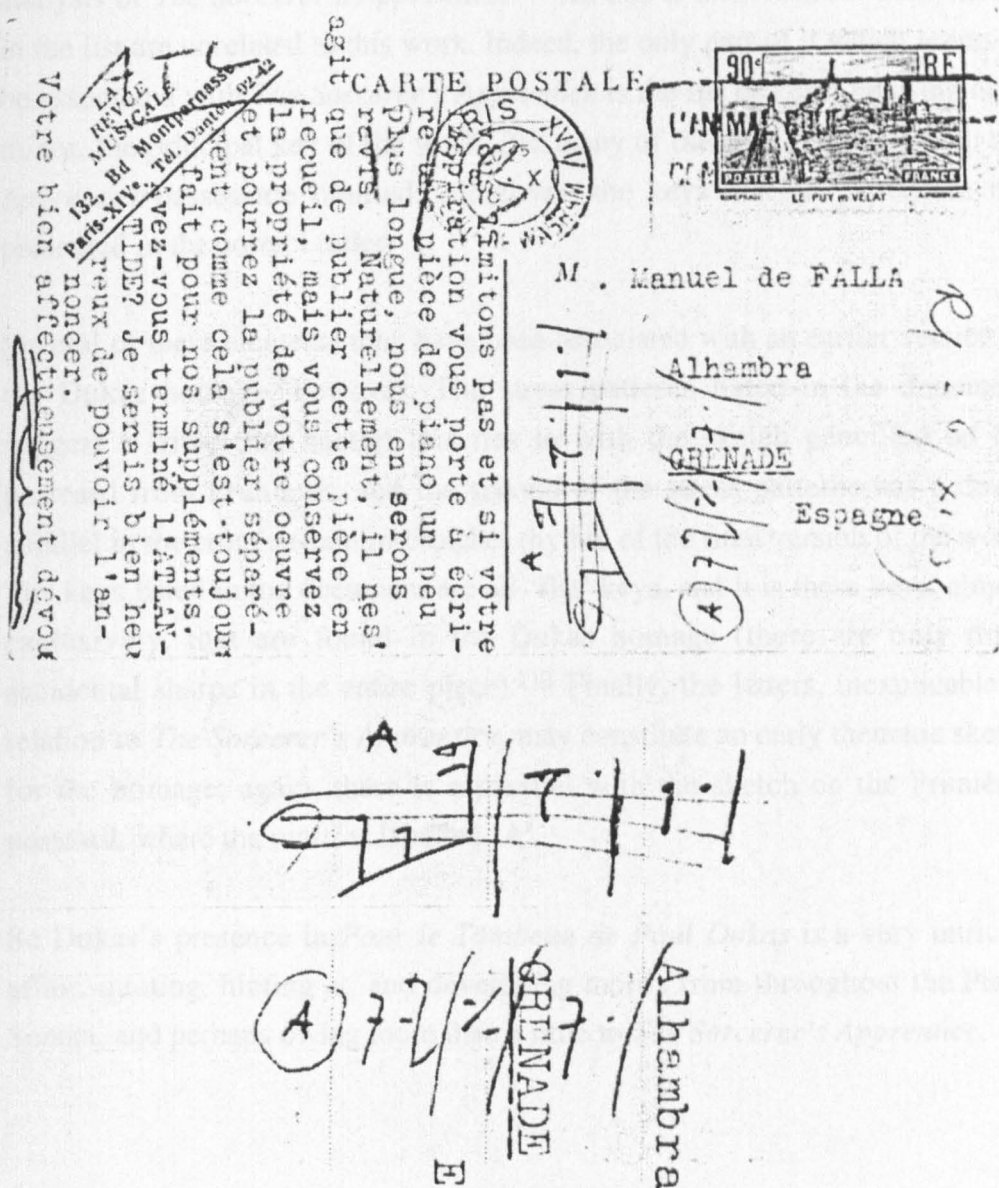


Figure 2.4.4.i

Address side of postcard from Henry Prunières to Falla, 7 October 1935, with a detail of the musical annotation (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453).

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

The second document is the manuscript tucked inside the Casa Dotesio copy of *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* (Figure 2.4.4.ii), already alluded to in § 2.3. The document consists of a list of keys, rhythmic stress patterns, and letters that

appear to represent different themes. It has been described as a detailed analysis of *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*,²¹¹ but this is incorrect, for many items in the list are unrelated to this work. Indeed, the only part of it which seems to be associated with *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* is the list of keys, focusing on F minor, the principal key of the work. But many of the keys through which the *Apprentice* passes are omitted. Moreover, the keys that are listed are not presented in the correct order.

Several of these elements may have been associated with an earlier version of the Dukas homage, however. The stress patterns listed in the document suggest a triple-time metre; this ties in with the sketch pencilled on the postcard from Prunières, and the second of the stress patterns has a direct parallel in the crotchet-minim-crotchet rhythm of the final version of the work. The keys listed in the document are all 'flat' keys, and it is these keys, almost exclusively, that are found in the Dukas homage (there are only three accidental sharps in the entire piece).²¹² Finally, the letters, inexplicable in relation to *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*, may constitute an early thematic sketch for the homage; again, there is a parallel with the sketch on the Prunières postcard, where the motif is labelled 'A'.

So Dukas's presence in *Pour le Tombeau de Paul Dukas* is a very intricate affair, quoting, hinting at, and developing motifs from throughout the Piano Sonata, and perhaps owing more than a little to *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*.

²¹¹ Murray, 'Manuel de Falla's *Homenajes* for orchestra', 12. Murray also incorrectly states that these notes are to be found on a blank page of the score, rather than on a separate sheet of paper.

²¹² These are found in bars 33 and 36.

Ritornel

A - Fa. menor [] [] []

~~TT~~ T.T.

A - Fa. menor

B - Do. menor [] [] []

TT

A - Fa. menor

TT

B - { Mi b mayor
 { Sol b "
 { Sol b menor
 { Mi b mayor

TT sur A-

Re b M.
 La b M
 La b M
 Mi b "
 La b m

Figure 2.4.4.ii

The first side of a manuscript tucked inside one of Falla's copies of the miniature score of *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* (E-GRmf, inventory number 360).

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

2.5 CONCLUSION

Even setting aside the special case of *Pour le Tombeau de Paul Dukas*, it is clear that Dukas's work was a major source of inspiration for Falla. But it is also clear that he was both inspired and influenced at least as much by Dukas the man, as a teacher and as a guide. He was laudatory about his skills in this area. In a letter to Joaquín Nin-Culmell, his own pupil, he greeted the news that he was to study with Dukas as follows: '... magnífico su anuncio de trabajar con Dukas, el maestro admirable. No me envíe Vd. música sin que él la vea antes' ('... fantastic to hear that you are to work with Dukas, the admirable master. Don't send me any music unless he has seen it first').²¹³ And the value he placed on the example set by Dukas's aesthetic views is evident even as late as 1933, in his article on Wagner.

Falla's remarkable skills as an orchestrator undoubtedly owe much to Dukas's teaching, whose guidance in this field was evidently diverse and all-encompassing. From this foundation, Falla acquired his eclectic and innovative approach to instrumentation, based on the furthest possibilities of each instrument, and most evident, perhaps, in those works of the 1920s – *Master Peter's Puppet Show*, *Psyché* and the *Concerto* – where every instrument is treated soloistically and characteristically.

But it was for Dukas's role as friend and patron that Falla felt most gratitude. His description of him as 'uno de los amigos más grandes y verdaderos que he tenido' ('one of the best and truest friends I have had') has already been cited (§ 2.1.2).²¹⁴ He benefited enormously from their friendship, not least in his admission to the Société des Auteurs and later to the Institut de France, and – perhaps even more importantly – in the acceptance for publication of his earliest mature works, on Dukas's recommendation.

²¹³ Letter from Falla to Nin-Culmell, undated [c. 7 January 1933], draft at E-GRmf, correspondence folder 7336.

²¹⁴ PV, 51 (translation by present writer).

Dukas benefited too – but in a very different way. He must have felt vindicated that his faith in Falla's potential, apparent even at the time of their first meeting, had been proved true. He was unreserved in expressing his admiration for Falla's work, and was not ashamed to admit its superiority over his own (as witness his inscription in the score of *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* – see § 2.2.5).

He must also have felt proud of his role as Falla's orchestration teacher, for this was one aspect of his work that he particularly admired. This is implicit in his demand that Falla should not alter the instrumental parts of *La vida breve* at the behest of a mere conductor (see § 2.2.2). When he complained about the standard of orchestral playing at the Paris premiere of *The Three-Cornered Hat* (§ 2.2.4), he was anxious to point out to him that 'votre instrumentation n'en est pas cause [–] loin de là!' ('your instrumentation is not the cause of it – far from it!').²¹⁵ Nothing could be more indicative of the significance of Dukas's influence on Falla's music than his admiration for the quality of its orchestration: proof indeed that the pupil had learned from his master.

²¹⁵ Letter from Dukas to Falla, 24 January 1920.

3 DEBUSSY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

A study of the historical significance of Falla's relationship with Debussy needs few words of introduction. Perhaps J. B. Trend's comment, from *Manuel de Falla and Spanish Music*, will suffice:

The turning-point in [Falla's] career was, as he always insists, his journey to Paris and meeting with Debussy in 1907.¹

The candour of that statement is affirmed by Trend's unique double status as one of Falla's closest friends and as the author of an unapproved biography of the composer.² Falla must have expressed this view on a number of occasions in conversation with Trend.

Given the importance commonly ascribed to Debussy, both specifically as an influence on Falla, and generally as one of the most significant figures in the history of music, it is unsurprising that the relationship between these two composers has been subjected to much more extensive musicological investigation than any of the other relationships examined here. A summary of scholarly publications on the subject is presented below.

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

Correspondence between Falla and Debussy	Appendix 3.A
Printed music by Debussy in Falla's library	Appendix 3.B
Works by Debussy performed by Falla	Appendix 3.C
Performances of works by Debussy attended by Falla	Appendix 3.D
Recordings of a work by Debussy in Falla's library	Appendix 3.E

¹ T, 51.

² In a letter to Roland-Manuel dated 10 February 1930 (preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7521), Falla complained that 'Trend (contrairement à ce que vous avez fait) ne m'avait pas du tout communiqué son manuscrit' ('Trend (contrary to what you did) never sent me his manuscript').

François Lesure, 'Debussy et le syndrome de Grenade', *Revue de Musicologie*, lxxviii (1982), 101-9.

Id., 'Manuel de Falla, Paris et Claude Debussy', in Paolo Pinamonti (ed.), *Manuel de Falla tra la Spagna e l'Europa* (Florence, 1989) [SE], 15-21.

The two pioneering articles on the human relationship between Debussy and Falla. Both are fairly general in nature and cover much the same ground, though the first article is the only one of these sources which also examines Debussy's debt to Spain.

Amalia Roales-Nieto, 'Manuel de Falla et Paris (1907-1914)', *Revue internationale de musique française*, xxvi (1988), 85-92.

Contains a brief and shallow account of Falla's dealings with Debussy, compiled entirely from published sources.

Michael Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla's homage to Debussy ... and the guitar', *Context*, 3 (1992), 3-8.

This article investigates the influence and significance of Debussy's music on the *Homenaje* (*Pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy*); it contains much of interest, including a brief discussion of the then recently-discovered sketch material.

Ken Murray, 'Manuel de Falla's *Homenajes* for orchestra', *Context*, 3 (1992), 9-13.

A very general article on the origins of the orchestral *Homenajes* suite. Reference to documentary evidence is scanty and inaccurate.

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 (1994), 3, 71-94.

Id., 'La vida breve entre 1905 y 1914: evolución formal y orquestal', in Nommick (ed.), *Manuel de Falla: La vida breve* (Granada, 1997), 9-118.

Two very detailed documentary-based articles which present a detailed investigation into the changes which Falla made to *La vida breve* between 1905 and 1914, some of them in accordance with Debussy's recommendations. The second reproduces a number of important documents in facsimile.

Michael Christoforidis, 'De la composition d'un opéra: conseils de Claude Debussy à Manuel de Falla', *Cahiers Debussy*, 19 (1995), 69-76.

Deals exclusively with the advice that Debussy gave to Falla at their meeting on 10 October 1911, recorded in a handwritten document preserved at the Archivo Manuel de Falla.

Michael Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla, Debussy and *La vida breve*', *Musicology Australia*, xviii (1995), 3-12.

Id., 'De *La vida breve* a *Atlántida*: algunos aspectos del magisterio de Claude Debussy sobre Manuel de Falla', *Cuadernos de música iberoamericana*, iv (1997), 15-32.

These two articles build on the material presented in the above article by the same author. Together, they comprise the most comprehensive investigation to date into the relationship between the two men from 1907 to 1914. Both cite extensive documentary evidence relating to Falla's use of Debussy's music as a creative stimulus in *La vida breve*, *Trois Mélodies*,

.....
Four Spanish Pieces, Nights in the Gardens of Spain, the Homenaje (Pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy) and Psyché.

Anna Rita Addessi, 'Aspects de l'"influence" stylistique de Debussy sur Manuel de Falla', in Louis Jambou (ed.), *Manuel de Falla: Latinité et universalité* (Paris, 1999) [LU], 179-203.

Id., *Claude Debussy e Manuel de Falla: un caso di influenza stilistica* (Bologna, 2000).

These two sources examine ways in which Falla's style may have been influenced by Debussy; they also undertake a generalised examination of musicological principles employed to detect 'stylistic influence'. The study is essentially analytical, with very little attention paid to documentary materials. In the second of these two sources, four types of influence are mooted: flute-writing style, Spanishness (mainly habanera rhythms), expressive recitative style, and the way in which Debussy depicts cloudy weather. Only the first two of these are studied in the other source, which is essentially an abridged version of the second. (Both originate in a doctoral dissertation: *Per una definizione del concetto di 'influenza stilistica' con uno studio applicativo su Manuel de Falla e Claude Debussy* [University of Bologna, 1995-6] which has not been consulted.) These sources are marred by a number of factual and (more significantly) interpretative errors: it is hardly a result of 'stylistic influence', for instance, that Falla chose to use habanera rhythms in the *Homenaje (Pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy)* (the one and only occasion on which he did); rather, it is a case of intentional allusion.

3.2 THE FRIENDSHIP

3.2.1 First contacts, c. 1906 to 1907

Falla's contacts with Debussy were sparked by his study of the harp part of the *Dances sacrée et profane*, which he played – on the piano – in a concert in Madrid on 4 February 1907, and on at least one subsequent occasion that year. Falla wrote to him around the end of 1906, requesting advice about their interpretation. Although this letter is lost, Debussy's reply survives. It is dated 13 January 1907, and it is apparent from its contents that Falla's questions concerned aspects of the rhythmic and expressive interpretation of specific sections of the score: particularly the transition from the first dance to the second.

According to Pahissa (and at least one subsequent writer on the subject), Debussy's reply furnished Falla with the interpretative suggestions that he sought.³ This is not true. In fact, Debussy in this letter encourages Falla to find his own answers to his questions, and he allows him *carte blanche* to do so:

Ce que vous me demandez est d'ailleurs assez difficile à résoudre!
On ne peut démontrer la valeur exacte d'un rythme, pas plus qu'on explique l'expression diverse d'une phrase!

Le meilleur, à mon avis, est que vous en remettiez à votre sentiment personnel... La couleur des deux danses me paraît nettement tranchée. Il y a quelque chose à trouver dans l'enchaînement de la 'gravité' de la première à la 'grâce' de la seconde, pour un musicien tel que vous ce ne peut être un difficulté, et je crois pouvoir m'abandonner à votre goût en toute confiance.⁴

What you ask me is, in fact, rather difficult to answer! It's not possible to demonstrate the precise value of a rhythm – no more than it's possible to explain the variations in expression during a phrase!

³ PM, 37; D, 49.

⁴ Letter from Debussy to Falla, 13 January 1907.

.....

The best thing for you to do, in my opinion, is to apply your own personal feelings to it... The colours of the two dances seem to me to be clearly contrasted. There is something to be found in the way in which the 'gravity' of the first one leads into the 'grace' of the second; for a musician such as you, this cannot be difficult, and I think I can have full confidence in your taste.

This letter raises an interesting question. Debussy speaks of Falla as though he knew something of his talent. It may be that Falla had included in his letter an impressive account of his recent successes in the opera-writing and piano-playing competitions of 1905, or it may be that Debussy had inferred that he was a man of good taste from the simple fact that he had chosen to play the *Danses sacrée et profane*! But it is also possible (though not very probable) that Debussy was already aware of Falla's name, perhaps via his friend Isaac Albéniz. Falla's twin triumphs in 1905 must have caused a stir in Spanish musical circles, and it is highly probable that Albéniz, though resident in Paris, came to hear of it. He may well have spoken of it to Debussy at the time; alternatively, Debussy may have asked him about Falla's identity before replying to his letter.

It is clear that Falla took Debussy's cryptic advice to heart. He solved the problem of effectively leading from one movement to the next by maintaining exactly the same tempo. The evidence for this is found in his copy of the reduction for harp and piano (from which, presumably, he played): after the word 'Enchaînez' at the end of the *Danse sacrée*, he added 'y siguiendo con el mismo valor de ♩ .' ('and carrying on with ♩ at the same value').

3.2.2 1907-14

All sources agree that when Falla first arrived in Paris, Debussy's home – or rather that of his future wife Emma Bardac, at 80 Avenue du Bois de Boulogne – was his first port of call. Given that (as Roland-Manuel observed) 'Falla ne connaissait personne à Paris' ('Falla knew nobody in Paris'),⁵ it is unsurprising that he sought out the one French composer with whom he had already corresponded, and from whom he had received a courteous reply.

Debussy was not at home when he called.⁶ The date must have been around the middle of September 1907: Pahissa notes that Falla visited Dukas shortly after this failed attempt, and, as was summarised earlier (§ 2.2.1), his first meeting with this composer took place on or around 22 September. Mid-September coincides with Debussy's holiday in Pourville, near Dieppe.⁷

The precise date on which Falla first succeeded in meeting Debussy is impossible to pinpoint, though it was certainly before 30 June 1908, the date of their earliest documented encounter, recorded casually in Falla's irregularly-maintained 1908 diary (the only one of his diaries to have survived,

⁵ RM, 32.

⁶ This fact is noted in PM, 41, and in the letter from Falla to Shaw, 31 March 1910, quoted earlier in § 2.2.1. Oddly, Roland-Manuel's account (RM, 32) does not agree with these sources. He claims that Falla's first visit was to Debussy, and that it was Dukas who was absent – and, curiously, Falla's corrections to this section of his biography describe it as 'exacte' (draft of letter to Roland-Manuel, undated [30 December 1928], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7520). I have taken Falla's own account in the aforementioned letter to Fernández Shaw to be the most accurate, since it is the earliest and most authoritative of the sources in question.

⁷ Debussy announced his presence in Pourville from 2 August onwards in a letter to Victor Segalen dated 26 July 1907. He gave 15 September as a tentative and approximate date for his return to Paris in a letter to Jacques Durand dated 3 September 1907. Both letters have been published in François Lesure and Roger Nichols (eds.), *Debussy Letters* (London, 1987), 180-1 and 184 respectively.

and perhaps the only one he ever kept).⁸ An earlier date is much more probable.

Two sources date the first meeting with Debussy around the same time as that with Viñes, and this date is known: 29 September 1907.⁹ The first of these sources is Falla's letter of 31 March 1910 to Carlos Fernández Shaw (part of which was quoted in § 2.2.1):

Mi primera gran satisfacción en París, la tuve poco después de mi llegada, cuando visité a Dukas. (Debussy estaba entonces ausente[.]) ... Después, cuando supe que Debussy estaba de regreso en París, fui a verle ... Al mismo tiempo fui a visitar a Ricardo Viñes ...¹⁰

The first thing which pleased me in Paris happened shortly after my arrival, when I visited Dukas. (Debussy was absent at that time.) ... Later, when I heard that Debussy was back in Paris, I went to see him ... At the same time I went to visit Ricardo Viñes ...

The second source is Pahissa's biography of Falla, which places the first encounter with Debussy *before* that with Viñes.¹¹ It is known that Debussy had returned from Pourville by 23 September.¹² The assertion that Falla first met him around this time may therefore seem to be well-founded.

But this inference is countered by Falla's comments in a letter to Salvador Viniegra which, though undated (in Juan J. Viniegra's transcription of it, at

⁸ This diary is preserved at *E-MOma*, and its contents are discussed briefly in Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla, Debussy and *La vida breve*', 4. A facsimile edition is scheduled for publication by Publicaciones del Archivo Manuel de Falla in 2002.

⁹ Nina Gubisch, *Ricardo Viñes à travers son journal et sa correspondance* (doctoral dissertation, Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1977), 152.

¹⁰ Transcription from Nommick, 'Manuel de Falla: De *La vida breve* de 1905 à *La vie brève* de 1913', 91.

¹¹ After the anecdotal description of Falla's first meeting with Debussy, Pahissa continues: 'Afterwards, Falla went to see Ricardo Viñes ... with a letter of introduction from the latter's brother Pepe ...'. PM, 45.

¹² This is the earliest date at which I have been able to ascertain that Debussy was back in Paris. It was on this date that he visited Gabriel Mourey (the librettist of the aborted *L'Histoire de Tristan*) in Paris, something he was report in a letter to Durand dated 25 September 1907 (Jacques Durand [ed.], *Lettres de Claude Debussy à son éditeur* [Paris, 1927], 56; quoted in Marcel Dietschy, *A Portrait of Claude Debussy* (Oxford, 1990), 147-8).

least), was clearly written during the first months of his residency in Paris.¹³ Here, he mentions his acquaintance with Dukas, Albéniz, Ravel, Schmitt, Viñes, Nin, Calvocoressi and Paul Milliet, but he does not mention meeting Debussy. It is difficult to imagine why he would have omitted the most illustrious name in the list had they already met at this stage. Judging from the published excerpts of Viñes's diary,¹⁴ Falla did not meet Ravel and Calvocoressi until October, and his first meeting with Schmitt must have taken place even later.

Both Pahissa and Roland-Manuel record that Falla's relationship with Debussy got off to a difficult start, mainly on account of the former's shyness and the latter's dry sense of humour:¹⁵

La première entrevue de Manuel de Falla et de Debussy fut embarrassée. La timidité naturelle des interlocuteurs, toujours prête chez le second à prendre le masque d'une réserve un peu goguenarde, n'était point faite pour encourager le premier aux effusions dont son cœur était plein.¹⁶

The first meeting between Manuel de Falla and Debussy was full of embarrassment. Their natural timidity as they spoke – always susceptible in the latter to taking on an air of slightly mocking reserve – did nothing to draw from the former the effusions which filled his heart.

This difficulty seems to have been resolved after Falla had played through *La vida breve* at Debussy's request (Dukas had already described the work to him); this, according to Pahissa, 'won the praise' of Debussy for Falla's opera.¹⁷ It is not clear, however, whether this impromptu performance took place at their first meeting or at a subsequent one.¹⁸

¹³ The letter is transcribed in V, 76.

¹⁴ Gubisch, *Ricardo Viñes à travers son journal et sa correspondance*, 155-6.

¹⁵ PM, 44-5; RM, 32.

¹⁶ RM, 32.

¹⁷ PM, 45.

¹⁸ Pahissa's account implies that this did take place at their first meeting (PM, 45), whereas Roland-Manuel's description of their first encounter as 'embarrassée' ('awkward'), and his failure to mention the playing of *La vida breve* (RM, 32), suggests a later one.

Their first meeting, in September 1907, is one of ten which may be dated with some certainty and precision through reference to surviving items of correspondence and to Falla's diary for 1908. These meetings are summarised in Table 3.2.2.i.

DATE OF MEETING	SUMMARY OF SUPPORTING EVIDENCE
? c. Sunday 29 September 1907	See discussion in main text above.
Tuesday 30 June 1908	Date recorded in Falla's 1908 diary (preserved at <i>E-MOma</i> ; cited in Michael Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla, Debussy and <i>La vida breve</i> ', <i>Musicology Australia</i> xviii [1995], 4).
Wednesday 29 July 1908	Date recorded in Falla's 1908 diary.
Wednesday 9 December 1908	Meeting arranged in letter from Debussy from Falla, 6 December 1908.
Thursday 21 October 1909	Falla sought an appointment with Debussy for 'jeudi prochain' ('next Thursday'), to discuss the publication of the <i>Trois Mélodies</i> , in his undated letter probably sent shortly before 21 October 1909. The tone of Debussy's letter to Falla of 23 October 1909 implies that they recently met to discuss this matter.
Friday 15 April 1910	Meeting arranged in letter from Debussy from Falla, 13 April 1910.
Wednesday 4 January 1911	Date mentioned in letter from Debussy to Falla, 3 January 1911.
Tuesday 10 October 1911	Meeting arranged in letter from Debussy to Falla, undated [8 October 1911], and recorded in notes taken by Falla during or after this meeting (<i>E-GRmf</i> , manuscripts folder 9001).
Monday 29 or Tuesday 30 September 1913 (or shortly afterwards)	Date suggested in letter from Debussy to Falla, undated [28 or 29 September 1913].
Monday 27 October 1913	Meeting arranged in letter from Debussy to Falla, 23 October 1913.

Table 3.2.2.i

Dates of known meetings between Falla and Debussy.

It is possible that every single meeting between the two men is shown in this table: almost all of them took place at a time when we know from other sources that Falla had a specific reason to visit, and there are no occasions on

which we know Falla to have visited which cannot be linked to one or other of these dates. It is perhaps significant that the one meeting of which a detailed record survives – 10 October 1911 – is also mentioned in the correspondence.¹⁹ The 1909 meetings took place around the time that Debussy was advising Falla on improvements to the *Trois Mélodies*, and their meetings in 1913 were almost certainly convened to satiate Falla's desire to discuss the orchestration of *La vida breve*. (Both of these reasons are described by Pahissa.)²⁰

But, on balance, it is probable that the two men met on more than these ten occasions. Falla told Pahissa that he always used to warn Debussy before visiting him.²¹ The dates of five of the meetings listed above (9 December 1908, 15 April 1910, 10 October 1911, 29 or 30 September 1913 and 27 October 1913) may be determined from letters in which Debussy indicates that he is unavailable at the time that Falla has suggested. Presumably, there were other occasions when Debussy was able to (and did) receive him at the suggested time, and on such occasions it is likely that Debussy would not have written to confirm this. The only other letter in which Debussy mentions a forthcoming meeting is that of 3 January 1911 (when the meeting was to take place the next day). The appointment is mentioned very casually as a postscript to a note thanking Falla for his new-year greeting: 'à demain ... je crois?' ('see you tomorrow ... I believe?'). From this, it may be inferred that he was not in the habit of writing expressly to confirm appointments. (There are indications in Debussy's letters of 13 April 1910 and 23 October 1913 that this was their procedure: in both, he tells Falla not to take the trouble to reply if the alternative arrangements he suggests suit him.)

In addition, there is a shift in the way in which Debussy addresses Falla between his letters of 30 January and 8 October 1911, when 'Mon cher ami'

¹⁹ The record survives as a page of handwritten notes, preserved at *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 9001.

²⁰ PM, 72-3 and 59 respectively.

²¹ PV, 53. This passage is incorrectly translated in PM, 47, where it is given precisely the opposite meaning. The correct reading is: 'Y se va a ver a Debussy a su casa, sin avisarle, como hacía siempre' ('And he went to see Debussy at his house, without warning him, as he usually did'; my translation).

('My dear friend') replaces 'Cher Monsieur' ('Dear Sir') for the first time.²² Some kind of contact must have taken place in between these two letters for this increased familiarity to have come about. (Falla may have visited Debussy around this time as part of his preparation for the concert he gave at the Aeolian Hall in London on 24 May 1911, in which he played 'La soirée dans Grenade' and took part in a two-piano arrangement of 'Ibéria'. Casella, in his autobiography, records that he too practised this work with Debussy, and that Debussy greatly enjoyed doing so: 'He said that this transcription, well performed, gave him as much satisfaction as the orchestral original'.)²³

The topics discussed during these consultations may be determined from the sources. However, it is impossible to ascertain how formal they were. While it is possible that they were motivated purely by social and artistic reasons, it is equally possible that they were convened on a professional basis, the two men fulfilling the roles of master and pupil. Falla may well have paid Debussy for his time and expertise: Debussy may not have been in a position to give free lessons,²⁴ and it is inconceivable that Falla – who had financial problems of his own – would have expected him to do so. On the other hand, the tone of several of Debussy's letters is genuinely affectionate (as we shall see shortly), and it is hard to imagine Debussy charging a fee to a talented – but poor – man. In the absence of evidence supporting either hypothesis, this uncertainty must stand.

In general, it seems that their meetings were short: in Debussy's letter of 27 September 1913, he implies that one hour afforded ample time. We may assume, therefore, that they were not mere social calls, and that Falla always had a specific reason for visiting Debussy.

Various sources record the content of three of the meetings shown in Table 3.2.i. The first of these is their initial encounter, in September 1907, discussed

²² This change has also been noted by François Lesure ('Manuel de Falla, Paris et Claude Debussy', 17).

²³ Alfredo Casella, *Music in My Time* (Norman, 1955), 126.

²⁴ Robert Orledge notes that by 1905 Debussy 'was beginning to realise how much life cost with Emma Bardac' (*Debussy and the Theatre* [Cambridge, 1982], 106).

above. The second is that of 30 June 1908, when, according to Falla's diary, he played through the newly-completed *Four Spanish Pieces* for Debussy. A letter from Falla to Fernández Shaw dated 11 July 1908 alludes to the same event (without specifying its date), and also reveals that Debussy had offered (or agreed) to seek a publisher for them (as also had Dukas).²⁵ (The *Four Spanish Pieces* were published in 1909 by Durand, apparently on the strength of recommendations from Debussy, Dukas and Ravel. Pahissa records Debussy's reaction: 'Well, they paid you fifty francs more than I got for my *Quartet*'.)²⁶

The third well-documented meeting is that of 10 October 1911. Falla practically minuted this meeting, and his handwritten notes, concluding 'Todo lo escrito es lo que Debussy me ha dicho hoy 10 de octubre de 1911' ('Everything written here is what Debussy has told me today, 10 October 1911'), are preserved at the Falla Archive.²⁷ The main topics of conversation on this occasion were the improvement of *La vida breve* and the composition of operas in general. (Debussy's advice on this subject is examined in more detail in § 3.4.1.1.)

Details of a fourth meeting may also be established: that of 21 October 1909, when Debussy once again sought to assist Falla in the practical matter of having his music published; this time, the work in question was the *Trois Mélodies*. Having had these songs refused by Durand, Falla wrote to Debussy requesting a meeting 'jeudi prochain' ('next Thursday'; the surviving draft of this letter is undated).²⁸ It is evident from Debussy's reply of 23 October that the two had met by that date, and that Debussy had agreed at their meeting to write a letter of recommendation to the house of Rouart et Lerolle. He must have spoken with Durand again before he replied to Falla, however, for, in his

²⁵ Letter quoted in Guillermo Fernández-Shaw, *Larga Historia de 'La Vida Breve'* (Madrid, 1972), 85-7.

²⁶ Debussy quoted in PM, 48-9. Debussy's reaction is presented here in a very anecdotal manner, suggesting a five-way conversation between Falla, Debussy, Dukas, Albéniz and Ravel, something that is very unlikely to have happened.

²⁷ *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 9001. This document has been photographically reproduced in Nommick, 'La vida breve entre 1905 y 1914', 69-70.

²⁸ Letter from Falla to Debussy, undated [before 21 October 1909].

Missing pages are unavailable

comment,³⁶ but Falla himself makes the connection explicit in 'Claude Debussy et l'Espagne', where he draws parallels between Debussy's fascination with liturgical music, the quasi-Spanish elements of his style, and the liturgical roots of Spanish folk music (this last being a favourite conviction of Falla's).³⁷ They must have discussed exotic music too, for Falla mentions Debussy's experience of Oriental music in the same article.³⁸

Pahissa also notes that Debussy spoke of his admiration for Puccini and Grieg.³⁹ Falla's feelings about the music of the former are not known (though it is probable that he did not altogether approve of the decadent style of his Italian contemporary), but the latter was a particular favourite, having been one of the first composers whose music he discovered in childhood.⁴⁰

Among these two composers' uncompleted projects, it seems that they discussed Falla's plans for a new version of *The Barber of Seville* (Debussy

³⁶ '... but more than anything else it is the influence of medieval music which gives ['El círculo mágico', from *El amor brujo*] its unusual tone, as it did to many of the most beautiful passages of Debussy' (PM, 89).

³⁷ FD, 207 [FEs, 73; FO, 41-2]. The latter observation is also made in FC, 7-8 (FEs, 165-6 [FO, 101-2]).

³⁸ FD, 206 [FEs, 72; FO, 41].

³⁹ PM, 170. François Lesure and Michael Christforidis have expressed some scepticism over the truth of Debussy's professions of admiration for Grieg (Lesure, 'Manuel de Falla, Paris et Claude Debussy', 18; Christforidis, 'De *La vida breve* a *Atlántida*', 31), presumably on account of the two unfavourable reviews of performances of Grieg's music which he published under the pseudonym Monsieur Croche (*Gil Blas*, 16 March and 20 April 1903; translated in François Lesure and Richard Langham Smith (eds.), *Debussy on Music* [London, 1977], 146-7 and 177-81 respectively). It is possible that Pahissa's memory – or Falla's – may not have been accurate here (it would not be the only time in either case). However, Debussy's characteristic cynicism apart, both of these reviews reserve their harsh judgement for certain specific works (especially the Piano Concerto), while professing to Grieg's genuine ability and the quality of the *Peer Gynt* suites and some of his other works (the early ones, it is inferred). In a third article, Debussy positively praises Grieg's song 'Voyez, Jean' (*S. I. M.*, 1 March 1914; translated in *Debussy on Music*, 313-15): 'This music has the icy coldness of the Norwegian lakes, the transient ardour of her sharp and hurried spring'. Moreover, a true fondness for Grieg's works may be detected in the following quotation, where Debussy recalls his first visit to the sea as a child: 'La route d'Antibes, et ses champs de roses... un charpentier norvégien qui chantait (Grieg peut-être) du matin au soir' ('The road from Antibes, and its fields full of roses ... a Norwegian carpenter who sang (Grieg perhaps) from morning to evening'; Debussy quoted in Jean Barraqué, *Debussy* [Paris, 1962], 16).

⁴⁰ RM, 19.

thought this a good idea),⁴¹ while a letter to Fernández Shaw indicates that they discussed Debussy's plans for 'dos obras sobre asuntos de Poe' ('two works on subjects by Poe')⁴² – i.e. *La Chute de la maison Usher* and *Le Diable dans le beffroi*.

(Interestingly, Falla possessed two pages of manuscript sketches for *La Chute de la maison Usher*, in addition to two pages of sketches for the *Ode à la France*.⁴³ Both date from 1916-17,⁴⁴ and were clearly given to Falla by Debussy's widow.)⁴⁵

The blossoming of the personal relationship between these two composers is revealed in the eight surviving letters from Debussy to Falla from this period. All of these letters are short (unsurprisingly, given the probable frequency of their personal contact), but the language is warm and friendly – and it becomes increasingly so over time. It has already been noted that he addressed Falla more familiarly from 1911 onwards, using 'Mon cher ami' instead of the formal 'Cher Monsieur'. In contrast to his earlier letters (friendly but formal), the two that he wrote in 1911 are spiced with the sardonic humour for which he was renowned: in the first he threatens Falla with a scolding 'car vous êtes infiniment trop gentil' ('for you are far too kind'), while in the second letter his excuse for postponing a forthcoming meeting is the arrival of 'ouvriers inopportuns' ('workmen with bad timing').⁴⁶

Two of his letters – those written on 3 January 1910 and the same date the following year – are thank-you notes for new-year greetings that he received

⁴¹ PM, 109-10.

⁴² Letter dated 10 May 1910, published in Fernández-Shaw, *Larga Historia de 'La Vida Breve'*, 94-7.

⁴³ These sketches are preserved at E-GRmf (unclassified documents).

⁴⁴ Information supplied by Robert Orledge in conversation with the present author, 14 August 2002.

⁴⁵ Emma Debussy is known to have given away to a number of people odd pages of her late husband's sketches for *La Chute de la maison Usher* (Orledge, *Debussy and the Theatre*, 353, n. 17).

⁴⁶ Letters from Debussy to Falla, 3 January and 8 October 1911 respectively.

from Falla. It is clear that one of these new-year greetings was accompanied by a picture of a Spanish subject, for Debussy writes:

Merci de votre infiniment trop aimable façon de m'envoyer vos vœux. Vous avez flatté mon goût pour les belles images par un des côtés qui me passionne le plus, car vous savez combien j'aime, sans le connaître hélas!, votre pays.⁴⁷

Thank you for your infinitely kind way of sending me your regards. You have tickled my fancy for fine images by one of the things I am most passionate about, for you know how much I love your country – without, alas!, knowing it.

For many years, it was commonly accepted that the picture in question was the colour postcard of the *Puerta del Vino* (a medieval gateway in the Alhambra) that directly inspired Debussy to compose 'La Puerta del Vino' (*Préludes*, Book 2).⁴⁸ This postcard was donated by Debussy's daughter to the Centre de Documentation Debussy, and it is currently housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France;⁴⁹ the picture side has been reproduced in both editions of François Lesure's Debussy iconography.⁵⁰ The reverse side is inscribed 'Granada. *Alhambra*. La Puerta del Vino', and the handwriting is Falla's.

This last fact alone might be taken as proof of the identity of the card's sender were it not for Lesure's discovery that the same honour was claimed by Ricardo Viñes, in his contemporary diary.⁵¹

This assertion deserves consideration – particularly since Falla never explicitly claimed to have sent it himself. It was Falla, however, who first drew attention to the connection between the postcard and the *Prélude*. This he did in his 1920 article 'Claude Debussy et l'Espagne':

⁴⁷ Letter from Debussy to Falla, 3 January 1910.

⁴⁸ See, for instance: SV, 61; Ronald Crichton, *Manuel de Falla: Descriptive catalogue of his works* (London, 1976), 1; Paul Roberts, *Images: The Piano Music of Claude Debussy* (Portland, 1996), 271.

⁴⁹ *F-Pn*, Musique, L. a. Falla (M. de) 24.

⁵⁰ François Lesure, *Claude Debussy* (Geneva, 1975), 169; *Id.*, *Debussy* (Paris, 1980), 180.

⁵¹ Lesure, 'Debussy et le syndrome de Grenade', 106. The present author has been unable to check the accuracy of Lesure's assertion, for the majority of Viñes's diary remains unpublished and in private hands.

L'idée de composer ce *Prélude* lui fut suggérée en regardant une simple photographie coloriée reproduisant le célèbre monument de l'Alhambra.

Orné de reliefs en couleurs et ombragé par de grands arbres, le monument fait contraste avec un chemin inondé de lumière que l'on voit en perspective à travers l'arceau du bâtiment. Debussy ressentit une si vive impression qu'il résolut de la traduire en musique, et, en effet, quelque jours plus tard *La Puerta del Vino* était composée...⁵²

The idea of composing this *Prélude* occurred to him through looking at a simple tinted photograph showing the famous monument in the Alhambra.

Adorned with coloured reliefs and shaded by large trees, the monument contrasts with a brightly-lit path which is visible in perspective through the arch of the building. It made such a keen impression on Debussy that he decided to translate it into music, and, in fact, a few days later 'La Puerta del Vino' was composed...

It is clear from this account that he was well aware of the circumstances leading to the composition of 'La Puerta del Vino'. To infer from it that he sent the postcard himself is not unreasonable (especially given the habitual avoidance of first-person pronouns in his published writings), though his account is equally consistent with Viñes's claim.

The latter claim is weakened, however, by the assertions of a number of people who knew both Falla and Debussy, and who were of the opinion that it was Falla who sent the postcard. These include Alfred Cortot, Louis Laloy and Alfredo Casella;⁵³ the latter cites a conversation with Falla himself as the source of this information.⁵⁴ Roland-Manuel, in a 1925 article, seems to have been the first writer explicitly to link Falla with the postcard – though he observes that the story was already in common currency:

Tout à l'heure déjà, sur le chemin du Généralife, dans cette longue allée mélancolique que bordent les cyprès, les ifs et les lauriers-roses, Falla se plaisait à évoquer la grande ombre du magicien des *Parfums de la Nuit*, de ce Français qui, pour n'être jamais venu en Andalousie,

⁵² FD, 208 [FEs, 75; FO, 43].

⁵³ Alfred Cortot, *French Piano Music*, i (London, 1932), 27, n. 1; Louis Laloy, *Claude Debussy* (rev. edn., Paris, 1944), 104-5 (quoted in Deborah Priest [ed.], *Louis Laloy (1874-1944) on Debussy, Ravel and Stravinsky* [Aldershot, 1999], 228); Alfredo Casella, 'Visita a Manuel de Falla', *L'Italia letteraria*, 2 February 1930, 5 (reprinted in *Id.*, 21 + 26 (Rome, 1931), 195-202; *Id.*, *Music in My Time*, 184.

⁵⁴ Casella, 'Visita a Manuel de Falla', 5 (*Id.*, 21 + 26, p. 199); *Id.*, *Music in My Time*, 184.

eut une intuition proprement géniale des beautés de Grenade que personne, au gré de Falla, n'a jamais mieux chantées. Et devant la puerta del Vino, je me fais répéter l'historiette tant de fois contée, la genèse de ce prélude né de la contemplation d'une carte postale envoyée par Falla à son illustre ami.⁵⁵

A little while before, on the path to the Generalife, in that long melancholy avenue of cypresses, yews and oleanders, Falla was taking pleasure in evoking the memory of the magician of 'Les Parfums de la nuit'; of that Frenchman who never visited Andalusia, but who had a truly remarkable intuition of Granada's beauty, which nobody – according to Falla – has described better. And in front of the Puerta del Vino, I repeat to myself the anecdote told many times before: the genesis of that prelude, born from the contemplation of a postcard sent by Falla to his illustrious friend.

Falla wrote to Roland-Manuel on 17 November 1925,⁵⁶ expressing his gratitude for and appreciation of that article, and making no complaints about any inaccuracies: a far cry from his comments on the drafts of the same author's *Manuel de Falla* three years later.⁵⁷ (All the same, no mention of this postcard is made in Roland-Manuel's biography – or, for that matter, in Pahissa's.)

Further circumstantial evidence supports the hypothesis that this postcard was sent by Falla. Michael Christoforidis notes that Falla purchased several postcards of Granada on 23 August 1904 'to gain an insight into the atmosphere of the town upon commencing *La vida breve*'.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the practice of sending new-year greetings on the back of picture postcards was one that he carried out almost every year from his return to Spain until around 1930; many examples survive at the Falla Archive and elsewhere.

⁵⁵ Roland-Manuel, 'Visite à Falla', *Revue Pleyel*, 25 (October 1925), 17. Roland-Manuel even includes in his article what he describes as 'une reproduction de la carte postale envoyée à Claude Debussy par Manuel de Falla' ('a reproduction of the postcard sent to Claude Debussy by Manuel de Falla') (p. 18) – but it is not quite the same: it is taken from a different angle, and does not have the trees that Falla describes so precisely in 'Claude Debussy et l'Espagne'. No doubt Roland-Manuel purchased it during his stay in Granada.

⁵⁶ Letter preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7521.

⁵⁷ Letter from Falla to Roland-Manuel, undated [30 December 1928] (draft at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7520). (A page of this draft is reproduced as Figure 4 in Chris Collins, 'Manuel de Falla, *L'Acoustique nouvelle* and natural resonance: a myth exposed', forthcoming in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, cxxviii, 1 [May 2003].)

⁵⁸ Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla, Debussy and *La vida breve*', 10, n. 6.

But however strong Falla's claim to have been the sender of this postcard, it is difficult to refute Viñes's: there is no reason why he would have written a lie in his private diary. It is possible that Debussy owned two identical or similar postcards of the Puerta del Vino, one sent by Falla and one by Viñes; but this theory raises the question of the other postcard's fate. It is also possible that Viñes sent the postcard, and that Falla merely wrote the location on the reverse side, at Debussy's request; this would have enabled him to study it closely, and would explain the well-informed account of the genesis of 'La Puerta del Vino' in 'Claude Debussy et l'Espagne', though not his acceptance of Roland-Manuel's claim that he was sender. One more theory: Viñes and Falla were close friends of Debussy and of one another,⁵⁹ and it would seem wholly appropriate for the two Spaniards to have sent a Spanish gift jointly to their French friend – particularly a gift so attractive and (in Paris) so rare.

But even if Falla did not send that specific postcard, he must have sent some other Spanish picture, for which Debussy thanked him with great enthusiasm in his letter of 3 January 1910. Whatever it was, that reply reveals the closeness of Falla's empathy with his master's sensibilities.

⁵⁹ This much is demonstrated in published excerpts from Viñes's diary. See especially Gubisch, *Ricardo Viñes à travers son journal et sa correspondance*, 150-65.

3.2.3 1914-18

Only one item of Falla-Debussy correspondence survives from the period between Falla's return to Spain around the beginning of September 1914 and Debussy's death on 25 March 1918. This letter was sent by Falla on 14 May 1916; a draft of it is preserved at the Archivo Manuel de Falla.⁶⁰ It is made plain in this letter, however, that Falla had already written to him several times since his return to Spain. As in his correspondence with Dukas (see § 2.2.3), one of these occasions was almost certainly soon after his arrival in Madrid in late 1914.

In a postscript to 'Claude Debussy et l'Espagne', Falla reveals that Debussy had agreed to conduct some concerts for the Sociedad Nacional de Música around 1916 ('deux ans avant la mort du maître' ['two years before the master's death']).⁶¹ Since this is not mentioned in Falla's letter of 14 May, the arrangement was presumably made after that date.

While it is probable that it was Falla's idea to invite Debussy, it is unlikely that he himself wrote to him about this engagement. First, no drafts of any such invitations are preserved at the Archivo Manuel de Falla; nor, more

⁶⁰ Lesure notes that Debussy received this letter, but that the original was sold by Emma Debussy in 1933 ('Manuel de Falla, Paris et Claude Debussy', 18).

⁶¹ FD, 210. Since this postscript is not included in FEs or FO, it is reproduced here: 'P.-S. – L'Espagne a honoré d'une façon toute particulière la mémoire de Claude Debussy. D'émouvantes séances lui ont été consacrées un peu partout et notamment à Madrid, par l'*Ateneo Científico Literario y Artístico* et la *Sociedad Nacional de Música*, [punctuation sic] Le nom du grand musicien français est très souvent inscrit aux programmes de cette dernière Société qui, deux ans avant la mort du maître, avait obtenu de lui la promesse formelle de venir diriger un concert composé de ses œuvres. L'état du grand malade n'ayant empiré peu de temps après, il ne fut malheureusement pas donné suite à ce projet dont nous avions tous si ardemment souhaité la réalisation.' ('P. S. – Spain has honoured the memory of Claude Debussy in her own special way. Stirring performances have been devoted to him pretty much everywhere and especially in Madrid, by the *Ateneo Científico Literario y Artístico* and the *Sociedad Nacional de Música*. The name of the great French musician appears very often in the programmes of this latter society, which, two years before the master's death, had obtained from him a formal promise to come and conduct a concert of his works. Since his health deteriorated a short while afterwards, this project, for which we all so fervently wished, was not realised.')

crucially, is Debussy's reply. Secondly, it would more properly have been either Miguel Salvador or Adolfo Salazar (the Sociedad Nacional's president and secretary respectively) to whom this duty would have fallen. According to Falla, the engagement was never fulfilled because of Debussy's poor health.

That illness partly explains Debussy's failure to respond to Falla's wartime letters; in a letter dated 14 January 1918, Dukas informed Falla that his friend's health had been seriously deteriorating for two years.⁶² But it must be remembered also that France was engaged in a bitter war.

It seems probable, however, that Debussy did intend to reply to Falla's letters. Pahissa records that 'on his death his widow sent Falla an envelope which Debussy had addressed to him only a few days previously with the intention of writing him a letter'.⁶³ Unfortunately, this envelope is lost, as is Emma Debussy's covering letter.

⁶² See Appendix 2.A.

⁶³ PM, 145.

3.2.4 Friendship with Emma Debussy, 1918 to c. 1932

Debussy died on 25 March 1918. Five days later, Falla telegraphed his commiserations to his widow Emma (whom Debussy had married within a few weeks of his first encounter with Falla).⁶⁴ The text of this telegram is remarkable for the conciseness with which it expresses the two sides of Falla's respect for Debussy: his admiration of him as a man, and his appreciation of the significance of his work:

PLEURE AVEC VOUS NOTRE MAÎTRE A TOUS LE GLORIEUX CREATEUR
DE LA MUSIQUE NOUVELLE = MANUEL DE FALLA⁶⁵

[I] mourn with you the master to all of us[,] the glorious creator of the new music.
Manuel de Falla

Evidently, Emma Debussy responded to this telegram by having her friend the singer Magdeleine Greslé send Falla a portrait of her husband and an autograph.⁶⁶ The autograph in question may have been the sketches for *La chute de la maison Usher* and *Ode à la France* already alluded to (§ 3.2.2), but it was more probably the empty envelope mentioned by Pahissa.⁶⁷ Falla wrote a letter of thanks to Emma a little later, also enclosing the text of the tribute to Debussy which he read at the Ateneo in Madrid on 27 April 1918.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Debussy married Emma on 20 January 1908 (Edward Lockspeiser, *Debussy: His Life and Mind*, ii [London, 1965], 296).

⁶⁵ *F-Pn*, Musique, L. a. Falla (M. de), 25.

⁶⁶ Falla possessed two photographic portraits of Debussy signed by his widow. The other was sent in 1932 (letter from Falla to Emma Debussy, 20 December 1932, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6898).

⁶⁷ PM, 145; see § 2.2.3 above.

⁶⁸ Undated draft of letter from Falla to Emma Debussy, [shortly after 27 April 1918], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6898; the original (including the text of Falla's speech, which was perhaps the only copy) is lost. Falla's lecture is discussed in more detail in §§ 3.4.2.2 and 3.5 below.

The telegram and the aforementioned letter are the first of 65 items of correspondence between Falla and Emma Debussy.⁶⁹ In combination with the letters he exchanged with mutual friends Magdeleine Greslé and the critic Louis Laloy,⁷⁰ his letters to Emma bear witness to the genuine friendship which developed between them after Debussy's death. Much of their correspondence is undated, consisting of *cartes pneumatiques* and notes sent to the hotels where Falla stayed during his visits to Paris, and relating to the social calendar in which they actively participated. She invited Falla to lunch or dinner at her home at 24 rue Viveuse (in the sixteenth *arrondissement*), or at Greslé's home at 19 quai Malaquais (in the sixth), almost every time he visited Paris.⁷¹ They also met at concerts; Falla was invited to visit Mme Debussy in her box at least once and on a further occasion he was even invited to share it.⁷² He frequently sent her tickets to performances of his music (including a performance of an unspecified work on 17 June 1927, and the two 'festivals' of his music in Paris in 1928 and 1930).⁷³

A recurring topic in their correspondence is Emma's proposed expedition, with Greslé, to visit Falla in Andalusia. This proposal seems to have originated in Falla's invitation to the *cante jondo* festival in 1922.⁷⁴ The invitation was not taken up, and neither was Falla's subsequent suggestion that they attend the first performance of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* in Seville in March

⁶⁹ All are preserved as either originals or drafts at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6898, with the following exceptions: undated draft of letter from Falla to Emma Debussy, [January 1926], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7520; draft of letter from Falla to Emma Debussy, 23 September 1932, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7336.

⁷⁰ Correspondence with Magdeleine Greslé: 85 items, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7082; correspondence with Louis Laloy: 7 items, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7165.

⁷¹ The correspondence records invitations in 1920, 1923 (apparently on a number of occasions), 1925, 1927, 1928, 1930 and possibly 1931. A 1923 lunch engagement with Emma Debussy and Louis Laloy is also recorded in PV, 130 (there is an error in the published English translation here [PM, 119]: for 'Lalo' read 'Laloy').

⁷² Two letters from Emma Debussy to Falla, 30 March 1928 and undated.

⁷³ Three undated letters from Emma Debussy to Falla, [17 June 1927], [shortly before 17 March 1928] and [11 May 1930?]. Emma Debussy's presence in the box at the 1928 Festival and their subsequent supper engagement with Robert Lyon are recorded in PM, 140.

⁷⁴ Letter from Emma Debussy to Falla, undated [before 14 July 1922].

1923, staying on afterwards for Holy Week.⁷⁵ The topic was often raised again (mainly by Falla), but their visit never took place. In reciprocation, Emma and Greslé often invited Falla to visit them at their summer retreat in St Jean de Luz, but there is no evidence that he ever did so.

Several factors make it clear that the friendship between Falla and Emma Debussy was genuine. On his part, he visited her of his own volition even when he had not been specifically invited,⁷⁶ and he sent her flowers on at least three occasions (an action which he did not perform lightly).⁷⁷ His repeated invitations demonstrate that he keenly desired to have her visit him in Spain.

Two gestures may be cited as specific illustrations of his affection. The first is the personal expression of sympathy which he sent to her on the occasion of the inauguration of the Debussy Monument in Paris (17 June 1932):

Ma bien chère Amie, mon cœur et ma pensée seront avec vous le 17 à l'inauguration du monument du Maître vénéré et au Festival consacré à ses œuvres immortelles.⁷⁸

My very dear Friend, my heart and my thoughts will be with you on the 17th at the inauguration of the monument to the esteemed Master, and at the Festival devoted to his immortal work.

It is probable that few of the other contributors to this celebratory event spared a thought for the feelings of the composer's widow.

The second is his anxiety, expressed in a letter to Magdeleine Greslé, about the possibility of her becoming addicted to morphine when she was administered a course of the drug in St Jean de Luz in September 1923.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Undated draft of letter from Falla to Emma Debussy, [11 February 1923]; undated draft of letter from Falla to Magdeleine Greslé, [11 February 1923].

⁷⁶ In one undated letter to Falla [probably dating from 1925], Mme Debussy apologises for her absence when he and María del Carmen called round to her home.

⁷⁷ Three letters from Emma Debussy to Falla: one dated 3 July 1923, two undated [at least one of them probably from 1925].

⁷⁸ Draft of letter from Falla to Emma Debussy, 11 June 1932.

⁷⁹ Draft of letter from Falla to Magdeleine Greslé, 8 September 1923.

Emma's depth of feeling for Falla is most apparent in her expressions of appreciation of his music. She wrote to him on more than occasion to congratulate him on the success of performances of his works in Paris at which she had been present (but at which Falla himself was not).⁸⁰ Though she was unable to attend the first performance of the *Puppet Show* at the Princesse de Polignac's salon, she requested permission to attend the rehearsal on the day of the performance, and it is evident from the correspondence that she did so.⁸¹ She also expressed her appreciation of the recordings of the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs* which he made in 1928, copies of which she owned.⁸² Falla preserved several visiting cards (all undated) which she inscribed to him, expressing her admiration for his work: one speaks of having been 'transportée dans la rêve par votre enchantement' ('transported in dreams by your magic'), while another thanks him for 'toutes les inoubliables heures que votre admirable musique m'a si généreusement données' ('all the unforgettable hours that your admirable musique has so generously afforded me'). Juan J. Viniegra records that she was present when Falla received the Legion d'Honneur in 1932. Presumably paraphrasing her words on this occasion, he records:

No olvidaba que la primera vez que le oyó en su hogar, intuyó que aquel joven tenía por delante un brillante porvenir. No se había equivocado, y entusiasmada exclamaba una y otra vez.

—¡Ese genio de Falla!... —¡Ese genio de Falla!... ⁸³

She had not forgotten that the first time she heard him at her home, she sensed that this young man had a brilliant future ahead of him. She had not been wrong, and she excitedly exclaimed over again:

'What a genius Falla is! ... What a genius Falla is! ...'

⁸⁰ Two letters from Emma Debussy to Falla, both undated [one of them dating from 28 January 1923 or shortly afterwards].

⁸¹ Letters from Emma Debussy to Falla, 24 June 1923 and undated [30 June 1923].

⁸² Letters from Emma Debussy to Falla, 6 January 1929 and undated [shortly after 5 January 1930?].

⁸³ V, 91.

But whatever the strength of their own relationship, it is clear that their friendship centred around her late husband and his work,⁸⁴ and it is this which is of most significance to the present study. Memories of times spent with Debussy were undoubtedly discussed: in one letter, Falla reminisces about the day he first arrived on their doorstep.⁸⁵ They talked about Debussy's music too: Falla wrote to Madame Debussy to seek her advice on which of his works would be within the capabilities of the newly-founded Orquesta Bética de Cámara. Falla followed her advice (choosing *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* and 'Nuages' [the first movement of the *Nocturnes*]), and she agreed to discuss reducing the hire costs for the orchestral material with the publishers, Jobert.⁸⁶

But in their correspondence there is a hint of something subtle which seems to offer the greatest insight into the core of their relationship. References to Debussy in several letters suggest that Emma saw herself as a kind of living extension of her late husband, and that Falla shared this view. This is evident, for instance, where Falla explains to her exactly why he wished her to visit Granada:

Avec quel émotion je vous ferais connaître cette Granada évoquée d'une si miraculeuse façon par le maître vénéré! ⁸⁷

How I would like you to know Granada, so miraculously evoked by the venerated master!

But this tendency is much more apparent in Emma's letters. In her letter apologising for her inability to attend the *cante jondo* festival, she seems to identify her absence with her late husband's:

⁸⁴ François Lesure has noted that Emma Debussy, 'dans sa solitude, cherchait à resserrer des liens avec quelques-uns de ceux qui avaient connu son mari' ('in her loneliness, sought to strengthen her ties with some of those who knew her husband') ('Manuel de Falla, Paris et Claude Debussy', 18), implying that this was the purpose behind her close friendship with Falla.

⁸⁵ Draft of letter from Falla to Emma Debussy, 22 December 1927.

⁸⁶ Drafts of letters from Falla to Emma Debussy, 18 March and 10 April 1924; letters from Emma Debussy to Falla, undated [shortly before 3 April 1924], undated [c. May 1924] and 25 May 1924.

⁸⁷ Draft of letter from Falla to Emma Debussy, 6 August 1922.

... Pensez un peu à moi, Place de San Nicolás[,] où le maître aurait été si joyeux d'entendre cette musique andalouse qu'il aimait! ⁸⁸

... Spare a thought for me, Plaza de San Nicolás, where the master would have been so happy to hear the Andalusian music that he loved!

Elsewhere she associates her own admiration for Falla's work with that which she believed Debussy would have felt had he still been alive. After a performance of *El amor brujo* at the Théâtre du Châtelet on 28 January 1923, she wrote:

Falla! Falla!! quel délicieux musicien vous êtes! – Et comme le maître bien aimé vous le dirait s'il avait entendu votre 'Amour Sorcier' dirigé tantôt par Arbós! ⁸⁹

Falla! Falla!! what a delightful musician you are! – And this is what the well-loved master would have said to you if he had heard your *Amor brujo* conducted by Arbós like that!

There was probably nobody else who knew Debussy's preferences as well as his second wife. For this reason, some significance may be attached to her approval of Falla's music in these terms.

⁸⁸ Letter from Emma Debussy to Falla, undated [shortly before 14 July 1922].

⁸⁹ Letter from Emma Debussy to Falla, undated [28 January 1923 or shortly afterwards]. The performance took place at the Théâtre du Châtelet on 28 January 1923. She makes a similar comment with respect to *Master Peter's Puppet Show* in a further undated letter [30 June 1923].

3.3 FALLA'S EXPERIENCE OF DEBUSSY'S MUSIC

Falla owned more scores of works by Debussy than by any other contemporary composer: 37 works, in 36 different volumes (taking into account collections, multiple copies, and scores he had bound together).⁹⁰ In addition, the evidence suggests that he heard more performances of Debussy's music than that of his other non-Spanish contemporaries, and also that he performed more of it himself. His interest in it was profound and penetrating (revealed most clearly, perhaps, in the corrections which he put into five of these scores),⁹¹ and it extended throughout most of his professional life.

Indeed, he had already obtained scores of at least five works by Debussy before his departure for Paris in 1907, at which time he probably possessed no more than one work each by Dukas and Ravel (see §§ 2.3 and 4.3). These five works are the *Deux Arabesques*, *Estampes*, *Cinq Poèmes de Baudelaire*, the String Quartet and the *Danses sacrée et profane* (of which he owned two copies: a full score and a reduction for harp and piano); all were stamped by Casa Dotesio. Publication dates allow for the possibility that as many as fourteen more Debussy scores were also obtained by Falla at this time, though none of these contain Casa Dotesio stamps to support this hypothesis.⁹²

⁹⁰ It should be noted that some of the scores bound together were acquired by Falla at very different times. Notably, the miniature score of the String Quartet was acquired in 1907 or earlier, while that of the *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune*, to which it is joined, is a 1922 edition.

⁹¹ He noted corrections in the following scores: *Danses sacrée et profane* (full score), *La Mer*, 'Fêtes' (from *Nocturnes*; piano transcription), *Pelléas et Mélisande*, *Pour le piano*, and the String Quartet. The page numbers on which these corrections are found are listed in Appendix 3.B. Mention should also be made of the corrections in the proof copy of the *Fantaisie* (in a transcription for two pianos), though it is not clear if these were made by Falla. See the more detailed discussion at the end of this section.

⁹² These fourteen possibilities are: the individual copies of each of the *Deux Arabesques*, *Beau soir*, *Les Cloches*, *La damoiselle élue*, *Mandoline* (any or all of three copies), *Masques*, *La Mer*, *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* (folio full score), *Romance* ('Voici que le printemps'), and the two works mentioned in the next paragraph (*Ariette* and *Rêverie*). It should be noted that the purchase of the full score of *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* at this time is especially unlikely; see the discussion below.

Two special cases among the latter category are the scores of the early piano piece *Rêverie* and the song *Ariette* (the first of the two *Ariettes* published in 1888 which were in turn to become the first two *Ariettes oubliées* in 1903). These were published as musical supplements to issues of the French journal *L'Illustration* dated 16 November 1895 and 9 September 1899 respectively. Falla's possession of these scores raises the interesting possibility that he was aware of Debussy's work as early as twelve years before his departure for Paris.⁹³ But it is perhaps more likely that he acquired them later. For one thing, he was very fond of second-hand books.⁹⁴ Secondly, he stored these supplements inside his copy of the piano score of 'Fêtes',⁹⁵ which he cannot have obtained before 1922, when Jobert (named as the publisher) acquired the rights to those works formerly published by Fromont.⁹⁶ Thirdly, Falla did not keep (and, presumably, never possessed) the 200 or so other *L'Illustration* supplements published in between these two. Fourthly, Falla told Roland-Manuel in 1928 that 'quand je commençais la composition de la Vie brève ... Debussy et sa musique m'étaient encore inconnus' ('when I was starting to compose *La vida breve* ... Debussy and his music were still unknown to me')⁹⁷ – which indicates that he still knew nothing of Debussy's work in 1904.

It is not clear what led Falla to buy his first Debussy score. It may have been random curiosity, a result of their presence on the Casa Dotesio shop shelf. In this case, the first ones he acquired may well have been those on Spanish subjects: explicitly, *Estampes* (which includes 'La soirée dans Grenade'), and, implicitly, the two *Arabesques*. Serendipitous discoveries such as these would undoubtedly have led to the purchase of further scores.

⁹³ This suggestion is made by Anna Rita Addessi in 'Aspects de l'"influence" stylistique de Debussy sur Falla', 196, n. 37.

⁹⁴ PM, 30.

⁹⁵ He pencilled a note on the cover of 'Fêtes' to remind him where he kept these two songs, and the songs remain tucked inside that score to this day.

⁹⁶ Alan Pope, 'Jobert', in NG, ix, 656.

⁹⁷ Undated draft of letter from Falla to Roland-Manuel [30 December 1928], preserved at E-GRmf, correspondence folder 7520.

This hypothesis would not necessitate Falla having any previous knowledge of Debussy's work. It is not clear how much of Debussy's music was known in Madrid in the years before 1907; it figures in none of the concert programmes preserved at the Archivo Manuel de Falla (though the small number of programmes from this period can represent no more than a very few of the concerts Falla attended), and no references to Debussy or his work are to be found in its holdings of pre-1907 press cuttings, books and periodicals (apart, of course, from the two *L'Illustration* supplements). However, just as with Stravinsky a decade later, it is very probable that Debussy's name was already well-known in Madrid's intellectual and musical circles.⁹⁸ If any new foreign music (such as Debussy's) was played in Madrid, then there is no doubt that Falla would have made every effort to be present.

It is possible that the first Debussy score he obtained was that of the *Danses sacrée et profane*,⁹⁹ which he performed in at least two concerts in Spain in 1907.¹⁰⁰ It is not known whether it was Falla, the conductor Tomás Bretón or a third party who instigated the choice of this piece; but whatever the case, Falla had certainly become interested in Debussy's work by February 1906. During that month, Joaquín Turina, living by this time in Paris, mentioned in a letter to Falla performances of works by Debussy and Ravel at concerts given by the Parent Quartet and the Lamoureux Orchestra, which he describes as 'interesantísimo'. He also mentions that *Pelléas et Mélisande* had *not* been performed (that season),¹⁰¹ and the very casual way in which he states this indicates either that the opera had been a topic of conversation between them

⁹⁸ In FS (written in 1916), Falla himself acknowledged that Stravinsky's name was known by 'cuantos se ocupan in Madrid del movimiento artístico europeo' ('those in Madrid who have an interest in European artistic movements') (FEs, 27 [FO, 9]).

⁹⁹ A full set of orchestral parts for this work – evidently having seen service – is preserved at E-GRmf; see Appendix 3.B.

¹⁰⁰ It should be noted that, according to Federico Sopeña (SV, 55), Falla had earlier performed one of the *Arabesques* – he does not specify which – at a concert in Bilbao on 11 January 1907. This date may be inaccurate. Sopeña does not cite the source of it, and his account does not square with Pahissa's (PM, 37-8), who (though he does not specify the programme or the date) states that this concert was planned as a repeat performance of that given in Madrid on 4 February 1907. It is possible that Sopeña was confusing the Bilbao concert with a second Madrid performance of the *Danses* on 11 April 1907.

¹⁰¹ Letter from Turina to Falla dated 27 February 1906, quoted in full in Mariano Pérez Gutiérrez, *Falla y Turina a través de su epistolario* (Madrid, 1982), 100.

before Turina's departure for France or that Falla had written to his colleague in Paris to ask specifically about it.¹⁰² (It is also worthwhile to observe that it may have been Turina's evaluation of Debussy's String Quartet which spurred him to the buy the score.)

But, of course, it was in Paris in the years leading up to the outbreak of the First World War that Falla gained most of his experience and knowledge of Debussy's music. Judging from the evidence presented in concert programmes dating from that period preserved at the Falla Archive, he heard performances (complete or fragmentary) of 23 works by Debussy, including no less than three performances of *La Mer* and four of *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune*,¹⁰³ in addition to other orchestral works, piano pieces, songs, the string quartet, and two large-scale works for voices, choir and orchestra: *La Damoiselle élue* and *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*. He heard Debussy conduct on at least one occasion (a performance of 'Rondes de printemps' from *Images* on 2 March 1910), and even heard Ravel (with Louis Aubert) play his own piano duet version of the *Nocturnes*. He also attended three staged performances of *Pelléas et Mélisande* on alternate nights between 17 and 21 June 1908; this is recorded in his diary, where, according to Michael Christoforidis, 'the entry for the last performance [is] followed by the comment "more enthused each time"'.¹⁰⁴

Given the shortage of pertinent documentary evidence from this period (especially the lack of programmes from the later Paris years), it is possible (perhaps probable) that these 24 works were not the only ones he heard in concert. It is known that he heard other examples of Debussy's work at soirées such as those which took place at the Godebskis' family home, where a notable and regular performer was the leading Debussy interpreter Ricardo Viñes (see §§ 4.1.1 and 4.2.1). Perhaps he also heard Debussy play his own music on the occasion of their one-to-one meetings (maybe even works in progress, such as the two Poe operas; see § 3.2.2).

¹⁰² It should be noted that Turina begins this letter by thanking Falla for his, now lost.

¹⁰³ The fourth performance he heard of *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* (that of 23 June 1913) was in the form of Nijinsky's staged version for the Ballets Russes.

¹⁰⁴ Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla, Debussy and *La vida breve*', 4.

It is highly likely that a significant number of the Debussy scores in his collection were purchased in Paris at this time. We know from the extant diary that he bought his miniature full score of *Pelléas et Mélisande* there, on 4 April 1908.¹⁰⁵ Judging from publication dates and retailers' stamps, at least four more scores were purchased around the same time: *Chansons de Bilitis*, *Trois Chansons de Charles d'Orléans* (the original version for four-part choir), the first set of *Fêtes galantes*, and the first set of *Images* for piano. Moreover, it is possible that a further eighteen Debussy scores were also acquired during this period.¹⁰⁶

Falla had the opportunity to become especially familiar with three of Debussy's works, performances of which he himself gave in concerts outside France. He performed the *Deux Arabesques* at the Teatro Campoamor in Oviedo on 25 and 26 January 1908, during his tour of northern Spain with the violinist Fernández Bordás and cellist Victor Mirecki.¹⁰⁷ (This perhaps explains why he possessed two copies of each of these pieces; as with Dukas's *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* (see § 2.3), he probably left his original copy in Madrid when he left for Paris, then found it necessary to purchase new copies in order to practise them for this concert.) On the occasion of his first visit to London, he played two works by Debussy at the Aeolian Hall, in 'Franz Leibich's Evening Concert' of 24 May 1911. These were 'La soirée dans Grenade' and, with Liebich himself, André Caplet's two-piano arrangement of 'Ibéria' (from the orchestral *Images*).

Clearly, it is significant that Falla included Debussy in the programme of his British debut concert. According to the fairly unfavourable review of the concert which appeared in *The Times* the following day, it was billed as a 'Concert of Spanish Music'.¹⁰⁸ The programme included works by Cabezón, Pedrell, Albéniz, Granados and Turina, in addition to Falla's *Four Spanish*

¹⁰⁵ Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla, Debussy and *La vida breve*', 4.

¹⁰⁶ In addition to the fourteen scores identified above as possible Madrid purchases, the others are: *Children's Corner*, 'Ibéria', *L'Isle joyeuse* and *Printemps*.

¹⁰⁷ As mentioned in an earlier footnote, Sopeña claims that Falla had played one of these *Arabesques* at a concert in Bilbao on 11 January 1907 (SV, 55).

¹⁰⁸ *The Times*, 26 May 1911, p. 10.

Pieces and the outer two of the *Trois Mélodies*. The two works by Debussy were the only items on the bill by a non-Spaniard (though both pieces are of course Spanish in style and subject matter). Liebich's extensive programme notes place some emphasis on Falla's status as Debussy's pupil,¹⁰⁹ and this was also seized upon by the *Times* reviewer. (As well as revealing something of Falla's loyalties, this fact is indicative of Liebich's: his wife Louise had already written the first English-language Debussy biography by this time.)¹¹⁰

This London engagement was one of very few concert appearances that Falla made during his years of residence in Paris. His return to Madrid in 1914 saw only a little more activity in this sphere, but Debussy's music featured prominently in the performances that he gave. During and shortly after the war, he took part in performances of Debussy songs at concerts of the Sociedad Nacional de Música in Madrid, as accompanist to Madeleine Leymo and Magdeleine Greslé. In December 1917, with the singer Aga Lahowska, he played programmes of Debussy and Falla in Madrid, Bilbao, Burgos, and – presumably – La Coruña.¹¹¹

It was as accompanist to this singer that he participated in the 'Homenaje a la memoria de Claudio Debussy' concert held at the Ateneo in Madrid on 27 April 1918, which Falla almost certainly worked to convene. Other participants included Artur Rubinstein and the Orquesta Filarmónica de Madrid, conducted by Pérez Casas. Speeches were given at this concert by Miguel Salvador (president of the Sociedad Nacional de Música) and by Falla; the latter's address ('El arte profundo de Claudio Debussy') will be examined later (§§ 3.4.2.2 and 3.5).

Debussy's works for solo piano featured in just one of Falla's concert appearances after 1914. This was a concert of the Sociedad Nacional de Música in Madrid on 24 April 1920, at which he played two pieces he had first

¹⁰⁹ Programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1911-001 to 003.

¹¹⁰ Louise Liebich, *Claude-Achille Debussy* (London, 1908).

¹¹¹ The programme for this concert (*E-GRmf*, FN 1917-016) does not list the works performed. However, it is highly probable that the programme was much the same as that in Burgos and Bilbao later the same month.

performed many years previously – ‘La soirée dans Grenade’ and the two *Arabesques* – in addition to three or four movements from the first book of *Préludes*: ‘Les collines d’Anacapri’, ‘La cathédrale engloutie’, ‘Minstrels’, and (perhaps) ‘La fille aux cheveux de lin’.¹¹²

Three days before this, at another Sociedad Nacional concert, he took part in a performance of the Sonata for Flute, Viola and Harp. As with the first Debussy work that he played in public (the *Danses sacrée et profane*), he played the harp part on the piano. (He did likewise in Ravel’s *Introduction and Allegro*; see § 4.3.)

Finally, the ‘Sérénade for the doll’ (one of the movements of *Children’s Corner*) was one of the works Falla selected to serve as an item of incidental music for the puppet plays performed at the house of Federico García Lorca on 6 January 1923. A few weeks later, he sent a copy of the programme to Emma Debussy with the following message:

Comme vous verrez par la programme ci-joint nous avons fait à Granada un essai de Guignol Andalou. J’espère qu’un jour nous aurons l’honneur et la joie de faire une représentation pour vous sur cette colline de l’Alhambra.¹¹³

As you will see from the attached programme we have been trying out Andalusian puppet theatre in Granada. I hope that one day we shall have the honour and the joy of putting on a performance for you on this hill of the Alhambra.

Apart from some of the song accompaniments, Falla’s copies of all the Debussy works he played contain fingerings and other interpretative markings

¹¹² The programme from this concert (*E-GRmf*, FN 1920-004) lists only the first three. However, Falla’s copy of the score presents strong evidence that he played all four. Firstly, fingerings are pencilled in these four movements (and – apart from a single pencil stroke in ‘Ce qu’a vu le vent d’Ouest’ – these four only). Secondly, on the contents page, Falla has pencilled the numbers 1 to 4 against the entries for ‘La cathédrale engloutie’, ‘Minstrels’, ‘La fille aux cheveux de lin’ and ‘Les collines d’Anacapri’ respectively. Thirdly, a pencilled annotation on the first page of the score reads:

- 1) 2 arabescas
- 2) Minstrels 49
- La Fille
- Collines 16
- Cathedral 38

¹¹³ Drafts of letters from Falla to Magdeleine Greslé and Emma Debussy, undated [11 February 1923], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7082.

in his own hand. However, these markings are not always limited to the movements he performed publicly: in fact, it is clear that he practised all of *Children's Corner*, all of *Estampes*, and at least two more *Préludes*: 'Ce qu'a vu le vent d'Ouest' (Book 1) and 'General Lavine, eccentric' (Book 2).

He also came into close contact with Debussy's music when he made an arrangement of *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* for the Orquesta Bética de Cámara around 1924. (As noted earlier [§ 3.2.4], this was one of the works suggested to Falla by Debussy's widow.) The nature of Falla's task is revealed by handwritten notes tucked inside his folio copy of the score: it involved eliminating two of the four horn parts, one of the three flutes, one of the two harps, and the cor anglais. Wherever possible, he transferred important material from the eliminated parts to the other players of the same instruments; in the case of the cor anglais, its material is usually given to the second oboe. He saw the complete elimination of any material as a last resort, and, where such material could not be accommodated on the same instruments, he preferred to allocate it to others. The third and fourth horn parts, for instance, are often allocated to clarinets or bassoons.

Falla also owned two different recordings of this work. His collection of shellac discs includes very little contemporary art music: the only other non-Spanish composers of his own generation represented in it are Ravel, Stravinsky and Gustave Charpentier.¹¹⁴

He continued to buy scores of Debussy's music continued long after his return to Spain in 1914. It seems probable that the Sonata for Violin and Piano was one of the very last scores he acquired by any composer: his copy bears the stamp of a music retailer in Buenos Aires.¹¹⁵ Other scores obtained after the outbreak of the First World War are the two books of *Préludes*, the *Nocturnes* (both the miniature score of the entire work and the piano score of 'Fêtes'),

¹¹⁴ See Appendices 4.A.e, 8.E and 6.D.d respectively.

¹¹⁵ The violin part of this work contains performance-related annotations in a hand other than Falla's. There is no evidence that he took part in a performance of this work in Argentina, and so the possibility exists that he acquired the score second-hand. If this is the case, he may have obtained it in Europe at any point between its publication (1917) and his departure for South America.

Pour le piano, Ravel's revision of the *Tarantelle styrienne* (published as 'Danse'), the arrangement of the *Trois Chansons de Charles d'Orléans* for voice and piano, and the miniature score of *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune*.

It may be that this last item was that sent to Falla in 1924 by the publisher Jobert – as a gift, perhaps – when the Orquesta Bética de Cámara purchased a full set of orchestral material for the work.¹¹⁶ However, his notes for the reduction of the orchestral parts are inserted in his full-sized copy of the score. The latter does not bear a publication date, but its lack of other annotations would seem to suggest that he did not possess this copy in Paris before the war (see § 3.4.2.1). It is curious, therefore, that he seems not to have owned a copy of this important work before the mid-1920s. Perhaps the copies he acquired later replaced an earlier one, discarded owing to extreme dilapidation, or lost.

A curiosity in his collection is a proof copy (printed in negative) of Gustave Samazeuilh's two-piano reduction of the *Fantaisie* (originally for piano and orchestra), with two corrections added by hand (though it is difficult to tell whether by Falla or not). Michael Christoforidis has suggested that Falla was engaged to proof-read this;¹¹⁷ however, there is no evidence to this effect in his correspondence with Samazeuilh.¹¹⁸ The reason why this corrected (or at least partially corrected) proof was not returned to the publishers is clear: Samazeuilh's reduction never came to be published. In fact, this proof was almost certainly a gift to Falla from Samazeuilh himself; their correspondence reveals that they were in regular contact when the latter was working on the reductions for three pianos of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* and for piano duet of the dances from *La vida breve* (see § 6.11).

¹¹⁶ Letter from Falla to Emma Debussy, draft preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7171. In this letter, Falla implies that Jobert sent him a complimentary copy of the score.

¹¹⁷ Christoforidis, 'De *La vida breve* a *Atlántida*', 26, n. 38.

¹¹⁸ The surviving correspondence between Falla and Samazeuilh is transcribed and translated in Appendix 6.K.a.

3.4 FALLA'S DEBT TO DEBUSSY

3.4.1 Direct advice

3.4.1.1 *La vida breve*

Jaime Pahissa observes that Falla revised two of his early works – *La vida breve* and the *Trois Mélodies* – in accordance with specific advice furnished by Debussy. These assertions are corroborated by contemporary documentary evidence.

Debussy's suggestions for the improvement of the first of these are recorded in detail in the handwritten notes that Falla made on 10 October 1911, the very day of the meeting at which they were received (see § 3.2.2).¹¹⁹ Pahissa's description of Debussy's advice accords very closely with this document,¹²⁰ and this fact suggests that Falla's memory had been jogged over the intervening years by occasional re-readings of the document.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 9001. These pages are reproduced in Nommick, '*La vida breve* entre 1905 y 1914', 69-70.

¹²⁰ PM, 71-2.

¹²¹ It is unlikely that Pahissa saw a copy of the document itself; Michael Christoforidis notes that it was dedicated to the care of Falla's priest Valentín Ruiz Aznar in Granada when the composer departed for Argentina in 1939 ('Manuel de Falla, Debussy and *La vida breve*', 11, n. 11). Pahissa's interviews with Falla, which resulted in his biography of the composer, took place in Argentina during the 1940s (PM, vii). Incidentally, a direct analogy exists in Suzanne Demarquez's account of María del Carmen's recollection of one of the pieces of Debussy's advice (the one flippantly advocating the use of 'Boîte à tabac') recorded in this 10 October 1911 document: 'Cette boutade – bien dans le tempérament de Debussy – avait été rapportée par Falla à sa sœur Maria [sic] del Carmen, qui la redit à son tour au critique musical André Gauthier, lors d'un voyage en Espagne de celui-ci. Très frappée de ce détail, elle en avait conservé le souvenir, et jusqu'à la date de la visite à Debussy, le 10 octobre 1911' ('This jest – typical of Debussy's temperament – had been reported by Falla to his sister María del Carmen, who retold it to the music critic André Gauthier during a visit of his to Spain. Struck by this detail, she had remembered it, including even the date of the visit to Debussy: 10 October 1911') (D, 54). No doubt Gauthier and Demarquez were unaware of the existence of the notes

Falla recorded eight discrete pieces of advice in these notes, setting them out in point form. It is only the first three that deal explicitly with the improvement of *La vida breve*. The other five are grouped together under the heading 'Observaciones a usar en la próxima ópera' ('Observations for use in the next opera') – but it is probable that these suggestions too stemmed from imperfections that Debussy perceived in Falla's opera; one item even alludes directly to that work by means of example, as will be seen below. (The other four of these five points will be discussed in § 3.4.1.3.)

The document has been much discussed by Falla scholars,¹²² and it has been transcribed and translated in a number of sources.¹²³ The present analysis seeks to clarify details overlooked by earlier scholars, and to assess how Debussy's recommendations constitute improvements to the work in question. In the discussion that follows, each of the four suggestions appertaining to *La vida breve* is discussed separately. It is possible to observe some of the alterations Falla made by comparing the published score of the opera with Archivo Manuel de Falla manuscript XXXV A1, a complete piano score of the original 1905 version,¹²⁴ and manuscript XXXV C1, the original libretto.¹²⁵ (The original orchestral score is unfortunately lost, though some rough sketches survive.)¹²⁶ It should be noted that in 1911 *La vida breve* was still in its original form of a one-act opera, divided into three tableaux and an

Falla made on this date; but it is quite feasible that María del Carmen *had* seen them. And if not, Falla may have recalled the event to her after re-reading the document himself.

¹²² See especially Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla, Debussy and *La vida breve*', 4-6; *Id.*, 'De la composition d'un opéra'; *Id.*, 'De *La vida breve* a *Atlántida*', 19-23; Nommick, 'Manuel de Falla: De *La vida breve* de 1905 à *La vie brève* de 1913', 80-3; *Id.*, 'La vida breve entre 1905 y 1914', 17-20.

¹²³ Viz. Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla, Debussy and *La vida breve*', 5; *Id.*, 'De la composition d'un opéra', 69-70; *Id.*, 'De *La vida breve* a *Atlántida*', 19; Nommick, 'La vida breve entre 1905 y 1914', 17-18 and 69-70.

¹²⁴ This manuscript has been published in facsimile as *La vida breve: Facsimil del manuscrito XXXV A1 del Archivo Manuel de Falla* (Granada, 1997).

¹²⁵ Appropriate sections of MS XXXV C1 have been reproduced in Nommick, 'La vida breve entre 1905 y 1914', 72-3.

¹²⁶ Notably *E-GRmf*. MSs XXXV A2, XXXIX A3 and XXXIX A4. For a discussion of how the process of revision is visible in manuscripts other than XXXV A1 and XXXV C1, see Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla, Debussy and *La vida breve*', 6, and *Id.*, 'De *La vida breve* a *Atlántida*', 21.

intermezzo:¹²⁷ the first tableau and the intermezzo were later to become the two tableaux of Act 1, while the second and third tableaux correspond with the two tableaux of Act 2. (Bar numbers stated in the following discussion refer to the published orchestral score unless specified otherwise.)¹²⁸

The first item in the 10 October 1911 document reads as follows:

1. Final del 1er cuadro. Enlaza sin interrupción con el Intermedio aprovechando *ande la tarea* a una voz sola como antes, y lejos, ya a telón corrido.¹²⁹

1. End of the first tableau. Link [it] to the Intermezzo without interruption, making use of 'ande la tarea' in a single voice as before, and in the distance, as the curtain falls.

Here, Falla followed Debussy's advice to the very letter. In the 1905 manuscript, the first tableau and the intermezzo are separated by a general pause, a double barline and a descent of the curtain;¹³⁰ in the published score, the first tableau runs directly into the second, and a sudden plunge into darkness (bar 498) nullifies the need for the curtain's fall.

Falla made a number of modifications to the music in order to smooth the transition between these two scenes. Most importantly, and at Debussy's instigation, he added a further statement of the words 'Ande la tarea' for the off-stage tenor soloist (bars 508-11) after the stage has been cast into darkness and after the music which constitutes the opening of the 1905 intermezzo has begun. Secondly, Falla made this tenor line to follow on smoothly from the preceding section by assigning to the tenor the statement of 'Ande la tarea, que hay que trabajar!' immediately beforehand (bars 492-8); it was originally scored for the chorus.¹³¹ (The refrain before this ['Malhaya la jembra

¹²⁷ This division is made clear on the front page of the original libretto (*E-GRmf*: MS XXXV C1); the page in question is reproduced in Nommick, '*La vida breve* entre 1905 y 1914', 71.

¹²⁸ Edition by Jean-Dominique Krynen (Madrid: Manuel de Falla Ediciones, 1998).

¹²⁹ 'Ande la tarea' are the last words sung at the end of the first tableau of Act 1, by the voice in the forge (bars 508-11).

¹³⁰ Page 66 of the facsimile publication.

¹³¹ Pages 64-5 of the facsimile publication. A later amendment to this manuscript (XXXV A1), in pencil, observes that this passage is to be sung by 'Une voix'.

pobre...'; bars 481-9] is scored for tenor soloist even in the 1905 score, however.) Thirdly, he omitted Paco and Salud's final two exclamations of '¡Siempre!', and rewrote and slightly repositioned the one before those (bar 495):¹³² alterations which serve to make the texture more transparent in order that the off-stage tenor should be made more prominent, drawing the audience's attention to that voice's role in the transition between the two scenes. Finally, in the course of joining the scenes together, he omitted entirely the last four bars of the original first tableau, and revised the first 21 bars of the intermezzo (bars 499-519).¹³³

There are three reasons why the opera is improved by these modifications. First, the discrete structure of the intermezzo itself is enhanced by means of a framing device: the new passage at the beginning of the scene (bars 508-11) mirrors the otherwise unrelated passage for tenor soloist towards the end of it (bars 701-10); the latter already existed in the 1905 version of the opera.¹³⁴

Secondly, coherence between the two tableaux is much improved in the revised version, where musical (i.e. thematic) and dramatic affiliations

¹³² Page 65 of the facsimile publication. On this page, Falla has sketched in the revised position of the last remaining '¡Siempre!'.

¹³³ Pages 66-8 of the facsimile publication.

¹³⁴ Pages 86-7 of the facsimile edition of the 1905 vocal score. Incidentally, character designations in the Eschig vocal score (published 1913; the earliest published source for this opera) may reveal something of Falla's thinking behind these amendments. Whereas the phrase that Falla shifted from the chorus to the solo tenor (bars 492-8) is assigned to 'Une Voix dans la Forge' ('A voice in the forge', the designation used elsewhere in the first tableau), the newly-inserted phrase (bars 508-11) is marked simply 'Une voix (Ténor)' ('A voice (tenor)'). This designation (or its direct Spanish equivalent) is also used for the solo tenor passage which occurs near the end of the intermezzo in both the published and 1905 vocal scores. Initially, Falla must have considered the latter voice to be that of a different 'character': in the 1905 version, the 'voice in the forge' appears only in the first tableau, and the 'voice (tenor)' only in the intermezzo. Even in the 'distributions' printed in the published scores and libretto (both published by Max Eschig in 1913), these voices are listed as separate roles. In each of the original productions in Nice and Paris, however, both parts were sung by a single tenor (by M. Rouziery in Nice, and by M. Donval in Paris; cast lists are printed in both the Eschig vocal score [pp. iv-v] and the libretto [p. 2]). There can be little doubt that this was Falla's intention. At the end of the first tableau of the 1913 version, the 'voice in the forge' and the 'voice (tenor)' both sing material originating in the smiths' refrains first heard near the beginning of the opera (bars 27-33 and 116-27), and the symmetry of the revised second tableau (discussed above) plainly implies that it is again the same tenor who sings at the end of that scene.

between the two scenes are established by means of the presence of the same voice, the same words and the same melody in both.


Thirdly, this amendment fosters an awareness of the spatial relationship between the locations of the two tableaux: the progressive distancing of the solo voice produces in the audience the illusion of physically moving the short distance from the scene of the first tableau (the Albaicín) to that of the second (Sacromonte). The effect is akin to the descent to and return from Nibelheim which link the last three scenes of *The Rhinegold*.

The interludes between the scenes of *Pelléas et Mélisande* reveal that Falla's concerns with unity and spatial awareness were shared by Debussy himself. Falla studied several of these interludes very closely; he pencilled the page numbers on which some of them begin on the contents page of his miniature score of the work.¹³⁵ Debussy's solutions to the linking of scenes are somewhat different from Falla's, however. In *Pelléas*, unity is achieved through dense thematic allusions that are psychologically much more subtle than Falla's repetitions of the smiths' songs. He achieves spatial links between scenes by means of gradual changes of register and orchestral timbre. An especially fine example from *Pelléas* – one of those which Falla referenced – is the interlude between the second and third scenes of Act 3 (rehearsal figure 31), which accompanies Golaud's and Pelléas's escape to the surface from the underground passages of the castle, with ascending arpeggios in the cellos, double basses and first harp, followed by the gradual accretion of the treble instruments.¹³⁶ Given that the district of Sacromonte is physically situated on a hill overlooking the Albaicín, Falla could have chosen to employ a similar device in the connecting passage between the first two tableaux of *La vida breve*; however, the solution that Debussy suggested, involving the solo tenor, is no less effective.

¹³⁵ The interludes he marked in the index of this score are those between scenes 2 and 3 of Act 1 (beginning on p. 44), between scenes 1 and 2, and scenes 2 and 3, of Act 3 (beginning on pp. 183 and 192 respectively), and between scenes 2 and 3 of Act 4 (beginning on p. 299).

¹³⁶ In addition to the annotation on the contents page, there are further annotations within the passage itself (rehearsal figures 31 to 34; pp. 192-9), relating to matters of orchestration. Falla's study of this aspect of Debussy's opera is examined in § 3.4.2.1.

The second item listed in the 1911 notes reads:

2. Ver de arreglar el final de la ópera. Que *la Abuela* haga su entrada dentro del . Suprimir del Final todas las maldiciones posibles y acelerar la *coda*.

2. Try to tidy up the end of the opera. Have *the Grandmother* make her entrance within the [notation]. Suppress as many as possible of the curses at the end, and speed up the *coda*.

The original version of the opera's conclusion, as found in the 1905 piano score,¹³⁷ is shown in Example 3.4.1.1.i. A comparison between this version and the corresponding section of the published score (bars 901-38 of Act 2) reveals that Falla made the following amendments, in accordance with Debussy's suggestions:

- The Grandmother enters two bars earlier than in the original version (bar 924 of the published score), with an additional cry of '¡Salud!'. In fact, this is a bar *before* the figuration (actually scored for strings, clarinets and horns) that Falla wrote out in musical notation in the 10 October 1911 document.
- The curses sung by the Grandmother and Uncle Sarvaor have been heavily pruned; indeed, only the first three ('infame! falso! ¡Judas!') have been retained (bars 928-30). This line, originally scored for the Grandmother alone, is now shared with Uncle Sarvaor, as is the '¡Qué horror!' which precedes it.

It is not clear what Falla meant by the word 'coda' in the 10 October 1911 document. If he meant the passage which follows the curtain's final fall, then he plainly did not follow Debussy's advice, for this passage is actually five bars longer in the final version than in the 1905 score. However, it may be that he was referring imprecisely to the end of the act: in the revised version, the entire length of the passage from Salud's death to the end of the opera is reduced from 21 bars to 16.

¹³⁷ Pages 161-7 of the facsimile publication.

SALUD
a tempo
-mor!... ¡Tú! ¡Tú! — ¡Lo ju - ro por la crú don-de Je - su — mu-

PACO
¿Yo? ¿Yo?

SALUD *(con fuerza)*
rió! — ¡Paco! ¿A mí? ¡¡Tú!!!

CARMELA
¡Paco! ¡Por Dios!

PACO
¡Mientes! ¡E - chad - la!

MANUEL
¡Paco!

SARVAOR
¡Paco! ¡Salud!

poco rit.

Example 3.4.1.1.i
(continued overleaf)

SALUD
Salud va hacia él, vacila y cae rápidamente (Algo más lento que $\text{♩} = \text{♩}$) ($\text{♩} = \text{♩}$)

CARMELA
¡Pa - co!

PACO
(murmillo de horror)

MANUEL
(murmillo de horror)

CANTAOR
(murmillo de horror)

SARVAOR
(murmillo de horror)

CHORUS
(murmillo de horror)

con inmensa ternura
a tipo muy sentido
[10]
pp

The musical score is written for a full vocal ensemble and piano. The vocal parts are arranged in a block, with each part on a separate staff. The piano part is at the bottom, with a grand staff (treble and bass clef). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The tempo and mood are indicated by the lyrics and performance instructions.

Example 3.4.1.1i
(continued overleaf)

(todos a media voz)
(con terror)

CARMELA

¡Muer-ta! ¡Je-sus! ¡Je-sus!

ABUELA

La abuela entrando por la cancela como una loca.

PACO

¡Muer-ta! ¡Je-sus! ¡Je-sus!

MANUEL

¡Muer-ta! ¡Je-sus! ¡Je-sus!

CANTAOR

¡Muer-ta! ¡Je-sus! ¡Je-sus!

SARVAOR

¡Muer-ta! ¡Je-sus! ¡Je-sus!

CHORUS

¡Muer-ta! ¡Je-sus! ¡Je-sus!

pp

pp

pp

ABUELA

¡Muer-ta! ¡Nena! ¡Mi glo - ria! ¡Al - ma mí - a!

pp

cresc.

sempre cresc.

Example 3.4.1.1.i
(continued overleaf)

ABUELA (viendola) (a Paco)

SARVAOR ¡Qué ho - rror! ¡Ah, in-fa-me, fal-so, ¡Ju das!

¡Mise-ra-ble y traidor!

[19]

ff *f*

ABUELA (con furia)

¡Mal - di - to tu pa - re! ¡Mal-di - ta tu

[22]

fff *tr* *fff*

ABUELA

ma - re! ¡Mal - di - tos, mal - di - tos los hi - jos q' ten - gas! ¡Mal - di - ga - los

CHORUS (a media voz)

¡Qué es - pan - to! ¡Qué ho -

[24]

sempre *fff*

Example 3.4.1.1.i
(continued overleaf)

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system features vocal staves for 'ABUELA' and 'SARVAOR'. Both parts have lyrics: 'Dios! ¡Mal-dí - ga - te Dios!'. The second system shows the 'CHORUS' with the lyric '-rror!' and continues the vocal melody. The third system contains piano accompaniment starting at measure [27], featuring sixteenth-note patterns and dynamic markings like 'ff' and 'ffff'. It includes performance instructions such as 'loco', 'seco', and 'reteniendo'. The score concludes with a 'TELÓN' (Curtain) instruction over sustained chords.

Falla, *La vida breve* (piano score; 1905 version, from *E-GRmf*, MS XXXV A1), Act 2, conclusion.¹³⁸

Example 3.4.1.1.i

138 Editorial notes:

MS XXXV A1 contains a number of later annotations, notably Paul Milliet's French translation of the text, written in red ink in Milliet's own hand, and pencilled sketches for various amendments in Falla's hand. All of these later annotations have been omitted from the present transcription. Abbreviations have been rewritten in full, and punctuation in the underlay has been standardised. Values of rests have been simplified without notice. The following specific editorial amendments were carried out:

Bar 15, beat 2, Carmela: e' quaver in MS corrected to e' crotchet, to agree with other parts.

Bar 17, beat 2, piano RH: no slur in MS (corrected to agree with bars 16 and 18).

Bar 24, beat 3, piano RH: no accidental on the $f_4^{\#}$ crotchet in the MS (corrected to agree with the Grandmother's part).

Bar 25, piano RH, lower voices: crotchets marked as dotted crotchets in the MS.

Bar 26, beat 3, piano (both staves): no triplet markings in MS.

Bar 27, beat 1, Sarvaor: no triplet marking in MS.

Bar 32, beat 1, piano RH: no hairpin accent in MS (corrected to agree with LH).

Further differences may be observed between the original and revised versions of the conclusion. Although there is no evidence that these alterations were made on Debussy's specific recommendation, they do contribute to the general 'tidying-up' that he prescribed. The two most important of these changes are as follows:

- The Grandmother's line '¡Salud! ¡Nena! ¡Mi gloria, alma mía!' ('Salud! Little girl! My glory, my soul!'), which immediately follows her entry and Salud's death, has been completely reset. This phrase is also shortened, from three bars (bars 16-18 of Example 4.4.1.1.i) to one (bar 926 of the published score).
- One-and-a-half bars of the 1905 version (from the third quaver beat of bar 8 to the end of bar 9 of Example 4.4.1.1.i) have been replaced by twelve bars of new orchestral music (bars 909-20 of the published score) accompanying Salud's '¿a mí? ¡Tú!' ('[How can you do this] to me? You!'), and the new line '¡¡¡Tú!!! ¡Me ahogo!... ¡Me muero!...' ('You!!! I'm choking!... I'm dying!...'), declaimed in *Sprechgesang*. This line is found only in the published vocal score; it does not appear in the 1905 score, the 1905 libretto (manuscript XXXV C1), or even in the original Eschig full score.¹³⁹

Owing to this new 12-bar passage, the last scene of the opera (taken as a whole) is actually longer in its 1913 version than it was originally. Nevertheless, the dramatic pace is much faster. For one thing, the omitted curses constitute a comparatively weak section of Fernández Shaw's libretto:

SARVAOR. ¡Miserable y traidor!

ABUELA (*a Paco*). ¡Maldito tu pare!
 ¡Maldito tu mare!
 ¡Malditos, malditos
 los hijos que tengas!
 ¡Maldígalos Dios!

¹³⁹ It has been restored in Jean-Dominique Krynen's revised edition of the full score published by Manuel de Falla Ediciones in 1998.

LOS DEMÁS (*retrocediendo asustados*).
¡Qué espanto! ¡Qué horror!

ABEULA Y SARVAOR. ¡Maldígate Dios! ¹⁴⁰

SARVAOR. Scoundrel and traitor!

GRANDMOTHER (*to Paco*). A curse on your father!
A curse on your mother!
Curses, curses
on the children you may have!
God curse them!

THE OTHERS (*retreating in fear*). What a fright! What terror!

GRANDMOTHER AND SARAVOR. God curse you!

Inevitably, since the strength of these curses is circumscribed by the bounds of theatrical taste, the vehemence of the Grandmother and of Uncle Salvaor is seriously weakened. The action is, moreover, rather one-sided, giving most of the characters – Paco included – little to do but ‘retreat in fear’.

But Debussy’s principal reason for recommending the faster dispatch of this scene is evident in one of the suggestions recorded in the ‘Observaciones a usar en la próxima ópera’ section of the 10 October 1911 document:

3. Después de un *gran efecto* dramático debe terminarse el acto *la más rápidamente posible*, pues aunque el efecto de lo que continuase la acción fuese grande (a no ser mayor que el primero) enfriaría el producido por el anterior. Este defecto se encuentra al *fin* de la *Vida breve*, donde hay *tres grandes efectos* seguidos: la presentación de Salud, la muerte y la entrada de la Abuela.

3. After a *large dramatic effect*, the act should come to a close *as quickly as possible*, for even if that which follows the action were to have a large effect (provided it is not greater than the first one), it would cool the effect produced by the earlier one. This defect is found at the *end* of *La vida breve*, where there are *three large effects* in succession: Salud’s entrance, the death, and the Grandmother’s entrance.

It is probable that Debussy himself pointed out to Falla this defect of *La vida breve*. The changes that he made to the conclusion of the opera all contribute to the remedying of this imperfection: the cutting of the curses brings the work

¹⁴⁰ These lines are crossed out in the 1905 libretto (*E-GRmf*: inventory number XXXV C1, reproduced in Nommick, ‘*La vida breve* entre 1905 y 1914’, 72-3).

to a faster conclusion, and the bringing forward of the Grandmother's entrance to a point immediately after Salud's death conflates two of the 'three large effects' into a single one.

It should be noted that the third of Debussy's specific recommendations for *La vida breve* did not bear fruit in the final version of the opera. Falla recorded this suggestion as:

3. Ver si es posible acortar el Intermedio.

3. See if it is possible to shorten the Intermezzo.

Clearly, he concluded that this was not after all desirable or possible.¹⁴¹

So Debussy's direct influence on Falla's first major work is palpable, though it is limited to specific local effects, improving the architectural detail of the work, but not its essential content.

¹⁴¹ Yvan Nommick argues that Falla effectively shortened this passage by moving the first 34 bars of the 1905 intermezzo to the end of Tableau 1 of the 1913 version ('*La vida breve* entre 1905 y 1914', 20). However, given that there is no division between Tableaux 1 and 2 in the final version of the opera, any audience member not in possession of a score would be unaware to which scene Falla had assigned these 34 bars, particularly as the stage is in complete darkness in both the 1905 version and the final one. So the length of this section of the work effectively remains unaltered.

Missing page

unnecessary, and that, simply by cutting this piano part, leaving only the melodic line with a chord at the beginning and another leading to 'la machine chinoise' – as Debussy said – everything would be solved. This he did, and Debussy thought it very good.¹⁴³

Manuscripts of both the original version of this song and a version lying somewhere between that and the published one are preserved at the Archivo Manuel de Falla.¹⁴⁴ Both these manuscripts have the appearance of fair copies (no doubt each represents a version of the song that he initially thought to be definitive, but with which he was later dissatisfied), though both also feature a number of later, less tidy markings which must have been made during the process of revision: most notable among these are boxes drawn around the elements that he deleted.

At first glance, the manuscript of the original version seems to be missing the middle two pages (out of four). However, it is clear that the second page was transferred directly to the later manuscript; Falla made no revisions to this section of the song, and so had no reason to copy it out again. This is not what happened to the original third page, however. The third page of the revised version does not lead directly into the original fourth page (there are a few bars missing), so Falla must have rewritten page 3 from scratch during the revision process. The original page is therefore missing, which unfortunately precludes a complete reconstruction of the original version of the song.

The relation of these manuscripts to one another is summarised in Table 3.4.1.2.i, and the first and last pages of the manuscript of the original version of this song are reproduced as Figures 3.4.1.2.i and ii respectively.

¹⁴³ Translation by the present writer. (Wagstaff's translation in PM, 72-3, is inadequate.)

¹⁴⁴ *E-GRmf*, MS XXXVIII A4 (original version); A1 (revised version). A further, intermediate version of the first line of the song also survives, among the pages of A4; Falla reused the remainder of this sheet to sketch ideas for the revised orchestration of *La vida breve*, as he did the lower part of the last page of the later version.

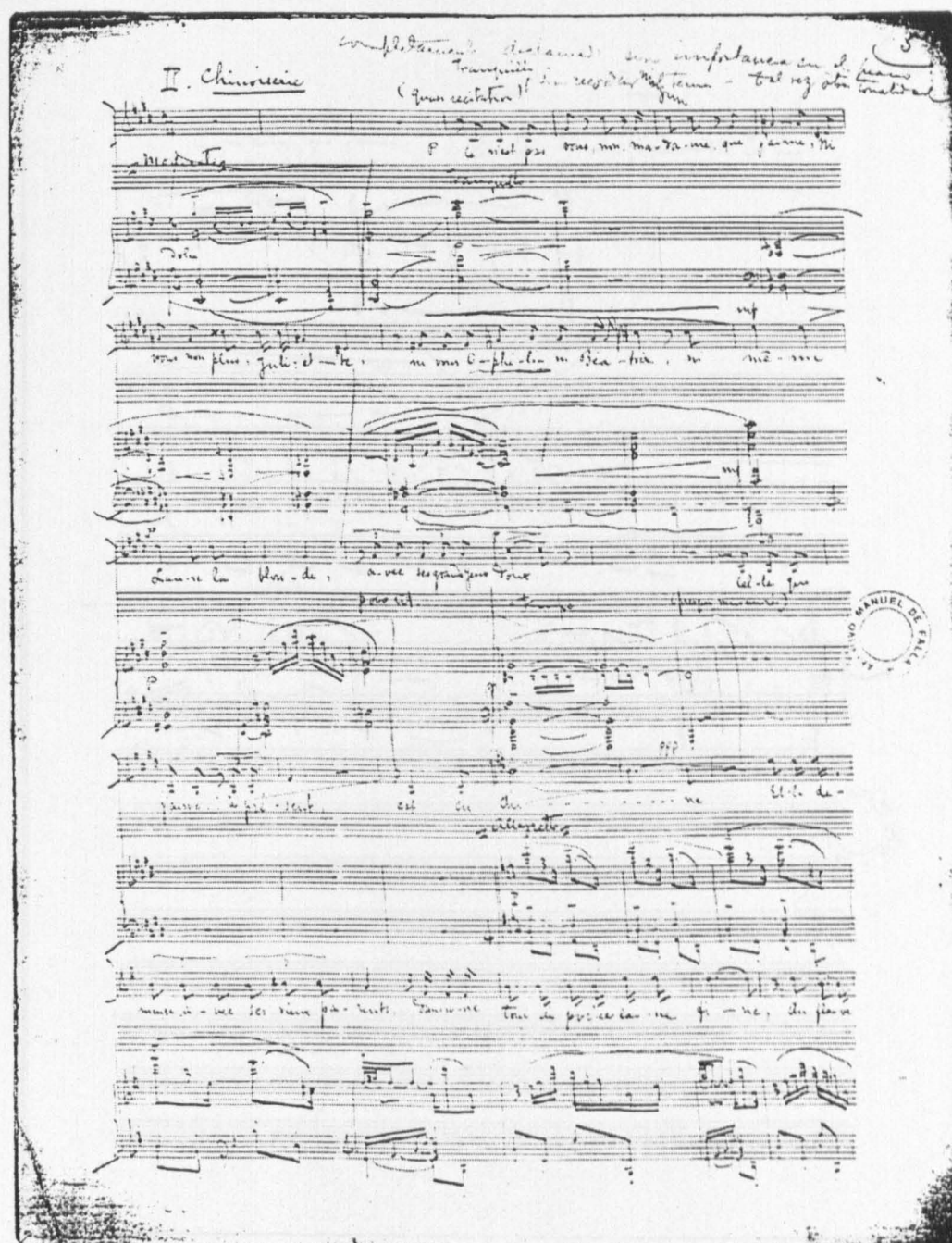


Figure 3.4.1.2.i

The first page of an early version of 'Chinoiserie' (*E-GRmf*, manuscript XXXVIII A4).

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

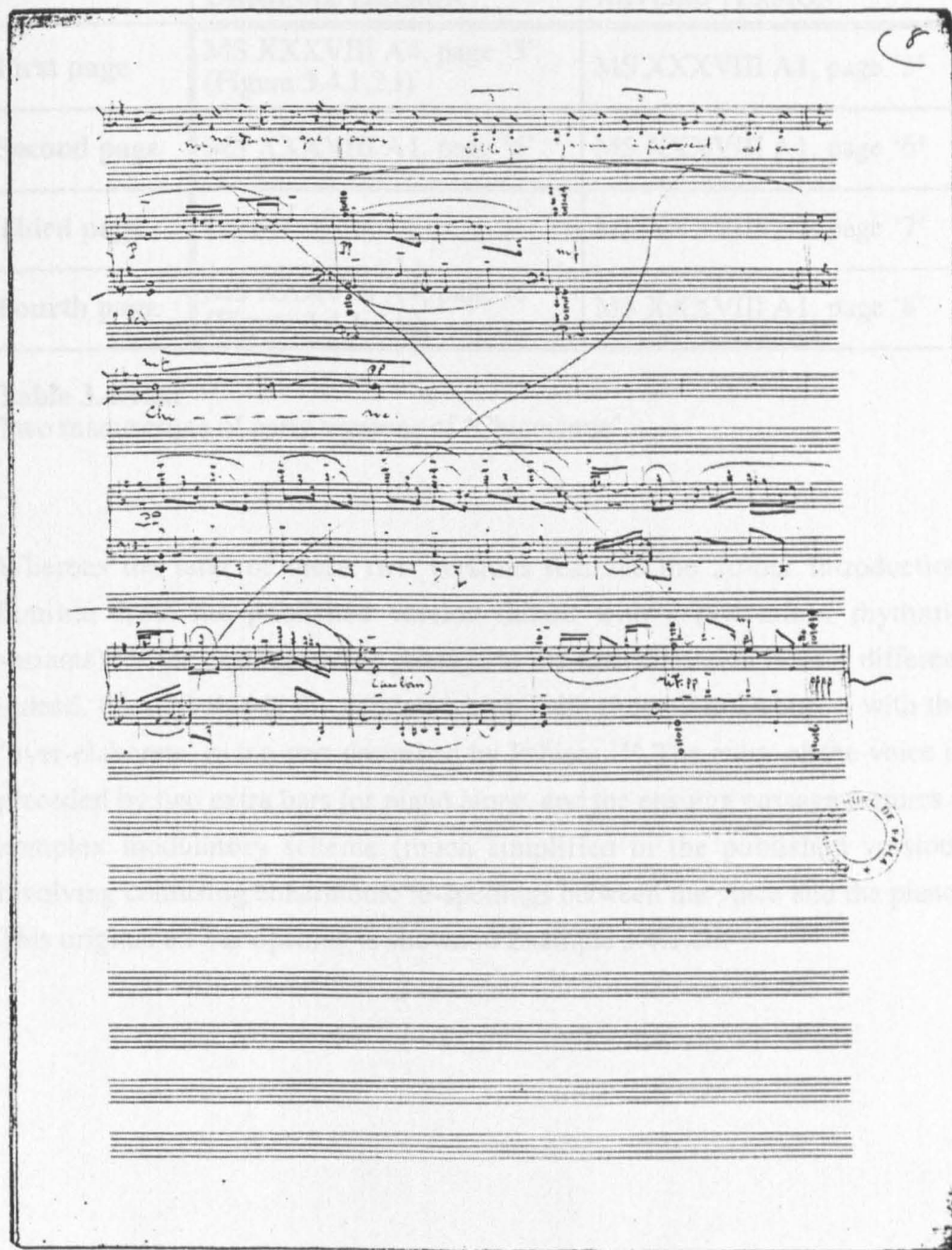


Figure 3.4.1.2.ii

The last page of an early version of 'Chinoiserie' (*E-GRmf*, manuscript XXXVIII A4).

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

	ORIGINAL VERSION	REVISED VERSION
First page	MS XXXVIII A4, page '5' (Figure 3.4.1.2.i)	MS XXXVIII A1, page '5'
Second page	MS XXXVIII A1, page '6'	MS XXXVIII A1, page '6'
Third page	Lost	MS XXXVIII A1, page '7'
Fourth page	MS XXXVIII A4, page '8' (Figure 3.4.1.2.ii)	MS XXXVIII A1, page '8'

Table 3.4.1.2.i

Two manuscripts of early versions of 'Chinoiserie'.

Whereas the later of these two versions features the 20-bar introduction familiar from the published version (albeit with a few minor rhythmic variants),¹⁴⁵ the corresponding passage in the earlier version is very different indeed. Clearly, this is the version which Falla showed to Debussy, with the 'over-elaborate' piano part described by Pahissa.¹⁴⁶ The entry of the voice is preceded by two extra bars for piano alone, and the ensuing passage features a complex modulatory scheme (much simplified in the published version) involving confusing enharmonic re-spellings between the voice and the piano. This original 22-bar opening is shown in Example 3.4.1.2.i.

¹⁴⁵ These variants are found in bars 3, 5, 7 and 18.

¹⁴⁶ PV, 79.

Moderato *Tranquillo* *p* (*quasi recitativo*)

[VOICE] *Ce n'est pas*

[PIANO] *Tranquillo* *p*

vous, non, ma - da - me, que j'ai - me, Ni vous non plus, Ju - li -

et - te, ni vous, O - phé - lia, ni Bé - a - trix, ni

Example 3.4.1.2.i
(continued overleaf)

The musical score is written for voice and piano. It consists of three systems of music.

System 1: The vocal line begins with a melody in G major (three sharps). The lyrics are "mê - me Lau - re la blon - de, a - vec ses grands yeux". The piano accompaniment starts with a series of chords in the right hand and a single note in the left hand. Dynamics include *mf* and *p*. A *poco rit.* marking is present over a triplet of eighth notes.

System 2: The vocal line continues with the lyrics "doux. — Cel - le que j'ai - me, à pré-". The piano accompaniment features a more active melody in the right hand. Dynamics include *p*, *pp*, and *ppp*. A *a tempo* marking is present. A *(presque murmuré)* marking is placed over a triplet of eighth notes.

System 3: The vocal line continues with the lyrics "sent, est en Chi - ne etc.". The piano accompaniment features a more active melody in the right hand. The tempo marking *Allegretto* is present. Dynamics include *p*.

Falla, *Trois Mélodies*, 'Chinoiserie' (early version, from *E-GRmf* manuscript XXXVIII A4), bars 1-24.

Example 3.4.1.2.i

Falla also revised the conclusion of 'Chinoiserie'. In the earlier manuscript, the song ends with a 12-bar piano postlude which places the fragmentary theme heard in the original accompaniment to the introduction side-by-side with material used in the accompaniment to the central *allegretto* section of the song. (The *allegretto* section is much the same in these manuscript versions as in the published score.) Very little of this postlude remains in the published score, though – surprisingly – the theme he omitted from the introduction does make an appearance (bars 80 to 81). (The later of the two manuscripts preserves a version of the conclusion part-way between its original and final forms: it is two bars longer than the published version.)

Originally, this conclusion was preceded by a modified and condensed reprise of the introduction to the song. (This reprise is omitted altogether in the final version.) The first few bars of the reprise have not survived (they would have been on the original third page of the manuscript), but it may safely be assumed that they comprised a setting of two lines from near the beginning of Gauthier's poem: 'Ce n'est pas vous, non, madame, que j'aime, [/] Celle que j'aime à présent, est en Chine'.

This original conclusion to 'Chinoiserie' – or as much of it as survives – is shown in Example 3.4.1.2.ii.

Pahissa asserts that Debussy did not specify exactly what changes ought to be made to the opening of the song, and he does not even mention the revisions made to its conclusion. Nevertheless, it is tempting to think that Debussy's criticism may have been more constructive than Pahissa records. There can be little doubt that the earlier of these two manuscripts was the very document that Falla had with him when he sought Debussy's approval of the song. At the top of the first page of that manuscript, Falla wrote: 'completamente declamado, sin importancia en el piano y sin recordar ningún el tema – tal vez otra tonalidad' ('completely declaimed, the piano part without importance, and without keeping anything of the theme – perhaps in a different key'). We know that he wrote down various pieces of advice that Debussy gave him, and that he tended to do this in Spanish rather than in French (see §§ 3.4.1.1 and 3.4.1.3). It is quite possible, therefore, that this memorandum is a translation

[VOICE] non, madame, que j'aime; Celle que j'aime à présent, est en

[PIANO] *p* *pp* *mf*

mf *pp*

Chi ne.

pp

(au loin)

pp rit. *pppp*

m.g.

The musical score is for a piece titled 'Chinoiserie' from 'Trois Mélodies' by Manuel de Falla. It features a voice part and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 2/4. The voice part has lyrics in French. The piano part includes various dynamic markings such as *p* (piano), *pp* (pianissimo), *mf* (mezzo-forte), *pp rit.* (pianissimo, ritardando), and *pppp* (pianississimo). There are also performance instructions like '(au loin)' (in the distance) and 'm.g.' (mezzo-giochiato). The score is divided into four systems, with the first system showing the voice and piano parts together, and the subsequent systems focusing on the piano accompaniment.

Falla, *Trois Mélodies*, 'Chinoiserie' (early version, from *E-GRmf* manuscript XXXVIII A4), last 15 bars.

Example 3.4.1.2.ii

of Debussy's specific recommendations for the improvement of this song. The published version embraces all of these changes: the piano part in the introduction is robbed of its original importance, the tonal structure of this section is much simplified, and there is only the merest trace of the theme that Falla intended to omit (and that is at the end of the song, not in the introduction itself).

There are further reasons for supposing that Debussy was closely involved with the revision of this song. Another obvious difference between the earlier and later versions lies in the rhythm of the vocal line. That of the published song approximates the rhythm of spoken French much more closely than that of the original version. A clear instance of this is in bar 8 (bar 11 of the original version), where the name 'Ophélia' is set to four syllables rather than three. Melodic changes in this vocal line serve a similar purpose in relation to spoken French: the repeated pitches and stepwise movement of the revised setting replace much wider intervals in the earlier attempt; the change is in keeping with the weak stress patterns of the French language. This kind of intervallically-static vocal writing is reminiscent of that found in *Pelléas et Mélisande*, a work then recently discovered and hugely admired by Falla. It may be that Falla turned to his score of this work for guidance. But it is equally probable that Debussy himself suggested the improvement;¹⁴⁷ he made specific recommendations about word-setting at their meeting on 10 October 1911 (see § 3.4.1.3 below).

But, even if Pahissa is accurate in reporting Debussy's advice as enigmatic, its effect was nonetheless conspicuous and far-reaching. Debussy's grounds for dissatisfaction with the original introduction were that he felt it to be out-of-place in relation to the rest of the song. Debussy's advice here, therefore, concerns unity and economy of material. The post-Romantic harmonies of the original accompaniment to the introduction, and the impressionistic way in which the melodic fragments are employed, are not in keeping with the mock-orientalism of the *Allegretto* section (the section which Debussy eloquently termed 'la machine chinoise'). The ternary form of the original version of the

¹⁴⁷ As Michael Christoforidis has observed, Falla annotated Debussy's comments on French prosody in his copy of *Monsieur Croche, antidilletante* (E-GRmf, inventory number 1552), p. 205 (Christoforidis, 'De La vida breve a Atlántida', 31).

.....

song, like a *da capo* aria with strongly contrasted A and B sections, confers equal structural importance on each section, and this sets up a conflict of style and purpose. In the final version, the opening 20 bars serve as no more than an introduction, like the recitative before an operatic aria. As a mature composer, Falla attached immense significance to the purity of his material. Perhaps this early lesson, courtesy of Debussy, is partly responsible for this.

3.4.1.3 Other advice

Not all of Debussy's advice to Falla was as precisely targeted as his suggestions for the improvement of 'Chinoiserie' and *La vida breve*. For one thing, Pahissa records that Debussy, like Dukas, advised Falla on matters of orchestration: it was from both of his French masters that he sought reassurance about his capabilities as an orchestrator shortly before the Nice premiere of *La vida breve*.¹⁴⁸ It is not known how extensive or detailed this advice may have been, but Falla did record one of Debussy's recommendations among his notes on the instruments of the orchestra.¹⁴⁹ On the page devoted to the trombones, he wrote:

Nota importante p[ar]a los 3 Tromb[one]s
La sonoridad *pp* puede emplearse *con éxito* solamente en las notas que se producen con la *coulisse corta*, o sea cuando el ejecutante no tiene que esforzar la emisión.

(Recomendación de Debussy)

Important note for the 3 trombones
A *pp* sonority may be *successfully* employed only with notes produced with the *slide kept short*; in other words, when the performer does not have to strain his breath.

(Debussy's recommendation)

Yvan Nommick has pointed to an instance of *pianissimo* writing for the three trombones in the third movement of *La Mer*.¹⁵⁰ A further instance occurs shortly after rehearsal figure 19 in the 'Fêtes' movement of *Nocturnes*, a passage to which attention is drawn by Falla's annotations on the last page of his copy of the miniature score (though that copy was printed only in 1930 or later). Nevertheless, Falla never had occasion to follow this piece of advice in

¹⁴⁸ PM, 59.

¹⁴⁹ These notes are preserved at *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7915.

¹⁵⁰ Nommick, 'La vida breve entre 1905 y 1914', 48. The passage from *La Mer* that he cites is at figure 52, bars 3-8. (There are no annotations relating to this passage in Falla's copy of the miniature score.)

his own oeuvre; the trombone is an instrument of which he made little use.¹⁵¹ But, given that Falla's notes on the clarinet, the tuba and the horn all include transcriptions of passages from works by Debussy, it may be assumed that that composer's involvement in his study of orchestration was both direct and extensive.¹⁵²

More of Debussy's advice to Falla is recorded in the handwritten document dated 10 October 1911 (already discussed in § 3.4.1.1 above).¹⁵³ Five general recommendations are listed here under the heading 'Observaciones a usar en la próxima ópera' ('Observations for use in the next opera'), of which the third – concerning the desirability of bringing an act to a conclusion as soon as possible after a major dramatic event – has already been discussed (§ 3.4.1.1). Of the remaining four, one has a striking relevance to Falla's next opera:

4. *Dos acciones paralelas[,] bien conducidas dramática y musicalmente, pueden producir un efecto de una gran novedad.*

4. *Two parallel actions, effectively realised dramatically and musically, can produce an effect of great novelty.*

This concept of 'two parallel actions' epitomises the dramatic structure of *Master Peter's Puppet Show*, consisting as it does of two concurrent storylines, one acted out by Don Quixote, Master Peter and the Trujamán, and the other performed by Don Gayferos, Melisendra, Carlo Magno and the other 'real' puppets. It is fascinating to speculate that Falla may have recalled

¹⁵¹ This is perhaps due at least partly to the shortage of slide trombonists in Spain – a situation that is evident from Falla's request to Emma Debussy for a work by her husband without trombone to be played by the Orquesta Bética de Cámara (letter from Falla to Emma Debussy, 18 March 1924, sketch preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6898; see § 3.3), and from the difficulties experienced in engaging a trombonist to join that orchestra for a performance of Stravinsky's *Pulcinella* (letter from Falla to Stravinsky, 2 January 1924; letter from Stravinsky to Falla, 18 January 1924; see Appendix 8.A).

¹⁵² Michael Christoforidis has persuasively argued that a further handwritten document – containing notes relating to the harp and timpani in particular, and orchestration and structure in general – is probably a record of Debussy's recommendations ('Manuel de Falla, Debussy and *La vida breve*', 6-9; 'De *La vida breve* a *Atlántida*', 23-4; the document is transcribed in both articles [pp. 7-8 and 23 respectively]). The document in question is preserved at *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 9001, and is reproduced in Nommick, 'La vida breve entre 1905 y 1914', 104-6.

¹⁵³ *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 9001; reproduced in Nommick, 'La vida breve entre 1905 y 1914', 69-70.

Debussy's advice of 1911 when he came to begin work on his next opera eight years later, and that that abstract idea may even have been the inspiration for the very novel dramatic form of the *Puppet Show*.

Falla may have borne another of Debussy's recommendations in mind when he came to write the *Puppet Show*:

1. Hacer por que la duración de tiempo empleada en la *palabra cantada* no sea mayor que si la *palabra fuese hablada*. Evitar los comentarios en la orquesta a l[os] que dicen los personajes siempre que produzcan *longueurs* inútiles o perjudiciales p[ar]a la continuidad de la acción. Indudablemente pueden presentarse casos especiales en los que no debe observarse dicha regla, p[er]o estos casos han de hacer *verdaderas excepciones*.

1. Arrange it so that the length of time used for the *sung word* is not greater than it would be if the *word were spoken*. Avoid orchestral commentaries on what the characters are saying, which would produce *longueurs* which would be pointless or detrimental to the continuity of the action. No doubt special cases could be found in which this rule would not need to be observed, but such cases must be *true exceptions*.

There are two distinct rules here: first, that the voices must sing at the speed of natural speech; second, that passages for orchestra alone should not disrupt the pace of the action. An examination of the scores of the *Puppet Show*, *Atlántida* and even *La vida breve* reveals that Falla's transgressions of these rules were rare, and easily justifiable as 'true exceptions'. One transgression of the first rule is the intentionally chant-like writing for the Trujamán in the *Puppet Show*, while one of the revisions that Falla made to *La vida breve* constitutes an exception to the second rule: the addition of the short orchestral passage immediately before Salud's death (Act 2, bars 909-20) not found in the 1905 score (see Example 3.4.1.1.i above). (In fact, it may have been under the influence of the example of Debussy's music that Falla made this addition; see § 3.4.2.2.)

A further piece of Debussy's advice recorded in the 10 October 1911 document may have been responsible for some of the longstanding difficulties that Falla experienced in setting *Atlántida*:

2. (orden literario). Una acción interesante no debe cortarse – a no buscar con ello y muy a sabiendas un efecto especial – pues de otro

modo la atención del público que estaba despierta y curiosa se enfría y acoge luego con un interés mucho menor la continuación de la acción que ha sido suspendida.

2. (Literary order.) An interesting action should not be cut – unless a special effect is very intentionally being sought by doing so – because otherwise the audience's attention, which had been aroused and curious, will cool and will follow with much less interest the continuation of the suspended action.

Verdaguer's poem contains a number of very major heroic actions – such as Hercules's slaying of the dragon and then of the monster Geryon – which Falla evidently found to be problematic: these actions would have been concentrated into Part 2 of the cantata, the section of the work which was least complete at the time of his death. Halffter set much of this heroic action in his 1961 version of the work – though he omitted most of his original music in the 1976 revision.

The final suggestion recorded in this document seems less pertinent to Falla's own work:

5. En una escena de gran intensidad dramática[,] lo que hay que buscar en la orquesta es formular un fondo discreto, pero nada más. Dice Debussy que, en unos casos, aunque la orquesta tocara la *Boîte à Tabac* (en modo menor (!!!)[,]) el efecto era seguro, puesto que la atención del público está fija solamente en la acción.

5. In a scene of great dramatic intensity, the orchestra must create a discreet background, and nothing more. Debussy says that, in some cases, even if the orchestra were to play *Boîte à Tabac* (in the minor (!!!)), the effect would be secure, since the audience's attention is fixed on the action alone.

Given the very colourful and vivid orchestral music which accompanies the action of the *Puppet Show*, it would be unreasonable to argue that Falla closely followed this advice.¹⁵⁴

These last three recommendations are perhaps more closely associated with Debussy's own contemporary operatic projects, namely the two operas based

¹⁵⁴ He did remember this advice, however, for he recalled it to María del Carmen, who related it in turn to André Gauthier (D, 54; note that either Falla, María del Carmen, Gauthier or Demarquez misremembered the song title 'Boîte à tabac' as 'J'ai du bon tabac'). It may be that this recommendation remained particularly vivid in Falla's mind (or in María del Carmen's) because of the humorous way in which it was divulged.

on stories by Edgar Allen Poe, *Le Diable dans le beffroi* and *La Chute de la maison Usher*.¹⁵⁵ Indeed, all of Debussy's 'Observations for use in the next opera' may have stemmed, to a greater or lesser extent, from his own struggles with these two difficult and ultimately unconsummated projects.

¹⁵⁵ See Orledge, *Debussy and the Theatre*, 102-27.

3.4.2 The example of Debussy's music

3.4.2.1 Orchestration

Of the many Debussy scores that Falla owned, *La Mer*, 'Ibéria' and *Pelléas et Mélisande* contain the lion's share of his orchestration-related markings; *Pelléas* is particularly heavily annotated. These three scores were acquired in Paris before the First World War, and it seems probable that most of the annotations were made at that time: there are far fewer such annotations in the miniature scores of *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* and *Nocturnes*, and none at all in *Danses sacrée et profane* or *Printemps*, all of which he acquired either before 1907 (and probably did not take with him to Paris) or after 1914.

Of course, this hypothesis is supported by our knowledge that Debussy gave Falla specific advice on orchestration (see § 3.4.1.3), and that the study of this aspect of composition – primarily under Dukas's guidance (see § 2.4.1.1) – occupied much of Falla's attention at this time.

The vast majority of these markings are cryptic, often consisting of no more than a cross or asterisk in the margin, drawing attention to a particular stave. Further annotations on blank pages at the back of two of these scores ('Iberia' and *Pelléas*) form lists of orchestral devices and techniques which especially interested Falla, and which he wanted to be able to access quickly and easily. While many of his markings seem insignificant or even indecipherable, a few of the devices he highlighted in these scores were to become prominent features of his orchestral technique.

Some of the instruments which received Falla's attention in these scores are the same as those which interested him in works by Dukas: the harp,¹⁵⁶ the

¹⁵⁶ Annotations in: 'Ibéria', p. 61, 75, 76 (notes on the last page refer to pp. 48, 55, 62 and 68 also); *La Mer*, pp. 23, 25 and 29.

low strings,¹⁵⁷ the bassoon,¹⁵⁸ the percussion,¹⁵⁹ and the trumpets.¹⁶⁰ The instrument that receives the most consistent attention is the French horn; the use of muted horns is annotated on no fewer than 80 pages of *Pelléas* alone (around a fifth of its total number of pages).¹⁶¹ Most of these markings, however, consist only of the letter 'S.' (for 'sourdine' or 'sordina': 'mute') jotted immediately to the left of the horn staves.

Of far greater interest are marginalia relating to the string instruments. For instance, Falla has marked a passage in 'Ibérica' in which the string instruments are divided in such a way that half of the players pluck the strings while the others bow them.¹⁶² (This was a device he also marked in his copy of Ravel's *Rapsodie espagnole*; see § 4.4). The simultaneous use of plucked and bowed strings was one of Falla's favourite colouristic devices.¹⁶³ One of the annotations on the last page of this score draws attention to the double-stopped open fifths on pages 97 and 98 of the score;¹⁶⁴ a direct analogy may be found

¹⁵⁷ Annotations in: 'Ibérica', pp. 6, 7, 19 and 90-2 (notes on the last page refer to pp. 55-6, 60, 62 and 93-5 also); *La Mer*, pp. 15, 72, 83, 100 (note on facing page 1 also refers to p. 41); *Pelléas et Mélisande*, pp. 187-92 and 235 (notes on the rear flysheet refer to pp. 54-5, 94 and 188 also).

¹⁵⁸ Annotations in: *La Mer*, pp. 72 and 100; *Pelléas et Mélisande*, pp. 7, 30, 232 (note on rear flysheet refers to pp. 3-5, 11 and 17 also).

¹⁵⁹ In 'Ibérica', a note on the last page refers to celesta part on pp. 58-9.

¹⁶⁰ In *Pelléas et Mélisande*, the trumpet lines are often annotated where these instruments play with mutes: pp. 57-9, 62, 130-3, 135, 140-3, 191, 193-6, 306, 409.

¹⁶¹ The annotations in *Pelléas et Mélisande* are on the following pages: 8, 10, 19, 20, 24, 30, 46, 54-9, 61-3, 65-7, 70-8, 82, 85, 130-40, 142-3, 164, 187-92, 207-10, 259-62, 280-1, 306-7, 322-8, 330-4, 352-4, 356-7 and 409. The notes on the rear flysheet of this score also refer to the use of the horns on pp. 3-5, 11 and 17. Other annotations relating to this instrument are found in: 'Ibérica', p. 75 (note on last page also refers to p. 61); *La Mer*, p. 83 (and possibly also pp. 23, 25 and 72).

¹⁶² This specific example is noted in 'Ibérica', pp. 90-2 (figure 57 onwards). Other annotations relating to *pizzicati* are found in: *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7 and 19 (note on last page refers to pp. 48, 55-6 and 93-5 also); *La Mer*, pp. 15 and 83; *Pelléas et Mélisande*, pp. 207-8 and 235.

¹⁶³ Selected instances of this device in Falla's oeuvre include: *La vida breve*, Act 1, bar 320; Act 2, bar 726; *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, 'En el Generalife', figure 8; *El amor brujo*, figure 3, bar 4; figure 47, bar 2; 'Canción del fuego fatuo', *passim*; *The Three-Cornered Hat*, Part 2, 'Neighbours' Dance', figure 12; *Master Peter's Puppet Show*, figure 30, bar 6; *Homenajes*, 'A Cl. Debussy', *passim*. Falla's notes for the scoring of the latter movement in document LVII B2 (to be discussed in § 3.4.3 below) indicate that he initially planned to make far greater use of the device in this work.

¹⁶⁴ 'Le Matin d'un jour de fête', figure 60, bars 4-5, and figure 61, 7-8.

in the cello part of the 'Danza del Terror' of *El amor brujo*.¹⁶⁵ A further annotation on this page alludes to the scoring of a passage in 'Les parfums de la nuit' where the cellos are at a higher pitch than the violas;¹⁶⁶ similar passages are found throughout Falla's oeuvre.¹⁶⁷ A comment pencilled on the last page of *Pelléas et Mélisande* refers to a passage in the interlude between the first and second scenes of Act 3 for the first desks only;¹⁶⁸ again, Falla made much use of the same device.¹⁶⁹ Other annotations concerning the string instruments draw attention to trills,¹⁷⁰ the use of mutes,¹⁷¹ and tremolandi:¹⁷² devices whose appearances in Falla's music are too numerous to mention.

Far more revealing than mere annotations, however, are the copious notes that Falla made on separate sheets of paper, relating to the orchestration of two of these works in particular: *La Mer* and *Pelléas et Mélisande*. Indeed, these documents indicate that *Pelléas*, more than any other work by any composer, was the score whose orchestration he studied most closely.

The documentary evidence of this very close study may be divided into two categories: notes on the use of individual instruments, and notes on blended sonorities and orchestral timbres.

Into the first category fall the various leaves of notes on instruments of the orchestra already mentioned (§§ 2.4.1.2 and 3.4.1.3), written out in Paris

¹⁶⁵ Figure 6 onwards.

¹⁶⁶ Figure 40 (page 60 of the miniature score).

¹⁶⁷ Instances include: *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, 'En el Generalife', figure 7; 'Danza lejana', figure 4; figures 17-18; *The Three-Cornered Hat*, Part 2, 'The Miller's Dance', figure 9; *Master Peter's Puppet Show*, figure 54.

¹⁶⁸ Figure 24, bars 5-6 (page 185 of the miniature score).

¹⁶⁹ Instances include: *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, 'En el Generalife', figure 3, bar 6 onwards; figure 6, bar 4 onwards; figure 11; 'En los jardines de la Sierra de Córdoba', figures 40 and 41; *El amor brujo*, figure 35, bars 18-22; figure 37 onwards; figure 57, bar 2 onwards; *The Three-Cornered Hat*, Part 1, figure 24, bar 2 onwards; figure 52, bar 2 onwards; Part 2, 'The Miller's Dance', figure 11; 'Final Dance', figure 2.

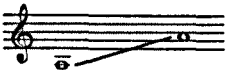
¹⁷⁰ Annotation in *La Mer*, p. 60.

¹⁷¹ Annotations in *Pelléas et Mélisande*, pp. 12, 46, 134, 187-92

¹⁷² Annotation in *La Mer*, p. 30.

before the war.¹⁷³ Notes on five instruments contain transcriptions of excerpts from – or references to – works by Debussy: these are the clarinet, the tuba, the horn, the cor anglais and the bassoon.

Pelléas et Mélisande is mentioned in the sheet dedicated to the clarinet, albeit unspecifically. The reference relates to the low register of the instrument, played at low dynamic levels; it immediately follows a transcription of a passage from Richard Strauss's commentary on Berlioz's *Traité d'orchestration* (in the French translation by Ernest Closson),¹⁷⁴ and a further, uncredited observation (perhaps Debussy's) in Spanish. In the following transcription, Strauss's words are differentiated by the use of bold type.

Dans l'octave  le timbre a quelque chose d'indifférent dans le *p* (usandolo melódicamente), de vulgaire dans le *f*

(Strauss) p. 54.

(En el *pp*, bien usado, es de gran efecto[,] o *p* y *mf*> para formar armonías) *Vease Pelléas*

In the octave [notation], the sound is rather indifferent when played *p* (used melodically), and rather vulgar when played *f*

(Strauss) p. 54.

(When used correctly, a *pp* dynamic is very effective, or *p* and *mf*> to form harmonies) *See Pelléas*

The passages Falla had in mind are hinted at in a further document entitled 'Estudio de instrumentos',¹⁷⁵ which comprises a list of passages (mainly for clarinet) from works by composers as diverse as Weber and Richard Strauss: passages that Falla intended to study. The references to Dukas's *The Sorcerer's Apprentice* in this document have already been discussed (§ 2.4.1.2; one side of the document was reproduced as Figure 2.4.1.2.i). Four passages from *Pelléas et Mélisande* are listed on the reverse on this document

¹⁷³ E-GRmf, manuscripts folder 7915.

¹⁷⁴ Richard Strauss, *Le Traité d'orchestration d'Hector Berlioz: Commentaires et adjonctions* (Leipzig, 1909), 54. Falla has omitted the word 'toutefois' ('however') and a comma from their positions immediately after the musical notation in this passage, and, in the notation itself, he has used semibreves where Strauss used crotchets. Falla's copy of this book is preserved at E-GRmf (inventory number 1243); he has marked this passage with a cross in the margin, and has pencilled a reference to the page in question on p. 1.

¹⁷⁵ E-GRmf, manuscripts folder 7915.

(Figure 3.4.2.1.i). The abbreviated references may be interpreted as follows (the page references are to the miniature score):

- Page 3, rehearsal figure 2, [clarinet and] oboe ('H' for 'hautbois').
- Page 4, [rehearsal figure 2, bars 3-5], [clarinet and] flutes ('F').
- Page 5, [rehearsal figure 3, bars 5-7], [clarinets] in middle and low registers ('medio [/] grave') [with] bassoon ('F' for 'fagot').
- Page 16, [rehearsal figure 15, bar 4], [clarinets and] flutes ('F').

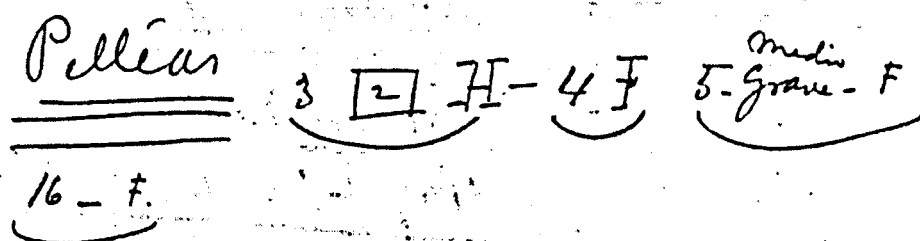


Figure 3.4.2.1.i

A detail from a list of passages scored for clarinet in *Pelléas et Mélisande* (E-GRmf, manuscripts folder 7915).

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

The third passage in this list constitutes a fine example of the type of clarinet-writing that Falla describes in the other document: the first clarinet plays exclusively within the octave specified in the Strauss quotation. The passage in question and an analogous passage from *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* (even in the same key) are shown in Example 3.4.2.1.i.

CLARINETS (sounding pitch)

pp

BASSOON 1

pp

The musical score shows two staves. The top staff is for CLARINETS (sounding pitch) and the bottom staff is for BASSOON 1. Both parts start with a *pp* (pianissimo) dynamic. The clarinet part features a melodic line with a slur over the first four measures and a final measure with a natural sign. The bassoon part features a lower melodic line with a slur over the first four measures and a final measure with a natural sign.

Debussy, *Pelléas et Mélisande*, Act 1, Scene 1, figure 3, bar 5, to figure 4, bar 1; clarinet and bassoon parts.

CLARINETS (sounding pitch)

pp

BASSOONS

p (marc.)

The musical score shows two staves. The top staff is for CLARINETS (sounding pitch) and the bottom staff is for BASSOONS. The clarinet part starts with a *pp* (pianissimo) dynamic and features a melodic line with a slur over the first three measures. The bassoon part starts with a *p (marc.)* (piano marcato) dynamic and features a lower melodic line with a slur over the first three measures.

Falla, *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, 'Danza lejana', figure 4, bars 1-3, clarinet and bassoon parts.

Example 3.4.2.1.i

The tuba is an instrument that Falla used only rarely: there are no tuba parts in *El amor brujo*, *Master Peter's Puppet Show* or the *Homenajes*. It is also an instrument which he seems to have spent little time studying: indeed, the only reference to it among his orchestration notes is a note in the top left-hand corner of one sheet of paper, observing that Debussy employs its lowest note – FF – in *Pelléas et Mélisande*, though Falla does not state where.¹⁷⁶ (The lowest note Falla himself wrote for the tuba was GG.)¹⁷⁷

The remainder of this sheet comprises observations about the French horn. Falla notes the direction 'Cuivrez sans dureté' ('*Cuivré* [but] without

¹⁷⁶ In fact, this note is found in Act 2 Scene 2, figure 35, bars 6-7 (page 132 of the miniature score).

¹⁷⁷ *La vida breve*, bars 27 and 31; *The Three-Cornered Hat*, 'Final Dance', figure 21; figure 34, bars 5-8.

harshness'), used by Debussy in *Pelléas* (but never used by Falla himself).¹⁷⁸ A reference to 'hoja 2' ('sheet 2') at this point suggests that he copied out a pertinent excerpt from that opera on the next page of his notes. Unfortunately, that page is lost, but the next three sheets – numbered '3', '4' and '5' – do survive, and consist of transcriptions of nine passages of horn-writing: eight from *La Mer* and one from *Pelléas*.¹⁷⁹ Falla has provided page number references for all but one of these excerpts; by coincidence, the unreferenced passage happens to be the horn fanfares in the third movement of *La Mer* which Debussy deleted when he prepared the second edition of the score in 1909,¹⁸⁰ but which are found in Falla's 1905 first edition. All of the passages transcribed in this document are listed in Table 3.4.2.1.i. Significantly, none of them is annotated in Falla's copies of the works in question (a further indication that the significance of such marginalia is far from clear).

Four of these ten excerpts (the first, second, fifth and tenth in the order in which they are shown in Table 3.4.2.1.i) employ low-pitched *piano* or *pianissimo* horns to darken the orchestral sonority. The single excerpt from *Pelléas et Mélisande*, for instance, sounds the first sombre note in Act 3 Scene 1: it accompanies Pelléas's entrance, following on from and contrasting with Mélisande's translucently-accompanied song, 'Mes longs cheveux descendant'. Low, quiet horns are used very effectively and for similar symbolic and expressive purposes in Salud's aria in Act 1 of *La vida breve*,¹⁸¹ and it is a sonority used in most of Falla's later works.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ In *Pelléas et Mélisande*, this direction is found at figure 36, bar 2, of Act 1 Scene 3 (page 47 of the miniature score).

¹⁷⁹ These three pages have been reproduced in Nommick, 'La vida breve entre 1905 y 1914', 108-10, and are discussed in *ibid.*, 48-9.

¹⁸⁰ 'Dialogue du vent et de la mer', figure 59, bars 4-7 (page 125 of the miniature score). For a discussion of Debussy's removal of this passage in the course of the 1909 revision, see Simon Trezise, *Debussy: La Mer* (Cambridge, 1994), 16-17.

¹⁸¹ Specifically: *La vida breve*, Act 1, bars 288-92 and 306-9.

¹⁸² For instance: *La vida breve*, Act 1, bars 577-8, 721-6 and 736-41; *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, 'En los jardines de la Sierra de Córdoba', figure 43; *El amor brujo*, figures 1-2; *Master Peter's Puppet Show*, figure 94, bars 5-6.

WORK	MOVEMENT	PASSAGE	PARTS TRANSCRIBED	NOTES
<i>La Mer</i>	'Jeux de vagues'	Figure 19, bars 3-4 (page 37)	Horns 2 and 4	Also referenced are similar passages at figure 19, bars 7-8 (page 38), and at figure 33, bars 1-3 and 5-7 (pages 66-7).
		Figure 39, bar 13, to figure 40, bar 2 (page 78)	Horn 4	Continuation of this passage up to figure 41 (pages 78-9) referenced also.
	'Dialogue du vent et de la mer'	Figure 47, bars 11-12 (page 95)	All horns	
		Figure 49, bars 3-6 (page 98)	All horns, then horns 1 and 3	Incorrectly attributed to horns 1 and 3 only throughout.
		Figure 54, bars 3-8 (pages 107-8)	Horns 2 and 4	
		Figure 55, bars 13-16 (page 114)	Horn 1	Cor anglais part (comprising the principal melody) transcribed also.
		Figure 57, bars 9-10 (page 119)	Horns 1 and 2	
		Figure 59, bars 4-7 (page 125) (1905 edition only)	Horns 1 and 3	Derivation of this passage not referenced. Falla has incorrectly attributed this figure to all four horns.
		Figure 63, bars 5-7 (page 137)	All horns	Trumpet and trombone parts transcribed also.
<i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i>	Act 3 Scene 1	Figure 4, bar 1 (page 154)	Horns 2 and 4	

Table 3.4.2.1.i

Passages for the horns from *La Mer* and *Pelléas et Mélisande* transcribed by Falla among his notes on orchestration (*E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7915). Page numbers refer to the miniature scores in Falla's possession (*E-GRmf*, inventory numbers 1141 and 1142).

Three of the examples transcribed in this document feature distinctive melodic figures for the horns; two of them make extensive use of articulation

markings.¹⁸³ Falla liked to make use of the horn as a melody instrument. The three melodic figures he transcribed are reproduced in Example 3.4.2.1.ii, along with analogous excerpts from his own works.

The three remaining examples of Debussy's horn-writing transcribed in this document – all of them from the last movement of *La Mer* – illustrate special instrumental effects. One passage (the penultimate one listed in Table 3.4.2.1.i) is the very last chord of that work: a major triad, played on the horns, trumpets and trombones, and ornamented with a trill on the fifth of that triad in the first and third horn parts. Falla never duplicated this distinctive colouristic effect, though he approaches it in several *tutti* chords in *La vida breve* with trills in the woodwind parts.¹⁸⁴ The other two passages feature stopped notes. In one of them (the seventh in the list), the stopped note is accented, sustained, and begins with a rhythmical anticipation in the form of a grace note. The other excerpt (the third in the list) consists of a short melodic figure for the second and fourth horns, punctuated by a stopped chord, *forte*, from all four horns. Falla was partial to stopped horn notes: they are used to great effect in almost all of his orchestral works.¹⁸⁵ The closest analogues of both of these excerpts are found in *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* (Example 3.4.2.1.iii) – though neither device is reproduced exactly.

¹⁸³ Yvan Nommick has noted a certain similarity between one of these passages (the eighth listed in Table 3.4.2.1.i: the one beginning shortly after rehearsal figure 59 of 'Dialogue du vent et de la mer', and omitted in post-1905 editions) and the passage in *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* beginning at figure 19 of 'En el Generalife' (Nommick, 'La vida breve entre 1905 y 1914', 49, n. 114). This similarity has little to do with the horn-writing, however: the resemblance lies in the high-pitched *tremolo* violins and violas, and in the melodic similarities between the woodwind parts of the two passages.

¹⁸⁴ For instance: Act 1, bars 532-6; Act 2, bars 318-32.

¹⁸⁵ Examples: *La vida breve*, Part 1, bar 382; *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, 'Danza lejana', figure 12, bars 5-8; *El amor brujo*, figure 1, bars 13-16; *The Three-Cornered Hat*, Part 1, figure 10, bars 11-16; *Master Peter's Puppet Show*, figure 76, bars 4-8.



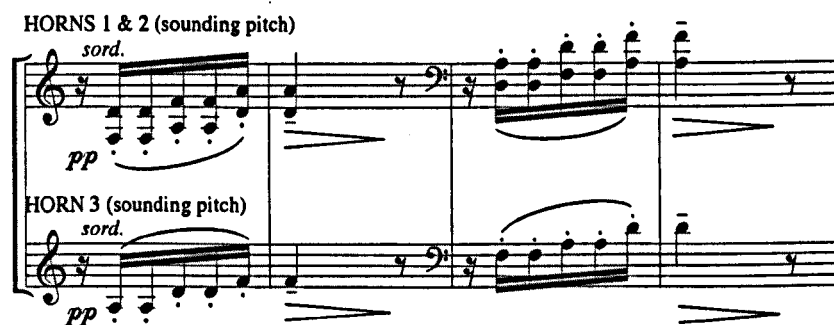
Debussy, *La Mer*, 'Dialogue du vent et de la mer', figure 49, bars 3-8.



Falla, *The Three-Cornered Hat*, Part 1, figure 20, bars 1-5.



Debussy, *La Mer*, 'Dialogue du vent et de la mer', figure 55, bars 13-16.



Falla, *La vida breve*, Act 1, bars 695-8.



Debussy, *La Mer*, 'Dialogue du vent et de la mer', figure 59, bars 4-7 (omitted in the 1909 and later editions).



Falla, *Master Peter's Puppet Show*, figure 51, bars 1-5.

Example 3.4.2.1.ii

HORNS 1 & 2 (sounding pitch)



Debussy, *La Mer*, 'Dialogue du vent et de la mer',
figure 57, bars 9-10.

HORN 1 (sounding pitch)



Falla, *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*,
'En el Generalife', figure 2, bars 5-6.



Debussy, *La Mer*, 'Dialogue du vent et de la mer', figure 47, bars 11-12.



Falla, *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, 'Danza lejana', figure 11, bars 9-12.

Example 3.4.2.1.iii

References to Debussy's use of the cor anglais and the bassoon are found on one page of a large folded sheet of manuscript paper (the other pages, containing transcriptions in full score from *Pelléas et Mélisande*, are discussed

below).¹⁸⁶ The page is headed ‘Estudios de orquesta (violín)’ (‘Orchestral studies (violin)’’) (Figure 3.4.2.1.ii), and it has already been discussed in relation to Dukas (§ 2.4.1.2), since it contains an excerpted passage for bassoon from that composer’s Symphony. Also quoted on this page are six further passages from *Pelléas et Mélisande*: two for cor anglais and four for bassoon. These passages are listed in Table 3.4.2.1.ii.

INSTRUMENT SOURCE OF EXCERPT	
Cor anglais	Act 2 Scene 3, figure 41, bar 4 (page 143)
	Ditto, figure 42, bars 3-4 (page 145)
Bassoon	Act 1 Scene 1, figure 13, bars 8-9 (page 13)
	Act 1 Scene 1, figure 1, bars 1-2 (page 2)
	Act 2 Scene 2, figure 27, bar 6 (page 118): bassoon 1 only
	Act 4 Scene 2, figure 22, bars 1-2 (page 295)

Table 3.4.2.1.ii
Passages from *Pelléas et Mélisande* transcribed by Falla in a document headed ‘Estudios de orquesta (violín)’ (*E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7916). Page numbers refer to the miniature score.

The cor anglais plays a role as important as that of the other woodwind instruments in *La vida breve*, *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* and *The Three-Cornered Hat*, all of which feature important melodies scored for the middle and upper registers of that instrument:¹⁸⁷ exactly the same registers employed by Debussy in these passages from *Pelléas*.

Falla also closely associated the cor anglais with the bassoon, and it is significant that his notes on Debussy’s use of each of these instruments should be found on the same sheet of paper. The two instruments are grouped together in many of Falla’s orchestral textures, most often using the lower registers of the instruments, but occasionally also in higher ones. It is significant, for instance, that both instruments have statements of the main

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E-GRmf, manuscripts folder 7916.

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Examples include: *La vida breve*, Act 1, bars 332-5; *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, ‘En el Generalife’, figure 19, bars 5-8; *The Three-Cornered Hat*, Part 1, figure 5.

[illegible]

Figure 3.4.2.1.ii

Falla's notes on the cor anglais and the bassoon (*E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7916).

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theme of the second movement of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, in very similar registers. As may be seen in Example 3.4.2.1.iv, something of the coarse-edged quality of this figure may be found in extracts from *Pelléas et Mélisande* that he copied out in this document.

Falla, *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, 'Danza lejana':

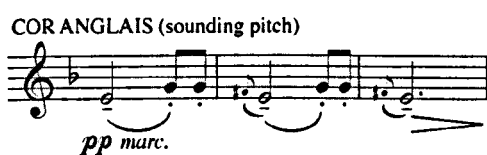
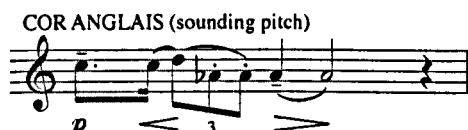


figure 1, bars 1-3.



figure 14, bars 1-3.

Debussy, *Pelléas et Mélisande*:



Act 2 Scene 3, figure 41, bar 4.



Act 1 Scene 1, figure 1, bars 1-2.

Example 3.4.2.1.iv

Like the excerpt from Dukas's Symphony discussed in § 2.4.1.2, all of these Debussian passages for bassoon are scored for the instrument's high register. The most unusual extract is the last one, in which (as Falla notes) the bassoons (already at a high pitch) are doubled by the oboes an octave higher. This passage is shown in Example 3.4.2.1.v, alongside a similar one from *The Three-Cornered Hat* involving also the flutes.



Debussy, *Pelléas et Mélisande*,
Act 4 Scene 2, figure 22, bars 1-2,
oboe and bassoon parts only.



Falla, *The Three-Cornered Hat*,
Part 1, figure 10, bars 1-2,
flute, oboe and bassoon parts only.

Example 3.4.2.1.v

Debussy's name appears in Falla's notes on one further instrument: the trombone. The document in question is that discussed earlier (§ 3.4.1.3), in which is recorded a suggestion credited to Debussy himself. Given this demonstration of Debussy's direct involvement in Falla's study of the art of instrumentation, it is distinctly possible that he also guided the study of his own works to which these documents attest. Moreover, it may be that more of the comments recorded in them are paraphrases of Debussy's own words.

This hypothesis is especially credible in relation to the documents which fall into the second of the two categories outlined a few paragraphs ago. In these documents, Falla has copied out entire passages from *Pelléas et Mélisande* in full score, and these transcriptions are strewn with descriptions of the sonorous effects achieved in each passage.

One group of such documents consists of several large folded sheets of manuscript paper, across various pages of which are transcribed ten lengthy passages from *Pelléas et Mélisande*: 25 pages of handwritten music in total,

comprising 333 bars of Debussy's opera.¹⁸⁸ Only five of these passages are accompanied by Falla's annotations, and from this it is clear that he did not copy them out specifically in order to create a 'blank form' for his comments. Nor is it likely that he transcribed them from somebody else's copy of the score at some point before he had obtained his own; this is evident from an annotation at the end of one of the excerpts: 'estudiar a la vista el resto' ('study the rest at sight').

Clearly, Falla recognised the physical act of transcribing as a valuable exercise in itself: a means of entering into intimate union with Debussy's work. This is evident from the fact that one passage – Act 3 Scene 1, figure 24, bars 1-6 – is copied out twice: something he is unlikely to have been done accidentally, given the time, concentration and care involved. Indeed, these are not the only instances of Falla copying out passages of Debussy's music for no apparent reason other than as a means of studying it: transcriptions of two passages from the String Quartet survive among the sketches for the *Four Spanish Pieces* (see § 3.4.2.2).

There can be no doubt that it was the orchestration of these passages from *Pelléas et Mélisande* which was of most interest to Falla. It is significant, for instance, that four of these ten excerpts are taken from the purely orchestral interludes which link the scenes of the opera;¹⁸⁹ in the other six excerpts, the voice lines are omitted. Moreover, almost all of Falla's comments on these pages relate to matters of orchestration and sonority. (The exceptions comprise one comment about internal construction of a particular chord, and another on Debussy's use of the whole-tone scale; these are examined in § 3.4.2.2.)

It may be demonstrated that the exercise was carried out during Falla's years of residence in Paris, when he was studying orchestration under the direction

¹⁸⁸ *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7916. The page headed 'Estudios de orquesta (violín)' discussed above, on which Falla has transcribed excerpts for the bassoon and the cor anglais from works by Debussy and Dukas, is interleaved with these documents. Further pages feature transcribed excerpts, in full score, from Wagner's *The Mastersingers of Nuremburg* and Rimsky-Korsakov's *Conte féérique*.

¹⁸⁹ The interludes in question are those between: Act 3, Scenes 1 and 2; ditto, Scenes 2 and 3; and Act 4, Scenes 2 and 3. The relevant passages in the manuscripts are those listed second, third, fourth and sixth in Table 3.4.2.1.ii.

of Debussy and Dukas. A later date is precluded by the way in which sketches for the re-orchestration of *La vida breve* are pencilled in on blank staves of these pages (an instance of Falla's economical re-use of paper); it is clear that the passages from *Pelléas* (which are much neater and in ink) were copied first. An earlier date is impossible because the paper was purchased in Paris.¹⁹⁰

Of course, this evidence accords with the hypothesis that these documents are closely associated with Debussy's direct advice on the subject of orchestration: it may have been Debussy who recommended the procedure of transcription as an aid to learning, and it may even have been he who suggested the passages from *Pelléas* that Falla studied.¹⁹¹ It is feasible, therefore, that some of the comments in these pages were originally Debussy's own. One such comment describes the string writing at figure 24 of Act 3 Scene 1 of Debussy's opera as 'tenidos; efecto *vibrato*' ('held; *vibrato* effect'). Perhaps Debussy told Falla that this was the effect he wished for: there are certainly no directions in the score that this is how the passage is to be played. (Alternatively, the comment may be a description of how this passage was played at one of the performances of the opera that Falla attended in Paris [see § 3.3].)

These ten passages transcribed from *Pelléas et Mélisande* are listed in Table 3.4.2.1.iii, in the order in which they appear in the printed score; the manuscripts themselves are out of sequence, and it is impossible to establish the order in which the transcriptions were made. Falla's annotations are also reproduced in this table.

¹⁹⁰ It is stamped 'H. LARDESNAULT [?] ED. BELLAMY SR. [?] PARIS'.

¹⁹¹ It is also possible that this advice was Dukas's. This hypothesis was suggested in § 2.1.1.

EXCERPT	FALLA'S COMMENTS	OBSERVATIONS
Act 1 Scene 1, bar 1 to figure 12, bar 3 (pages 1-12 of the miniature score)		
Act 3 Scene 1, figure 22, bar 7, to figure 24, bar 6 (pages 184-5)	[This excerpt is headed:] Estudio de colorido Study of colouring	
	[Above string parts in bar 12 of this excerpt (figure 24, bar 1):] tenidos; efecto <i>vibrato</i> held; <i>vibrato</i> effect	Curiously, there are no markings in the score to indicate that these notes are to be played <i>vibrato</i> ; see discussion above.
	[Below cello and bassoon staves in bar 16 of this excerpt (figure 24, bar 5):] Bajo alejado Distanced bass	Here, the bass note is a 10th lower than the next lowest note in the chord. Most other notes are much higher.
	[After the excerpt, in the right-hand margin:] A notar el choque por resolución de la nota melódica del cor. con el <i>re</i> tenido en los 2ds v.[iolines] (compás 4) y las 2 8as entre los 2ds v.[iolines] y v.[iolon]cellos. To note: the unison resulting from the resolution of the horn's melodic note with the D held in the second violins (bar 4) and the two [sets of] octaves between the second violins and cellos.	The bar to which Falla refers is 'compás 4' ('bar 4') is figure 24, bar 4. (In fact, the note shared by the horn and the second violins at this point is D \sharp .) Falla has bracketed the consecutive octaves between the second violins and cellos in figure 24, bars 3-4.
Ditto, figure 24, bars 1-13 (pages 185-6)		
Act 3 Scene 2, figure 31, bar 1, to figure 32, bar 2 (pages 192-4)		

Table 3.4.2.1.iii (continued overleaf)

EXCERPT	FALLA'S COMMENTS	OBSERVATIONS
Act 4 Scene 2, figure 19, bar 10, to figure 22, bar 5 (pages 287-96)	[In left-hand margin, before bar 9 of this excerpt (figure 20, bar 3):] A observar una nota (fa \sharp) recargada sobre las demás To be observed: a note (F \sharp) overloading the others	There are only two pitches in this chord: F \sharp and D. The former is played on nine different instruments, the latter on just three.
	[Above each of bars 17-19 of this excerpt (figure 20, bars 11-13):] gamme par tons [/] id. [/] id. whole-tone scale [/] ditto [/] ditto	
	[At the end of the excerpt:] Fin – estudiar a la vista el resto End – study the rest at sight	
Ditto, figure 24, bar 1, to letter D, bar 8 (pages 299-306)		In bars 1-8 of this excerpt (figure 24, bars 1-8), Falla has noted various unisons between the flutes, oboes, cor anglais, clarinets, bassoons, horns, trumpets, violas and cellos.
Act 4 Scene 3, figure 35, bar 3, to figure 37, bar 8 (pages 320-4)		
Ditto, figure 38, bar 1, to figure 42, bar 4 (pages 324-31)	[In right-hand margin, after bar 15 of this excerpt (figure 39, bar 5):] A notar en el 2o compás el trémolo en dos partes solas [A notar en el] 4o [compás] la división de la cuerda (2ds viol[ine]s divid[o]s contra viola unif[son]) (Harmonia en la cuerda y melodía en la moderna) To note in the second bar: the <i>tremolo</i> in two solo parts To note in the fourth bar: the division of the strings (second violins, divided, against unison violas) (Harmony in the strings and melody in the woodwind)	The bars to which Falla refers are figure 39, bar 3, and figure 39, bar 5 respectively. In bar 3, only the violas and cellos have <i>tremolandi</i> .
	[After this excerpt, in the right margin:] A observar la formación de un acorde del que forma parte real una apogatura, cuya resolución es una nota extraña al acorde (véase compás 7 x) To be observed: the formation of a chord of which a real part consists of an <i>appoggiatura</i> , whose resolution is a note foreign to the chord (see bar 7 x)	The bar to which Falla refers in figure 41, bar 7. He has marked the fourth crotchet beat of this bar with a cross. The note he analyses as an <i>appoggiatura</i> is undoubtedly the C \sharp in the first violins and first cellos; its resolution – B \sharp – completes a chord of the diminished seventh.

Table 3.4.2.1.iii (continued overleaf)

EXCERPT	FALLA'S COMMENTS	OBSERVATIONS
Act 4 Scene 3, figure 47, bar 1, to figure 49, bar 1 (pages 341-4)	[Above the first note of this excerpt in the horn staves:] choque con V.[iolon]c.[helos] y C.[or] a.[nglais], explicable por el registro agudo del V.[iolon]c.[helos] cellos and cor anglais in unison, explicable by the high register of the cellos	Both cellos and cor anglais have a \sharp '.
	[In between the harp staves at the beginning of this excerpt:] Harmonia llena, sin duplicación exacta de los demás instrumentos Full harmony, without exactly duplicating the other instruments	
Ditto, figure 49, bar 20, to figure 50, bar 14 (pages 347-9)		

Table 3.4.2.1.iii
Lengthy excerpts from *Pelléas et Mélisande* that Falla copied in full score in manuscripts preserved at *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7916. Voice parts are omitted from all excerpts.

Many of the devices he noted in these documents resurface in his own works – though usually in very modified forms. One of the most striking parallels is found in the two composers’ use of *tremolando* strings. This device is especially prevalent in *La vida breve* and in the first two movements of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*; a passage from the second movement of the latter work bears a particularly distinct resemblance to a passage from Act 4 Scene 3 of *Pelléas et Mélisande* which Falla transcribed in these documents (see Example 3.4.2.1.vi).

FLUTES
pp

CLARINETS
pp

BASSOONS
pp

HORNS
pp

VIOLINS
div.
pp

VIOLAS
pp

CELLOS
pp

Debussy, *Pelléas et Mélisande*,
Act 4 Scene 3, figure 38,
bars 7-8 (voices omitted; all
instruments at sounding pitch).

FLUTES
pp cresc. poco a poco

PICCOLO
pp cresc. poco a poco

COR ANGLAIS
pp cresc. poco a poco

BASSOONS
pp cresc. poco a poco

VIOLINS
[div. sul pont.]
pp cresc. poco a poco

VIOLAS
[div. sul pont.]
pp cresc. poco a poco

CELLOS
[div. sul pont.]
pp cresc. poco a poco

Falla, *Nights in the Gardens of
Spain*, 'Danza lejana',
figure 19, bars 3-5
(all instruments except
piccolo at sounding pitch).

Example 3.4.2.1.vi

In another document, Falla transcribed and commented on a shorter two-bar extract from this same passage from *Pelléas* (this shorter extract is Act 4 Scene 3, figure 38, bars 7-8).¹⁹² The document in question is a single sheet of manuscript paper headed '*Estudios de orquesta* (El quinteto de cuerda)' ('*Orchestral studies* (The quintet of string instruments)'), on which Falla has also copied out four excerpts from *The Mastersingers of Nuremburg*.¹⁹³ All of these passages are transcribed in full score (although, again, the vocal lines are omitted), and Falla has added descriptive and explanatory comments to two of them. The example from *Pelléas* (which comes last in the document) is associated with the third and fourth Wagner excerpts: together, these three passages are headed '*Sonoridad luminosa*' ('Bright sonority'), and each one is similarly scored for *tremolando* violins and violas and *legato* winds.

The fourth Wagner example and the Debussy one are especially alike. Next to them, Falla has written the following lengthy commentary:¹⁹⁴

Observe en este ejemplo como (a excepción del Cor 4 que está al unísono del alto) los demás viento duplican exactamente la cuerda pero en 8a baja, aunque en la audición resultan al unísono, en razón a los registros.

Puede decirse de este caso que los *vientos* son tenores y la cuerda (v[ioline]s 1 [y] 2) sopranos, o, también, que los primeros son 8 *pies* y los segundos 4 *pies*.

Para usar de esta procedimiento es precio que, como en estos 2 ejemplos, los grupos de *cuerda y viento* estén completos aisladamente y que la duplicación sea exacta.

Note in this example how (with the exception of Horn 4 which is in unison with the violas) the other wind instruments double the strings exactly, but an octave lower, although in performance they sound the same, because of the registers.

¹⁹² Page 326 in the miniature score.

¹⁹³ *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7916. The reverse side of this document (which features the fourth excerpt from *The Mastersingers of Nuremburg* and the excerpt from *Pelléas*) has been reproduced in Nommick, '*La vida breve* entre 1905 y 1914', 117; Falla's annotations are transcribed in *ibid.*, 60.

¹⁹⁴ Though it appears in the original document that the first two paragraphs apply to the Wagner example and the final paragraph to the Debussy, it is obvious from the meaning that all three paragraphs apply to both examples.

It may be said of this example that the *wind instruments* are tenors and the strings (violins 1 and 2) sopranos, or, alternatively, that the former are *8-foots* and the latter *4-foots*.

To use this procedure it is essential that, as in these two examples, the groups of *strings* and *winds* are complete in themselves, and that the duplication should be exact.

In fact, although there are a great many passages for winds and *tremolando* strings in Falla's works, there are very few in which these rules of octave separation are strictly observed.¹⁹⁵ Nevertheless, this document further demonstrates the profound study and analysis to which he subjected Debussy's orchestral writing.

The third document to be discussed in this category is in many ways the most interesting. It consists of two large sheets of manuscript paper, on three sides of which Falla has copied out short excerpts from *Pelléas et Mélisande*, in full score, providing descriptive remarks on each one (Figures 3.4.2.1.iii, iv and v).¹⁹⁶ There are sixteen excerpts in total (six on the first page, six on the second, and four on the third), all of them transcribed in full score but with the vocal parts omitted. The first page is headed 'Ejemplos tomados de *Pelleas y Melisande*' ('Examples taken from *Pelléas et Mélisande*'); the excerpts on this page all feature highly distinctive and unusual timbres. The second page is headed 'Acentos' ('Accents'), and the third 'Estudio de acordes' ('Study of chords'). The provenance of each excerpt is shown in Table 3.4.2.1.iv, along with transcriptions and translations of Falla's comments on each.

¹⁹⁵ These rules *are* enforced (albeit very briefly), however, in the first act of *La vida breve*, each time the chorus sings the words 'en vez de nacer martillo', viz. bars 126-7 and 342-3.

¹⁹⁶ *E-GRmf*, MS XLIX A6. This document has been discussed briefly in Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla, Debussy and *La vida breve*', 9, and *Id.*, 'De *La vida breve* a *Atlántida*', 25. An abridged translation of Falla's textual observations is published in the first of these two documents (p. 11-12, n. 23); however, the original Spanish text remains unpublished.

[illegible]

Figure 3.4.2.1.iii

The first page of a three-page document consisting of excerpts from *Pelléas et Mélisande* transcribed and commented upon by Falla (*E-GRmf*, manuscript XLIX A6).

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(7) *Final del concierto - Reducción de canto
por medio de los instrumentos de viento (Cors B.)*

(8) *Accento. Entradas de canto recitativo y fuga de viento (Cors B.)*

(9) *Accento de los Cors solo (Cantata)*

(10) *Accento de los Cors.*

(11) *Accento. Cors B. solo*

(12) *Accento de los Cors solo*

Figure 3.4.2.1.iv

The second page of a three-page document consisting of excerpts from *Pelléas et Mélisande* transcribed and commented upon by Falla (*E-GRmf*, manuscript XLIX A6).

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Estudo de acorde.

(13)

Fl.

Cl.

Ob.

Corn.

Tru.

(14) Acordes em Vinte

Fl.

Cl.

Ob.

Corn.

Tru.

(15) Acordes em Vinte

Fl.

Cl.

Ob.

Corn.

Tru.

Figure 3.4.2.1.v

The third page of a three-page document consisting of excerpts from *Pelléas et Mélisande* transcribed and commented upon by Falla (*E-GRmf*, manuscript XLIX A6).

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EXCERPT	FALLA'S COMMENTS
Page 1: 'Ejemplos tomados de <i>Pelleas y Melisande</i> '	
Act 3 Scene 4, figure 47, bars 3-5 (page 223) [incorrectly ascribed by Falla to page 232]	(1) Cuerda sola (Son[ori]dad concentrada) (1) Strings alone (Concentrated sonority)
Ditto, figure 48, bar 8, to figure 49, bar 2 (pages 224-5)	(2) Cl[arine]tes. unís[onos.] 1 v.[iolon]c.[ello] solo. Son[oridad]. concentrada (alto cromático) (2) Clarinets [in] unison [with] 1 solo cello. Concentrated sonority (chromatic viola)
Ditto, figure 49, bars 3-6 (page 225)	(3) Cuerda y 1 cor. (sonoridad <i>légère</i>) (3) Strings and 1 horn. (<i>légère</i> [= light] sonority)
Ditto, figure 55, bars 1-4 (pages 234-5)	(4) (Sonoridad <i>légère</i>) [/] Cuerda y mad[er]a con nota ten[i]da de Cor (4) (<i>Légère</i> [= light] sonority) [/] Strings and woodwind with a [single] note held by the horn
Ditto, figure 55, bars 5-6 (page 235)	(5) Invasión de sonoridades (5) Invasion of sonorities
Act 1 Scene 1, figure 3, bars 5-6 (page 5) (double bass line omitted)	(6) Sonoridad blanda y misteriosa. Línea melódica en los v.[iolon]c.[ellos] sobre acordes tenidos de 2 cl.[arinetes] y 1 B.[asson] (6) Soft and mysterious sonority. Melodic line in the cellos above chords held by 2 clarinets and 1 bassoon
Page 2: 'Acentos'	
Act 1 Scene 1, figure 2, bars 6-7 (page 4) (oboe, cor anglais and clarinet lines omitted)	(7) Sonoridad concentrada. Producción de acentos por medio de los instrumentos de viento (Cors y B[assons].) (7) Concentrated sonority. Accents produced by means of the wind instruments (horns and bassoons)
Ditto, figure 15, bars 8-9 (page 17)	(8) El caso contrario. La cuerda acentua y refuerza el viento (Cors y B[assons])[.] El c.[ontra]b.[ajo] en pizz refuerza el bajo realizado por un B.[asson] a la 8a. (8) The opposite case. The strings accent and reinforce the wind (horns and bassoons). The double bass, in <i>pizzicato</i> , reinforces the bass [line] played by one bassoon at the octave.
Act 1 Scene 3, figure 36, bars 6-7 (page 48)	(9) Acentos de los <i>cors</i> sobre la cuerda (9) Accents from the horns, above the strings
Ditto, figure 45, bars 5-6 (page 66)	(10) Acentos de los <i>Cors</i> . (10) Accents from the horns.

Table 3.4.2.1.iv (continued overleaf)

EXCERPT	FALLA'S COMMENTS
Page 2: 'Acentos' (continued)	
Act 2 Scene 2, figure 22, bars 1-2 (page 111)	(11) Acentos (cors y B[asson]s sobre cuerda) (11) Accents (horns and bassoons above the strings)
Act 1 Scene 1, figure 9, bars 2-3 (pages 9-10)	(12) Acentos de los Cors sobre la cuerda. (12) Accents from the horns, above the strings.
Page 3: 'Estudio de acordes'	
Act 1 Scene 3, figure 40, bar 7 (page 54)	(13) Notese en éste acorde como es completamente diferente la disposición del acorde en cada grupo, por cuya razón la sonoridad resulta <i>transparente</i> , cosa que no ocurriría si los dos grupos tocasen al unísono, o aun sin tocar al unísono tuviesen la misma disposición. Obsérvese como la 3a del acorde se encuentra en el grave y el medio, en el viento, y en el agudo, en la cuerda. (13) Note in this chord how the arrangement of each chord is different in each group; for this reason the sonority is <i>transparent</i> , which it would not be if the two groups were to play in unison, or if they were to be arranged in the same way even without playing in unison. Observe how the third of the chord is found in the low and medium [registers] in the wind, and in the high [register] in the strings.
Ditto, figure 40, bar 10 (page 54)	(14) Obsérvese el cambio de voces entre las Fl[autas] y los Ha.[utbois] así como el escalamiento de sonoridades. Nótese también como las notas que aparecen dobladas al unísono son las tónicas y dominantes (C[or] y C.[or] a.[nglais]) (Cl.[arinete] y Ha.[utbois]) (14) Observe the exchange of voices between the flutes and the oboes, as well as the increase of sonorities. Note also how the notes that appear to be doubled at the unison are the tonics and the dominants (horn and cor anglais) (clarinet and oboe)
Ditto, figure 40, bar 5 (page 53)	(15) Acorde en la madera con el bajo doblado por los v.[iolon]c.[ellos] y c.[ontra]b.[ajos] (15) Chord in the woodwind with the bass doubled by cellos and double basses
Act 2 Scene 2, figure 17, bars 12-13 (pages 100-1)	(16) (Id. id.) (16) (As above)

Table 3.4.2.1.iv

Excerpts from *Pelléas et Mélisande* transcribed by Falla, in full score, on two sheets of manuscript paper (E-GRmf, MS XLIX A6), and Falla's accompanying comments. Page numbers refer to the miniature score. Voice parts are omitted from all the excerpts.

The reverse side of the second sheet of this document contains fragmentary sketches for the first movement of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, and it is with the sketch material for this work that the document is filed at the Falla

Archive. The untidy and incoherent state of these sketches, however, indicates that they were written at a later date than the carefully-copied excerpts from *Pelléas* (another illustration of Falla's frugality), and it is clear that these transcriptions have no direct relation with the orchestration of *Nights*. (The sketches for the latter work are, in any case, restricted to two staves throughout, and contain no references to their projected instrumentation.)

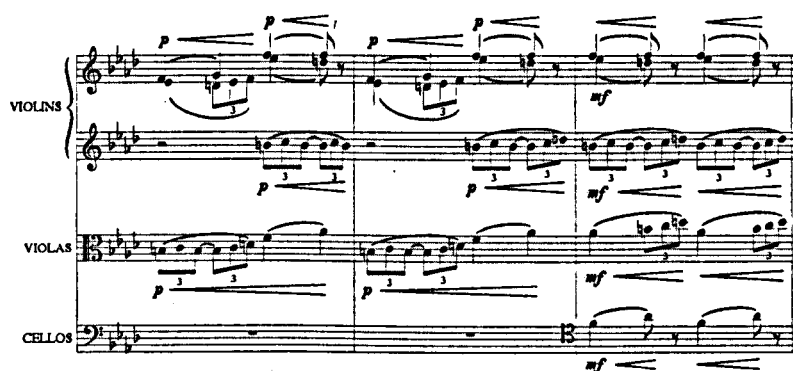
Falla seems to have chosen most of these passages for their unusual qualities, such as the highly distinctive way in Debussy contrasts the horn against *staccato* strings and woodwinds (the former reflecting the masculinity of Golaud's character and the manly pursuit of hunting; the latter representing Yniold's childhood innocence) in excerpts 3 and 4 on the first page.

It is clear from the way in which these pages are laid out that he copied out the excerpts first, and then wrote his descriptive comments. Since each of the excerpts originates from one of just four scenes from the opera (Act 1: Scenes 1 and 3; Act 2, Scene 2; and Act 3, Scene 4), it is probable that the document is an artefact of Falla's detailed study of those particular scenes, rather than of a comprehensive search throughout the entire opera for specific sonorities, chord-spacings and types of accentuation. It is unsurprising that the idiosyncratic devices he transcribed are not reproduced exactly in his own compositions.

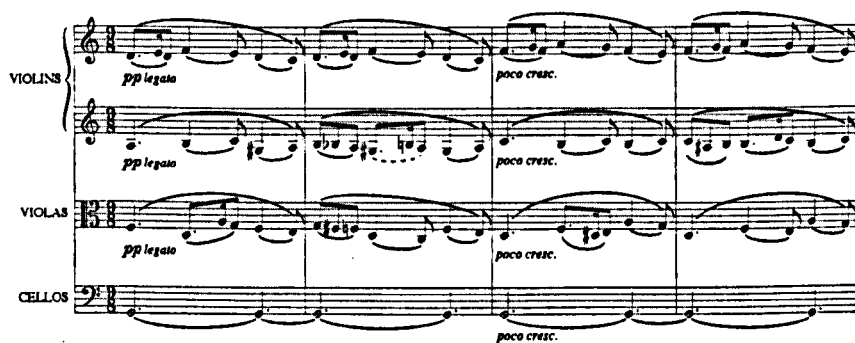
The detail of Falla's analyses of the excerpts on the third page, illustrating methods of spacing chords, is particularly remarkable. The lengthy explanation of why the chord in excerpt 13 sounds 'transparent' is quite extraordinary, and has a ring of authority which suggests that this too may be a paraphrase of Debussy's own explanation. Falla's own musical language admits far fewer sustained chords than Debussy's; nevertheless, some trace of their assimilation may be observed in his constant careful placing of thirds.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ Note, for instance, the final chords of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* and of Part 1 of *The Three-Cornered Hat*. In the former, the third (E) is heard only in the middle registers. In the latter, the third (F#) is the only note that is not doubled at the unison (like the third in the excerpt from *Pelléas* which Falla numbered 14).

As far as the examples on the first page of the document are concerned, resemblances may be observed between those marked 'Sonoridad concentrada' ('concentrated sonority') and various passages for the strings alone in *La vida breve* (Example 3.4.2.1.vii) and *El amor brujo*.¹⁹⁸ (Incidentally, the first two excerpts from *The Mastersingers of Nuremburg* in the previous document discussed are also headed 'Sonoridad concentrada'; they too are similarly orchestrated.)



Debussy, *Pelléas et Mélisande*, Act 3 Scene 4,
figure 47, bars 3-5 (voices omitted).



Falla, *La vida breve*, Act 2, bars 530-3.

Example 3.4.2.1.vii

¹⁹⁸ *La vida breve*, Act 1, bars 184-8; Act 2, bars 508-37; *El amor brujo*, figure 43, bars 1-18.

Falla's annotations to the second example on the first page draw attention to the clarinet and solo cello in unison. Though he never reproduced this combination precisely, he did double solo cello and solo French horn in the second movement of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*.¹⁹⁹ It is perhaps significant too that the instruments with which Debussy achieves a 'soft and mysterious sonority' in the final example on the page (cellos, clarinets and bassoon) are also used by Falla at rehearsal figure 1 of *El amor brujo*: a passage that is actually headed 'Tranquillo e misterioso'.

His analysis of methods of accentuation on the second page of this document probably made the most profound contribution to his own technique. The French horn plays a central role in all but one of these excerpts, reinforcing important notes in the string parts; two of the excerpts (numbers 7 and 11) also make assertive use of the bassoons. The remaining excerpt (number 8) illustrates – in Falla's words – 'El caso contrario' ('The opposite case'), where a series of chords in the horns and bassoons is supported by the strings; he comments particularly on the *pizzicato* double basses, reinforcing the bass line. (Two of the excerpts also feature stopped notes from the horns – one of Falla's favourite timbres.) Examples of similar techniques abound in Falla's work, and some of the most closely related instances are shown in Examples 3.4.2.1.viii, ix and x.

[text continues after Example 3.4.2.1.x]

¹⁹⁹ 'Danza lejana', figure 17. The same grouping occurs (albeit very briefly) in *La vida breve*, Act 1, bars 194-5.

Musical score for the first system of "The Swan" from Swan Lake, Op. 20, Act I. The score is for a full orchestra and includes parts for Flute, Clarinets, Bassoons, Horns, Violins 2, Violas, and Cellos. The music is in 3/4 time and features a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first system shows the initial entry of the Swan theme, with the Flute playing a melodic line and the strings providing harmonic support. Dynamics include pp (pianissimo) and p (piano).

Debussy, *Pelléas et Mélisande*,
Act 1 Scene 3, figure 36, bars 6-7
(voice part omitted; all
instruments at sounding pitch).

[illegible]

Falla, *La vida breve*, Act 2, bars 369-70
(voice part omitted; all instruments
except double basses at sounding pitch).

Example 3.4.2.1.viii

Musical score for Debussy, *Pelléas et Mélisande*, Act 2 Scene 2, figure 22, bars 1-2. The score includes parts for COR ANGLAIS, BASSOONS, HORNS, VIOLINS, VIOLAS, CELLOS, and DOUBLE BASSES. The tempo is marked *f* (forte) and *mf* (mezzo-forte). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major/D minor). The time signature is common time (C).

Debussy, *Pelléas et Mélisande*,
Act 2 Scene 2, figure 22, bars 1-2
(voices omitted; all instruments except
double basses at sounding pitch).

Falla, *La vida breve*, Act 1,
bar 188 (beat 2) to bar 191
(voice omitted; all
instruments except double
basses at sounding pitch).

Example 3.4.2.1.ix

Musical score for Falla, *La vida breve*, Act 1, bar 188 (beat 2) to bar 191. The score includes parts for OBOE, COR ANGLAIS, CLARINETS, BASSOONS, HORNS, VIOLINS, VIOLAS, CELLOS, and DOUBLE BASSES. The tempo is marked *a tempo* and *rit. colla voce*. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major/D minor). The time signature is common time (C). The score includes various dynamics such as *mf* (mezzo-forte), *f* (forte), *mf esp.* (mezzo-forte espres.), *f e molto esp.* (forte e molto espres.), *p* (piano), *[div.]* (divisi), *[arco]* (arco), and *[pizz.]* (pizzicato).

OBOES

CLARINETS

BASSOONS

HORNS

VIOLINS

VIOLAS

CELLOS

DOUBLE BASSES

p très soutenu

f

dim

arco

p

f très soutenu dim.

arco

dim.

Debussy, *Pelléas et Mélisande*,
Act 1 Scene 1, figure 15,
bars 8-9 (voice omitted; all
instruments except double
basses at sounding pitch.)

Falla,
Nights in the Gardens of Spain,
'En los jardines de la Sierra de
Córdoba', figure 27, bars 6-8
(piano omitted; all instruments
except double basses at
sounding pitch).

HORNS

VIOLINS 2

VIOLAS

CELLOS

DOUBLE BASSES

ff marc.

p

div. pizz.

ff marc.

mf

ff marc.

mf

mf

pp

[pizz.]

Example 3.4.2.1.x

It must be acknowledged that Falla's extensive and highly detailed analysis of Debussy's orchestral writing – especially that of *Pelléas et Mélisande* – must have been of unique significance to his own development as an orchestrator. No other composer's music interested him even half as much in the years leading up to the First World War. His recognition of the failings of his original scoring of *La vida breve*, and his decision to revise it before its first performance in 1913,²⁰⁰ testify to his own recognition of the value of those studies.

It is also important to recognise that the scarcity of directly analogous passages of orchestration in Falla's works is not an anomaly but an indication of this significance. His pre-1914 study of Debussy's orchestral writing was so thorough that, by the time he came to apply what he had learned, he had fully absorbed into his own language the techniques that he had annotated, copied out and commented upon.²⁰¹ His assimilation of some of those techniques is especially widely manifested: in his accented writing for the French horns, for examples, or in his predilection for *tremolando* strings.

²⁰⁰ See Nommick, 'Manuel de Falla: De *La vida breve* de 1905 à *La Vie brève* de 1913', 78-9; *Id.*, '*La vida breve* entre 1905 y 1914', 32-5.

²⁰¹ The only one of Falla's works which makes direct reference to Debussian instrumental techniques is the orchestral version of the *Homenaje (Pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy)*. This influence is studied in detail in § 3.4.3.

3.4.2.2 Other kinds of influence

Falla's notes and annotations also reveal his study of aspects of Debussy's work other than his orchestral writing – interests which are corroborated in Falla's prose writings.

Falla wrote more about Debussy's music than any other subject (including his own work, and even Spanish folk music). It is discussed in no fewer than four published texts written over the space of just six years: the articles 'Introducción a la música nueva' (1916), 'Prólogo a *La música francesa contemporánea* de G. Jean Aubry' (1916) and 'Claude Debussy et l'Espagne' (1920), and the booklet *El 'cante jondo' (canto primitivo andaluz)* (1922).²⁰² It was also the subject of a declaration he contributed to a 1928 issue of *Chantecler*,²⁰³ and was furthermore the subject of a lecture, 'El arte profundo de Claudio Debussy' ('The profound art of Claude Debussy'), which Falla presented at the Ateneo in Madrid on 27 April 1918, on the occasion of a tribute concert to Debussy.²⁰⁴ Part of this lecture was printed in the following day's edition of the Madrid newspaper *El Universo*.²⁰⁵ This excerpt has never been reprinted in its original language,²⁰⁶ and it is therefore transcribed and translated into English in Appendix 3.F.

²⁰² FI, FA, FD and FC respectively.

²⁰³ 'Déclaration à l'occasion du dixième anniversaire de la mort de Claude Debussy', *Chantecler*, 24 March 1928 (quoted in Manuel de Falla, *Écrits sur la musique et sur les musiciens*, edited by Federico Sopeña and translated by Jean-Dominique Krynen [Arles, 1992], 115).

²⁰⁴ The title of the lecture is found in the printed programme for this concert (copy preserved at E-GRmf: FN 1918-005).

²⁰⁵ R. W. [full name unknown], 'Ayer en el Ateneo: Homenaje a Debussy', *El Universo*, 28 April 1918.

²⁰⁶ It has, however, been published in French and Italian translations, viz.: Manuel de Falla (ed. Federico Sopeña), *Écrits sur la musique et sur les musiciens* (translated by Jean-Dominique Krynen) (Arles, 1992), 95-8; Falla, *Scritti sulla musica e sui musicisti* (edited and translated by Paolo Pinamonti) (Modena, 1993) (page numbers unavailable).

What is especially informative in this last text is Falla's analysis of the most idiosyncratic elements of Debussy's musical language:

La riqueza modal; la variedad rítmica dentro de la más perfecta unidad; las sorprendentes transiciones tonales; la sucesión de melodías de aparente diversidad pero de estrechísimo parentesco; la fluidez con que ondulan las líneas secundarias formando como espléndido estuche de tornasolados colores sobre el que descansa y de destaca la joya melódica; la precisión pasmosa con que están aplicados los timbres instrumentales; la naturalidad jamás sobrepujada y rara vez igualada con que declama y canta la melodía vocal!²⁰⁷

The modal richness; the rhythmic variety within the most perfect unity; the surprising tonal transitions; the succession of melodies, apparently different but closely related; the fluidity with which the secondary lines unfold, like a splendid box of iridescent colours in which melodic jewellery is placed and highlighted; the astonishing precision with which instrumental timbres are applied; the natural way – never surpassed and rarely equalled – in which vocal melodies are declaimed and sung!

Though he does not mention the fact, it is surely significant that he concerned himself with all of these methods in his own work – including, of course, Debussy's orchestral technique. One aspect of Debussy's music that particularly interested him was its modal language. His study of this is revealed in the documentary evidence: an annotation in one of the passages he copied out from *Pelléas et Mélisande* draws attention to the presence of the whole-tone scale (Figure 3.4.2.2.i).²⁰⁸

Falla's interest in non-diatonic scales long predates his first encounter with Debussy (and probably with Debussy's music). The use of modes other than the major and the minor was advocated by both Louis Lucas (whose *L'Acoustique nouvelle* he probably acquired around 1904)²⁰⁹ and by his former teacher Felipe Pedrell.²¹⁰ Falla's post-war fascination with modes is

²⁰⁷ Falla, quoted in R. W., 'Ayer en el Ateneo'.

²⁰⁸ *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7916. The passage to which this annotation applies is Act 4 Scene 2, figure 20, bars 11-13.

²⁰⁹ Collins, 'Manuel de Falla, *L'Acoustique nouvelle* and natural resonance', note 23.

²¹⁰ In *Por nuestra música* (Barcelona, 1891), Pedrell describes contemporary music as '... sensualizada por el abuso del cromatismo y el enharmonismo y castigada a girar siempre e indefectiblemente dentro del círculo de hierro de las modalidades mayores o menores ...'

Handwritten musical score for "L'Espresso" by Giuseppe Verdi. The score is written on 24 staves, including vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and instrumental parts (Piano, Violins I & II, Violas, Cellos, Double Basses, and Woodwinds). The tempo is marked "Allegretto" and the key signature is one flat. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "p" (piano) and "f" (forte). The title "L'Espresso" is written in the top right corner.

Figure 3.4.2.2.i

A page from Falla's full-score transcriptions from *Pelléas et Mélisande* (E-GRmf, manuscripts folder 7916), with annotations indicating the use of the whole-tone scale.

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(‘... sensualized by the abuse of chromaticism and enharmony, and as a punishment made to revolve continually and invariably within the iron circle of the constant and inescapable major and minor modalities ...’; p. 76).

well-documented (it will be recalled, for instance, that he used a scale derived from Dukas's *Ariane et Barbe-bleue* in *Master Peter's Puppet Show*; see § 2.4.2), and his use of scalic patterns derived from Andalusian folk music will be examined a little later in this section.

But it was to Debussy that he attributed the revolutionary step of exploiting non-diatonic modes in music of true artistic merit. His 1916 article 'Introducción a la música nueva' includes the following:

El espíritu y la tendencia de ese arte ... empezó a manifestarse de un modo preciso en las obras de Claude Debussy ...

Abandonando, de modo más o menos absoluto las dos únicas escalas que han venido usándose por espacio de tres siglos: los modos jónico y eólico de los griegos, que conocemos vulgarmente con los nombres de escala mayor y menor. ...

Restituyendo a la música los modos antiguos abandonados y creando libremente otros que obedecieran más directamente a la intención musical del compositor.²¹¹

The spirit and tendencies of this art ... first appeared in a precise manner in the works of Claude Debussy ...

Abandoning more or less completely the two scales that alone came to be used for three whole centuries: the Ionian and Aeolian modes of the Greeks, which we know vulgarly as the major and minor scales. ...

Restoring to [the art of] music the abandoned ancient modes, and freely creating others which accord more directly with the composer's musical intentions.

Indeed, it was within a few months of his arrival in Paris that modal and exotic scales first began to flourish in Falla's music: examples include the Phrygian melody of the central section of 'Andaluza',²¹² the pentatonic shades of 'Chinoiserie',²¹³ and the curious admixture of modes in 'Les Colombes' (which I have likened elsewhere to 'En sourdine', the first of Debussy's *Fêtes galantes*),²¹⁴ all composed between 1908 and 1910. His labelling of the whole-tone scale in his transcriptions from *Pelléas* attests to his early,

²¹¹ FI (FEs, 41-3 [FO, 20-1]).

²¹² Bars 49-57.

²¹³ See especially bars 21-2.

²¹⁴ Collins, 'Manuel de Falla, *L'Acoustique nouvelle* and natural resonance'.

simultaneous interest in both the modal and orchestral language of Debussy's music. (Nevertheless, this particular scalar pattern was one that Falla never himself used.)²¹⁵

Falla was also interested in the ways in which Debussy constructs and uses chords (he refers in 'Introducción a la música nueva' to Debussy's 'nuevas combinaciones sonoras armónicas' ['new harmonic combinations of sound']).²¹⁶ As has been seen (§ 3.4.2.1), some of Falla's annotations to the excerpts he transcribed from *Pelléas et Mélisande* consist of observations on ways in which the individual notes of chords are assigned to the different instruments of the orchestra. Other comments in these manuscripts deal with the generation of the chords themselves.

He describes the construction of a chord in one of these passages from *Pelléas*, for instance, in the following terms:

... un acorde del que forma parte real una apogatura, cuya resolución es una nota extraña al acorde ...²¹⁷

... a chord of which a real part consists of an *appoggiatura*, whose resolution is a note foreign to the chord ...

Judging from the markings in Falla's transcription of this passage, the chord in question is that on the fourth beat of the bar reproduced below (Example 3.4.2.2.i). Undoubtedly, it is the C that Falla perceived as the *appoggiatura*. He is perhaps a little wide of the mark in describing the note of resolution – B \sharp – as 'extraña' ('foreign'): in fact, it completes a chord of the diminished

²¹⁵ This is unsurprising. Falla must have regarded the whole-tone scale as completely artificial. Lacking a perfect fifth, it has no basis in natural resonance; moreover, the absence of semitone-movement destroys any sense of tonality, and of tension and resolution. In his copy of Louis Lucas's *L'Acoustique nouvelle* (Paris, 1854; *E-GRmf*, unclassified document), Falla wrote 'La escala por tonos o la cromática' ('The whole-tone scale or the chromatic one') as an annotation to the following passage: 'Si on construit ces intervalles égaux, quelque division qu'on adopte, l'attraction disparaît à l'instant sous l'influence du mouvement *similaire*' ('If these equal intervals are put together, whatever the division [i.e. the interval], [the sense of] attraction instantly disappears under the influence of the *similar* motion') (page 10). Falla's allegiance to more 'pure' and 'natural' musical resources is well-documented; again, see Collins, 'Manuel de Falla, *L'Acoustique nouvelle* and natural resonance'.

²¹⁶ FI (FEs, 42 [FO, 21]).

²¹⁷ *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7916.

seventh. Nevertheless, it must be conceded that this note is not present in any of the other voices while the *appoggiatura* is still sounding (unlike the A, which resolves the *appoggiatura* B, at the beginning of the bar).

Example 3.4.2.1.i

Debussy, *Pelléas et Mélisande*,
Act 4 Scene 3, figure 41, bar 7
(voice part omitted; reduced to two staves).



Unresolved *appoggiaturas* were to acquire great significance in Falla's post-war harmonic language, and they played an essential role in the theorising with which he justified his own use of unresolved dissonances. The term *appoggiatura* appears in handwritten notes on chord generation dating from around 1920,²¹⁸ and Pahissa uses it in his account of Falla's harmonic language.²¹⁹ The present document reveals that his concern with *appoggiaturas* dates back much earlier. Moreover, this document hints at the probable influence of Debussy's example on Falla's *appoggiatura*-laden harmonic style.

There are occasional markings in the scores themselves that refer to harmonic progressions. Two chords scribbled in the margin of his piano reduction of 'Fêtes' (the second movement of the *Nocturnes*) effectively show, like the *Umlinie Tafel* of a Schenkerian graph, how a particular modulation is effected (bars 60-2).²²⁰ A boxed annotation on the back page of the volume in which his copies of 'Ibéria' and *La Mer* are bound draws attention to the pedal and its resolution at figures 56-7 of the last movement of *La Mer*. (In fact, the pedal does not so much resolve as simply stop; its chord of 'resolution' is very dissonant.)

²¹⁸ E-GRmf, unclassified document ('Retablo Notebook'), f. 28. See Collins, 'Manuel de Falla, *L'Acoustique nouvelle* and natural resonance'.

²¹⁹ PM, 172.

²²⁰ Page 5 of the score.

In 'Introducción a la música nueva', Falla attaches great importance to a further ingredient of Debussy's harmonic language: his inclination towards consonant chords. He mentions this in support of his argument that modern harmony does not consist of dissonance alone:

¿Quiere decir esto que las conquistas armónicas no tengan más que un valor relativo? De ningún modo; le tienen absoluto, y muy grande, pero su valor no es único, y tanto es así, que en la música de Claude Debussy, por ejemplo, encontramos una predilección muy marcada por los acordes consonantes.²²¹

Does this imply that harmonic innovations only have a relative value? Not at all; their value is absolute, and very great. But they do not have sole claims on value, and this is so much the case that in the music of Claude Debussy, for example, we find a very marked predilection for consonant chords.

Falla too maintained a predilection for consonant chords; this is most apparent at final cadences of both entire works and individual movements. The same is true of Debussy's works: of the 24 pieces in the two books of *Préludes*, for instance, only six conclude with anything other than a major or minor triad, a bare fifth, an octave or a unison.²²² Falla's allegiance to consonance has been explained in relation to his interpretation of the theories of Louis Lucas,²²³ but Debussy's example may have been just as influential, and of far more practical value.

Another ingredient of Debussy's music mentioned by Falla in 'El arte profundo de Claudio Debussy' is 'variedad rítmica' ('rhythmic variety').²²⁴ Preserved at the Falla Archive are three consecutively-numbered sheets of paper on which Falla has transcribed (in systems of one-line staves) examples of complex combinations of rhythms from *The Rite of Spring* and Debussy's String Quartet; the first sheet is headed 'contrapuntos rítmicos' ('rhythmical

²²¹ FI (FEs, 37 [FO, 17-18]).

²²² These six are: Book 1: 3 ('Le vent dans la plaine'), 7 ('Ce qu'a vu le vent d'Ouest'), 11 ('Le danse de Puck'); Book 2: 1 ('Brouillards'), 3 ('La puerta del vino'), and 10 ('Canope').

²²³ Paolo Pinamonti, 'L'"Acoustique nouvelle" interprete "inattuale" del linguaggio armonico di Falla', in SE, 110; Collins, 'Manuel de Falla, *L'Acoustique nouvelle* and natural resonance'.

²²⁴ R. W., 'Ayer en el Ateneo'.

counterpoints').²²⁵ The Debussy examples are found on the third of these sheets (Figure 3.4.2.2.ii). Since the Stravinsky examples come first, none of these extracts can have been copied out before 1913.²²⁶ In fact, they were probably transcribed at a much later date: though the rhythmic language of Falla's works of the mid- to late 1910s is hardly straightforward, it is only with the *Puppet Show* and subsequent works that its complexity becomes Stravinskian.

The three examples from the String Quartet in this document are all taken from the fourth movement, and are accompanied by references to the pages of the miniature score from which they were copied. The passages in question, in the order in which they appear in the manuscript, are as follows:

- Figure 19, bars 31-4 (page 42 of the Durand miniature score).
- Figure 20, bars 10-13 (page 42).
- Figure 19, bars 5-8 (page 40).

A common feature of all four passages is the concurrent sounding of duplet and triplet rhythms, greatly enriching the accompanimental texture. This device features prominently at figure 44 of the last movement of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, where the piano's simple-triple-time melody is accompanied by the orchestra in compound triple time. Falla's most obvious use of this device, however, is in the first movement of the *Concerto*, where there is an ever-present conflict between semiquavers and triplet quavers: a conflict that begins in the very first bar. Sections of this movement also feature a sensation of metrical disruption similar to that hinted at in the last of these three extracts from Debussy's Quartet (Example 3.4.2.2.ii).

²²⁵ E-GRmf, manuscripts folder 7915.

²²⁶ The page-number references on the first two pages of this document reveal that the examples from *The Rite of Spring* are from the piano-duet version of the ballet, a copy of which Stravinsky dedicated to Falla on 6 June 1913 (see Appendix 8.B).

3

Op. 42

Op. 41

Op. 40

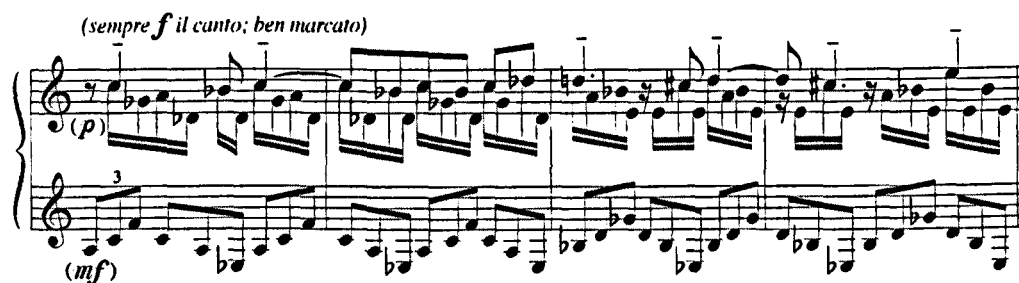
Figure 3.4.2.2.ii

The third page of a document headed 'Contrapuntos rítmicos', with transcriptions of rhythmic patterns from Debussy's String Quartet (*E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7915).

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



Debussy, String Quartet, fourth movement, figure 19, bars 5-8.



Falla, *Concerto*, first movement, figure 10, bars 1-4, harpsichord part.

Example 3.4.2.2.ii

A further aspect of Debussy's music which especially interested Falla was its formal structure. It was probably with this in mind that he copied out two passages from the first movement of String Quartet, reducing it on to two staves in the process, presumably to facilitate its study.²²⁷ The two passages in question comprise the opening statement of the first subject (bars 1-13)²²⁸ and its subsequent development (figure 1, bars 1-26). (On the reverse of this document is an early draft of 'Montañesa', dated '25-a-908' [Antonio Gallego believes that this 'a' probably stands for 'abril', but it may equally imply 'agosto']. The transcriptions from the Quartet are almost certainly unrelated to this draft.)

²²⁷ E-GRmf, MS XXXVII A7. This page is reproduced in Antonio Gallego, 'Manuel de Falla: Un nuevo manuscrito de las "Pieças [sic] espagnoles"', in Manuel de Falla (ed. Gallego), *Pieças españolas: Montañesa (Paisaje) y Andaluza: París 1908* (Granada, 1991), 4.

²²⁸ In fact, this excerpt also includes the first bar of the second subject.

Mention has already been made of Falla's interest in the interludes from *Pelléas et Mélisande* from the point of view of their structure (§ 3.4.1.1). Among the annotations on the rear flysheet of this score are references to Debussy's sparing use of two fairly standard devices: the vocal duet and the orchestral *tutti*. These annotations may seem to be related to Falla's study of vocal and orchestral writing respectively, but in both cases it is more likely that he was concerned with issues of structure: for Debussy employs these devices only where their use has some dramatic justification or significance.

Falla notes that there is only one passage in the entire opera where two characters sing simultaneously: this is at the end of Act 4 Scene 3, where Pelléas and Mélisande declare their love for one another (a real-life circumstance in which two people might believably speak simultaneously).²²⁹ The avoidance of the vocal ensemble throughout the remainder of the opera ties in with Debussy's advice about the speed of vocal delivery (see § 3.4.1.3): 'Hacer por que la duración de tiempo empleada en la *palabra cantada* no sea mayor que si la *palabra fuese hablada*' ('Arrange it so that the length of time used for the *sung word* is not greater than it would be if the *word were spoken*').²³⁰ Just as Falla followed this latter rule in his dramatic works after *La vida breve*, he observed a similar degree of discretion in regard to ensemble-writing: there are no duets at all in the sections of *Atlántida* that he completed, and the only simultaneous singing in the *Puppet Show* occurs where the characters deliberately interrupt one another.

There are specific references to two passages for full orchestra in Falla's annotations at the back of his *Pelléas* score. The first of these passages occurs in the interlude between the second and third scenes of Act 4; it is the last purely orchestral passage of any consequence before the final scene of this act: the most dramatically important one in the opera, in which Pelléas and Mélisande confess their love, and in which Golaud murders Pelléas.²³¹ That

²²⁹ On the rear flysheet of the score, Falla has written: '361-62 / Duo'. Duetting occurs in three bars only: figure 56, bar 12 (page 361), and figure 57, bars 5-6 (page 362).

²³⁰ Document dated 10 October 1911 (*E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 9001).

²³¹ Falla refers specifically to pages 300 and 305 of the miniature score (figure 24, bars 1-5, and letter C, bars 1-6 respectively).

interlude is pregnant with passionate statements of these characters' motifs and material derived from them. The other passage that Falla noted coincides with the brief duet discussed above, where the proclamations of Pelléas and Mélisande are accompanied by an impassioned melody played in three octaves across the full orchestra.²³² It is probable that these passages – the latter one especially – were the inspiration behind Falla's decision to add to *La vida breve* the short passage of ardent orchestral music immediately before Salud's death (Act 2, bars 909-20; see Example 3.4.1.1.i above).

Falla's music owes one further debt to Debussy's example. J. B. Trend records how

... strange as it may seem, it was Debussy who revealed things in the spirit of Andaluz music which had been hidden or not clearly discerned even by Falla, who was born and bred in Andalucía.²³³

He goes on to observe that it was Debussy's evocation of the 'spirit' rather than the 'letter' of Spanish music that Falla found so revelatory. Trend's source for this assertion is the following observation in Falla's article 'Claude Debussy et l'Espagne':

On pourrait affirmer que Debussy a complété, dans une certaine mesure, ce que l'œuvre et les écrits du maître Felipe Pedrell nous avaient déjà révélé des richesses modales contenues dans notre musique naturelle et des possibilités qui s'en dégagent. Mais tandis que le compositeur espagnol fait emploi, dans une grande partie de sa musique, du document populaire authentique, on dirait que le maître français s'en est écarté pour créer une musique à lui, ne portant de celle qui l'a inspiré, que l'essence de ses éléments fondamentaux. Cette façon d'agir, toujours louable chez les compositeurs indigènes (exception faite des cas où l'emploi du document enregistré est justifié) prend encore une plus grande valeur lorsqu'elle est observée par ceux qui – pour ainsi dire – font une musique qui n'est pas la leur.²³⁴

It could be said that to some extent Debussy completed what had already been revealed to us by the work and the writings of the master Felipe Pedrell about the modal richness of our natural music, and the possibilities that arise from it. But

²³² The specific reference to page 362 (figure 57, bar 3, to figure 58, bar 6). Only the harp and the percussion instruments are tacet at this point.

²³³ T, 51.

²³⁴ FD, 209-10 [FEs, 77; FO, 45].

while the Spanish composer, in much of his music, makes use of the authentic folk document, the French master steps back from it in order to create his own music, containing only the essence and the fundamental elements of the music that has inspired him. This approach is always commendable in the work of native composers (though an exception may be made where the use of the recorded document is justified); but it is even more worthwhile when it is followed by those who – so as to speak – write music that is not their own.

Falla had already made clear the direct relevance to his own music of that approach in his 1917 article 'Nuestra música':

¿Será cierto, como creen algunos, que entre los medios de nacionalizar nuestra música está el uso severo del documento popular como elemento melódico? Siento no pensar así en sentido general, aunque en casos particulares crea insustituible ese modo de proceder. Pienso modestamente que en el canto popular importa más el *espíritu* que la *letra*. El ritmo, la modalidad y los intervalos melódicos, que determinan sus ondulaciones y sus cadencias, constituyen lo esencial de esos cantos, y el pueblo mismo nos da prueba de ello al variar de modo infinito las líneas puramente melódicas de sus canciones.²³⁵

Is it certain, as some believe, that one of the ways of nationalising our music is to make strict use, as a melodic element, of the oral documents of the people? I don't think that is true in a general sense, though in certain cases I believe that this way of proceeding is unsurpassable. I modestly think that in popular song it is the *spirit* rather than the *letter* that is most important. The rhythm, the modality and the melodic intervals, which determine their undulations and their cadences, constitute the essence of those songs, and the people themselves prove it by infinitely varying the purely melodic lines of their songs.

In Falla's music, 'l'emploi du document enregistré' ('the use of the recorded document') is not only almost always justified, but also almost always clearly distinguished.²³⁶ The seventeenth-century and folkloric quotations in *Master Peter's Puppet Show*, for instance, are used self-consciously in the accompaniment to the puppet show proper, and never as part of the 'real' action of the opera. Similarly, the dependence of the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs* on genuine folk models is justified by their very title (though it must be

²³⁵ FM (FEs, 56-7 [FO, 31-2]).

²³⁶ The exception to this rule, perhaps, is the quotation of the fifteenth-century song 'De los álamos vengo, madre' in the first movement of the *Concerto*.

conceded that Falla sought, through Pahissa, to deny the true extent of that dependence).²³⁷

In both 'Claude Debussy et l'Espagne' and the *cante jondo* pamphlet, Falla is very specific in his analysis of the methods employed by Debussy to create a Spanish atmosphere. In both texts, in fact, he uses almost exactly the same words:

... on trouve bien souvent des modes, des cadences, des enchaînements d'accords, des rythmes et même des tournures qui décèlent une évident parenté avec la musique 'naturelle' de chez nous.²³⁸

... one very often finds modes, cadences, chord progressions, rhythms and even turns of phrase which reveal a clear similarity with our own 'natural' music.

Nos referimos a su frecuente empleo de ciertos *modos*, cadencias, enlaces de acordes, ritmos y aun giros melódicos que revelan evidente parentesco con nuestra música natural.²³⁹

We refer to his frequent use of certain *modes*, cadences, chord progressions, rhythms and even melodic turns of phrase which reveal a clear similarity with our natural music.

In 'Claude Debussy et l'Espagne', he identifies four works in which Debussy explicitly evokes Spain – 'La soirée dans Grenade' (from *Estampes*), 'La sérénade interrompue' and 'La Puerta del Vino' (both from the *Préludes*), and 'Ibéria' (from the orchestral *Images*) – to which he adds five more which he describes as 'œuvres du maître qui n'ont pas été écrites avec l'intention qu'elles fussent espagnoles' ('works of the master that were not written expressly to be Spanish'): 'Fantoches' (from the first volume of *Fêtes galantes*), the song *Mandoline*, the piano piece *Masques*, the *Danse profane*, and the second movement of the String Quartet.²⁴⁰

²³⁷ PM, 77-8. The popular sources for these songs are examined in Michael Christoforidis, 'Folksong models and their sources in Manuel de Falla's *Siete canciones populares españolas*', *Context*, 9 (Winter 1995), 12-21.

²³⁸ FD, 207 [FEs, 73; FO, 41].

²³⁹ FC, 17 (FEs, 176 [FO, 109]).

²⁴⁰ FD, 207 [FEs, 73-4; FO, 41-2].

Later in this article, Falla elaborates on the ways in which Debussy makes use of 'rhythms' and 'turns of phrase' to evoke Spain. Concerning rhythm, he notes the use of the habanera rhythm – 'qui n'est en quelque sorte que le tango andalou' ('which is in a sense simply the Andalusian tango')²⁴¹ – in both 'La soirée dans Grenade' and 'La Puerta del Vino'. Falla used this rhythm only once – self-consciously – in *Homenaje (Pour le Tombeau de Claude Debussy)*. However, other Andalusian dance rhythms figure in a number of his works, the most obvious one, perhaps, being the 7/8 rhythm of the 'Pantomima' section of *El amor brujo*, which Pahissa describes as 'the Cadiz tango'.²⁴²

The 'turns of phrase' to which he refers are the embellished melodies of 'La Puerta del Vino' and 'La Sérénade interrompue', and the second theme of the *Danse profane*,²⁴³ which he describes as 'enguirlandé de ces ornements propres aux *coplas* andalouses que nous désignons par l'appellation de *cante jondo*' ('garlanded with those ornaments belonging to the Andalusian *coplas* that we designate by the term *cante jondo*').²⁴⁴ Examples of this kind of writing in 'La Puerta del Vino' and the 'Polo' of the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs* are shown in Example 3.4.2.2.iii.

Falla does not elaborate on the way in which Debussy uses modes, cadences and chord progressions to evoke a Spanish atmosphere, though a brief examination of the nine pieces that he mentions soon removes any doubt about his meaning. Modes and cadences are, of course, closely related. Clearly, it is a specific mode to which Falla refers: the Phrygian, which, with occasional modifications of certain intervals (notably the third), occurs in seven of these nine works.²⁴⁵ This mode, with the same optional modifications, is also the

²⁴¹ FD, 208 [FEs, 75; FO, 43].

²⁴² PM, 89.

²⁴³ Presumably, Falla refers to the melody of the 'Le double moins vite' section of this work (figure 4, bar 25, to figure 5, bar 5), with its folk-like iambic rhythms and quintuplets.

²⁴⁴ FD, 208 [FEs, 75; FO, 43].

²⁴⁵ The seven works in question, and instances of Phrygian modes within them, are as follows: 'Fantoches', bars 15-16; 'Ibérica', 'Par les rues et par les chemins', figure 33; *Mandoline*, bars 10-11; String Quartet, second movement, bar 1 to figure 7, bar 33; 'La Puerta del Vino', bars 23-4; 'La sérénade interrompue', bars 56-62; 'La soirée dans Grenade', bars 7-17.

8va

Tempo giusto

Retenu

3 3 3 3

ppp

pp

Piano

Debussy, *Estampes*, 'La soirée dans Grenade', bars 12-17.

VOICE

(la)— la la la la la la la— la— la

PIANO

p

Debussy, *Fêtes galantes* i, 'Fantoches', bars 14-16.

VIOLIN 1

VIOLIN 2

VIOLA

CELLO

[pizz.] un peu en dehors

p

2

pizz.

pp

[arco]

pp

[pizz.]

pp

2

2

2

2

Debussy, String Quartet, second movement, bars 9-12.

Example 3.4.2.2.iv (continued overleaf)

PIANO

Falla, *¡Dios mío, qué solos se quedan los muertos!*, bars 1-2.

VOICE

affrett. f *rit.* *a tempo*

Másar-de el in - fier-no que toi-ta mi sang-re a-bra-sa de ce - los! —

STRINGS

colla voce *f* *a tempo* *ff*

Falla, *El amor brujo*, 'Canción del amor dolido',
letter A, bar 8, to letter B, bar 1.

VOICE

mormorato

Duérm-te, ni - ño, duer - me, — Duer - me, mi al - ma, —

PIANO

Duérm-te, lu-ce - ri - to — De la ma - ña - na. —

Falla, *Seven Popular Spanish Songs*, 'Nana', bars 3-10.

Example 3.4.2.2.iv

Spanish musicians have neglected and even scorned these effects, regarding them as barbaric or, at best, accommodating them within traditional musical procedures; until, that is, the day when Claude Debussy showed them how to make use of them.

Debussy used various means to evoke the sonority of the guitar, including repeated notes (as in 'La Sérénade interrompue'; see Example 3.4.2.2.v), harmonic pedals (as though one string of the guitar is played unstopped throughout a chord progression – such as the repeated E at bars 46-51 of 'Fantoches', accompanying the words 'en quête de son beau pirate espagnol'), and instrumental effects, not least on the harp and *pizzicato* strings. The use of the latter in 'Ibéria' (and especially in the last movement, 'Le matin d'un jour de fête') falls into this latter category – and Falla's perception of the existence of a Spanish atmosphere in the second movement of the String Quartet probably owes much to the *pizzicato* scoring of that movement.



Debussy, *Préludes* i, 'La Sérénade interrompue', bars 5-8.



Falla, *Fantasía bética*, bars 79-80.

Example 3.4.2.2.v

As far as chords and chord progressions are concerned, however, Debussy employs two devices to evoke the sound of the guitar: parallel movement between chords (recalling the way in which the guitarist may move his fingers together up or down the fretboard), and the particular predilection for quartal

PIANO

p expressif

pp

Debussy, *Estampes*, 'La soirée dans Grenade', bars 23-6.

PIANO

pp

Debussy, *Mandoline*, bars 2-5 (piano part only).

GIOCOSO (molto ritmico)

PIANO

ff

poco pesante

Falla, *Fantasía bætica*, bars 9-12.

PIANO

p

stacc. sempre

cresc.

Falla, *Seven Popular Spanish Songs*, 'Jota', bars 17-24.

Example 3.4.2.2.vi

harmonies (reflecting the tuning of the open strings of the guitar). Progressions containing one or both of these factors are found in seven of the nine works Falla lists;²⁴⁷ examples from 'La soirée dans Grenade' and from *Mandoline* (where, admittedly, the chords are made up of superimposed fifths rather than fourths) are shown in Example 3.4.2.2.vi, alongside analogous examples from *Fantasia bætica* and the 'Jota' of the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs*.

In 'Claude Debussy et l'Espagne', Falla notes that Debussy's earliest essays in the evocation of Spanish atmosphere were to prepare the way for the almost immediately ensuing work of a native composer: Albéniz,²⁴⁸ whose *Iberia* (1906-9) was written in the years following the composition of 'La soirée dans Grenade' (1903) and surrounding that of Debussy's own 'Ibéria' (1908). Again, Falla does not specifically nominate himself as a debtor to Debussy – but his identification of himself as such is implicit.

²⁴⁷ Selected instances in each of these works are as follows: *Danse profane*, figure 4, bars 1-7; 'Fantoches', bars 34-5; 'Ibéria', 'Le matin d'un jour de fête', figure 56; *Mandoline*, bars 2-7; *Masques*, bars 1-21; 'La sérénade interrompue', bars 25-40; 'La soirée dans Grenade', bar 17 onwards.

²⁴⁸ FD, 210 [FEs, 78; FO, 45].

3.4.3 *Homenaje (Pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy)*

It has already been mentioned (§ 2.4.4) that Falla's musical homages to Dukas, Debussy and Pedrell present exceptional cases in which his debt to music by other composers was conscious and deliberate.

The *Homenaje (Pour le Tombeau de Claude Debussy)*, like the homage to Dukas written fifteen years later, was commissioned by Henry Prunières, the editor of *La Revue musicale*, and it was first published in the musical supplement to the December 1920 issue of that journal,²⁴⁹ alongside works by Dukas, Ravel, Roussel, Satie, Schmitt, Bartók, Eugène Goossens, Malipiero and Stravinsky (all of them, incidentally, Falla's acquaintances). Falla's article 'Claude Debussy et l'Espagne' (some of whose concepts were discussed in § 3.4.2.2) was published in the same issue.

Pahissa records the circumstances in which the homage and the article were commissioned:

Debussy had recently died, and one day, at a concert in Paris, Falla met Henri [sic] Prunières, who told him that he was going to devote an issue of his *Revue Musicale* to Debussy's memory and asked Falla to write an article for it. ... Prunières's request troubled him. Rather than write an article he would have preferred to express his admiration and affection for Debussy in music, but he did not know what kind of music to use. Eventually he did both.²⁵⁰

It is clear from letters exchanged by Falla and Prunières in February 1920 that that meeting took place during Falla's stay in Paris in January of that year (and not in May or June as Michael Christoforidis suggests),²⁵¹ and that the

²⁴⁹ *La Revue musicale*, i, 2. The work appears on pages 30-1 of the musical supplement, under the title 'Homenaja [sic] pour Guitare'. This is one of several titles under which the work has appeared; the title used in the present study is a contraction of that under which it was published by Chester in 1926 (*Homenaje: Pièce de guitare écrite pour 'Le Tombeau de Claude Debussy'*).

²⁵⁰ PM, 112.

²⁵¹ Michael Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla's homage to Debussy', 4.

homage was in fact commissioned first.²⁵² In a letter dated 4 February 1920, Prunières asks Falla to suggest the name of a Spanish author to write on the subject of Debussy and Spain, indicating that he would be especially pleased if Falla would write it himself; it is clear that the topic had not been broached before. (In his reply, Falla proposed that Salazar should write it – though by 22 July, the date of Prunières's next extant letter, Falla had agreed to write both the article and the homage.)²⁵³ The homage was completed first, and in an unusually short time-scale: the published work is dated 'Granada, 8 - 20'.²⁵⁴ (By contrast, Prunières was still awaiting the article on 29 October.)²⁵⁵

Given that he was writing the article on Debussy and Spain at the same time, it is understandable that he should have decided to pay tribute to the Spanish elements in Debussy's music in the homage too. Pahissa continues his account of the work's genesis:

With regard to the music, he had only one fixed idea, that it should end with Debussy's *Soirée dans Grenade*. Then it occurred to him that he could make it a work for the guitar, thus satisfying [Miguel] Llobet [the Catalan guitarist] at the same time.²⁵⁶

Michael Christoforidis – the first musicologist to study and report on the recently-discovered sketches for the *Homenaje* – notes that 'the incorporation of a fragment from *Soirée dans Grenade* [was] an early idea',²⁵⁷ and also argues convincingly that the work was conceived for the guitar,²⁵⁸ refuting Antonio Gallego's assertion that Falla's later piano transcription 'está probablemente más cercano a la concepción de la obra que su versión

²⁵² Two letters from Prunières to Falla, 4 February 1920, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453; letter from Falla to Prunières, undated [10 February 1920], draft preserved in the same location.

²⁵³ Letter preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453.

²⁵⁴ Prunières sent the first proofs to Falla on 9 October 1920 (letter from Prunières to Falla, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453). Pahissa states that Falla set about studying the technique of the guitar, then wrote the work in two weeks (PM, 112-13).

²⁵⁵ Letter from Prunières to Falla, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453.

²⁵⁶ PM, 112.

²⁵⁷ Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla's homage to Debussy', 5.

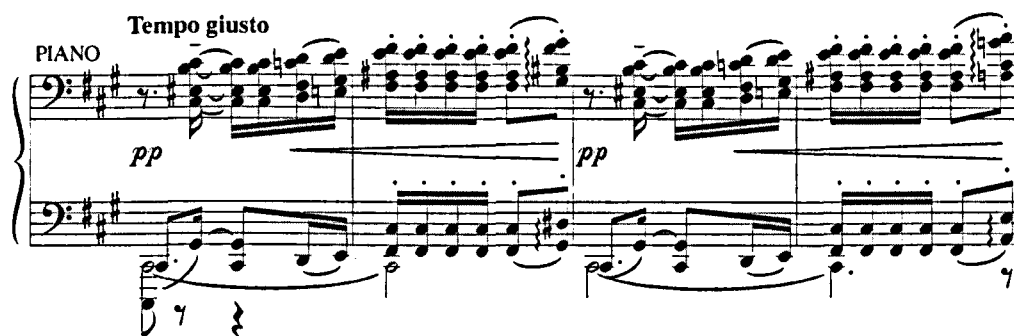
²⁵⁸ Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla's homage to Debussy', 6.

guitarrística original' ('is probably nearer to the work's conception than the original version for guitar').²⁵⁹ Falla's choice of the guitar is unsurprising given the significance Debussy attached to the sonorities, figurations and harmonies typical of that instrument in his Spain-inspired compositions. This influence on Debussy is explicit: there are passages marked 'quasi guitarra' in both 'La sérénade interrompue' (*Préludes*, Book 1) and the 'Le matin d'un jour de fête' section of 'Ibéria'.

The focal point of the work, structurally, is the quotation from 'La soirée dans Grenade' (*Estampes*) that Pahissa mentions; its statement (like the fragment from Dukas's Piano Sonata in *Pour le Tombeau de Paul Dukas*) is delayed until very near the end of the work. Its source is the first four bars of the second idea of 'La soirée dans Grenade' (bars 17-20, recurring in bars 92-5). The staccato articulation, the repeated chords, the similar motion of the voices and occasional arpeggiations all evoke the sonority of the guitar in the original passage, and it is a testimony to Debussy's skills that this music transfers to the guitar so easily and effectively. In order that it may be accommodated on that instrument, Falla has modified the passage slightly, simplifying its texture, but maintaining the same pitches and the same key. The original passage and its statement in the *Homenaje* are both shown in Example 3.4.3.i.

As with the quotation in the Dukas homage, this fragment is presented as though it were in speech marks; this draws attention to its structural significance and to the fact that it is different from the rest of the work. In the later work, this sense of quotation is produced by the moments of silence which frame the quotation; in *Homenaje* (*Pour le Tombeau de Claude Debussy*), however, this effect is achieved by means of a modulation to the fairly distant key of F# major, the key of the original passage (the tonality of the remainder of the homage is based around A minor).

²⁵⁹ G, 178. Gallego reaches this hypothesis from evidence in the sketches for the guitar version which indicates that it was composed at the piano. The premise is clearly false. By Gallego's own admission (G, 174), Falla always composed at the piano. It would be perverse to suggest that this means that all of his works were conceived for the instrument.



Debussy, *Estampes*, 'La soirée dans Grenade', bars 17-20.



Falla, *Homenaje (Pour le Tombeau de Claude Debussy)*, bars 63-7.

Example 3.4.3.i

The structural correlations between the homages to Debussy and to Dukas do not end here. Just as subtle allusions to Dukas's Piano Sonata pervade the later work, similar references to Debussy's music abound in the earlier one. These allusions, however, are not solely to 'La soirée dans Grenade', but rather to certain stock devices common to Debussy's works inspired by Spain. One of these devices is the essentially quartal harmony, redolent of the tuning of the guitar's strings, and particularly manifest at the beginning of 'Ibéria' (Example 3.4.3.ii). But by far the most obvious of these devices is the use of habanera rhythms – especially and – found in 'La soirée dans Grenade', 'La Puerta del Vino' (*Préludes*, Book 2) (both of which are actually marked 'Mouvement de habanera'), and in the first two sections of 'Ibéria'.²⁶⁰

²⁶⁰ In the latter work, these rhythms are found in the following sections: 'Par les rues et par les chemins', figure 19, bar 1, to figure 23, bar 10; 'Les parfums de la nuit', figure 38, bar 5, to figure 42, bar 7.



Debussy, *Images*, 'Ibéria', 'Par les rues et par les chemins', bars 1-4
(reduced to two staves).

GUITAR
(sounds an octave lower)



Falla, *Homenaje* (*Pour le Tombeau de Claude Debussy*), bars 37-40.

Example 3.4.3.ii

Falla was further influenced by Debussy's example almost twenty years later, when he came to orchestrate this piece as the second movement of the *Homenajes* suite, under the title 'A Cl. Debussy'. Preserved at the Falla Archive is a copy of the piano transcription of the original guitar piece (published by Chester in 1921) which he used as the basis for the orchestral version:²⁶¹ pencilled around the printed music are copious notes summarising his plans for the scoring. That he had recourse to specific instances of Debussy's orchestral writing is revealed by further annotations lightly pencilled on the front cover of this score (Figure 3.4.3.i), listing various page numbers from the scores of *La Mer* and 'Ibéria',²⁶² some of which are accompanied by brief descriptions of the orchestral devices which had

²⁶¹ E-GRmf, inventory number LVII B2.

²⁶² His selection of these two scores in particular may have been due to the fact that he had already had them bound together. Alternatively, it may his use of these two scores on this occasion, and their resulting deterioration, that led him to have them rebound.

attracted his attention. These annotations are transcribed and translated in Table 3.4.3.i.

ANNOTATION	TRANSLATION
Ejemplos Arpa p[ar]a Dukas – p[ágin]a 55 Cors " 75	Examples Harp for Dukas – page 55 Horns " 75
Mar – Arpa / 32 - 35 - 46 a 49 - 66 - 69 / 50 cors graves [y] arpa / 115 V.[iolon]C.[ello] Alto Cor y pizz[.] p[ágin]a 8-9 / p[ágin]a 16 p[ágin]a 28 / V.[iolon]C.[ello] y C.[or] A.[nglais] etc.	La Mer – Harp / 32 - 35 - 46 a 49 - 66 - 69 / 50 low horns [and] harp / 115 Cello Viola Horn and pizz[.] page 8-9 / page 16 page 28 / Cello and Cor Anglais etc.
Ib[éri]a { { p[ágin]as 54-5 { " 63 { 35 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 { p[ágin]as 6 - 7 - 8 - 10 / Fag[otto] y Picc.[olo] y triple cuerda [?] p[ágin]as { 67 { 70-1 { 74 (frase cuerda)	Ib[éri]a { { pages 54-5 { " 63 { 35 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 { pages 6 - 7 - 8 - 10 / Bassoon and Piccolo and string trio [?] pages { 67 { 70-1 { 74 (string phrase)
Mahler - Arpa (notas repetidas) p[ágin]as 108 a 111 " 114 - 116 - 17	Mahler - Harp (repeated notes) pages 108 to 111 " 114 - 116 - 17

Table 3.4.3.i

Annotations on the front cover of a copy of the piano transcription of *Homenaje (Pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy)* used by Falla as the basis for his orchestral version of that work (*E-GRmf*, inventory number LVII B2).

The passages listed on the cover of this document were mere possibilities for emulation in the scoring of the homage; Falla did not use them all. Among those he did not use are the passionate phrases for the strings on pages 67, 70-1 and 74 of 'Ibéria',²⁶³ the rhythmical figure, on a single note, for the harps on pages 35-9 of the same score,²⁶⁴ and the melody scored for cellos and cor anglais in unison on page 28 of *La Mer*.²⁶⁵ Conversely, of course, there are many orchestral touches in the *Homenaje* 'A Cl. Debussy' which do not

²⁶³ 'Les parfums de la nuit', figure 44, bars 7-8; figure 47, bars 1-2; and figure 48, bar 8, to figure 49, bar 2, respectively.

²⁶⁴ 'Par les rues et par les chemins', figure 22, bar 1, to figure 23, bar 9.

²⁶⁵ 'De l'aube à midi sur la mer', figure 13, bars 4-13.



Figure 3.4.3.i

The cover of a copy of the piano transcription of *Homenaje* (*Pour le tombeau de Claude Debussy*) used by Falla as the basis for his orchestral version of that work (E-GRmf, inventory number LVII B2).

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

originate from the passages listed in this document. Not least among such devices is the strings instruments' simultaneous plucking and bowing of the same note: a device which recurs throughout the movement, and which – as was seen in § 3.2.2.1 – was probably influenced by a similar device in a passage of 'Ibéria' marked in Falla's copy with pink crayon.²⁶⁶

Most of the passages listed on the cover of this document do have parallels in the orchestral version of the homage, however.²⁶⁷ One instrumental grouping Falla noted, for instance, is the combination of cellos, violas, horn and *pizzicato* second violins which occurs on page 115 of *La Mer*;²⁶⁸ a similar distribution is found two bars before figure 9 in the *Homenaje*. He also noted the sonority produced by a solo bassoon and the piccolo, playing two octaves apart, on pages 6-10 of 'Ibéria'. He allocates an important motif to these two instruments at figure 1 of the *Homenaje* (Example 3.4.3.iii); he also uses the first oboe to fill the octave in between, but it is significant that the piccolo and the bassoon lines are marked 'solo' while the oboe is not.²⁶⁹ Furthermore, there are similarities between the opening sonority of the *Homenaje* and that of the 'Les parfums de la nuit' movement of 'Ibéria' (whose page number – 54 – is one of those jotted on the cover of this document), although the effect is achieved by different means in each case.²⁷⁰

266 *Images*, 'Ibéria', 'Le matin d'un jour de fête', figure 57, bar 1, to figure 58, bar 6. Falla's use of pink crayon for the words 'Spes Vitae' on the cover of the document currently under discussion (LVII B2) raises the possibility that these annotations were made at the same time.

267 Ken Murray has commented on the potential influence of passages from 'Ibéria' on the orchestral version of *Homenaje* (*Pour le Tombeau de Claude Debussy*) ('Manuel de Falla's *Homenajes* for orchestra', 10-11). However, he does not mention the existence of the present document, and his discussion of annotations in Falla's copy of 'Ibéria' is highly inaccurate.

268 'Dialogue du vent et de la mer', figure 55, bars 19-20.

269 This scoring – or variations of it – occurs elsewhere in the movement: figure 3, bars 4-5; figure 4, bars 4-5; and figure 9, bar 1, to figure 10, bar 2.

270 The orchestration of these two passages may be compared as follows:

<i>Images</i> , 'Ibéria', 'Les parfums de la nuit'	<i>Homenajes</i> , 'A Cl. Debussy'
Flute and oboe (melody)	Flute, clarinet and first violas (melody)
Xylophone (single note, <i>pianissimo</i>)	Harp (single note played as harmonic, <i>pianissimo</i>)
Violins and violas (high notes, <i>pianissimo</i>)	Cellos and double basses (harmonics, <i>pianissimo</i>)

PICCOLO
(sounds an octave higher)

Solo

p grazioso

BASSOON I

Solo

p grazioso

Debussy, *Images*, 'Ibéria', 'Par les rues et par les chemins', figure 3, bars 5-8 (piccolo and bassoon parts shown only).

PICCOLO
(sounds an octave higher)

Solo

mf marcato

OBOE I

dolce, marcato

BASSOON I

Solo

mf marcato

Falla, *Homenajes*, 'A Cl. Debussy', figure 1, bars 2-4 (piccolo, oboe and bassoon bars shown only).

Example 3.4.3.iii

These passages from 'Ibéria' and *La Mer* especially influenced Falla's use of the harp in the *Homenaje*. The instrument plays a very important role in the work – owing, no doubt, to the affinity between its timbre and that of the guitar. Four specific fragments of the harp part of the *Homenaje* may be traced to the listed sections of *La Mer* and 'Ibéria'; these are shown in Example 3.4.3.iv. Further passages from these two works may have influenced the way in which the harp is combined with other instruments in the homage: both

Incidentally, the orchestral version of the *Homenaje* has an extra bar at the beginning, not found in the original piece for guitar, in order to accommodate this sonority. This is the only alteration that he made to the length of the original work.

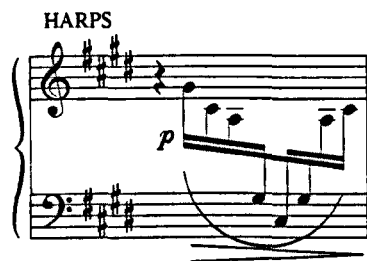
Falla and Debussy seem to have favoured the combination of that instrument with the French horn.²⁷¹

The orchestration of one section of the homage is particularly indebted to the passages from these two works that Falla listed. The regular sextuplet semiquaver pattern in the harp at figure 6 owes much to an accompanimental figure beginning on page 63 of 'Ibéria', scored for the harp and with exactly the same rhythm.²⁷² Falla's celesta part at this point is even more closely related to this figure. The influence of the passage on pages 8 and 9 of *La Mer* may also be perceived in this section: the sextuplet semiquaver rhythm is present there too (albeit in the strings), while the harp part (as in this section of the *Homenaje*) incorporates the entire musical texture: melody, bass, and chords. All of these excerpts are shown in Example 3.4.3.v.

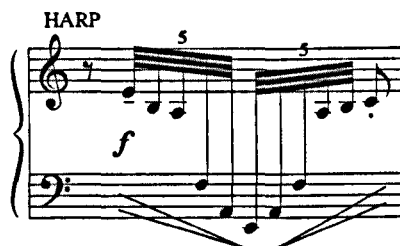
[text continues after Example 3.4.3.v]

²⁷¹ Falla has noted this combination of instruments on page 50 of *La Mer* (i.e. 'Jeux de vagues', figure 25, bars 6-12); he used the same forces to similar effect at figure 8 of the *Homenaje*.

²⁷² 'Les parfums de la nuit', figure 43 onwards.



Debussy, *La Mer*, 'Jeux de vagues',
bar 2 (harp part only).



Falla, *Homenaje*, 'A Cl. Debussy',
bar 5 (harp part only).



Debussy, *La Mer*, 'Jeux de vagues',
figure 17, bar 2 (harp part only).



Falla, *Homenajes*, 'A Cl. Debussy',
figure 5, bar 3 (harp part only).



Debussy, *La Mer*, 'De l'aube à midi
sur la mer', figure 7, bar 7
(harp part only).



Falla, *Homenajes*,
'A Cl. Debussy', figure 3, bar 1
(harp part only).



Debussy, *Images*, 'Ibéria', 'Les parfums
de la nuit', figure 37, bars 2-4
(harp part only).



Falla, *Homenajes*,
'A Cl. Debussy', figure 1, bar 6
(harp part only).

Example 3.4.3.iv

This musical score shows the Celesta and Harp parts for the first two bars of 'A Cl. Debussy' from Falla's *Homenajes*. The Celesta part is in the upper staff, marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic and featuring sixteenth-note runs with sixteenth-note beamed sextuplets. The Harp part is in the lower staff, marked with a fortissimo-piano (*fp*) dynamic, and consists of a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

Falla, *Homenajes*, 'A Cl. Debussy', figure 7, bars 1-2 (celesta and harp parts shown only).

This musical score shows the Harp 2 part for the first two bars of 'Les parfums de la nuit' from Debussy's *Images*. The part is marked 'Solo' and 'pp' (pianissimo), with the instruction 'doux et léger' (soft and light). It features a melodic line with triplet ornaments and a bass line with triplet accompaniment.

Debussy, *Images*, 'Ibéria', 'Les parfums de la nuit', figure 43, bars 1-2 (harp part only).

This musical score shows the Harp 1 part for the first two bars of 'De l'aube à midi sur la mer' from Debussy's *La Mer*. The part is marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic in the first bar and a pianissimo (*pp*) dynamic in the second bar. It features a melodic line with a crescendo hairpin and a bass line with a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

Debussy, *La Mer*, 'De l'aube à midi sur la mer', figure 4, bars 1-2 (harp part only).

Example 3.4.3.v

Concerning the celesta part at figure 7 of the homage (shown in Example 3.4.3.v above), Ken Murray has noted its further similarity to a passage for that instrument on page 103 of 'Ibéria' (Example 3.4.3.vi).²⁷³ This is a very probable case of intentional emulation: Falla wrote the number 103 (and circled it) on the last page of his copy of that score; this annotation is unlike the many others on the page because it was written with a different pencil, and because this is the only page number jotted on that page which does not also include a comment explaining its significance.²⁷⁴



Debussy, *Images*, 'Ibéria', 'Le matin d'un jour de fête', figure 64, bars 5-6 (celesta part only).

Example 3.4.3.vi

Falla may have been inspired to incorporate the celesta in his orchestra by the passage on pages 54-5 of 'Ibéria',²⁷⁵ which features a prominent part for the instrument (in addition to a passage of harp-writing which – as indicated in Example 3.4.3.iv above – may have influenced the use of grace-notes in the harp part of the *Homenaje*). Indeed, the first entry of the celesta in the homage owes something to this very passage (Example 3.4.3.vii).

²⁷³ Ken Murray, 'Manuel de Falla's *Homenajes* for orchestra', 11. The passage in question is 'Le matin d'un jour de fête', figure 64, bars 5-8.

²⁷⁴ Murray fails to observe this. Moreover, he incorrectly states that Falla wrote 'quasi guitarra' near the celesta line on page 103 of this score. In fact, these words are printed above the violin and viola lines four bars previously (figure 64, bar 1), and there are no annotations at all on page 103.

²⁷⁵ 'Les parfums de la nuit', first ten bars.



Debussy, *Images*, 'Ibéria', 'Les parfums de la nuit', figure 37, bar 1 (celesta part only).



Falla, *Homenajes*, 'A Cl. Debussy', figure 4, bar 2 (celesta part only).

Example 3.4.3.vii

Of course, Falla had exceptional reasons for alluding to the scoring of Debussy's works in the course of orchestrating his homage to that composer: his emulation of his master's techniques and sonorities was wholly deliberate. Given that the original guitar piece uses Debussian harmonies, Debussian rhythms and even a direct quotation from a work by Debussy, it is unsurprising that he sought to match those elements with Debussian orchestration. Curiously, however, Debussy was not the only composer whose orchestral style he emulated in this work.

A further annotation on the cover of this copy of the piano transcription of *Homenaje (Pour le Tombeau de Claude Debussy)* alludes to 'notas repetidas' ('repeated notes') in the harp parts on pages 108-17 of an unspecified work by Mahler. That work is *The Song of the Earth*, the only Mahler score that Falla owned;²⁷⁶ the attribution is confirmed by the existence of annotations to the harp parts on pages 108, 116 and 117 of that score. Unsurprisingly, the movement in question is 'Der Abschied' ('The Leave-Taking').

In this section of the score, the harp parts contain two- and three-note accompanimental figures, played repeatedly;²⁷⁷ two excerpts are shown in Example 3.4.3.viii. Clearly, it is yet another source of inspiration for the harp-writing (and, more germanely perhaps, the celesta-writing) at figure 6 of the 'A Cl. Debussy' movement of the *Homenajes*.

²⁷⁶ Falla's copy of the miniature score of this work (Vienna and Leipzig: Universal-Edition, c. 1912) is preserved at E-GRmf (inventory number 1190).

²⁷⁷ The passage in question runs from figure 20, bar 5, to figure 38, bar 5.

Mahler, *The Song of the Earth*, 'Der Abschied', figure 21, bars 1-2 (harp parts only).

Ibid., figure 36, bars 3-6.

Example 3.4.3.viii

There is another curious annotation on the cover of this copy of the piano version of the *Homenaje*, set well to the left of the other markings. This is the annotation which mentions Dukas:

Ejemplos
Arpa p[ar]a Dukas – p[ágin]a 55
Cor " 75

Examples
Harp for Dukas – page 55
Horn " 75

It is clear that this annotation relates to the orchestral version of *Pour le tombeau de Paul Dukas* (the third movement of the *Homenajes* suite). It is not clear, however, whether the listed page numbers refer to 'Ibérica' or to *La Mer*. In fact, they could apply to either, for there are parallels between the Dukas

homage and all four of the Debussy passages:²⁷⁸ on page 55 of both scores are harp parts featuring grace-notes that are akin to those found throughout the Dukas homage,²⁷⁹ while the prominent figure for the horns on page 75 of *La Mer* may have been the model for equally significant horn passages in the homage,²⁸⁰ and the unison relationship between the horn and harp parts in the last bar of page 75 of 'Ibéria' may have influenced similarly-scored passages in the homage.²⁸¹

The exceptional purpose of an orchestral homage to Debussy justifies Falla's use of Debussian orchestral techniques. But he had no sentimental or symbolic reason to allude to a work by Mahler in the scoring of that work, or to a work by Debussy in his homage to Dukas. This is the only document which attests to Falla's direct imitation of his contemporaries' techniques – but can it be that this was a common procedure in the orchestration of his own compositions?

It is certainly possible – but it is not probable. The hypothesis may be doubted on the grounds of lack of evidence alone: given Falla's meticulousness, it is unlikely that similar lists of passages to be emulated in other works are all lost. But the hypothesis may also be disputed on the grounds that the process of orchestrating the Debussy and Dukas movements of the *Homenajes* suite cannot be compared with that of orchestrating any other of Falla's works: it was an exercise unparalleled in his oeuvre. Falla composed neither homage with the possibility of an orchestral transcription in mind; moreover, the orchestration of the Debussy homage took place 18 or 19 years after the composition of the original piece for guitar – and the same length of time after the completion of his last work for full orchestra (*The Three-Cornered Hat*).

²⁷⁸ The documentary evidence supports – but does not prove – that 'Ibéria' was the score to which Falla was referring. Page 55 of that score is also one of those listed in relation to the Debussy homage; it is likely that its relevance to his plans for the Dukas homage occurred to him at the same time. On page 75 of his copy of 'Ibéria', the horn and harp line are actually marked by crosses in the margin.

²⁷⁹ *La Mer*, 'Jeux de vagues', figure 27, bars 8-10; 'Ibéria', 'Les parfums de la nuit', figure 37, bars 2-4; *Homenajes*, 'A P. Dukas', *passim*.

²⁸⁰ *La Mer*, 'Jeux de vagues', figure 38, bars 1-4; *Homenajes*, 'A P. Dukas', figure 2, bars 4-5; figure 5, bars 1-2.

²⁸¹ 'Ibéria', 'Les parfums de la nuit', figure 49, bar 5; *Homenajes*, 'A P. Dukas', figure 1, bars 2-3; figure 4, bar 5.

The Debussian influence on the orchestration of the Dukas homage is easily explained. While he was searching for sonorities in *La Mer* and 'Ibéria' that were suitable for reproduction in the orchestral version of the homage to Debussy, Falla must have taken note of two orchestral techniques which he considered apt for the orchestration of the Dukas homage (which he was shortly to begin). (It is clear that his thoughts turned to the orchestration of both homages at the same time; this is demonstrated by the presence of the words 'Spes Vitae' in pink crayon on the cover of the same copy of the piano transcription of the Debussy homage. This was to become the subtitle of the 'A P. Dukas' movement of the orchestral *Homenajes*.) This is an influence that probably would never have been exerted had he not been orchestrating the Debussy homage at the same time.

The allusion to *The Song of the Earth* is more difficult to explain, though the valedictory context of the 'Abschied' movement clearly has something to do with it. Annotations throughout the score reveal that Falla studied the orchestration of the work closely.²⁸² He acquired his copy only in 1926, however, and so the annotations must have been made after that date:²⁸³ at some point during the twelve years immediately preceding his orchestration of the Debussy homage, therefore. By contrast, it is possible that when he began work on that orchestration, he had not undertaken a detailed study of *La Mer* and 'Ibéria' for over twenty-five years. It is understandable that his study of the harp-writing in those two works should have brought to his mind the similar techniques employed by Mahler in a work that he had analysed much more recently.

The orchestration of the *Homenaje (Pour le Tombeau de Claude Debussy)* reveals Falla deliberately allowing himself to be directly influenced by Debussy's orchestral writing. It is a fascinating case – but an anomalous one,

²⁸² Marginalia are found on pages 6, 12, 66, 108, 116, 117, 126 and 135 of the score. Further annotations on the front cover and the inside back cover draw attention to various uses of instruments on those pages, and also on pages 50, 51, 56, 65, 67, 68, 72, 97, 104, 113, 128-9 and 138.

²⁸³ This is the date of the handwritten dedication on the first page of the score: 'Au Maître Manuel de Falla [/] Louis Meges [/] Paris le 1er mars 1926' ('To the Master Manuel de Falla [/] Louis Meges [/] Paris 1 March 1926'). I have not been able to ascertain the identity of Louis Meges.

.....

which does not challenge the conclusion that the orchestral writing of composers such as Debussy and Dukas exerted its greatest influence on Falla through his study of their works in pre-war Paris.

3.5 CONCLUSION: DEBUSSY'S MUSIC AS A 'POINT OF DEPARTURE'

This chapter began with J. B. Trend's observation that

The turning-point in [Falla's] career was, as he always insists, his journey to Paris and meeting with Debussy in 1907.²⁸⁴

To some extent, this statement may be taken at face value. That very first meeting with Debussy must have made an enormous impact on Falla: the recognition of a composer of international standing, with whose music (or such of it as he knew) he felt a certain affinity, can only have assured him of the rightness of his own aspirations. A more figurative interpretation of Trend's statement could imply that that initial meeting was the turning-point in his career because of the personal relationship to which it led. That friendship was extraordinarily fruitful to Falla: valuable compositional advice resulted from it (particularly that concerning instrumentation), as did practical support in the form of introductions and letters of recommendation to music publishers.

So it is clear that Falla's friendship with Debussy was enormously influential in his early development as a composer. But that is only one strand of the full story: for the significance of their human relationship to Falla is transcended by that of the example of Debussy's music.

Falla considered Debussy to have been the first composer fully to espouse the aesthetic purpose of modern music, and the first to define its technical procedures. This conviction was central to his perception of Debussy's music: a conviction that is expressed in all of his published writings on Debussy, in words such as these from 'Introducción a la música nueva':

²⁸⁴ T, 51.

He nombrado a Claude Debussy porque puede afirmarse, sin temor a ser desmentido, que de su obra ha partido de una manera definitiva el movimiento innovador del arte sonoro.²⁸⁵

I refer specifically to Claude Debussy because it may be stated, without fear of being contradicted, that his work is the definitive starting-point for the innovative tendencies of the art of sound.

Indeed, this recognition of Debussy as a revolutionary is the single contention of the last public proclamation he made on the subject, printed in the programme of a festival of Debussy's works in Paris in 1932. In full, this proclamation reads:

J'ai toujours considéré l'œuvre de Claude Debussy, par ses conséquences plus ou moins directes, comme étant le point initial d'une ère nouvelle dans l'art de la musique.²⁸⁶

I have always considered the work of Claude Debussy, by both its direct and less direct consequences, to be the starting point of a new era in the art of music.

In this quotation as elsewhere, however, Falla is careful to imply that Debussy was the pioneer rather than the direct progenitor of all modern music: this is the meaning of the allusion to the 'conséquences plus ou moins directes' ('direct and less direct consequences') of his music.²⁸⁷ His own position in respect to this is clearly intimated in 'El arte profundo de Claudio Debussy', the speech he delivered at the Ateneo in Madrid on 27 April 1918:

Debussy ... consiguió ver germinar en otros la semilla que había lanzado. Y no me refiero a sus imitadores, pues estos los han tenido y tienen todos los grandes artistas; hablo, de los que, más avisados que aquellos se emplearon en la noble tarea de estudiar y analizar la obra debussyana, y encontraron en ella algo – mejor dicho, mucho – que

²⁸⁵ 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' (transcription and translation in Appendix 3.F).

²⁸⁶ 'Le Florilège de Claude Debussy', programme for concert at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, Paris, on 17 June 1932 (copy preserved at *E-GRmf*: NFE 1932-005).

²⁸⁷ He makes a very similar observation in FD, 209 [FEs, 77; FO, 44-5]: 'Je ne veux pas parler, bien entendu, des serviles imitateurs du grand musicien; je parle des conséquences directes ou indirectes dont son œuvre a été le point de départ; des émulations qu'elle a provoquées, des néfastes préjugés qu'elle a à jamais détruits...' ('Let it be understood, I am not speaking of the great musician's servile imitators; I am speaking of the direct or indirect consequences for which his work was the point of departure; of the emulations that it has provoked, of the harmful prejudices which it has destroyed for ever...').

representaba para el arte un camino nuevo; y siguiéndolo sin abandonar su propia personalidad, descubrieron horizontes espléndidos, y aun tierras de poderosa fertilidad, hasta entonces inexploradas. Por eso he dicho antes que la obra de Claude Debussy ha originado una transformación profunda y definitiva en el arte sonoro, puesto que, gracias a él, la música se sirve libremente de sus elementos esenciales, sin las trabas inútiles ni los rutinarios prejuicios que la encadenaban.²⁸⁸

Debussy's ... achievement was to observe the germination in others of the seed that he had sown. And I am not referring to his imitators, because all the great artists have had and still have those; I am speaking of those better-informed persons who occupy themselves with the noble task of studying and analysing Debussy's work, and who find in it something – or, rather, much – that presents a new path for the art; and who, by following it without losing their own personalities, discover magnificent horizons, and even highly fertile territory, unexplored up to now. This is why I said earlier that the work of Claude Debussy has given rise to a profound and definitive transformation in the art of sound, for, 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.

Falla's innate modesty prevented him from using first-person pronouns in his discussions of high art. It is implicit, nevertheless, that the ideals to which he refers were his own, and, following on from our study of the documentary evidence, we cannot fail to recognise Falla himself in the description of 'los que, más avisados que aquellos se emplearon en la noble tarea de estudiar y analizar la obra debussyana' ('those better-informed persons who occupy themselves with the noble task of studying and analysing Debussy's work').

Falla alludes in various articles to the innovative nature of certain specific technical elements in contemporary music in general and Debussy's in particular; some of these were discussed in § 3.4.2.2. It is clear, however, that he perceived such techniques as mere manifestations of the central 'doctrine' ('doctrina': Falla's word)²⁸⁹ of contemporary music, the 'camino nuevo' ('new path') first revealed in the work of Debussy.

In short, Falla recognised that modern tendency as a return to the first principles of music. He elaborates on this in 'Introducción a la música nueva', and it is worth quoting his views at some length:

²⁸⁸ Falla, quoted in R. W., 'Ayer en el Ateneo'.

²⁸⁹ FI (FEs, 38 [FO, 18]).

La música, como arte constituido, no ha empezado a existir hasta el siglo XI, y es, por lo tanto, el arte más joven de cuantos los hombres han formado. Hemos dicho arte constituido, refiriéndonos a la forma en que existe actualmente y en la que ha existido desde dicha época, y claro es que nos referimos a la música polifónica en el amplio sentido de la palabra; es decir, a la música formada por dos o más líneas melódicas paralelas. La música monódica, o sea la constituida por una solamente, al mismo tiempo que la palabra y después que el ritmo, puesto que éste empezó a existir con la vida misma.

Y ahora veremos por dónde el presente musical vuelve a unirse, en cierto modo, con el pasado más remoto, con el principio natural de la música.

Vamos a ver cómo, en virtud de la fuerza misteriosa del espíritu secreto de nuestro arte, la música novísima es pura y simplemente la renovación de aquella otra por tantos siglos olvidada; pero renovación, resurrección de tal modo realizada, que al revivir aquel cuerpo que creíamos muerto, aparece adornado por toda la riqueza que el artificio ha acumulado durante tantos siglos, como si, obedeciendo a una mística aspiración, hubiese ido tejiendo una túnica preciosa con que revestir al cuerpo desnudo que había de resurgir radiante para nunca más morir.

Porque, pese a los espíritus estrechamente conservadores, la música continuará apartándose día por día del academicismo, de la falsa retórica y de las fórmulas mezquinas, y los nuevos compositores que aparezcan – los que con más o menos fuerzas sientan latir en ellos el espíritu creador – seguirán los pasos de aquellos que han forzado la entrada del camino de verdad y libertad que conduce a la belleza pura, donde la música triunfa por sí misma, redimida al fin por el trabajo y hasta, en muchos casos, por el martirio de algunos hombres de buena voluntad.²⁹⁰

Music, as a contrived art, has existed only since the eleventh century, and is, therefore, the youngest of all the arts created by man. In describing it as a contrived art, I refer to the form in which it currently exists and in which it has existed since that time. I refer, of course, to polyphonic music in the broadest sense of the word: in other words, music made up of two or more parallel melodic lines. Monodic music – music made up of one line only – [developed] at the same time as the spoken word and after rhythm (since the latter came into existence at the same time as life itself).

And now we shall see how the musical present returns, in a way, to meet the most remote past, and the natural principles of music.

We shall see how, by virtue of the mysterious force of the secret spirit of our art, the very newest music is purely and simply the renewal of that other music, forgotten for so many centuries; but it is a renewal, a resurrection, realised in a manner that may be compared with bringing to life a body that we believed dead,

²⁹⁰ FI (FEs, 35-6 [incomplete translation in FO, 16]).

but which is reborn adorned with a wealth of artful device accumulated over many centuries; as if, obeying a mysterious ambition, it had been weaving a fine tunic with which to clothe the naked body that must arise radiant and never again to die.

Because in spite of those who are narrowly conservative, music will continue to move away from academicism, from false rhetoric and from petty formulae, and newly-emerging composers – those who feel the creative spirit pulsating within them more or less strongly – will follow in the footsteps of those who have beaten a way through to the path of truth and freedom which leads to pure beauty, where music triumphs for its own sake, finally redeemed by [hard] work and even, in many cases, by the martyrdom of those well-intentioned men.

All of this precedes the first mention in this article of the significance of Debussy's work as the 'punto de partida de un arte sonoro esencialmente nuevo' ('point of departure for an essentially new art of sound').²⁹¹

It is surely significant that this view of contemporary musical tendencies chimes with Debussy's own declarations about his art. Interviewed for *Excelsior* in 1911, he said:

I myself love music passionately, and through my love I have forced myself to break free from certain sterile traditions with which it is encumbered. It is a free art, a wellspring, an art of the open air, an art comparable to the elements – the wind, the sea, and the sky! It must not be an art that is confined, academic.²⁹²

This interview was published at a time when Falla was in regular personal contact with Debussy; even if he did not read the article, it is probable that such matters arose in their conversations. This is not the only parallel between Debussy's writings and Falla's: other analogues include observations on the value of folk music,²⁹³ and (more specifically) on the finer qualities of

²⁹¹ FI (FEs, 38 [FO, 18]).

²⁹² Debussy, interviewed by Georges Delaquys in *Excelsior*, 18 January 1911, and quoted in Lesure and Langham Smith (eds.), *Debussy on Music*, 245.

²⁹³ Note especially the words pronounced by Debussy's *alter ego* Moniseur Croche in an article in *La Revue blanche* of 1 July 1901 (translated in *Debussy on Music*, 48): 'My favourite music is those few notes an Egyptian shepherd plays on his flute: he is part of the landscape around him, and he knows harmonies that aren't in our books. The "musicians" hear only music written by practiced hands, never the music of nature herself.' (Quoted in *Debussy on Music*, 48.) (A direct analogy may be drawn here with a passage in Louis Lucas's *L'Acoustique nouvelle*, p. 28-9, n. 2: 'En effet, cherchez à traduire par la méthode géométrique, c'est-à-dire par intervalles roides et compassées, les mélodies originales de la Bretagne, de la Normandie, etc., vous les décolorerez presque toujours, et ne conserverez qu'un espèce de squelette qui ne rendra rien de tout. ... Mais choisissez une de ces jeunes

Wagner's *Parsifal*.²⁹⁴ This raises the fascinating possibility that some of Falla's most strongly held aesthetic values may have been moulded by the opinions of his teacher.

Later in 'Introducción a la música nueva', Falla specifies some of the elements of ancient music that he claims to have been restored in the new. These include the renewed use of modes other than the major and the minor, the abandonment of certain melodic forms (by which Falla denotes perhaps constant regular phrasing), and the restored freedom to use formal structures arising from the feeling and meaning of each individual work (as opposed to the prevailing adherence to traditional methods of thematic development such as, no doubt, sonata form).²⁹⁵ These are all intrinsic elements of both his own music and Debussy's. It would be wrong, however, to claim that Debussy was entirely responsible for the adoption of such procedures in Falla's work, for Falla almost certainly knew nothing of Debussy's music when such things began to manifest themselves in his own work (a fine example being the modal flavouring of *¡Dios mío, que solos se quedan los muertos!*, the opening of which is shown in Example 3.4.2.2.iv above).

In addition, Falla places some emphasis on the very primitive definition of music as

filles de Bretagne, mélancolique, à la voix pure et naïve; écoutez la marche de son chant, de son accentuation bizarre quoique systématique: vous aurez la représentation la plus complète d'un élément musical que vous croyiez perdu depuis deux mille ans ...' ['In effect, attempts to translate original melodies of Brittany, Normandy, etc. by means of the geometrical method – i.e. through the use of rigid, formal intervals – almost always robs them of their colour, leaving nothing more than a kind of skeleton which carries nothing at all. ... But choose one of those young Breton girls, melancholic, with a pure and innocent voice; listen to the unfolding of her song, of her bizarre yet systematic accentuation: you will have the most complete demonstration of a musical element that you would have believed lost for two thousand years ...'].) Falla applauds folk music for the same reasons in: FP (FEs, 94-5 [FO, 60-1]), FC, 5-12 (FEs, 165-71 [FO, 101-5]), and FM (FEs, 56-7 [FO, 31-2]).

²⁹⁴ See § 2.4.3 above for a discussion of Debussy's comments on *Parsifal* in *Gil Blas* on 6 April 1903. He made further comments on this work of a (qualified) complementary nature were made in an interview published in *Excelsior* on 11 February 1911 (less than a month after the article from which I have quoted above) (*Debussy on Music*, 247). Falla's appreciation of *Parsifal* is found in FW (FEs, 145-6 [FO, 86-7]).

²⁹⁵ FI (FEs, 42 [FO, 21]).

un arte mágico de evocación de sentimientos, de seres y aun de lugares por medio del ritmo y de la sonoridad.²⁹⁶

a magical art evoking feelings, beings and even places through the media of rhythm and sonority.

The concept of evocation is central to Falla's own ideals; most of his compositions are explicitly descriptive, and even the *Concerto*, his only work with a non-programmatic title, has a movement that indisputably evokes a liturgical setting.²⁹⁷ His adherence to that species of musical art owes much to Debussy, most of whose works are equally evocative of specific (and specified) things. One of the few abstract works in Debussy's oeuvre is the String Quartet – yet we learn in 'Claude Debussy et l'Espagne' that even this work evoked a specific impression in Falla's mind: an Andalusian dance.²⁹⁸

An idealistic desire to return to music's very first principles pervades all of Falla's work. He firmly believed that music was essentially an emotional art, and not an intellectual one: in his preface to Joaquín Turina's *Enciclopedia abreviada de música* (1917), he wrote

Error funesto es decir que hay que comprender la música para gozar de ella. La música no se hace, ni debe jamás hacerse, para que se comprenda, sino para que se sienta.²⁹⁹

It is a terrible mistake to say that music must be understood in order to be enjoyed. Music is not written – and must never be written – to be understood, but rather to be felt.

and 'Introducción a la musica nueva' contains a lengthy tirade against critics who are disposed to dismiss as facile any new composition that is actually pleasurable to the ear.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁶ FI (FEs, 42 [FO, 21]).

²⁹⁷ I refer, of course, to the second movement, with its canonic theme, its slow regular procession-like rhythm, its architectural grandour, and (at figure 7) its bell-like sonorities. Moreover, the movement is marked 'In Festo Corpus Christi'.

²⁹⁸ FD, 207 (FEs, 73 [FO, 42]).

²⁹⁹ Falla, 'Prólogo', in Joaquín Turina, *Enciclopedia abreviada de música* (Madrid, 1917), 7-10 (FEs, 53 [FO, 29]).

³⁰⁰ FI (FEs, 32 [FO, 14]).

Falla equates music's first principles with musical purity: another of his ideals.³⁰¹ A driving force behind the 1922 *cante jondo* competition was his concern that the purity of Andalusian folk music should not be diluted; in the pamphlet accompanying that event, he made the astonishing claim that

este canto andaluz es acaso el único europeo que conserva en toda su pureza, tanto por su estructura como por su estilo, las más altas cualidades inherentes al canto primitivo de los pueblos orientales.³⁰²

this Andalusian music is perhaps the only kind in Europe in which are preserved, in all their purity, and as much in their structure as in their style, the highest inherent qualities of the primitive music of the Oriental races.

It is significant, therefore, that he made prominent use of the same word in relation to Debussy's art:

... la música de Claude Debussy tiene dos valores distintos, aunque íntimamente unidos: el valor de la emoción pura, como obra de arte, y el valor del principio de la verdad pura, como obra de ciencia.³⁰³

... the music of Claude Debussy has two distinct but intimately related values: the value of pure emotion, like a work of art, and the value of the principle of pure truth, like a work of science.

His convictions on this subject owe much to his early reading of Louis Lucas's *L'Acoustique nouvelle*. Lucas challenges the use of set formulae in nineteenth-century Western art music (such as the exclusive use of the major and minor scales, and even the division of the scale into regular semitones), observing that they have no foundation in music's natural, scientific bases.³⁰⁴

But Lucas's contentions are merely theoretical. Debussy contributed a practical demonstration of how these ideals were to be achieved in the art of

³⁰¹ In his reply to questions posed by the French periodical *Musique* in 1928, Falla included 'Une pure substance musicale' ('A pure musical substance') among a list of the poles of attraction of his art (*Musique*, ii, 8 [15 May 1929], 897 [FEs, 120 (FO, 73)]).

³⁰² FC, 9 (FEs, 168 [FO, 103]).

³⁰³ Falla, quoted in R. W., 'Ayer en el Ateneo'.

³⁰⁴ See Collins, 'Manuel de Falla, *L'Acoustique nouvelle* and natural resonance: a myth exposed'.

musical composition. And that demonstration made an immediate difference, plainly manifested in the contrasted musical language of 'Cubana' and 'Montañesa' in the *Four Spanish Pieces*. The latter was the first work he composed after his arrival in Paris in 1907. Unlike the preceding two numbers in the set, it is not an Hispanic dance, but an impressionist evocation of the mountainous northern regions of Spain, complete with distant bells (clearly marked 'quasi campani') and a folk-like melody (marked 'le chant bien en dehors' – a favourite direction of Debussy's) suspended above static quartal harmonies.

Like *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, *El amor brujo*, *Psyché* and almost all of Falla's mature works, 'Montañesa' is a piece to which Falla's assessment of 'La soirée dans Grenade' may be applied with equal pertinence: 'tous les éléments musicaux collaborent à un seul but: l'évocation' ('all the musical elements collaborate towards a single goal: evocation').³⁰⁵

On no fewer than four occasions, Falla used the same three words to describe the significance of Debussy's music to himself and other composers of his generation: he describes it as the 'punto de partida' or 'point de départ' ('point of departure').³⁰⁶ For instance:

... no hay que olvidar, que la obra de aquel *mágico prodigioso* que se llamó Claude Debussy, representa el punto de partida de la más profunda revolución que registra la historia del arte sonoro.³⁰⁷

... it must not be forgotten that the work of that *prodigious magician* called Claude Debussy represents the point of departure for the most profound revolution ever to happen in the history of the art of sound.

It was a revolution without which Falla's mature works would perhaps never have been written:

³⁰⁵ FD, 208 (FEs, 74 [FO, 42]).

³⁰⁶ FA (FEs, 48 [FO, 25]); FI (FEs, 48 [FO, 18]); FD, 209 [FEs, 77; FO, 44]; FC, 17 (FEs, 177 [FO, 109]). Writing in French, he used a similar term – 'point initial' – in his contribution to the programme of the Debussy Festival at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in Paris on 17 June 1932 (reproduced in full above).

³⁰⁷ FC, 17 (FEs, 177 [FO, 109]).

... je crois fermement que ce que nous pourrions appeler *physionomie* sonore de la musique, qui réellement compte aujourd'hui – y compris la plus opposée comme sentiment, comme esthétique et comme procédés – ne serait guère telle qu'elle est, si Debussy n'avait pas réalisé son œuvre.³⁰⁸

... I firmly believe that that which we could call the sonorous *physiognomy* of music, which is really important today – and which includes the most opposed of sentiments, aesthetics and procedures – would hardly be what it is if Debussy had never achieved his work.

³⁰⁸ Falla, 'Déclaration à l'occasion du dixième anniversaire de la mort de Claude Debussy', *Chantecler*, 24 March 1928 (quoted in Falla, *Écrits sur la musique et sur les musiciens*, 115).

4 RAVEL AND THE APACHES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

4.1.1 Membership of Les Apaches

The composers whose relationships with Falla are examined in this chapter are linked by means of their membership of a closely-knit artists' circle in pre-First World War Paris. After his return to Spain in 1914, Falla maintained friendships with all but three of them. Each of these friendships developed on its own terms – but it was in the atmosphere of the Apaches' camaraderie that they were forged.¹

The composers in question were all born within seven years of Falla. They are: Maurice Ravel (born 1875), Florent Schmitt (1870), Maurice Delage (1879),

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

	Ravel	Schmitt	Delage	Sévérac	Roussel
Correspondence	4.A.a	4.B.a	4.C.a	4.D.a	4.E.a
Printed music	4.A.b	4.B.b	4.C.b	4.D.b	4.E.b
Performances by Falla	4.A.c	4.B.c	4.C.c	N/A	4.E.c
Performances attended by Falla	4.A.d	4.B.d	4.C.d	4.D.c	4.E.d
Recordings	4.A.e	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

	Inghelbrecht	Klingsor	Caplet	Ladmirault
Correspondence	4.F.a	4.G.a	N/A	N/A
Printed music	N/A	4.G.b	4.H.a	4.J.a
Performances by Falla	N/A	N/A	4.H.b	N/A
Performances attended by Falla	4.F.b	N/A	4.H.c	4.J.b

¹ For the sake of simplicity, I have used the word 'Apaches' when writing about these composers collectively, even after the group had disbanded.

Déodat de Séverac (1873), Albert Roussel (1869), André Caplet (1878), Paul Ladmirault (1877), Desiré-Émile Inghelbrecht (better remembered as a conductor; born 1880), and Tristan Klingsor (also a poet and critic; born 1874). They are identified as members of Les Apaches – or at least as frequent visitors to their meetings – in books by M. D. Calvocoressi (a music critic, and fellow member of the circle)² and Roland-Manuel (musicologist and composer, a late recruit to the circle and a particularly close friend of Ravel, Falla and Delage).³ The Apaches boasted one other composer member, who joined in 1910: this is Stravinsky, whose relationship with Falla is examined in Chapter 8.

Among the members of the Apaches who were not composers, but whom Falla counted among his friends, were the aforementioned Calvocoressi,⁴ the poet Léon-Paul Fargue,⁵ the critic Émile Vuillermoz,⁶ the pianist Ricardo

² M. D. Calvocoressi, *Musicians Gallery: Music and Ballet in Paris and London* (London, 1933), 55.

³ Roland-Manuel, *Maurice Ravel* (London, 1947), 34. Calvocoressi indicates that Roland-Manuel joined the circle around 1911 (*Musicians Gallery*, 64). His relationship with Falla was markedly different to that of the other Apaches; whereas Falla's relations with the others were fairly evenly balanced, his correspondence with Roland-Manuel indicates that he was always the senior partner. In the 1920s and 30s, he actually received compositional advice from Falla himself (see letters from Falla to Roland-Manuel, 10 May and 14 August 1928, original of former and photocopy of latter preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7521). His birthdate – 1891 – excludes him from the present study.

⁴ Only one item of correspondence between Falla and Calvocoressi is known to exist; this is a picture postcard sent from Valtouhancal in Italy by Calvocoressi, his wife and Raffaele Calzini, dated 19 July 1935. Falla also possessed one of Calvocoressi's visiting cards, undated, giving his address as 6 Paulton's Square, London SW3. Both items are preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6879. From November 1907 until at least the following February, Falla and Calvocoressi were planning to collaborate on an opera based on Eugène Demolder's *Le Jardinier de la Pompadour*; this fact is noted in Viñes's diary entry for 11 November 1907 (quoted in Nina Gubisch, *Ricardo Viñes à travers son journal et sa correspondance* [doctoral dissertation, Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1977], 156-7), and is mentioned in a letter from Falla to Pedrell, 9 February 1908 (preserved at *E-Bc*).

⁵ Falla's friendship with Fargue is revealed in a letter to Viñes dated 26 May 1923 (*F-Pn*, Musique, L. a. Falla 4). One postcard survives from Fargue to Falla, sent from Beauville on 1 September 1923, and also signed by Viñes and Princess Marguerite Bassiano (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7763).

⁶ 16 items of correspondence between Falla and Vuillermoz survive at *E-GRmf* (correspondence folder 7769), dating from 1918 to 1933.

Viñes,⁷ the music-lover Cipa Godebski,⁸ and the chaplain at the Paris Opéra, L'Abbé Léonce Petit.⁹ His relationships with the last three were especially close and long-lasting.

Les Apaches came into existence around 1902 as a closed society of likeminded radical artists, principally musicians, united by their mutual admiration for *Pelléas et Mélisande*.¹⁰ In 1904, they began to meet regularly at Delage's detached house at 3, Rue de Civry in Auteuil on Saturday evenings.¹¹ Eventually, these meetings *chez* Delage ceased, but the Apaches remained on intimate terms, and they continued to meet on Sundays, at the home of Cipa Godebski at 22, Rue d'Athènes, in the ninth *arrondissement*.¹² A much wider range of artists, composers and musicians frequented these soirées,¹³ including Gabriel Grovlez, Erik Satie, Alfredo Casella and Ralph

⁷ Various items of correspondence between Falla and the Viñes family survive at *E-GRmf* (correspondence folder 7763) and at *F-Pn* (Musique, L. a. Falla 2, 3 and 4). There is also a telegram from Ansermet and Viñes to Falla (quoted in Claude Tappolet [ed.], *Ernest Ansermet: Correspondances avec des compositeurs européens (1916-1966)* i, [Geneva, 1994], 165), and a photograph of Viñes inscribed to Falla (*E-GRmf*, photograph number 8/43). In total, there are 40 items dating from 1912 to 1934. Viñes was the dedicatee of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*.

⁸ 32 items of correspondence between Falla and the Godebski family (Cipa, his wife Ida and his son Jean) are preserved at *E-GRmf* (correspondence folder 7052), dating from between 1915 and 1933.

⁹ 14 items of correspondence between Falla and the Abbé Petit survive at *E-GRmf* (correspondence folder 7410), dating from between 1920 and 1930. There are also two signed photographs of Petit, inscribed to Falla (*E-GRmf*, photograph numbers 8/7 and 8/8). Their friendship is revealed in other sources, not least PM, 74.

¹⁰ Differing accounts of the group's origins are given in: Calvocoressi, *Musicians Gallery*, 55; Roland-Manuel, *Maurice Ravel*, 33-5; Victor I. Seroff, *Ravel* (New York, 1953), 55-69.

¹¹ Precise address taken from letter from Stravinsky to Delage, 14 October 1912, translated in Robert Craft (ed.), *Stravinsky: Selected Correspondence*, i (London, 1982), 23. Roland-Manuel and Victor I. Seroff both state that Saturday was the usual day for the group's meetings at the home of Paul Sordes before 1904 (Roland-Manuel, *Maurice Ravel*, 33; Seroff, *Ravel*, 65), and the implication is that they continued to meet on this day of the week at Delage's house. Nina Gubisch's citations from Ricardo Viñes's unpublished diary indicate that these composers in fact met on various days of the week (*Ricardo Viñes à travers son journal et sa correspondance*, *passim*).

¹² Precise address from items of correspondence from members of the Godebski family to Falla, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7052. Sunday is specified in Roland-Manuel, *Maurice Ravel*, 52, in Seroff, *Ravel*, 71, and in a letter from Ida Godebska to Falla, 1 March 1928, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7052 (an excerpt is quoted below).

¹³ Calvocoressi, *Musicians Gallery*, 64.

Vaughan Williams.¹⁴ (Falla's relations with these composers are examined in §§ 6.7, 6.12, 7.2.1 and 9.2 respectively.)

It is not clear precisely when the move to the Godebskis' house took place. Calvocoressi mentions that they were meeting there by 1910, but also indicates that there was a period when meetings were taking place at both locations.¹⁵ Roland-Manuel states that the last meeting of Les Apaches proper took place in 1909,¹⁶ but this date may be wrong, for he also indicates that the group had by this time admitted Stravinsky as a member, an impossibility given that Stravinsky did not visit Paris until June 1910.¹⁷ In any case, it is clear that Falla was present at meetings in both houses,¹⁸ and it was at the Godebskis' that he met Stravinsky for the first time, shortly after the young Russian's arrival in the city.¹⁹

Closely identified with the Apaches was the Société Musicale Indépendante (SMI), which was formed in 1910. Other than Falla, composers who were closely involved in this society include Ravel, Schmitt, Caplet, Inghelbrecht,

¹⁴ The first two names are mentioned as habitués of the Godebskis' soirées in a letter from Jean-Aubry to Falla, 4 April 1915, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7131/1. The latter two are identified as visitors in Alfredo Casella, *Music in My Time* (Norman, 1955), 108.

¹⁵ Calvocoressi, *Musicians Gallery*, 64.

¹⁶ Roland-Manuel, *Maurice Ravel*, 34.

¹⁷ For a discussion of the precise date of Stravinsky's arrival in Paris, see Stephen Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring: Russia and France 1882-1934* (London, 2000), 140 and 584 n. 1. Victor I. Seroff also records that Stravinsky 'became the last member – the last Apache – to join their *cammerata* on the Rue de Civry' (*Ravel*, 161), though he erroneously places this event in 1912.

¹⁸ Pahissa records Falla's attendance at meetings held at Delage's house (PM, 74); moreover, Falla nostalgically recalled these meetings in a letter to Delage, 27 December 1932 (lost), and in a letter to Roland-Manuel, 1 January 1938 (private collection; photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7521). His attendance at meetings at the Godebskis' house is revealed in a letter from Ida Godebska to Falla, 1 March 1928, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7052: 'Voulez-vous venir à la maison dimanche soir[?] Cela nous rappellera de bon vieux temps où vous étiez un des habitués des "dimanches Cipa"' ('Would you like to come to the house on Sunday evening? It will remind us of the good old days when you were one of the regulars at "Cipa's Sundays"').

¹⁹ Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (London, 1960), 80. It is possible that they first met *chez* Delage, however; Cipa Godebski was also an 'Apache', and it is possible that Stravinsky's memory was confused as a result of his presence at the meeting in question.

Casella, Dukas, Joaquín Turina, Roger-Ducasse, Charles Koechlin and Louis Aubert.²⁰ (Falla's relationships with the last two are studied in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively.)

²⁰ List of names conflated selectively from Casella, *Music in My Time*, 91, and José Bruyr, *Maurice Ravel* (Paris, 1950), 120. Inghelbrecht conducted the SMI's occasional orchestral concerts during its first three years (Michel Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale et ses sociétés à Paris de 1871 à 1939* [Sprimont, 1997], 305-8; programmes for the first two of these concerts are preserved at *E-GRmf*: NFE 1910-026 and 027 [9 June 1910], and NFE 1911-043 [7 June 1911]).

4.1.2 Published research on Falla and these composers

Falla's relationships with Schmitt, Delage, Sévérac, Roussel, Caplet, Ladmirault, Inghelbrecht and Klingsor have scarcely been studied at all.

Much more research has been done as far as Ravel is concerned – but even this remains inadequate. Essentially, published work on this relationship amounts to little more than the transcription of their correspondence, which has appeared in print (with various omissions) twice, and of which a selection has been translated into English (see Table 4.1.2.i for details). Short essays and explanatory notes are provided by both of the writers responsible, but little attempt has been made by either to do more than fill the gaps between the letters. The present study takes account of a much wider range of documentary sources, and so is able to examine questions of the nature of Falla's relationship with Ravel, and of his opinion of his work, in greater depth.

PUBLICATION	SUMMARY
Arbie Orenstein, 'Ravel and Falla: an unpublished correspondence, 1914-1933', in Edmond Strainchamps and Maria Rika Maniates (eds.), <i>Music and Civilization: Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang</i> (New York, 1984), 335-49.	Transcription of most of the correspondence between Falla and Ravel, with explanatory notes. This is preceded by an introductory essay which provides a gloss on the correspondence, quoting also appropriate passages from FR and from Ravel's review of the first Paris performance of <i>La vida breve</i> (<i>Comœdia illustré</i> , 20 January 1914, 390-1).
Jean Roy, 'Correspondance adressée par Maurice Ravel à Manuel de Falla', <i>Cahiers Maurice Ravel</i> , 3 (1987), 7-25.	Transcription of the complete correspondence from Ravel to Falla (replies not included), with linking notes. The short introductory and concluding essays draw heavily on FR and on two letters from Falla to Roland-Manuel (21 July 1934 and 17 April 1938).
Arbie Orenstein, <i>A Ravel Reader: correspondence, articles, interviews</i> (New York, 1990).	Includes eight items of correspondence, translated into English (pp. 156-8, 193, 244, 248, 255-7 and 314). Also included is a translation of Ravel's review of <i>La vida breve</i> (pp. 372-5).

Table 4.1.2.i

Publications containing items of correspondence between Ravel and Falla.

4.2 THE FRIENDSHIPS

4.2.1 1907-14

The first Apache whom Falla met was Ricardo Viñes. This was on 29 September 1907; Viñes recorded the event in his diary:

En rentrant, je trouvai à la maison un certain Manuel de Falla y Matheu qui est musicien et qui vient de la part de Belloc d'Angles. Il a été élève de Tragó, il est très sympathique et intelligent et il sent parfaitement la musique de Debussy, Ravel, et je lui ai fait connaître *Musiques Intimes* de Schmitt qui l'a enchanté[.] ²¹

When I got back, I found at the house a certain Manuel de Falla y Matheu who is a musician and who comes from the Belloc d'Angles area. He was a pupil of Tragó, he's very nice and intelligent and he's perfectly attuned to the music of Debussy [and] Ravel, and I introduced him to Schmitt's *Musiques intimes* which he loved.

There are two conflicting accounts of how Falla came to introduce himself to Viñes, and, curiously, both appear to be primary. Roland-Manuel reports that the two men were introduced by Albéniz (to whom Falla had been introduced by Dukas).²² Pahissa claims that they met through the agency of Viñes's brother Pepe, working in Paris as an aircraft engineer, to whom Falla had been given a letter of introduction by a mutual friend.²³ Both stories are plausible, but Pahissa's seems the more likely given both the intricacy of the tale and the fact that Pepe's name features constantly in Falla's correspondence with members of the Viñes family. (It should be noted that Falla did not know Viñes personally before his arrival in Paris. The contrary is inferred by

²¹ Gubisch, *Ricardo Viñes à travers son journal et sa correspondance*, 152. It should be noted that Viñes kept his diary in Spanish. However, none of it has been published in this form, and so quotations are given here in Gubisch's French translation, with English translations made from the French by the present writer.

²² RM, 32. Gustave Samazeuilh repeats this assertion in *Musiciens de mon temps: Chroniques et souvenirs* (Paris, 1947), 336.

²³ PM, 40.

Manuel Orozco in his inaccurate retelling of Pahissa's account,²⁴ and by the mistranslation of a sentence of 'Notes sur Ravel' in the English edition of his collected writings.)²⁵

Ricardo Viñes took it upon himself to introduce Falla to his friends. Early in October 1907, he arranged for him to meet Ravel, Delage and Calvocoressi, at the latter's house;²⁶ the meeting may well have been called for this express purpose. Viñes had been convinced of Falla's talents a few days previously when he had heard him play through the score of *La vida breve*;²⁷ now, Falla played it for Ravel and Delage. Viñes recorded the event in his diary:

Ravel et Delage sont également venus et cette œuvre de Falla y Matheu a beaucoup plu à tous les trois. J'ai joué *Alborada del Gracioso* de Ravel, et celui-ci la *Vallée des Cloches*, les *Oiseaux Tristes* et deux *Histoires Naturelles*: *le Martin-Pêcheur* et *le Grillon*. De Falla y Matheu, ravi de l'accueil et très reconnaissant envers moi[.] ²⁸

Ravel and Delage came too and this work of Falla y Matheu very much pleased all three. I played Ravel's *Alborada del gracioso*, and he himself played *Vallée des Cloches*, the *Oiseaux tristes* and two of the *Histoires naturelles*: *Le Martin-pêcheur* and *Le Grillon*. De Falla y Matheu [was] delighted with the welcome and very grateful to me.

Falla also recalled this occasion, in 'Notes sur Ravel':

Conocí a Ravel unos días después de mi llegada a París en el verano de 1907, y éste fue el comienzo de una amistad que nunca dejó de ser sinceramente cordial. ... Él y Viñes hicieron una lectura de la *Rapsodia española* que Ravel acababa de publicar en su versión

²⁴ Manuel Orozco Díaz, *Falla* (Barcelona, 1985), 43.

²⁵ The incorrect translation reads: 'This proved easy, thanks to Ricardo Viñes, brave champion of that avant-garde who had urged me to go to Paris' (FO, 93-4). The original reading (FEs, 151) is: 'Fácil me fue conseguirlo por Ricardo Viñes, paladín esforzado de la buena nueva que a París me llevaba ...' ('This was easily done for me by Ricardo Viñes, hard-working champion of the New which brought me to Paris ...'; my italics and capitalization).

²⁶ Gubisch, *Ricardo Viñes à travers son journal et sa correspondance*, 155-6.

²⁷ This event took place on 2 October 1907 (Gubisch, *Ricardo Viñes à travers son journal et sa correspondance*, 155).

²⁸ Gubisch, *Ricardo Viñes à travers son journal et sa correspondance*, 155-6. Gubisch does not give the precise date for this meeting, but indicates that it took place a few days after 2 October 1907.

original para piano a cuatro manos, y cuya primera audición habían de dar en un concierto de la Nationale.²⁹

I met Ravel a few days after arriving in Paris in the summer of 1907, and this was the beginning of a friendship which never ceased to be sincerely cordial. ... He and Viñes played through the *Rapsodie espagnole* which Ravel had just published in its original version for piano duet, and whose first performance was to be given in a concert of the [Société] Nationale.

The differences between Viñes's and Falla's accounts of this meeting are understandable given that Falla's was written 32 years after the event. The assertion that they met 'unos días después de mi llegada a París' ('a few days after arriving in Paris') may be excused as poetic licence; in fact, around two months had elapsed. It is not impossible that Viñes and Ravel played the *Rapsodie espagnole* (or parts of it) in addition to the works listed in Viñes's diary; the manuscript of the piano-duet version of this work is dated October 1907,³⁰ though (contrary to Falla's assertion) it was not in fact published until 1908. It is equally possible that Falla chose to flesh out his incomplete recollection of the event by naming any appropriate work, and the *Rapsodie espagnole* may have seemed a good choice because he owned a copy of the piano duet version, inscribed to him by Ravel.

Ravel no doubt had a special interest in their new recruit. Always fond of Spanish idioms, he was especially so in 1907, the year when both *L'Heure espagnole* and the *Rapsodie espagnole* were composed.³¹ There were other Spaniards among the Apaches (notably Viñes and the mathematician Joaquín Boceta)³² – but Falla was triply fascinating in that he was a composer (with a new work under his arm), new to Paris, and Andalusian (and, therefore, more stereotypically Spanish than the Catalan Viñes).

As we have seen, the record in Viñes's diary of this first meeting already presents evidence of Falla's partiality towards the work of Schmitt. He must have met this composer within a matter of days – or, at most, weeks – of

²⁹ FEs, 151-2 (FR, 82 [FO, 93-4]).

³⁰ Orenstein, *Ravel: Man and Musician*, (2nd edn., New York, 1991), 227-8.

³¹ Roger Nichols, *Ravel* (London, 1977), 55.

³² Roland-Manuel, *Maurice Ravel*, 34.

meeting Viñes, and perhaps even before he met Debussy. A letter from Falla to Salvador Viniegra, undated but clearly written in late 1907, confirms that he had met Dukas, Albéniz, Ravel, Viñes, Calvocoressi and Schmitt – but does not mention Debussy:

Aquí nos han recibido como no podía soñar ... Hace oír mi ópera a Paul Dukas ... Jamás había pensado el efecto que había de hacerle. Lo propio me ocurrió luego con Albéniz, que goza aquí de gran reputación; con Mauricio Ravel; con Florent Schmitt; con Ricardo Viñes, nuestro compatriota; con Nin, con Calvocoressi, y con el autor de *Werther*, de Massenet, que quiere estrenar dicha obra aquí en la temporada próxima.³³

The way they've received us here has been beyond my wildest dreams ... I had Paul Dukas listen to my work ... I'd never imagined the effect of doing so. Then the same thing happened to me with Albéniz, who's very famous here; with Maurice Ravel; with Florent Schmitt; with Ricardo Viñes, our compatriot; with Nin, with Calvocoressi, and with the librettist of Massenet's *Werther*, who wants to premiere the aforementioned work [i.e. *La vida breve*] here next season.

It is not known when Falla was initiated into the Apaches themselves. Pahissa mentions Falla's attendance at 'weekly gatherings in the house of the composer Delage',³⁴ but implies that he did not attend all of these meetings;³⁵ Calvocoressi recalls that he was a 'frequent visitor'.³⁶ That his presence was more than occasional is borne out by Falla's recollection over twenty years later of 'aquellas reuniones semanales en casa del ... querido Maurice Delage' ('those weekly meetings in the house of ... dear Maurice Delage').³⁷

His first meeting with Déodat de Sévérac may well have been at the Paris home of Isaac Albéniz, who became Falla's good friend after Dukas introduced them in September 1907 (see § 2.2.1). Sévérac had been Albéniz's

³³ Quoted in V, 76. Viniegra's manifestly incorrect spellings of proper names have been corrected without notice. The last person whom Falla describes is Paul Milliet, who later translated *La vida breve* into French for its first performance in Nice.

³⁴ PM, 74.

³⁵ 'One day Falla received a letter from Delage, asking him to be sure not to miss the meeting due to take place that night in his rooms ...' (PM, 74). This seems to indicate that his regular attendance was not guaranteed.

³⁶ Calvocoressi, *Musicians Gallery*, 55.

³⁷ Letter from Falla to Roland-Manuel, 1 January 1938, preserved at E-GRmf, correspondence folder 7521.

assistant since 1900;³⁸ after Albéniz's death in 1909, it was he who completed the piano work *Navarra*.³⁹

It is clear that Falla knew Sévérac: Pahissa specifically mentions him as one of those who attended the meetings at Delage's house.⁴⁰ But Falla does not seem to have been as close to him as he was to certain other members of the circle. Several factors suggest this. First, there is the one surviving item of correspondence: Falla's letter of 6 December 1909, which is formal in tone, opening with the words 'Cher Monsieur' ('Dear Sir') – not, as in the case of the correspondence with the other Apaches, 'Mon cher ami' ('Dear friend'). Secondly, there is the probability (supported by the lack of evidence) that the two men never came into contact again after Falla's return to Spain in 1914. (Sévérac died in 1921.) Thirdly, there is Falla's reply, dated 12 July 1930,⁴¹ to a letter from Joseph Canteloube inviting him to add his name to a committee to promote Sévérac's work, in which he conspicuously does not take the bait extended by Canteloube's question: 'N'avez vous pas connu, d'ailleurs, de Sévérac? Je crois bien que oui, n'est-ce pas? Il me semble bien le lui avoir entendre dire' ('Moreover, did you not know de Sévérac? I think you did, didn't you? I seem to remember him talking about it').⁴²

Pahissa observes that some time after Falla joined the Apaches, Sévérac moved from Paris to Provence. In fact, he had probably already moved by this time,⁴³ and can therefore have attended their meetings no more than occasionally.

Roussel, like Falla, was a composer whom Calvocoressi describes as a 'frequent visitor' to the Apaches' meetings.⁴⁴ The fact that he and Falla

³⁸ Elaine Brody, 'Sévérac, Déodat de', in NG, xvii, 201.

³⁹ Tomas Marco, 'Albéniz, Isaac', in NG, i, 204.

⁴⁰ PM, 74.

⁴¹ See Appendix 6.C.a.

⁴² Letter from Canteloube to Falla, undated [shortly before 12 July 1930]; see Appendix 6.C.a.

⁴³ Blanche Selva, *Déodat de Sévérac* (Paris, 1930), 54.

⁴⁴ Calvocoressi, *Musicians Gallery*, 55.

became friends during the latter's residence in Paris is confirmed by the fact that he was one of the small number of people in France to whom Falla sent letters immediately after returning to Madrid in 1914.⁴⁵

The surviving correspondence between Inghelbrecht and Falla all dates from the 1920s and 1930s; both of Inghelbrecht's two letters constitute requests, the first for tickets for a performance of *The Three-Cornered Hat* in Madrid in 1921 (on which occasion they may have met; Falla and Stravinsky coincided there at that time [see § 8.2.3]), and the other for the rights to conduct the first performance of a new composition.⁴⁶ The tone of these letters makes it clear that the two were well-acquainted, and their mutual membership of the Apaches is the most obvious framework for this. Only one item of correspondence from Falla to Klingsor survives: a very brief thank-you note for a piece of criticism written in 1930. Klingsor's criticism does not give away their friendship, but it is eminently complimentary to his old associate: 'je tiens ce maître pour l'un des plus remarquables de notre temps' ('I hold that this master is one of the most remarkable of our time').⁴⁷

A dearth of documentary evidence leaves it impossible to prove that Falla knew Caplet or Ladmirault;⁴⁸ however, given the intimate nature of the circle, it is difficult to see how he can have failed to have made their acquaintance. He was certainly aware of their work (see § 4.3).

The presentation of the Apaches' own latest works was one of the central activities of their meetings, and since musicians outnumbered the painters and poets in their ranks, music probably occupied the greater part of their time.

⁴⁵ The letter is lost, but Roussel's reply, undated [c. January 1915], survives. The others to whom he wrote at this time were: Collet, Delage, Dukas, the Godebski family, Grovlez, Jean-Aubry, Koechlin, Ravel and Schmitt.

⁴⁶ Letters from Inghelbrecht to Falla, 3 April 1921 and 26 June 1930 respectively.

⁴⁷ This was a review of the concert Falla gave of his own works at the Grande Salle Pleyel in Paris on 14 May 1930 (programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1930-022 to 027), published in *La Semaine à Paris* on an unknown date; it is preserved as a cutting at *E-GRmf* (folder 6389).

⁴⁸ Sopeña describes Caplet as 'un músico tan querido de Falla' ('a musician who Falla liked so much'), but does not cite his evidence for this assertion (SV, 174).

The lion's share of the performing no doubt fell to Viñes.⁴⁹ This is the impression created by Georges d'Espagnat's painting 'Réunion de musiciens chez Monsieur Godebski', conceived in 1910 and painted in 1911,⁵⁰ which depicts Ravel, Roussel, Schmitt, Sévérac, Calvocoressi, Cipa Godebski and his young son Jean gathered around Viñes at the piano.⁵¹ Casella recalled: 'It was not rare that some composer would reserve for the Godebski house the first hearing of some important work which he had just finished'.⁵² The same was undoubtedly true of the private meetings at Delage's house.⁵³

It is extremely probable that one of the first performances of the *Four Spanish Pieces* took place at a meeting of the Apaches, given either by Falla or by Viñes, whose diary records that he began to practise them on 25 August 1908.⁵⁴ Ravel certainly knew these pieces, for he joined Dukas and Debussy in recommending them to Durand for publication.⁵⁵

It seems probable that the Apaches made a habit of exchanging copies of their latest published works. Ravel's dedicated copy of the vocal score of *La vida breve* is still to be found at Montfort-l'Amaury,⁵⁶ and Schmitt's copy of the *Trois Mélodies*, signed by the composer and dated 25 April 1910, is preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.⁵⁷

⁴⁹ Calvocoressi, *Musicians Gallery*, 55.

⁵⁰ Calvocoressi, *Musicians Gallery*, 64.

⁵¹ This painting is reproduced in PO, 56, in Orenstein, *Ravel: Man and Musician*, plate 7, Gerald Lerner, *Ravel* (London, 1996), 83, and in Luis Campodonico, *Falla* (Paris, 1959), 79.

⁵² Casella, *Music in My Time*, 108.

⁵³ One composer who did precisely this was Stravinsky, with *The Rite of Spring*. Florent Schmitt recalled a private performance of this work, 'en un lointain pavillon d'Auteuil' (undoubtedly Delage's house), 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.

⁵⁴ Gubisch, *Ricardo Viñes à travers son journal et sa correspondance*, 159.

⁵⁵ PM, 48.

⁵⁶ The dedication is translated in Arbie Orenstein, *A Ravel Reader* (New York, 1990), 157, n. 2.

⁵⁷ *F-Pn*, Musique, Cons. Rés. F. 1631.

Almost exactly a year before, Schmitt had inscribed a copy of the second volume of his *Musiques intimes* to Falla, and at some point the same year he dedicated to him a copy of 'Les Lucioles', the second of the *Nuits romaines*. Falla's signed copies of the piano duet version of the *Rapsodie espagnole* and the piano score of *Valses nobles et sentimentales* probably date from around this time too. The dedication in the latter typifies Ravel's sense of humour:

à Manuel de Falla
en attendant une suite de tangos
affectueux souvenir
Maurice Ravel

to Manuel de Falla
awaiting a suite of tangos
fond regards
Maurice Ravel

(The exchanging of scores continued long after Falla's departure from Paris; see § 4.3.)

The Apaches also discussed works in progress. It was at Delage's house that Ravel told Falla of his plans to compose works entitled *La Cloche engloutie* and *Saint François d'Assise*.⁵⁸

Viñes's diary reveals that, in addition to their own works, the Apaches played a large amount of Russian music.⁵⁹ He specifically noted Falla's enthusiasm for Rimsky-Korsakov's *Antar* when it was played (presumably in a piano duet version) at one of these meetings on 16 December 1907.⁶⁰ That was almost

⁵⁸ PV, 117 (PM, 108). Pahissa refers to the latter work as '*San Francisco*'; the full title is taken from Falla comments on it in FR, 85 (FEs, 155 [FO, 96]). Pahissa places the composition of *Saint François d'Assise* around the time of *Ma Mère l'oye* (composed 1908-10), and notes that the first part was to be called '*El sermón a los pájaros*' ('The Sermon to the Birds'). In FR, Falla claims that Ravel sketched part of it while he was working on *Daphnis et Chloé* (1909-12), and conjectures that this material was eventually subsumed into *Ma Mère l'oye*. Ravel's intention to compose *Saint François d'Assise* is confirmed in a surviving letter from Ravel to Cipa Godebski dated 26 March 1908 (quoted in Orenstein, *A Ravel Reader*, 95). *La Cloche engloutie* ('The Sunken Bell') was to have been based on Gerhart Hauptmann's play of the same name. Roland-Manuel notes that Ravel began work on it in 1905, that the sketches were well advanced before he abandoned the project, and that the parts of it music were later reused in *L'Enfant et les sortilèges* (Roland-Manuel, *Maurice Ravel*, 40, 43-4).

⁵⁹ Jann Pasler notes: 'Viñes mentions numerous performances, especially four-hand piano versions of orchestral works; among the pieces performed were symphonies by Borodin and Balakirev, *Antar*, *Thamar*, *Stenza-Razine* and *Fantaisie orientale*' ('Stravinsky and the Apaches', *Musical Times*, cxxiii [1982], 403 n. 8). In his autobiography, Casella records that it was Ravel who introduced him to Russian music, including Musorgsky (*Music in My Time*, 61).

⁶⁰ Gubisch, *Ricardo Viñes à travers son journal et sa correspondance*, 157.

certainly Falla's introduction to this repertoire, and it was probably around the same time that he acquired and annotated his vocal score of *Boris Godunov*.⁶¹

Falla was introduced to the music of even more distant cultures through Delage, who visited India and Japan in 1912.⁶² (Roussel too visited India during Falla's stay in Paris, in 1909.)⁶³ Pahissa's discussion of the Eastern origins of *cante jondo* includes the following:

Cuenta Falla que cuando su amigo Delage volvió de un viaje por aquellos apartados países trajo discos de cantos hindúes que, por momentos, con las fórmulas insistentes de sus melismos y vocalizaciones, parecían, exactamente, *cante jondo* gitano. En cambio, los discos que trajo de Japón, nada tenían que ver con ningún aspecto de la música que conocemos. Y es que es un país, ese, absolutamente aparte, extraño, como un mundo de muñecos, donde las cosas y los sentimientos tienen otra manera de ser y de manifestarse. Por ejemplo, contaba Delage que pasando un día por un sitio vieron un gran incendio que iba extinguiéndose, y al preguntar al guía qué era aquéllo, entre risas y carcajadas, les contestó: 'esta era mi aldea; aquí vivía yo'. Por la risa expresan, como por las lágrimas, sus mayores penas.⁶⁴

Falla tells that when his friend Delage returned from a journey to those distant countries he brought discs of Indian songs which, at times, with their repeated formulas of melismas and vocalizations, seemed to be exact gypsy *cante jondo*. By contrast, the discs that he brought from Japan bore no relation to any aspect of music known to us. And that is because it is a completely separate, foreign country, like a world of puppets, where all kinds of things and emotions manifest themselves differently. For example, Delage related that one day, passing by a place where they saw a large fire being extinguished, they asked the guide what the place had been, and, roaring with laughter, he replied: 'This was my village; I lived here.' By laughing, as by crying, they express their greatest pains.

Of course, it was not only at the meetings of the Apaches that these composers shared one another's company. Roland-Manuel recalls that they attended concerts and operas together, and singles out performances of *Pelléas et*

⁶¹ E-GRmf, inventory number 1182.

⁶² Takashi Funayama, 'Three Japanese Lyrics and Japonisme', in Jann Pasler (ed.), *Confronting Stravinsky: Man, Musician and Modernist* (Berkeley, 1986), 278; Jann Pasler, 'Reinterpreting Indian Music: Albert Roussel and Maurice Delage', in Margaret J. Kartomi and Stephen Blum (eds.), *Music-Cultures in Contact: Convergences and Collisions* (Basel, 1994), 132-3.

⁶³ Pasler, 'Reinterpreting Indian Music', 124-5.

⁶⁴ PV, 96-7. My translation (the translation in PM, 88-9, is curtailed).

Mélisande as a special attraction.⁶⁵ Falla's 1908 diary reveals that he attended three performances of this opera in June of that year;⁶⁶ it is tempting to think that he may have been accompanied by other Apaches on at least some of these occasions. Nina Gubisch implies that Viñes's diary records Falla's presence, with other Apaches, at the final performance of Diaghilev's production of *Boris Godunov* at the Opéra on 4 June 1908.⁶⁷ There can be no doubt that Falla attended a great many more concerts, operas and ballets at this time than is suggested by the number of programmes preserved in his collection.

Undoubtedly, the Apaches made special efforts to attend performances of one another's work. We know that Falla was present at rehearsals or performances of Sévérac's *Le Cœur du moulin*,⁶⁸ Roussel's *Le Marchand de sable qui passe*,⁶⁹ Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé*,⁷⁰ and probably *Ma Mère l'oye* too.⁷¹ A sketch for a letter from Falla to Schmitt, dated 28 December 1913, reveals that he was keen to ensure that Schmitt had received tickets for the public dress rehearsal of *La vida breve*. It is not known whether Schmitt saw the opera, but Ravel was certainly there, for he wrote a review of it for *Comedia illustré* (an excerpt is quoted in § 4.5 below).⁷²

Other opportunities to hear one another's work were provided by the Société Musicale Indépendante, the administration of which was largely carried out by

⁶⁵ Roland-Manuel, *Maurice Ravel*, 34.

⁶⁶ Preserved at E-MOma; cited in Michael Christoforidis, 'Manuel de Falla, Debussy and *La vida breve*', *Musicology Australia* xviii (1995), 4.

⁶⁷ Gubisch, *Ricardo Viñes à travers son journal et sa correspondance*, 158.

⁶⁸ He attended the *répétition générale* on 8 December 1909.

⁶⁹ He attended a performance on 18 February 1911.

⁷⁰ He attended a performance of this ballet on at least one occasion: 23 June 1913. He may also have attended a rehearsal shortly before the premiere on 8 June 1912.

⁷¹ Pahissa mentions that Falla was with Ravel in the pit during a rehearsal of this work, but his recollection of the details may be inaccurate. It is possible that this was shortly before the first performance of this work in its ballet form, on 29 January 1912. See Appendix 4.A.d for further discussion.

⁷² Maurice Ravel, 'A l'Opéra-Comique: Francesca da Rimini et La Vie brève', *Comedia illustré*, v, 8 (20 January 1914), 390-1; translated in Orenstein, *A Ravel Reader*, 373-4.

members of the Apaches. Pahissa describes Falla's part in the foundation of this society.⁷³ The incident which sparked its creation has been written about elsewhere (notably by Koechlin):⁷⁴ the Société Nationale's rejection of Delage's symphonic poem *Conté par la mer*. Pahissa's account fleshes out this incident with narrative detail, and attributes to Falla and Ravel the task of playing the work, in piano-duet form, at the Société Nationale audition: a clear indication of the esteem that Delage (and, presumably, other Apaches) must have had for Falla's piano-playing.

Curiously, Falla is identified as one of the founders of the SMI by only one writer other than Pahissa. This is Alfredo Casella, whose autobiography, interestingly, is also the only source which counts Casella himself among their number (in fact, he describes himself as its 'general secretary' from 1911 to 1914).⁷⁵ Michel Duchesneau, in his detailed study of the SMI, indicates that all the members of the original committee were French (though he does not cite his source for this information).⁷⁶ However, Falla had certainly become a committee member by 1914 (this is evident in two letters written during that year, one from Koechlin to Falla, the other from Falla to Casella),⁷⁷ and he remained so, if only in name, for many years afterwards.⁷⁸ He was, furthermore, closely involved from the very outset; indeed, he gave the first complete performance of his *Trois Mélodies* in the Society's second concert

⁷³ PM, 74-5.

⁷⁴ Charles Koechlin, 'Quelques souvenirs', quoted in Jean-Michel Nectoux, 'Ravel/Fauré et les débuts de la Société Musicale Indépendante', *Revue de musicologie*, lxi, 2 (1975), 303.

⁷⁵ Casella, *Music in My Time*, 91-2.

⁷⁶ He lists the founding committee as: Aubert, Caplet, Roger-Ducasse, Huré, Koechlin, Ravel, Schmitt, Vuillermoz, A. Z. Mathot (secretary) and Fauré (president) (Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale*, 66).

⁷⁷ In an undated letter to Falla [before 31 January 1914] (see Appendix 5.A), Koechlin wrote: 'Je vous reverrai au comité de la S. M. I. à mon retour, j'espère' ('I'll see you again at the SMI committee when I get back, I hope'). On 30 October 1914, shortly after Falla's return to Madrid, he wrote to Casella and asked for news of 'nos camarades de la S. M. I.' ('our SMI comrades') (see Appendix 7.A.a). This disproves Duchesneau's assertion that foreign composers were not admitted to the committee until 1921 (*L'Avant-garde musicale*, 66), an assertion which Duchesneau himself contradicts in a footnote (*ibid.*, 113, n. 12).

⁷⁸ Falla's name is included in the list of committee members printed in the programme for the 113th SMI concert, held in the Salle Erard on 2 December 1925 (programme preserved at E-GRmf: FE 1925-001).

(4 May 1910),⁷⁹ thereby becoming the first non-French composer to perform his own work at the SMI. Significantly, when in October 1914 Falla asked Casella for news of their Parisian friends, it was as 'nos camarades de la S. M. I.' ('our SMI colleagues') that he described them.⁸⁰

There is much to suggest that Falla's relationships with these composers, both as a group and individually, were social as much as artistic. A passage from Viñes's diary cited by Gubisch implies that Falla and Calvocoressi visited Versailles together shortly after they had been introduced to one another.⁸¹ The same source acknowledges Viñes's own affection for Falla on a number of occasions, not least in his attempts to procure work for him as an accompanist.⁸² The personal affability which existed within the circle is evinced in their acquaintance with the members' families. Falla knew Ravel's mother well (he describes her affectionately in 'Notes sur Ravel'),⁸³ and letters written shortly after his return to Spain in 1914 reveal that he also knew his brother, and that Ravel knew Falla's brother Germán (who was also living in Paris at the time, studying architecture).⁸⁴

One anecdote of a personal nature concerns Falla's conduct on the occasion of the death of Ravel's father (13 October 1908).⁸⁵ Falla described these events in 'Notes sur Ravel',⁸⁶ but gave a much more impassioned and colloquial account of them (note the length of the sentences!) in a letter to Roland-Manuel dated 17 April 1938, shortly after Ravel's own death. Falla begins by

⁷⁹ Programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1910-002. A separate performance of the 'Seguidilla' was given at the Salle de la Schola Cantorum on 14 March 1910 (FE 1910-001).

⁸⁰ Letter from Falla to Casella, 30 October 1914; see Appendix 7.A.a.

⁸¹ Viñes's diary entry for 11 November 1907, cited in Gubisch, *Ricardo Viñès à travers son journal et sa correspondance*, 156-7.

⁸² Gubisch, *Ricardo Viñès à travers son journal et sa correspondance*, 160-3.

⁸³ FEs, 153 (FR, 83 [FO, 94-5]).

⁸⁴ Letter from Falla to Ravel, 6 November 1914; letter from Ravel to Falla, 15 November 1914.

⁸⁵ Date given in Roland-Manuel, *Maurice Ravel*, 54.

⁸⁶ FEs, 154 (FR, 84 [FO, 95-6]).

expressing his distress at the fact that Ravel had not been given a Christian funeral, and continues:

De haber estado yo en París acaso hubiera podido evitar la manera como han hecho su entierro, pues habría recordado a quienes así lo decidieron, que es ando yo con él cuando su padre se hallaba moribundo, me pidió con urgencia que avisará a nuestro amigo *l'abbé Petit*, diciéndome que *no quería* que su padre muriese sin los auxilios religiosos. Desgraciadamente cuando llegamos ya era todo inútil, pero lo que no admite la menor duda es que si Ravel puso entonces tanto empeño *personal* en que si padre muriese como cristiano, de haberse dado cuenta (lo que el pobre no podía hacer) de la suprema gravedad de su propio estado, hubiese reclamada para él lo mismo que con angustioso deseo reclamó para su padre, y como de todo ello fui principal testigo, así lo hubiera hecho constar. Pero va que, desgraciadamente, no ha podido ser así, sirvanos esto de religioso consuelo y como un motivo más de esa profunda esperanza, que Vd. tan bien expresa en su carta, de que la Misericordia de Dios y los Méritos infinitos de Nuestro Señor le den el descanso en *la Vida de siempre* ...⁸⁷

If only I'd been in Paris, perhaps it would have been possible to avoid the way in which he was buried, because I'd have reminded those who decided how it should be done that when I was with him when his father was dying, he urgently asked me to inform our friend *L'Abbé Petit*, telling me that *he didn't want* his father to die without religious attention. Unfortunately when we arrived it was already too late, but what cannot be in the slightest doubt is that if Ravel took such *personal* care back then so his father should die a Christian, and if he'd realised (as the poor man was unable to do) the extreme seriousness of his own condition, he'd have demanded for himself that which his anguished desire demanded for his father, and as the main witness of all this, I'd have stated that it was so. But it turns out that, unfortunately, I was unable to be there, and so we should take from it religious comfort and a further reason for that profound hope, which you expressed so well in your letter, that God's Mercy and the infinite Merits of Our Lord will grant him rest in *the Life everlasting* ...

If we assume it to be accurate, this anecdote is fascinating in its portrayal of a side of Ravel's character about which he himself was always reticent. Of course, we shall never know if Falla was correct in his contention that Ravel would have chosen a Christian funeral had the circumstances of his death been more drawn-out (he died as a result of a surgical operation, from which he never fully regained consciousness).⁸⁸ Given his steadfast agnosticism, it

⁸⁷ Letter from Falla to Roland-Manuel, 17 April 1938, carbon copy preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7520. Part of this letter is quoted, in French translation, in Jean Roy, 'Correspondance adressée par Maurice Ravel à Manuel de Falla', *Cahiers Maurice Ravel*, 3 (1987), 24.

⁸⁸ Roland-Manuel, *Maurice Ravel*, 107.

seems unlikely. His wish for his father to be given the last rites may have been a result of his sense of pity or even a momentary weakness of resolve; but the story does indicate that Ravel was not wholly antipathetic to the Christian faith.

This 1938 account reveals much about Falla's relationship with Ravel, and it will be revisited later (§ 4.2.6). For the moment, however, one important bare fact may be gleaned from it: that Falla happened to be with Ravel when news reached him of his father's impending death. This suggests that the two men were frequently to be found in one another's company.

4.2.2 1914-18

Falla clearly missed the company of his Paris friends during the first few months after his return to Spain in 1914. As noted earlier (§ 4.2.1), he asked Casella for news of his SMI friends.⁸⁹ Jean-Aubry's replies to Falla's letters of this period are full of information about the whereabouts and wartime occupations of Falla's Apache colleagues, including Ravel, Schmitt, Caplet, Delage, Stravinsky, Roland-Manuel and the Viñes and Godebski families.⁹⁰

Pahissa cites one of Falla's reasons for leaving Paris as: 'All his friends were volunteering, among them Florent Schmitt and Ravel ...'.⁹¹ Jean-Aubry's letters of late 1914 and early 1915 record the military occupations of Schmitt (based near Toul), Ravel and Delage (both driving military vehicles), Caplet (based at Le Havre) and Roland-Manuel (serving with an expeditionary corps in Constantinople). By mid-1916, Roussel had signed up too, and was engaged as a lieutenant at Châlons-sur-Marne.⁹²

Falla wrote to Ravel and Schmitt at their Paris addresses on 6 November 1914, but it is clear that he had already tried to contact them at least once since returning to Madrid, for both letters begin with the words 'Je vous écris encore' ('I'm writing to you again'). On 30 October, he told Casella that he had already written to both men;⁹³ however, both of these earlier letters are lost, and, given that both of the later ones have survived, it is probable that they were never received.

⁸⁹ Letter from Falla to Casella, 30 October 1914; see Appendix 7.A.a.

⁹⁰ Letters from Jean-Aubry to Falla, 4 November 1914, undated [shortly before 10 January 1915], 18 January, 4 April 1915, and undated [before 23 July 1916], all preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7131/1.

⁹¹ PM, 80.

⁹² Letter from Jean-Aubry to Falla, undated [before 23 July 1916], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7131/1.

⁹³ See Appendix 7.A.a.

Both of these letters are essentially personal in tone and content, beginning with expressions of confidence in France's eventual victory and concluding with requests to pass on his best wishes to family members (Ravel's mother and brother and Schmitt's wife). The closest they come to professional matters is Falla's news about the Madrid production of *La vida breve*.

Ravel replied on 15 December (inadvertently dating it November), having just returned to Paris from St Jean de Luz and having not yet been accepted for military service. He gives Schmitt's military address in Toul, and mentions that Delage is based at Fontainebleau, but that he does not have his full address. Falla's letter to Schmitt must have been forwarded to him in Toul;⁹⁴ he wrote a short reply, headed with his new address, on 19 December.

Falla replied to both men on 27 December, and a sketch for a letter to Delage also survives from this time. This letter was sent to Delage's Paris address (given Ravel's – and hence Falla's – ignorance of his Fontainebleau address), and probably never reached him; certainly, Falla seems not to have received a reply. The sketch indicates that he had written to Delage earlier too.

Of the members of this circle who were not composers, the Godebski family and (probably) Émile Vuillermoz received similar letters from Falla.⁹⁵ Surprisingly, Viñes did not, though Falla mentioned his intention to write to him in the last-mentioned letter to Schmitt. Viñes passed on his regards to him

⁹⁴ Jean-Aubry's letter to Falla of 4 November 1914 (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7131/1) reveals that Schmitt was already stationed in Toul.

⁹⁵ Cipa Godebski and his wife replied with a postcard on 15 January 1915 (preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7052). The evidence which suggests that Falla wrote to Vuillermoz at this time is a sentence in the letter which Vuillermoz wrote to him on 30 November 1918 (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7769), in reply to a letter sending his congratulations on the occasion of France's victory: 'Deux fois, depuis ces cinquante mois de cauchemar, vous avez eu la charmante et amicale pensée de m'écrire et deux fois vous avez été inspiré par le plus délicat et le plus touchant sentiment' ('Twice, during these fifty months of nightmare, you've been so charming and so friendly as to think of writing to me and twice you were inspired by the most thoughtful and touching sentiment'). The most probable circumstance in which Falla would have been inspired thus is the beginning of the war.

via Jean-Aubry in the latter's letter of 18 January 1915,⁹⁶ but, when he needed to write to Falla on 24 March 1915, he had to ask Aubry for his address.⁹⁷

Falla may also have written to Roussel; it is possible that one of two undated new-year greetings from this composer was a reply to such a letter. Roussel was certainly among those to whom Falla wrote congratulatory letters four years later; others included Ravel, Schmitt, Vuillermoz and the Godebski family. Replies from all five are preserved at the Falla Archive,⁹⁸ but the only one of Falla's missives to have survived is the postcard he sent to Vuillermoz on 22 November 1918.⁹⁹

Curiously, these two batches of letters frame a four-year lull in the correspondence between Falla and the other Apaches. Only one item survives from the wartime period: this is a sketched note (presumably intended for a telegram) from Falla to Ravel, dated 30 December 1916, informing him of the success of a performance of *Ma Mère l'oye* at the Sociedad Nacional de Música. We know that Falla also wrote a letter of condolence to Ravel when he heard of the death of his mother (5 January 1917),¹⁰⁰ but this letter is lost. In addition, the Falla Archive preserves a photograph of Ravel in military helmet and fur coat, inscribed as follows: 'Souvenir affectueux à Manuel de Falla [/] Maurice Ravel' ('Fond regards to Manuel de Falla [from] Maurice Ravel').¹⁰¹ This may have been sent to him during the war, but it is perhaps more probable that he received it at a later date; the photograph is humorous, and its tone ties in with the keen sense of humour evinced by Ravel in his later letters (see § 4.2.6).

⁹⁶ Preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7131/1.

⁹⁷ Postcard preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7763.

⁹⁸ Postcards from Roussel, 24 November 1918; from Ravel, 2 January 1919; from Schmitt, 12 January 1919; from Ida Godebska, 8 December 1918 (preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7052); letter from Vuillermoz, 30 November 1918 (*E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7769).

⁹⁹ Original at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7769.

¹⁰⁰ Ravel recalled receiving this letter in his letter to Falla dated 19 September 1919. Date of Madame Ravel's death from Roland-Manuel, *Maurice Ravel*, 80.

¹⁰¹ *E-GRmf*, photograph number 8/28; reproduced in IC, 178, and PO, 77.

.....

It is possible that Falla continued to correspond with these composers throughout the war but that most of the letters have been lost. However, given the fact that other letters from the period do survive (notably those Falla received from Dukas; see § 2.2.2), this is unlikely. In any case, by 1915, Falla was busy with other things (the Sociedad Nacional de Música, the orchestration of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, collaborations with the the Martínez Sierras, etc.). Meanwhile, his French colleagues were engaged – directly or indirectly – in fighting the war. In such circumstances, it is unsurprising that their letter-writing lapsed.

4.2.3 Friendship with Schmitt, 1919-31

Schmitt's first letter to Falla after the First World War reveals a genuine interest in his work: he mentions having 'seen' *El amor brujo* and asks when Paris will hear his 'nocturne'.¹⁰² Schmitt cannot have seen a performance of *El amor brujo*; his choice of verb perhaps indicates that he had seen the manuscript score of fragments transcribed for the piano which Viñes played at an SMI concert on 19 February 1918.¹⁰³ (As an SMI committee member who was in Paris at the time,¹⁰⁴ he was probably present for this performance.) Viñes may also have been responsible for telling him about the 'Nocturnes'; this was the working-title of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, and it is by this name that the work is frequently described in the correspondence between Falla and Viñes, even as late as 1923.¹⁰⁵ Alternatively, Schmitt may have recalled that Falla had been working on a piece entitled 'Nocturnes' during the last few years of his sojourn in Paris.¹⁰⁶

Nights in the Gardens of Spain received its first Paris performance at the Opéra on 4 January 1920,¹⁰⁷ and we may suppose that Schmitt made every effort to be there. He certainly attended a performance of *The Three-Cornered*

¹⁰² Postcard from Schmitt to Falla, 12 January 1919.

¹⁰³ Programme preserved at *E-GRmf*: FE 1918-003. The fragments in question were the 'Romanza del pescador' and the 'Danza del fin del día'.

¹⁰⁴ The committee's membership is listed in the programme: Fauré, Aubert, Caplet, Casella, Roger-Ducasse, Falla, Grovlez, Huré, Inghelbrecht, Koechlin, Ravel, Schmitt and Turina.

¹⁰⁵ Letters from Viñes to Falla, 15 March and 25 April 1916, both preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7763; from Falla to Viñes, 27 January 1923, draft in correspondence folder 7763; telegram from Ansermet and Viñes to Falla, 8 November 1916, transcribed in Tappolet (ed.), *Ernest Ansermet: Correspondances*, i, 165.

¹⁰⁶ The earliest known reference to the work is in a letter from Falla to Jean-Aubry dated 28 August 1910 (private collection; photocopy held at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7133), but its composition must have been begun at least 16 months previously, since Pahissa records a discussion with Albéniz about the work (PM, 75), and Albéniz died on 18 May 1909. In his letter to Debussy of 14 May 1916, Falla recalled discussing the 'Nocturnes' with him too (see Appendix 3.A).

¹⁰⁷ D, 246; precise date from letter from Casella to Falla, undated [2 January 1920] (see Appendix 7.A.a).

Hat by the Ballets Russes; in his next letter to Falla (6 February 1921), he noted that he saw the ballet twice more during its second run in January 1921. The reference to attending *further* performances of *The Three-Cornered Hat* implies that Falla knew he had attended one of the first ones, and hence that they met and conversed in Paris in 1920. The lighthearted question about Falla's new address in Granada – 'Êtes-vous conservateur de l'Alhambra?' ('Are you the curator of the Alhambra?') – also sounds a note of familiarity.

It is not known how much the two men saw of one another in the years that followed. It seems extremely likely that they met during Falla's stay in Paris between April and July 1923. That the two had conversed recently is suggested by the brevity of the letter of introduction which Schmitt wrote on behalf of the American tenor Charles Hubbard some time before 19 June 1923.¹⁰⁸ This letter is also the first of several in which Schmitt addresses Falla by first name (a custom which is extremely rare in Falla's correspondence, and, as far as the Apaches are concerned, unique to Schmitt); Falla returned the courtesy in his next two letters.¹⁰⁹ Schmitt was probably present at the private performance of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* at the Princesse de Polignac's salon; to judge from the identities of those Falla is known to have asked (including Ravel, Aubert and Grovlez [see §§ 4.2.6, 6.2 and 6.7]), he was almost certainly invited. Two years later, Falla arranged for Chester to send him a copy of the score, and he promised to inscribe it for him on his next visit to Paris.¹¹⁰ It is not known whether this promise was fulfilled.

The final batch of correspondence between them dates from 1931, and concerns Falla's request that Schmitt be his patron for his nomination as an

¹⁰⁸ Hubbard wanted Falla to accompany him in the *Seven Popular Spanish Songs* at a concert on 19 June 1923. By way of encouragement, Hubbard observes that Schmitt and Roussel will be accompanying him too, and he passes on Schmitt's suggestion that Falla may like to add a solo piano piece to the programme. It seems that Falla did not take part, as neither did Roussel; he probably did not attend the concert either, for the copy of the programme preserved at *E-GRmf* (FE 1923-014) is marked with his initial, as though it were set aside and forwarded to him. Curiously, a deletion in Schmitt's portion of the letter reveals that he had been under the impression that Hubbard was Spanish.

¹⁰⁹ Dated 28 April 1925 and 26 March 1931.

¹¹⁰ Postcard from Falla to Schmitt, 28 April 1925.

associate member of the Société des Auteurs.¹¹¹ (The other patron was, of course, Dukas; see § 2.2.5.) It is not certain why Falla chose Schmitt (above his many other Parisian acquaintances) to perform this duty: the most eminent French composer among his friends was certainly Ravel (though Schmitt probably held second place). Perhaps Schmitt held an influential position in the Société des Auteurs (though my attempts to determine whether this was so have failed). Another possibility is that Falla encountered Schmitt – but not Ravel – during his stay in Paris in May-June 1930, and so felt more inclined towards the former when it came to asking favours. (We know that both Falla and Schmitt were moving in the same Parisian circles at this time. Schmitt was present at a dinner on 21 May, organised to celebrate ten years of *La Revue musicale*, to which Falla was invited also. He was unable to attend, but Henry Prunières passed on Schmitt's regards to him by letter.)¹¹² A further possibility is that Falla was simply closer to Schmitt than to Ravel; it has already been observed that they were on first-name terms. The greater quantity of correspondence with Ravel may seem to argue against this last hypothesis, but it must be remembered that a smaller amount of correspondence may indicate a greater frequency of human contact.

The two men probably met for the last time in June or July 1931, in Paris. Schmitt's name, in addition to those of Dukas and Koechlin, is one of a number of words which Falla pencilled in the margin of a letter from Prunières dated 4 June 1931.¹¹³ The inclusion of his name plainly indicates an intention to visit him; it is known for certain that he visited Dukas and Koechlin,¹¹⁴ and he had good reason to visit Schmitt too (specifically, to thank him for supporting his Société des Auteurs application).

¹¹¹ Letters from Falla to Schmitt, 26 March and 6 April 1931; postcard from Schmitt to Falla, 4 April [1931].

¹¹² Letter from Prunières to Falla, 21 May 1930, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453.

¹¹³ Preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453.

¹¹⁴ See § 2.2.5 [Dukas] and § 5.2 [Koechlin].

4.2.4 Friendship with Delage, 1919-33

It is not known if there was any contact between Delage and Falla from 1914 to 1929. No correspondence survives. It is quite possible that they encountered one another occasionally during Falla's visits to Paris. In May 1924, Delage asked the Abbé Petit to remember him to Falla,¹¹⁵ but this may have been prompted simply by the Abbé mentioning that he was planning to write to him that same day.

Their friendship was rekindled in early September 1929, when Delage, Roland-Manuel and their wives visited Falla in Granada. Their travel plans were set out in a letter from Roland-Manuel (who had made two earlier visits to Falla in Granada, in September 1925 and around April 1928):¹¹⁶

Les Delage ont acheté une auto magnifique à l'intention d'un grand voyage en Espagne: Burgos, Salamanque, Avila, Escorial, Madrid, Tolède, Cordoue, Séville, Cadix[,] Gibraltar, Motril, Grenade, Murcie, Alicante, Valence[,] Barcelone et retour. Ils nous emmènent et nous sommes ravis. Ravis surtout s'il vous est possible de donner suite à votre projet d'aller à Séville. Quelle joie ce serait pour nous de visiter avec vous la 'ville merveilleuse'.¹¹⁷ Nous comptons arriver à Séville le 7 septembre.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ The Abbé Petit passed on Delage's regards (noting that he had just left his house) in an undated letter to Falla [shortly after 8 May 1924], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7410.

¹¹⁶ Letters from Roland-Manuel to Falla, 5 August 1925, 12 September 1925 and 20 April 1928, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7520.

¹¹⁷ The reference here is to *La ciudad maravillosa* (or *La Ville merveilleux*), a work about Seville which Falla projected during the First World War, and which he mentioned to Ernest Ansermet, probably during the Ballets Russes season in Madrid in June 1917. Ansermet asked about the work's progress in a postcard to Falla dated 3 January 1918 (preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6706, and transcribed in Tappolet (ed.), *Ernest Ansermet: Correspondances*, i, 166), and continued to ask about it at regular intervals, mentioning it even in his last letter to Falla, dated 7 December 1933 (*ibid.*, 191). In a letter to Ansermet dated 30 August 1928, Falla described *La ciudad maravillosa* as 'en proyecto; pero todo llegará Dios mediante...' ('a project; but we'll get there, God willing...') (*ibid.*, 183). He obviously mentioned the project to Roland-Manuel too: it is mentioned in RM, 62.

¹¹⁸ Letter from Roland-Manuel to Falla, undated [shortly before 27 July 1929], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7520.

The Delages have bought a magnificent car with the intention of undertaking a long journey in Spain: Burgos, Salamanca, Avila, El Escorial, Madrid, Toledo, Cordova, Seville, Cadiz, Gibraltar, Motril, Granada, Murcia, Alicante, Valencia, Barcelona and back. They're taking us with them, and we're delighted. Especially delighted if you're able to fulfil your plan to go to Seville. What a joy it would be for us to visit the 'marvellous city' with you. We expect to arrive in Seville on 7 September.

Delage's description of the journey implies a different routing, arriving in Granada not from the coast but from inland (possibly from Seville, but more probably from the north), and with the subsequent overnight stop being made in Adra, on the south coast between Motril and Almería:

... ce fut un étonnant voyage – vous rencontrer à Grenade après la splendide aridité de la 'meseta' et vous quitter pour aller coucher à Adra au milieu des cannes à sucre, des marocains et autres gens africains – et le lendemain escalader cent kilomètres de montagnes lunaires, entre les Sierras [de] Alhamilla et de los Filabres!¹¹⁹

... it was a stunning journey – meeting you in Granada after the magnificent aridity of the 'meseta' and leaving you to go to spend the night at Adra in the midst of sugar canes, Moroccans and other African people – and the next day scaling a hundred kilometres of lunar mountains, between the Sierras de Alhamilla and de los Filabres!

It is clear from this that Falla did not meet his friends in Seville. He told Roland-Manuel why not in his letter of 27 July:

Ojalá pudiera yo ir a Sevilla para reunirme con ustedes, pero me temo mucho no poder hacerlo dado el retraso que sufre mi trabajo a causa de un sin fin de cosas inesperadas que he sufrido en estos últimos meses.¹²⁰

Let's hope I'll be able to go to Seville to meet up with you, but I very much fear that I won't be able to do so given that my work is behind schedule owing to no end of unexpected things that I've been through these last few months.

But, in the same letter, he does indicate his intention to spend time with them in Granada: '[i] Les preparamos ya el programa de paseos y excursiones que hemos de hacer!' ('We're already preparing for you the programme of walks and excursions that we'll have to do!').

¹¹⁹ Letter from Delage to Falla, 29 October 1929. The last section describes the present N340 road north-east from Almería.

¹²⁰ Letter from Falla to Roland-Manuel, 27 July 1929, photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7521.

It is not known exactly when the Delages and the Roland-Manuels arrived in Granada, or for how long they stayed (though the wording of Delage's letter of 29 October, quoted above, suggests that they arrived and left on the same day). Nor is it known exactly what 'walks and excursions' Falla had in mind; it is possible that some of these involved Delage's car. It seems certain, however, that they made an evening visit to the Alhambra; in his letter to Falla of 17 December 1932, Delage notes: 'Dans mes beaux souvenirs de voyage, il y a la découverte avec vous, dans la nuit de l'Alhambra ...' ('In my fine memories of the trip, I find myself with you, at night in the Alhambra ...').

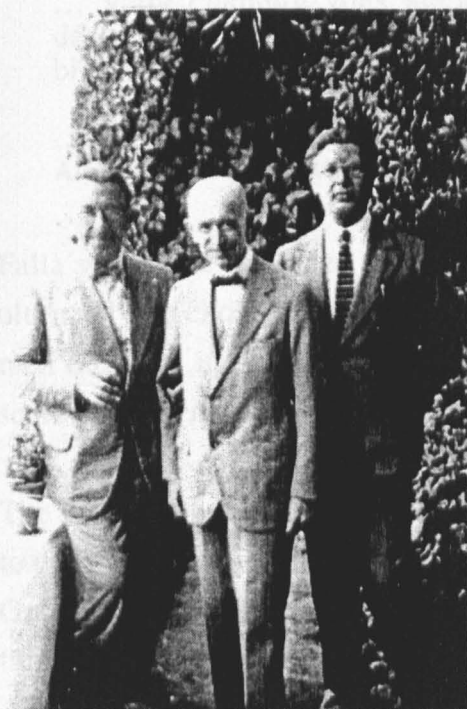


Figure 4.2.4.i

Delage, Falla and Roland-Manuel
in the garden of Falla's house
in Granada, September 1929
(*E-GRmf*, unclassified photograph).

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

Delage attempted to film his visit using a Pathé cine camera, but his attempt failed, apparently owing to a mechanical problem.¹²¹ Nevertheless, he was able to send Falla some stills with his letter of 29 October 1929. Falla acknowledged their receipt on 14 January 1930; he professed that he was taking special care of them, but requested 'une nouvelle copie' ('another copy' – singular). Only one such photograph is preserved at the Falla Archive (Figure 4.2.4.i), but this was acquired recently and was not part of Falla's

¹²¹ Letter from Delage to Falla, 29 October 1929.

collection; the fate of the earlier copies is unknown.¹²² It shows Delage, Falla and Roland-Manuel standing together in the garden of Falla's house. Roland-Manuel is rather stiffly posed, but Delage's arm is linked with Falla's, and both appear to be genuinely happy and relaxed.

There were two direct consequences of the renewal of this friendship. One of these was the invitation extended to Falla by Delage for him to stay with them on his next visit to Paris in April 1930 (in fact, Falla did not arrive in Paris until the following month):¹²³

... votre chambre vous attend, une terrasse aussi d'où l'on se découvre pas l'Albaicín mais le petit jardin d'amis qui vous aiment bien.¹²⁴

... your room is waiting for you, and a terrace too which looks out not over the Albaicín but over the little garden of friends who are very fond of you.

Falla was twice reminded of this invitation by the Roland-Manuels,¹²⁵ but ultimately he chose to stay at the Hôtel de Bourgogne et Montana. The two men did meet up, however; on 10 May, Delage presented him with the full score of *Sept Haï-Kaïs*, to which he added a handwritten dedication.

The second consequence, and the more significant one, was Delage's decision to dedicate a work to Falla. He must have promised to do this during his trip to Granada in 1929; in his letter of 17 December 1932, he reminded Falla of his three-year-old promise and informed him that the work was now complete:

¹²² *E-GRmf*, unclassified photograph.

¹²³ On 1 May, he was still in Toulouse *en route* to Paris (letter from Falla to Malipiero, [1 May 1930]; see Appendix 7.B.a).

¹²⁴ Letter from Delage to Falla, 29 October 1929. Incidentally, the Albaicín is not visible from Falla's terrace.

¹²⁵ Letters from Roland-Manuel to Falla, [6?] April 1930; from Suzanne Roland-Manuel to Falla, 27 [April 1930]; both preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7520.

Cela s'appelle donc 'Hommage à D. Manuel de Falla' pour orchestre (par deux) entre une 'Nuit de Noël' et une 'Danse' – même orchestre.¹²⁶

So it's called 'Hommage à D. Manuel de Falla' for orchestra (double woodwind) between a 'Nuit de Noël' and a 'Danse' – same orchestra.

He also announced the first performance, under Walter Straram, on 19 January 1933, at an unspecified location in Paris. Two months later, he wrote again to inform Falla that this performance had been put back to 2 March.¹²⁷ (A favourable review of this premiere appeared in the 31 March issue of *Le Monde musical*.)¹²⁸

Falla must have received the score towards the end of that year, for he pencilled the reply date 16 November 1933 on it.¹²⁹ Though Delage never defines it as such, the work is actually entitled 'Rêves' ('Hommage à Don Manuel de Falla' is the subtitle),¹³⁰ and it is grouped with the other two works mentioned by Delage under the title *Contrerimes*. The three movements were published separately, albeit only in piano score, and Falla was sent all three.¹³¹ Curiously, 'Rêves' bears the printed caption 'Auteuil – 20 Octobre 1931',

¹²⁶ Letter from Delage to Falla, 17 December 1932.

¹²⁷ Letter from Delage to Falla, 18 February 1933.

¹²⁸ 'De Maurice Delage l'orchestre de chambre exécutait *Contrerimes*, trois pièces délicates et sensibles. La première, *Nuit de Noël*, qui est probablement la meilleure, est aussi la plus aimable, la plus légère; la deuxième qui est un *Hommage à don Manuel de Falla* a obtenu un vif succès; dans la troisième *Danse*, on note une très jolie utilisation des bois. Le tout forme un ensemble agréable, soigné, très bien orchestré et d'une essence très française. Le seul reproche (si c'en est un) serait que les trois pièces se ressemblent trop.' ('By Maurice Delage, the chamber orchestra performed *Contrerimes*, three delicate and sensitive pieces. The first, 'Nuit de Noël', which is probably the best, is also the nicest, the lightest; the second, which is a 'Hommage à Don Manuel de Falla', proved very popular; in the third, 'Danse', the very pretty use of the woodwinds is noteworthy. All together, it is pleasant, neat, very well orchestrated and in essence very French. The only complaint (if it is one) would be that the three pieces are too similar.') Review by Georges Dandelot in *Le Monde musical*, lxiv, 3 (31 March 1933), 84.

¹²⁹ E-GRmf, inventory number 322.

¹³⁰ It is probable that the subtitle – and not the title – was used at the premiere, since the aforementioned review in the *Le Monde musical* also refers to the movement as 'Hommage à Don Manuel de Falla'.

¹³¹ The other two are also preserved at E-GRmf, inventory numbers 321 ('Nuit de Noël') and 323 ('Danse').

implying that Delage completed the work more than a year earlier than is suggested in his correspondence with Falla.

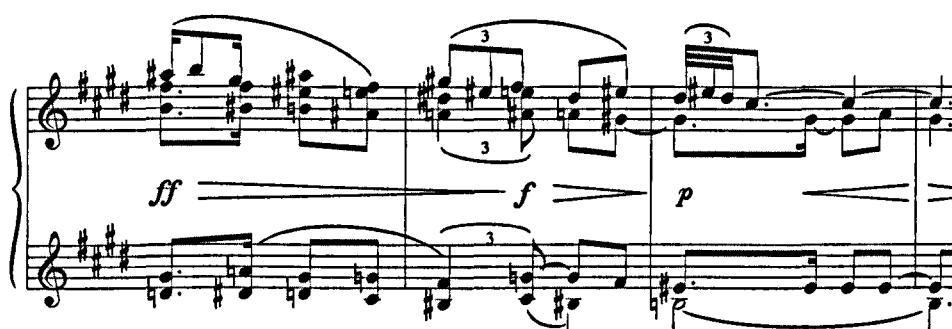
It may be that the work was directly inspired by Delage's visit to Granada; a parallel may be drawn between the title of the movement ('Dreams') and the terms in which Delage's recollections of the trip are couched in his letter of 17 December 1932, cited above. Whatever the source of its inspiration, however, it is heavily indebted to the French style of 'Spanish' music, as exemplified by Debussy and, especially, by Ravel. It is marked 'Tempo de Habanera',¹³² and is constructed from three closely-related rhythms, at least one of which appears in every single bar of the movement except the first and the last:



The three rhythms are all found in a three-bar passage which Falla bracketed in pencil on the first page of the score (see Example 4.2.4.i). Distinct parallels may be drawn between these rhythms and those of the habanera section of the *Rapsodie espagnole* or those of 'La soirée dans Grenade'. (Of course, any twentieth-century French musician's impressions of Granada must be coloured by the earlier impression created by Debussy's well-known *Prélude* – even if, unlike Debussy, he had actually visited the city.) The three-bar passage which Falla marked, with its descending sequence leading to an embellished held note, bears a particular resemblance to a passage from Ravel's *Vocalise-Étude* (also shown in Example 4.2.4.i), a copy of which he owned, and his recognition of this similarity may well account for the annotation.

In any case, 'Rêves' owes little – if anything – to Falla's example, a fact which Falla himself wryly observed in his nevertheless very warm letter of acknowledgement:

¹³² In FR, Falla notes that the habanera remained a viable expression of Spanishness in French music even though it had been forgotten by Spanish music by the middle of the nineteenth century (FEs, 135 [FR, 83 (FO, 95)]).



Delage, *Contrerimes*, 'Rêves', bars 18-22. Falla bracketed this passage in his copy of the score (*E-GRmf*, inventory number 322).

Ravel, *Vocalise-Étude en forme de habanera*, bars 22-5.

Example 4.2.4.i

Mon vieux: C'est bien grâce à vous – grâce à votre art – que j'ai enfin
mon habanera, m'en ayant fait aucune moi-même[.]¹³³

My old friend: It's thanks to you – thanks to your art – that I at last have *my*
habanera, never having written one myself.

Fully engaged at this time on *Atlántida*, Falla was unable to reciprocate by dedicating a work to Delage. In November 1933, however, he did send a copy of his article on Wagner,¹³⁴ inscribed 'en souvenir de notre dernière

¹³³ Letter from Falla to Delage, 16 November 1933.

¹³⁴ FW; this copy is preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6899, having been purchased by the Archive at auction.

conversation sur la musique' ('recalling our recent conversation about music') – a conversation which must have taken place either in Granada in September 1929 or in Paris in 1930, or possibly in Paris on Falla's subsequent visit in June and July 1931). In 1939, he dedicated 'Notes sur Ravel' jointly to Delage and Roland-Manuel.¹³⁵

Falla's favourable comments about 'Rêves', quoted above, is the only evidence appertaining to his appreciation of Delage's work (though he almost certainly expressed his admiration of it in the lost letter of 27 December 1932). Delage's opinion of Falla's work is much transparent, however. In his letter of 29 October 1929, he describes *El amor brujo* (of which he had just heard a radio broadcast) as 'entre autres une œuvre qui me touche profondément' ('among others a work which touches me deeply'). But most revealing is the humbled posture he adopts towards Falla in his letter of 18 February 1933:

Je suis heureux, surtout, que vingt-cinq années du travail me permettent de savoir, lorsque je me trouve en présence d'un maître, ne pas l'oublier.

I'm happy, above all, that twenty-five years of work enables me to know, when I find myself in the presence of a master, not to forget it.

¹³⁵ FEs, 150 (FR, 81 [FO, 93]).

4.2.5 Friendship with Roussel, 1919-22

Falla's relationship with Roussel was not as long-lasting as with Ravel, Schmitt and Delage; their last datable item of correspondence is from 1922, and there is no evidence that they actually met one another at all after 1914.

It is, however, likely that they did. Roussel's postcard to Falla of 23 January 1920 serves to indicate his displeasure at being in Provence while the French premieres of *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* and *The Three-Cornered Hat* were taking place in Paris; we may infer from this that he would have attended these had been able, and, hence, that he may have encountered Falla at later performances of his works in the city. Intriguingly, the postcard to Falla is addressed directly to 66 Avenue Mozart, the home of Falla's cousin Pedro de Matheu, where he stayed during this visit. It is not known how Roussel came to know his precise Paris address. It may be that it was passed on by a mutual acquaintance. Alternatively, the two men may have coincided in Paris before the first of these two premieres took place (*Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, on 4 January);¹³⁶ Falla arrived in Paris on 27 December.¹³⁷

Roussel certainly felt some affinity with Falla. He was one of the few correspondents (and the only Apache) who took the trouble to send him his apologies in response to the personal invitation to the 1922 *cante jondo* competition sent by the Centro Artístico de Granada.¹³⁸ As Falla noted in his

¹³⁶ D, 246. Precise date given in letter from Casella to Falla, undated [2 January 1920]; see Appendix 7.A.a.

¹³⁷ In a letter of that date sent to Falla's Paris address (66 Avenue Mozart), Joaquín Nin apologises for not meeting him at the railway station (letter preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7333).

¹³⁸ Others who wrote to Falla on this occasion include Koechlin (10 June [1922]; see Appendix 5.A), Grovlez (undated [before 13 June 1922]; Appendix 6.F.a), Samazeuilh (14 August [1922]; see Appendix 6.K.a), Darius Milhaud (telegram of 13 June and letter of 14 June 1922; preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7282), Auguste Mangeot (7 June 1922; preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7432), Magdeleine Greslé (8 June 1922; correspondence folder 7082), Emma Debussy (undated [before 13 June 1922]; correspondence folder 6898), Edward J. Dent (12 June 1922; correspondence folder 6904), and – via her secretary – the Princesse de Polignac (10 March 1922; correspondence folder 7432).

reply (written on 4 September, some weeks after the competition), the event would have interested him greatly; he must have remembered his friend's knowledge of oriental music.¹³⁹

In the postcard Roussel sent conveying his apologies, he reveals that he spent two months in Granada in 1901, staying at the Washington Irving Hotel (which is situated just a few hundred yards from Falla's house in Antequeruela Alta, though he does not seem to have been aware of the coincidence).¹⁴⁰ In his reply, Falla urged him to pay a return visit:

Quand aurions-nous le vif plaisir de vous voir à Grenade? Ne vous tente pas l'idée de revoir notre ville et notre Alhambra? J'en serais si heureux!¹⁴¹

When will we have the great pleasure of seeing you in Granada? Are you not tempted by the idea of seeing our town and our Alhambra again? I'd be so happy!

It is curious that their correspondence should peter out here; the tone of this letter in particular seems to show a fully-fledged friendship. It is entirely possible that they met one another in Paris on one or more occasions after this, and it is clear that they did not actually fall out: Roussel was another of the composers present at the *Revue musicale* anniversary dinner on 21 May 1930 who asked Prunières to pass on to Falla his regards.¹⁴² It may be that one or both of the two undated new-year messages from Roussel to Falla postdate this letter; nevertheless, these cordial but short notes cannot be regarded as evidence of a flourishing friendship. We must suppose that the two composers grew apart as a result of the infrequency or even the lack of their human contact. But it may also be noted that the enormous disparity between the kinds of music they were composing from the 1920s onwards (a preponderance of large symphonic works in Roussel's case, and of works for small chamber ensembles in Falla's) can hardly have encouraged conversation on professional matters.

¹³⁹ See Pasler, 'Reinterpreting Indian Music', 122-32.

¹⁴⁰ Postcard from Roussel to Falla, 8 June 1922.

¹⁴¹ Letter from Falla to Roussel, 4 September 1922.

¹⁴² Letter from Prunières to Falla, 21 May 1930, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453.

4.2.6 Friendship with Ravel, 1919-37

In a letter to Roland-Manuel, written shortly after Ravel's death, Falla described Ravel as 'un hombre extraordinario ... cuya *posible* actividad, por su carácter y valor personalísimos, es insustituible' ('an extraordinary man ... whose *potential* activity, because of its very particular character and worth, is irreplaceable').¹⁴³

It is clear that Ravel held a special place in Falla's affections, and nowhere is this more evident than in their correspondence. It is unsurprising that some of these letters have been published no less than three times (see Table 4.1.2.i above) while most of Falla's correspondence remains unknown. For one thing, the Ravel correspondence is fairly extensive (much more so than in the cases of the other composers studied in this chapter), in terms both of the numbers of letters sent and of the content of the letters themselves. For another, it is quite regular, especially between 1923 and 1933, when the longest hiatus lasted only a little over eighteen months.

A third feature which sets this correspondence apart is its substance. Both men's letters are vital and sincere: they impart one another's latest personal news, and hardly any of the letters take the form of the perfunctory greeting which accounts for so much of Falla's correspondence with other composers. Moreover, Ravel, unlike most of Falla's composer friends, fills his letters with his latest news about composing. His comments on this subject are reproduced in Table 4.2.6.i at the end of this section. Particularly interesting is the mention in his letter of 6 March 1930 of *Dédale* 39, a piece which he indicates he has begun to compose, but which he never completed. No sketches for the work survive,¹⁴⁴ and Ravel scholars cite only one other source in which this work is mentioned: a letter from Ravel to Hélène Kahn-Casella (Alfredo

¹⁴³ Letter from Falla to Roland-Manuel, 17 April 1938, preserved in private collection; photocopy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7521.

¹⁴⁴ Orenstein, *Ravel: Man and Musician*, 100, n. 10; *Id.*, *A Ravel Reader*, 469, n. 4.

Casella's former wife) dated 27 December 1929, in which he describes it as 'Dédale IV (outsider)', and goes on to voice his uncertainty about the number in the title.¹⁴⁵ His description of it in his letter to Falla – 'un avion – et un avion en *ut*' ('an aeroplane – and an aeroplane in C') – recalls *Boléro*, composed in two years before, also inspired by mechanics,¹⁴⁶ and also almost entirely in C.

Only six items of this correspondence remain unpublished, all of which are missives from Falla to Ravel.¹⁴⁷ These omissions apart, both Arbie Orenstein and Jean Roy have concisely described this correspondence.¹⁴⁸ The purpose of the present study, therefore, is to examine in more detail questions of the nature and strength of the relationship between Falla and Ravel, and to consider the frequency of their meetings (a matter ignored by Roy and misunderstood by Orenstein).

It is evident from the correspondence that both Falla and Ravel attached considerable importance to keeping in touch. Falla once reproached his friend for failing to do so; in January 1923, he inscribed a copy of the programme for the puppet plays staged at the home of Federico García Lorca:

Pour Maurice Ravel,
que j'admire et que j'aime malgré son oubli des vieilles amitiés ...¹⁴⁹

To Maurice Ravel,
whom I admire and of whom I'm very fond despite his neglect of old friendships ...

In more than one letter, Ravel complains that they should write to one another more often,¹⁵⁰ but he always willingly shouldered the blame for not doing so –

¹⁴⁵ Roy, 'Correspondance adressé', 25, n. 6.

¹⁴⁶ Larner, *Ravel*, 203.

¹⁴⁷ These are: undated [27 December 1914], 30 December 1916, 28 April 1925, undated [shortly after 13 November 1928], 5 March 1930, and 14 July 1931.

¹⁴⁸ Arbie Orenstein, 'Ravel and Falla: an unpublished correspondence', in Edmond Strainchamps and Maria Rika Maniates (eds.), *Music and Civilization: Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang* (New York, 1984), 335-49; Roy, 'Correspondance adressé'.

¹⁴⁹ The programme is preserved at *F-Pn*: Musique, L. a. Falla 23.

¹⁵⁰ Letters from Ravel to Falla, 4 March 1923 and 2 February 1927.

perhaps unfairly, given that in several letters it is he who appeals for Falla's news.¹⁵¹

But perhaps even more revealing than Ravel's desire for his news is his evident enjoyment of imparting his own. He does this in a very chatty, informal manner, often leading off at tangents from the main purpose of his letter. He describes trivial things in great detail, sometimes with a keen sense of humour. One instance of this is his account of requesting writing-paper in a Madrid hotel, in poor Spanish, and being served hot chocolate instead.¹⁵² Another example is worth quoting in full; it relates to a telegram which Falla sent to Ravel via Roland-Manuel:¹⁵³

Ce fut assez compliqué: n'ayant pas l'*Inter* à la rue de Bourgogne,¹⁵⁴ Roland a téléphoné à mon frère qui m'a téléphoné de téléphoner à Roland. C'est Madame Roux que j'ai trouvé au bout du fil.¹⁵⁵ Elle a ouvert le télégramme et me l'a transmis: je n'y comprenais rien. Elle non plus. Son gendre étant monté à son studio, elle lui a téléphoné de descendre. Enfin, tout s'est expliqué.¹⁵⁶

It was quite complicated: not having a long-distance telephone at the Rue de Bourgogne, Roland telephoned my brother who telephoned me to tell me to telephone Roland. It was Madame Roux whom I found at the end of the line. She opened the telegram and read it to me: I didn't understand any of it. She didn't either. Her son-in-law having gone up to his studio, she telephoned him to ask him to come down. In the end, everything was explained.

But in contrast to the humour, there are moments of pathos and genuine concern. It has already been noted that Falla wrote to Ravel at the time of his mother's death in January 1917 (see § 4.2.2). This duty was reciprocated on 19 September 1919, Ravel having only just heard (from Stravinsky, as it happens) of the death of Falla's mother. Nowhere else are the strength of his

¹⁵¹ Letters from Ravel to Falla, 16 December 1919, 4 March 1923, 11 January 1924, 12 November 1924, and 6 March 1930. Falla asks for Ravel's news in one letter, undated [27 December 1914].

¹⁵² Letter from Ravel to Falla, 30 April 1924.

¹⁵³ The telegram was dated 5 March 1930; a draft survives at *E-GRmf*.

¹⁵⁴ Roland-Manuel lived at 42 Rue de Bourgogne.

¹⁵⁵ Clearly, Madame Roux was Suzanne Roland-Manuel's mother (Roland-Manuel's mother-in-law).

¹⁵⁶ Letter from Ravel to Falla, 6 March 1930.

concern for his colleague and the value he attached to their friendship more apparent:

Je vais raviver votre douleur, et pourtant je ne veux pas vous laisser croire à mon indifférence. Je n'ai pas oublié la lettre affectueuse, à laquelle j'ai répondu si tard, que vous m'avez envoyée dans les mêmes circonstances.

C'est une chose terrible qui nous est arrivée, mon cher ami. Dès ce moment, la vie est transformée. On peut encore en ressentir les joies, les émotions, mais plus de la même façon; un peu comme lorsqu'on n'a pas dormi, ou qu'on a la fièvre. Peut-être cela finit-il par s'apaiser à la longue.

I'm going to be stirring your grief; yet I don't want to leave you thinking that I don't care. I haven't forgotten the affectionate letter, to which I replied so late, which you sent me in the same circumstances.

A terrible thing has happened to us, my dear friend. From this moment, life is transformed. It's still possible to feel joys and emotions, but not in the same way; a bit like when you haven't slept, or when you have a fever. Perhaps it will all die down in time.

In later years, their concern for one another centred on their health.¹⁵⁷ But Falla's care extended beyond Ravel's health to include his soul; this is evinced in his letter to Roland-Manuel of 17 April 1938, quoted earlier (§ 4.2.1). Much has been made of the gulf between them in the matter of religion;¹⁵⁸ it is amply clear, however, that this disagreement was tacit and did not effect their personal relationship. Falla never alluded to his beliefs in his letters to Ravel (as he often did with more sympathetic correspondents); we may safely assume that the subject was avoided in conversation too.

The close affinity between the two men is also reflected in other sources. Their thirst for each other's news is apparent in their use of intermediaries. One of these was Roland-Manuel, who maintained an extremely regular and frequent correspondence with Falla throughout the 1920s and 30s.¹⁵⁹ Falla asked him for Ravel's news on several occasions. His replies were at times quite detailed.

¹⁵⁷ Letters from Ravel to Falla, 12 November 1924 and 6 March 1930; letter from Falla to Ravel, lost [before 6 January 1933].

¹⁵⁸ Larner, *Ravel*, 111.

¹⁵⁹ 106 items of correspondence survive, dating from between 1920 and 1940; one further item dates from 1914. All are preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folders 7520 and 7521.

He explained why when he wrote to him about Ravel's condition during the late stages of his illness: '... vous faites trop l'ami de Ravel pour qu'on vous les épargne et vous ne voudriez pas qu'on vous les épargnât' ('... you were too much of a friend to Ravel for you to be spared [the details] and you wouldn't want to be spared them').¹⁶⁰

Another intermediary was Adolfo Salazar, who met Ravel several times when he visited Paris,¹⁶¹ and who Falla sometimes asked to pass on his regards.¹⁶² It was Salazar who was responsible for suggesting to Falla that he write a letter of introduction to Ravel for his former pupil, Ernesto Halffter, then studying in Paris;¹⁶³ this he did on 7 July 1924. His letter seems to have had the desired effect: three years later, Salazar told Falla that 'Ravel ... casi todos los días se ocupa de él de una manera que nunca agradeceremos bastante' ('Ravel ... almost every day concerns himself with Halffter in such a way that we'll never be able to thank him enough').¹⁶⁴

Falla took advantage of the opportunity offered by this letter of 7 July to express his regret that they were not able to meet during his visit to Madrid earlier that year.¹⁶⁵ Falla, acting on Ravel's direct request,¹⁶⁶ was nevertheless

¹⁶⁰ Letter from Roland-Manuel to Falla, 29 July 1937, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7520.

¹⁶¹ Letters from Salazar to Falla, 28 October 1924, 28 September 1927 and 12 October 1927, all preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7570.

¹⁶² Letters from Falla to Salazar, undated [c. March 1924], 18 September 1927 and 2 October 1927 (drafts or carbon copies preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7569), and 15 January 1929 (carbon copy at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7573).

¹⁶³ This information from letter from Falla to Salazar, 13 July 1924, draft preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7569.

¹⁶⁴ Letter from Salazar to Falla, 12 October 1927, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7570.

¹⁶⁵ Similar expressions of regret are found in letters from Ravel to Falla, 26 June 1923, 25 January 1924, 30 April 1924, and 6 January 1933, and letters from Falla to Ravel, 1 July 1923, 7 July 1924, and 14 July 1931.

¹⁶⁶ Letter from Ravel to Falla, 11 January 1924.

responsible for initiating the arrangements which led to Ravel's Madrid concert engagement.¹⁶⁷

At least two of Falla's visits to Paris passed by without an encounter with Ravel. One of these was in June 1919, when Falla passed through Paris on his way to London; Ravel learned of his presence there from Jean-Aubry, whom he asked to pass on his regards.¹⁶⁸ The other was between February and April 1928, when Ravel was in North America.¹⁶⁹

After 1914, there are only two occasions on which we can be sure that they met. One of these was in Granada, on 21 November 1928,¹⁷⁰ when Ravel gave a concert in the city with the singer Madeleine Grey and the violinist Claude Lévy.¹⁷¹ (The programme included *Ronsard à son âme*, 'Nicolette' and 'Ronde' from the arrangement for voice and piano of the *Trois Chansons*, the *Trois Chansons Hébraïques*, and excerpts from *L'Heure espagnole* and *L'Enfant et les sortilèges*.)¹⁷² The two men cannot have spent much time together on this occasion, however; the concert took place at 4.00 pm, and in

¹⁶⁷ On 25 January 1924, Falla wrote to Salazar to ask that he and Miguel Salvador (president of the Sociedad Nacional de Música) try to make arrangements for Ravel to give a concert in Madrid (draft of this letter preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7569).

¹⁶⁸ Letter from Ravel to Falla, 19 September 1919.

¹⁶⁹ Roland-Manuel, *Maurice Ravel*, 97.

¹⁷⁰ Letter from Ravel and Madeleine Grey to Falla, 13 November 1928. Precise date of concert confirmed in letter from César Figuerido (a Spanish impresario) to Fernando de los Ríos (of the Centro artístico de Granada), 12 November 1928 (preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6894), and in a telegram from Falla to Count Chigi Saracini, 22 November 1928 (draft at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6887). Orenstein mentions this encounter (though he does not specify the exact date), and wrongly implies that this was the only occasion on which they met after Falla's return to Spain in 1914 ('Ravel and Falla: an unpublished correspondence', 342).

¹⁷¹ This information from aforementioned telegram from Falla to Count Chigi, 22 November 1928.

¹⁷² This information from letter from Madeleine Grey to Falla, 13 November 1928, on same sheet of paper as Ravel's letter of the same date. In both the aforementioned telegram to Count Chigi Saracini (22 November 1928) and a letter to Alfredo Casella (4 October 1929; see Appendix 7.A.a), Falla described this concert as 'magnifique'. Financially, however, it was disastrous; he told Casella that it made a loss of 2000 pesetas. A clue about the reason for this may be gleaned from Madeleine Grey's description of their concert in Málaga: 'The works we were performing went right over the heads of the audience, who were not used to modern music at all. So, in twos and threes, they began to tiptoe out of the hall' (unpublished interview, quoted in Roger Nichols [ed.], *Ravel Remembered* [London, 1987], 163).

order to fit it into their schedule, Ravel and the others were obliged to take a taxi from Málaga or Bobadilla that very morning, and the train to Madrid at 8.30 pm that evening.¹⁷³

Their other known meeting was on the evening of 2 June 1927, when Falla accepted an invitation to dinner at the home of Henry Prunières, the other guests being Ravel and Koussevitzky.¹⁷⁴

It is probable that they also met a few days before, on 14 May, at Falla's concert at the Salle Pleyel. Ravel was certainly present on this occasion: Roland-Manuel recorded his extremely favourable reaction to the *Concerto* (receiving its first Paris performance),¹⁷⁵ and surely he would have wished to convey his appreciation to its composer in person.

Falla made eight trips to Paris in addition to those already mentioned; these were in 1919-20, 1920, 1921, 1923 (twice), 1925, 1930 and 1931. There is no evidence that he met Ravel on any of these occasions, but this cannot be taken as proof that he did not.

In his letter of 14 July 1931, Falla asks not 'if' Ravel will be coming to Paris, but 'when'; this suggests that their encounters during his visits to the city were the norm, rather than the exception. The 'à bientôt' ('see you soon') which concludes Falla's letter of 28 April 1925 supports this hypothesis too. Notes that he pencilled on the reverse of Ravel's letter of 16 December 1919 clearly relate to appointments in Paris in during his stay there at the end of 1919 and the beginning of 1920 (see § 6.7); it seems probable that he took the letter with him to Paris expressly because he intended to visit Ravel. And it may be inferred from the tone of Ravel's letter of 26 June 1923 (in which he apologises for his absence at the performance of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* at the Princesse de Polignac's salon) and that of Falla's reply of 1 July (in

¹⁷³ Letter from Ravel to Falla, 13 November 1928.

¹⁷⁴ Letters from Prunières to Falla, 27 May 1927 (also a telegram of the same date), and undated [28 May 1927], all preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453. Letter from Falla to Prunières, 28 May 1927, drafted on the back of Prunières's letter of 27 May.

¹⁷⁵ RM, 59; letter from Roland-Manuel to Falla, 3 January 1938, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7520. Ravel's reaction is quoted in § 4.5.

which he apologises for not being able to visit him in Montfort-l'Amaury) that they would normally have expected to meet on such an occasion.¹⁷⁶

Indeed, the two men cannot have failed to encounter one another in Paris, given Falla's full involvement in the musical life of the city whenever he was there, and the presence there of a number of mutual friends. Moreover, it is difficult to see how the strong affection demonstrated in their letters can have been maintained if, after 1914, they met only twice.¹⁷⁷

It is especially likely that they saw one another on all but three of these occasions. First, they probably met during Falla's stay in Paris between December 1919 and February 1920, though it is less likely that they met when he returned in May-June: two letters from the Abbé Petit, dating from this period, indicate that Ravel was resting in the country, under doctors' orders.¹⁷⁸ While out of Paris, Ravel charged Petit to ask Falla to send him a photograph of a certain lady (identity unascertained) about whom he had spoken. This conversation had very probably taken place during Falla's earlier visit.¹⁷⁹

The second occasion was in 1923. Falla's letter of 7 July 1924 (introducing Ernesto Halffter) reveals that he had previously told Ravel about the Orquesta Bética de Cámara. He may have done so in an item of correspondence that is now lost. However, it seems more likely that they discussed the matter during Falla's visit to Paris in November 1923, just a month after the orchestra had

¹⁷⁶ It should be noted that these letters do not prove that they did not meet at all during Falla's stay in Paris in May-June 1923; they may have met at any time before the performance.

¹⁷⁷ However, it must be conceded that one of the reasons for the ebullience of the correspondence may be that the two hardly ever saw one another, and so letter-writing was their only means of keeping in touch.

¹⁷⁸ Letters from the Abbé Petit to Falla, undated [before 23 May 1920] and 29 May 1920, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7410. Petit gives Ravel's address as c/o Monsieur P. Haour, La Bijeunette, via St Sauveur, Eure et Loir.

¹⁷⁹ For the record, it should be noted that Falla, Ravel, Stravinsky and Viñes were all invited to a dinner at Prunières's home on 9 February. However, Falla had already left for Madrid by this time. (Letter from Prunières to Falla, 4 February 1920, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7453; letter from Falla to Prunières, undated [probably 10 February 1920], draft preserved in same location.)

been founded,¹⁸⁰ and when Falla was actively seeking modern works for it to play.¹⁸¹

The third occasion was on 24 May 1925, when Falla almost certainly attended the first performance of the second of the *Chansons madécasses* at a concert organised by Elizabeth Coolidge in Paris, given by Jane Bathori accompanied by Ravel himself.¹⁸² It is probable that he congratulated the composer afterwards – though, if so, Ravel later forgot about it: when he sent Falla a copy of these songs, he was under the impression that they were unknown to him.¹⁸³

The other two occasions were in 1930 and 1931. In his letter of 14 July 1931, Falla told Ravel:

Je souhaite tant vous voir avant mon départ. ... Si vous ne venez pas à Paris je ferai mon possible pour aller à Montfort.

I'd very much like to see you before my departure. ... If you aren't coming to Paris, I'll do my best to come to Montfort.

An opportunity to do this very thing had already presented itself the year before, when Madeleine Grey invited him to spend the afternoon of 10 May with her and Ravel in Montfort-l'Amaury, travelling from Paris by car.¹⁸⁴ Around the same time, Suzanne Roland-Manuel asked Falla if he would be

¹⁸⁰ Letter from Falla to Segismundo Romero, 14 October 1923, quoted in Manuel de Falla, *Cartas a Segismundo Romero* (Granada, 1976), 157-8.

¹⁸¹ In Falla's letter to Romero of 28 November 1923 (quoted in Falla, *Cartas a Segismundo Romero*, 160-1), he mentions that, while in Paris, he discussed hiring the material for *Pulcinella* with Stravinsky. It is also possible that Falla and Ravel discussed the orchestra in spring of 1923. It has already been noted that Ravel was unable to be present at the performance of *Master Peter's Puppet Show* on 25 June, and that this does not in any way negate the possibility that they met earlier during Falla's lengthy stay in Paris. Though the orchestra was as yet without a name, it had been brought together for the first concert performance of the *Puppet Show* in Seville on 23 and 24 March 1923 (programmes preserved at E-GRmf: FN 1923-011 to 019).

¹⁸² The programme for this concert is preserved at E-GRmf: NFE 1925-003. In addition, Falla's attendance is hinted at in a letter from Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge to Falla, 25 October 1926, preserved at E-GRmf, correspondence folder 7650.

¹⁸³ Letter from Ravel to Falla, 2 February 1927.

¹⁸⁴ Letter from Grey to Falla, 4 May [1930], preserved at E-GRmf, correspondence folder 7084.

visiting Ravel on 29 May (Ascension Day);¹⁸⁵ clearly there had been talk of this.

Given the poor state of Falla's health during these last two visits to Paris, which obliged him to remain at the Hôtel de Bourgogne et Montana most of the time, the likelihood of his undertaking the thirty-mile journey to Montfort is questionable. Nevertheless, when the Princesse de Polignac's secretary called at his hotel on 29 May 1930, he was not there.¹⁸⁶

Finally, it is worth commenting on Ravel's reference, in his letter of 6 January 1933, to the possibility of seeing Falla 'sur le côte, vers l'automne' ('at the coast, around autumn time'). Both men had been at the Basque coast during the autumn of the year before; Ravel spent the summer of 1932 in Ciboure,¹⁸⁷ while Falla spent a few days in San Sebastián in early September, where he gave a concert performance of *Master Peter's Puppet Show*.¹⁸⁸ It is just possible that they met around this time. But it is more likely that Ravel was made aware of Falla's presence just over the border by Cipa and Ida Godebski (who were also in the French Basque country at this time; Falla sent them tickets for his concert, but they did not receive them in time), and that he hoped a meeting might be arranged the next year if both were to be in the same places.

¹⁸⁵ Letter from Suzanne Roland-Manuel to Falla, undated [c. May 1930], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7520.

¹⁸⁶ Letter from the Princesse de Polignac's secretary to Falla, 29 May 1930, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7432.

¹⁸⁷ Orenstein, *Ravel: Man and Musician*, 103-4.

¹⁸⁸ The concert was given on 3 September (programmes preserved at *E-GRmf*: FN 1932-008 and 009).

DATE OF LETTER AND WORK(S) MENTIONED	RAVEL'S COMMENTS ON THE WORK(S)
16 December 1919 [Not specified]	Je travaille comme cela ne m'était pas arrivé depuis 5 ans. I'm working as I haven't been able to for 5 years.
11 January 1924 Sonata for Violin and Piano <i>Ronsard à son âme</i>	Je pensais terminer ma Sonate pour Violon et piano vers les premiers jours de février. Je viens de l'abandonner. ... Tout ce que je puis faire est de mettre en musique une Epitaphe de Ronsard, qui correspond assez à mon état d'esprit. Prunières en sera ravi, d'ailleurs, car je ne lui avais donné qu'un faible espoir de collaborer à son numéro de <i>Ronsard</i> . Seulement, j'avais promis à Londres la 1 ^{re} audition de ma Sonate! I was thinking I'd finish my Sonata for Violin and Piano around the beginning of February. I've just abandoned it. ... All I can do is to set to music an Epitaph of Ronsard, which pretty much matches my state of mind. Prunières will be delighted with it, anyway, because I'd given him only the faintest hope of contributing to his <i>Ronsard</i> issue. But I'd promised London the first performance of my Sonata!
25 January 1924 Sonata for Violin and Piano <i>Ronsard à son âme</i>	... le cafard augmentant m'a fait abandonner ma Sonate, peut-être momentanément. En tout cas, le renvoi des concerts me donnera un peu plus de temps pour la terminer, si j'en suis capable. En attendant, j'ai toujours écrit mon 'Epitaphe', ou du moins celle de Ronsard, et j'y ai mis autant d'entrain que si elle m'était destinée. ... increasing depression has made me abandon my Sonata, perhaps just for the moment. In any case, the postponement of the concerts will give me a bit more time to finish it, if I can. Meanwhile, there's always my 'Epitaph' – or at least Ronsard's – which I've written, and I put as much gusto into it as if it were intended for me.
12 November 1924 <i>L'Enfant et les sortilèges</i>	... 'L'Enfant et les Sortilèges' doit passer à Monte Carlo cet hiver, et l'ouvrage est loin d'être terminé. ... <i>L'Enfant et les sortilèges</i> is to be performed in Monte Carlo this winter, and the work is a long way from being finished.
2 February 1927 Sonata for Violin and Piano	Je travaille à la Sonate piano et violon (elle est annoncée pour la fin mai!)[.] I am working on my Piano and Violin Sonata (it has been advertised for the end of May!).
6 March 1930 Piano Concerto in G Piano Concerto for the Left Hand <i>Dédale 39</i>	[After discussing Falla's plans to visit the USA in winter 1930-1:] C'est aussi à cette époque que je comptais y promener mon concerto. Mais rien ne m'assure qu'il sera terminé à temps, d'autant plus que je travaille en même temps à un 2 ^{ème} concerto (pour la main gauche) et à <i>Dédale 39</i> (comme vous le devinez, c'est un avion – et un avion en <i>ut</i>). That's also when I was planning to take my concerto there. But I'm not at all sure that it'll be finished in time, especially since I'm working at the same time on a 2nd concerto (for the left hand) and on <i>Dédale 39</i> (as you will guess, it is an aeroplane – and an aeroplane in C).

Table 4.2.6.i
References to Ravel's works in his letters to Falla.

4.3 FALLA'S EXPERIENCE OF THE WORK OF THESE COMPOSERS

The varying extent of Falla's correspondence with his fellow Apaches is mirrored almost exactly by his knowledge of their music. He knew Ravel's work best, and this bias intensified as he aged. He owned no scores of music by Schmitt published after the First World War, and the only music he owned by five of these composers – Sévérac, Roussel, Klingsor, Caplet and Ladamirault – was published in periodicals, or in supplements to them. Delage's music bucks the trend, with just one score (*Quatre Poèmes hindous*) dating from *before* the war; but at least four of Falla's other ten Delage scores were gifts from the composer: probably they all were.

On Falla's own admission, the only work by Ravel that he knew before leaving for Paris in 1907 was the *Sonatine*.¹⁸⁹ He does not make it clear whether he had heard a concert performance of the work before his departure, but he certainly played it himself; his copy of the score bears the Casa Dotesio stamp,¹⁹⁰ and fingerings and other performance-related markings are pencilled in on every page.

In fact, this was almost certainly the only work by any of the Apaches that he knew. No pre-1908 concert programmes at the Falla Archive attest to performances of works by these composers, and none of the scores in Falla's library by these composers would seem to have been obtained before this date.

This puts into context the wealth of opportunities to get to know the work of these composers which Falla must have found when he arrived in Paris. Judging purely by the evidence,¹⁹¹ he had heard concert or theatre

¹⁸⁹ FEs, 151 (FR, 82 [the translation in FO, 93, is inaccurate]).

¹⁹⁰ See § 2.3 for an explanation of the significance of this.

¹⁹¹ This evidence includes not only concert programmes, but also references in Falla's correspondence and in the authorised biographies.

performances of nine pieces by Ravel,¹⁹² six by Schmitt,¹⁹³ two by Delage,¹⁹⁴ and one each by Sévérac, Roussel, Inghelbrecht, Caplet and Ladmirault by the time he returned to Spain in 1914.¹⁹⁵ He probably heard many more. Moreover, this can represent no more than a fraction of the total number of works by these composers that he heard in private performances or rehearsals, not least in Viñes's company and at the regular meetings at the homes of Delage and the Godebskis. It is impossible to formulate a list of the works he heard in these circumstances (at least until Viñes's diary is made available in its entirety), but there is evidence that works by Ravel and by Schmitt would feature in it.¹⁹⁶

It was probably also during his seven years in Paris that Falla acquired many of his scores of works by these composers. It has already been noted that those bearing handwritten dedications may have been gifts from the composers themselves (see § 4.2.1); these are Ravel's *Rapsodie espagnole* (piano-duet version) and *Valses nobles et sentimentales* (piano version), and Schmitt's 'Les Lucioles' (the second of the *Nuits romaines*) and *Musiques intimes*, volume 2. There are a further eleven scores which he may have obtained in

¹⁹² Viz.: *Daphnis et Chloé*, *Gaspard de la nuit*, *L'Heure espagnole*, two of the *Cinq Mélodies populaires grecques*, *Menuet sur le nom d'Haydn*, 'Alborada del gracioso' (piano version, from *Miroirs*), *Trois Poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé*, *Rapsodie espagnole*, and *Shéhérazade*. He also heard Ravel's two-piano transcription of Debussy's *Nocturnes*.

¹⁹³ Viz.: *Chansons à quatre voix* (op. 39), *Piano Quintet* (op. 51), *Psalm xlvii* (op. 38), *Une semaine du petit elfe Ferme-l'œil* (op. 58), *Soirs* (op. 5) and *La Tragédie de Salomé* (op. 50).

¹⁹⁴ Viz.: *Conté par la mer* and *Quatre Poèmes hindous*.

¹⁹⁵ Viz.: *Le Cœur du moulin* (Sévérac), *Le Marchand de sable qui passe* (Roussel), *Rhapsodie de printemps* (Inghelbrecht), *Deux Poèmes* (Caplet) and *Symphony in C* (Ladmirault).

¹⁹⁶ As shown in Appendices 4.A.d and 4.B.d, published excerpts from Viñes's diary record that Falla heard him play Ravel's *Gaspard de la nuit* and movements from the *Histoires naturelles* and *Miroirs*, and also some of Schmitt's *Musiques intimes*. In addition, Pahissa records Falla's presence at a rehearsal of *Ma Mère l'oye* (see § 4.2.1).

Paris before the war,¹⁹⁷ in addition to the two short works by Ravel and Séverac published in journals around this time.¹⁹⁸

Having learned the *Sonatine* in Madrid, Falla continued to perform the music of his new-found friends. It has already been noted that he and Ravel played Delage's *Conté par la mer* before the selection panel of the Société Nationale de Musique (§ 4.2.1). However, his only two public performances of works by these composers between 1907 and 1914 were given outside Paris. The first of these – according to Federico Sopena – was in Bilbao on 19 January 1908, when 'Falla estrena en España nada menos que la "Sonatina" de Ravel' ('Falla gave the Spanish premiere of nothing less than Ravel's *Sonatine*').¹⁹⁹ The second was in London in 24 May 1911, when he and Franz Liebich played Caplet's two-piano reduction of 'Ibéria' from Debussy's *Images*.

His championing of this music continued after 1914. During the First World War, he accompanied songs by Schmitt and Roussel,²⁰⁰ and in 1920 took part in a performance of Ravel's *Introduction and Allegro*, playing the harp part on the piano.²⁰¹ In January 1923, he included Ravel's *Berceuse sur le nom de Fauré* in the incidental music for the puppet plays staged at the home of Federico García Lorca, taking the piano part himself. (In addition to the published score, the manuscript copy from which the violinist José Gomez

¹⁹⁷ These scores are: Ravel: fragments from *Daphnis et Chloé* arranged for piano duet, *Gaspard de la nuit*, *Jeux d'eau*, *Menuet sur le nom d'Haydn* (a copy of the score issued by Durand around the same time as its publication in *S. I. M.*), the orchestral score of *Rapsodie espagnole*, and the String Quartet; Schmitt: the first volume of *Musiques intimes* (op. 16), 'La Chanson d'Anio' (*Nuits romaines* 1) and *Petites musiques* (op. 33).

¹⁹⁸ *Menuet sur le nom d'Haydn* (Ravel) and *Stances à Madame de Pompadour* (Séverac).

¹⁹⁹ SV, 55. Sopena does not cite his source of this information, and it is to be regarded as unreliable. The date does not seem to square with Falla's comment in his letter to Albéniz of 17 January 1908 (quoted in *ibid.*, 51-2) that the first concert of his Spanish tour would be taking place in Oviedo on 29 January.

²⁰⁰ Viz.: 'Ils ont tué trois petites filles' and perhaps 'Fleurs décloses' too (both by Schmitt), and 'Ode à un jeune gentilhomme' from Roussel's *Deux Poèmes chinois*, op. 12.

²⁰¹ Though Falla did not write the programme notes for this performance himself, he nevertheless contributed to their writing by supplying Adolfo Salazar with a list of the main themes of the work. These themes are sketched on the back of a letter from Salazar to Falla, undated [before 21 April 1920], preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7572.

played is also preserved at the Falla Archive.²⁰² Most of this copy is not in Falla's hand.)²⁰³ As a founding committee member of the Sociedad Nacional de Música, he may have had a role in programming a performance of *Ma Mère l'oye* in December 1916, and as founder of the Orquesta Bética de Cámara in the 1920s, he was almost certainly involved in selecting works by Ravel for their repertoire.²⁰⁴ His role in engaging Ravel for concerts of his music in Madrid and Granada has already been noted (§ 4.2.6).

It was presumably for his performance of the Ravel *Introduction and Allegro* that he obtained a copy of the score and parts. We know they were purchased in Madrid after 1914 because they bear the stamp of Union Musical Española.²⁰⁵ This stamp is found in a further five Ravel scores: 'Alborada del gracioso', the vocal score of *L'Heure espagnole*, the miniature orchestral score of *Valses nobles et sentimentales*, and both the orchestral and piano scores of *Daphnis et Chloé*. (In Paris, Falla had possessed only the piano version of the *Valses* and Léon Roques's transcription of fragments of *Daphnis* for piano duet.) His knowledge of repertoire by these composers may also have been extended as a result of performances given by Viñes and the Cuarteto Renacimiento,²⁰⁶ though, given his experience in Paris, it is likely that few of the works they played were new to him.

²⁰² E-GRmf, MS LXIII A1. Markings in this handwritten copy reveal that Falla and Gomez cut bars 19-25 of the piece. A *segno* has also been added, above bar 26; however, there is no 'D. S.'.

²⁰³ Falla's contributions consist of an interpretative annotation which he also wrote in his copy of the version printed in *La Revue musicale* ('*pp sub.*' in bar 33), and translations of some of the French terminology into Spanish. One of these is wrong: the direction to the violinist to play on the A string in bar 65 is translated as 'Prima' (= the E string).

²⁰⁴ By 1925, this repertoire included *Ma Mère l'oye*, *Le Tombeau de Couperin* and *Pavane pour une infante défunte* (information from programmes preserved at E-GRmf: FN 1924-032 and 033; FN 1925-001 to 005; FN 1925-020; FN 1925-022; FE 1925-008 and 009). In a letter to Segismundo Romero, 18 September 1925, Falla recommends programming the 'Rigaudon' from *Le Tombeau de Couperin* and the *Pavane pour une infante défunte* in one of the orchestra's forthcoming concerts (letter quoted in Falla, *Cartas a Segismundo Romero*, 222-3).

²⁰⁵ See § 2.3.

²⁰⁶ In Madrid during the First World War, Viñes performed Ravel's *Pavane pour une infante défunte*, Sévérac's 'Coin de cimetière au printemps' (from *En Languedoc*) and Schmitt's 'Brises' (from *Musiques intimes*) on 27 October 1916, Schmitt's 'Les Lucioles' (from *Nuits romaines*) on 31 October 1917, and Ravel's *Jeux d'eau* on 5 November 1918. The Cuarteto Renacimiento performed Ravel's Quartet on 28 May 1915.

His travels in Europe after the war presented numerous opportunities for him to catch up on his old friends' latest work. But it is at this point that the inclination towards Ravel becomes most apparent. There is no proof that he heard anything by Schmitt, Séverac or Ladmiraault after 1918. By contrast, in the 1920s and 30s, he probably heard eleven works by Ravel (or excerpts from them) that were new to him,²⁰⁷ in addition to the orchestration of Musorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition*. It must have been around 1930 too that he bought his only record of a work by one of these composers: Ravel's *Boléro*.

Falla's purchasing of scores seems to have diminished after the war. There is just one work by Ravel that we can be certain he bought at this time: the piano version of *Le Tombeau de Couperin*.²⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the monthly musical supplements he received as a subscriber to *La Revue musicale* included works by all the Apaches except Séverac; it was in this format that the *Berceuse sur le nom de Fauré* was published. His copy of Ravel's *Vocalise-Étude en forme de habanera* was received in 1927 as a gift from A. L. Hettich, editor of the series of 'Vocalises-Études' in which it was published. Hettich's purpose in sending this item – in addition to studies by Fauré, Rabaud, Hue, Pierné and A. Mariotte – was to have Falla add his name to the collection.²⁰⁹

Falla also received scores as gifts from the composers themselves. This was how he came to possess a full score of Delage's *Sept Haï-Kaïs* (inscribed 'Avec l'admiration pour D. Manuel de Falla de son ami Maurice Delage 10 / 5 / 30' ['With the admiration for D. Manuel de Falla of his friend Maurice Delage 10 / 5 / 30']), and also (as noted in § 4.2.4) the three volumes of

²⁰⁷ Viz.: *Boléro*, at least one of the *Chansons madécasses*, excerpts from *L'Enfant et les sortilèges*, *Deux Mélodies hébraïques*, *Rêves*, *Ronsard à son âme*, the Sonata for Violin and Piano, the Sonata for Violin and Cello, *Sur l'herbe*, the orchestral version of *Le Tombeau de Couperin*, and *La Valse*. (Two other works he heard at this time that there is no evidence of his hearing beforehand are the 'Chanson hébraïque' from *Chants populaires* and the *Deux Epigrammes de Clément Marot*. However, since the first of these was composed in 1910 and the latter between 1896 and 1899, it is fairly probable that Falla already knew them from his sojourn in Paris.)

²⁰⁸ A receipt for this item, dated 24 February 1920, survives at *E-GRmf*.

²⁰⁹ Letter from A. L. Hettich to Falla, 7 June 1927, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 6937. It should be noted that the studies by Rabaud, Hue and Mariotte do not seem to have survived. Those by Fauré and Pierné are preserved at *E-GRmf*, inventory numbers 347 and 466 respectively.

Contrerimes. His copy of Ravel's *Chansons madécasses* was also a gift from its composer,²¹⁰ and so too may have been his vocal score of *L'Enfant et les sortilèges*.²¹¹

On the whole, there are far fewer annotations in Falla's scores of works by these composers than we find in some works of Dukas, Debussy and even Stravinsky. The main exceptions are those scores, all of them by Ravel, which Falla fingered for performance.²¹² In fact, no markings in Falla's hand are to be found in any of his scores of works by the other Apaches,²¹³ apart from the single bracket in Delage's 'Rêves' (discussed above in § 4.2.4).

What most of the markings demonstrate most clearly is how intimately Falla read and studied the works in question. This is particularly evident from the corrections which he made to engraving errors in no fewer than seven of them.²¹⁴ It is also clear from the marginalia he inserted for greater ease of reference within and between scores. Examples of this include the page numbers pencilled on the first page of the *Valses nobles et sentimentales*, identifying the first pages of five of the movements, and the references to the

²¹⁰ Letter from Ravel to Falla, 2 February 1927.

²¹¹ Falla wrote to Ravel on 28 April 1925, informing him that he had arranged for Chester to send him a copy of *Master Peter's Puppet Show*. In the same letter he congratulated him on the success of *L'Enfant et les sortilèges* and expressed his desire to know the work. We may speculate that Ravel took the hint. (Incidentally, Ravel's copy of the vocal score of the *Puppet Show* is preserved at F-Pn, Musique, Vma. 2764 A.)

²¹² Viz.: *Gaspard de la nuit*, *Introduction and Allegro* (curiously in this case the fingerings are in the full score rather than the separate harp part), the piano-duet arrangement of *Rapsodie espagnole* (*seconda* part only), and the *Sonatine*.

²¹³ There are annotations in another hand in his copy of Schmitt's *Demande*, suggesting that he obtained this score second-hand.

²¹⁴ The corrected errors are to be found in: *Trois Chansons*, p. 3 (the last note of bar 1 in the soprano line has been corrected from a crotchet to a quaver); *Daphnis et Chloé*, full score, p. 243 (the bass clef at the beginning of the celesta's lower stave is corrected to a treble clef); piano score, p. 61 (a fermata has been added to all five staves at the third bar of the second system, in accordance with the full score, p. 131); *Introduction and Allegro*, score, p. 3 (the cello's last note in the second bar of the first system has been corrected from *di* to *f*); 'Alborada del gracioso', p. 6 (the treble clef in the lower stave at the end of the first bar of the fourth system has been crossed out, and another written in four quaver beats earlier) and p. 14 (a treble clef has been added at the end of the second bar of the first system); *Rapsodie espagnole*, full score, p. 47 (Falla has noted that the timpani part is incorrectly marked on the tuba stave); and *Ronsard à son âme*, p. 30 (slurs has been added in the piano part, connecting the last chord of the third system to the first chord of the fourth).

full score of *Daphnis et Chloé* marked into the piano score. It is interesting to contrast the cross-references in the latter volume with those marked in his two scores of Dukas's *Ariane et Barbe-bleue* (see § 2.4.1.2). In that case, many of the cross-references are associated with specific passages which interested him for reasons of their orchestration, marked in the vocal score and later studied in detail in the full score. In the case of *Daphnis et Chloé*, however, the cross-references are the only annotations in the volume (apart from a single correction), and they are found only in the piano score. Given that he probably purchased both this and the full score at or around the same time,²¹⁵ it seems most likely that the annotations relate to a concurrent reading of both, the piano score offering greater clarity in the matters of melody, harmony and structure, and the full score enabling him to take occasional glances at the orchestration.

A very few markings in scores of works by Ravel indicate Falla's interest in specific musical devices. These are examined in the next section.

²¹⁵ It will be recalled that both are stamped by Union Musical Española.

4.4 THE QUESTION OF INFLUENCE

Compared to scores by Dukas and Debussy, Falla's copies of Ravel's music contain very few annotations, and his scores of works by the other Apaches (apart from that of Delage's 'Rêves', discussed in § 4.2.4 above) contain no marginalia at all.

The miniature score of the *Rapsodie espagnole* is the only work by Ravel in Falla's library which contains marginalia relating to orchestration. The instruments concerned (among them the harp and the brass instruments) are mostly the same as those marked in scores of works by Dukas and Debussy,²¹⁶ and the annotations almost certainly date from the period when Falla was studying orchestration with the former. Three markings relating to the strings are particularly interesting, however. First, Falla has noted the second violins' left-hand *pizzicati* at figure 9 of the 'Habanera'.²¹⁷ This was something he never wrote in his own compositions, but he did make use of another device he noted in the second violin part just a few bars later at rehearsal figure 10 (Example 4.4.i).²¹⁸ The pencilled observations on the last page of the score describe this section as '*pizz* sobre apoyatura solamente' ('*pizz.* on the appoggiatura only'). Falla clearly understood Ravel's intention here to be that the upstem notes should be played *pizzicato* and the downstem notes *arco* (though this is not at all clear from the score, where bowing indications are

²¹⁶ Sections to which annotations draw attention include the muted trumpets and trombones on page 46 of the score ('Feria', figure 4, bars 5-6); the combination of muted horns, sarrusophone and harp on page 30, with the harp harmonics that follow ('Habanera', figure 2 onwards); the harp doubling the melody on pages 34-6 ('Habanera', figure 7 onwards). In his notes on the back page of the score, he drew attention to the harp part on pages 34-5 ('Habanera', figure 7, bars 1-4), noting 'las 2 manos a distancia de 2a menor' ('the 2 hands at the distance of a minor 2nd'). Here, he was plainly in error: the two hands are an octave apart.

²¹⁷ Page 36 of the miniature score. There is a small cross pencilled in the left-hand margin of this page, alongside the second violin line, and an annotation on the last page of the score reads: '*pizz* m. izqda (+) pa. 36' ('left-hand *pizz.* (+) page 36'). (The symbol '+' is that used in the printed score to indicate left-hand *pizzicato*.)

²¹⁸ Page 37. Again, Falla has pencilled a cross alongside the second violin line, this time in the right-hand margin. The related annotation on the last page of the score is quoted and discussed in the main text above.

placed fairly indiscriminately either above or below each staff). As noted earlier (§ 3.4.2.1), Falla was partial to string-writing involving plucking and bowing by different players at the same time.²¹⁹ However, he always used this device for colouristic rather than harmonic purposes: in his own works, the *pizzicato* notes are usually exactly the same as the bowed ones.



Ravel, *Rapsodie espagnole*, 'Habanera', figure 10, bars 2-4,
second violin part.

Example 4.4.i.

Thirdly, Falla has annotated the passage at figure 17 of 'Feria', where the melody line is scored for a group consisting of solo violin, solo viola and solo cello.²²⁰ Falla allocated melody lines to solo string instruments on a number of occasions; an obvious example is the one for solo viola in the 'Danza del juego de amor' of *El amor brujo*.

It must be conceded, however, that Falla's employment of these devices never convincingly demonstrates a debt to Ravel. The simultaneous use of bowed and plucked strings, and the allocation of melodic lines to solo string instruments, are fairly standard orchestral techniques.

Though few of Falla's annotations in these scores concern orchestration, there are several more relating to other matters. On one of the blank pages at the back of the vocal score of *L'Heure espagnole*, it is just possible to make out sketched analyses of two chords and of a harmonic progression. Only one of

²¹⁹ Selected instances of this device in Falla's oeuvre include: *La vida breve*, Act 1, bar 320; Act 2, bar 726; *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*, 'En el Generalife', figure 8; *El amor brujo*, figure 3, bar 4; figure 47, bar 2; 'Canción del fuego fatuo', *passim*; *The Three-Cornered Hat*, Part 2, 'Neighbours' Dance', figure 12; *Master Peter's Puppet Show*, figure 30, bar 6; *Homenajes*, 'A Cl. Debussy', figure 5.

²²⁰ Pages 66-9. There are no marginalia on these pages themselves, but an annotation on the last page reads: 'Solos cuerda etc - ps. 65-9' ('String solos etc. - pages 65-9').

these analyses is readily legible (though it is not entirely intelligible): he describes the chord at the beginning of bar 36 of Scene 4 (a straightforward chord of the thirteenth built on D)²²¹ as '3a mayor sobre un 4a de 7a V' (perhaps translatable as 'a major third above a 4th of V⁷?').

Two annotations at the back of his score of 'Alborada del gracioso' also relate to chords. One merely demonstrates how to notate root position and first and second inversion C-major chords in figures (i.e. 3, 6 and 6/4), and, though it is in Falla's hand, the exercise surely cannot have been for his own benefit. The other annotation is far more interesting. It shows a simple chord progression, presumably original to Falla, but undoubtedly derived from a passage he annotated in this score. Both are shown in Example 4.4.ii.



Annotation on the rear cover of Falla's copy of 'Alborada del gracioso' (*E-GRmf*, inventory number 404).



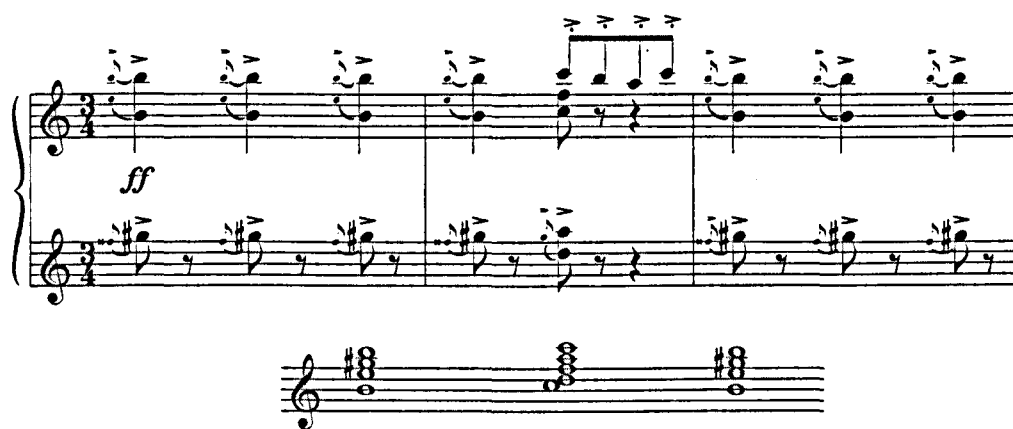
Ravel, *Miroirs*, 'Alborada del gracioso', bars 52-3.

Example 4.4.ii

His annotation on the page itself describes the last chord of the first bar of this excerpt as an 'acorde apogatura' ('appoggiatura chord'), alluding to its transitory nature. The semitonal motion of the voices recalls the type of chord

²²¹ Page 24 of the vocal score.

progression which Falla favoured in his own music,²²² and of which the chords pencilled on the last page of this score are typical. However, this example cannot be the source of similar harmonies in Falla's work, for similar progressions are found in works he composed long before 1914 (the earliest date at which he can have acquired this score).²²³ An example from 'Andaluza' (1908) is shown in Example 4.4.iii.



Falla, *Four Spanish Pieces*, 'Andaluza', bars 1-3, with a simplification of the harmonic progression, showing the semitonal voice-leading.

Example 4.4.iii

Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that the annotated passage from 'Alborada del gracioso' prompted him to invent the chord progression which he wrote out on the last page. This progression is not found in any of his published works, but it may represent an earlier version of something else, such as the progression which opens the first 'Danza' (the Miller's Wife's dance) of *El corregidor y la molinera* (Example 4.4.iv), a work which he may have been composing around the time he acquired this score.

²²² See Chris Collins, 'Manuel de Falla, *L'Acoustique nouvelle* and natural resonance: a myth exposed', forthcoming in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, cxxviii, 1 (May 2003).

²²³ It will be recalled that this score is stamped by Union Musical Española. A post-1908 date is also confirmed by the advertisement on the last page, which lists the score of Turina's *Rincones sevillanos*, composed in 1911.



Falla, *El corregidor y la molinera*, figure 17, bars 1-3 (piano part only).

Example 4.4.iv

The most heavily annotated of these scores is that of the *Trois Chansons*. In 'Nicolette', he noted all of the several chord changes where a note common to both chords is passed from one voice to one another (often embracing an enharmonic re-spelling or a shift in register);²²⁴ there is a distinct similarity between this technique and Falla's tendency in *Atlántida* to exchange notes between voices (Example 4.4.v).²²⁵ He also annotated dissonant intervals in all three movements,²²⁶ and notably the chain of sevenths between the sopranos and the tenors in 'Trois beaux oiseaux du paradis';²²⁷ again there are several similar passages in *Atlántida* (Example 4.4.vi).²²⁸

Also marked in his copy of the *Trois Chansons* is the *falsetto* tenor line at figure 2, bar 5, of 'Nicolette', where the tenors take on the role of a dramatic personage, enunciating the words of the 'page joli' ('handsome page'). A

²²⁴ The passages in question are: bar 2 (f# in the alto line shifting to f# in the tenor); bar 4 (ditto); bars 9-10 (b \flat in the soprano line shifting to a# in the tenor); figure 1, bars 9-10 (b \flat in the soprano line and b \flat in the bass shifting to a# in the tenor); figure 3, bars 9-10 (b \flat in the soprano line shifting to a# in the tenor).

²²⁵ Many examples of this device are found in the Prologue alone, not least in bars 23-4, 27, 38, 58, 140 and 152.

²²⁶ 'Nicolette', figure 3, bar 1 and bar 10 (between tenor and bass parts); 'Trois beaux oiseaux du paradis', figure 1, bars 1-6 (soprano and tenor); 'Ronde', figure 2, bars 12-14 (soprano and alto).

²²⁷ Figure 1, bars 1-3 (page 7).

²²⁸ Significant dissonances occur in bars 25-7, 29, 48, 66, 73-5 and 128 of the Prologue.

similar change of tessitura – albeit downwards – is found at figure 16 of *Master Peter's Puppet Show*, where the Trujamán articulates the words of Carlo Magno.²²⁹ These two shifts in register are shown in Example 4.4.vii.

[text continues after Example 4.4.vii]

Ni-co-lette, à la ves-prée,
Ni-co-lette, à la ves-prée,
Ni-co-lette, à la ves-prée,
Ni-co-lette, à la ves-prée,

Ravel, *Trois Chansons*,
'Nicolette', bars 1-2.

In his copy of the score (*E-GRmf*, 395), Falla has marked how the note F \sharp passes from the alto to the tenor in bar 2.

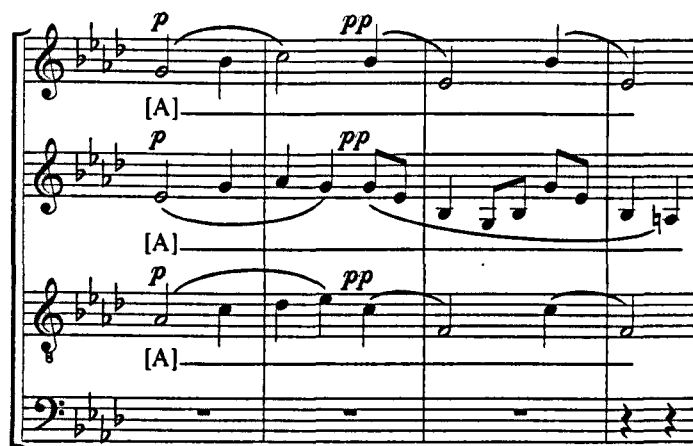
nin - gú ho sap;
nin - gú ho sap;
nin - gú ho sap;
nin - gú ho sap;

Falla/Halfpfer, *Atlántida*, Prologue,
bars 58-9 (choral parts only).

Note how the soprano and tenor
exchange notes in the first bar
of this excerpt.

Example 4.4.v

²²⁹ A similar shift, though less marked, is found at figure 59, where the Trujamán sings part of a traditional ballad. In Part 2 of *Atlántida* (bars 39-42), the Corifeo (a baritone) sings a short phrase in *falsetto*; it is not clear, however, whether the composer of this passage was Falla or Halfpfer.



Ravel, *Trois Chansons*, 'Trois beaux oiseaux du Paradis', figure 1, bars 1-4 (solo soprano part omitted).

i a - ju - pit sens de - cau - re, da - vall sa vol-ta in-men - sa

i a - ju - pit sens de - cau - re, da - vall sa vol-ta in-men - sa

i a - ju - pit sens de - cau - re, da - vall sa vol-ta in-men - sa

i a - ju - pit sens de - cau - re, da - vall sa vol-ta in-men - sa

Falla/Halfffter, *Atlántida*, Prologue, bars 73-5 (choral parts only).

Example 4.4.vi

Jo - li, "Hé là! ma Ni - co - let - te,
 veux - tu pas d'un doux a - mi?" A ——— pau - vre Ni - co - let - te.

Falsetto
pp
Plù lento
p

Ravel, *Trois Chansons*, 'Nicolette', figure 2, bars 3-10.

... la li - ber - tad de su es - po - sa, di - cen que le di - jo:
 "Har - to os he di - cho; mi - rad - lo!" volvien - do las es -
 pal - das y de - jan - do des - pe - cha - do a don Gay - fe - ros, ———

Quasi lento
(ahuecando la voz)
a tempo
(gridando, come prima)

Falla, *Master Peter's Puppet Show*, figure 15, bar 25, to figure 16, bar 5 (Trujamán part).

Example 4.4.vii

Ravel's music is not prevalent in the various manuscripts in which Falla has cited excerpts from the works of his contemporaries. The only transcribed excerpt from a work by Ravel among his notes on orchestration is a short passage of flute-writing from *Rapsodie espagnole*, consisting of a repeated descending figure in *staccato* triplet semiquavers, beginning at figure 23.²³⁰ There is nothing in Falla's works sufficiently similar to warrant its citation here.

²³⁰ E-GRmf, manuscripts folder 7916. The excerpt in question is found on page 75 of the miniature score of *Rapsodie espagnole*.

A second document is more worthy of comment, however. It comprises a tonal analysis, in prose, of a passage from the fourth movement of Ravel's String Quartet (Figure 4.4.i).²³¹ Judging from Falla's handwriting, the document would seem to date from the 1920s or later. Falla is known to have been fascinated by the harmonic series at this time,²³² and this fascination is borne out in the analysis. A transcription and translation of the document follows; in the right-hand column of each, the present author has supplied references to the relevant sections of Ravel's Quartet.

Ravel. Quart[ett]o 38. Preparar una modulación a *sol*♭ por la dom[inan]te (*Re*;) y resolver en la Tónica de *Si*♭ (3a mayor alta o sea 1er armónico de 3a).

Después de un periodo de 4 compases empieza otro en *sol*♭, o sea en el tono retardado (enarmónico en *fa*♯) y luego siguen las tonalidades en la siguiente forma y orden:

8 c.[ompases] <i>fa</i> ♯	} sobre doble
8 c.[ompases] <i>la</i>	} pedal de <i>fa</i> ♯
(2a armónico de 3a)	} <i>do</i> ♯ y aun de
8 c.[ompases] <i>do</i>	} <i>fa</i> ♯ <i>do</i> ♯ <i>la</i> ♯

Nuevo periodo en 3/4 : 12 c.[ompases] en *fa*♯ (*reprise* de la tonalidad abandonada)

9 c.[ompases] (3 grupos de a [*sic*] tres compases) *re* mayor (3a M.[ayor] grave de la Ton[ali]dad anterior)

8 c.[ompases] en *Si*♭ sobre ped.[al] de *Re* (tono anterior) (*Si*♭ = 3a M.[ayor] grave de la Ton[ali]dad anterior)

Ravel, String Quartet,
fourth movement.
Figure 16, bars 7-12.

Figure 16, bar 13.

Figure 16, bars 13-16.
Figure 17, bars 1-4.

Figure 17, bars 1-8.
Figure 17, bars 9-16.

Figure 18, bars 1-8.

Figure 18, bars 9-20.

Figure 19, bars 1-9.

Figure 19, bar 10, to
figure 20, bar 5.

²³¹ *E-GRmf*, manuscripts folder 7915. The passage in question runs from figure 16, bar 7, to figure 20, bar 5 (pages 38-40 of the miniature score).

²³² See Collins, 'Manuel de Falla, *L'Acoustique nouvelle* and natural resonance'.

Ravel. Quartet [page] 38. Preparation of a modulation to G, by means of the dominant (D,) and resolution on the tonic of B, (a major third higher; i.e. the first harmonic of the third).

After a section of 4 bars, another one begins in G, i.e. in the delayed key (harmonised in F#); then follow these tonalities, in the following form and order:

8 bars F#	} on a double pedal of F# [-] C# and even of F# C# A#
8 bars A (second harmonic of the third)	
8 bars C	

New section in 3/4: 12 bars in F# (*reprise* of the abandoned key)

9 bars (3 groups of three bars) [in] D major (a major third below the previous key)

8 bars in B, on a D pedal (the previous key) (B, = a major third below the previous key)

Ravel, String Quartet,
fourth movement.

Figure 16, bars 7-12.

Figure 16, bar 13.

Figure 16, bars 13-16.

Figure 17, bars 1-4.

Figure 17, bars 1-8.

Figure 17, bars 9-16.

Figure 18, bars 1-8.

Figure 18, bars 9-20.

Figure 19, bars 1-9.

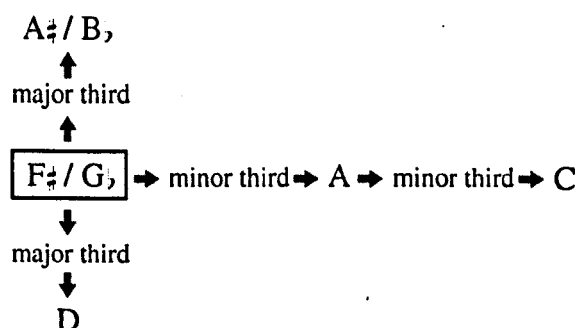
Figure 19, bar 10, to
figure 20, bar 5.

It will have been noted that Falla here describes the interval of a major third as '1er harmónico de 3a' ('the first harmonic of the 3rd'), and the minor third as '2a harmónico de 3a' ('the second harmonic of the 3rd'). This confusing terminology is easily explained as relating to the relative positions of these two intervals within the harmonic series: the major third occurs for the first time between the fourth and fifth partials, while the minor third is found between the fifth and sixth partials. Falla also places equal significance on intervals of a third both *above* and *below* a given note. The latter interval has little relevance to matters of acoustics, but a further surviving document reveals that Falla recognised the inversion of the overtone series as possessing some validity: in this latter document, he has drawn out the first six terms of the harmonic series under the heading 'Resonancia superior' ('Upper resonance'), followed by the inversion of these intervals, headed 'Resonancia inferior' ('Lower resonance').²³³ (This document would also seem to date from the 1920s.)

This analysis attaches great significance to the interval of the third: Falla observes that almost all of the keys used in this passage of the Quartet are

²³³ *E-GRmf*, unclassified document ('Retablo Notebook'). The page in question is reproduced in Michael Christoforidis, 'Hacia un nuevo mundo sonoro en *El Retablo de Maese Pedro*', in LU, 224.

related to one another by means of this interval. The key centres in question are:



Third-based modulations like these are prevalent in Falla's works of the 1920s; a particularly prominent example is the modulation from D major to B major at the beginning of the first movement of the *Concerto*.

The discussion so far would seem to suggest that Ravel's influence on Falla was limited to the few specific instances suggested by the documentary evidence. This was almost certainly not the case. Falla once wrote the following about the value of Ravel's music (the italics are mine): '... ese artista raro que tanto *enseñó*, después de Debussy, la manera de cincelar el oro y de tallar las piedras preciosas de la música ...' ('... this rare artist who, after Debussy, did so much to *teach* how to engrave the gold and cut the precious stones of music ...').²³⁴

Curiously, Falla's most obvious apparent borrowing from Ravel comes from a work which he did not annotate at all. It is highly likely that the onomatopoeic birdsong effect found in the 'Petit Poucet' movement of *Ma Mère l'oye* inspired (consciously or subconsciously) Falla's use of almost exactly the same device in the opening scene of *El corregidor y la molinera* (and also in the same passage in *The Three-Cornered Hat*).

Both composers imitate birdsong through the use of high-pitched harmonics played on a solo violin, and high staccato notes on the piccolo

²³⁴ FA (FEs, 49 [FO, 25]).

(Example 4.4.viii).²³⁵ There are several differences between their methods, however. First, Ravel uses a flute in addition to the piccolo. Secondly, Ravel has the violin and woodwind instruments play consecutively, while Falla uses them simultaneously. A third difference lies in Ravel's use of *glissandi* in the violin part; Falla's bird, by contrast, chirps a single note. It is surely significant, however, that Falla reproduces precisely this technique, with the *glissandi*, just a few bars later in the same scene of *El corregidor*, there representing the sound of a pulley:²³⁶ he even uses exactly the same notes (Example 4.4.ix). (Though Falla does not expressly instruct his violinists to play *glissandi*, the figure cannot in fact be played otherwise.)

PICCOLO

FLUTE

I SOLO VIOLIN

gliss.

mf

p

Ravel, *Ma Mère l'oye* (suite version), 'Petit Poucet', figure 5, bars 1-2, piccolo, flute and solo violin parts.

PICCOLO

I SOLO VIOLIN

f

Falla, *El corregidor y la molinera*, Scene 1, bars 29-30, piccolo and solo violin parts.

Example 4.4.viii

²³⁵ *Ma Mère l'oye*, figure 5, bars 1-2; *El corregidor y la molinera*, Scene 1, bars 29-30, 36-7 and 46-7; *The Three-Cornered Hat*, Part 1, figure 2, bars 5-6 and 12-13, and figure 3, bars 7-8.

²³⁶ *El corregidor y la molinera*, Scene 1, bars 84-91; *The Three-Cornered Hat*, Part 1, figure 7.

4 SOLO VIOLINS

sul pont.

f

[sim.]

sul pont.

f

[sim.]

Falla, *El corregidor y la molinera*, Scene 1, bars 84-6,
solo violin parts.

Example 4.4.ix

These instances serve to underscore the assertion (made in § 1.2.2) that it is probable that Falla's marginalia in scores by fellow composers are mostly insignificant.

The importance to Falla of his socialising with these composers in pre-First World War Paris should not be underestimated. The opportunities that these presented – to hear an enormous quantity of contemporary music, to hear works from distant lands such as Russia, to learn about oriental music, and to discuss all manner of musical and artistic issues – contributed immensely to his rapid and sweeping development as a composer during these seven years.

The basic facts of these composers' oeuvres were also significant to him. Throughout his life, Falla favoured descriptive titles for his works, as did most of the other Apaches.²³⁷ Moreover, he wrote mainly in the same genres: piano pieces, *mélodies*, 'symphonic impressions', ballets and short operas. This is especially relevant in the matter of the works for unconventional groupings that he composed in the 1920s, not least *Psyché* and the *Concerto*. The Apaches were among the first to explore such combinations, as evinced in such works as Ravel's *Trois Poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé*, Delage's *Quatre Poèmes hindous* and (we might add) Stravinsky's *Three Japanese Lyrics*, all

²³⁷ The exception, of course, is Roussel, who favoured the genre of the symphony. The *Concerto* is the only mature work in Falla's oeuvre which does not have a descriptive title – but even this is deceptive, for the *Concerto* is not a concerto.

composed in 1913. (As noted in § 4.3, Falla was present at the first performances of all three, in the same SMI concert, on 14 January 1914.) Several writers have pointed to the influence on these works of the instrumentation of Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*,²³⁸ but it is not generally noted in relation to them that Ravel tapped the same vein eight years earlier with the *Introduction and Allegro*. The instrumentation of these seven works is compared in Table 4.4.i overleaf.²³⁹

This comparison reveals a particular correlation between *Psyché* and the *Quatre Poèmes hindous*, and between the *Concerto* and the *Introduction and Allegro*. This is not to suggest that Falla modelled these two works on either of the others; but it may be that he would have scored them differently had the precedent not been set.

Finally, it is worth noting that one aspect of the Apaches' work which did not influence Falla was the mock Spanish style to which at least Ravel and Delage were partial. This style is characterised by the rhythm of the habanera, which features in the *Rapsodie espagnole*, *L'Heure espagnole*, the *Vocalise en forme de habanera*, and Delage's *Contrerimes*. Falla's observations on the latter work have already been noted (§ 4.2.4). On Ravel's use of the habanera he wrote:

... la España de Ravel era una España idealmente sentida a través de su madre, señora cuya exquisita conversación, siempre en claro español, tanto me complacía cuando, evocando sus años de juventud, pasados en Madrid, me hablaba de una época ciertamente anterior a la mía, pero de cuyas costumbres aún quedaban vestigios que me eran familiares. Entonces comprendí con qué fascinación oiría su hijo desde la infancia el frecuente relato de aquellas añoranzas, avivadas, sin duda, por esa fuerza que da a todo recuerdo el tema de canción o

²³⁸ Among others: Nichols, *Ravel*, 85-6; Larner, *Ravel*, 136-7.

²³⁹ Falla owned scores of Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire* (E-GRmf, inventory number 819), Delage's *Quatre Poèmes hindous* (see Appendix 4.C.b), Stravinsky's *Three Japanese Lyrics* (Appendix 8.B) and Ravel's *Introduction and Allegro* (Appendix 4.A.b). He also took part in performances of the latter two (see Appendices 8.C and 4.A.c), and heard a concert performance of the Stravinsky pieces (see Appendix 8.D). He did not own a copy of Ravel's *Trois Poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé*; and there is no evidence that he heard either that work or *Pierrot lunaire*. It is distinctly possible, however, that he heard all of the works except the Schoenberg in Paris before the First World War. The *Trois Poèmes de Mallarmé* and the pieces by Delage and Stravinsky were first performed at an SMI concert at the Salle Érard on 14 January 1914 (Duchesneau, *L'Avant-garde musicale*, 306).

	voice	picc.	flute	oboe	clar.	bass clar.	violin	viola	cello	harp	piano
Ravel, <i>Introduction and Allegro</i>			1		1		2	1	1	1	
Schoenberg, <i>Pierrot lunaire</i>	1	(1)*	1		1	(1)†	1	(1)+	1		1
Stravinsky, <i>Three Japanese Lyrics</i>	1	1	1		1	1	2	1	1		1
Ravel, <i>Trois Poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé</i>	1	(1)*	2		2	(1)†	2	1	1		1
Delage, <i>Quatre Poèmes hindous</i>	1		2	1	2		2	1	1	1	
Falla, <i>Psyché</i>	1		1				1	1	1	1	
Falla, <i>Concerto</i>			1	1	1		1		1	1 piano or harpsichord	

* Flute doubles on piccolo.

† Clarinet doubles on bass clarinet.

+ Violin doubles on viola.

Table 4.4.i

Instrumentation of seven works by Ravel, Schoenberg, Stravinsky, Delage and Falla.

de danza que a él se adhiere de modo inseparable. Y esto explica no sólo la atracción que desde su niñez sintió Ravel por un país tantas veces soñado, sino también que luego, para caracterizar musicalmente a España, se sirviese con predilección del ritmo de habanera, la canción más en boga de cuantas su madre oyese en las tertulias madrileñas de aquellos viejos tiempos ... Por eso la habanera, con sorpresa para todo español, ha seguido viviendo en la música francesa como propia expresión de la nuestra y a pesar de que España la tiene ya olvidada desde hace medio siglo.²⁴⁰

... Ravel felt Spain perfectly because of his mother, a lady whose exquisite conversation – always in clear Spanish – pleased me so much when, remembering her youthful years spent in Madrid, she spoke of an era that was certainly before my time, though the vestiges of its customs were still familiar to me. So I understood the fascination with which her son, from his infancy, heard her frequently expressing her nostalgia, intensified no doubt by the force which the theme of a song or dance gives to any memory when it is inseparable from it. And this explains not only the attraction that Ravel felt, from his childhood, for a country dreamed about so much, but also why, in order to characterise Spain musically, he was partial to using the rhythm of the habanera, the song that was most in vogue when his mother heard it in Madrid circles in the old days ... This is why the habanera, to the surprise of every Spaniard, has stayed alive in French music as an expression of our country, even though Spain forgot it half a century ago.

It is interesting to contrast this with Falla's comments on those works by Debussy which also make use of the habanera rhythm ('La soirée dans Grenade' from *Estampes*, 'La Puerta del Vino' from the *Préludes*, and 'Les Parfums de la nuit' from *Images*). In 'Claude Debussy et Espagne', he does not describe the habanera as a once-fashionable popular song. Instead, he states that '[il] n'est en quelque sort que le tango andalou' ('[it] is, so to speak, nothing other than the Andalusian tango'),²⁴¹ a much more favourable description from his point of view, and one that does the least injury to his earlier comment that 'Dans la *Soirée dans Grenade*, tous les éléments musicaux collaborent à un seul but: l'évocation' ('In "La soirée dans Grenade", all the musical elements contribute towards a single end: evocation').²⁴² He makes the same distinction in the *cante jondo* essay, where

²⁴⁰ FEs, 152-3 (FR, 83 [FO, 94-5]). Incidentally, Ravel refers to his memories of his mother's and father's memories of Madrid in his letter to Falla of 16 December 1919. It is tempting to think that Falla read through his old correspondence before writing this article.

²⁴¹ FD, 208 [FEs, 75; FO, 43].

²⁴² FD, 208 [FEs, 74; FO, 42].

he writes six florid paragraphs about Debussy's Spain-inspired music, and only two about Ravel's.²⁴³

This typifies Falla's own position on the question of Ravel's influence. It has already been noted (§ 2.1.1) that of the composers Falla knew in Paris, he considered only Dukas and Debussy to be his masters. The Apaches he considered as colleagues; Pahissa at his first mention of the circle describes them as 'friends'.²⁴⁴ Although Ravel's name frequently features in Falla's published writings and in the authorised biographies, he took care to avoid suggesting that he was taught or directly influenced by him.²⁴⁵

It must be conceded that these composers' influence on Falla was not as great as that of his two 'maîtres'. Nevertheless, the documentary evidence does not entirely support Falla's position.

²⁴³ FC, 16-18 (FEs, 175-7 [FO, 108-9]).

²⁴⁴ PM, 74.

²⁴⁵ This is nowhere more evident than in the portion of Falla's letter to Jean-Aubry of 28 August 1910, quoted in § 2.3.1. The comment from FA quoted earlier in the present section is the only instance of Falla admitting to coming under Ravel's influence.

4.5 CONCLUSION: A MUTUAL SYMPATHY

The greatest significance that the work of these composers held for Falla was not so much that he was influenced by it, but rather that he identified with it.

His sympathy for Delage's music is evident in his written request for copies of it, 'que j'attends avec mon plus vif intérêt et affection!' ('which I await with my keenest interest and affection!'),²⁴⁶ and in his appreciative reply to the dedication of 'Rêves' (see § 4.2.4). His only surviving letter to Sévérac expresses his admiration for that composer's *Le Cœur du moulin*.

In Falla's 1916 article 'Introduccion a la música nueva', Schmitt is grouped with none other than Dukas, and the work of both is described as 'admirable'.²⁴⁷ In another article written the same year, there is a hint that his admiration withstood their significant aesthetic differences:

¿Cómo olvidar ... a Florent Schmitt, que con la fuerza de su voluntad bravía atrajo para sí la unánime admiración de espíritus separados por las más opuestas tendencias?²⁴⁸

... How can we forget ... Florent Schmitt, who by the force of his wild will drew the unanimous admiration of spirits separated from him by the most opposed tendencies?

As concerns Roussel, we have Falla's opinion of a performance of *Le Marchand de sable qui passe*, which he gave Jean-Aubry (the work's librettist) in a letter dated 9 March 1911. There is no hyperbole in this review; he freely mixes approval with disapproval:

²⁴⁶ Letter from Falla to Delage, 14 January 1930.

²⁴⁷ FI (FEs, 41 [FO, 20]).

²⁴⁸ FA (FEs, 50 [FO, 26]).

La musique de Roussel est vraiment délicieuse: Mlle Berchut a declamé son rôle avec un très juste sentiment des nuances du poème; les autres interprètes, très bien aussi, mais ... j'aurais voulu qu'ils auraient parlé plus en sourdine. Le décor ne m'a pas plu.²⁴⁹

Roussel's music is truly beautiful: Mlle Berchut declaimed her role with a very exact feeling for the poem's nuances; the other performers were very good too, but ... I'd have preferred it if they'd spoken more softly. I didn't like the set.

But, unsurprisingly, of all the Apaches, it is Ravel whose music receives the lion's share of Falla's compliments. His comments to the composer about *L'Enfant et les sortilèges* reveal little about his admiration of this particular work (in fact, he had not heard it, and was writing on the basis of the fragment published in the supplement to the April 1925 issue of *La Revue musicale* and a first-hand report of its premiere).²⁵⁰ Instead, they demonstrate the esteem in which he held Ravel's entire oeuvre, amounting almost to a faith in its value:

Je vous adresse, avant tout, mes vives félicitations pour l'heureuse naissance de 'L'Enfant et les Sortilèges', que je désire tant connaître. Inutile de vous dire avec quelle joie j'ai appris votre grand succès. On me dit que l'œuvre est absolument admirable; s'agissant de vous, cela je le savais d'avance.²⁵¹

I send you, first of all, my keenly-felt congratulations for the happy birth of *L'Enfant et les sortilèges*, which I so much long to get to know. I don't need to tell you how delighted I was to learn of your great success. I hear that the work is absolutely admirable; since you wrote it, I knew in advance that it would be.

A more reliable expression of his admiration for Ravel's work is found in a letter to Salazar, with whom Falla was not prone to mincing words. As an aside in his letter of 18 September 1927, he wrote: 'Admirables las "Madécasses"!'²⁵² And, in the letter he wrote to Roland-Manuel shortly after hearing of Ravel's death, we find this tribute: '¡Ya sólo nos queda la herencia

²⁴⁹ Letter from Falla to Jean-Aubry, 9 March 1911, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7132/1.

²⁵⁰ The first-hand report was from the Princesse de Polignac (letter to Falla, 22 March 1925, preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7432).

²⁵¹ Letter from Falla to Ravel, 28 April 1925.

²⁵² Carbon copy preserved at *E-GRmf*, correspondence folder 7569. (Incidentally, the remainder of the letter is in Spanish.)

de su música admirable, verdaderamente admirable!' ('Now all that remains is the heritage of his admirable music, truly admirable!').²⁵³

To conclude this chapter, it seems worthwhile to place these sentiments in the context of the genuine respect and camaraderie with which Ravel reciprocated Falla's attentions.

Clearly, he recognised the kinship of Falla's music with his own. As already noted (§ 1.1), his review of the first Paris production of *La vida breve* (one of the few pieces of musical criticism that he ever wrote) begins with the words: 'Parmi ses compatriotes, M. de Falla est celui qui offre le plus d'affinités avec les musiciens français d'aujourd'hui' ('Among his compatriots, M. Falla offers the closest affinity with present-day French musicians').²⁵⁴

The position he adopts in this article is that of Falla's champion, defending the opera against charges of facile exoticism: 'A-t-on jamais fait à Massenet un grief d'avoir prodigué, dans *Manon*, certaines formules trop françaises?' ('Has anyone ever held it against Massenet that *Manon* is full of certain overtly French formulas?').²⁵⁵ Like Falla's opinion of Roussel's *Le Marchand de sable qui passe*, this praise seems sincere because of its lack of extravagance. Ravel does not laud any of the opera's shortcomings, but instead focuses on the most successful elements of the work:

Sans doute, le musicien a tiré le plus brillant parti des épisodes pittoresques dont se pare heureusement de l'intrigue: défilé de marchands de fruits, noce populaire, danses gitanes. Mais, dans les scènes qui exigent d'autres qualités, on trouve une sincérité d'accent, une abondance et une fraîcheur d'inspiration pleines de charme. La passion, si elle s'y exprime avec moins de bruit, et plus musicalement que chez les veristes, n'y est pas moins vivante.²⁵⁶

²⁵³ Letter from Falla to Roland-Manuel, 1 January 1938, photocopy at E-GRmf, correspondence folder 7521.

²⁵⁴ *Comœdia illustré*, v, 8 (20 January 1914), 390-1. English translation from Orenstein, *A Ravel Reader*, 373-4.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

Undoubtedly, the composer has drawn most brilliance from the picturesque episodes which, happily, adorn the plot: a procession of fruit-sellers, a working-class wedding, gypsy dances. But, in the scenes which call for other qualities, one finds a sincere tone, an abundance of fresh inspiration, full of charm. Passion is expressed with less noise and more music than in the work of the *verists*, but it is no less vivacious.

His opinion of Falla's work did not wane; in 1924 he told a newspaper reporter in Madrid that Falla was 'one of the greatest musicians in the world',²⁵⁷ and in 1932 he told an Amsterdam newspaper: 'Falla is excellent, in my opinion'.²⁵⁸

He reserved his greatest compliment for the *Concerto*. Roland-Manuel reported his opinion of this work in his book on Falla,²⁵⁹ but it was in one of the letters written shortly after Ravel's death that he recalled the circumstances in which this opinion had been expressed:

Vous savez du reste à quel point Ravel vous estimait et vous aimait. Je le vois encore à la sortie du concert que vous aviez offert à vos amis dans l'ancienne salle Pleyel me disant après l'audition du mouvement lent de votre concerto: 'C'est le chef d'œuvre de la musique de chambre de notre temps.'²⁶⁰

You know, moreover, how much Ravel respected you and loved you. I can still see him coming out of the concert that you had given for your friends in the old Salle Pleyel, saying to me after the performance of the slow movement of your concerto: 'It's the masterpiece of modern chamber music.'

²⁵⁷ ABC, 1 May 1924, cited in Orenstein, *A Ravel Reader*, 432.

²⁵⁸ *De Telegraaf*, 6 April 1932, cited in *ibid.*, 493.

²⁵⁹ RM, 59.

²⁶⁰ Letter from Roland-Manuel to Falla, 3 January 1938, preserved at E-GRmf, correspondence folder 7520.