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THE REVIVAL OF THE HARPSICHORD IN THE TWENTIETH
CENTURY WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE
HARPSICHORD CONCERTI OF MANUEL DE FALLA
AND FRANCIS POULENC

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Dedicated to
Edward Brown Ragsdale
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PREFACE

Having attained absolute sovereignty as the solo and ensemble instrument in European music for nearly three centuries, the harpsichord almost virtually disappeared during the greater part of the nineteenth century, and made a dramatic comeback in the 1880s and 1890s. Why this sudden death? And what factors brought about the harpsichord's revival and continued growth in popularity in the twentieth century?

The end of an era is often easier to pinpoint than the beginning of one. The change of musical aesthetic late in the eighteenth century (specifically, to the Empfindsamer stil which demanded quick and frequent dynamic changes) required a new keyboard instrument. The creating of the fortepiano by Cristofori in 1726 helped to oust the harpsichord. In the case of the harpsichord revival, many factors, overlapping and sometimes in counterpoint with one another, combined around the turn of the century to usher in what Sylvia Marlowe calls [a second] "Age of the Harpsichord." During the mid-1800s, the ground was made fertile for the harpsichord builders, performing artists

and scholars by the establishment of musicology as a recognized science. While the harpsichord did catch the attention of the twentieth-century composers as early as 1907 (Massenet includes it in a section of his opera Theresa), the instrument did not acquire notable new literature until the 1920s.

The musical climate at this time could not have been more perfect. Jean Cocteau's 'war cry' for a return to simplicity in music--as a reaction against ultra-romanticism and impressionism--roused quite a number of European composers between the two world wars, notably Stravinsky. His so-called neoclassical works during this time--works which revived earlier musical forms, styles, and textures--exerted a tremendous influence upon Manuel de Falla and Francis Poulenc. These two composers, around whom this study is focused, added the first major new works to the harpsichord repertory: the Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello (1926) and the Concert champêtre for harpsichord and orchestra (1928).

It is this writer's intention to describe the musical and intellectual climate at the turn of the century which was conducive to the harpsichord revival and the concomitant creation of new works for the instrument. Included in this discussion must be the efforts of late

nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century harpsichord builders and the contributions of performing artists such as Doud Dièmer, Arnold Dolmetsch, and Wanda Landowska.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Modern Musicology

It is not an exaggeration to say that the harpsichord revival might not have occurred--certainly not with such strength--without the preceding development of modern musicology. Music, unlike so many other arts, has to be recreated again and again by the performing artist to stay alive. And the survival of most music is contingent upon the performers having intelligible scores. (Even music which is improvised and/or passed orally from one generation to another must, in order to be saved, either be notated or recorded.)

In the case of early music, the music scholar cannot always produce even a facsimile edition of a particular composer's work without first comparing several manuscript sources--the composer's autograph copies, students' or colleagues' copies, etc. Subsequently, the scholar must compile a critical performing edition of a composer's or school's works; and he or she must carefully research attendant performance problems and practices, including notation, ornamentation, articulation, and tuning. The

question of what instrument is appropriate (if not specified by the composer) for a given composition during a particular period must also be addressed. The scholar, sometimes moving in counterpoint to the instrument builder and performer, at other times moving parallel, performs a kind of rescuing act.

By 1863, when Chrysander, a leading German scholar, asserted that musicology should be approached as scientifically as any other cognitive body of knowledge, a tremendous amount of research had already been accomplished. Germany led the way in modern music scholarship, issuing during the nineteenth century and even through both world wars numerous critical editions, biographies, bibliographies, and catalogues. Increasingly supportive of scholarly activity in music were the publishing houses of Breitkopf und Härtel and C. F. Peters in Leipzig, and Schott in Mainz. They published music editions and research monographs as well as periodicals, including the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik (initiated by Schumann in 1834) and the highly professional Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft (1885-94), edited by Chrysander, Spitta, and Adler.

Of course, we must remember that Johann Nikolaus Forkel had already written the first biography of J. S. Bach in 1802, Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst, und Kunstwerke, which certainly marked the beginning of the

Bach revival in Europe. Mendelssohn's revival of Bach's St. Matthew Passion in Berlin in 1829 was no less a landmark event. Throughout his life an active campaigner for the revival of forgotten eighteenth-century works, Mendelssohn also produced a series of Handel oratorio concerts in Düsseldorf (1833-35), and concerts in Leipzig (1835, 1837-38) which included works by Bach, Handel, Viotti, Cimarosa, Méhul, Haydn, Mozart, and others. The 1835 performance of Bach's Concerto in D minor for three harpsichords and orchestra--performed on three pianos by Mendelssohn, Clara Wieck, and Louis Rakemann--was a triumph.

Enormous contributions to music scholarship were made by Hugo Riemann (1849-1919), not the least of which were the fifty volumes of early chamber music entitled Collegium Musicum. Riemann's student ensemble, also called Collegium Musicum, was founded in 1908 for the express purpose of studying and performing Baroque instrumental music. Succeeding Eduard Hanslick, music critic and the first scholar to bear the title "professor ordinarius" in music at the University of Vienna, was Guido Adler (1855-1941), founder and general editor of the Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich (1894). Adler, in collaboration with other scholars, wrote the Handbuch der Musikgeschichte (1924, 2/1930), which was used by many students of historical musicology through the mid-twentieth century.

Catalogues, bibliographies, and thematic indexes continued to be published in great numbers in Germany until the end of World War II. Important in this regard were musicologists Robert Eitner, Friedrich Ludwig, Emil Vogel, and Johannes Zahn.

Performers of early music are especially indebted to the later nineteenth-century German musicologists who became acutely interested in the Gesamtausgabe: all the works of a major composer or school carefully researched and collected in a complete edition. Of inestimable significance to the Bach revival was the founding in 1851 of the Bach Gesellschaft and its publication from 1851 to 1899 of all of Bach's works. The undertaking of critical editions of the works of Handel (1858), Palestrina (1862), Mozart (1876), and others followed. Concurrently, studies of the life and works of a single composer began to appear. An excellent example is Spitta's two-volume study of J. S. Bach (1873-80).

Due to the exhaustive efforts of François-Joseph Fétis (1784-1871), modern musicology got off to a good start in France during the first half of the nineteenth century. He founded the journal La Revue musicale in 1829 and, in Paris from 1832 to 1835, presented a series of historical concerts with commentary. A 23-volume collection of early keyboard music, Le Trésor des Pianistes

(1861-72), was compiled and edited by musicologist Aristide Farrenc and pianist-composer Jeanne-Louise Farrenc.

Charles Bordes (1863-1909), who later became a friend and supporter of Wanda Landowska when she came to Paris in 1900, compiled his Anthologie des maîtres religieux du XVe au XVIIe siècle.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, Paris was becoming a major center for the study of musicology. Much of the credit goes to Albert Lavignac (1846-1916) and Lionel de La Laurencie (1861-1933). In 1872 the Conservatoire finally added a chair in music history. In 1895 Saint-Saëns, Charles Malherbe, and Maurice Emmanuel began their publication of the complete works of Rameau. The Schola Cantorum, whose curriculum focused upon the study of vocal and instrumental repertory from the Middle Ages through the eighteenth century, was founded by Bordes, Alexandre Guilmant, and Vincent d'Indy in 1894.

Much will be said in the following chapter about the father of Spanish musicology, Felipe Pedrell (1841-1922), whose strong convictions about the necessity for a universal Spanish musical language made a lasting impression upon Manuel de Falla. Among Pedrell's accomplishments were his collection of early sacred Spanish music in Hispania Schola Musica Sacra (1894-98). A critical edition of the keyboard music of Cabezon and a complete edition of the works of Victoria are also to his

credit. F. A. Barbieri's Cancionero Musical de Palacio was also a major contribution to musicology.

Harpsichord Builders and Harpsichordists

By the year 1800, almost no harpsichords were being built; and during the cold winter of 1816, "sixteen years after the English maker Kirckman made his last instrument . . . , a large number of harpsichords in the Paris Conservatoire were broken up and used for firewood."¹ Two closely related factors--the change in musical aesthetic between 1720 and 1790, and the supposed structural deficiencies of the harpsichord--led to the demise of the harpsichord and the ushering-in of the fortepiano.

While a Baroque composition was generally constructed upon one affection, a single mood, the pre-Classical ideal, Empfindsamkeit, delighted in emotional contrast. Music in which swiftly alternating moods, musical ideas, and textures are integral demanded an instrument capable of wider dynamic contrast than the harpsichord could generate. Although the harpsichord had grown in tonal resources and expressiveness throughout the eighteenth century, the problems of volume and gradation in dynamics--overcome in part by the addition of extra sets of strings (as many as four different sets could be played at

¹Wolfgang Joachim Zuckermann, The Modern Harpsichord (New York: October House Inc., 1969), p. 20.

once by the same keys) and a second keyboard--were never solved to the satisfaction of performers and composers of the "new" music. Not even the late eighteenth-century experiments with the Venetian shutter swell were compensatory.

Early in the 1700s the fortepiano was really nothing more than a harpsichord with a hammer action substituting for the plucking mechanism. Allegedly, the first workable hammer action was invented by the Italian harpsichord maker Bartolomeo Cristofori in 1709; the first genuine pianoforte was also made by him in 1726. In fact, all of the early pianos were made by harpsichord firms: Jean Marius, Paris; Gottfried Silbermann and Johann Andreas Stein, Germany; Shudi-Broadwood, London. Naturally when, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, some interest in modern reconstructions of the harpsichord was sparked, a few piano makers commenced making harpsichords in very small quantities. But just as the early pianos were essentially harpsichords in which hammer actions had replaced plucking jacks, these harpsichords made by piano makers were pianos with harpsichord actions.

In spite of the conscious attempts of the revivalists to rediscover and recreate the qualities of the earlier harpsichord, it was only natural that they should at first be almost overwhelmed by false analogies with the later piano. And after the first historical reconstructions by

Dolmetsch, it was the piano firms of France and Germany who began to produce harpsichords for the general market.²

Although the harpsichord was scarcely heard during the greater part of the nineteenth century, antique instruments were used occasionally for continuo playing in oratorio and opera. And the German virtuoso pianist Ignaz Moscheles, on his first historical recital in London in 1837, included some pieces by Scarlatti and Handel which he performed on a 1771 harpsichord. Ernst Pauer, a famous Austrian pianist, also played a harpsichord in his London series of historical recitals (1861-67). His numerous editions of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century keyboard music provided further evidence of his great interest in early music: Old English Composers for the Virginal and Harpsichord, twelve books of Alte Klaviermusik, sixty-five numbers of Alte Meister, Alte Tänze, etc. Only a few new harpsichords were built by Parisian restorers Tomasini, Danti, and Fleury.

However, the nineteenth-century musician whose efforts exerted the greatest influence upon a revival of interest--albeit small--in this once sovereign keyboard instrument was the French virtuoso pianist Louis Diémer. His recitals during the mid-1860s began to include pieces which he performed on a harpsichord made in 1769 by the famous Pascal Taskin. (This instrument is now part of the

²Ibid., p. 12.

Russell Collection in Edinburgh.) According to Elizabeth Bernard, Diémer's series of recitals at the Paris Exposition of 1889 received critical acclaim. Denise Restout, harpsichordist, teacher, and writer, perceived Diémer's performances quite differently:

The attempts of the pianist Louis Diémer to revive the keyboard music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on the harpsichord, around 1889, had been more disastrous than helpful to the cause. The deficient instrument he used and the insignificance of the pieces he chose to play were probably responsible for the failure of his efforts.³

The above-mentioned Taskin harpsichord was borrowed by the Erard firm of piano and harp makers and the rival Pleyel firm in the 1880s--both of whom intended to resume harpsichord production. However, their earliest instruments were modelled more closely upon mid- and late eighteenth-century English harpsichords, such as Shudi's and Kirckman's, than upon Taskin's. Like their precursors, the modern instruments had two manuals, five octaves, and registration 2 X 8' and 1 X 4'. Although the framing, strings, and bridge of the new harpsichords were heavier, no metal bracing was introduced. Both Erard and Pleyel opted for pedals rather than the traditional hand stops to change registers. These firms exhibited their newly constructed harpsichords at the same Paris Exposition

³Wanda Landowska, Landowska on Music, collected, edited, and translated by Denise Restout (New York: Stein and Day, 1965), pp. 7-8.

(1889) at which Diémer had performed. In 1912, by which time the Erard firm had already discontinued harpsichord building, a newer model of the Pleyel was introduced at the Breslau Bach Festival. More will be said about this instrument later, since its connection to Wanda Landowska, who was largely responsible for its creation, and to Manuel de Falla's and Francis Poulenc's harpsichord concertos, is important to this study.

An extremely important figure, not only in the revival of the harpsichord but in the revival of early music in general, was Arnold Dolmetsch, who began to present concerts of Renaissance and Baroque music in London in the 1880s. Born in France of Swiss-German parents, he studied violin at the Brussels Conservatory.

Having acquired a rather extensive collection of historical keyboard instruments, among them a Kirckman double-manual harpsichord, Dolmetsch proceeded to build his first clavichord in 1894, and his first harpsichord in 1896. Cohen and Snitzer, in their book Reprise: The Revival of Early Music, praised Dolmetsch for being the first to make "a serious effort to reproduce historical instruments from scratch."⁴

Dolmetsch was the first of a new kind of workman: the artisan-scholar, able to blend learning with manual dexterity in the reproduction of old instruments. The

⁴Joel Cohen and Herb Snitzer, Reprise: The Extraordinary Revival of Early Music (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Co., 1985), p. 20.

Hubbards, the Dowds, the von Hueves, and many other contemporary craftsmen who make painstaking reproductions of early instruments are the spiritual descendants of Arnold Dolmetsch.⁵

The first harpsichord constructed by Dolmetsch so impressed the conductor Hans Richter that the latter invited him to bring it to Covent Garden in 1897 for a production of Mozart's Don Giovanni. Dolmetsch's accompanying of the recitatives marked the first performance on a "modern" harpsichord.

We should acknowledge at this point the activities of the English concert pianist Alfred James Hipkins in connection with the re-emergence of the harpsichord in England. An historian of keyboard instruments and an associate of the prestigious Broadwood firm, Hipkins presented lecture-demonstrations during the 1880s and 1890s on eighteenth-century English harpsichords and later on new Pleyel and Erard instruments.

Two decades later, English pianist Violet Gordon Woodhouse (1872-1948) participated in the English revival of early keyboard instruments. Her interest in the harpsichord was awakened after meeting Arnold Dolmetsch in 1910. Although Woodhouse was not particularly active professionally, she made the first gramophone record of harpsichord music in 1920, and her 1924 broadcast of solo harpsichord music was the first in England. Her artistry

⁵Ibid., p. 21.

was highly regarded by intellectuals and musicians, including Delius, who wrote his Dance for Harpsichord (1919) for her.

The circle of Arnold Dolmetsch's influence widened, first in the United States, then later, in France. From 1905 until 1910, he headed a department at the Chickering firm of piano makers in Boston to make harpsichords, clavichords, lutes, and viols. Using as a model an eighteenth-century French harpsichord out of his own collection, and which he used in concerts, Dolmetsch built thirteen two-manual harpsichords. (Pascal Taskin had rebuilt this instrument in 1783-84; the original builder remains anonymous.) Although the cases of Dolmetsch harpsichords were heavier than those of early harpsichords, the instruments themselves were generally lighter in construction than contemporaneous instruments. Also, their sound more closely approached that of historical instruments than had the sound of other modern harpsichords. Unfortunately, inadequate finances forced Chickering to stop production in 1910.

Arnold Dolmetsch continued his work in Paris, however, at the piano manufacturers firm Gaveau. Basically the same type of harpsichords built by Chickering, these instruments now had as a standard feature, the 16' stop. Even after Dolmetsch returned to England in 1914 and in 1918 founded a workshop in Haslemere, Surrey, his legacy

lived on at Gaveau, where harpsichords were produced until the 1930s.⁶

Dolmetsch continued to work indefatigably in all areas: performance, research, instrument building, and concert management. His book The Interpretation of the Music of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries Revealed by Contemporary Evidence, published in 1915, was for many years the definitive work on performance practices.

We now have a small army of specialists--scholars, instrument makers, performers, music educators, concert impresarios--to do the many things that Dolmetsch tried to accomplish almost singlehandedly. His failures have nothing surprising about them. What is truly extraordinary is how very much he was able to achieve.⁷

Three other notable English builders, Thomas Goff, Robert Goble, and Hugh Gough, should be mentioned. In the late 1930s and 1940s, Goff, a London barrister, built fourteen harpsichords which were very much like the large Pleyels, including the metal frame, heavy case, and registration pedals. Enthusiastically championing the revival of the harpsichord, he encouraged British performers of early music to play it in concerts.

A former associate of Dolmetsch, Goble established his own workshop in 1937, but did not build any two-manual harpsichords for another ten years. Having the same

⁶Haslemere, incidentally, became equally famous for its early music concerts and festivals.

⁷Cohen and Snitzer, Reprise, p. 20.

disposition as the Pleyel, but wood- rather than metal-framed, they produced more volume of sound and were less unstable in regard to tuning and regulation. From 1971 on, Goble included in his output harpsichords modelled on selected instruments by Taskin, Ruckers, Dulcken, and Hass.

Hugh Gough's interest in instrument making began at the workshop of Dolmetsch, where he was a weekend volunteer-apprentice. Establishing his own shop in London in 1946, he built a small number of harpsichords modelled upon Italian and northern European prototypes. After working six months in the Hubbard & Dowd workshop in Boston in 1958, Gough moved to New York in 1959, where, along with his instrument building, he promoted early music concerts.

The revival of the harpsichord did not gain a foothold in Germany until some time around 1902.

Inauspicious were its beginnings, due to

. . . the acceptance, as a model specimen, of a much-altered instrument that was falsely associated with Bach (harpsichord no. 316 in the Berlin Collection) which had in fact been rebuilt earlier in the 19th century to replace a third 8' register with a 16' stop and to remove the 4' register to the upper manual from its normal place on the lower keyboard.⁸

Turn-of-the-century German harpsichord makers, such as Wilhelm Hirl (Berlin), Karl A. Pfeiffer (Stuttgart), Johannes Rehbock (Duisburg), and Georg Steingraber (Bayreuth), modelled their instruments on this so-called

⁸The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, s.v. "Harpsichord," by Howard Schott.

"Bach" harpsichord, thus perpetrating the myth that their instruments were copies of authentic historical precursors.

Around 1906 the firm of Maendler-Schramm established a shop in Munich, and in Bamberg the Neupert firm of piano makers also began to produce harpsichords. Leaning toward the heavier construction and iron frame of the Pleyels made in Paris rather than the illegitimate "Bach" harpsichord, these builders felt the influence of Wanda Landowska (who herself played the newest Pleyel model) while she was professor of harpsichord at the Berlin Hochschule für Musik from 1913 to 1919. Having ceased harpsichord production during World War I, as did harpsichord builders in other countries, most German makers from 1930 on rejected metal framing and returned to the "Bach" harpsichord for their model. Although the shops of Maendler and others were destroyed during World War II, the Neupert firm was able to resume harpsichord production after 1945, and had as apprentices such upcoming makers as Konrad Sassmann, Kurt Wittmayer, and John Feldberg.

Subsequent to Arnold Dolmetsch's short stay in the United States and his departure in 1910, no harpsichord builders appeared on the American scene for two decades. But in 1931 Dolmetsch's first protégé John Challis, who had spent four years at Haslemere as the first Dolmetsch Foundation scholar-craftsman, returned to the United States. Undeterred by the Great Depression, Challis set up

a workshop in Detroit. Concerned throughout his career with the sensitivity of historically based harpsichords to climate changes--especially in regard to tuning and regulation--he opted for totally metal construction in his late instruments. Wood veneering on keyboards and case was a decorative feature only. "While the tonal quality of Challis instruments--very little influenced by the sound of the early harpsichord--was not to everyone's taste, his craftsmanship was universally admired."⁹ William Dowd and Frank Rutkowski, famous American makers after 1940, learned much of their craft at Challis' shop.

While pursuing degrees in English at Harvard, Dowd and his friend Frank Hubbard became so enamored of early keyboard instruments that they built a clavichord. Subsequently, they decided to make a career of building harpsichords according to historical principles. In 1947, Hubbard travelled to England, where he worked in both the Haslemere workshop of Arnold Dolmetsch and that of Hugh Gough in London. He also visited early instrument collections all over Europe. Meanwhile, Dowd apprenticed himself to Challis during the summer of 1948.

Founded in 1949 in Boston, the shop of Hubbard & Dowd produced thirteen harpsichords and four clavichords in the next six years, all based upon surviving Italian,

⁹Ibid.

Flemish, French, and English seventeenth- and eighteenth-century instruments. Of course, their concurrent restorations of numerous harpsichords in public and private collections were integral to the gradual development of their personal designs and to working out necessary improvements in construction to fit the needs of the twentieth-century performer.

From 1955 to 1957, while Hubbard was in Europe doing more research, Dowd continued the firm's work. During this time he also evolved the design for a French double harpsichord, which was to become the most widely used concert instrument in North America and Europe. Modelled upon an instrument by Pascal Taskin, it was not limited to specialized areas of music. Dissolving the partnership in 1958, Dowd established his own shop in Cambridge, while Hubbard moved to Waltham. Assessing the significant achievements made during their nine-year collaboration, Ralph Kirkpatrick stated that they "accomplished the major revolution of this century in harpsichord building . . . a return to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century traditions and principles of construction that had hitherto been practiced only in isolated instances."¹⁰

Opening a second workshop in Paris in 1971, William Dowd and his associate Reinhard von Nagel continue to

¹⁰Ibid.

produce mostly French double harpsichords modelled on instruments made by the Blanchets, Hemsch and Taskin. Also made in both shops are a smaller Flemish double harpsichord and a single manual French, and the builders continue to be involved in restorations of old instruments.

Hubbard's extensive research on harpsichord construction from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries culminated in his book Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making, the definitive work on this subject, published in 1965. Invited in 1967 by the Musée Instrumental at the Paris Conservatoire to establish a restoration workshop, Hubbard taught harpsichord restoration and construction. Hubbard's design of a French double in kit form (modelled on a Taskin harpsichord, 1769) had a dramatic impact upon the harpsichord revival. Purchasable in various stages of completion, it has appealed to amateur and expert cabinetmakers alike because of its reasonable cost. In fact, "by the end of 1975 about 1000 of these kit instruments had been produced."¹¹

Wanda Landowska

The extraordinary contribution of Wanda Landowska to the harpsichord revival, in Europe and North America, must be recounted here for several reasons--not the least important being her personal relationships with Manuel de

¹¹Ibid., s.v. "Hubbard, Frank," by Howard Schott.

Falla and Francis Poulenc. With the passing of almost thirty years since her death in 1959, we now perhaps may be able to evaluate more fairly her position at the forefront of the revival--to weigh her superb artistry and musicianship against the controversy surrounding her modern Pleyel harpsichord and resultant performance style. Pleyel harpsichords were described by Cohen and Snitzer as "robust, metal-cast contraptions" which "boomed in the bass and boinked in the treble like the true pieces of late Victoriana that they were."¹² The relative merit of the Pleyels was disputed, especially in the United States, from the late 1940s on, when the movement to construct harpsichords upon historical principles gathered momentum. But, as Cohen and Snitzer also point out, "The purists, the few that existed, turned up their noses; but for the average concert goer, Landowska was the apostle of early music on earth--and the Pleyel was a harpsichord."¹³ Further, she was

. . . a performer whose sphere of influence extended far beyond the still-tiny early music community of her day. While the Dolmetschniks proselytized among amateur musicians and in literary-artistic circles, Landowska was giving solo recitals in the same halls, and for the same audiences, as the famous violinists and pianists of those times.¹⁴

¹²Cohen and Snitzer, Reprise, p. 25.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

Born in Warsaw, Poland, on July 5, 1879, Wanda Landowska began to play the piano at the age of four. Drawn to early music even as a child, she was most unhappy when one of her first teachers, who insisted upon her playing "twenty-five times, each hand separately, the studies of Kalkbrenner and Thalberg,"¹⁵ forbade her to play the music of Bach and other eighteenth-century composers:

It was then that I vowed that some day I would do the thing I wanted to do, the thing that I loved: I would play a program devoted entirely to Bach, Mozart, Rameau, and Haydn. I wrote this neatly on a sheet of paper decorated with Christmas pictures and sealed it in an envelope, on which I inscribed, "To be opened when I am grown up."¹⁶

Landowska's most famous teachers, Jan Kleczynski and Alexander Michalowski, were both Chopin specialists. Studying mostly romantic compositions, her only contact with Bach's works during this period were transcriptions by Liszt, Bülow, or Tausig.

The course of her life changed dramatically when, in 1900, Landowska moved to Paris with her new husband Henry Lew, a journalist, actor, and ethnologist who would prove extremely helpful in her campaign to renew interest in early music and the harpsichord. Paris, fast becoming a major center for the study of musicology, offered her invaluable opportunities to study treatises and manuscripts

¹⁵Landowska, Landowska on Music, p. 5.

¹⁶Ibid.

of early music and to visit museum collections of early instruments. Landowska soon became acquainted with the musicians at the Schola Cantorum, where she performed Bach concerti (still on the piano) with instrumental ensembles. She also befriended eminent scholars: La Laurencie, Ecorcheville, Maurice Emmanuel, Quittard, Henri Expert, and Albert Schweitzer.

Increasingly, Landowska became preoccupied not only with the idea of concentrating upon the keyboard works of the Baroque, but more especially with their performance on the intended instrument, the harpsichord. Upon informing her scholar-friends of her new purpose, she received mixed reactions. Charles Bordes, always a loyal supporter of her intention to perform early music, insisted that she play clavecin works on the piano--not on that "cage of flies."¹⁷ Fauré and Dukas, on the other hand, were intrigued; Dukas even gave her an original edition of François Couperin's Pièces de Clavecin. Not surprising was the enthusiastic support she received from Schweitzer who had himself been involved in a supervisory capacity in the reconstruction of several Baroque organs made by Silbermann:

. . . anyone who has heard Wanda Landowska play the Italian Concerto on her wonderful Pleyel harpsichord finds it hard to understand how it could ever again be played on a modern piano.¹⁸

¹⁷Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁸Ibid.

Since the harpsichords which Landowska was currently using--made by Pleyel and Erard around 1900--were insufficient, she embarked upon a search for a modern reconstruction which would closely resemble mid-eighteenth-century instruments:

The harpsichord . . . people knew it only as a museum piece. Adorned with rich carvings, decorated with faded colors and dim gold, they appeared like phantoms, formerly magnificent, now forever mute. What was the voice of these harpsichords of which the musicians of the period speak with such delight? To make it live again ; . . such was my dream, a multiple and vast dream.¹⁹

Unfamiliar with the harpsichords of Dolmetsch, who was in the United States from 1902 to 1909, Landowska sought the help of the piano firm of Pleyel. Their chief engineer M. Lamy, after many visits to museums (especially the Musikhistorischen Museum in Cologne) with Landowska and her husband, gathered specifications for an updated Pleyel model. She specifically requested the addition of a 16-foot register to sound one octave below normal pitch (not normally found on antique harpsichords).

The new Pleyel had an iron frame holding thick strings at high tension. The barring was almost identical to that of the modern grand piano, and the finely-veneered case correspondingly heavily constructed. The touch depth and the dimensions of the five-octave keyboard were those of the modern piano. The cheekpiece and the spine were cut away in a delicately carved line to reveal the harpsichordist's hands playing on the keyboards. An extra set of overhead dampers was provided for the 16' strings, and a highly sophisticated fine-tuning system was also fitted. The registers were controlled by seven pedals (but without

¹⁹Ibid., p. 11.

half-hitches), disposed as follows-- lower manual: 16', 8', 4'; upper manual: 8', lute ("Nasat") and buff; and coupler. The pedal action was largely negative (i.e., a pedal was raised to engage the register), a system that may have derived from the English 18th century machine-stop pedal.²⁰

Requiring several years to complete, the new Pleyel harpsichord was not introduced until 1912 at the Breslau Bach Festival.

At this point, it is necessary to stop to consider the place of the harpsichord in relationship to twentieth-century composers, particularly Manuel de Falla and Francis Poulenc. The harpsichord's revival initially had little to do with serving twentieth-century composers (usually, new or improved musical instrument construction is closely related to composers' needs), but was related at the turn of the century to the rediscovery of early music in general. Falla's and Poulenc's earliest experiences with the harpsichord differed somewhat. Falla, having heard an historical instrument in Don Angel Vegue y Goldric's early instrument collection in Toledo (ca. 1922), liked its sound very much; presumably, though, this harpsichord was not available for rehearsals and concerts--certainly not in Seville or Paris. Moreover, it is understandable that during their visit together in Granada in 1922, Landowska impressed Falla not only with her forceful keyboard style

²⁰The New Grove Dictionary, "Harpsichord," by Howard Schott.

but with the big sound and the registration possibilities of the new Pleyel as well. It must be remembered that the Pleyel's iron frame, holding the strings at high tension, barring similar to that of a grand piano, and the additional 16-foot register all combined to generate bigger sonorities than those possible on an historically based harpsichord. Landowska's Pleyel was, of course, the harpsichord Poulenc heard in Princesse Edmond de Polignac's salon in Paris at the premiere of El Retablo de Maese Pedro (1923). How familiar he had been with other harpsichords previously is not well documented. A modern reconstruction (which would become especially controversial from the 1940s on), rather than a harpsichord constructed upon historical principles, would play an integral part in the creating of two of the most important new compositions for the harpsichord: Falla's Concierto and Poulenc's Concert champêtre.

Early in the 1900s, Wanda Landowska began to realize that her performances alone would not convince the public that a revival of the harpsichord, or of early music in general, was absolutely requisite. Plans were made for a book, a campaign to attack all the prejudices and misunderstandings about early music:

It was an alarm signal, a war cry to awaken interest in the music of the past, to reveal the harpsichord and its literature. When one reads this book today, one cannot understand the reason for the belligerent, combative tone which dominates the entire work. It seems unbelievable that musicians and the public alike

could have been so unacquainted with the music of former times and that such a vehement defense was needed of Bach, Couperin, Scarlatti, their predecessors, and even their successors. For however incredible it may seem today, this defense was to extend beyond Mozart and Haydn. Yes, music of the past was scarcely known. . . .²¹

Her timing was auspicious, since the way had been prepared by Pirro and Schweitzer, who each had published a book on J. S. Bach in 1905. Landowska's book Musique Ancienne, released by Mercure de France in 1909, was later published in translation by A. A. Knopf in 1924.

Landowska also wrote critical essays and articles. The interpretation of Bach's harpsichord works, the influence of French music upon eighteenth-century German composers, Bach in particular, and the correct keyboard instrument upon which Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier was to be played, were a few of the subjects she researched. Portions of these articles were included in her program notes for performances of Bach's preludes and fugues, and also in her 1954 recording of the Well-Tempered Clavier.

Touring Europe with her new Pleyel, Landowska discovered that the harpsichord was not welcomed everywhere with open arms. Spain and Russia seemed the most receptive, probably because their beloved national instruments, the guitar and the balalaika, also belonged to the plucked string family of instruments. Ironically,

²¹Landowska, Landowska on Music, p. 13.

Germany, the country which at first adamantly resisted the harpsichord revival, became the first to acknowledge formally the importance of Landowska's achievements. In 1913 the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin invited her to establish a harpsichord class. With the outbreak of World War I, Landowska and her husband were detained in Berlin as "civilian prisoners on parole"; she continued her teaching but was not allowed to publish or tour. When she returned to France after the war, she resumed writing, as well as lecturing and concertizing in various European cities.

The musical climate that produced neoclassicism in the 1920s (to be discussed in the following section) could not have been more conducive to the growth of the harpsichord revival. This factor, plus Landowska's meeting and subsequent friendships with Falla and Poulenc, resulted in the commissioning and writing of two new works which would become staples in the twentieth-century harpsichord repertory.

Landowska's recently purchased suburban house at Saint-Leu-La-Forêt, north of Paris--housing her library and extensive early instrument collection--became world-famous for its concert hall, inaugurated in 1929. Harpsicordists, pianists, organists, singers, violinists, flutists, and musicologists from all over the world flocked to Saint-Leu for Landowska's Sunday afternoon concerts, May to July, as well as for her private and public master classes. One of

the most important events at Saint-Leu, musically and historically, was Landowska's performance of J. S. Bach's Goldberg Variations in May 1933. Probably the first such performance of this work in the twentieth century, it was accompanied by her essay "Sur les Variations Goldberg," published concurrently in La Revue Musicale. Also noteworthy--startling at that time--was Landowska's 1935 recital devoted entirely to Scarlatti sonatas.

Her life disrupted once again, this time by World War II, Landowska was forced to leave Saint-Leu precipitously. Taking only three small boxes of selected books, scores, and a few notebooks, her priceless instrument collection and manuscripts as well as her Pleyel harpsichords were left behind. While exiled in the south of France for eighteen months, she learned that the Nazis had completely looted the house at Saint-Leu; to this day almost none of the historical instruments have been recovered.

Twenty-two years after her first concert tour in the United States in 1923, during which she made her first recording for RCA Victor, Landowska returned to New York City in 1945. She moved to Lakeville, Connecticut, in 1947, and resided there until her death in 1959. It was in Lakeville that she recorded A Treasury of Harpsichord Music for RCA Victor, as well as J. S. Bach's complete

Well-Tempered Clavier. Landowska's protégé, harpsichordist, teacher, and writer, Denise Restout, remains at the Landowska Center in Lakeville. Her compilation of numerous notes from Landowska's master classes, plus excerpts from articles, led to the publication of Landowska on Music in 1964.

Neoclassicism

It was as if the critics and the smart set had just managed to learn an extremely complicated game of bezique and were beginning to boast of their prowess, when they were baffled by the game being suddenly changed to leapfrog.²²

This statement, made by the French poet Jean Cocteau during a lecture at the Collège de France in 1923, could easily have described the public's initial reaction to Stravinsky's Pulcinella in 1919. Only recently had they overcome the shock of Le Sacre du Printemps (1913) and accepted it--indeed, many were mystified by its polytonality and insistent, percussive rhythm. Why this "change of game," this return to a classical mold and tonal language? Only the individuals within Stravinsky's circle understood that he had already been experimenting with such an "about face" in the works composed in Switzerland: Pribaoutki (1914), Renard (1917), and the Easy Pieces for Piano Duet (1915 and 1917).

²²Robert Siohan, Stravinsky, trans. Eric Walter White (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1970), p. 91.

Cocteau's pamphlet Le Coq et l'Arlequin (1918) had cried out for simplicity in music, for a rejection of both Wagner and Impressionism. Granting that "impressionism is the counterblast to Wagner, the last peals of thunder after the storm,"²³ he still criticized Debussy's Pelléas for being "music to be listened to with head in hands."²⁴ And though he agreed Stravinsky's Rite was a masterpiece, Cocteau attacked "the atmosphere that has been built up around its performances," reminding him of "a religious conspiracy between initiates, like the hypnotic spell of Bayreuth."²⁵ Pulcinella would, of course, change his mind about Stravinsky.

Before Pulcinella, the only composer who fit the bill of anti-romantic, anti-representational, anti-impressionist music was Erik Satie. Cocteau greatly admired Satie's "profound originality"²⁶ and believed that young musicians could find in him

. . . a teaching that does not imply the desertion of their own originality. Wagner, Stravinsky, and even Debussy are first-rate octopuses. Whoever goes near them is sore put to it to escape from their tentacles:

²³Ibid., p. 90.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Rollo Myers, Modern French Music (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), p. 124.

Satie leaves a clear road open upon which everyone is free to leave his own imprint.²⁷

This statement is just one of many from Le Coq et l'Arlequin, written to defend and promulgate the spirit of new simplicity and objectivity in the ballet Parade (1917), a collaborative effort of Cocteau, Satie, Picasso, and Diaghilev's Russian Ballet.

This spirit was carried on by a group of younger French composers after Debussy's death in 1918. The names Germaine Tailleferre, Louis Durey, Georges Auric, Darius Milhaud, Arthur Honegger, and Francis Poulenc were grouped together arbitrarily by the critic Henri Collet in an article which he entitled "The Russian Five, the French Six, and M. Erik Satie."²⁸ Satie and Cocteau, though not sponsors of "Les Six" in any formal sense, certainly encouraged their individual directions. If any similarities can be said to exist among the works of "Les Six," they would have to include a belief in melody, clarity of lines and textures, and a preference for diatonicism, conventional forms, and chamber proportions.

These qualities, which are part and parcel of neoclassicism, characterized a great many works written not only by "Les Six" and other European composers, but by

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸William W. Austin, Music in the 20th Century (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1966), p. 169.

Americans as well, between the two world wars. The fact that Stravinsky was a centripetal force for composers writing in the neoclassic style certainly pertains to the two men with whom the present study is most concerned. Poulenc, by his own admission, was wild about Stravinsky's music all his life; and we shall see how this admiration manifested itself in direct references to Stravinsky's music in several of Poulenc's works composed in the 1920s. Falla, earlier in his career, was most impressed by Debussy and Ravel. Later, however, he turned to the aesthetic of Stravinsky's L'Histoire du Soldat--sparseness and economy of means.

Pulcinella, with its eighteenth-century themes (once thought to be Pergolesi's)--even unfolded and articulated in the eighteenth-century style--rhythms, traditional tonality, and chamber orchestra, was a beacon to Poulenc, Falla, and others. Poulenc, in writing the Concert champêtre for harpsichord and orchestra, also a musical evocation of the eighteenth century, benefitted from Stravinsky's knowledge of and skill in reviving earlier musical traditions (as well as the ambiance of a particular period) without merely imitating them. Falla's Concierto is less indebted to the eighteenth century--having as its germinal theme a fifteenth-century popular Castilian tune--although Scarlatti is enthusiastically remembered in the third movement. To both composers, Stravinsky's genius

in parodying older techniques by transforming them through his own tonal language and rhythmic invention was like a signal fire, a clarifying agent. Falla and Poulenc each possessed an individual musical language, of course, but the philosophy of simplicity and objectivity (without losing vitality) was the same as Stravinsky's.

Just as large-scale forms, including Wagner's music drama, were abandoned by Stravinsky, Falla, and Poulenc in favor of smaller closed forms, so were the orchestral forces generally pared down to chamber-sized ensembles. Also indicative of neoclassicism was the attendant search for new colors, new combinations of colors, and even the use of color as a structural element in itself. Stravinsky, Falla, and Poulenc all seemed to favor brass and winds in their neoclassical music (Stravinsky, especially in his early neoclassical music).

In an article entitled "Some Ideas about my Octuor," 1924, Stravinsky writes: "Wind instruments seem to me to be more apt to render a certain rigidity of the form I had in mind than other instruments--the string instruments, for example, which are less cold and more vague."²⁹ Clearly, Stravinsky wished to dispel any vestiges of romanticism or impressionism. "My Octuor is not an 'emotive' work, but a

²⁹Bryan R. Simms, Music of the Twentieth Century (New York: Schirmer Books, A division of Macmillan, Inc., 1986), p. 278.

musical composition based on objective elements which are sufficient in themselves."³⁰ Even the larger works, such as the Symphonies of Wind Instruments (1920) and the Concerto for Piano and Winds (1924) are constructed according to this aesthetic. In Les Noces (completed 1918; first performance, 1923), Stravinsky had already "exorcized the spell of the full orchestra"³¹ by employing only four pianos and a large percussion group, in addition to the chorus.

The chamber orchestra for Falla's El Retablo de Maese Pedro (1923) calls for only a small number of strings; unusual colors, provided by the harp and harpsichord, are added to the largely wind and brass ensemble. We will see how Falla trims his ensemble even further for the Harpsichord Concerto. Poulenc, similarly, in his first neoclassic work, the ballet Les Biches (1923-24), considers the strings less important. The strings in this work, as well as in the Concert champêtre, simply fill out the texture or double other parts. In a later neoclassic work, the choreographic concerto Aubade (1929), the core of the chamber orchestra is a double wind quintet, with trumpet and piano, while the string section is limited to six or so players. Poulenc's lifelong

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Siohan, Stravinsky, p. 103.

predilection for wind instruments is borne out by the fact that only three of his thirteen chamber works include solo strings:

I have always adored wind instruments, preferring them to strings, and this love developed independent of the tendencies of the era [ca. 1915-25]. Of course, L'Histoire du soldat and Stravinsky's solo clarinet pieces stimulated my taste for winds, but I had developed the taste as a child.³²

Numerous references to the past, and not only the distant past, may be found in Stravinsky's music. Nineteenth-century Russo-Italian opera--Glinka and Tchaikovsky, specifically--is recalled in his one-act Mavra (1922). Stravinsky also made use of Tchaikovsky's themes, from songs and piano pieces, as points of departure in the ballet Le Baiser de la fée (1928). (Tchaikovsky, moving through his own neoclassic phase, had based a suite on Mozart.) As Eric Salzman points out, what Stravinsky inherited from his most recent musical past after the early ballets had very little to do with the lush romantic symphonic style or Russian nationalism.³³ Retained from this legacy were the closed forms and conventional melodic-harmonic style of the "salon" and the theatre of the ballet and French-Italian opera. Stravinsky's abandonment of

³²Keith W. Daniel, Francis Poulenc: His Artistic Development and Music Style (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982), p. 101.

³³Eric Salzman, Twentieth-Century Music: An Introduction, 2nd ed. (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 5.

polytonality and employment of closed, static forms (already apparent in L'Histoire du Soldat) dominate works like the Octet (1923), the Concerto for Piano and Wind Orchestra, the Sonata for piano solo (1924), and the Sérénade en La for piano (1925).

Works composed during the 1920s attest to the fact that Stravinsky wanted to distill his music even further from the subjective influences of ultraromanticism, to arrive at a purer, more absolute music. It is not surprising that he turned to the late Baroque, especially J. S. Bach, for inspiration. To Stravinsky, Bach's "universal mind and enormous grasp upon musical art [had] never been transcended."³⁴

The Classical sonata, demanding an antithesis of two or more musical ideas, was also largely rejected by Stravinsky and other neoclassicists. They preferred the sonata types of Scarlatti or Bach, where either one mood predominates (Bach) or shorter, contrasting events follow one another (Scarlatti). Scarlatti and Bach were recalled by Stravinsky, for example, in his Sonata for piano solo, where Scarlatti's style is apparent in the first and last movements and Bach's in the slow movement. Falla, in the last movement of his Concierto (1926), adopts the exuberance and vital rhythms of a Scarlatti sonata with

³⁴Austin, Music in the 20th Century, p. 331.

Spanish flavor. And Poulenc imitates the Neapolitan's brilliant idiomatic figuration in the finale of his Concert champêtre (1928).

Likewise, the juxtaposition of sections in a Baroque concerto grosso was preferred over the thematic development in a Classical sonata or concerto--as was the concertato style³⁵ chosen in lieu of what Bukofzer called "palette orchestration."³⁶ Stravinsky's Symphonies of Wind Instruments is a case in point. The title--wherein the word "symphony" connotes "symphonizing," i.e., playing together--perfectly reflects Stravinsky's intention of writing music where various groups of wind instruments take their turn. Falla built his harpsichord concerto on the principle that all instruments are soloists, the harpsichord being the leading soloist. The Baroque concept of contrasting colors is integral to this work, as well as that of growth through juxtaposition of sections. In the Concert champêtre Poulenc clearly favors cross-choir orchestration. The harpsichord functions most often as a concerting instrument or one of several concerting instruments. Poulenc's adaptation of the Concerto grosso

³⁵The adaptation of the concertato style in "neo-classic" music suggests not only concertino against ripieno or solo against tutti, but the idea of contrasting colors to achieve melodic independence.

³⁶Manfred Bukofzer, "The Neo-Baroque," Stravinsky in Modern Music (New York: Da Capo Press, 1982), p. 82.

also manifests itself in an alternation of sections with clearly established tonal centers with "nontonal" sections.

Stravinsky, more than Falla or Poulenc, returned to the strict counterpoint of Bach. But the continuo homophony of the Brandenburg concertos, for example, with their relentless flow of 8ths or 16ths arranged in varied patterns and fast-moving harmonic rhythm, was equally attractive to Stravinsky, Falla, and Poulenc. The use of melodic and/or rhythmic ostinati and sequencing of patterns are also featured in their music. And, as Austin observes, "When the neoclassicism of the 1920's went 'back to Bach,' it emphasized or even exaggerated the least romantic features of Bach's style: the non-rubato [and] non-crescendo."³⁷

Musical references or borrowings are by no means limited to the late Baroque. The germinal theme for Falla's Concierto is the fifteenth-century popular Castilian tune "De los Alamos vengo." In El Retablo de Maese Pedro, Falla relied heavily not only upon Spanish popular songs and street cries, but upon medieval tradition (including plainsong) as well. Poulenc expressed very clearly and unashamedly his indebtedness to other composers: "That is my way of loving music, by using what

³⁷Austin, Music in the 20th Century, p. 32.

particularly pleases me from each model."³⁸ His Suite française (1935) is a reworking of seven dances by the Renaissance composer Claude Gervaise. Much of the harpsichord writing in the Concert champêtre benefitted from Poulenc's introduction by Wanda Landowska to music of the eighteenth-century clavecinistes. He even quotes Rameau's "La Poule" in the first movement. Sixteenth-century chansons, Monteverdi, Mozart, and Chopin were other frames of reference for Poulenc at one time or another.

The importance of pre-existent musical materials to Stravinsky, Falla, and Poulenc may be traced to a commonly held belief (manifested quite differently in each composer's music) in working out of and building upon tradition. In doing so, each composer succeeded in revitalizing Western music. Stravinsky, probably the most objective of the three, was also more a universalist. As Massimo Mila has written:

. . . he seizes upon the age-old tradition which forms the unconscious background of the European artist, and moulds it in his own personal manner. He endeavored to embrace all the great characteristic musical movements of the past and to annex them in a steady assimilation of western civilization.³⁹

Stravinsky's working methods have been compared very effectively by Boris de Schloezer to those of Picasso. For

³⁸Daniel, Francis Poulenc, p. 5.

³⁹Massimo Mila, Breve storia della musica, pp. 302-303, quoted in Roman Vlad, Stravinsky, trans. Frederick and Ann Fuller (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 77.

neither artist is nature or the psychological a point of departure; both find their inspiration, and even methods, from works of art. The art of both Stravinsky and Picasso is, in de Schloezer's words, "art grafted on art."⁴⁰ Obviously, a process of filtering occurs, where various elements from a pre-existent source or sources are rearranged, simplified or even complicated. "It is clear that if Stravinsky at first brutally upset the classical principles, it was for the purpose of extracting their new possibilities, of utilizing them in a new fashion."⁴¹

While Stravinsky was challenged by the inexhaustible possibilities of the whole of European musical tradition, Falla was dedicated to the renewal of Spanish music. Uniting elements from the totality of Spain's musical heritage (the medieval tradition, street cries, folk and popular songs, and the cante jondo), he endeavored to create a universal Spanish musical language. In Falla's music, as in Stravinsky's, a process of filtration or stylization occurs. But for Falla, a folk song, for example, is much more than a point of departure for free development; it is a means of expression. Stravinsky's

⁴⁰Boris de Schloezer, "The Enigma of Stravinsky," Stravinsky in Modern Music (New York: Da Capo Press, 1982), p. 122.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 123.

neoclassicism is more objective, perhaps more synthetic than that of either Falla or Poulenc.

Poulenc, probably the most nostalgic of the three composers, admitted his susceptibility to outside influences:

First of all, the so-called "galant" or erotic aspect of my early works can be traced to Nogent-sur-Marne . . . to this sort of stale odor of French fries, of river boats, and of pom-poms.⁴²

His grandparents' house in Nogent-sur-Marne, east of Paris, inspired, at least in part, the Valse for piano (1919); his first neoclassical work, the ballet Les Biches; and the early wind sonatas. Parisian popular music runs like a thread throughout the whole of Poulenc's work. From childhood, he loved the music halls and theatre, circuses, fairs, and café-concerts. Poulenc's nostalgia for Paris is clear in the mélodies Montparnasse and "Jouer du bugle," both from the collection Parisiana. By his own admission, Landowska's country house at Saint-Leu-La-Forêt provided him with the inspiration he was seeking for the Concert champêtre. Just as the forest setting evoked the spirit of the eighteenth century, so would the concerto recall the "rustic" concerts or outdoor divertissements of that era.

Neoclassicism, with its proclivity for economy of means, thinness of texture, revival of earlier forms and styles, and color as a structural device, was a perfect

⁴²Daniel, Francis Poulenc, p. 7.

backdrop for the comeback of the harpsichord. The return to counterpoint, to the concertato style, required clarity, independence of lines or colors, for which the harpsichord was perfectly suited. What were formerly considered structural deficiencies or liabilities had become virtues once again. This writer agrees with Zuckermann that the spirit of our age, rational and scientific, accounts for much of our longing for the sense of order of that former age of reason, the eighteenth century. Perhaps we find in this earlier music and in the revival of its style, forms, and textures, "an antidote for the doubts and insecurities of our own time."⁴³

⁴³Zuckermann, The Modern Harpsichord, p. 20.

CHAPTER II

EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY MUSIC FOR THE HARPSICHORD

Due to the pioneering efforts of Louis Diémer, Arnold Dolmetsch, Alfred James Hipkins, Violet Gordon Woodhouse, and Wanda Landowska, sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century harpsichord music was no longer unfamiliar to the concert-going public of this century. But it was not until the second and third decades of the twentieth century that composers like Vaughan Williams, Busoni, Delius, Krenek, Falla, and Poulenc were prompted to write "new" music for the harpsichord.

Jules Massenet's inclusion of the harpsichord, accompanied by pizzicato strings, timpani, and triangle, in a section of his opera Thérèse (1907), constituted the first piece written for harpsichord since the eighteenth century. This little antique minuet is a flashback, nonetheless. In the Opéra de Monte Carlo's production (premiere, February 7, 1907), Diémer played the offstage harpsichord part.

On April 24, 1913, at the Stratford Festival, a more substantive work, Ralph Vaughan Williams' "Folk Airs for

Harpsichord and Flute," was performed, presumably for the very first time.¹ Though Vaughan Williams was not at all fond of the harpsichord, he was probably keen to arrange these folk airs for the highly regarded English keyboardist Violet Gordon Woodhouse and the great French Flutist Louis Fleury. Incidentally, Mrs. Woodhouse also performed a group of folk dances from Cecil Sharp's collection which she arranged for harpsichord. Curiously, the "Folk Airs" turned up later as a "Suite de Ballet" for flute and pianoforte--its first performance in this guise occurring in London, 1920. (Fleury was the flutist at this performance as well.) Sketches for this arrangement, marked "Herefordshire Folk Songs" and dated 1913, were discovered in a manuscript book after Vaughan Williams' death in 1958. This work was almost certainly written for Fleury, whom the composer had met in Paris and in Stratford in 1913.

Cast in four movements (two being French Classical dances, a gavotte and a passepied), the "Folk Airs," or "Suite de Ballet," clearly refers to the seventeenth century. Even the opening "Improvisation" calls to mind the unmeasured preludes of the clavecin ordres of Louis Couperin and Henri d'Anglebert. Although the A section and its return at the end are regulated by meter and barlines,

¹Unfortunately, the manuscript of this work has not yet been traced.

the variety of rhythmic groupings and wide melodic range in the flute, reinforced by the sustained chordal accompaniment in the harpsichord, generate the improvisatory character of its seventeenth-century precursor:

Example 1. Vaughan Williams, "Folk Airs for Harpsichord and Flute," movement 1, measures 1-9. ©Oxford University Press 1961, Oxford. Used by permission of the publisher.

The musical score is for Vaughan Williams' "Folk Airs for Harpsichord and Flute," movement 1, measures 1-9. It is written for Flute and Piano. The tempo is marked "Andante". The key signature has two flats (B-flat major). The time signature is 3/4. The flute part begins with a melodic line in measure 1, marked *mf*. The piano part provides a sustained chordal accompaniment, marked *mf* in measure 1, *p* in measure 2, and *mf* in measure 3. The score continues with various rhythmic groupings and melodic lines in both parts.

The B section, true to its model, is truly measured.

Like other neoclassical composers, Vaughan Williams acknowledged his reliance upon traditional idioms. He asked:

Why should music be original? The object of art is to stretch out to the ultimate realities through the medium of beauty. The duty of the composer is to find the mot juste. It does not matter if this word

has been said a thousand times before as long as it is the right thing to say at the moment.²

The third movement, an archaic-sounding "Gavotte," remembers the parallel fifths and sparseness of some of the earliest attempts at idiomatic keyboard literature, represented in the Robertsbridge Codex (England, ca. 1325):

Example 2. Vaughan Williams, "Folk Airs for Harpsichord and Flute," movement 3, measures 1-8. ©Oxford University Press 1961, Oxford. Used by permission of the publisher.

Quasi Lento

Composed within a modal-tonal framework, the "Folk Airs" exhibit numerous neoclassic traits, including Vaughan

²Ralph Vaughan Williams, A Musical Autobiography, n.p., n.d., quoted in Michael Kennedy, The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 39-40.

Williams' use of small closed forms (either binary or ternary), periodicity of phrasing, and overall thinness of texture and accompaniments, including ostinati, which are predominantly triadic.

Also subscribing to neoclassicism, Ferruccio Busoni (1866-1924) espoused what he called "new" or "young classicism" in an open letter, "Junge Klassizität" (1920):

By "Young Classicism" I mean the mastery, the sifting and the turning to account of all the gains of previous experiments and their inclusion in strong and beautiful forms.

This art will be old and new at the same time at first. We are steering in that direction, luckily, consciously or unconsciously, willingly or unwillingly.³

In 1915 Busoni composed an important new work for the harpsichord, the Sonatina and usum infantis . . . pro clavicembalo composita, for which there are no existing manuscripts or sketches. It was dedicated to a young American, Madeline Mannheim, probably a friend of Busoni's elder son Benvenuto. This work was by no means Busoni's first attempt to move away from experimentalism and toward absolute, objective music. As early as the 1880s, he had abandoned the German Romantic tradition in his compositional work, ironic when one considers that Busoni was a virtuoso pianist trained in the Liszt tradition. Among the early examples of piano works in the "new

³Ferruccio Busoni, The Essence of Music, trans. Rosamond Ley (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1957), p. 20.

classical" vein are the five pieces, op. 3 (1877) (prelude, minuet, gavotte, etude, gigue); the three Pezzi nelle stile antico, op. 10 (ca. 1880); and the Fantasia in modo antico, op. 33b iv (1882). In his booklet Entwurf einer neuen Aesthetik der Tonkunst, 1907 (English translation, Towards a New Esthetic of Music, 1911), Busoni advocated a return to the musical ideals of Bach and earlier Italian composers. It was in Bach's toccatas and chorale preludes that he found his inspiration, rather than in the concertos which had so strongly influenced other neoclassicists like Stravinsky, Falla, Poulenc, and Hindemith. This may be explained in part by Busoni's interest in "highly developed polyphony."⁴

Busoni's interest in the harpsichord can definitely be attributed to his meeting Arnold Dolmetsch while on tour in the United States in 1910. Delighted by the harpsichord which Dolmetsch demonstrated for him in Boston, Busoni decided to use one in his opera Die Brautwahl (1912). At the opening of Act II part 2, the heroin Albertine plays a "neo-Baroque" invention.

Busoni's third sonatina, the Sonatina ad usum infantis, marks the only other occasion where he wrote for the harpsichord. Describing it in a letter to his friend Natalie Curtis as "a sonatina for a child which itself has

⁴Ibid., p. 21.

the air of a child,"⁵ Busoni succeeded in combining his skill and uncommon intellect with beauty and simplicity. Written in five unbroken sections, the Sonatina opens with a prelude which presents a chorale theme and a three-part fughetta; this prelude and fughetta, in one of the principal keys of the Sonatina, a minor, are thematically linked:

Example 3. Busoni, Sonatina ad usum infantis, prelude, measures 1-2; fughetta, measures 1-2. Copyright 1916/1944 by Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden. Used by permission of the publisher.

Prelude, measures 1-2.



Fughetta, measures 1-2.



A march in D Major ensues, in the form of a theme, two variations and coda. The coda provides a playful

⁵Antony Beaumont, Busoni the Composer (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), p. 216.

interchange between f minor and A Major--mirroring the two main keys of the Sonatina, F Major and a minor:

Example 4. Busoni, Sonatina ad usum infantis, movement 3, measures 29-33. Copyright 1916/1944 by Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden. Used by permission of the publisher.



The fourth movement, really just a transitional fourteen-bar passage, is a lyrical setting of the chorale melody heard at the opening.

The fifth and final movement is a Polonaise marked "un poco cerimonioso." The A theme, a repetitious fanfare-like figure, outlines the F Major triad and makes expressive use of repeated notes. Recurring again several times in the piece--each time in F Major, the principal key of the Polonaise, and always in its original four-bar phrase--the theme's accompaniment is a quasi-ostinato pentatonic bass (see Example 5).

Example 5. Busoni, *Sonatina ad usum infantis*, movement 5, measures 1-4. Copyright 1916/1944 by Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden. Used by permission of the publisher.



At its final appearance (bars 45-48) Busoni treats the theme in inverted counterpoint.

The four-bar B theme, in B^b Major, is chorale-like. The two trios, the first in B Major and the second in D Major, provide dramatic tension in the Polonaise. The key of B Major is reinforced in the first trio (bars 19-26) by a clearly triadic ostinato figure in the left hand. The same theme and ostinato are heard in the second trio in D Major (bars 31-44). However, Busoni, through modulation (particularly, third relation), modal interchange, and phrase extension, increases not only the tension but also the length of this Trio (see Chart 1). The formal plan of the entire Polonaise is as follows:

A	B	A	B	C (Trio)-A	C (Trio)	A	
FM	B ^b M	FM	B ^b M	BM	FM	DM	FM

Chart 1. Busoni, Sonatina ad usum infantis, Polonaise, measures 31-43

Bars	31	32	33	34		36
Harmonic Changes	DM - - - - -			DM (B ^{#o} ₇)		F [#] Lydian-FM

Bars		37		38	39	40	41	42
Harmonic Changes		DM (F [#] Dom. 7)		BM - - - - -			BM ₄ -bm 3	EM-em

Bars	43		44
Harmonic Changes	DM ₆ -f [#] m 5		F [#] M: I-V ₇ -I

Busoni's neoclassical attitude is evidenced in the overall tonal plan of the Sonatina. The melodies are diatonic and narrow in range. The harmony is generally diatonic and functional, although he enriches it with some chromatic harmony and modal interchange. Like Poulenc, Busoni employs mediant relations, sometimes for modulation, often simply for quick shifts in color. His use of another neoclassic trait in the Polonaise, the ostinato, is just as irregular rhythmically as many of Stravinsky's in his early neoclassic works, and foreshadows some of Poulenc's quasi-ostinati in the Concert champêtre. A Classical

conception of structure is apparent in the Sonatina; but we have seen how Busoni transformed the March, for example, by turning it into a theme and variations with a playful coda. The Polonaise has two trios, the focal point for much harmonic exploration, including the use of third relation.

Three years after Busoni published his Sonatina ad usum infantis, Frederick Delius wrote a Dance for Harpsichord (1919) for Violet Gordon Woodhouse.⁶ Also drawn to the "new classicism" was the Austrian composer Ernst Krenek, who composed the Concertino for Flute, Violin, Cembalo, and String Orchestra in 1924. Krenek had been writing highly individualistic, dissonant works during the early 1920s. His First String Quartet and First Symphony, for example, reveal a strong Bartók influence. Another style would begin to exert its influence upon Krenek, however, when in 1920 he left Vienna and followed his composition teacher Schreker to Berlin. Schreker, having become director of the Academy of Music, introduced Krenek to Busoni, Erdmann, Scherchen, and other composers. Learning firsthand from Busoni about "new Classicism," Krenek was sympathetic but did not himself write in this style until 1924. Living in Switzerland from 1923 to 1925, Krenek's visit to Paris some time between 1923 and 1924 was probably the essential catalyst; he was impressed by the

⁶The writer has been unable to obtain a published copy.

direction French music was taking, by its clarity and simplicity, and also by Stravinsky's neoclassicism. In 1924 Krenek composed his Second Concerto Grosso as well as the Concertino.

Dedicated to the Winterthur Musikkollegium in Switzerland, the Concertino is unfamiliar to most harpsichordists and other musicians as well as the public, due in part to its difficulty, but also because it has not been properly published. Although the Concertino is generally atonal, it includes, as do other works from the early 1920s,

. . . isolated fragments of the language of tradition, usually evoking memories of a very early stage of the musical materials not yet touched by the late romantic mannerism of chromatics. Such encapsulated remnants of another age evoke frequently a feeling of nostalgia and melancholy. The procedure as such is related to the principles of surrealism, of which at that time I had not the slightest idea.⁷

Krenek explains further that "elements of surrealism also characterize the movement of neoclassicism"⁸ and that

. . . the revival of the concerto grosso style was often based on . . . wishful thinking: that by restoring the outward appearance of seventeenth-century music, one could also restore the harmonious social organization that supposedly existed at that time and had produced a happy relationship between the composer and his public.⁹

⁷Ernst Krenek, Horizons Circled (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 64-65.

⁸Ibid., p. 22.

⁹Ibid., pp. 64-65.

The opening Toccata, indebted to the organ toccatas of Buxtehude and Bach, is reminiscent of the freedom not only in style, but also in texture, harmony, and rhythm of the latter's great exploratory organ works. The theme of the Sarabande is heard, unornamented, in the flute and strings. Then the violin, harpsichord, and continuo (cello and bass) play the "double," or ornamented version. In the following Scherzo, surely inspired by the kinetic energy of the Brandenburg Concertos, the flute takes its turn at extensive ornamentation. A beautiful Air features a flute-violin duet over a single-chord ostinato borrowed, as Kenneth Cooper has astutely observed, from one of Schoenberg's Klavierstücke, op. 19 (1911). The Finale is playful and virtuosic, "sometimes tying loose ends together, and occasionally loosening those ends deliberately (such as at the very end)."¹⁰ Krenek's Concertino received its American premiere at Sarah Lawrence College in 1986, with Kenneth Cooper, harpsichordist; Judy Mendenhall, flutist; and Sonia Monosoff, violin; the conductor was Daniel Paget.

Manuel de Falla

The direction of stylistic simplicity and clarity in early twentieth-century works for the harpsichord was

¹⁰Program note for Krenek's Concertino by Kenneth Cooper.

clearly established by Busoni and Krenek. Busoni's slogan of "Young Classicism" was briefly taken up by Krenek during the mid-1920s. Writing about the future of music in his book of collected letters and other writings, The Essence of Music, Busoni asks, "Should not music also try to express only what is most important with a few notes, set down in a masterly fashion?"¹¹ Then he writes: "It seems to me that the refinement of economy is the next aim after the refinement of prodigality has been learnt."¹² With a renewed emphasis on melody which, in line with his call for a return to absolute (objective, nonprogrammatic) music, would once again be the real generator of harmony and polyphony, Busoni hoped to realize his ideal of "Oneness in music":¹³

I mean the idea that music is music, in and for itself, and nothing else, and that it is not split up into different classes: apart from cases where words, title, situations and meanings which are brought in entirely from outside, obviously put it into different categories.¹⁴

In a way, Manuel de Falla was also pursuing "Oneness in music"; but while Busoni was vitally interested in the continuity of Western musical tradition, Falla was

¹¹Busoni, The Essence of Music, p. 23.

¹²Ibid., p. 23.

¹³Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁴Ibid.

committed to the continuity of the total Spanish musical heritage.

Neoclassicism was the perfect musical climate in which Falla could distill, or filtrate, the essence of Spanish music--Spanish music in the European tradition--in his El Retablo de Maese Pedro and the harpsichord concerto. Unlike his predecessors Busoni and Krenek, who were perhaps even more objective or cerebral in their neoclassicism, Falla incorporated Classic and popular musical elements alike; and exceedingly important to him as well was the medieval tradition. Busoni, Krenek, and Falla were all attracted to the eighteenth-century aesthetic: Busoni and Krenek to Bachian counterpoint, Krenek and Falla to the concerto grosso, Falla to Scarlatti as well. All three composers preferred small closed forms and chamber proportions for their neoclassic works.

Profile of Stylistic Development

I for my part am able to affirm that I owe to the teaching of Pedrell, and to the powerful stimulus exerted on me by his music, that artistic direction which is indispensable to every well-intentioned apprentice.¹⁵

Manuel de Falla met the famed scholar and father of modern Spanish musical nationalism, Felipe Pedrell, while he was still living in Madrid. Having successfully

¹⁵J. B. Trend, Manuel de Falla and Spanish Music (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934), p. 5.

completed piano studies with José Tragó at the Madrid Conservatory in 1899 (with highest marks and numerous prizes), he was now struggling to realize his real dream of becoming a composer. Like all aspiring composers in Madrid in the early 1900s, Falla was expected to prove himself by writing zarzuelas, operas on either serious or comic subjects in which music and spoken dialogue were intermingled. Motivated by his need for more money with which to finance his composition study, Falla composed two zarzuelas which, unfortunately, were not successful. His meeting and subsequent three-year period of study with Pedrell, then, could not have been more propitious.

As the leader of the movement at the end of the nineteenth century to revive Spanish nationalism, Felipe Pedrell explained his principles in the pamphlet Por nuestra música (1894). His concern that Spanish music had been eclipsed by Italian art from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries--granting, of course, that the eighteenth-century Neapolitan Domenico Scarlatti based numerous harpsichord sonatas upon Spanish dances (especially seguidillas) and/or guitar effects--culminated in two rather weak but nationalistic operas: Pirineos and La Celestina. As Trend remarks in his book Manuel de Falla and Spanish Music, Pedrell "did not, as a rule, reproduce his historical knowledge directly in his compositions; but he strove, by its help, to make his music reflect such

valuable features as were to be found in the musical tradition of his own country."¹⁶ Certainly, his internalization of traditional Spanish melodies--street cries, lullabies, and military marches--as well as his immersion from childhood (as a chorister in the Tortosa cathedral) in plainsong and Spanish sacred music all combined to generate his artistic philosophy. Extracting elements from both Classical and popular Spanish music, Pedrell's compositions reflected his firm belief that

The character of any music which is truly national is to be met with not only in folk-song and in the instinctive music of primitive epochs, but also in works of genius and in the masterpieces of the great periods of the art.¹⁷

Falla and others were impressed not only by Pedrell's belief in the importance of "an unbroken tradition,"¹⁸ but also, in his music, by the "unusual sense of mystery, or of poetry"¹⁹--what Falla called "the power of evocation."²⁰

Pedrell, as a musicologist, critic, and collector of folk songs, did much to ensure the preservation of the Spanish musical heritage. Notable contributions include his critical editions of sacred Spanish Renaissance music,

¹⁶Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 6.

²⁰Ibid.

including that of Victoria, as well as the music of Cabezón. The Cancionero Musical Popular Español, an invaluable collection of traditional Spanish songs, was described by Falla as a "precious casket, which has preserved the essential music of our inmost thoughts and feelings and can thrill us with its magical power of evoking times and places made famous in the history and legend of the Spanish peninsula."²¹ Pedrell also catalogued music in the Biblioteca Catalana, Barcelona; and scholarly articles appeared in the Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft. As a professor, he instilled in his students the desire to study Spanish music--not an easy task when other European music was still more in vogue.

In regard to Pedrell's direct influence upon Falla, Paul Collaer has written that Pedrell convinced him of "the need to purify writing in order to express only the essential."²² Fixed forms in general were to be discarded; but, as he stated in Por nuestra música, Pedrell approved of those "which a fatal, unconscious power created to suit the genius of the race, its temperament and its mores."²³

²¹Ibid., p. 12.

²²Paul Collaer, A History of Modern Music, trans. Sally Abeles (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1961), p. 354.

²³Ibid.

The student diverged from the master on the issue of employing authentic folk material; although Falla did just that in one work, the Siete canciones populares españolas. Pedrell did, however, impress upon Falla the necessity of building upon and renewing the universal Spanish musical heritage, "against which individual whim could never prevail, since there is nothing really original outside of the original, in the apt words of Miguel de Unamuno."²⁴

El Retablo de Maese Pedro

El Retablo de Maese Pedro, Falla's one-act puppet opera, was his last work for the theatre. An introspective work which explores Spain's musical past, El Retablo exhibits important traits of neoclassicism. Falla received a commission for this work in 1919 from the Princesse Edmond de Polignac, who had also invited Satie and Stravinsky to write puppet shows for her residence in Paris.²⁵ Stravinsky's Renard, later produced by Diaghilev for one season only, and Satie's Socrate, performed in concert, were never performed for the Princesse.

Falla grew up in a family which loved to stage puppet shows for their own entertainment. Therefore, while visiting Granada in 1919 (where he actually completed El

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Born Winnaretta Singer, in America, her father perfected the sewing machine. She became one of the most colorful patrons of music France has ever seen.

Retablo), Falla experienced immense pleasure meeting the "poetical child prodigy"²⁶ Federico García Lorca, who was then enjoying a similar family pastime of staging puppet shows. A close friendship developed between them, and soon the two were collaborating on musical shows which they produced at Lorca's parents' estate. Some were based upon one-act dramatic works in honor of the Blessed Sacrament (found in Felipe Pedrell's Cancionero, autos sacramentales), others upon classics or pieces by Albéniz, as well as fragments of Stravinsky's L'Histoire du Soldat. Falla's orchestral arrangements were made for the instruments available: a violin, a clarinet, a lute, and piano which they "converted" into a harpsichord by placing newspaper strips between the strings. Hermenegildo Lanz, who designed and built the sets and puppets, and Manuel Angeles Ortiz, the painter, so impressed Falla that he recommended them to the Princesse, who did in fact engage them for her Paris production of El Retablo de Maese Pedro.

For the libretto of El Retablo, Falla chose fragments from chapters 25 and 36 in The Ingenious Knight Don Quixote de la Mancha, Part 2, by Miguel de Cervantes, which features Master Peter's puppet show. The entertainment, taking place at an inn where Peter meets Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, is actually a puppet show within

²⁶Jaime Pahissa, Manuel de Falla: His Life and Works, trans. Jean Wagstaff (London: Museum Press, 1954), p. 115.

a puppet show. The larger puppets, the spectators of the small-stage production, include, of course, Don Quixote, Sancho Panza, the innkeeper, a scholar, a page, and a man with lances and halberds. "Onstage" is enacted the old Castilian tale of the Christian Don Gayferos rescuing his beloved wife Melisendra from the Moors. Other characters include the Emperor Charlemagne, at whose court in the city of Sansueña the action takes place, Don Roldan, King Marsilio, the Moorish lover, and various and sundry knights, soldiers, guards, Moors, and a hangman. Trujaman, the boy narrator who stands beside the miniature stage, and Master Peter, the puppet handler, are also among the small puppets. Don Quixote, believing the onstage puppets to be real, attacks the Moors and the scenery with his sword and very nearly decapitates Master Peter.

The three singing characters, Trujaman, boy soprano or mezzo-soprano, Don Quixote, baritone, and Maese Pedro, tenor, are individualized by Falla's having assigned them separate musical styles: Trujaman's, a mixture of sacred song, popular cries and old romances; Don Quixote's, a synthesis of neo-Renaissance and lyrical; and Maese Pedro's, popular. The singers themselves are placed in the orchestra pit, while their puppet counterparts' movements are synchronized with the music.

Falla constructed El Retablo de Maese Pedro out of a variety of musical ideas, some of which were derived from

the medieval tradition, including Moslem, Mozarabic, and Gregorian plainsong, and from sacred songs and Castilian songs of the Renaissance. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish guitar music also figures in Falla's conception, as do pregones, or street cries which he remembered from childhood. (Pregones are important compositional elements in La vida breve, also.) The author of Folklore en Falla, García Matos, stated with some confidence that the pregon used in El Retablo is authentic, from the Spanish people.

It is no wonder, then, that Falla chose the medium that he did--a small orchestra consisting of

flute (doubling on piccolo)
two oboes
English horn
clarinet
bassoon
two French horns
one trumpet
harp, harpsichord
timpani and percussion
strings: four first violins
 two-three second violins
 two violas, two cellos
 double bass.

Falla's choice of medium undoubtedly had something to do with the fact that El Retablo was meant to be performed in a private residence. But it is probable that he was also seeking the transparency of sound, clarity of texture, and independence of lines and colors which were so integral to medieval and Renaissance music. The romantic, lush orchestral sound, with its massed strings and round brass,

would have been totally inappropriate for both the aesthetic of this piece and Falla's concept of sound at this time of his career. Stravinsky, the leader of the anti-romantic movement, once explained to Jaime Pahissa the problems involved in using a full orchestra in Pulcinella. According to Pahissa,

When he [Stravinsky] was rehearsing his Pulcinella he found that it did not sound satisfactory and could not understand why until he realized that the orchestra was too large. He got rid of half the strings and said, paradoxically, that it was only then that they could be heard.²⁷

As well as paring down the bowed strings (and sometimes instructing them to play con sordino, talon, or sul ponticello), Falla added the harpsichord, thereby achieving the transparency of sound and subtler orchestral color that he desired. He had considered using it as early as 1922, so impressed was he by Wanda Landowska (who was at that time concertizing in Spain) and her Pleyel harpsichord. Spending several days with Falla in Granada, Landowska had the perfect opportunity to demonstrate further all the registration and other coloristic possibilities of the Pleyel. Writing to her on 26 November 1922, Falla admitted:

Our conversation of yesterday, after reading the Retablo and all your precious indications on the use of

²⁷Ibid., p. 128.

the harpsichord, have awakened in me a multitude of ideas and of projects to realize.²⁸

According to Suzanne Demarquez, Falla visited the Alhambra in 1923, not too long after Landowska's visit to Granada, for he alluded to the fact that while being in the Tocador, the boudoir of the famous Queen Isabella, he imagined Landowska at the harpsichord. No less important was the composer's trip to Toledo for Holy Week, during which time he visited the university professor Don Angel Vegue y Goldric. A harpsichord in remarkably good condition, part of Goldric's collection of early instruments, further convinced Falla that it was essential "in an orchestra meant to recreate an archaic atmosphere."²⁹ Having acknowledged earlier (ca. 1920) that the guitar was "peculiarly adapted for modern music"³⁰ (and because it was unsuitable for nineteenth-century music, had dropped out), Falla obviously recognized the parallel situation with respect to the harpsichord and its comeback. The comparative tonelessness of the harpsichord helped greatly to increase the sought-after clarity and dryness.

²⁸Landowska, Landowska on Music, p. 346.

²⁹Suzanne Demarquez, Manuel de Falla (Philadelphia and Ontario: Chilton Book Company, 1968), p. 124.

³⁰Percy A. Scholes, The Columbia History of Music through Ear and Eye (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), pp. 28-30.

El Retablo de Maese Pedro is especially pertinent to this study because it, like the Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarientto, Violino e Violoncello, is compositionally based on the technique of natural resonance, so named by its proponent in the nineteenth century, Louis Lucas. Having discovered a secondhand copy of Lucas' treatise, L'Acoustic Naturelle, on an open-air bookstand near the Botanical Gardens of Madrid, Falla actually began to experiment with this technique as early as 1904-5 in his first opera La vida breve.³¹ Lucas' work, clearly foreshadowing many of the harmonic theories of the twentieth century, was credited by Falla as having "revolutionized his entire conception of harmony."³² Employing in La vida breve what he called "cadence harmonies" only as an "incidental device, for particular effects of musical syntax,"³³ he first applied the technique of natural resonance as a systematic principle of composition in the Siete canciones populares españolas (Paris, 1914).

³¹It is unfortunate that L'Acoustic Naturelle is out of print and generally unavailable, since Falla's mature works were based upon Lucas' all-informing theory.

³²Burnett James, Manuel de Falla and the Spanish Musical Renaissance (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1979), p. 76.

³³Ibid., p. 78.

The technique of natural resonance, as Burnett James described it, and as Falla applied it,

. . . is based upon a recognition of the harmonics of the fundamental tone as the essential notes in the harmony, and of proceeding from this to treating the harmonic as the new fundamental.³⁴

Harmonic resources, constructed out of the harmonics of a fundamental note and/or the harmonics generated by a new fundamental, are greatly expanded. It is just these harmonic resources that Falla uses as polyphonic support. It is also possible for a composer, while working within a central key area and conventional harmonic structure, to transform the tonal functions of individual notes. A third scale degree, for example, can become the leading tone; or a dominant can suddenly gain a different harmonic status. According to Ronald Crichton (Falla, London, 1982), Lucas said much more about enharmonic intervals in his treatise than he did about the harmonic series. We can certainly see, in both El Retablo and the Harpsichord Concerto, that Falla generated much of his personal, pungent harmonic language out of the use of enharmonic intervals. But I hope to explain that they are an integral part of Falla's application of the technique of natural resonance. A great admirer of Greek, Indian, and Arabic music, Lucas also questioned the supremacy of the semitone as the common subdivision of a tone in Western music. Perhaps this is

³⁴Ibid., p. 77.

why he recommended that musicians study bird songs and animal cries.

Because Falla's music so often "sounds" bitonal or polytonal, it has received only superficial analyses by writers, who have misinterpreted his real process of composition. Furthering the misunderstanding is the fact that natural resonance as a compositional technique is hardly mentioned in any of the texts on twentieth-century harmony. Many writers, furthermore, perhaps give too much importance to the influences of Debussy upon modern Spanish music.

Renaissance composers certainly demonstrated their understanding of natural resonance when writing for brass instruments performing in cathedrals. Besides, brass instruments without valves function upon the basic acoustical principles of natural resonance. Of course, most musical construction has had to take these principles into account.

With the establishment of the major-minor system of tonality in the middle to late Baroque, and its dominance in Western music for two centuries, the relevance of other systems of composition--including that of employing natural harmonics--was largely overlooked. Burnett James has suggested that Chopin and Liszt were aware of the significance of the technique of natural resonance, and that many of Scriabin's harmonic experiments were, if

unconsciously, informed by it. James further generalized that Debussy and Ravel, perhaps to a greater extent, "often seemed to write for the piano from this broad standpoint."³⁵ Clearly, the application of the study of natural resonance parallels the science of acoustics, which influences the design of concert halls and recording equipment. "But in music it had to wait for the mature works of Manuel de Falla to become elevated to the status of a systematic theory of composition, an all informing theory as mathematically precise as the theories of Schoenberg."³⁶

Falla acknowledged his indebtedness to Debussy, whose studies of Spanish and oriental music led the French composer to expand harmonic and rhythmic expression and to seek clearer textures. Falla believed that Debussy filtered out the extraneous "domestic" elements of Spanish music and arrived at its true essence. Benefitting greatly from his sojourn in Paris (1907-14), during which he was befriended by Debussy, Dukas, and Ravel, Falla became keenly aware that many of the features of Impressionistic music were also an integral part of Spanish folk music: modal melodies and harmonies, chords built upon fourths (sounding like the open strings of a guitar, they were

³⁵Ibid., p. 78.

³⁶Ibid., p. 79.

certainly not lost on Falla), tonal ambiguity, unresolved appoggiaturas, metric complexity, and polyrhythms.³⁷

Thus, it is hardly accurate to speak of Falla as having become "Frenchified" in Paris through the adoption of Impressionistic methods. Rather did he acquire there a technique that was eminently suited to express the musical idioms of his native land.³⁸

We should remember, too, that Debussy's Impressionistic technique was relevant only in Noches en los jardines de España. Subsequently, Falla chose to utilize the system of Louis Lucas in order to enlarge and enrich his harmonic resources.

The effect of the instrumental introduction to El Retablo de Maese Pedro (bars 1-17), which seems to alternate between F Major and F Mixolydian, is archaic. This passage is a good example of Falla's modification of tonal functions; he uses both the natural leading tone and the lowered leading tone, E^b--both of which occur in the overtone series on F--producing "false relations" of the octave.

"La Sinfonia de Maese Pedro" (bars 29-80), which immediately follows Maese Pedro's invitation to the public to attend the play, is in C Major. But Falla moves to G Major in bars 39-42--G, of course, being the 3rd partial in the overtone series on C. This is only one instance in El

³⁷Gilbert Chase, The Music of Spain (New York: Dover Publications, Ind., 1959), p. 185.

³⁸Ibid.

Retablo where Falla writes over a tonic pedal. The keys of F and C are employed simultaneously in bars 43-45--F, the 7th partial in the overtone series on G having now become a fundamental. Falla, returning to C (4th partial in the overtone series on C) in bars 46-49, clearly establishes it by the use of tonic and dominant pedals and an ostinato which oscillates between C and G. Continuing to pursue the logic of his system inexorably, Falla proceeds to CM in bar 50--E being the 5th partial in the overtone series on C. The chord E-G[#]-B-D[#]-F[#]-C[#], generated in bars 54-57, can be analyzed as a I₁₃, or because of the dominant pedal B, as a polychord (V₉ and I). But looking at it in terms of Falla's compositional process, one sees that this chord arises out of the overtone series on E.

The hierarchy of the overtone series continues to govern the order of key areas in El Retablo. Logically, then, G (the 6th partial in the overtone series on C) becomes a new fundamental in bars 58-62. The chord progression AM to gm-m₇ can easily be explained a V/V to i₇ in g minor. But within Falla's system, F, A, C[#], and E are simply 7th, 9th, 11th, and 13th partials of G. C is functioning here as a fundamental, also--G, B^b, and D being the 6th, 7th, and 9th partials of C. This is a good case in point where Falla generates polyphonic support with expanded harmonic resources.

Maese Pedro's announcement that the play is about to begin (r. 9) establishes E as the tonal center. But six bars later, at r. 10, an acid polytonal effect is achieved by the apparent juxtaposition of the keys G (mode unclear until G Minor chord is heard at bar 97), E^b Major and A Major. If we take a closer look at this passage, we discover that it is constructed out of chords generated by the overtone series on C, E, and G--themselves harmonics in the overtone series on C. The chord G-B^b-D is, of course, made up of the 6th, 7th, and 9th partials on C. Rather than employing E (tonal center at r. 9) as a new fundamental, Falla complicates matters by using the Leading Tone of E--also the 15th partial of E (changed enharmonically to E^b)--as a new fundamental; it, then, generates the E^b-G-B^b chord. The dominant of C Major also becomes a fundamental in this passage. A, C[#], E, and F[#] are the 9th, 11th, 13th, and 15th partials of the series on G.

Trujaman's narrative passage at r. 11, obviously based on a pregon, begins in a minor and moves to C major at r. 13. The key scheme of El Retablo, from r. 13 to one bar before r. 24, can be seen in Chart 2. Obviously, the keys F, C, G, and D Major still dominate. The fanfare, played by the two French horns, trumpet, and tambourine, r. 24 to r. 26, is quintally generated. The only seven pitches Falla uses here--C-G-D-A-E-B^b-F--are, of course, natural harmonics of C or G. Trujaman's following

Chart 2. Falla, El Retablo de Maese Pedro, r. 13 to one bar before r. 24

KEY				
SCHEME:	C	F	C	G
BAR NOS.:	(122-141)	(142-148)	(149-174)	(175-203)
	d	D	d	
	(204-227)	(228-243)	(243-251)	

narrative, accompanied only by timpani, cembalo, cello, and double bass on a pedal point A^b (bar 275, two after r. 26, to bar 285), also seems centered on A^b. Apparently, Falla is employing the natural harmonics of the quintally generated material above: A^b is the 7th partial of B^b (enharmonically, also the 11th partial of D); C, the 9th, and E the 11th partials in the overtone series on B^b, while D^b is the 7th partial of E^b (the new dominant).

The tonal center has shifted back to C at r. 30, "Cuadro II. Melisendra." At r. 31 Falla employs both the natural leading tone B and B^b, yielding "false relations" of the octave. At r. 32 it becomes clear that Falla is once again mixing the keys of F (established by the ostinato figure in the bass part of the harp, cellos, and double basses) and C (outlined in the woodwinds, brass, violins, and violas). The F[#] in the first violins is the 11th partial in the overtone series on C. After a cadence

in F Major, one bar before r. 39, the tonal center shifts to D^b Major--the Dominant of F having become the leading tone of D^b. One bar after r. 39 the music "sounds" Mixolydian because of the lowered leading tone; C^b is, of course, the 7th partial in the overtone series on D^b. The passage cadences on a D^b Major chord three bars after r. 40 (see Example 6).

"Cuadro III. El suplicio del Moro," at r. 41, returns to the key of E Major. Falla accomplishes this by an enharmonic manipulation: E^b, A^b, D^b, and G^b in the key of D^b Major become D[#], G[#], C[#], and F[#] in the key of E. And the A[#]'s between r. 42 and r. 43 can be explained by the occurrence of A[#] in the overtone series on E. Further strengthening the tonal center E, Falla writes over tonic and dominant pedals and an ostinato which reiterates the pitches A and B (see Example 7). What appears to be a clash between E Major and E^b Minor at r. 44 (see Example 8 below) is simply an example of Falla's employing the natural harmonics of E enharmonically: the pitches B^b, E^b, A^b, D^b, G^b, and C^b in E^b Minor = A[#], D[#], G[#], C[#], F[#], and B in the overtone series on E (shown in Example 8). A release from this tonal ambiguity is achieved at r. 45 and for four subsequent bars, with a clear return to E Major and the very same material heard at r. 41.

The passage five bars after r. 45 to r. 47 is made up of the natural harmonics of C; that this is the V₁₁ in

Example 6. Falla, El Retablo de Maese Pedro, r. 32.
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The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system includes parts for Flute (Fl.), Clarinet in G (C. Ing.), Clarinet in Bb (Cl. in La), Horn (Corno), Trumpet (Tr.), and Piano (A.L.). The second system includes parts for Violin I (Vl. I), Violin II (Vl. II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (V.C.), and Double Bass (C.B.). The score features various musical notations including dynamics (poco rit., a tempo, ppp, mf marc., dolce mare., dolceiss., senza sord., a soli (div.), sord., pp sempre), articulation (Solo), and performance instructions (1 Solo). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4.

Example 7. Falla, El Retablo de Maese Pedro, r. 42 - r. 43. Copyright 1924 by J & W Chester Ltd., London. Reproduced by kind permission of the copyright owners J & W Chester/Edition Wilhelm Hansen London Ltd.

Ob. r.42 r.43

Flg.

3 Corni

Tr.

Timp.

Pand.

Caraca

Cemb. *f stacc. il canto*

A.L.

Vl. I r.42 r.43 *Tutti talon ff stacc. talon*

Vl. II *Tutti ff stacc. talon*

Viola *ff stacc. f marc.*

V.C. *Tutti*

C.B. *arco f sempre*

Example 8. Falla, El Retablo de Maese Pedro, r. 44 - r. 45. Copyright 1924 by J & W Chester Ltd., London. Reproduced by kind permission of the copyright owners J & W Chester/Edition Wilhelm Hansen London Ltd.

(44)

Fl. *ff stacc.* *sf* *ff stacc.*

Ob. *f marc.* *ff* *sf* *f marc.*

C. ingl. *f marc.* *ff* *sf* *f marc.*

Cl. (in la) *ff marc.*

Fag. *f*

3 Corni *ff stacc.* *ff marc.*

Tr. *sempre sord.* *ff marc.*

Timp. *f*

Pand. *f*

Tamb. (coperto)

Comb. *ff* *marcatiss.*

A.L.

(44)

Vi. I *ff* *sf*

Vi. II *ff* *sf*

Viole *ff* *marcatiss.* *sf*

V. C. *ff* *marcatiss.* *sf*

C. B. *ff* *marcatiss.* *sf*

Example 8--(continued)

Musical score for Example 8--(continued), showing staves for various instruments and vocal parts. The score is written in 2/4 time and includes dynamic markings such as *sf* (sforzando) and *marcatiss.* (markedly).

Staves shown (from top to bottom):

- Fl.
- Ob.
- C. Ing.
- Cl.
- Fag.
- 2 Corni
- Tr.
- Timp.
- Tamb.
- Carraca
- Cemb.
- A. L.
- Vi. I
- Vi. II
- Viole
- V. C.
- C. B.

Dynamic markings include *sf* and *marcatiss.* in the lower staves.

F Major becomes obvious one bar before r. 47, when the passage cadences on an F₉ chord. From r. 47 to six bars after r. 49, Falla once again employs the ostinato figure and pedals heard at r. 41 and r. 45. But the texture is even more spare; and Falla filters the material to the central pitches of all three passages: A, E, and B. Predominantly in C Major from r. 50 to two bars after r. 56, the fourth Cuadro shifts briefly to E for five bars at r. 54.

Through the remainder of El Retablo, Falla continues systematically to apply the technique of natural resonance, a particular harmonic becoming a fundamental, with harmonics of one tonal center being employed enharmonically to shift to a new key area. The key scheme from eight bars before r. 61 to the end of El Retablo appears to be:

Chart 3. Falla, El Retablo de Maese Pedro, 8 bars before r. 61 to the end

E ^b Major (8 bars before r. 61-r. 62)		Hypodorian on F (r. 62-one bar after r. 63)
A ^b Major (r. 67-r. 68)	C Major (r. 68-r. 69)	C [#] Minor (r. 69-r. 70)
E Major (r. 70-r. 72)	F Major (one bar after r. 72-two bars after r. 73)	
D Major (r. 75-r. 77)	E ^b Lydian (r. 77-r. 78)	G Major (r. 78-r. 82)

"The harpsichord alternately clinks and warbles and allows for a variety of which M. de Falla has made good use."⁴⁰ Falla must have had in mind Landowska's forceful keyboard style and the big sound of her Pleyel harpsichord when he requested a harpsichord whose tones should be "aussi puissante que possible" (as powerful as possible). Since bold, clearly defined tone and execution were important to Falla--in all his music, not just El Retablo--he would not have been pleased with a small "tinkly" sound.

Perhaps we should surmise, since Falla studiously avoids using the harpsichord during declamatory or narrative passages in the style of chant or a pregon, that he does not want the effect of an eighteenth-century recitativo secco. In one of the few instances where the harpsichord is present during a narrative passage (two bars after r. 2 to three bars after r. 27), it simply provides a sustained A^b, along with the timpani, cellos, and double basses. Five bars after r. 48, Trujaman intrudes upon the last sixteen bars of a lengthy orchestral passage, explaining the action of the next scene: Don Gayferos crosses Los Pirineos in order to reach the city of Sansueña where his beloved Melisendra is being held captive. The orchestra has once again been pared down to timpani, harpsichord, cellos, and double basses--the harpsichord and

⁴⁰Ibid.

strings continuing the ostinato figure which Falla employed at r. 41 to r. 44 and at r. 47, the timpani on an A pedal.

But the harpsichord is employed freely during Maese Pedro's brief song-like passage in 3/8 (r. 39); it plays a broken chord figure made up of 16th-note triplets divided between the hands. Tutti strings do little but punctuate downbeats. Trujaman's ballad, or romance (r. 67), is accompanied by the orchestra, the harpsichord and strings being prominent. Here, too, the harpsichord has a 16th-note triplet figure divided between the hands. But this time a broken chord, A^b-E^b, G^b, B^b-F (constructed out of the natural harmonics of A^b), is repeated for thirteen bars, changing to other harmonies at r. 68.

Since Trujaman's narrative, continuing one bar after r. 72 to two bars after r. 73, is in the style of a romance, it is accompanied by full orchestra, with every instrument playing an ostinato figure. The rhythmic figuration in the harpsichord part is considerably more complex than before, having a 32nd-note triplet against four 32nds (see Example 9). The full orchestra, including harpsichord, also accompanies Trujaman at r. 75. The harpsichord plays broken chords until r. 77, at which point Don Quixote enters and Trujaman drops out. The harpsichord now changes to a reiterated, arpeggiated E^b Major chord, supporting Don Quixote's octave leaps to E^b.

Example 9. Falla, El Retablo de Maese, one measure after r. 72. Copyright 1924 by J & W Chester Ltd., London. Reproduced by kind permission of the copyright owners J & W Chester/Edition Wilhelm Hansen London Ltd.



At the Final (r. 78), Don Quixote prepares to attack the onstage puppets whom he imagines are real Moors, while a very distraught Maese Pedro stands by, unable to prevent the destruction of his inn. To reinforce Don Quixote's "sf"s on strong beats, Falla gives the harpsichord accented 8th- and 16th-note figuration and marks the part "pesante" several times (shown in Example 10).

Example 10. Falla, El Retablo de Maese Pedro, two measures after r. 78. Copyright 1924 by J & W Chester Ltd., London. Reproduced by kind permission of the copyright owners J & W Chester/Edition Wilhelm Hansen London Ltd.

(pesante) (tempo) (pesante) (tempo) (pesante)

Cemb. *sf*

A.L. *f secco stacc.*

D.Q. *sf sf sf sf*

- ya-des, co-bar-des ma-lan-dri-nos y viles cri-a-tu-ras, que un so-lo ca-ba-lle-ro es el que os a-co-

Falla's request for forceful cembalo playing continues, even if the latter simply interjects an accented chord. Between r. 81 and r. 83, the harpsichord part is marked "marcato" several times. The entire orchestra is instructed to play "pesante" from r. 85 to r. 86. The harpsichord switches from four bars of accented 8th-note triplets to four of 16th-note triplets, as shown in Example 11.

Example 11. Falla, El Retablo de Maese Pedro, r. 85 to four measures before r. 86. Copyright 1924 by J & W Chester Ltd., London. Reproduced by kind permission of the copyright owners J & W Chester/Edition Wilhelm Hansen London Ltd.



The texture of the cembalo part is lightened to two voices at r. 89, but the part is again marked "marcato." Six bars before r. 92, everyone is directed to play "marcato e molto ritmico."

The harpsichord part is especially demanding three bars after r. 92 to the end (seven bars after r. 98). C Major arpeggios in both hands (three bars after r. 92) are further complicated by Falla's writing two 16ths against three only on the downbeat and the upbeat of the second beat:

Example 12. Falla El Retablo de Maese Pedro, three measures after r. 92. Copyright 1924 by J & W Chester ltd., London. Reproduced by kind permission of the copyright owners J & W Chester/Edition Wilhelm Hansen London Ltd.



The 8th-note figuration at r. 93 is marked "marc. molto," the triplets at r. 94, "marcatiss. sempre" (see Example 13).

Example 13. Falla, El Retablo de Maese Pedro, r. 93; r. 94. Copyright 1924 by J & W Chester Ltd., London. Reproduced by kind permission of the copyright owners J & W Chester/Edition Wilhelm Hansen London Ltd.



r. 94



Falla alternates 16th-note scalar figuration with 8th-note triplets and thick chords marked either "marc." or "pesante" until the end of El Retablo.

The actual first performance of El Retablo de Maese Pedro, an open dress rehearsal, occurred in Seville at the Teatro San Fernando on March 23, 1923. The cultural group known as the Sociedad Sevillana de Conciertos, which had also helped Falla establish the Orquesta Bética de Cámara, sponsored it.⁴¹ The première of the work, on June 23, 1923, took place at the Paris residence of Princesse Edmond de Polignac, to whom El Retablo was dedicated. Wanda Landowska played the harpsichord in this private performance, and Vladimir Golschmann conducted the orchestra. Falla conducted its first public performance, sponsored by the Concerts Wiener, in Paris on November 15, 1923.

⁴¹Having long felt the need for an orchestral ensemble which could perform works by Monteverdi, Bach, Vivaldi, Scarlatti, Haydn, and Beethoven as well as newer works like El Retablo de Maese Pedro, which also called for a reduced orchestra, Falla established the Orquesta Bética de Cámara in 1922. The scoring of such works, close to that of chamber music, demands that each orchestral member be a fine soloist. The core of the Orquesta Bética included woodwinds, two horns, two trumpets, four first violins, three seconds, two violas, two cellos, and a double bass; piano, harp, kettledrums, and percussion were added as the occasion demanded.

CHAPTER III

CONCERTO PER CLAVICEMBALO, FLAUTO, OBOE, CLARINETTO, VIOLINO E VIOLONCELLO

Falla's Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello represents the composer's consummate effort to construct a system of composition out of the technique of natural resonance; further, this work is his final achievement in a lifelong search for a universal style based upon the totality of the Spanish musical heritage. Dedicated to Wanda Landowska, partially as a way of thanking her for her performance in the première of El Retablo de Maese Pedro and also because she had requested that Falla write a harpsichord concerto, this work was begun in 1923 and premièred in Barcelona in November 1926.

Writers have speculated that, because of Falla's note at the end of the second movement--"A. Dom. MCMXXVI. In festo Corporis Christi."--there was a liturgical basis for the concerto. Falla certainly was a mystic, if not an outright ascetic. Poulenc observed that Falla, while never publicly discussing his religious beliefs, lived his faith

"intensively and secretly,"¹ and described him as "the purest kind of mystic, limpid . . . as a lump of crystal. . . ."² Burnett James suggests that Falla's creative imagination may also have been excited by some pictures of outsize guitars which he saw at a meeting of the Academia de la Historica in Madrid. At the very least, they probably stimulated Falla's writing the sweeping arpeggios in the slow movement.

Employing twenty instruments in El Retablo--already a scaling down to chamber proportions--Falla demonstrates extreme economy of means and expression in the harpsichord concerto. Considering this work as a concerto for six solo instruments--the harpsichord being the principal one--Falla provides the following explicit instructions on the first page of the score:

The harpsichord must be as sonorous as possible. It is to be placed on the first level, the groups of winds and strings occupying the second or even third levels. The six soloists, however, must be seen by the audience. . . .

The strings are always to be soloists. In no case is their number to be increased.³

It is interesting that Falla, in his quest for a more universal Spanish musical language, expanded his thematic

¹Francis Poulenc, My Friends and Myself, trans. Stéphane Audel (London: Dobson Books, 1978), p. 10.

²Ibid.

³Demarquez, Manuel de Falla, p. 159.

resources while at the same time he contracted his ensemble size.

He did not find the Classical form of the concerto, with a soloist accompanied by a full orchestra, suitable for this music, whose style and character, in Falla's words, "both derive from ancient Spanish melodies, religious, court and folk tunes."⁴ Sparseness and restraint, certainly not new to twentieth-century music, had been elements of Spanish music for centuries. Burnett James even concludes that, to the Latin temperament in general, music on a smaller scale is preferred. In twentieth-century European music, Satie and Stravinsky were leaders in this direction. And Schoenberg's Five Orchestral Pieces, op. 16 (1909) presaged the extreme brevity, concentration, and density of Webern. Sharing these elements which characterize certain works written in the early 1920s by Bartók, Stravinsky, Schoenberg, and Webern, Falla's later works--namely, El Retablo and the harpsichord concerto--are also notable for their "frugality of thought and form [and] the rigor and austerity of the instrumental notation."⁵

In the search for brevity, concision and absolute purity of style Falla and Webern were moving on adjacent courses. Stravinsky's description of Webern

⁴Pahissa, Manuel de Falla, p. 54.

⁵Demarquez, Manuel de Falla, p. 159.

as a cutter of exquisite diamonds might, with a slightly altered bias, be applied also to Falla in his late compositions.⁶

Falla's carefully worked-out system of composition, based upon Louis Lucas' technique of natural resonance, also had much to do with his lessening of the number of instruments and his request that the strings not be doubled:

If the instrumental forces are in any way inflated, the precise function of each note in the chord may become obscured and the underlying harmonic, melodic and rhythmic structure confused and distorted.⁷

For the same reason, the piano--approved by Falla as an alternative for practical reasons (harpsichords were not yet universally available, as they are today)--does not work perfectly as a substitute for the harpsichord.

Subsequent to the première of El Retablo de Maese Pedro in Seville (March 23, 1923), Falla spent Holy Week there with Federico Garcia Lorca. A tune played by oboes and bassoons in an early morning procession so impressed him, reports Jaime Pahissa, that it may very well have determined his choice of instruments for the harpsichord concerto, as well as the overall character of this work. Apparently, he did see the score, obtained for him by the cellist Segismundo Romero. Pahissa's assertion may be

⁶James, Manuel de Falla, p. 115.

⁷Ibid., p. 112.

correct, then, that "it is possible to trace in the difficult lines of the harpsichord concerto something of the effect which the music had made upon Falla's ever keen sensibilities, sharpened on this occasion by the stirring atmosphere of Holy Week."⁸

Falla's treatment of instruments in the harpsichord concerto is nontraditional in many ways. For example, he dispenses with Baroque ornamentation in both the first and second movements. The flute hardly ever plays in its most comfortable register, but in the extreme treble. The oboe and/or clarinet often double the flute an octave below, creating "an impression of taut, primitive music."⁹ While sustained bowing is largely avoided, pizzicati or accented strokes, downbows or strokes with the base of the bow are predominant in the violin and cello. Falla achieves maximum sonority in the harpsichord through the use of full, arpeggiated chords, repeated notes in transitional material, and broken chord figuration.

The first movement of Falla's harpsichord concerto, marked "Allegro," was in one way inspired by the monothematic form of Domenico Scarlatti's sonatas. Anatomically, however, it does not fit strictly into the

⁸Pahissa, Manuel de Falla, p. 131.

⁹Demarquez, Manuel de Falla, p. 160.

binary plan of Scarlatti or the Classical sonata allegro form. Falla, like many other twentieth-century composers, created a hybrid sonata form. Manipulating two themes which are organically related, Falla dispenses with the transitions and codettas of Classical sonata allegro form, and he writes an abbreviated recapitulation. The double exposition in this movement functions like the repeat of the exposition in a Classical sonata. The form of "Allegro" is outlined below:

Double Exposition

Theme I (DM-BM-DM)	Theme II (BM)	Continuation (GM)	Theme I (DM-BM)	Theme II (F [#] M)
Measure 1	r. 3, 20	r. 4, 30	r. 6, 43	54

Development

Theme I In Inversion	Theme II (AM) Canonic treatment	Short Transition
64	r. 12, 81	106

Recapitulation

Theme I (DM)	Theme I (B ^b m)	Theme II (DM)
r. 16, 113	r. 17, 120	Rhythmic augmentation
	Cadence on B ₉ chord in 128	r. 19, 133
	Brief cadenza r. 20, 140	Coda (DM-BM) r. 21, 146-151

Falla chose, as a generative theme for the entire concerto (Theme II in the first movement), a fifteenth-century Castilian folk song, "De los Alamos, Vengo, Madre." A sixteenth-century villancico by Juan Vasquez (from the Orphenica lyra, 1554, of Fuenllana), this folk song was included by Felipe Pedrell in his Cancionero (Vol. 3, No. 71). This is a rare instance of Falla quoting a complete melody; only once before, in the Siete canciones populares españolas (1914), had the composer done so. While it is clearly heard in the "Allegro," its relationship to certain motives in the second and third movements is less obvious. The melody may be seen in its entirety in Example 14:

Example 14. "De los Alamos, Vengo, Madre", measures 8-24.
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Having a narrow range of a 5th and favoring the minor 3rd, it is typical of many folk tunes. The interval of the

Major 2nd, found in the last several measures of "De los Alamos," as well as that of the minor 3rd, are very important in Theme I of the "Allegro."

While it is motivic rather than thematic, and though it is tightly woven into the tapestry of toccata-like figuration in the harpsichord, Theme I does function like the first theme in sonata allegro form. It not only establishes D as the tonal pillar of the "Allegro," but also announces the DM-BM clash which is intrinsic to this movement. Moving in quarter- and eighth-notes in the R.H. of the harpsichord, Theme I is also part of the sixteenth-note broken chord figuration in the R.H.; the L.H. accompanies with triplets. This simultaneity of different rhythms is, of course, intrinsic to Spanish folk music. Shifting from the tonic D (measures 1-7) to B (measures 8-12) and back to D again (measures 13-17), the harpsichord is accompanied by accented or pizzicato chords in the violin and cello (see Example 15).

This introductory material, as a whole, sounds polytonal. But when we analyze it in the context of Falla's compositional system, we discover that all the pitches are actually derived from the natural harmonics of the tonic D, and from those of D's subdominant, dominant, and secondary dominant. The pitch content of the first seven bars, mostly from the key of D, is made more colorful

Example 15. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 1, measures 1-17. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Shirmer, Inc.

Allegro

Flauto

Oboe

Clarinetto in La

Violino

Violoncello

Allegro *f marcato* *sempre ben marcato*

CLAVICEMBALO (o Pianoforte)

1

pp

pp

pp

pp

1

Example 15--(continued)

Musical score for Example 15 (continued). The score is written for a string quartet (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass) and a piano. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. The score is divided into two systems. The first system contains measures 1 through 4. The second system contains measures 5 through 8. A double bar line is placed after measure 4. A second ending bracket is placed over measures 5 and 6. The word "Arco" is written above the string staves in measures 5 and 6. The word "marcato" is written below the piano staff in measure 7. The score ends with a double bar line after measure 8.

Continuation of the musical score for Example 15. This system contains measures 9 through 12. The key signature remains one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. The score is written for a string quartet and a piano. The piano part continues with a marcato rhythm. The string parts have some rests and chords. The system ends with a double bar line after measure 12.

with partials of the secondary dominant E (measures 1-5), and with partials of A (V) and E (measures 6 and 7). While the harpsichord is clearly in B Major in measures 8-12, with the cello reiterating the tonic and dominant pitches, the violin and flute add color with partials of D and A (violin, C-natural and G; flute, G). Measures 13-17 return exactly to the material of the opening five bars. In measures 18-20 the partials of the tonic D are combined with those of G (IV).

This beginning creates the general atmosphere of the work: harsh, perhaps even bitter, the sounds of an orchestra in which gaitas and dulzainas might be side by side with vihuellas, tamborillas, and citaras. We hear the de madrugada (early morning) procession passing by in Seville.¹⁰

At r. 3 the flute, in its highest register, and the oboe enter with Theme II, the first complete phrase of the Castilian folk song, in B Major. The harpsichord, doubled by the strings, combines B^b Minor (L.H.) and A Minor (R.H.). The clarinet decorates the passage with a partial B^b Minor scale; the lowered 5th is a tip-off that more is going on besides polytonality. The note F^b is, of course, the enharmonic equivalent of E, the 4th step in B Major. Most of the pitches in B^b Minor have their enharmonic equivalents in B Major; A, however, is a partial of B. The other pitches, C and E, which make up the A Minor material

¹⁰Ibid., p. 161.

in the harpsichord, are also partials: $C = B^\sharp$, a partial of $F^\sharp$ (V of B); E is a partial of B. The G, being the raised 6th in B^b Minor, is also a partial of $C^\sharp$ (V/V of B). More to the point, it is possible to reduce all of this material (measures 21-23) enharmonically to a V_9 chord of B Major which resolves to a I_{13} chord in measure 26. A V_7 chord (measures 27-29) cadences on a I_{11} chord (A-Natural and F-Natural, partials of B) in measure 29. The passage described above may be seen in Example 16.

The percussive harpsichord passage from r. 4 to r. 6 (measures 30-42), accompanied only by harmonics in the strings and thinly distributed winds, concludes the initial exposition. It is Scarlattian with its guitar-like, dry repeated notes and sparse chordal accompaniment. This passage, unlike a transition in the exposition of Classical sonata allegro form, sounds rather like a continuation. Mutated later, this material serves as a short transition from the development to the recapitulation.

Beginning at r. 6 (measure 43), the repeat of the exposition presents Theme I in a truncated version. In D Major for seven measures and B Major for the next five, as in the initial exposition, Theme I fails to return to D Major. Instead, Theme II enters (measure 54)--in the clarinet with the flute doubling an octave higher--not in the original key of B Major, but in D colored by a B^b . The

Example 16. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 1, measures 20-29. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

Measures 20-29 of the first movement of Falla's Concerto. The score is written for Harpsichord (Clavicembalo), Flute (Flauto), Oboe (Oboe), Clarinet (Clarinetto), Violin (Violino), and Cello (Violoncello). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The harpsichord part is marked *mf marc.* and features a complex rhythmic pattern. The flute and oboe parts are marked *p* and *f* respectively. The clarinet part is marked *f*. The violin and cello parts are marked *f* and *f sempre* respectively. The harpsichord part is marked *BM: Vg*.

Continuation of the musical score for measures 20-29 of the first movement of Falla's Concerto. The score is written for Harpsichord (Clavicembalo), Flute (Flauto), Oboe (Oboe), Clarinet (Clarinetto), Violin (Violino), and Cello (Violoncello). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The harpsichord part is marked *f* and *f sempre* respectively. The flute and oboe parts are marked *p* and *f* respectively. The clarinet part is marked *f*. The violin and cello parts are marked *f* and *f sempre* respectively. The harpsichord part is marked *BM: Vg*. The score includes a section marked *Arco* for the violin and cello parts.

Example 16.--(continued)



harpsichord accompanies with G Major arpeggios in the R.H. against a broken E^b Dominant seventh chord in the L.H. (measures 55-56, 58) and syncopated chords (measures 57, 59, and 60) in 2/4, 3/4, and 4/4, as shown in Example 17. Falla's reason for altering the original tune--he writes a minor 3rd G-B^b instead of a Major 3rd (B^b may be respelled A[#])--becomes clear when we analyze this passage as a whole. On the surface, the passage from measure 54 to measure 63 appears to be, and indeed sounds polytonal: D/G/E^b. Actually, it can all be distilled to the new tonic chord F[#] (the dominant of the expected key of B Major), and the partials of its dominant C[#] and secondary dominant G[#]. In

Example 17. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 1, measures 54-63. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system, starting at measure 54, includes a harpsichord part with arpeggiated figures and a woodwind section with sustained notes. The second system, starting at measure 57, includes a string section with pizzicato and arco markings, and a woodwind section with sustained notes. The harpsichord part continues with complex arpeggiated patterns.

Example 17--(continued)



measure 60 the harpsichord takes over the folk theme in diminution.

In the ensuing development section (measures 64-112), Falla relies upon several traditional sources of musical energy: thematic fragmentation and the fugal techniques of inversion, imitation, canonic writing, augmentation, and diminution. The cello, presenting a fragment of Theme I in inversion in measures 64, 65, and 67, plays in its lowest register up to this point and demonstrates increased rhythmic activity. A choppy effect is achieved through alternating bow strokes on staccato 16th notes. The harpsichord, interrupting with broken-

chord figuration in measure 66 and on the third beat of 67 (as shown in Example 18), remains in the middle register until measure 81 of the development. From measure 69 to measure 75, a fragment of Theme I occurs in the harpsichord, the L.H. alternating between two chords: F_{dom7} and e^b_{m7} . Accompanying this passage are the flute with a seven-measure ostinato on the pitches E, F, and G; the violin with another ostinato on F, G^b , and E^b ; the cello sustains F and G^b . Characteristic of a Classical development section, the tonality here is much less stable. Enharmonically, the pitch content between r. 10 and r. 12 (measures 69-80) can be reduced to the partials of B, $F^\sharp$, and $C^\sharp$.

Fulfilling our expectations, a lengthy passage in A Major near the end of the development section (measures 81-105) prepares the return to the tonic D. Occurring almost exactly in the center of this movement, it is a passage of heightened rhythmic and textural activity. The violin, featured as a soloist for the first time in this movement, plays Theme II (measures 81-86). Plucked "like a Gypsy sorcerer improvising on his guitar,"¹¹ it reminds us of the "satanic violin"¹² in Stravinsky's L'Histoire du Soldat.

¹¹Ibid., p. 162.

¹²Ibid.

Example 18. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 1, measures 64-68. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system features the Harpsichord (Cembalo) and Violin (Violino) staves. The Harpsichord part is marked *f, ma senza stridanza* and the Violin part is marked *f*. The second system features the Flute (Flauto), Oboe (Oboe), Clarinet (Clarinetto), Violin (Violino), and Cello (Violoncello) staves. The Flute part is marked *f* and the Violin part is marked *f*. The Cello part is marked *f*.

Subsequently, Theme II--distributed among all the instruments throughout the remainder of the development section--is treated canonically and in rhythmic augmentation and diminution. The full, arpeggiated chords in the harpsichord, as well as an expanded range, increase the overall intensity.

Although A Major is clearly the tonality between measures 90 and 104, it is made ambiguous in measures 83-89 because of the alternating F Major and G Major rolled chords in the harpsichord, as well as the C Major scalar material in the oboe and clarinet (measures 87-88). Those "wrong" notes, of course, are all partials of A (I), D (IV), E (V) or B (V/V). The large parallel chords, incidentally, develop into Debussyan chord planing in measures 88-96 (see Example 19). Deepening further this expansive feeling, Falla writes a canon on the folk theme in augmentation between the strings (playing in octaves) who start in measure 89 and the harpsichord which enters with the tune in measure 90. The flute, again in its highest register, and clarinet play the theme in diminution, in 16th notes, measures 96-99.

Example 19. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 1, measures 88-96. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.



The expectation of a IV-V-I cadence in A Major (we do hear IV-V in measure 104) is upset by the return of IV on the downbeat of measure 105, which, becoming V in G Major, resolves to a G Major chord. G is indeed the new tonic for the following seven-measure transition; the A^b and D^b respelled are partials of A (V/V) and G (I) and D (V). And the F-natural is the natural leading tone (found in the overtone series) of G. The R.H. plays much the same material heard during the continuation in the exposition.

In the recapitulation (r. 16), Falla assigns Theme I, in D Major, to the violin in its original form and to the oboe on offbeats (see Example 20). The harpsichord, playing the opening D Major figuration--inverted and non-melodic this time--is accompanied by ostinati in the other instruments.

At r. 17 Falla shifts, not to the expected key of B Major (as he did in the double exposition), but to B^b Minor. This new tonic can, of course, be respelled A[#]--the leading tone in B Major. We noted, in our discussion of El Retablo de Maese Pedro, that it is not unusual for a leading tone to become a new tonic in Falla's carefully worked-out compositional system. For four measures at r. 17 (120-123), the cello and bass part of the harpsichord reiterate the tonic and dominant pitches, while the flute

Example 20. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 1, measures 113-119. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

r. 16

This musical score system covers measures 113 to 119, marked with rehearsal mark 'r. 16'. It features five staves: four for woodwinds (Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon) and one grand staff for the keyboard (Cembalo). The woodwinds play a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together. The keyboard part provides a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and moving lines. Dynamics include *p* (piano) and *f* (forte). A 'marc.' (marcato) marking is present in the keyboard part.

117

This musical score system covers measures 117 to 119. It features five staves: four for woodwinds (Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon) and one grand staff for the keyboard (Cembalo). The woodwinds continue their melodic line. The keyboard part continues with its accompaniment. The system concludes with a double bar line.

and clarinet repeat B^b. Falla interjects a B₉ chord, correctly spelled, at measure 128; but B^b Minor remains the tonic until r. 19. The thematic material between r. 17 and r. 18, organically related to Theme I, incorporates the initial four pitches. Falla then varies it within the original framework of a seven-measure phrase, as shown in Example 21.

A snatch of Theme II recurs, in D Major, in the oboe and clarinet at measures 128-30. At r. 19 Falla emphatically shifts the tonal center back to D and recalls the first complete phrase of Theme II--in augmentation--tripled by the flute, oboe, and cello. The harpsichord accompanies with D Major broken chord figuration, while the violin reiterates large D Major chords.

The solo harpsichord passage (r. 20-r. 21) demonstrates once again Falla's modification of the internal structure of Classical sonata allegro form. In place of the traditionally brilliant cadenza, Falla interpolates a six-measure, nonvirtuosic but emphatic chordal statement. Debussyan chord planing, made up of predominantly third-related chords, finally settles on an A^b Major chord in measure 145, as shown in Example 22.

Example 21. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 1, measures 120-126. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

124

poco pesante

ff sost. ma in tempo

poco pesante

ff

Arco

Example 22. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 1, measures 140-145. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.



Harmonically, this minicadenza is parenthetical to Falla's fairly consistent application of the technique of natural resonance. It is possible, by respelling B^b , E^b , A^b , and D^b , to reduce the pitch content to partials of D (I), A (V), and E (V/V).

Subsequent to Falla's recall of a scrap of Theme I (measures 146-147), the final cadence resolves, through combination, the competition between the two main tonal areas of the movement, D Major and B Major. In measures 149-150 we hear the chords V-I in D Major, in measures 150-151, ii-I in B Major (shown in Example 23).

The second movement, a "Lento" marked "giubiloso ed energico," is inscribed at the end: "A Dom. MCMXXVI. In Festo Corporis Christi." Undoubtedly, Falla's memories and recollections of Corpus Christi Day inspired the general atmosphere of this movement. This Holy Day in the Christian calendar, celebrated on the Thursday after

Example 23. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 1, measures 149-151. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

Trinity Sunday, commemorates the institution and gift of the Holy Eucharist.

Accounts of elaborate processions during the feast of Corpus Christi in Barcelona describe gigantones (giant paper figures), kettle drummers, choirs of musicians who chanted the appropriate Latin hymns of the church, and choruses of singers who led in the much-loved pious songs in Spanish."¹³ While devout penitents carried lighted

¹³Mary Neal Hamilton, Music in Eighteenth Century Spain (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), p. 182.

tapers, brotherhoods, guilds and citizens escorted the tabernacle with pennants and banners. Peasants and "first families" alike took part in the processions led by the Basque church in Bilbao:

In the procession were two bands, and the usual gigantic figures who made great merriment by reaching up to the balconies and pretending to embrace the spectators. . . . The Sacred Host was escorted by priests and acolytes with clouds of incense.¹⁴

Allegorical floats with their representations of Biblical characters were famous in Valencia. Peculiar to the street processions in Seville were, from out of the crowd, spontaneous, individual expressions of emotion as the Holy Image passed by. These saetas--unaccompanied melodies sung by a high voice--have been described as "lyrical outbursts, bits of song, 'arrows,' literally, shot over the multitude, into the air."¹⁵ Typically, a singer would vary the melody with improvised ornamentation. Saetas, popular throughout Andalusia, were devotional, nonliturgical songs written in the vernacular.

Jaime Pahissa and Roland-Manuel have suggested that the impetus for Falla's musical ideas came from the latter's viewing illustrations of large chitarrones during

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

a lecture on the Middle Ages at a meeting of the Madrid Academia de la Historia:

There then flashed through Falla's mind the idea for this central movement: a procession moving slowly around the arches of a Gothic cathedral, to be suggested by the amplitude of the melodic lines and by the clashing resonance of large arpeggios written for the harpsichord. And so, these few pages portray the magnificence of a torchlight procession in medieval Castile, all purple and gold in the smoke of incense, with penitents carrying the sparkling pasos and the pious sound of saetas and liturgical songs, punctuated by the harsh accents of the banda.¹⁶

According to Ann Livermore, Ronald Crichton, and the French poet Francis Jammes, the poetry of the Nicaraguan Ruben Dario (specifically, the Poema del Otoño, Madrid, 1910) not only influenced the Noches en los jardines de España and the harpsichord concerto, but it may well have provided Falla with an idea for the "Lento." Livermore's conviction that Falla's music is related internally and externally to Dario's poetry bears further exploration. However, such exploration is not within the scope of this thesis; I would like to point out pertinent observations made by Livermore and other scholars.

Dario, who like Falla, lived in Paris for a time, was struck by the new rhythms and color of the Symbolist poets Baudelaire, Mallarmé, and Verlaine. Incorporating their experiments into his own work and native tongue,

¹⁶Demarquez, Manuel de Falla, p. 163.

Dario altered "the future course of Hispanic poets everywhere before Spanish traditionalists were aware of his experiments."¹⁷ Livermore also believes that "he had in fact achieved for the language what Falla wanted to find for spanish music."¹⁸

"El Clavicordio de la Abuela," one of the poems from the Poema del Otoño, describes an eighteenth-century Marquesita playing music by Lully and Rameau on a clavichord and singing love songs. The poet urges his readers to enjoy the present moment and not to dwell on life's transitoriness and pain. An article written by Falla (published in La Revue Musicale, February 1923), at the same time he was composing the harpsichord concerto, provides evidence that he was very much impressed by Dario's poem. Falla, relating the event of Wanda Landowska's visit to Granada, describes how, when he invited her to play early harpsichord music for his guests, he imagined "the figure of Isabel of Parma in the Tocador de la Reina playing the Variaciones sobre el canto del Caballero by Feliz Antonio de Cabezón."¹⁹

¹⁷Ann Livermore, A Short History of Spanish Music (New York: Vienna House, 1972), p. 194.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 195-196.

Falla and Dario both expounded on the poet's theme in the Poema del Otoño: music's unfolding in time and space and within the boundaries of tonal laws. Livermore also intimates that the "Lento," which has been described by some performers as funereal--a funeral march, even--was inspired by Dario's reference to the medieval Inferno and Dies Irae.

Constructed in the form of a close three-part canon, this movement recalls medieval polyphony and liturgy. Melodic entries occur at one note's distance. Falla's melody, clearly based upon the generative theme of the entire concerto, may also refer, according to Enrique Franco, to a "Tantum ergo" in the Visigothic mode.²⁰ For purposes of formal extension and dramatic gesture, Falla alternates canonic sections with brief interludes of expansive arpeggiated chords. Could he not have been evoking the patterned, solemn movement of a ceremonial procession? The huge arpeggiated chords in the harpsichord, coloristic in and of themselves, could, of course be interpreted as tolling bells or guitar effects. Or were they, in Falla's mind, indicative of brief interruptions during the procession? Surely, the marchers and floats slowed down when turning corners; observers have

²⁰The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, s.v. "Falla, Manuel de," by Enrique Franco.

confirmed their stopping at various points along their route to lift the gigantones high into the crowd. Keyboardist-scholar Kenneth Cooper, himself a witness of such a procession in Spain, is convinced that Falla's over-accented score and tempo marking are a direct result of his trying to achieve this ceremonial gesture and atmosphere. Cooper, who has performed the harpsichord concerto numerous times, explains that the performer's greatest challenge in this movement lies in finding the right tempo in order to recreate the mood--"ceremonial and gripping, but not dead."

The harpsichord begins a six-measure introduction alone, initiating the key of A Major, as well as the huge arpeggios which are an important characteristic of this work. In measures 2 and 3, the violin's and cello's chords punctuate the rolled tonic, subdominant and dominant chords in the harpsichord. The flute and clarinet enter in measure 4. The presence of C-natural, F-natural, and G-natural in measures 5 and 6, evoking distant bells, can, of course, be explained in terms of Falla's compositional system. C-natural is a partial of D (IV in A Major); F-natural (enharmonic equivalent of E[#]), a partial of B (V/V); and G-natural, a partial of A (I).

At r. 1 (measure 7) Falla writes a close triple canon on the theme, marked "Molto energico." The first three notes of "De los Alamos, Vengo, Madre" appear in

slightly altered form. The first step is now a whole step rather than a semitone; and the next interval is a minor third (see Example 24):

Example 24. "De los Alamos, Vengo, Madre," measures 8-9; Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 2, measures 7-8. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

"De los Alamos, Vengo, Madre," measures 8-9.



Movement 2, measures 7-8.



Characteristic of all the passages where canonic treatment of the theme occurs (as well as most others where the theme is present in a contrasting texture), all the instrumental parts are accented. Abundant grace notes, in addition to rolled chords, as shown below in Example 25, increase the harpsichord's sonority. One measure before r. 2, Falla dramatically interjects a four-octave ascending D Major arpeggio in the harpsichord. Immediately after, we hear a

fragment related to the theme, in the oboe, doubled two octaves higher by the flute, one octave higher by the violin.

Example 25. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 2, measures 7-11. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

Molto energico
(non pesante)

sost.

Molto energico
(non pesante)

(piano)

The upcoming key of F[#] Major at r. 3 (measure 19) is prepared in the harpsichord by a huge four-octave F[#] Major arpeggio which fills the entire bar, two measures before r. 3. This chord, an altered VI (V/ii) in the key of A Major, is preceded by IV and V in measure 16. The motive of the canon at r. 3, organically related to the

liturgical theme, is stated first by the woodwinds at the tonic level. The harpsichord enters one measure after r. 3 at the dominant of F[#] (see Example 26). The B[#] in the harpsichord, measures 21 and 22, is a partial of F[#].

Example 26. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 2, measures 19-23. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

The musical score for Example 26 consists of six staves. The top four staves are for the woodwinds (Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, and Violoncello). The bottom two staves are for the strings (Violino and Violoncello). The harpsichord part is indicated by a bracket on the right side of the string staves. The score is in 3/4 time and features a key signature of one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked 'Appena meno lento'. The score includes measures 19 through 23. Measure 19 is marked 'r.3'. Measure 20 is marked with a circled '20'. Measure 21 has an 'Ossia' marking. Measure 22 is marked 'r.3' and 'Appena meno lento'. The harpsichord part enters in measure 20 with a B# note. The woodwinds play a liturgical theme. The string parts provide harmonic support.

Very controversial is the passage at r. 4 (measure 25), where a polytonal effect is achieved by Falla's juxtaposing the chant melody in C Major in the harpsichord against a reiterated E Major chord in the other parts (see Example 27). Suzanne Demarquez, convinced that this

juxtaposition is not at all related to Lucas' acoustical principles, insists that it is polytonality pure and simple. However, the pitch G[#] is an overtone of D (V/V in C Major) as well as a member of a chord (E-G[#]-B) which is third-related to C-E-G. A thick texture is achieved in the harpsichord by Falla's mixing chord planing with octaves.

Example 27. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 2, measures 25-30. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

The musical score for Example 27, measures 25-30, is presented in two systems. Each system begins with a repeat sign and a first ending bracket labeled "r. 4". The tempo is marked "I? Tempo" and the character "Pesante". The harpsichord part is written in a single system with two staves. The first system of music shows a complex texture with many notes, including triplets and sixteenth notes. The second system of music shows a similar texture, with the harpsichord part marked "ff" and "sempre simile".

Following a cadence on E Minor (in the harpsichord) and E Major chords (in the other parts), the harpsichord shifts abruptly to a new tonic, B^b. The pitch B^b, respelled A[#], is, of course, a partial of E. We have observed before how a partial may become the new fundamental. In this brief interlude, the harpsichord arpeggiates nine times a quintally constructed chord E^b-B^b-F-C (IV₁₃) before it comes to rest on an F₁₁ chord in measures 33-34. The B-natural contained in the scrap of melody played by the flute, violin, and cello in measures 31 and 32 is a partial of F (V).

At mid-point (r. 6, measure 35) in the "Lento," Falla recalls measures 2-5 of the introduction. This time the sound effect of pealing bells is created by a brilliant three-octave E Major scale in the harpsichord. Full E Major chords in the strings and woodwinds serve to thicken the texture. Subsequently, Falla writes a brief recapitulation of the original canon. However, the seven-measure statement of the theme at r. 1 is now compressed to two, measures 38-39, which cadence on a Neapolitan chord (respelled A[#]-C-double sharp-E[#] in the harpsichord, spelled correctly in the other parts) with the root in the bass. Unlike the passage at r. 1, this shortened version interpolates a *iiid*₇ chord, measures 40-42, before resolving to the tonic in measure 43.

It is here that the harpsichord begins to play relentlessly (15 times) a rolled A Major chord, above which the chant melody is heard in its entirety in F Major in the other instruments (measures 44-48). The note B^b, respelled A[#], is a partial of E (V). A jarring effect is created by the sudden shift to E^b Major in the phrase extension in the harpsichord (measures 48-50). Similar to the material heard in the interlude at r. 5, the chord now arpeggiated is also a quintal construction--A^b-E^b-B^b-F (IV₁₃)--which resolves to V₁₁ in E^b Major in measure 50.

After a brief transition in C Major (r. 9 to r. 10, measures 51-54), measures 2-6 of the introduction are recalled in the original key; at r. 11 (measure 59) we hear a complete recapitulation of the first canon. Falla concludes the "Lento" with a five-measure Coda in F[#] Major (r. 12, measure 68). The harpsichord plays brilliant broken-chord figuration; the R.H. begins every group of six 32nd notes with an F[#] 8th note which acts as a pedal throughout the Coda. While the clarinet decorates the texture with arpeggios and scales, the flute and oboe play the chant melody in the last four bars.

In the "Vivace" finale ("flessibile, scherzando," 3/4 = 6/8), Falla consummated his search, in the harpsichord concerto, for a universal Spanish musical language. Having succeeded in synthesizing medieval

secular and sacred elements in the first two movements with his own very personal harmonic idiom, he continued to follow the Spanish musical lineage, in the finale, to Scarlatti who, though not himself a Spaniard, was the greatest eighteenth-century exponent of Spanish music. Of course, Scarlatti's monothematic sonata form (which is the only obvious link between it and Falla's first and third movements), as well as the Castilian melody and the liturgical theme, served as points of departure only. However, the basic rhythmic pattern of the jota, a Spanish dance in 3/4 which can be found in numerous sonatas by Scarlatti, is also apparent in the finale. Falla's alternation of 3/4 and 6/8 meters and his frequent use of syncopation in this movement are characteristic of much popular Spanish music and are abundant in Scarlatti. Just how familiar Falla was with Scarlatti's sonatas, or which sonatas in particular he found appealing, is not known. But much of Scarlatti's style is evident, not only in the finale which was, incidentally, composed first; it also permeates the opening figuration of the first movement. As Ronald Crichton writes, the "Vivace" is Scarlattian "not in the pastiche sense but in the full one of rhythmic vitality and adventurousness."²¹

²¹Ronald Crichton, Falla, BBC Music Guides (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1982), p. 64.

For this movement, as in the case of the opening "Allegro," Falla constructed a hybrid sonata form. The outline of the formal structure of the finale is as follows:

Double Exposition

Theme I (DM) Measures 1-11	Theme II (AM-em-bm-AM) r. 2-r. 4 12-25	Continuation (AM) r. 5-r. 6 26-34
Theme I (DM) r. 6-r. 8 35-46	Theme II (DM) r. 8-r. 9 46-52	Continuation (DM) r. 9-r. 11 53-61

Development

r. 11-r. 22

Recapitulation

Theme I (DM) r. 22-r. 24 131-141	Theme II (AM-f [#] m-c [#] m) r. 24-r. 26 142-154	Continuation (DM-B ^b M) r. 26-r. 28 155-167	Coda (DM) r. 28 168-175
---	--	---	----------------------------------

Falla's extreme concentration of melodic materials in the finale is striking. The melodic structure of Theme II and the continuations can be traced back to Theme I--the consequent phrase of which is closely related to Theme I in the first movement (itself derived from the concerto's generative theme, "De los Alamos, Vengo, Madre"). But the

jazzy, syncopated melody making up the two-measure antecedent phrase of Theme I (measures 1-2), repeated in measures 3-4 and doubled an octave higher by the flute (see Example 28), differs radically in melodic contour and intervallic content from the Allegro's Theme I (refer to Example 15, p. 97). In 3/4, it is also rhythmically more kinetic.

Example 28. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 3, measures 1-4. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

The musical score for measures 1-4 of Example 28 is presented for six instruments: Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto in La, Violino, Violoncello, and Clavicembalo (O Pianoforte). The tempo is marked *Vivace (flessibile, scherzando)*. The Flauto part begins with a melodic phrase in measure 1, which is repeated in measure 3, doubled an octave higher. The Oboe and Clarinetto in La parts enter in measure 3 with a similar melodic line. The Violino and Violoncello parts play a rhythmic accompaniment, with the Violoncello marked *secco* and *f*. The Clavicembalo part plays a rhythmic accompaniment, marked *sf* and *marc.*. The score includes various musical notations such as dynamics (*f*, *marc.*, *sf*), articulation (*secco*, *sul pont. incisivo*), and phrasing.

The strength of D as the tonal center of this movement established in measures 1-2, is made ambiguous in the repetition of the antecedent phrase, when an E^b Major

arpeggio in the L.H. of the harpsichord decorates the theme. When analyzed according to the principles of the technique of natural resonance, the accidentals B^b , E^b , and A^b are, enharmonically, partials of E (V/V), A (V), and D (I). The chord on the third beat of measure 4 in the harpsichord is V_{13} ; but the quintal construction (L.H.) E-B-F also suggests guitar tuning. It resolves to the tonic at r. 1 (measure 5), where the $2\frac{1}{2}$ -bar consequent phrase is stated and repeated (measures 5-9). The tonal center D in this phrase is strengthened by the quintal chord D-A-E in the violin (measures 5-9) and the ostinato figure $F^\sharp$ -G-A in the cello and L.H. of the harpsichord (measures 5-10). Measures 10-11 serve as an extension.

Falla ingeniously employs the three-pitch motive of the consequent phrase (measures 5-9) as a R.H. ostinato in counterpoint to the other above-mentioned three-pitch ostinato (Example 29). The thin, two-part texture in the harpsichord at this point seems to prevail throughout most of the finale.

Example 29. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 3, measures 5-9. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Mac Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

5

f sempre

pos. ord.

pizz.

sempre simile

marc.

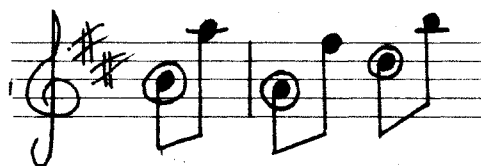
marcatissimo

A comparison of this new motive to Theme I in the first movement, shown in Example 30, demonstrates a clear evolution.

Example 30. Concierto, movement 1, Theme I, measure 4. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

pizz.

Concierto, movement 3, Theme I, motive of consequent phrase, measures 5-6.



Falla's process of varying melodic elements continues in Theme II (r. 2-r. 4, measures 12-25), which is cut out of the same fabric as the antecedent phrase of Theme I. Because it sounds nonthematic--undergoing no textural change from the preceding consequent phrase of Theme I, it utilizes a simple scalar figure in the same thin, two-part texture--it might more accurately be called a subtheme. What does distinguish this material from Theme I is Falla's shift to 6/8. It is not uncommon for twentieth-century composers to use meter to articulate form. The interval of the Perfect 4th, an important structural element in both Themes I and II, is inverted in the second theme (see Example 31).

In measures 16-17 the flute once again doubles the R.H. of the harpsichord, this time in the same register. Falla often uses timbre to add brilliance or a different color. In the same two bars, the oboe is in very close canon with the R.H. of the harpsichord--a foreshadowing of the technique to be used soon in both the continuation of Theme II (r. 4-r. 6, measures 25-34) and the development

section. Also characteristic of Theme II are trills and grace notes, especially in the harpsichord, for color and to maximize the harpsichord's sonority.

Example 31. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 3, measures 12-14. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.



The falling 4th-falling 5th pattern from the antecedent phrase of Theme I is used also in measures 21 and 24, modified. This interlacing of the different forms of the original melody, as well as inversions of certain patterns, seems inspired by a beautifully complex woven design. Perhaps this interlacing is not meant to be perceived aurally; but as Deri said of Webern's extreme

concentration of material, "One should be conscious of how the small nucleus of notes undergoes subtle changes, much like the multicolored crystals change in a kaleidoscope."²² Moving from A Major through the keys of E Minor and B Minor, Theme II then returns to A Major in measure 24.

Unprecedented in the concerto is the independence of the instrumental parts in the statement of Theme II and its continuation (measures 25-34). Snippets of thematic and accompanimental figures, inverted, are tossed back and forth between the violin (doubled in the harpsichord) and oboe (from Theme II, measures 22-23) and between the flute and oboe (accompanimental figure from Theme I, measures 25-26). Directly from Theme I is a three-pitch fragment E-B-D in the top part of the harpsichord, measures 29-30, and in reverse order D-B-E in the flute, measure 32.

Occurring at r. 6 (measure 35), the repetition of the exposition proceeds in "normal" order until the entrance of Theme II at r. 8 (measure 46). What follows demonstrates not only Falla's skill in modifying the internal structure of sonata allegro form to fit his personal harmonic idiom and aesthetic, but also the remarkable symmetry and balance achieved in this movement.

²²Otto Deri, Exploring Twentieth-Century Music (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), pp. 359-360.

Whereas Theme II was fourteen measures in length in the exposition, and its continuation, ten measures, Theme II is now shortened to seven measures, the continuation to five. In contrast to the first continuation, this one is in D Major, colored by partials G[#], D[#], and A[#]: G[#], a partial of D (I); D[#], of A (V); and A[#], of E (V/V).

The development section (r. 11-r. 23, measures 62-130) is the longest section in this movement (exactly twice as long as the exposition and thirty-two measures longer than the recapitulation) and one of increased musical activity. There is little development in the strict sense, but rather, as Terpander noted, "a rhythmic breaking up and distribution of the theme, or themes."²³ Close canons, at the pace of a half beat or one beat (depending upon the meter), as well as other imitations, dominate Falla's economical, abstract writing. Falla uses rapid shifts of key, as well as changes of timbre and complete stops at double bars, to articulate the six subdivisions.

The texture is entirely contrapuntal in the first subsection (r. 11-r. 13, measures 62-72), beginning with the close three-bar canon in A^b Major between the harpsichord and cello at r. 11 (Example 32). Here Falla exploits the Major 3rd and minor 6th from the antecedent

²³Terpander, "Manuel de Falla's Concerto for Harpsichord," Gramophone, October 1934, p. 174.

phrase of Theme I; the phrase extension in measures 65-66 consists of Perfect 4ths and 5ths, also from Theme I.

Example 32. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 3, measures 62-64. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

A second close canon, in E Major, ensues at r. 12 (measure 67), the harpsichord imitated a half beat later by the cello, doubled two octaves higher by the flute (see Example 33). Rising 4ths from Theme II are the "subject" of this canon, accompanied in the L.H. of the harpsichord by the 7ths heard earlier (measures 10-11) in the extension of Theme I's consequent phrase. The character throughout the first subsection is quite jagged and angular.

Example 33. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 3, measures 67-68. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

The second subsection begins at r. 13 (measure 73), after the double bar and cadential chord which is prolonged by a fermata and decorated by a schneller (in flute) and mordent (in clarinet). This new canonic passage in the key of B^b Major is constituted of contrasting lyrical material, related to the consequent phrase of Theme I, which favors Major and Dominant 7ths and the minor 6th. The 7th is still important here, but the 6ths have been inverted to 3rds. Strengthening B^b as the tonic are dominant pedals in the cello (measures 73-80) and violin (73-78) and trills on F

in the violin (74-78) and harpsichord (75-77). The presence of E-natural and B-natural in the harpsichord (measures 78-81) and the flute (measure 80) can be explained in the context of the harmonic series; E-natural is a partial of B^b (I), B-natural, of F (V). A two-bar canon in the harpsichord (measures 73-74) is chased by the same canon between the clarinet and flute (measure 75-76). Rounding out this hectic sub-section is one last canon initiated by the clarinet (measure 77) and answered by both parts in the harpsichord (77-79).

One can only speculate about Falla's purpose in constructing such close canons in quick succession. Was he seeking a "wrong-note" acrid effect? Subject entries so close they are almost stacked cause great difficulty for the performers. In order to attain rhythmic precision and clarity, performers find that they must, quite frankly, shut their ears and concentrate only on their individual parts. In spite of the aural difficulties for the performers, Falla has achieved remarkable "plasticity of sound."²⁴ Deri, in his description of Stravinsky's instrumentation in his neoclassic chamber works, could also have been discussing Falla:

Instead of "blending" the sounds of his instruments, his scoring brings out the independent timbre value of each voice, setting off the sonorous values into sharp

²⁴Deri, Exploring Twentieth-Century Music, p. 187.

relief. In contrast to the nineteenth-century concept of orchestration, where the instruments were used to create blended sonorities, the novel use of instrumentation is placed at the service of the plasticity of the music ideas.²⁵

Related to this idea of achieving melodic independence with contrasting colors is the absence of the oboe during much of the first two subdivisions of the development (r. 12-r. 16). Falla may also have been using change of timbre as a structural articulator, a way to delineate these initial canonic passages from later contrapuntal subsections.

Providing relief from the dizzying canonic display is a pianissimo concertato-like passage (r. 15-r. 16, measures 85-94), still in B^b Major. Rather than joining this third subdivision to the previous passage by elision (the traditional approach), Falla employs a phrase extension: a four-bar cello solo, doubled by the L.H. of the harpsichord (r. 14-r. 15). Then two-bar blocks of triadic bits of ostinato, extracted from the previous canon, are alternated between the flute and clarinet in measures 85-86, 89-90 and the harpsichord in measures 87-88 (see Example 34).

²⁵Ibid.

Example 34. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 3, measures 85-90. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

r.15

This reference to the eighteenth-century concerto grosso links Falla to Stravinsky and Poulenc, who both exhibit the use of concertato style in their neoclassic works. We will discover in Chapter IV of this thesis how Poulenc, in the Concert champêtre for harpsichord and orchestra, relies upon the concertato style abundantly. One of the few passages in the finale calling for legato articulation and pianissimo or piano--in all parts except the harpsichord which is still instructed to play marcatissimo and forte--it functions like a prolongation of B^b. Falla seems to

want to stop the harmonic motion, momentarily affording a place of stability.

Interrupting this calm, however, is a forte flashback of the antecedent phrase of Theme I in the harpsichord (measures 91-92), obviously a preparation for the fourth subsection, in G Major, in which fragments of Theme I's antecedent phrase are treated canonically (measures 97-102). The jubilant return of Theme I is announced by the oboe, also returning, and the violin in measures 95-96, accompanied by scales (R.H.) and arpeggios (L.H.) in the harpsichord.

Rising 4ths from Theme II are predominant in the E Major bridge which links the fourth and fifth subdivisions. The fifth subsection, in C Major, is a variation on the antecedent phrase of Theme I. Rather than decorating or somehow disguising the original material, Falla strips it to its bare bones, distills it. In the original antecedent phrase, two D Major chords, syncopated and accentuated on the downbeat (♩) and upbeat (♪) of measure 1 are the focal point of the phrase (refer to Example 28). Replacing the D Major chords in this variation are an accented offbeat polychord C-G-E-B^b-F[#]-D in the violin, cello, and harpsichord (measures 107, 109, 110), which Falla combines with a new melodic contour (see Example 35). In his process of distillation, he discards the falling 4ths of

measures 1 and 3 and substitutes the open guitaresque sonority of broken octaves on D in the flute and harpsichord. The polychord may be analyzed in at least two ways: (1) it can be heard as a combination of C Major and B^b augmented triads; and (2) in the context of the technique of natural resonance, it can easily be analyzed as a quintally constructed chord C-G-D colored by partials E, F[#], and B^b. Measures 108 and 111, corresponding to measure 2 of the original antecedent phrase, invert the material (refer to Example 35). Falla's incorporation of native Spanish musical elements, such as the guitaristic "strummed" quintal chords and broken octaves, as well as the disjunct melisma in the clarinet (measures 107, 109, 110, and 113) contributes beautifully to the flavor of his personal Spanish musical language.

Thematic and nonthematic fragments are combined, vertically and horizontally, in the sixth and final subsection. Even though the tonality has shifted to G Major, the trills on G[#] (oboe, measures 115-117; clarinet, 118-120), D (violin, measures 118-119), and A (harpsichord, measures 115-120), as well as the ostinato in the cello which alternates the pitches G[#] and A, strongly suggest dominant preparation for the central tonic and its return in the recapitulation. The colorful polychord with its metallic accent on a weak beat continues to be important in

Example 35. Falla, Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello, movement 3, measures 107-112. ©Copyright 1970 by Editions Max Eschig. Reprinted by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

r. 18

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Flute: *p*

Oboe: *p*

Clarinet: *p*

Violin: *p*

Cello/Double Bass: *p*

Violoncello: *pizz.* *arco*

marc.

this passage. But the make-up of the chord has been slightly altered: D Major and A^b Major triads are combined in measures 121 and 123, E Major, and B^b Major triads in measure 122.

The recapitulation (r. 22) holds only one surprise. Themes I and II are repeated, literally; but here the modulatory route for Theme II is A Major-F[#] Minor-C[#] Minor before returning to D Major at the continuation (r. 26). Four bars into the continuation, Falla changes course and lifts the entire fifth subsection of the development, here transposed to B^b Major. The symmetric chord B^b-D-F[#] in the fifth sub-section has now been respelled G^b-B^b-D, and is combined in a new polychord with a B^b dominant seventh chord. The tonal center B^b is reinforced by broken octaves on B^b in the harpsichord and clarinet. The dominant is reiterated in the oboe, while the violin plays a B^b Major chord. Is Falla, by maneuvering the leading tone of B enharmonically into the new tonic position at the very end of the recapitulation, obliquely recalling the first-movement clash between D Major and B Major? After all, in the context of Falla's compositional system, the accidentals G^b, B^b, and A^b and their enharmonics can be seen dually as partials of either I, IV, and V/V of B^b, or I, IV, and V/V of D. We have noted Falla's use of a generative theme throughout the concerto, and how all his

thematic material is organically related. It is perfectly logical, then, that the composer would use key relationships in a cyclic fashion. After a pause, the coda (r. 28) recalls the antecedent phrase of Theme I, repeats it, and proceeds to a four-bar IV-V-I cadence.

Conclusion

The premiere performance of the harpsichord concerto occurred in Barcelona, November 5, 1926, during a festival concert sponsored by the Asociación de Música de Cámara. Pau Casals conducted the Casals Orchestra during the first half of the all-Falla program, with Falla at the piano for Noches en los jardines de España. The composer himself conducted El Retablo de Maese Pedro and the Concierto per Clavicembalo, Flauto, Oboe, Clarinetto, Violino e Violoncello. According to Jaime Pahissa, critic, composer, and friend of Falla, who reviewed this concert for the Barcelona newspaper Las Noticias (November 9, 1926), the first performance of the concerto was "very unsatisfactory":²⁶

This was not the fault of the famous and talented participants, for both Wanda Landowska and the distinguished soloists from the Casals Orchestra--Señores Vila (flute), Carles (oboe), Nori (clarinet), Enrique Casals (violin) and Dini (violoncello)--knew their parts perfectly; but due rather to a lack of enough time for rehearsal to obtain the necessary precision and unity for such a delicate work. Thirdly,

²⁶Pahissa, Manuel de Falla, p. 137.

the composer, who himself conducted, was not as yet sufficiently possessed by his own work to impose himself upon the performers. However, it was not impossible to recognize this as an important work, very modern in technique²⁷

The fact that the performers had to play from parts hurriedly copied from the original manuscript score probably did not help.

The Paris premiere of the concerto took place on May 14, 1927, without the dedicatee Wanda Landowska, at the historic Salle Pleyel.²⁸ Falla agreed to play the concerto on the piano, and with friendly coaxing by the director of the Salle Pleyel, Lyon, was eventually persuaded to perform it for a second time on the same concert, on the harpsichord. But his total unfamiliarity with harpsichord technique and with the special disposition of the Pleyel harpsichord, which used pedals rather than hand stops to change registers, necessitated Falla's taking a few lessons.

The harpsichord concerto was enthusiastically received in Paris, and again in London (June 1927) with

²⁷Ibid., pp. 137-138.

²⁸It is not clear whether Wanda Landowska was simply unavailable for this and subsequent European performances of the harpsichord concerto, or whether she truly disliked the new work. The fact that she did play the concerto again in several American cities, including New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, has been substantiated by Denise Restout (Landowska on Music), p. 346.

Falla once more performing on the piano and the harpsichord. (Stravinsky happened to be in attendance at the London concert.) The work drew worldwide attention at a concert sponsored by the International Society of Contemporary Music (Siena, September 1928). A well-known Belgian critic, especially impressed by the concerto, told Falla that "the music had a glasslike quality."²⁹ "This pleased Falla enormously, for, ever since The Puppet Show, as he himself remarked, he had been trying to find architectural combinations which would produce the desired effect of noble substances like glass or precious metals."³⁰

However, the concerto was not at first universally acclaimed. Its economy of means and expression was misunderstood by many, including his old friend Joaquin Nin, the venerable pianist, composer, and musicologist. In the Guide du Concert, November 11, 1932, he wrote:

Manuel de Falla's masterpieces are neither La Vida Breve nor the harpsichord concerto (lyricism and frugality are not his forte) but those in the romantic-realist tradition of his race: Master Peter's Puppet Show, El Amor Brujo, the Seven Songs.³¹

²⁹Ibid., p. 141.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Joaquin Nin, Guide du Concert (November 11, 1932), n.p., quoted in Demarquez, p. 168.

But writer-musician Juan M. Thomas, in attendance at both the final rehearsal of the concerto and its Barcelona première, was deeply sympathetic to Falla's new aesthetic:

From El Retablo onwards, although this may appear paradoxical, he approaches more to Pedrell than to the composer of Iberia. With a far more finished technique at his command and liberated from the minor German influences and romanticism of his master, de Falla penetrates deeply into the genuinely Hispanic music; he seeks relationship with the 16th and 17th centuries, and through a process of continual concentration and profound introspection he produces a work of such transcendancy for Spanish music: the present Concerto.³²

In his review, Roland-Manuel elevates Falla's work--which is "purified slowly by a series of stubborn sacrifices and rises finally from the rational to the spiritual"--to the "'Path of Perfection' of the Castilian mystics."³³ Falla also received high praise from Émile Vuillermoz and Henry Prunières.

To sum up, this latest work of de Falla produces a definite impression of clearness and sonority. It is sombre, austere, religious, with evocations of the past and vivid examples of modernism. I may, of course, be mistaken, but I am of the opinion that by following this path, de Falla has given us the connecting link which unites in a definite manner Spanish art with the century of Victoria and Cabezón.³⁴

³²Juan M. Thomas, "Manuel de Falla's Concerto," The Chesterian, December 1926, p. 92.

³³Quoted in Demarquez, p. 168.

³⁴Thomas, "Manuel de Falla's Concerto," p. 93.

CHAPTER IV

CONCERT CHAMPÊTRE FOR HARPSICHORD AND ORCHESTRA

Poulenc's Stylistic Development Toward the Concerto

It is notable, but not so surprising, that only two years after the premiere of Falla's concerto, the second most important twentieth-century work for harpsichord and orchestra should be completed by Francis Poulenc in 1928. (The Concert Champêtre was premiered on May 3, 1929, by Wanda Landowska with the Orchestre Symphonique de Paris, Pierre Monteux, conductor.) After all, Poulenc, like Falla (along with the earlier exponents of "Young Classicism," Busoni and Krenek) was moving in the direction of stylistic simplicity and clarity. These characteristics informed the new spirit prevalent in French music in the early 1900s. (Led by Erik Satie, chronicled by Jean Cocteau, and later taken up by "Les Six," this movement was a reaction against the excesses of Wagnerian Romanticism and Impressionism.) Of course, Poulenc's meeting with Wanda Landowska was the single most important catalytic event leading up to his composing the harpsichord concerto. By his own admission,

"The three great encounters of my life, which have profoundly influenced my art, are those with Wanda Landowska, Pierre Bernac, and Paul Eluard."¹

Symbolizing the new spirit in French music was Diaghilev's experimental ballet Parade, with music by Satie, cubist sets and costumes by Picasso, and script by Cocteau. Premiered in Paris in 1917, Parade proved to be "the most significant cultural event of the war years"² and pointed several generations of artists, writers, and composers in a different direction. Poulenc and the other composers of "Les Six" openly admired the simplicity of Satie's score--its tunefulness, its fusion of American jazz and music-hall elements, and musique concrète. Poulenc's reaction to Parade was overwhelming:

I was conquered. Though I idolized Debussy, I allowed myself, with the shortsightedness of my youth, to renounce him a bit since I yearned for this new spirit that Satie and Picasso were bringing us . . . Everything I knew about Satie . . . seemed to me to be tracing a new path for French music, such at least, was my egotistical point of view as a future composer.³

Satie's influence upon many of Poulenc's earlier piano works (Mouvements perpétuelles, Valse, Suite en ut, and Promenades) is reflected in the younger composer's penchant for works on a smaller scale: thin, linear textures,

¹Poulenc, My Friends and Myself, p. 26.

²Daniel, Frances Poulenc, p. 11.

³Poulenc, My Friends and Myself, pp. 47-48, 64.

diatonic melodies, repetitive chordal accompaniments, ostinati, modality, and a popular strain. Poulenc's love for Satie's music continued throughout his life, in spite of their short-lived friendship.

Jean Cocteau, impressed with the youthful composer's gift and brashness, became Poulenc's mentor. Introducing him into Parisian artistic and literary circles, he made sure that Poulenc met all the important society patrons and expanded his artistic contacts. Their lifelong friendship resulted in Poulenc's setting to music various works of Cocteau, including three dadaist poems entitled Cocardes (1919). Although the poetry purposefully lacked direction and sense of order, the music (scored for voice, violin, cornet, trombone, bass drum, and triangle) subscribed to the aesthetic of Satie's followers which was espoused by Cocteau himself in Le Coq et l'Arlequin (1918): simple melody, clarity, French style, and popular atmosphere.

Despite the success of many of his early works, Poulenc still regretted his lack of formal training. (He was rejected from the Paris Conservatoire in 1917.) Furthermore, his recent experiments in the avant-garde, including the Impromptus and the Promenades for piano (1920-21), were among his least successful works. Before these works were published, Ravel had voiced his concern to Poulenc that his temperament was not suited to the

avantgarde, and advised him to pursue the serious study of composition. Taking his friend's advice, Poulenc began to study privately with pedagogue-composer Charles Koechlin in 1921; his lessons continued for three years. Koechlin had initially encouraged a serious study of counterpoint, but he soon recognized his student's real gift for harmony:

Having soon sensed that, like many Latins, I was more of a harmonist than a contrapuntist, he had me harmonize Bach chorale tunes in four parts while I continued working on my counterpoint exercises. This work, which excited me, had a decisive influence on me. It is due to these chorale exercises that I acquired a sense of choral music.⁴

The year 1921 was significant in Poulenc's career for other reasons. Stravinsky's introduction of Poulenc to Diaghilev eventually led to the latter's commissioning the ballet Les Biches, which was not only Poulenc's first full-scale effort (and one of only twenty orchestral works written during his lifetime), it would place him in the international forefront.⁵ It was premiered on January 6, 1924, by Diaghilev's Ballets Russes troupe in Monte Carlo.

At this point, it is necessary to interrupt this discussion in order to explain how important Stravinsky's influence was upon Poulenc's musical style. As a youth, Poulenc had been a passionate admirer of Stravinsky's

⁴Ibid., p. 41.

⁵It just so happened that Diaghilev had attended the première of Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel, a one-act farce by Cocteau with music by Poulenc and four other composers of "Les Six."

music, and this enthusiasm never abated:

Around the age of twenty, I was wild about Stravinsky's music. Many of my earliest works serve witness to this passionate veneration; it was a natural influence since, at that time, I would often play the overture to Mavra or the finale of Pulcinella more than twenty times on a given day. Now that I am past forty, and I am controlling, or should be controlling, my sentiments, I have maintained my fervor for Stravinsky's music, and I continue to owe many of my most joyful musical experiences to this master.⁶

Finally meeting one another in 1916, at the Paris residence of the Princesse Edmond de Polignac, the two composers soon became friends. Stravinsky must have been impressed by Poulenc's early compositions, since he called upon his own publisher, Chester of London, to publish many of them. Later in his life, Poulenc expressed his feelings of deep gratitude to Stravinsky:

Ah yes, if Stravinsky had not existed, would I have written music? All I can tell you is that I consider myself a son, the type of son that he could certainly disown, but nevertheless a spiritual son of Stravinsky.⁷

Initiating Poulenc's neoclassic, or "Stravinsky," phase, Les Biches would evoke the spirit, if not so much the musical style, of the 1700s. It was easy for the twenty-two-year-old, himself enjoying all the pleasures of hedonistic Parisian life in the 1920s, to imagine, as Diaghilev requested, "a sort of modern Sylphides, that is,

⁶Francis Poulenc, "Igor Stravinsky," L'Information musicale, p. 195, quoted in Daniel, p. 96.

⁷Poulenc, My Friends and Myself, p. 188.

an atmospheric ballet":⁸

Then I got the idea of placing modern fêtes galantes in a large, all-white country drawing-room with a huge sofa in Laurencin blue as the only piece of furniture. Twenty charming and flirtatious women frolicked about there with three handsome, strapping young fellows dressed as oarsmen. There was nothing to be seen of these lovers' sports, nor were you able even to imagine "the worst."⁹

Alluding to the eighteenth-century fêtes galantes of Watteau's paintings, Poulenc succeeded in capturing their mild eroticism and elegance. Poulenc borrowed other, more concrete elements from the eighteenth century: suite form, diatonicism, periodicity of phrasing, and orchestration which preferred plasticity of sound. But his neo-classicism, extending to direct references to Stravinsky's Pulcinella (itself indebted to eighteenth-century themes), created what Keith W. Daniel has described as "an eighteenth and twentieth century ambiguity."¹⁰

The orchestration of Les Biches hinted at the color combinations and other features that Poulenc would choose for the Concert champêtre for harpsichord and orchestra: superb idiomatic writing for the woodwinds, which tend to dominate; the strings employed in the role of filling out the texture or simply doubling the woodwinds; and the infrequent use of orchestral tutti. Poulenc's preference

⁸Ibid., p. 53.

⁹Ibid., pp. 43-44.

¹⁰Daniel, Francis Poulenc, p. 285.

for unusual combinations of individual colors (horn-clarinet-tuba, for example), over massed blocks of instruments, resulted in "a clarity and transparency usually associated with chamber music."¹¹

In 1923, the same year in which Poulenc completed Les Biches, he was fortunate to meet Landowska at the Paris premiere of Falla's El Retablo de Maese Pedro. They were introduced by concert pianist Ricardo Viñes, formerly Poulenc's piano teacher and dedicatee of Falla's Noches en los jardines de España. Being so pleased with the outcome of El Retablo, Landowska subsequently requested Falla (as discussed in Chapter III) and Poulenc to write harpsichord concertos for her. Invited to Landowska's suburban home north of Paris in 1926, Poulenc soon became one of her favorite visitors. That Landowska thought of him almost like a son is reflected in their future correspondence. Landowska's feelings of warmth and affection were obviously reciprocated:

My meeting with Wanda Landowska was, indeed, a key event in my career. I felt for her equal amounts of artistic respect and human affection. I am proud of her friendship, and I will never be able to say how much I owe her. It was she who gave me the key to the harpsichord works of Bach. It was she who taught me all that I know about our French harpsichordists.¹²

Poulenc also admitted that "Wanda Landowska is one of the

¹¹Ibid., p. 288.

¹²Francis Poulenc, Entretiens avec Claude Rostand (Paris: René Julliard, 1954), pp. 74-75.

only women who gives me the impression of genius in its pure state."¹³

Poulenc was also a friend of Falla, whom he met in 1918 at Ricardo Viñes'. In a conversation with Stéphane Audel, Poulenc expressed his deep respect for Falla's compositional technique, for his integrity and mysticism. He also related to Audel that, in his opinion, El Retablo was Falla's greatest masterpiece:

Because of the form that's peculiar to it, neither cantata, oratorio or opera, the Retablo has always seemed to me to be a "musical object," like those masterpieces by Renaissance goldsmiths where the most precious stones are set pell-mell, but with what genius, in a superb mount.¹⁴

What really struck Poulenc, though, was Falla's colorful orchestration. Attending several rehearsals at the Princesse de Polignac's, Poulenc described the experience as "fascinating, because you discovered a new Falla, a new Spain. It was no longer the Andalusia of El amor brujo but Castille with its Escorial":¹⁵

The more I hear the orchestration of the Retablo the more it fascinates me because I feel I'm rediscovering it each time, and that, don't you see, is the miracle of ORCH-EST-RAT-ION that's really "felt." You can always write well, orchestrate well, but you don't always "feel" the orchestra. . . . So I say it, without being at all flowery, the Retablo smells of

¹³Poulenc, My Friends and Myself, p. 55.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 93.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 95.

Castillian wine,¹⁶ the queso manchego, that thoroughbred Spanish cheese.

Evocation of a certain atmosphere--in Poulenc's case, the woods surrounding Landowska's suburban house in Saint-Leu-la-Forêt--would also be important in the Concert champêtre. Before Poulenc started to work on this concerto, however, he was to write his first work for piano and chamber ensemble--a work which was to prove important in laying the groundwork for the Concert champêtre. This Trio, for oboe, bassoon and piano, was composed in 1926 and dedicated to Falla "to show him as best [he] could [his] loving admiration."¹⁷ Clearly exhibiting neoclassic traits already heard in Les Biches, which were to be further developed in the Concert champêtre, the Trio was acknowledged by Poulenc to be indebted to older masters:

For those who accuse me of being careless with form, I will not hesitate to divulge my secrets: the first movement is based on the structure of a Haydn allegro, and the Rondo finale derives from the scherzo movement of Saint-Saëns' second Concerto for Piano and Orchestra. Ravel always counseled me to use this method, which he often followed himself.¹⁸

Poulenc borrowed at least two of the following Trio's characteristics, not only for the Concerto champêtre, but for the other four keyboard concerti as well:

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 93.

¹⁸Poulenc, Entretiens, p. 121.

. . . overall dimensions, the size and structure of individual movements, the fast-slow-fast pattern of movements, the contrast of moods within a movement (and accompanying changes in meter and tonality), and the general melodic and harmonic style.¹⁹

And just as he made some use of cyclic materials in the Trio, he did likewise in the harpsichord concerto the next year.

Although Poulenc did employ the Classical three-movement scheme in the Trio, his exclusion of the use of sonata form in the first movement reflects his general lack of interest in that form. But the recitative-like introduction to the first movement is clearly neoclassic, with its scalar passages in the winds suggesting an eighteenth-century trio sonata or operatic duet. The punctuating chordal accompaniment with its dotted rhythms recalls the Baroque French overture. (Stravinsky also relies on this style in the slow introduction to the first movement of his Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments.) The "Presto," beginning at r. 2, is in modified ternary form, one of Poulenc's favorite structures. Pamela Lee Poulin, in her dissertation "Three Stylistic Traits in Poulenc's Chamber Works for Wind Instruments," points out the similarities between the openings of the "Presto" of the Trio (measure 17), measure 6 of the first movement of Poulenc's Sextuor and measure 5 of the second movement of

¹⁹Daniel, Frances Poulenc, p. 135.

Stravinsky's Concerto for Piano and Wind Instruments.²⁰

Each of the fast sections of these movements begins with an octave leap. Poulin also notes that all three works have A as their opening tonal center; cross relations resulting from modal interchange also ensue in all three works. Employing neither a development section nor any thematic development, Poulenc extends this movement, as well as the others, with an additive kind of structure: lengthening phrases, increasing the number of themes, and flexible modulation. Some accompanimental figures in the piano are reminiscent of Mozart or Chopin. Stravinsky's influence is again evidenced by the use of "wrong-note" dissonance.

The second movement, marked "Andante con moto," is also in ABA' form. The texture and rhythm have a nineteenth-century orientation, while the melodies, diatonic, conjunct, and triadically based, are neoclassic. The harmony, functional and diatonic, is colored with abundant seventh chords.

The rondo finale of Poulenc's Trio, loosely modelled upon the "Scherzo" of Saint-Saëns' Second Piano Concerto, reflects some important differences between the two composers. Saint-Saëns, using few motives, develops them; Poulenc, on the other hand, uses numerous motives

²⁰Pamela Lee Poulin, "Three Stylistic Traits in Poulenc's Chamber Works for Wind Instruments" (Ph.D. dissertation, Eastman School of Music, 1983), p. 188.

which are never thematically developed. He achieves expansion by freely mixing thematic fragments, often in shortened form, and recombining them later. The refrain itself contains many ideas, but all of them do not recur each time. Overall, the Trio is diatonic, the harmonic structure enriched with seventh chords and flexible modulations.

Neoclassicism in the Concerto

Deriving so much of its inspiration from the eighteenth century--its title and general mood, as well as more specific borrowings--the Concert champêtre for harpsichord and orchestra is a typically neoclassic work. Wanda Landowska's "country" home in Saint-Leu-la-Forêt, which Poulenc visited in 1926, provided him with the inspiration he had been seeking. Enamored with the beauty of the forest setting, he decided that the overall atmosphere of the concerto must somehow reflect his impressions of it: "I decided to compose a rustic concerto, appropriate to the forest of Saint-Leu, which Rousseau and Diderot once strolled and where Couperin, like Landowska, once stayed":²¹

For a lad who, until the age of eighteen, thought of the country as the Vincennes woods and the hills of Champigny, rustic implies the suburbs. In 1928, Landowska was living at Saint-Leu-la-Forêt . . . and it is in this rural eighteenth-century atmosphere that I placed my work. This concerto is rustic in the style

²¹Poulenc, My Friends and Myself, p. 57.

of Diderot and Rousseau. This explains the refined aspect of certain melodic shapes. [The critic] Gabriel Marcel believed that he had discovered scandalous and inexplicable "military bugle calls" in the last movement. That is absolutely correct. For me, perennial city-dweller, the trumpets of the Vincennes fort, heard from the neighboring woods, are as poetic as Weber's hunting horns.²²

Poulenc's title for the harpsichord concerto refers directly to its eighteenth-century precursors, concerts champêtres--literally "country" or "rustic" concerts. Very popular at the time, these outdoor divertissements were written for forest settings around Paris, including Saint-Leu-la-Forêt.²³

This rustic influence is clear in the slow introduction to the first movement, and from r. 24-r. 25 and r. 35 in the last movement, where a wind choir is featured. The prominence of the French horns and Poulenc's use of a horn-call figure in every movement also refer to eighteenth-century outdoor music.

Poulenc, like Stravinsky and Falla in their neoclassic works, rejects nineteenth-century "palette orchestration." Cross-choir orchestration, or concertato style, is preferred in the Concert champêtre. Rather than being heard as the predominant, virtuosic solo instrument,

²²Poulenc, Entretiens, p. 78.

²³Eighteenth-century outdoor divertissements include: Les Fêtes champêtres et guerrières, Jacques Aubert; Fanfares de Chantilly, Jean-François Dandrieu; Les Bergers de Sceaux, Bernard de Bury; and Grand nuits de Sceaux, Jean-Joseph Mouret.

the harpsichord is usually a concerting instrument. Poulenc, in modifying the eighteenth-century concerto grosso, also alternates sections having clearly established tonalities with non-tonal sections.

The harpsichord writing in the Concert champêtre owes much to Poulenc's study of eighteenth-century clavecin music. Landowska, of course, introduced him to the music of François Couperin, Jean-Philippe Rameau, Gaspard Le Roux, and others. However, double and triple grace notes (often having the contour of mordents, inverted mordents, double appoggiature and slides) are applied more liberally than eighteenth-century French ornaments, which are performed on the beat. Rolled chords and broken-chord figuration are used occasionally; but the nonoscillating chordal figures and broken octaves of the style galant are absent.

References to the style galant include Poulenc's emphasis on homophony and melody/accompaniment texture. Tunefulness, a trait of French neoclassicism, characterizes the Concert champêtre just as it did the Trio; and both works contain abundant tunes in freely structured forms. Cast in the Classical three-movement scheme (fast-slow-fast), the harpsichord concerto is scored for a large orchestra.

Poulenc, by the time he began composing the harpsichord concerto, was aware of the important

differences between the piano and the harpsichord. In order to ensure that the harpsichord writing was idiomatic, he frequently consulted with Landowska:

I worked with Landowska on the first version of my Concert. We revised it measure by measure, note by note. We did not change, however, one measure nor one melodic line, but the keyboard writing and the choice of concertant instruments were the objects of our most profound scrutiny. Above all, we clarified the writing, either by simplifying chords or by deleting notes. In short, we arrived at a score which should certainly strike you with its simplicity and impress you with its richness and variety.²⁴

Forms

The forms of the Concert champêtre are not so clearly defined as those of the Trio or the later Sextet (1932) and two piano concerti (1932, 1949). The first movement, "Allegro molto," is in a vague ternary form, while the second, "Andante," is almost through-composed. The "Presto" finale approaches rondo form, but the A theme never returns. These forms are delineated by changes of tempo and/or texture and mood. (See Chart 4 for the diagram of forms in the Concert champêtre.)

The first movement's mosaic-like structure contains fourteen diverse themes; only five of those appear more than once. Two comparable examples of Poulenc's using numerous successive melodies are the third movement of the Trio and the finale of the Concerto en ré mineur pour deux

²⁴Lucien Chevallier, "Une entretien avec . . . Francis Poulenc," Le Guide du Concert, p. 856, quoted in Daniel, p. 140.

Chart 4. Diagram of Forms in the Concert champêtre.**I. Allegro molto**

Tempi	Adagio	Allegro molto		= 120	- - - - -	Animez un peu	- - - - -		
Form	Introduction	A		B		C	A	D	
Measures	1-27	28-43		44-53		54-70	71-82	83-89	
Tempi	- - - - -	Tragique	= 108	Féroce	= 120	- - - - -	= 138	- - - - -	= 144
Form	E	F		G		H	I	J	I
Measures	90-111	112-138		139-146		147-173	177-188	189-216	217-228
Tempi	- - - - -				En animant toujours				- - - - -
Form	J	Transition	K	I		L	Transition		
Measures	229-232	232-242	243-260	261-268		269-275	276-287		
Tempi	Très lent	= 52	Subito allegro molto						- - - - -
Form	M	F		N	A	D	E	I	Coda
Measures	288-310	311-314	315-334	335-350	350-359	360-371	372-379	379-398	

II. Andante (Mouvement de Sicilienne)

Form	A	A'	B	B'	C	D	D'	Closing
Measures	1-17	18-37	38-53	54-66	66-95	96-105	105-111	113-127

III. Finale

Tempi	Presto - - - - -				Eclatant - - - - -			Pesant
Form	A	Transition	B	Transition	C	Transition	D	C
Measures	1-74	75-88	89-113	114-136	137-142	143-147	148-185	186-192

Tempi	Allargando subito	Allegro giocoso
Form	Transition	C
	193-204	205-290

pianos et orchestre. Poulenc strengthens the architecture of the "Allegro molto" through tonal relationships. The movement begins and ends in D Major, and the central portion (measures 193-211) returns to the tonic D. The fact that Theme I returns twice in the center of the movement and that melodies A, D, and E recur briefly at the end--in the original key D Major--generates a more or less rounded structure. Characteristic of Poulenc is his articulating the structure in both the first and third movements by combining areas of harmonic stability with orchestral tuttis, melodic/rhythmic ostinati and pedals. This unique device will be explored further in my discussion of Poulenc's harmonic practices.

The structure of the "Andante," perhaps recalling the lyrical seventeenth- and eighteenth-century "siciliano," is much less complicated. In 6/8 meter, Poulenc's "siciliano" also has the characteristic melody with dotted rhythms and makes abundant use of a broken chord accompaniment. Just as the "siciliano" evoked pastoral, rural scenes in Baroque operas and cantatas, so it does in Poulenc's rustic Concert. Having only four themes, this movement would be perfectly through-composed, but for the fact that three of the four themes are repeated immediately. Poulenc's use of the form is unusual, since he preferred his favorite ternary and rondo structures.

In the rondo Poulenc's recall of material heard in the first movement is quite extensive. Theme C (previously Theme L) figures the most substantially, appearing twice before becoming predominant at the end of the movement. The horn calls, measures 112-19 in the first movement and measures 140-42 in the rondo (repeated in the harpsichord at measures 192-93) are similar. The fanfare-like figure in the introduction to the first movement is remembered in the final transition of the rondo (measures 194-97). The harpsichord solo in the "Allegro molto" (measures 300-5) is also cyclic, being recalled in the rondo's D theme. Poulenc achieved similar unity and cohesion through his employment of cyclic themes in the Trio and Concerto pour deux pianos.

Different Roles of the Harpsichord

Generally treated as a chamber instrument in this work, the harpsichord functions as a member of the orchestra for ninety-two measures in the first movement, for forty-nine measures in the third. It becomes prominent within the orchestral texture at times, doubling melodic or transitional material in the flute, oboe, clarinet, or violin; at other moments, it recedes into the background. The harpsichord rarely joins the orchestra in extended passages which combine ostinati and pedals for the

purpose of prolonging a tonality. The harpsichord's function as an accompanist is less important in the first movement (thirty-four measures) and the third (thirteen measures) where it occasionally accompanies a group of instruments; however, its role in the "Andante" is largely accompanimental.

The solo passages for harpsichord, particularly in the first two movements, are nonvirtuosic. The "Finale" does, however, challenge the keyboardist's technique to a much greater extent. This overall lack of virtuosic display which also characterizes Poulenc's three piano concerti reflects his preference for more balanced concerti. (The harpsichord's various functions as a soloist will be explored in the following two sections: Concertato Style and The Harpsichord as Soloist. Charts 5 and 6 illustrate the various interactions between the harpsichord and orchestra.)

Concertato Style

Poulenc's intentions are, after all, reflected in his preference for the title Concert over "concerto." As in the eighteenth-century outdoor divertissements, the instruments in the Concert champêtre perform together at times, but the concertato style is also important. Just as the wind choir is heard in dialogue with the strings, so

Chart 5. Various Functions of the Harpsichord in Poulenc's
Concert champêtre, "Allegro molto"

Concertino	Soloist	Accompanist	Member of Orch.
5-10			
13-16			
20			
23-24, 27			
	28- 35		
			35- 43
		44- 52	
	54- 63		63- 82
	90- 92		96-110
	120-127		
	139-146		
		147-155	
	155-172		
		177-184	
			189-200
	200-204		
		204-211	
	212-216		
	232-236		
			250-254
	288-295		
	299-310		
			315-331
	335-342		342-350
	366-371		
379-398			

The harpsichord is tacit for 125 out of 398 measures.

Chart 6. Various Functions of the Harpsichord in Poulenc's
Concert champêtre, "Finale"

Concertino	Soloist	Accompanist	Member of Orch.
	1- 16		17- 28
		30- 33	
33- 40, 45- 50			
	47- 48		49- 56
	57- 60		
	65- 83		84- 85
			88-199
			102-105
		107-108	
111-112			
	113-115		
			116-119
	120-123		
			124-130
	131-135		
136-145			
	165-172		
192-193			
		197-203	
	204-212		
	216-225		
	244-253		
262-266			
	284-289		

The harpsichord is tacit for 102 out of 289 measures.

does the harpsichord function as a concerting instrument or one of several concerting instruments:

I decided to set the entire orchestra against the fragile harpsichord. If they dialogue, one will not harm the other. Whenever they play together, I extract the necessary units from the mass and, one by one, each group emerges, without obliterating the sound of the harpsichord; on the contrary, the result is a greater variety of colors.²⁵

Striking uses of concertato style may be found throughout the Concert champêtre. In the slow introduction to the "Allegro molto," a two-bar fanfare-like figure, stated initially by the oboes, clarinets, and bassoons, is answered by the French horns in the next two bars. The harpsichord, making its first entrance in measure 5, extends the fanfare for six bars, embellishing it with grace notes (often double and triple). Given to the flutes and bassoons (measures 11-12), who also embellish it with double grace notes, the motive turns up once more in the harpsichord (measures 13-15). This cross-choir orchestration continues to the end of the introduction, already creating a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ambiance (see Example 36).

Poulenc employs contrasting groups again between r. 21 and r. 22, the first group consisting of harpsichord and strings; the second, woodwinds and French horns; the third,

²⁵Ibid., p. 856.

Example 36. Poulenc, Concert champêtre, movement 1, measures 1-17. ©Copyright 1931 by Editions Salabert. Used by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

I

ALLEGRO MOLTO

Adagio ♩:54

2 FLUTES
1^{re} Prisant la 1^{re} Fl.

2 HAITBOIS
1^{re} Prisant la C.A.

2 CLARINETTES

2 BASSONS

1^{re} & 2^e
CORS

3^e & 4^e

2 TROMPETTES

1 TROMBONE

1 TCBA

TIMBALES

BATTERIE
Tambour
Grosse Caisse

CLAVECIN

Adagio ♩:54

1^{re} VIOLONS

2^e VIOLONS

ALTOS

VIOLONCELLES

CONTRABASSES

Example 36--(Continued)

Example 36 (Continued) measures 5-10. The score is for a full orchestra and voices. The instruments listed on the left are Cor (Cor Anglais), Clar. (Clarinet), Vlns (Violins), Vlas (Violas), Vlns (Violins), and C.B. (Cello/Bass). The music is in 2/4 time. Measures 5 and 10 are marked with circled numbers 5 and 10 respectively. The Clarinet part has a melodic line with many grace notes. The strings play a rhythmic pattern.

Example 36 (Continued) measures 11-15. The score continues with the same instruments. Measures 11 and 15 are marked with circled numbers 11 and 15 respectively. The Clarinet part continues its melodic line. The strings play a rhythmic pattern. The Vlns part has a melodic line. The Vlas part has a melodic line. The Vlns part has a melodic line. The C.B. part has a melodic line. The music is in 2/4 time.

Example 36--(Continued)

Handwritten musical score for Example 36 (Continued). The score is written for a large orchestra and includes the following parts:

- Fl. 1, 2 (Flute)
- Hrb. (Horn)
- Clar. (Clarinet)
- Bops 1, 2 (Bassoon)
- Cors 1, 2, 3, 4 (Cor Anglais)
- Trp. 1, 2 (Trumpet)
- Trb. (Trumpet)
- Tuba
- Timb. (Timpani)
- Ciav. (Cello/Double Bass)
- Voon (Violon)
- Alto
- Vlles (Violin)
- Cb (Cello/Double Bass)

The score is written in 2/4 time and features various musical notations, including dynamics (e.g., *Arco*, *Tutti Pizz.*, *Arco*), articulation (e.g., *stacc.*), and performance instructions (e.g., *Arco*, *Tutti Pizz.*, *Arco*). The score is divided into two systems, with the first system ending at measure 10 and the second system starting at measure 11. The score is written in a single system, with the first system ending at measure 10 and the second system starting at measure 11. The score is written in a single system, with the first system ending at measure 10 and the second system starting at measure 11.

flutes, bassoons, and harpsichord. In measures 201-8 the harpsichord stands out against the strings, whose very light scoring--one pizzicato chord per measure--never interferes with the harpsichord's thin, two-voice texture, reminiscent of the style galant. The R.H. plays melody J, which is doubled by the flute, pick-up to measure 205 through measure 207. Deepening the color contrast which occurs at the wind group's entrance in measure 208, the oboes and clarinets alternate with the French horns. The third group, made up of flutes, bassoons, and harpsichord, is featured at the closing of this section (measures 213-216).

Concertato style is predominant in the second movement, which contains very few tutti passages and no examples of a tutti combined with ostinati and pedals. Here Poulenc really scales down the orchestra to chamber proportions. The nature of the harpsichord part in the "Andante" is totally nonvirtuosic. Entering at measure 18, the harpsichord is immediately a concerting instrument, as heard in its dialogue with the orchestra (measures 23-25). For the greater portion of this movement, the harpsichord functions like a chamber instrument. A good example of Poulenc's employment of contrasting groups may be seen in Example 37.

Example 37. Poulenc, Concert champêtre, movement 2,
measures 30-37. ©Copyright 1931 by Editions Salabert.
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The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system covers measures 30 to 37, with measure 30 explicitly marked. The second system begins at measure 31, marked with a circled '31', and includes the instruction 'Le 2e Flûte, grand le Cor 1 solo'. The score is for a full orchestra, with parts for Flute, Cor 1, Clarinet, Violins, Violas, Cellos, and Double Basses. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'mf' and 'p'. The score is written in a key signature of one flat and a 4/4 time signature.

Example 37--(Continued)

36

Rth.

Cor. A.

Hon.

Cor. 1

Trp. 1

Clav.

Vns.

Altns.

Vllns.

C. B.

Solo

p tr.

2

The first instance of instrumental groups playing in a responsorial arrangement in the "Finale" occurs between r. 3 and r. 5. The harpsichord, accompanied by a small string group from r. 3 to r. 4, is answered by a larger block of sound at r. 4; oboes, bassoons, French horns, and strings. The harpsichord is heard throughout the next passage (measures 45-52), while a two-bar block assigned to flutes and clarinets (measures 45-46) alternates with another made up of violas and celli (measures 47-48). The

flutes and oboes (measures 49-50) are then answered by the French horns (measures 51-52).

Three distinct color groups play in quick alternation between measures 143 and 146. The orchestration from r. 20 to r. 21, in the manner of an eighteenth-century concerto, treats the French horn (measures 153-54) and the trumpet and bassoons (measures 155-56) as concertino instruments. An interesting antiphonal effect is achieved by virtue of the wind choir's playing only during the last three beats of every bar, in which they are actually doubling the violins. Poulenc again employs his favored alternation of two-bar blocks of tone color in measures 161-62 (French horns, oboes, and strings) and measures 163-64 (flutes, clarinets, bassoons, and strings).

A clear-cut example of the use of competing groups may be seen in Example 38, where a wind-brass choir consisting of oboes, bassoons, French horn, and trumpet alternates either with a string complement or the harpsichord.

The Harpsichord as Soloist

Poulenc casts the harpsichord as a soloist in several roles:

1. As a concertino instrument, either alone or with a small group (discussed in the previous section)

Example 38. Poulenc, Concert champêtre, movement 3,
measures 185-193. ©Copyright 1931 by Editions Salabert.
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The musical score is written for a large orchestra and vocal soloists. The instruments and parts are listed on the left side of the score:

- Fl. 1
- Fl. 2
- Hrb.
- Clar.
- Bass
- Cors
- Trp.
- Trb.
- Tuba
- Timb.
- Trg.
- Clav.
- Pesant.**
- Voss
- Alto
- Villes
- C. B.

The score is written in 4/4 time and features a variety of musical notations, including notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The tempo is marked "Pesant." (Heavy).

186

175

186

25 Allargando subito

25 Allargando subito

2. In lengthier solo passages

- a. To introduce new thematic material
- b. To articulate a change of mood, color, texture or tempo
- c. To expedite a shift, often rapid, from one tonality to another.

Introducing four out of the fourteen themes in the first movement, the harpsichord simultaneously effects a tempo change: A (r. 3, measure 28), "Allegro molto"; C (measure 54), "Animez un peu"; G (Measure 13), "Féroce"  = 120; M (r. 27, measure 288), "Très lent"  = 52. The recapitulation of the A theme occurs first in the harpsichord (r. 32, measure 335). In the third movement the harpsichord plays the first statement of theme A (opening sixteen measures) and the cyclic theme C (r. 17, marked "Eclatant"). The third appearance of C (r. 27)--with a tempo change to "Allegro giocoso"  = 176--is also played by the harpsichord, alone for nine measures. Generally absent in passages which prolong or extend a tonal center, the harpsichord is often a soloist during moments of harmonic instability.

Theme A of the first movement is contoured along obviously diatonic, stepwise lines. The L.H. plays a simple chordal accompaniment. In measures 36-43, however, the harpsichord recedes into the orchestral texture--the

R.H. doubling either the flute, oboe or clarinet (see Example 39).

Example 39. Poulenc, Concert champêtre, movement 1, measures 28-43. ©Copyright 1931 by Editions Salabert. Used by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

long long Allegro molto $\text{♩} = 120$ 30

Fl.

Clav.

Vlon

Alto

Vcl.

C.B.

long long Allegro molto $\text{♩} = 120$ 31

Fl.

Clav.

Fl.

Clav.

Example 39--(Continued)

Musical score for Example 39 (Continued), measures 8-10. The score is written for a full orchestra and includes the following parts: Fl. 1, Hrb. 1, Clar. 1, Clar. 2, Vgns., Alto, Vcllo, and C.B. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The time signature is 4/4. The score includes the following markings: *f* stacc., *1st Solo*, *arco*, *p* stacc., *mf*, *Plus*, *mf*, *Plus*, *p*.

Musical score for Example 39 (Continued), measures 11-13. The score is written for a full orchestra and includes the following parts: Fl. 2, Hrb. 2, Clar. 2, Clar. 1, Vgns., Alto, Vcllo, and C.B. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The time signature is 4/4. The score includes the following markings: *f* stacc., *1st Solo*, *arco*, *p* stacc., *mf*, *Plus*, *mf*, *Plus*, *p*.

Example 39--(Continued)

42

Fl. 2
Clar. 1
Viol. 1
Viola
Cello
Double Bass

Solo
Pia
Pia
Pia
Pia
Pia

The harpsichord's next solo passage occurs with the arrival of the C melody at measure 54, shown in Example 40. The stepwise descent from pitch F[#] to B, enhanced by the Dominant pedal in the soprano, causes C to sound like two-part counterpoint. This device clearly refers back to the eighteenth century--J. S. Bach and Scarlatti, specifically. The harpsichord continues with C to r. 7, lightly accompanied by the strings in measures 58-62.

Example 40. Poulenc, Concert champêtre, movement 1, measures 54-57. ©Copyright 1931 by Editions Salabert. Used by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.



The function of the brief harpsichord solo (measures 90-91) is to introduce the new key of F Major. Here Poulenc shifts abruptly out of A Major, employing his favorite mediant relationship. A complete change of mood occurs at r. 12, marked "Tragique." The French horns introduce the F theme which is taken over by the harpsichord at r. 13. Its thin, two-part texture is decorated with grace notes. Once again, Poulenc uses the harpsichord to establish a new key and to help articulate a

change of mood. The preceding passage (measures 96-110), transitional in nature, was in A Major, cadencing on an A Minor chord. The F theme is in A[#] Minor until measure 128, when Poulenc modulates enharmonically to B^b Minor.

Playing alone for eight measures (139-46), the harpsichord introduces the G motive, a nonmelodic, restless ostinato-like figure in B^b Minor. Five-voice chords marked staccato have a percussive effect. Continuing this ostinato through r. 16, the harpsichord is joined by a solo trumpet playing theme H, a kind of bugle call (r. 15), and accompanying strings with pizzicato 8th notes. This passage is very much indebted to Stravinsky.

The harpsichord's solo passage in measures 155-70 effects a modulation to B Minor (see Example 41). A new repeated-note figure is combined with some conjunct motion. Divided between the hands, it is heard initially in a thin, though sharp-edged, two-voice texture (measures 155-63). Thickening the texture in measures 164-70 with five-voice chords marked staccato, Poulenc achieves an even more percussive effect.

Following two passages (measures 201-7 and 213-16), where the harpsichord has melodic interest only, in a sparse, two-voice texture, it stands out more clearly in measures 232-36. Once again the harpsichord functions in

Example 41. Poulenc, Concert champêtre, movement 1, measures 155-170. ©Copyright 1931 by Editions Salabert. Used by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

The image shows a musical score for a Clarinet (labeled 'Clav.') across four systems of measures. The first system begins at measure 155, the second at 159, the third at 164, and the fourth at 167. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings, typical of a 20th-century musical score.

its role of shifting the tonal center--from G Phrygian to B^b Minor in this instance.

The new M theme, with its dramatic change of tempo ("Très lent" ♩ = 52) and character, is stated by the harpsichord at r. 27. Transitional, exploring in nature, this passage lacks a clear tonal center. Four to eight-voice minor and diminished chords, mostly arpeggiated, are predominant. The harpsichord is joined by clarinets and bassoons in measures 293-95, also playing in chorale style. In measures 299-305, the harpsichord plays a cyclic melody

which will recur in the last movement. The melody here is presented in a thin two-part texture, the R.H. doubled by the L.H. two octaves below. The recapitulation of Theme A is heard in another solo passage for harpsichord at r. 32.

Poulenc wrote only one lengthy solo passage for the harpsichord in the second movement (measures 66-77), shown in Example 42. This nonvirtuosic material in a thin linear texture is comparable to the modulatory passage at r. 27 in the first movement, in the sense that both are searching, or unstable, in nature. Returning briefly to the larger tonal center of the movement, G Minor (measure 66 to the downbeat of 68), it is centered upon an e_7 chord (measures 71-75)--a $c^\sharp$ diminished chord appears once--and comes to rest upon another unstable chord, E^b augmented with an added D (measures 76-77). In measures 78-84 the harpsichord prepares for the shift to D Minor with six measures of tonic pedals. Reminiscent of a late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century toccata-like passage, with its improvisatory character, it clearly serves as a transition from G Minor to D Minor.

The opening material of the "Presto" Finale represents Poulenc's most virtuosic writing for the harpsichord. Surely, Wanda Landowska must have introduced him to Scarlatti's harpsichord sonatas, especially the ones with brilliant passage-work. The A theme clearly has a triadic

Example 42. Poulenc, Concert champêtre, movement 2, measures 66-77. ©Copyright 1931 by Editions Salabert. Used by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

basis; the tonic, supertonic, subdominant and dominant chords are filled in with running 16th-note triplets (see Example 43).

Performing as a member of a chamber-sized string and woodwind group (r. 1-r. 2), the harpsichord has figuration reminiscent of the opening of Falla's harpsichord concerto (shown in Example 44).

Example 43. Poulenc, Concert champêtre, movement 3, measures 1-16. ©Copyright 1931 by Editions Salabert. Used by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

Presto $\frac{1}{2}$ = 108
très gai

CLAVECIN
SOLO

CL

CL

CL

CL

CL

Example 44. Poulenc, Concert champêtre, movement 3,
measures 17-24. ©Copyright 1931 by Editions Salabert.
Used by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

(17) $\text{♩} = 192$

Cla. $\text{♩} = 192$

Von Solo *mf* *liger*

2^{de} Vn *pp* *non mais pp*

Alto *pp*

Vlle *pp*

C.B.

(20)

Hib. *f sec*

Bon *f sec* *p* *f sec*

2^{de} Vn *f sec*

Von Solo *f sec*

2^{de} Vn *f sec*

Alto *f sec*

Vlle *f sec*

C.B. *f sec*

Poulenc extracts fragments from Theme A for another solo passage (measures 65-74), shown in Example 45. Measures 65-66 are equivalent to measures 5-6, while measure 67 and the first half of measure 68 are very similar to measures 11-12. A lightly scored string group accompanies the harpsichord in measures 71-73.

Example 45. Poulenc, Concert champêtre, movement 3, measures 65-73. ©Copyright 1931 by Editions Salabert. Used by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

The musical score for Example 45 consists of two systems. The first system contains measures 65 and 66, both marked with a circled '65'. The harpsichord (Clav.) part is written in treble and bass staves, featuring rapid sixteenth-note passages. The second system contains measures 67 through 73. Measures 67-70 are marked with a circled '70'. The harpsichord continues its intricate patterns. The string section (Violins, Violas, Cellos, and Double Basses) enters in measure 71 with a '4 Solo Pizz.' instruction and a 'p' dynamic. The string parts are also marked with 'pizz.' and 'p' in measures 72 and 73.

Example 45--(Continued)

72

Clav.

voice

Alto

Viol.

C. B.

1 Pup.

Poulenc's sharp wit is reflected in the passage from measure 74 to 86, where he cleverly conceals a quotation of the opening three bars of Rameau's famous clavecin piece "La Poule." (A comparison is shown in Example 46.)

Example 46. Rameau, "La Poule," bars 1-3. Poulenc, Concert champêtre, movement 3, measures 74-81. ©Copyright 1931 by Editions Salabert. Used by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

3 7

co co co co co co co dai

3

74

Clav.

Example 46--(Continued)

78

Fl.

Hb.

Clar. 1 2

Bass 1 2

Cor.

Timb.

Clav.

Vn.

Alto

Vlra

C.B.

Solo

Arco

Pizz.

The harpsichord plays the two-bar "La Poule" incipit in Rameau's key of G Minor, metrically altered (measures 74-75), which is then answered by a descending arpeggiated figure in the "wrong" key of A Minor in the clarinet. Finding humor in this little dialogue, Poulenc repeats the ruse again in measures 78-81; this time the oboes play an E^b Major arpeggio. The third conversational interchange between Rameau and Poulenc occurs in measures 82-86; here the full orchestra answers in the key of F[#] Major, with an accompanying F[#] Major₁₃ chord in the harpsichord. Poulenc completes this whole sequence with a bizarre trumpet fanfare in parallel seconds (measures 86-87).

Poulenc treats the fanfare-like motive B (in violins, measures 88-102; and violas, 98-102) in a responsorial arrangement with the oboes, bassoons, and French horns who reply with four-note triadic figures in dotted rhythms. Detached from this motivic exchange, the harpsichord hints at Falla for the second time, playing broken-chord figuration similar to that at r. 1.

An interesting pattern, outlined below, evolves in the section from measure 103 to 135. Poulenc generates a restless quality by combining rapid key changes with two types of writing for the harpsichord: two-, three-, or four-bar blocks of ostinati alternate with toccata-like broken-chord figuration.

Measures 103-105 Three-bar <u>ostinato</u> F Major	Measures 107-108 Two-bar <u>ostinato</u> B Minor
Measures 113-115 16 th note figuration Pentatonic	Measures 116-118 Two-bar <u>ostinato</u> G Minor
Measures 118-119 Two-bar <u>ostinato</u> F Major	Measures 120-123 Four-bar sequence Broken-chord figuration
Measures 128-130 16 th note figuration Diminished seventh chords	Measures 131-134 Four-bar <u>ostinato</u> B ^b Major (Dominant preparation for arrival of E ^b Major, r. 17)

Throughout this section the harpsichord is prominent over a small group of woodwinds and strings.

The second restatement of melody C, assigned to the harpsichord at r. 27, is marked by a change of tempo to "Allegro giocoso" = 176 (see Example 47). Restlessness in this solo is generated both by rhythmically irregular entrances of the melody as well as alternating 3/4 and 4/4 meters. A L.H. ostinato constructed out of ascending ninths also oscillates between the tonic and dominant pitches (D Major).

One of the numerous harpsichord solos in a two-voice linear texture, the passage in measures 216-24, is unusual for Poulenc because it engages the hands in independent activity. The fact that it serves as a diversion from, rather than a prolongation of D Major, demonstrates that

Poulenc's strongest writing for the harpsichord often occurs in harmonically unstable passages. Poulenc shifts rapidly from one tonal center to another, returning to D Major in measure 225.

Example 47. Poulenc, Concert champêtre, movement 3, measures 204-212. ©Copyright 1931 by Editions Salabert. Used by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

r. 27 Allegro giocoso 3/4 = 176

Two long orchestral passages (r. 29-r. 31 and r. 33-r. 39) which extend the C theme frame a contrasting harpsichord solo (r. 31-r. 32). Mixed Major and Minor chord planing constitutes this coloristic excursion away from D Major, shown in Example 48.

Example 48. Poulenc, Concert champêtre, movement 3, measures 244-248. ©Copyright 1931 by Editions Salabert. Used by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

r. 31

The strong rhythmic placement of B^b Major chords in measures 244-45 and 248-49 reinforces B^b as the new, but brief, tonic. Having the last word, the harpsichord resolves the harmonic ambiguity caused by the D Major/D Minor interchange on a final D Minor chord (see Example 49).

Example 49. Poulenc, Concert champêtre, movement 3, measures 284-289. ©Copyright 1931 by Editions Salabert. Used by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.



Harmony

Poulenc was the best harmonist of his generation, the last lover of harmony; let us not complain that his chords are too beautiful.²⁶

This composer's inclination toward harmony rather than counterpoint probably stemmed from his great love of and ability to write a beautiful melodic line. His intensive three-year period of study with Charles Koechlin, concentrated heavily upon four-part harmonizations of Bach

²⁶Clarendon, "Hommage à Poulenc," Le Figaro, p. 26, quoted in Daniel, p. 96.

chorale melodies, may have accounted for the essentially diatonic and functional framework of Poulenc's harmonic procedures.

While Bach's practice continues to be the point of departure, harmonically, for neoclassic works such as the Concert champêtre, Poulenc now explores a freer, though not particularly innovative, harmonic style.

I certainly know that I am not among the musicians who will have been harmonic innovators, like Igor, Ravel or Debussy, but I think there is a place for "new" music which is happy to use the chords of others. Wasn't this the case with Mozart and Schubert?²⁷

Tertian harmony is predominant in the Concert champêtre, as well as in most of Poulenc's works; but seventh chords are employed as often as simple triads. Added ninths are ubiquitous, and there are numerous examples of added 11ths and 13ths. Although elaborate tertian structures may often be found at cadence areas and in secondary dominant chord pairs--where experiments in the handling of dissonance are traditionally expected--they are by no means restricted to those areas.

Characteristically strong areas of harmonic stability, areas in fact where Poulenc wishes to prolong or extend a tonal center, are those associated with tuttis, melodic/rhythmic ostinati and pedals (shown in Graphs 1 and

²⁷Francis Poulenc, Correspondence 1915-1963, ed. H. de Wendel (Paris: Le Seuil, 1967), p. 128.

2 on pages 206-7). Structurally, these tuttis provide both contrast and cohesion. While the tutti passages in the first movement of the harpsichord concerto create a structural < >, they create a gradual < throughout the finale--"piling up," as it were, by becoming longer each time and occurring more frequently. Harmonic motion occurs in concertato passages, or passages for a smaller ensemble, or as mentioned earlier, in solo passages for the harpsichord.

While Poulenc avoids excessive chromaticism in the Concert champêtre, he may employ brief passages of chromatic harmonies in order to embellish diatonic textures, or as a neighboring section to passages having strong tonal centers. The first such instance of chromatic elaboration occurs in measures 21-27 of the introduction to the first movement. Having firmly established the key of D Major in the first twenty measures--the modal interchange notwithstanding--Poulenc then engages in a preparation of the V/V in D Major. Underneath an E pedal (found in the flute, oboe, first violin, and top part of the R.H. of the harpsichord), the voice leading in the bassoons and double basses generates the following chords:

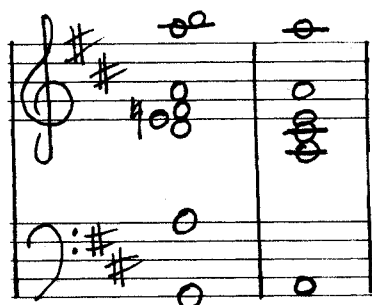
E pedal -----> A

a₇ b_m c[#]_m D[#]_M (E_M skipped).

Poulenc is, essentially, planing up the E Major scale. But

the surprising effect created by his avoidance of any resolution to an E Major chord is sharpened by the ambiguous chord in measure 26--IV₇ and V combined (shown in Example 50):

Example 50. *Concert champêtre*, movement 1, measures 26-27.
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In measure 27 we finally get a V₉ chord which resolves to D Major at r. 3, clearly the tonal center of the opening section of the "Allegro molto."

A tutti passage between r. 9 and r. 10 prolongs the key of A Major and ends on an E Major chord (without the third) at r. 10. The harpsichord, after playing a five-note scale on A, shifts immediately to the key of F Major. In employing this mediant relationship, Poulenc deceptively extends the key of A Major; F Major is, of course, the bVI or Neapolitan of V in A Major. Measures 96-99 are constructed upon what seems at first glance a diminished

seventh chord: A-C-E^b-G^b (the F[#] is misspelled in the second viola in measure 96). A closer examination of the harpsichord part and the orchestral parts in measure 98 shows that the previous E^b in the orchestra was misspelled. The correct root D[#] generates a diminished chord on #iv, resolving to I₆ on the downbeat of measure 100. This

4

section continues in A Major and cadences V-I-i in measures 109-10.

A transitional passage (measures 279-36) serves to embellish the minor dominant of B Major, B having been prolonged in a long tutti passage in measures 261-78. The cadence on a diminished seventh chord on C (prepared by the C interpolated into the F[#] Minor scale played by the oboes and violins, measures 281 and 283), prepares the first measure of the next section at r. 27.

The initial chord in the section marked "Très lent," spelled C-E^b-G^b with an added sixth, moves to C-E^b-G^b-B^b on the third beat. A five-bar phrase in the harpsichord, cadencing on a B Minor chord in measure 292, mixes minor and diminished chords (see Example 51).

Example 51. Poulenc, Concert champêtre, movement 1, measures 288-292. ©Copyright 1931 by Editions Salabert. Used by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.



The wandering, sinewy quality of this phrase is stabilized somewhat by axis points D and C. A subsequent three-bar phrase in the harpsichord which cadences on a D^b Major chord is followed by another three-bar phrase in F Major (with neighbor tone $F^\sharp$) in the French horns, celli, and double basses. A Minor in measure 299 is prepared by the "wrong" dominant: bV_7 ($E^b-G^b-B^b-D^b$). Once again Poulenc is manipulating third-related key areas.

The "Andante" is in G Minor. After an excursion to B^b Minor (measures 21-32), Poulenc prepares the new tonal center A^b Major by extending IV in measures 33-34 and further elaborating A^b with passing chords (C^bM_7 and B^bM_9) in measure 35. After the arrival of a V_9 chord in measure 36, the tonic is reached in measure 38 by way of $V/V-V-I$. A rather jarring effect is created near the end of the passage in A^b Major. The secondary dominant (measure 49) does not resolve to V; instead Poulenc shifts abruptly to I_9-V_7-I in E Major (measures 50-51). The tonal center of the next passage is E^b Major.

The passage in E^b which merits close attention begins on measure 59, where Poulenc writes a typical eighteenth-century chord progression over a B^b pedal. Measures 61-62 repeat almost exactly the $ii_7-V_7 \mid I_6-V/V$ pattern of measures 59-60. Measure 62, however, is

truncated from a 6/8 to a 3/8 measure; and this time I_6 ⁴ is followed not by V/V or V but an $F^\#$ diminished chord ($F^\#$ misspelled G^b in the harpsichord). Poulenc defeats our expectation of a resolution to G in measure 63 (which is, in fact, postponed until the downbeat of measure 66) by cadencing deceptively on a cm/fm polychord. The sequence of ninth chords in measures 63-65 could, then, be heard as an extension of the cadence. This passage cadences in measure 66 on a chord which can be analyzed either as a g^0_7 or an elision of g^0 and B^b Minor.

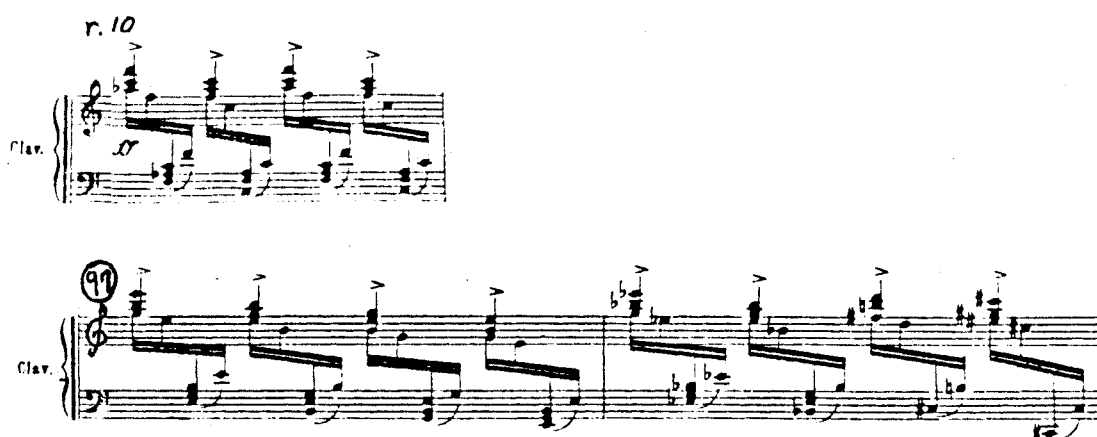
Transitional in nature, the harpsichord solo (measures 66-84) serves to prepare the dominant of G Minor which is the tonal center in measures 91-96. The pitches E-D- $C^\#$ are obvious axis points for movement through iv-VI-ii₇-vii⁰-ii₇-^bII⁺ in D Minor. (Measures 66-77 are shown in Example 42 on p. 184).

The "Finale" contains several striking examples of chromatic harmonies. Shifting abruptly from the key of D Major to C Minor in measure 48, Poulenc stays in this new key only briefly before elaborating the Major subdominant F-A-C in measures 51-56. He combines an F pedal (in the violins) with ostinati (in violas, celli, and double basses) which reinforce the chord oscillation between F Major and an appoggiatura chord G^bM_{11} . Poulenc then

prepares the return to C Minor with the voice leading in the double basses, C-B^b-A-G (measures 57-60) and the V/v-v cadence in measure 60.

To execute the shift from D Minor (measures 92-94) to F[#] Minor in measure 99, Poulenc employs mixed chord planing (fm-em-E^bM) in measures 96-98 (shown in Example 52): E^b Major, respelled D[#]-F^x-A[#], is V/ii^o₇ in F[#] Minor which moves to ii^o₇-v-i in measures 98-99.

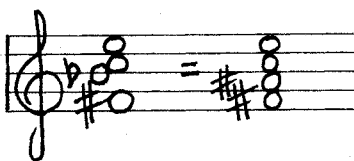
Example 52. Poulenc, Concert champêtre, movement 3, measures 96-98. ©Copyright 1931 by Editions Salabert. Used by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.



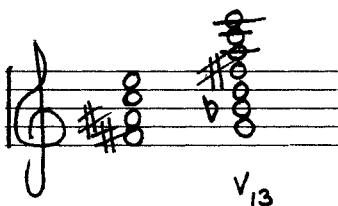
In order to modulate from B Minor (the key in measures 107-8) to A Dorian in measure 110, Poulenc discards all the eighteenth-century connectors. On the downbeat of measure 109 he writes an A^bM₁₁ chord, or VI₁₁ in B Minor, and on the fourth beat, F Augmented. After three bars of third-related chords clearly in A Minor (am₇-DM₇-

am-f^{#0}), Poulenc once again abruptly shifts direction. His melding of a chromatic line (R.H. in measures 114-15) within a pentatonic framework in the L.H. viscerally connects the preceding passage in A Dorian with the layers of activity which occur in measures 116-17.

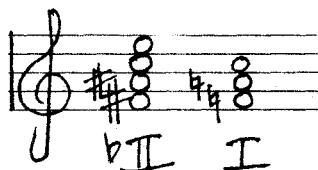
In the foreground of measures 116-17, V₉-i in G Minor is heard against a tremolo overlay in the violins. But another layer of activity in the first flute and R.H. of the harpsichord, in A Phrygian, seems to have equal weight. Harmonic ambiguity is increased by the weight of the low C pedal in the L.H. of the harpsichord, as well as the misspelled French sixth chord in the violins:



It could be said that one layer of activity is strongly centered in A Phrygian, while another is in G Minor, and that these work against a misspelled French sixth chord which, of course, resolves to G Minor:



But the gravitational pull of that C, sustained for eight beats, toward the new key of F Major in measure 118 is unmistakable. The French sixth chord would then have to be interpreted as $\flat$ II in F Major:



Poulenc's propensity for rapidly shifting tonal centers allows him to stay in F Major for only two measures (118-19). His next goal E $\flat$ Minor (r. 15) is preceded by a harmonically unstable neighbor section in the harpsichord. From r. 14 to r. 15, Poulenc employs broken-chord planing in a sequential fashion, shown below in Example 53. Measures 128-30 represent an elaboration of the dominant of E $\flat$ Minor, using diminished seventh chords; a B $\flat$ pedal may be heard in the bassoon and cello.

Hypertertian chords, Major and minor, dominate the chorale-like section in measures 194-97. Under an F $\sharp$ pedal in the clarinet, the first French horn and the first trumpet, this section serves to extend the dominant of B Major which was the key of the previous passage in concertato style.

The neoclassically oriented harpsichord solo (measures 216-25), with its alternating scalar figures and

Example 53. Poulenc, Concert champêtre, movement 3,
measures 120-123. ©Copyright 1931 by Editions Salabert.
Used by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

The musical score is presented in two systems. The top system covers measures 120 and 121, with a rehearsal mark 'r. 14' positioned above the flute staff. The bottom system covers measures 122 and 123, with measure 122 circled and marked with a '(b)' above the flute staff. The score is for a full orchestra, including parts for Flute (Flav.), Violins (Vols.), Alto (Altos), Violas (Vlles.), and Cello/Double Bass (C.B.). The music is in 3/4 time and features complex rhythmic patterns, including triplets and sixteenth notes. The bottom system ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

broken chords in a two-part texture, is characterized by modal interchange in measure 216 and bimodality in measures 218-19 (see Example 54). Some circle-of-fifths motion, also serving to "ground" us in the eighteenth century, occurs in measures 220-21: F Minor: V-i | C Major: V₇ I. Chord functions are obscured in measures 223-24 by cross relations and modal interchange.

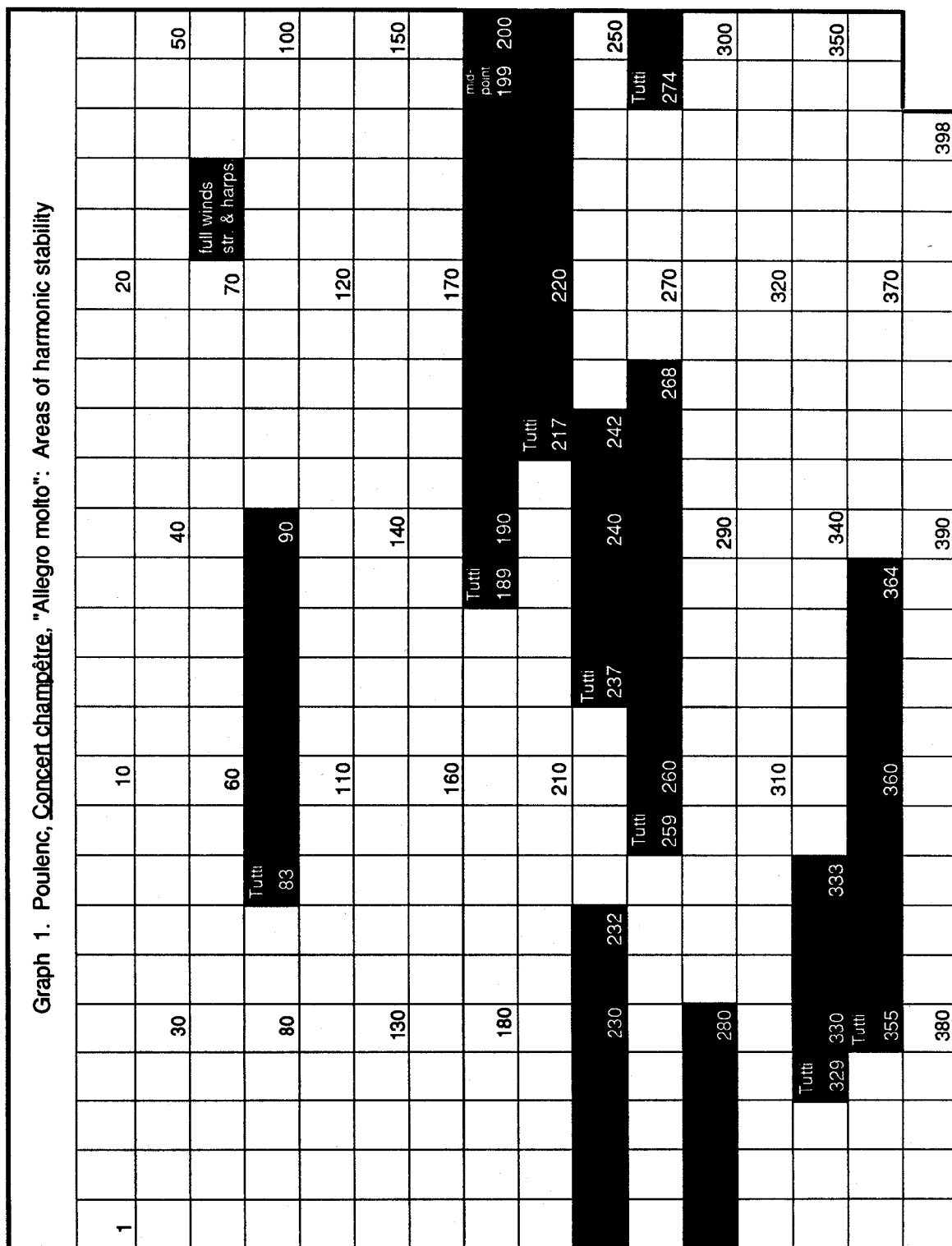
Example 54. Poulenc, *Concert champêtre*, movement 3, measures 216-225. ©Copyright 1931 by Editions Salabert. Used by permission of G. Schirmer, Inc.

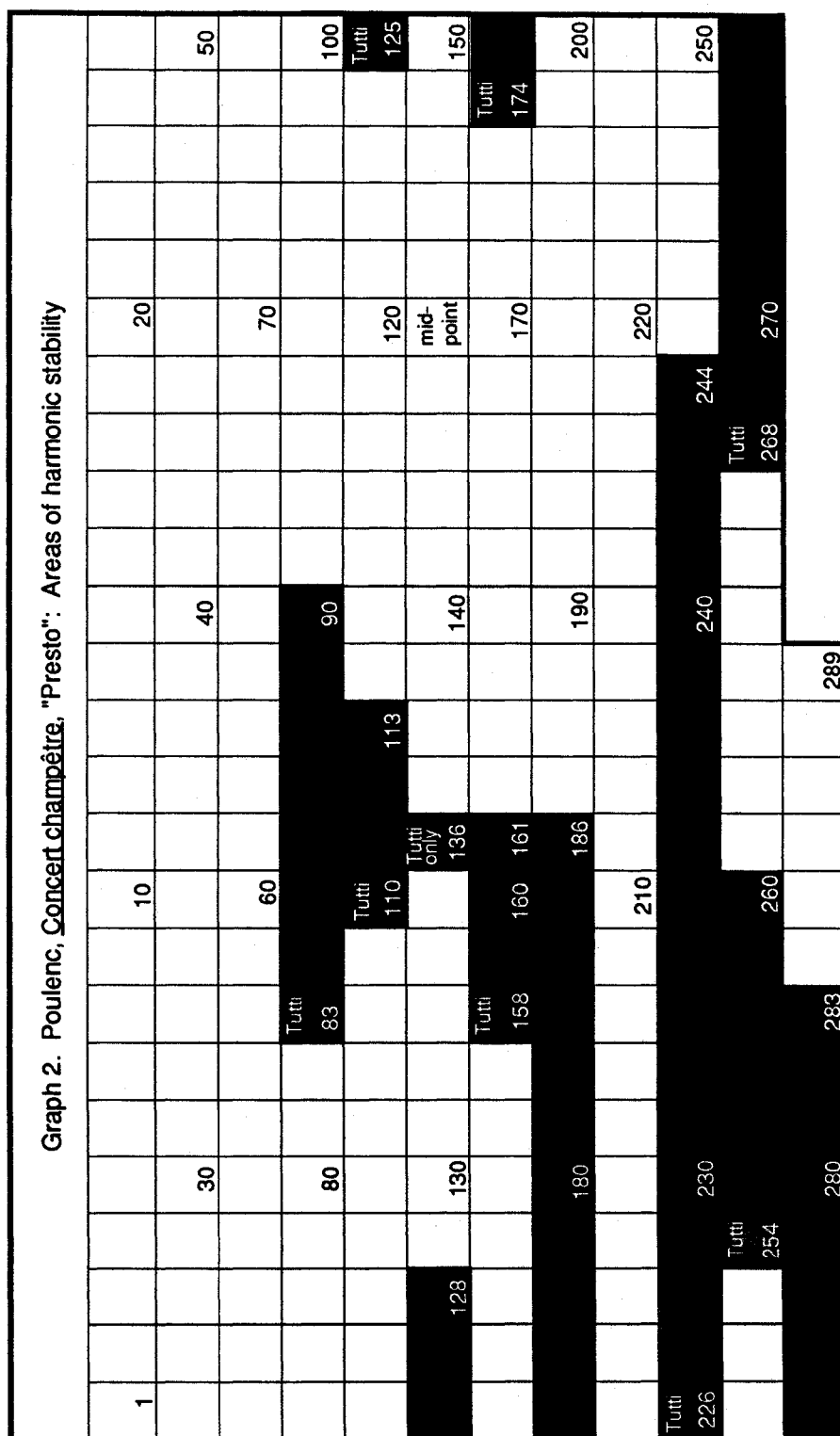
216

The musical score for Example 54, measures 216-225, is presented in three systems. The first system (measures 216-217) shows a harpsichord solo (r. 31-r. 32) and a C melody in D Major. The second system (measures 218-219) continues the harpsichord solo and the C melody. The third system (measures 220-221) shows the harpsichord solo and the C melody. The harpsichord solo is marked 'Solo' and the C melody is marked 'Clav.'.

This solo passage, as well as the next and last harpsichord solo (r. 31-r. 32) both provide contrast, harmonically and texturally, to the C melody in D Major which is predominant near the end of the "Finale." At r. 31 Poulenc shifts abruptly to a third-related key B^b Major,

the new dominant of an upcoming passage beginning at r. 33. B^b Major is decorated by means of mixed chord planing in the R.H. of the harpsichord, accompanied either by single notes or octaves in the L.H. (Refer to Example 48 on p. 192.)





CONCLUSION

No musical instrument can play a significant role in the music of any period, unless works are written for it by the composers of that period. Without this kind of attention, no matter how glorious its past, it would swiftly become a relic of that past, consigned to the dusty corridors of Time.¹

Falla's and Poulenc's harpsichord concerti were vanguard works in the breaking of new ground for the instrument. Although neither composer treated the idiom in a daring or experimental way, their use of the harpsichord within "new" or unexpected combinations of instruments and within their individual harmonic idioms was refreshing. Paving the way for future twentieth-century harpsichord works, Falla and Poulenc proved that it was possible to synthesize within one work extracts from the past--a melody, form, ornamentation, an approach to orchestration--with a new compositional system and unexpected mixtures of colors. They also discovered they could successfully combine the traditional harpsichord idiom with non-traditional treatment of other instruments.

¹Anon., "Sylvia Marlowe, harpsichordist," unpublished manuscript, quoted by permission of the Harpsichord Music Society (ca. 1968), p. 5.

For no apparent reason, two decades passed before another work for harpsichord and orchestra was composed, Frank Martin's Concerto pour clavecin et petite orchestre, 1951-52. But the activities of Wanda Landowska during the 1930s and 1940s by no means slowed down. Presumably, she remained interested in the expansion of the harpsichord repertoire. But her main effort still had to be directed toward "selling" the harpsichord and its vast sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century repertoire to the public. Due in large part to her gaining wider acceptance of the harpsichord, a whole new generation of harpsichordists, many trained by Landowska, could devote more energies to engaging composers to write new music for the instrument.

Of major significance on this front were the contributions made by the American harpsichordist Sylvia Marlowe. Having befriended composers throughout her life, from the time she was a student of Nadia Boulanger in Paris, she began in the 1940s and 1950s to acquire new works for the harpsichord from friends whose compositions she admired. Commissions from Marlowe, personally or from the Harpsichord Music Society which she founded and directed, resulted in works by distinguished composers such as Elliott Carter, Darius Milhaud, Vittorio Rieti, Ned Rorem, Ben Weber, Harold Shapero, Arthur Berger, Alexi Haieff, Henri Sauguet, Alan Hovhaness, John Lessard, and

Virgil Thomson. Fortunately, an extensive number of recordings were made. Stravinsky related to Marlowe that he was thinking of her and the harpsichord when he was writing his opera The Rake's Progress. She would have performed in the premiere at the Metropolitan, but because the harpsichord did not project in such a large hall, a pianist was engaged.

Earlier in her career, Marlowe was the first to play jazz harpsichord; she drew large audiences in elegant New York supper clubs and on the radio as a member of the "Chamber Music Society of Lower Basin Street." Also the first harpsichordist to have her own chamber music series on radio, she played over fifteen hundred concerts--"Coffee Concerts" and "Lavendar and New Lace" for NBC and "New Portraits for Old Masters" for ABC. Thus she was able to popularize the harpsichord in a way that had not been accomplished before. Matching Landowska in fortitude and pioneering spirit, Marlowe became the first harpsichordist to concertize in the Far East and Southeast Asia (1956).

A widely varied literature for the harpsichord has continued to evolve during the last thirty years, including avant-garde and sound-mass pieces, as well as those combining harpsichord and tape. Many of these pieces demand virtuosic technique and a grasp of new notation, while others are less experimental. The list of composers who have written new works for the harpsichord must include

Ligeti, Berio, Persichetti, Albright, Penn, Trimble, Martinů, Pinkham, Tcherepnin, Takemitsu, Zwilich, and Muczynski. Likewise, the circle of harpsichord builders, especially in the United States, has widened considerably during the last thirty years, and their instruments have eagerly been sought by colleges, universities, churches, and orchestras, as well as amateur and professional keyboard players.

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