

current musicology

number 22/1976

EDITOR: Richard Koprowski

ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Douglass Seaton

EDITORIAL BOARD: Thomas W. Baker, Laura DeMarco,
Laurence Dreyfus, Paul Hawkshaw,
Victoria Horn, Peter M. Lefferts,
George Stauffer, Barbara Turchin

EDITORIAL STAFF: Peter Dedel, James Bergin,
Clara Kelly, Stephan Kotrch,
Judith J. Mender, Dale E. Monson,
Mary Lise Rheault, Martin H. Rutishauser,
Lea M. Rutmanowitz, Glenn Stanley,
Douglas A. Stumpf, Linda Williams

ADJUNCT EDITORS: Nola Healy Lynch
New York University
Robert Lynch
Rena Mueller

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT: Ann Day

FACULTY ADVISOR: Edward A. Lippman

Copyright © 1977, The Trustees of
Columbia University in the City of New York
Printed in the United States

CORRESPONDING EDITORS:

Domestic

Susan Gillerman	Boston University, Boston, Mass.
Carla Pollack	Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.
Ellen Knight	Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah
Myrl Hermann	Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Harrison M. Schlee	Carnegie-Mellon University, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Kenneth Gabele	Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
Ronald T. Olexy	Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.
John Gordon Morris	City University of New York, New York, N.Y.
Sheila Podolak	City University of New York, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Jeffrey Giles	City University of New York, Hunter College, New York, N.Y.
Monica Grabie	City University of New York, Queens College, Flushing, N.Y.
Edward Duffy	Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Howard Pollack	Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
Lou Reid	Florida State University, Tallahassee, Fla.
Susan Youens	Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Robert A. Green	Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
Andrea Olmstead	Juilliard School, New York, N.Y.
William Borland	Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.
Adriaan de Vries	McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada
Laura Calzolari	Manhattan School of Music, New York, N.Y.
John T. Bryan	Memphis State University, Memphis, Tenn.
John Burkhalter	New England Conservatory, Boston, Mass.
Nola Healy Lynch	New York University, New York, N.Y.
John K. Lowell	North Texas State University, Denton, Texas
Cecilia Van de Kamp	Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Marjory Smith	Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa.
Jessie Ann Owens	Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.
Patricia Jones	Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J.
Charles Wolterink	Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.
Roger Larsson	State University of New York at Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y.
Debrah Smith	Tulane University, New Orleans, La.
Constance Keffer	University of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz.
Carol Quin	University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.
Patricia Sauerbrei	University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada
Larry Archbold	University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
Cheryl Sprague Demmel	University of California, Los Angeles, Calif.
Kathleen Stoner	University of California, Riverside, Calif.
Margaret Crouch	University of California, Santa Barbara, Calif.
Nancy Malitz	University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Amzle D. Parcell	University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
Murl Sickburt	University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.
Celia Fry	University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii
Alice M. Hanson	University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Walter Mann	University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
Martha Minor	University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
Kristine Forney	University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.
Linda W. Claus	University of Maryland, College Park, Md.
Hugh Kerr	University of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.
William Bussey	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Judith J. Warmanen	University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
James Briscoe	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.

Josephine Hart	University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.
Barbara Coeyman	University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Norman Sanger	University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Carolyn Gresham	University of Rochester, Eastman School, Rochester, N.Y.
Harold Kjellberg	University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.
Phyllis Rueb	University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
Edward Rutschman	University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
Stephen Powell	University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada
Lynn Bailey	University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Edgar J. Lewis	University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo.
Michael Fleming	Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
Frances Shepherd	Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
David O'Dette	West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va.
George Loomis	Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Foreign

László Somfai	Bartók Archives, Budapest, Hungary
Georges Franck	Brussels, Belgium
Iain Fenlon	Cambridge University, Cambridge, England
L. Gene Strasbaugh	Free University of Berlin, Berlin, Germany
Alexander Schneider	Friedrich-Wilhelms University, Bonn, Germany
Don Harrán	Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel
Ludwig Finscher	Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt, Germany
Bernd Baselt	Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg, GDR
Rudolph Angermüller	Mozarteum, Salzburg, Austria
Horst Heussner	Phillips University, Marburg, Germany
Anne-Marie Riessauw	State University of Ghent, Ghent, Belgium
A. Annegarn	State University of Utrecht, Utrecht, Holland
Paul Jeremy Hudson Booth	University College, Cardiff, Wales
John M. Jennings	University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand
Niels Martin Jensen	University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark
Susette Clausing	University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, Erlangen, Germany
Georg Borchardt	University of Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany
Anthony Ford	University of Hull, Hull, Yorkshire, England
G. R. Rastall	University of Leeds, Leeds, England
Anne-Marie Bragard	University of Liège, Liège, Belgium
Andrej Rljavec	University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia
Davitt Moroney	University of London, London, England
Ladislav Řezníček	University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway
Bojan Bujic	University of Reading, Reading, England
Wolfgang Sieber	University of Regensburg, Regensburg, Germany
Giorgio Pestelli	University of Turin, Turin, Italy
Walter Pass	University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria
Hans Conradin	University of Zurich, Zurich, Switzerland
Tadeusz Maciejewski	Warsaw, Poland

Whenever possible, communications to the corresponding editors should be addressed care of the music department of the institution in question. Otherwise, they may be sent to the Editor of *Current Musicology* for forwarding.

PUBLISHED
UNDER THE AEGIS OF

The Music Department
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
New York

contents

REPORTS

From the Domestic Corresponding

Editors:

CONSTANCE KEFFER 7 University of Arizona: Current Research by
Graduate Students

PHYLLIS K. RUEB 11 University of Texas at Austin:
Recent Events

From the Foreign Corresponding

Editors

TADEUSZ MACIEJEWSKI 14 Poland: An Appraisal of the Musicological
Work in Poland in the Post-War Years

L. GENE STRASBAUGH 21 Regensburg: The Twenty-Third Conference
of the IFMC in Retrospect

SPECIAL PROJECT

KRISTINE K. FORNEY 24 The Collegium Musicum: A Survey of
AND STAFF Thirty-Two American Universities

41 Announcement

ARTICLES

- KATHRYN BAILEY 42 Row Anomalies in Opus 33: An Insight
into Schoenberg's Understanding of the
Serial Procedure
- WILLIAM D. GUDGER 67 Handel's Last Compositions and His
Borrowings from Habermann (Part 1)
- ROBERT ORLEDGE 73 Debussy's Second English Ballet: *Le
Palais du Silence* or *No-Ja-Li*

BIBLIOGRAPHICA

- MARGARET LONG CROUCH 88 An Annotated Bibliography and Commentary
Concerning Mission Music of Alta
California from 1769 to 1834: In
Honor of the American Bicentennial
- 100 Contributors

*ROW ANOMALIES IN OPUS 33: AN INSIGHT
INTO SCHOENBERG'S UNDERSTANDING OF
THE SERIAL PROCEDURE*

Kathryn Bailey

I cannot help but think logically and if then, as I build, those well-known symptoms of musical logic show themselves—even in places where I have not consciously put them—that should surprise nobody who has any conception of what musical logic is.

Arnold Schoenberg¹

The passing of the Schoenberg centennial year and the founding of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute in Los Angeles in September 1974 should serve to mark the end of the polemics which have for over half a century surrounded Schoenberg and his music. Perhaps now it is possible to take an objective look at the way in which the twelve-tone technique was used by its author. It must be said at the outset that the quality of Schoenberg's music is in no way dependent on his use of the system. However, his historical position as the man who opened the door for a wave of the most meticulously and logically organized music the western world has experienced leads one to expect a certain consistency in his twelve-tone usage. Analysis of his music yields somewhat unexpected results.

The two piano pieces, Opus 33a and b, written in 1929 and 1932, are central to his output and are generally cited as among the best examples of Schoenberg's fully developed twelve-tone writing. Few writers go on to support this claim by any actual analysis, which is probably just as well, since those who do are led into egregious blunders in trying to account for the numerous and obvious irregularities. T. Temple Tuttle's discussion² of these pieces is a case in point. He begins unhappily by citing quite imaginary rows as the basis for both pieces³ and proceeds from error to absurdity, eventually turning to numerology (stopping just short of black magic) for explanations of altered note sequence. But even the analyst who begins with the correct row finds more "wrong" than "right" ordering in these pieces, and it is a great mistake to suppose that this is owing to a casual use or temporary rejection of the system. Indeed, in

order to do Schoenberg justice one must not dismiss these irregularities as license, for he wrote in 1934 (with specific reference to Opp. 25, 26 and 31, but obviously intended as a statement on his usage in general):

It will be observed that the succession of the tones according to their order in the set has always been strictly observed. One could perhaps tolerate a slight digression from this order . . . in the later part of a work, when the set had already become familiar to the ear. However, one would not thus digress at the beginning of a piece.⁴

As we will see presently, nearly all of these apparent lapses in the application of the technique are capable of a reasonable explanation when Schoenberg's ground rules are understood. Schoenberg's relationship with his new technique, however, exhibits very real and disturbing inconsistencies—contradictions of a much more fundamental nature than these external incongruities in note order. His use of the technique was for the most part consistent with his own understanding of it. What was faulty was his understanding.

One of the most unsettling contradictions in Schoenberg's explanation of his system has to do with repetition and the danger of tonal predominance. It was this danger which prompted him to warn against octave doubling in his *Harmonielehre* and later in the article "Composition with Twelve Tones."⁵

In the same essay he explained why he did not use multiple rows. The first reason given is difficult to credit.

Why such a set should consist of twelve different tones, why none of these tones should be repeated too soon, why, accordingly, only one set should be used in one composition—the answers to all these questions came to me gradually. . . . The use of more than one set was excluded because in every following set one or more tones would have been repeated too soon . . . there would arise the danger of interpreting the repeated tone as a tonic.⁶

He goes on to speak of the unifying effect of using only one row, but the fact remains that the reason which came first into his mind as justification for his decision against multiple rows was a logical absurdity. For, of course, as soon as any row is transposed or permuted, some tones are repeated "too soon" and the situation that he wished to avoid occurs inevitably. There were occasions, as we have just seen, when this fact eluded Schoenberg; at other times he seems to have recognized the problem. In 1923 he wrote:

. . . in only one case is the return of each tone delayed until all twelve others have occurred—that is, when the same succession of tones is

used all the time. But insofar as one does not do this, the gaps become completely irregular and there must even be times when the shortest is used: immediate repetition.⁷

And later, in 1946:

Through the necessity of using besides the basic set, its retrograde, its inversion, and its retrograde inversion, the repetition of tones will occur oftener than expected. But every tone appears always in the neighbourhood of two other tones in an unchanging combination which produces an intimate relationship most similar to the relationship of a third and a fifth to its root.⁸

It is impossible to reconcile these remarks with those cited earlier. Confusion is nothing new, however, to the reader of Schoenberg. Consider, for example, his remarkable statement that “in using Hauer’s *Tropen*, one could not even postpone the reappearance of a tone for as long as possible”!⁹

Schoenberg’s apparent confusion with respect to the effects of reordering and his occasional illogical remarks concerning precipitate repetition are significant because they indicate that he thought of the row as a series of pitches. The fact is, the system is workable only if the row is recognized as a series of intervals. Transpositions and permutations bear no consistent pitch relationship to each other; their only identity is an intervallic one.

Granting this oversight, however, if the repetition of a note before its prescribed time endangers the equality of the twelve notes—and the already-quoted passages make it amply clear that this peril was uppermost in Schoenberg’s mind—surely that equality is in jeopardy no matter what brings about the repetition. The warning against tonal emphasis, then, should prohibit not only octave doubling and the use of multiple rows, but the repetition or prolongation of single notes or portions of the row, as well. (Pedalpoints and ostinatos have for centuries been fundamental in establishing tonality.) One, then, has every reason to expect Schoenberg to avoid assiduously repetition of any kind. This, of course, was not his practice. He allowed himself the freedom to repeat any note, either before advancing to the next, or during the progress of the remainder of the row. Rufer, who may be considered Schoenberg’s spokesman, lists eight situations in which Schoenberg obviously considered repetition to be permissible.¹⁰

- (a) repetitions of single notes as a characteristic element in a musical idea.
- (b) repetition of a single note for reasons connected with instru-

mental technique or on grounds of sonority—if a note which is to be held for a fairly long time is liable to stop sounding too soon.

- (c) repetition of a single note for compositional reasons, e.g. a pedal point.
- (d) trills.
- (e) tremolos.
- (f) repetition of groups of notes in accompaniment figures.
- (g) repetitions of groups of notes [no further explanation given].
- (h) repetitions of groups of notes as an ostinato.

(f) and (g) are rationalized as being a form of (b), wherein the repeated element is a chord rather than a single note. (h) is seen as a form of (c), a melodic pedal point.

The repetition of single notes can only be understood as a liberty which was taken in spite of its obvious tendency to establish tonal predominance. However, the inclusion of categories (f), (g), and (h), which extend the license of immediate repetition of single notes to embrace the repetition of entire row segments, raises a different set of problems. When a portion of the row containing two or more notes is repeated, this results necessarily in a disruption of the intervallic series. At the point where the repetition begins, two notes which were not originally adjacent suddenly become neighbors, creating an interval which did not exist originally at that point in the row; indeed, an interval may be produced which did not exist in the row at all. This is a very important occurrence, but one which Schoenberg would be inclined to overlook if, as has already been suggested, his perception of the row was as a series of pitches. However, the most obvious result of segmental repetition is, of course, that the notes within the repeated segments are heard at least twice in very close succession, and this breaks Schoenberg's basic rule that no note should be given more emphasis than the other eleven. It is interesting that this sort of illicit repetition was initiated by Schoenberg very early and remained a characteristic feature of his style.

The closest thing we have to a rationale for this procedure is in Rufer's discussion of row subdivision. He says:

A series can be subdivided one or more times—into two groups of six notes each, three of four notes, or four of three notes. . . . Division into groups . . . makes it possible to regard these as small independent series and to treat them as such; they remain unaltered in themselves, but can change places with one another.¹¹

Although Rufer was talking about row segments exchanging places, and did not mention specifically segment repetition, it follows from his statement that "it [is] possible to regard these as small independent series and to treat them as such" that one segment, or note-group, could pre-

sumably be used several times before going on to the next. It follows also that the order in any of these segments could be reversed without necessitating the application of this process to surrounding segments.

The Opus 33 pieces are rich in a variety of types of segmental repetition. An examination of some of these provides an opportunity to see some of the situations which arise as the result of Schoenberg's attitude toward reiteration. (The following refer to the parts in both hands, unless the right-hand (r.h.) or left-hand (l.h.) part is indicated.)

Some passages contain straightforward repetitions.

33a: mm.8, 16-18, 19-20 (l.h.), 21-22 (r.h.), 25-27 (l.h.)

33b: mm.5-8 (r.h.), 32-36 (r.h.), 32-33 (l.h.), 39-40 (l.h.)

Notes are sometimes repeated concurrent with the initial statement of succeeding notes of the row.

33a: mm.35-36

33b: mm.3-4, 51¹²

Frequently a repeated segment is reversed, and in the case of a multiple repetition, the note-group is presented forward, then backward, then forward again, and so on a number of times, giving the whole passage a circular aspect.

33a: mm.14-15 (r.h.), 19-20 (r.h.), 21-22 (l.h.)

33b: mm.26-28 (l.h.), 29 (l.h.), 34-36 (l.h.), 46-49 (l.h.), 55-56 (r.h.)

In one instance the row is built gradually, the end of each hexachord being presented note by note, each new note preceded by a restatement of those notes already stated.

33b: mm.5-10 (l.h.)

In fact, once the notes of a row segment have been stated, they seem to be available for reiteration in any order before proceeding to the next portion of the row. (See Example 1, in which the first appearance of each note is circled. Note: all music examples are used by permission of Belmont Music Publishers, Los Angeles, California 90049.) This is absolutely inimical to the system as Schoenberg expressed it.

EXAMPLE 1: a) 33b, mm. 11-13

cantabile

p dolce

(1) 2 1 (3) 2 1 (6) (4) 2 1 6 (7) 8 (9) (11) (10) 8 (12) 8 11

EXAMPLE 1: b) 33b, mm. 14–16

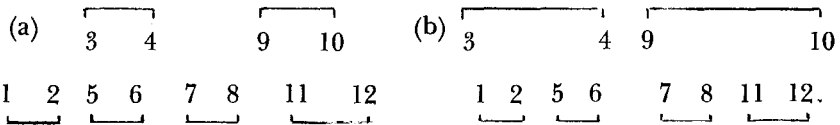
(3) (1) (2) 1 (5) 2 (4) 2 5 2 (9) 9 (7) (8) 7 (11) 8 7 (12) 8 (10) 11 8 12 7 8

The key to the apparently complicated serial structure of Schoenberg's music in this period is an understanding of the full implications of his theory of row subdivision. Segmentation manifests itself not only, as we have already seen, in repetition, or successive statements of a segment which should sound only once, but also in layering, or simultaneous statements of segments which would ordinarily sound in succession. It is necessary to comprehend this latter manifestation in order to account for the sequence of the initial appearance of the twelve notes in Example 1.

Schoenberg himself spoke of subdivision in "Composition with Twelve Tones":

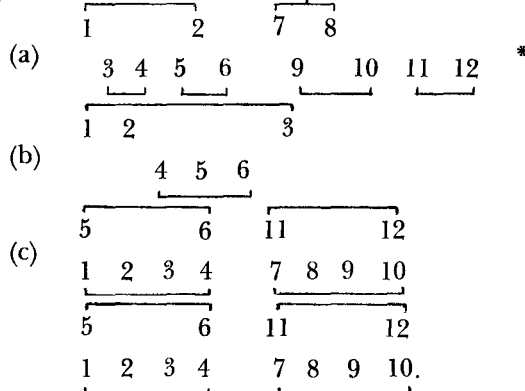
The set is often divided into groups. . . . This grouping serves primarily to provide a regularity in the distribution of the tones. The tones used in the melody are thereby separated from those to be used as accompaniment, as harmonies or as chords and voices demanded by the nature of the instrumentation, by the instrument, or by the character and other circumstances of a piece.¹³

Thus Schoenberg suggests the simultaneous use of segments of the row as independent series. The result, of course, is that while the internal ordering of the several segments remains intact and the original order of the row is therefore theoretically maintained, the actual temporal order is greatly altered, and notes which were not adjacent in the original row sound together or in succession. Theoretically, segments function as small independent rows, but the over-all effect is of continually changing twelve-tone rows, a technique which Schoenberg categorically rejected. The Opus 33 pieces abound in examples of this sort of segmental layering. In mm. 11-16 of 33b, the row has been subdivided into two-note segments and, disregarding the redundancies already noted in Example 1, the individual units are layered in the following way:



The segments are usually kept quite distinct, as they are here, by voicing. It will be seen that this is true also in the following examples. (See Example 2: a-c.)

The segmentation in these examples can be charted in the following way:

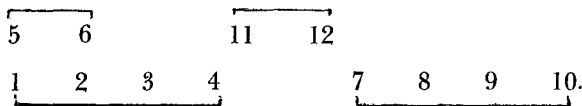


[*This particular subdivision was prepared in the opening two bars. In that appearance, however, the segmentation did not disrupt the chronology.]

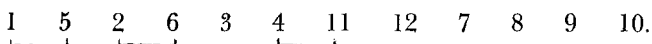
Sometimes entire segments seem to be lifted from the row and inserted intact very much earlier or later than they would normally occur, as in Example 3.

EXAMPLE 3: 33b, mm. 61-63 (r.h.)

This could be charted thus:



The parallel segmentation of the two hexachords is made clear here by voicing; nevertheless, what the ear hears is a new order:



The validity of this aural interpretation is substantiated by other instances, such as the one given in Example 4, where voices are layered but

EXAMPLE 2: a) 33b, mm. 37–38 (r.h.)

1 3 4 2 5 6 7 9 8 10 11 12

b) 33b, m. 45 (r.h.)

1 2 4 6 5 3

c) 33b, mm. 64–68

5
1 2 3 4 (1 2) (3 4) (1 2)

5 6 5 6
1 2 3 4 (1 2 3 4 1 2)

11 12
7 8 9 10 (7 8 9 10) (7)

poco rit.

11 12 11 12
7 8 9 10 (7 8 9 10 7 8 9 10)

EXAMPLE 4: 33b, mm. 21–22

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

segmentation does not occur—the order of notes in the measure following exactly the chronology of the row. In this situation, to follow individual voices—as one *must* do to make sense out of mm. 61–63 (Example 3)—leads nowhere.

As was the case with segmental repetition, the order in one or more of the layered segments is sometimes reversed, as in Example 5.

EXAMPLE 5: a) 33b, mm. 39–40 (r.h.)

1 3 4 2 6 5 7 9 8 10 12 11

1 2 7 8 3 4 6 5 9 10 12 11

b) 33b, mm. 61–63 (l.h.)

2 3 4 1 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

2 1 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

2 1 7 8 2 1 7 8 12 11

Presumably any reversal of a portion of the row, even in a purely linear statement, can be explained with some such scheme of subdivision. For example, the anomalies which occur in mm. 26-27 and 29 of Opus 33a

EXAMPLE 6: a) 33a, m. 39 (l.h.)

2 3 4 6 5 8 7
1

b) 33b, m. 27 (r.h.)

p leggiero
2 4
1 5 6
3

c) 33b, m. 45

3 2 1
3 4 6
5

2 3 4 5 3 4 2 1
1 6

d) 33b, m. 56

1 2 4 3 2 1 3 5 6
4 6

and mm. 27, 41, 45, and 56 of 33b (Example 6: a-d) can be accounted for in the following ways:

(a) $\left[\begin{array}{c} 2 \\ 1 \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{c} 3 \\ \underbrace{\quad} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 4 \\ \underbrace{\quad} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} 6 \\ 5 \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{c} 8 \\ \underbrace{\quad} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 7 \\ \underbrace{\quad} \end{array}$

(b) $\begin{array}{c} \underbrace{1 \ 2} \\ \underbrace{3 \ 4} \\ \underbrace{5 \ 6} \end{array}$

(c) $\begin{array}{c} \underbrace{3 \ 2 \ 1} \\ \underbrace{4 \ 5} \\ \underbrace{\quad \quad} \ 6 \end{array}$

(d) $\begin{array}{c} \underbrace{1 \ 2} \ \leftarrow \ \underbrace{4 \ 3} \ \leftarrow \ \underbrace{2 \ 1} \ \left[\begin{array}{c} 3 \\ 4 \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} 5 \\ 6 \end{array} \right] \end{array}$

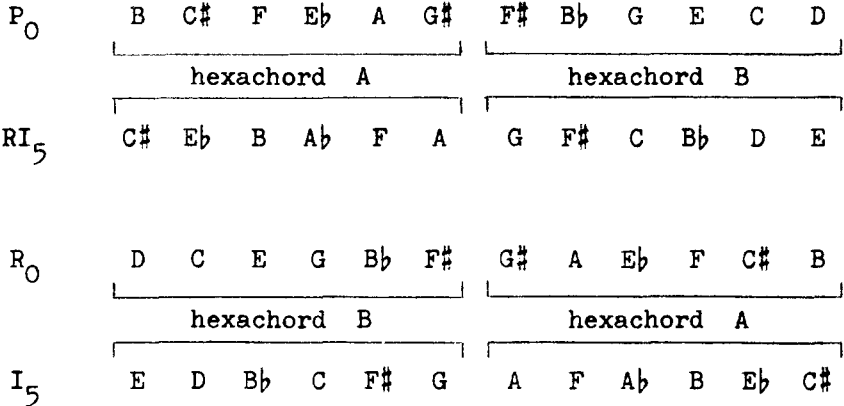
$\left[\begin{array}{c} 2 \\ 1 \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{c} 3 \\ \underbrace{\quad} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 4 \\ \underbrace{\quad} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} 5 \\ 6 \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{c} 3 \\ \leftarrow \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 4 \\ \leftarrow \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 2 \\ \leftarrow \end{array} \begin{array}{c} 1 \\ \leftarrow \end{array}$

In the preceding examples, the row has been divided into two-, three- or four-note groups. In every instance, however, it will become immediately apparent, if the examples thus far cited are re-examined, that a division into hexachords has been made at the primary structural level.

In the case of repetition, notes are only repeated within the hexachord to which they belong, i.e., as soon as 7 is sounded, notes 1-6 disappear. When layering occurs, the two hexachords are subdivided and treated similarly.

The combinatorial row was, of course, an essential part of Schoenberg's twelve-note usage, and combinatoriality is based on a hexachordal subdivision. The two Opus 33 pieces are built on rows in which P_0 and I_5 are combinatorial. With the exception of the development section of Opus 33a, both pieces are built entirely on the row-forms P_0 , R_0 , I_5 and RI_5 ; therefore, with respect to content, only two hexachords are employed, and each can be ordered in one of four ways. (See Diagram 1.)

DIAGRAM 1



Where single rows are used, there is no consistent effort to produce secondary sets: Opus 33b, for example, opens with a statement of P_0 followed by I_5 , which produces a hexachord arrangement of ABBA. Whenever two rows progress simultaneously, however, complementary hexachords are always paired. The usual pairing is P_0 with I_5 and R_0 with RI_5 ; however, within the confines of these prescribed hexachords, much

EXAMPLE 7: 33b, mm. 26-27

1 2 4
 3 5 6 12 10 7
 11 9 8

subtle shifting takes place. In the statement of P_0 shown in Example 7, the note order within the second hexachord is the reverse of that expected.

In Example 8: a-c¹⁴ two interpretations are equally valid: either the order of the content of both hexachords has been reversed, or the order of the hexachords themselves has been reversed.

EXAMPLE 8: a) 33a, mm. 21–25

or	P ₀	7	8			9	(10)	11
	R ₀	6	5			4	(3)	2

ruhiger cantabile

or	I ₅	7	9	10	11		12
	RI ₅	6	4	5	3	2	1

	12		1	2		3		4
	1		12	11		10		5
								6
								9
								8
								7

rit. - - - - - *a tempo*

	1	3		4		5	6
	12	10		9		8	7
	11						

EXAMPLE 8: b) 33b, mm. 17–18

R_0	2	8	RI_5	7	1
1	3 4	6 7	9 10 11	8	9 10 11
	5			12 2	3 5 6 4

cresc. e accel.

or I_5

5	6	12
4	4	10
3	1	8
2	11	9

c) 33b, mm. 23–24

P_0	1	2 3	5 6	8 9	11	12	RI_5	7	8	10	1	2	3	4	6
							I_5	6	5	3	10	9	7		
							or	4	2	1	12	11	8		
								7	8	10	3	4	6		

Etwas rascher

I_5	2	3	5	6	7	10	12	P_0	4	2	1	12	11	8
	1	4						6	5	3		10	9	7
							or	R_0	9	11	12	1	2	5
								7	8	10		3	4	6

It is clear that hexachords operate as separate entities in Opus 33. When they are paired vertically to form aggregates, the necessity for horizontal pairing seems to be obviated. At times, precisely the same hexachord—the order derived from the same row-form—is repeated. In the example below, this repetition is obscured by the further subdivision of each hexachord into three-note groups which exchange places texturally

in the repetitions, producing overall a twelve-note melody and its accompaniment. (See Example 9.)

EXAMPLE 9: 33b, mm. 29–31

RI	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
5	4	5	3	1	3	1	10	11	12	8	12	8
	3	6	2	12	9							

allargando

R	2	4	5	2	3	5	6	7	9	11	12	12	9	8	7
0	1	3	6	1	4	5	6	8	10	11	12	11	10	8	7

P	1	4	5	6	7	8	10	11	12
0	2	3	5	6	9	10	11	12	12

At other times, single hexachords appear, without their row complements. Such is the case in the following examples. Again, further changes in the order may result from subdivision of the hexachords themselves. (See Example 10: a and b.) There can be no doubt that all hexachords with identical pitch content are considered by Schoenberg to be interchangeable.

All of this leads one to wonder why Schoenberg ordered the notes within the hexachord in the first place. Although he seemed to be acutely aware that order was the most conspicuous characteristic of his technique, he certainly does not appear to have been comfortable with its strictures. Indeed, Opus 33 emerges as an exercise devoted to finding ways in which the internal disposition could be subtly varied. While all of the resulting aberrations can ultimately, as has been demonstrated, be rationalized through some application of row subdivision, it is probably true that any arrangement one could contrive is equally justifiable. Therefore, the whole procedure of ordering pitches seems pointless. The fact is, Schoenberg was using a system of unordered hexachords very like that devised by his arch-competitor, Josef Hauer, who cataloged the possibilities of hexachordal content but did not prescribe an internal sequence. The concept of combinatoriality, which fascinated Schoenberg and which formed such an important part of his usage, is much more obviously implied in Hauer's system than in Schoenberg's own.

EXAMPLE 10: a) 33a,¹⁵ mm. 27–28

RI ₅	P ₂	I ₆
9 10	1 3	3 4 6
7 11	2 4 5	2 4 5
8 12	3 6	1 5

R ₀	I ₇	P ₇
----------------	----------------	----------------

(continued)

b) 33b, mm. 32-36 (l.h.)

RI ₅	R ₀	I ₅
1 2 4 6	2 3 6	5
1 3 4 5	1 4	1
1 2 4 6	1 4	1

6 5 6 5 4 3 2 1 2 3 4 5 6

One encounters, then, two important contradictions upon examining the Opus 33 pieces: 1) the inability to accept the limitations imposed by (or, indeed, to see the possibilities inherent in) an ordered system, and 2) an overwhelmingly inconsistent attitude toward repetition. (His— it would seem, excessive—concern about the possible tonal predominance gained through the occasional reappearance of a single note slightly early

seems ludicrous in the context of a style which makes liberal use of pedals and repeated motives.)

Schoenberg was, of course, a man of conflict. He was already a very accomplished composer in the tonal idiom during the first decade of the century and yet twenty years later came to stand for the most radical musical movement of his time. He brought with him from his early years two opposing inclinations: the conscious desire to negate tonality and the perhaps unconscious tendency to use traditional tonal procedures. Thus, while desperately trying to avoid repetition on a somewhat abstract level, he falls into repetition of the most obvious sort; while his mind is busy contriving ever new ways of combining all twelve notes so that none will be in a position of predominance, his hands are busy writing down familiar ostinato accompaniments which unavoidably emphasize the notes involved.

It is debatable whether Schoenberg really understood the nature of the system he promulgated. And that leads inevitably to the question of whether the system was, in fact, devised by him. Similar methods of composition were undoubtedly in the minds of many people in the second decade of this century. Schoenberg and his friends discussed their common musical crisis. One cannot help wondering if the seeds of this system may have been sown by one of his associates. In 1946, Schoenberg wrote:

Ever since 1906-8, when I had started writing compositions which led to the abandonment of tonality, I had been busy finding methods to replace the structural functions of harmony. Nevertheless, my first distinct step toward this goal occurred only in 1915. I had made plans for a great symphony of which *Die Jakobsleiter* should be the last movement. I had sketched many themes, among them one for a scherzo which consisted of all the twelve tones. An historian will probably some day find in the exchange of letters between Webern and me how enthusiastic we were about this.¹⁶

Even without this reference, Webern, of course, comes to mind. He was the first person to really understand the full implications of the Schoenberg system, and his usage was taken as the point of departure by most composers who used the technique in the 1950s and 1960s. From the beginning, he interpreted the row as a series of intervals, and he adhered faithfully to the sequence given in the row, the one thing which Schoenberg seemed unwilling—or unable—to do.

Internal evidence aside, one cannot help wondering whether a man who was paranoid about his rights of authorship was not disguising the facts of the matter. As has been seen, there is evidence to support the natural assumption that Schoenberg and his close associates communicated during these years. Yet when Schoenberg speaks later of the twelve-

tone technique and its inception, there is never any indication of an exchange of ideas. The references are numerous and always in the same tone.

I have made a discovery thanks to which the supremacy of German music is ensured for the next hundred years.¹⁷

This law, which I was the first to utter and accord its true significance . . .¹⁸

The introduction of my method of composing with twelve tones . . .¹⁹

This seems to be the appropriate opportunity to tell about the way I arrived at my method.²⁰

After many unsuccessful attempts during a period of approximately twelve years, I laid the foundations for a new procedure in musical construction which seemed fitted to replace those structural differentiations provided formerly by tonal harmonies.

I called this procedure *Method of Composing with Twelve Tones Which are Related Only with One Another*.²¹

Schoenberg's frequent invective against Hauer and his system²² can probably be excused in the light of the preposterously egotistical attitude demonstrated by Hauer. But it is much more difficult to understand the necessity of a note written in 1951 about a man—six years dead—who, from all indications, was utterly loyal and always deferential:

It is known that I should not have hesitated to name Webern, had his music stimulated me to invent this expression [*Klangfarbenmelodie*]. One thing is certain: even had it been Webern's idea, he would not have told it to me. He kept secret everything "new" he had tried in his compositions. I, on the other hand, immediately and exhaustively explained to him each of my new ideas (with the exception of the method of composition with twelve tones—that I long kept secret, because, as I said to Erwin Stein, Webern immediately uses everything I do, plan or say, so that—I remember my words—"By now I haven't the slightest idea who I am.") On each of these occasions I then had the pleasure of finding him highly enthusiastic, but failed to realize that he would write music of this kind sooner than I would.²³

And surely the celebrated *Doctor Faustus* episode with Thomas Mann²⁴ (would one really need to worry about just recognition nearly 30 years after the fact?!) can only be interpreted as a sign of unabated insecurity.

Finally, it is difficult to reconcile his extreme jealousy over the authorship of the technique with the rather cavalier attitude he professed con-

cerning his use of it. One can hardly read as ingenuous such statements as this:

In the last few years I have been questioned as to whether certain of my compositions are “pure” twelve-tone, or twelve-tone at all. The fact is that I do not know. I am still more a composer than a theorist. When I compose, I try to forget all theories and I continue composing only after having freed my mind of them.²⁵

And one cannot help wondering if a lack of confidence in his usage prompted him to write:

What I feared, happened. Although I had warned my friends and pupils to consider this as a change in compositional regards, and although I gave them the advice to consider it only as a means to fortify the logic, they started counting the tones and finding out the methods with which I used the rows.²⁶

The situation is remarkable. Schoenberg was a man who had—he has told us—spent a considerable portion of his life developing and perfecting a significantly new technique of composition, a man who had then drawn his students together for the express purpose of its revelation,²⁷ a man whose writings and utterings from that day forward were thoroughly permeated with references to and arguments for this procedure. Why would such a man not welcome the curiosity of his students in trying to understand the working rules of his method through a scrutiny of his usage? Why would he try to pretend that the technique was something from which he “freed his mind” when composing? There is certainly ample evidence that his mind was not free of it at any other time! It is difficult to believe that a man who distrusted systems to this extent would have devised a method such as the twelve-tone technique. However, it is quite conceivable that the composer of significant music who had taken credit for someone else’s invention might become frustrated when he perceived that the reputation of his music was to be inexorably associated with the success of the new procedure.

It is a paradox that a man predisposed toward spontaneous expressionism as Schoenberg was should stand throughout history for a technique which relies on intricate logical and intellectual processes. Perhaps it is an accident that Schoenberg, rather than someone else, became the acknowledged “father” of this method of composition. If so, it was a secret that he guarded with the greatest jealousy.

NOTES

¹ Schoenberg, “Constructed Music” (c. 1931), *Style and Idea*, ed. Leonard Stein (London: Faber & Faber, 1975) p. 107.

² "Schoenberg's Compositions for Piano Solo," *The Music Review* 18 (1957) pp. 300-318. Opus 33a and b are discussed on pages 314-317.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 314 and 316.

⁴ "Composition with Twelve Tones (1)" (1941, published notes from earlier lectures), *Style and Idea*, p. 226.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 219-220.

⁷ "Hauer's Theories" (1923), *Style and Idea*, pp. 211-212.

⁸ "Composition with Twelve Tones (2)" (1946 or 1948), *Style and Idea*, p. 246.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

¹⁰ Josef Rufer, *Composition with Twelve Tones Related Only to One Another*, trans. Humphrey Searle (London: Rockliff, 1954) pp. 87-90.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

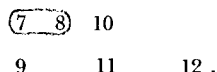
¹² An error in the printed score should be pointed out at this time. The context makes it very apparent that there should be a treble clef between the first and second notes on the lower staff in bar 50.

¹³ *Style and Idea*, p. 226. (See Rufer's interpretation of this in *Composition with Twelve Tones*, Chapter 7, p. 64.)

¹⁴ It will be noted that in Examples (b) and (c) an alteration in note order has occurred in RI₅: In Example (b), 7 and 8 have exchanged places, as have 1 and 2. This could be explained by the following scheme of subdivision:



The upper part of the second measure of Example (c) can only be represented in the following way. This is an example of carefully layered voices which do not match the segmentation of the row.



¹⁵ These single hexachords are used in the manner of a modulating sequence leading into a development. They usher in the only section of the work which uses transpositions other than 0 and 5.

¹⁶ "Composition with Twelve Tones (2)", *Style and Idea*, p. 247.

¹⁷ Willi Reich, *Schoenberg: A Critical Biography*, trans. Leo Black (New York: Praeger, 1971) p. 130.

¹⁸ "Twelve-Tone Composition" (1923), *Style and Idea*, p. 207.

¹⁹ "Composition with Twelve Tones (1)", *Style and Idea*, p. 223.

²⁰ "Composition with Twelve Tones (2)", *Style and Idea*, p. 247.

²¹ "Composition with Twelve Tones (1)", *Style and Idea*, p. 218.

²² See particularly the material entitled "Hauer's Theories" (1923) in *Style and Idea*, pp. 209-213.

²³ "Anton Webern: Klangfarbenmelodie" (1951), *Style and Idea*, pp. 484-485.

²⁴ See the postscript to Thomas Mann's *Doktor Faustus* [trans. H. T. Lowe-Porter (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948)], added "at Schoenberg's request". Mann described his own feelings about the matter in *The Story of a Novel* [trans. Richard and Clara Winston from the German edition of 1949 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961)], p. 36.

²⁵ "My Evolution" (1949), *Style and Idea*, pp. 91-92.

²⁶ "Schoenberg's Tone-Rows" (1936), *Style and Idea*, p. 214.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

HANDEL'S LAST COMPOSITIONS AND HIS BORROWINGS FROM HABERMANN (Part 1)

William D. Gudger

[*Editorial Note:* This is the first of a two-part article. The second installment, dealing with *Jephtha*, will appear in the next issue.]

The report in the London *General Advertiser* on 17 August 1752, that “George Frederick Handel, Esq; the celebrated Composer of Musick was seized a few Days ago with a Paralytick Disorder in his Head, which has deprived him of Sight,”¹ signaled the end of the composer’s creative period. After his blindness was complete, certainly by the spring of 1753, Handel continued to produce concerts, for which he dictated some revisions² and in *pasticcio* fashion compiled the “last” oratorio, *The Triumph of Time and Truth* (1757).³ Consequently, Handel’s last works were composed in 1751, the year in which his sight first began to fail. Two works were written that year; the first was the composer’s last organ concerto, in B \flat major, which was published posthumously as Opus 7 no. 3.⁴ As dated in the autograph manuscript,⁵ it was written between New Year’s Day and the 4th of January. The oratorio *Jephtha*⁶ was, of course, the composer’s last masterpiece. Notes mainly in German found in the autograph, of which certain pages have often been reproduced in facsimile,⁷ chronicle the composition of this work. Handel began writing out the main lines of the score on 21 January, stopping on 13 February “owing to weakening of [his] left eye.” At this point he had reached the end of the first section of the chorus which ends Act 2, “How dark, O Lord”; this chorus will be discussed in detail in part 2 of this article. Handel was able to resume from the 23rd to the 27th of the same month, but then he ceased work on the oratorio for several weeks during which he completed a season of performances at Covent Garden and visited the waters at Bath.⁸ Resuming on 18 June, he continued the work by sketching Act 3; slowly, for him, he finished this and filled in the scoring of the entire work by 30 August. As Winton Dean observes, “at the end [of the manuscript], perhaps with a touch of justifiable pride, Handel added his age, ‘aetatis 66.’”⁹

The Organ Concerto and *Jephtha* are examples of the two sorts of compositions which had almost exclusively occupied Handel’s attention since the late 1730s—the instrumental concerto and the English oratorio. Not only do these two works share honors as Handel’s last compositions,

but interestingly they borrow musical material from a common source: the set of six masses published as Opus 1¹⁰ by the Bohemian composer Franz Johann (or Frantisek Václav) Habermann (1706-1783).¹¹ A study of Handel's use of Habermann's themes—including some previously unidentified borrowings—can, with further reference to surviving sketches and rejected first drafts, reveal interesting facets of the composer's approach to the concerto principle and the fugal chorus at the end of his career.

William Crotch (1775-1847) was the first to draw attention to Handel's borrowings from Habermann. Crotch's identifications were given in footnotes in the organ arrangements of choruses from *Jephtha* which he published,¹² and the source of his knowledge was likely a manuscript score of five of Habermann's masses which belonged to Thomas Greatorex (1758-1831), organist at Westminster Abbey. The Greatorex score eventually passed into the hands of Friedrich Chrysander.¹³ Chrysander's death prevented him from issuing the Habermann masses in the series of supplements to his complete edition of Handel's works.¹⁴ Though Max Seiffert partially completed Chrysander's edition, he did not publish the entire set of masses, but rather in 1903 he wrote an article on Habermann in which nine excerpts were quoted.¹⁵ Seiffert had access both to the Greatorex/Chrysander manuscript and a complete set of the nine printed part-books in the Archives of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna. The borrowings identified by Seiffert include the eight most obvious instances in *Jephtha* and the theme of the second movement of the Organ Concerto. Sedley Taylor presented some of these excerpts from Habermann in parallel with Handel's reworkings in his book *The Indebtedness of Handel to Works by Other Composers*.¹⁶ Taylor was also able to quote the exact way in which Handel copied some of the Habermann movements from the miscellaneous fragments, sketches, and the like in the fifteen manuscript volumes in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. Of more recent Handel scholars only Winton Dean¹⁷ has uncovered borrowings not given by Seiffert; Dean was able to identify a couple of additional borrowings from a manuscript score of two of Habermann's masses in his private collection.

Transcription of the entire set of six masses by Habermann¹⁸ reveals eight, and possibly as many as a dozen, further instances in which Handel borrowed from Habermann. Both movements one and two of the B \flat major Organ Concerto began as expansions of motives from Habermann, and the revision of the first movement may have been influenced by the Bohemian composer.¹⁹ In surveying *Jephtha* it is apparent that about three-quarters of the fugal sections in the choruses use themes based on Habermann, besides a number of other borrowings in arias and choruses which Seiffert has identified.

As already stated, the composition of the Organ Concerto, Opus 7 no. 3, occupied the first four days of 1751.²⁰ Handel wrote one version of the first movement which commences with a motive from Habermann (hereafter called Version A) and immediately revised it²¹ into the version (Version B) which became part of the concerto as performed by the composer. After an extensive second movement (*Allegro*), a simple *Menuet* rounds out the concerto. At the end of the *Menuet* Handel wrote *Fine* and the date.²² As is often the case in the organ concertos of the 1740s, a solo organ improvisation after the first movement (here *adagio e fuga ad libitum*) provides an additional movement in performance. The concerto was first performed with the ode *Alexander's Feast* (text by Dryden) and the *Choice of Hercules* on 1 March 1751. An extant libretto for the occasion shows that the Organ Concerto was played after Part 2 of *Alexander's Feast*.²³ In this position, like the Concerto in G major, Opus 4 no. 1, and the Concerto in A major, no. 2 of *A Second Set of Concertos*, the B \flat major Concerto was probably intended to be an aural representation of St. Cecilia's organ playing as mentioned in Dryden's ode.²⁴ It is fitting that Handel's last instrumental composition²⁵ is by implication dedicated to the patron saint of music, who "drew an angel down" with her playing. The Concerto in G minor, Opus 7 no. 5,²⁶ and the B \flat major concerto are the only multi-movement organ concertos Handel completed after 1742; the latter is the most skillfully written concerto since the completion of the two organ concertos of the *Second Set* in 1739.

Version A of the first movement (86 measures in length, no tempo indication)²⁷ and Version B (93 measures, *Andante*)²⁸ share a great deal of material, including the borrowing from Habermann. The *Benedictus* of Habermann's Mass V is scored for solo organ and tenor. (See Example 1.) The unison opening of the first version is based on the organ ritornello of the Habermann movement.²⁹ This theme ("a") is briefly extended and then a new motive ("b") is introduced, whose bass is an augmentation of the descending sixteenth-notes in the first measure. (See Example 2.) In the Fitzwilliam manuscripts³⁰ a sketch for motive "b" is found on a sheet which contains several short sketches and themes. (See Example 3.) The sketch lacks both the dotted rhythm and the specific reference to the descending tetrachord just mentioned. Like many jottings related to Handel's last fifteen years of compositional activity, this "sketch" was probably an idea written down by the composer for future reference. Such ideas were capable of elaboration as ritornellos for vocal or instrumental works;³¹ this sketch may have lain dormant for months or years before Handel recovered it for use in the concerto.

The opening theme ("c") of the first organ solo is unrelated to the *tutti* themes, but its harmony is similar to the harmony implied by the opening unison theme. (See Example 4.) After this thematic opening,

EXAMPLE 1: Habermann, Mass V, *Benedictus*, mm. 1–3

[Tenore] solo

Organo solo

Be-ne-di-ctus qui ve-nit [etc.]

EXAMPLE 2: Handel, Op. 7 no. 3, 1st mvt., version A, mm. 1–6

[no tempo indication]

a

[Tutti]

b

p

[etc.]

→ [reduction of bass, mm. 4b–6a]

EXAMPLE 3: Handel Sketch, Fitzwilliam Ms. 30.H.13, p. 76, line 1

the solo organ passage is extended by the usual devices found in Handel's other concertos—sequence and repetition. The mixture of sixteenth-notes and sixteenth-note triplets found here is not unlike the rhythmic variety found in many *galant* keyboard sonatas. After the modulation to the dominant, the passage-work does not lead directly into the *tutti* but introduces motive “b” from the opening ritornello, which is, in turn, repeated by the orchestra, as seen in Example 5.

EXAMPLE 4: Handel, Op. 7 no. 3, 1st mvnt., version A, mm. 9–11






EXAMPLE 4: Handel, Op. 7 no. 3, 1st mvnt., version A, mm. 9–11. The score shows the Organ and Bass parts. The Organ part is marked with a *c* (crescendo) and includes triplets and sixteenth-note runs. The Bass part is figured bass, with figures: I, vi, ii6, V(6), I(6), ii6, V, I. The Organ part ends with *[etc.]*.

EXAMPLE 5: Handel, Op. 7 no. 3, 1st mvnt., version A, mm. 18–23

EXAMPLE 5: Handel, Op. 7 no. 3, 1st mvnt., version A, mm. 18–23. The score shows the Organ and Bass parts in three systems. The Organ part is marked with a *b* (basso continuo) and includes triplets and sixteenth-note runs. The Bass part is figured bass. The Organ part includes *[Orch.]* and *p* (piano) markings. The Organ part ends with *[etc.]*.

It will be convenient at this point to begin a comparison of the two versions of this opening movement. The general harmonic plan in both versions is the same. As shown in Diagram 1, the *tutti* ritornellos confirm the key which is reached during the previous solo. (A wavy line represents a modulatory, tonally unstable area.) The solo entrance S3 represents an exception—it begins directly in the new key and contains contrasting material built out of an extended modified version of theme

DIAGRAM I

Section	T1	S1	T2	S2	T3	S3	T4	S4	T5	S5	T6
B-flat	I	 V		 I		vi  iii  vi					 I
Version A m.	1	9	21	23	34	39	56	60	70	72	83
Version B m.	1	10	22	26	38	44	60	63	73	75	88

“a” (the Habermann borrowing). In this section the strings of the orchestra accompany the organ, whose solo passages S1 and S2 had been entirely without orchestral participation. The definite structural break between T3 and S3 and the key areas which follow (submediant and mediant) suggest, as in other Baroque concertos, an analogy with the procedure in the *da capo* aria where S3 begins the contrasting B-part. Unlike the aria, however, a clear return to the A-part never occurs, this section simply eliding into the remainder of the movement. The opening ritornello theme (“a”) recurs in the tonic only in the final *tutti*.

The key scheme of Version A is retained in the revision, and Handel tightens the musical structure by suggesting a double exposition of themes. Version A has two *tutti* motives (“a” and “b” in Example 2) and the *sol*i begin with motive “c” (Example 4), which has been shown to be a harmonic derivative of “a.” In Version B, “a” and “b” are retained, and two new motives are introduced. The first, to be labelled “x”, is used as the head-motive of the first *tutti* and the first, second, and fourth *sol*i; the rhythm may have been suggested by the rhythm of “c” in Version A. (See Example 6.) The second new motive, “y”, is inserted in the first *tutti* between successive presentations of motive “b” (mm. 5-6 and 8-9), seen in Example 7. The two new motives bear some resemblance to two motives from the beginning of the *Quoniam* of Habermann’s Mass II (given in Example 8), but in the absence of further evidence—such as a sketch developing the borrowed material—no definite relation can be proven.

The opening ritornello of Version A consisted of a, a’, b, b (repeated *piano*); Version B begins x, x, a (altered), b, y, b. The theme borrowed from Habermann (“a”) is extended in typical Baroque fashion in the first version, while in the later version it is altered to stop abruptly on the dominant (m. 4). Like the first movement of the organ concerto preceding this one (Opus 7 no. 5, G minor), Version B tends to use short motives set off squarely by rests. The treatment is more successful than the opening movement of Opus 7 no. 5, where even the *sol*i are built from two-measure blocks.³²

The phrase structure is not the only progressive tendency of this concerto; the use of “x” to begin both the first ritornello and the first organ

EXAMPLE 6: Handel, Op. 7 no. 3, 1st mvt., version B, mm. 1-2

EXAMPLE 7: Handel, Op. 7 no. 3, 1st mvt., version B, m. 7

EXAMPLE 8: Habermann, Mass II, Quoniam, mm. 1-4

solo creates an effect not unlike the “double exposition” of a Classical concerto. The *tutti* remains in the tonic, whereas the solo effects the modulation to the dominant. The passage-work which follows the statement of “x” is, however, taken over almost literally from the first to the second version (Version A, mm. 10-15 = Version B, mm. 12-17). Replacing the rest of the first solo from Version A is material based on motive “y”, which serves as it does in the ritornello to make a connection to motive “b”. (See measures 18-19.)

The opening of the contrasting section in the submediant is expanded in Version B to include antiphonal play between the organ and a woodwind trio. (See Example 9.) The sequential passage-work which follows is improved in the second version. The left hand follows the right canonically at the distance of one quarter-note. In Version A the organ part

EXAMPLE 9: a) Handel, Op. 7 no. 3, version A, mm. 39–41

b) version B, mm. 44–46

had constant sixteenth-notes for nine and one-half measures (mm. 41-50); Handel creates more interest in Version B by assigning parts of the sequence to the strings (mm. 49-51).

When the tonic is reached, three measures serve to summarize the movement, a sort of recapitulation of ideas (Version A, mm. 78-80 = Version B, mm. 81-83). Motives "a" and "b" and one measure of the sequential passage-work from the submediant solo are put in close proximity. In Version A this is followed by a complete statement of "b" and a final *tutti* based on "a", with an interesting addition of A_b in the second measure of the theme. Version B works a more effective close by antiphonal statements between the organ and orchestra of "y" and "b", after which the forces combine for the final *tutti*.

As has been known since Seiffert's discussion of the Habermann borrowings, the *Osanna* of Mass III³³ is the source of the first thirteen measures of the opening ritornello of the second movement. Handel scored the fugal *Osanna* in its entirety (39 measures),³⁴ but he used only the

first three entries (subject, answer, subject) in the ritornello of the concerto. The remaining measures of the ritornello abandon the quasi-fugal texture; the composer writes an extension based on motives already presented. Measure 15 is an inversion of the figures in measure 3, and measure 16 is based on the second bar of the fugue subject. (See Example 10.)

EXAMPLE 10: Handel, Op. 7 no. 3, 2nd mvt., motives from mm. 15, 3, 16, and 2



Like the first movement of this concerto, a structural division is delineated by a similar excursion without modulation to the submediant (mm. 108ff.). Also as in the first movement, the orchestral scoring heightens the contrasting sound of the minor key, but the material is, of course, a further development of motives from the first ritornello. Pianissimo strings provide a chordal background for the figuration of the organ solo (mm. 118ff.), and after a cadence on the mediant degree (m. 140), a half-cadence sets up the return of the original theme. Like Handel's other movements with a ritornello in fugal texture, for example, the second movement of Opus 7 no. 2,³⁵ no return is ever made to fugal imitation. Most of the ritornellos combine the motives contrapuntally with emphasis on the outer voices of the orchestral texture.

Handel's careful and unfailing craftsmanship in his old age is clearly demonstrated in the discussion of these two movements of the Organ Concerto. He takes themes from Habermann as points of departure in both cases and creates a keyboard concerto in which the organ and orchestra are on equal footing in their dialogue. In particular, the reworking of the first movement is proof of the composer's adoption of certain newer tendencies in style.

NOTES

¹ Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1954) p. 726. The dates cited in this article are Old Style; see Deutsch, p. 30.

² Hans Dieter Clausen, *Händels Direktionspartituren ("Handexemplaren")*, Hamburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 7 (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikhandlung Karl Dieter Wagner, 1972) pp. 25-26.

³ About the compilation of this work, see Winton Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959) p. 589. The score may be found in volume 20 of *Georg Friedrich Händels Werke. Ausgabe der Deutschen Händelgesellschaft*, Friedrich Chrysander et al., eds. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel,

1858-1864; Bergdorf: Stich und Druck der Gesellschaft, 1864-1902) [hereafter cited as HG].

⁴ HG 28, pp. 102-114.

⁵ See below, note 20.

⁶ HG 44.

⁷ The entire autograph (London, British Museum, R. M. 20.e.9) was issued in facsimile by Chrysander, *Das Autograph des Oratoriums "Jephtha" von G. F. Händel* (Hamburg: Von Strumper & Co. for the Händelgesellschaft, 1885; reprint, Celle: Chrysander Verlag in Hermann Moeck Verlag [1959]). Handel's two notes concerning the condition of his left eye, written on 13 and 23 February 1751, are given in Deutsch, p. 701 and p. 702; they are found on f. 91' and f. 92 of the autograph. Both pages have been reproduced in the following: Newman Flower, *George Frideric Handel: His Personality and His Times* (London: Cassell & Co., 1923) plate facing p. 320; *Ibid.*, 2nd ed. (1947) and 3rd ed. (1959) p. 341; *Ibid.*, 3rd ed. [paperback] (London: Panther Books, 1972) p. 320; and Joseph Müller-Blattau, *Georg Friedrich Händel* (Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion M. B. H., 1933) Tafel VII B, between p. 96 and p. 97. Folio 91' only is reproduced in the following: Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Autographs from Monteverdi to Hindemith* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1965) vol. 2, plate 42; *British Museum. Henry Purcell, 1659(?) - 1695. George Frideric Handel, 1685-1759. Catalogue of a Commemorative Exhibition May-August 1959* (London: Published by the Trustees, 1959) third plate between p. 40 and p. 41, illustrating item No. 164; Walter Gerstenberg, *Musiker Handschriften von Palestrina bis Beethoven* (Zurich: Atlantic Verlag, 1960) plate 45; Paul Henry Lang, *George Frideric Handel* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1966) plate XV, between p. 334 and p. 335; A. Hyatt King, *Handel and His Autographs* (London: Published by the Trustees of the British Museum, 1967) plate IX; and Stanley Sadie, *Handel* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1969) p. 87.

⁸ Deutsch, pp. 702-710 passim.

⁹ Dean, p. 617.

¹⁰ *Philomela pia, melos suum sexies repetens: sive missae sex . . . Opus I* (Gralitz [Kraslice]: Typis Philippi Josephi Sädlerii, 1747). For more information concerning this publication, see the preface to my edition of Mass I, *Franz Johann Habermann, Missa Sancti Wenceslai, Martyris*. Yale University: Collegium Musicum Series 2, Vol. 6 (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 1976).

¹¹ Concerning Habermann, see Max Seiffert, "Franz Johann Habermann (1706-1783)," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 18 (1903) pp. 81-94; Gracian Cernusák in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (5th ed., New York: St. Martin's Press, 1954) vol. 4, p. 8; and Karl Michael Komma in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 5 (1958) cols. 1195-1197. The basic source for biographical information is apparently Gottfried Johann Dlbacz, *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexicon für Böhmen . . .* (Prague: Gedruckt bei Gottlieb Haase, 1815) vol. 1, cols. 533-535.

¹² See J. S. Shedlock, "Handel and Habermann," *The Musical Times* 45 (1904) pp. 805-806.

¹³ Seiffert, p. 83, note 2. The present whereabouts of this manuscript is unknown to me.

¹⁴ *Supplemente, enthaltend Quellen zu Händel's Werken*. 6 vols. (Leipzig: Deutsche Händelgesellschaft, 1888-1902).

¹⁵ Cited in note 11.

¹⁶ (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1906; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1971) pp. 15-27.

¹⁷ *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, p. 612.

¹⁸ From the microfilm kindly supplied to the Yale Music Library by the Archives of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna.

¹⁹ The discussion of the Organ Concerto in B \flat is a corrected and rewritten version of a portion of my Yale University Ph.D. dissertation, *The Organ Concertos of G. F. Handel: A Study Based on the Primary Sources* (1973) vol. 1, pp. 272-286.

²⁰ The autograph of the entire concerto, with the later version of the first movement, is in R. M. 20.g.12, f. 53-62. It is headed "angefangen January 1. 1751" and closes "Fine. G. F. Handel January 4. 1751 / geendiget." A fragment of the first version of the first movement is in R. M. 20.g.14, f. 46-48', headed "angefangen Jan: 1. 1751 [followed by the astrological sign for Tuesday]." The leaf which completes this fragment is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Ms. 30.H.14, pp. 15-16. See William Barclay Squire, *British Museum. Catalogue of the King's Music Library. Part I. The Handel Manuscripts* (London: Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1927) p. 43 and p. 46; and J. A. Fuller-Maitland and A. H. Mann, *Catalogue of Music in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1893) p. 220. The numerals in the dates just quoted are difficult to read; at the beginnings of the two versions of the first movement Handel appears to have written "1750" and altered the last digit. (In the later version, the day of the month also appears altered.) However, the clarity of the final notation of the autograph and the reference to 1 January 1751 as Tuesday leave no doubt as to the date of composition. Chrysander left confusion about the dates—in his biography (*G. F. Händel* [2nd ed., Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1919] vol. 3, p. 161) he gives 1741 as the initial date and 1751 as the final, whereas in some issues of the preface to *HG* 28, 1757 (a printer's error?) is cited as the date of completion. The latter is apparently the source of the error in Lang, p. 655. For a discussion of a fragmentary version of the first and second movements in the hand of J. C. Smith, Jr., see Gudger, vol. 1, pp. 75-76; the score of this is in vol. 2, pp. 184-193.

²¹ On the last page of Version A (Fitzwilliam Ms. 30.H.14, p. 16) were left five blank staves, on which Handel later jotted down fragments of the words and music of two German chorales; see Fuller-Maitland and Mann, p. 220, and Gudger, vol. 2, pp. 92-93. If the composition of the second movement had immediately followed the completion of Version A, Handel, rarely one to waste space, would have entered the opening measures in the blank staves. It follows that the most likely order of composition is Version A of the first movement, Version B of the same movement, then movement 2, and, lastly, movement 3.

²² Chrysander's "Menuet A" (*HG* 28, p. 113) was the original close of the concerto. When the work was published posthumously as Opus 7 no. 3 (London: John Walsh, 1761), another Menuet, without solo organ, was substituted (*HG* 28, p. 114, "Menuet B"). The single leaf containing the autograph of this movement was eventually bound with the rest of the concerto as f. 61 of R. M. 20.g.12. Whether the substitution was made by Handel cannot be determined. J. C. Smith, Jr., was likely the person responsible for the differences between Opus 7 as published and Handel's autographs; see Gudger, vol. 1, pp. 86-91.

²³ (London: J. & R. Tonson & S. Draper, 1751) p. 13: "A new Concerto on the Organ." A copy of this libretto may be found in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Ij. D848.697e. Roger Fiske ("Handel's Organ Concertos—Do They Belong to Particular Oratorios?" *Organ Yearbook* 3 [1972] p. 15) incorrectly assigns the B \flat concerto to the 1751 revival of *Belshazzar*, which he evidently considers the first performance of that oratorio. Actually, most of the completed concertos can be assigned to specific oratorios, and for these performances advertisements in the London newspapers usually mentioned "a new Concerto on the Organ." See Gudger, *passim*.

²⁴ See Gudger, vol. 1, pp. 137-138, 156-157; music in *HG* 28, pp. 3-21, and 48, pp. 14-28.

²⁵ As Dean mentions, p. 589, the overture to *The Triumph of Time and Truth* surely is not new; for *Jephtha* only a new Menuet was composed to complete the overture, which was borrowed from the discarded incidental music to Smollett's *Alceste* (composed in 1750). (The Menuet from this overture had, in the meantime, been used as the close to the Organ Concerto, Opus 7 no. 5.)

²⁶ *HG* 28, pp. 126-132. In Handel's autograph the Concerto closes with the third movement, the *Menuet* mentioned in note 25.

²⁷ Unpublished; edited in Gudger, vol. 2, pp. 166-183.

²⁸ Not *Allegro*, as in *HG* (which reflects the readings of the published version).

²⁹ Though Habermann is undoubtedly the source for Handel's theme, a number of similar themes could be found in compositions by other 18th-century composers. See, for instance, Antonio Vivaldi, *Opere*, ed. G. F. Malipiero et al. (Milan: Edizioni Ricordi, 1947 to date) Tomo 218, pp. 44-45. In the third movement of this Concerto in C major (Fanna XII, No. 37; Pincherle No. 16), the final theme of the opening ritornello (mm. 33-37) is a unison theme very similar to Habermann's *Benedictus*. However, the chance that either Handel or Habermann knew this work is unlikely, since the Concerto remained unpublished until 1960. Another similar theme, but in the minor mode, occurs twice in the works of Handel: in *Acis and Galatea* (*HG* 3, p. 97) and *Jephtha* (*HG* 44, p. 166) at the end of the ensemble "O spare your daughter!" It is impossible to determine whether Handel was consciously quoting *Acis* in *Jephtha*. Having used Habermann's similar theme in the Organ Concerto, he may have been reminded of the earlier theme while he was culling ideas for *Jephtha* from Habermann's masses.

³⁰ Ms. 30.H.13, p. 76, line 1. This sketch was not identified in my dissertation.

³¹ For other examples related to the organ concertos, see Gudger, vol. 1, pp. 174-176, 180, 194-196. See also Dean, *passim*, for examples from the oratorios. Some such jottings were based on borrowings from other composers.

³² See Gudger, vol. 1, pp. 266-269.

³³ Complete score in Gudger, vol. 2, pp. 251-263.

³⁴ Fitzwilliam Ms. 30.H.12, pp. 51-53; cf. nos. 10 and 11 in the appendix to the second part of this article.

³⁵ *HG* 28, pp. 91-97.

DEBUSSY'S SECOND ENGLISH BALLET: 'LE PALAIS DU SILENCE' OR 'NO-JA-LI'

Robert Orledge

Few people can be aware that Debussy wrote one English ballet; fewer still that he wrote two, and that both were intended for what amounted to a music-hall setting. Both were concerned with exotic subjects and suffered checkered careers, changing their titles during the course of these. The first and better known, *Khamma*, written unwillingly for the Canadian dancer Maud Allan in 1911-12, began life as *Isis*, its original contract of 30 September 1910 giving Allan the right to perform it "in a single music-hall", the Palace Theatre in Shaftesbury Avenue, London WC 2.¹ Although he made no concessions to popular taste in his score, Debussy described *Khamma* rather flippantly on the cover of the French scenario he made² as a "Ballet pantomime in three scenes". For various reasons it was never performed as a ballet in England and received both its orchestral première (15 November 1924) and its ballet première (26 March 1947) in Paris.³ Considering the problems posed by the globe-trotting and awkward Miss Allan, it is surprising that Debussy ever completed the score at all, even with the prospect of financial gain.

For *Le Palais du Silence* of 1913-14 on the other hand, Debussy had a ready-made scenario in French by Georges de Feure and an eager producer in André Charlot, who had taken over from Alfred Moul as co-manager of the popular Alhambra Theatre in Leicester Square in 1912. The Alhambra had begun life as a popular museum: the Royal Panopticon of Science and Art. Despite a Royal Charter from Queen Victoria in 1850 it failed, and was bought by E. T. Smith and renamed the Alhambra Palace. After a short period as a circus, it first incorporated ballet into its programs in December 1860, and this aspect became increasingly popular under the proprietorship of the showman and entrepreneur Frederick Strange (1864-72). The Alhambra and its nearby Leicester Square rival, the Empire (founded 1887), together rescued ballet from neglect and the exclusivity of the opera house, and brought it, in a spectacular manner and with legendary stage effects, to the general public in a free and easy music-hall atmosphere.⁴ A new period of artistic growth at the Alhambra in the first decade of the 20th century under ballet-master Alfredo Curti was unfortunately cut short by the arrival in London of the epoch-making Diaghilev ballet in June 1911. Despite heavy competition from the Alhambra and elsewhere, it was Beecham who finally secured their services

for Covent Garden and made a change of policy at the Alhambra inevitable.

Between 1912 and the halcyon period of the 1920s, André Charlot, with George Grossmith as his new "advisory director of productions," instituted a series of extravagant and flexible popular revues such as *8d. à Mile*,⁵ most of which featured costumes by the then avant-garde couturier Paul Poiret, who had revolutionized and simplified female fashion in the previous decade. Charlot's opening production in June 1912 had been *The Guide to Paris*, a modernized version of Offenbach's *La Vie parisienne*, and most of his subsequent revues contained French items. It was therefore natural that Charlot should look to Paris for a new ballet sequence to end the first half of his revue *Not Likely!* which was due to open on 4 May 1914. The unusual factor was that Debussy should ever have been involved in composing music for this, as most of Charlot's revues used individual numbers of the popular song type, or tailor-made arrangements of recent "classics" in the longer ballet sequences.⁶ Perhaps Charlot was a friend of Debussy's publisher Jacques Durand or, more probably, the whole ballet was the brain-child of de Feure himself, who needed a means of gaining access to Charlot's revues, and who in fact worked with Charlot increasingly after *Not Likely!* but is nowhere mentioned in the programs of any of his previous revues.

Georges de Feure (1868-1928), a Parisian of mixed Belgian and Dutch origin, was first and foremost an illustrator and theatrical designer of sets and costumes. He began to establish a reputation in the 1890s in the applied arts, being influenced by Puvis de Chavannes and the Munich Secessionists, but is best known for his art nouveau designs around the turn of the century, which owe a great deal to Beardsley in their slightly sinister, elongated figures. His later work included porcelain for Gérard in Limoges, and decorative water-colors of subjects like the dancer Loïe Fuller. In 1913, however, his manifold talents were diverted towards a one-act ballet scenario with a prelude and eight continuous scenes entitled *Le Palais du Silence*. This was set in ancient China on the island of Formosa.⁷

The page marked "prelude" contains an emotive, poetic summary of the Formosan status quo, presumably to be read aloud over an orchestral introduction. The poetry is remarkable for the controlled length of its lines, forming an elaborate visual design. The main character is Prince Hong-Lo who loves the young captive princess No-ja-li. Unfortunately Hong-Lo was born dumb, and to avenge his cruel fate imposes a decree of silence throughout his domain, with special guards (whom we meet in his palace in scene 1) to enforce this. The penalty for speech is death. Scene 2 introduces little No-ja-li, followed by the old man who carries her dolls. She is naturally very upset at being divorced from the joys of

life and conversation, and in scene 3 we meet Hong-Lo himself, with his Malayan jester Malang-Malang who mimics the tragedies of life with a series of traditional masks and gestures. Scene 4 shows No-ja-li alone, miserable and frustrated, and in scene 5 Hong-Lo prostrates himself before her on her throne as if she were an idol, begging for a “gesture of compassion” from her in scene 6 (presumably in mime). She, however, longs for laughter and life and remains cold towards him, so he devises a means of communicating his love without breaking his own law of “silence.” In scene 7 the Malayan “gamelang” orchestra with bells, harps, and drums appears, and in scene 8 they accompany the allegorical “ballet of the flame of love” that Hong-Lo has devised, in which hope and fear, joy and tears, confidence and jealousy, triumph and despair battle with each other. Predictably, the “flame of love” rules supreme in the end. But No-ja-li pretends not to understand the significance of the ballet, and feigns sleep at the moment of its triumphant conclusion. The prince, exasperated and furious, draws his sword and rushes towards No-ja-li, but is stilled by her frail innocence and beauty as she sleeps. His anger is diverted towards the hapless ballet troupe, and he attacks “love” and her cortège. However, “love” and the human sentiments, full of courage and justification, fight back and vanquish the prince, who then withdraws his decree of “silence” and expels the guards from his palace. All sing a hymn of joy and thanksgiving for the return of life and for No-ja-li, and the little princess no longer spurns the love of the poor dumb prince.

All things being considered, this scenario, though slight, is by no means bad. The idea of using non-speaking participants, communication through music and mime, and an allegorical ballet-within-a-ballet is a clever one, the overall conception having a greater *raison d'être* and unity than many other short ballet scenarios. There is also a well controlled move from traditional oriental statuesqueness and cruelty towards humanity and love in the final scene, when the dramatic pace suddenly increases. Perhaps de Feure knew of Debussy's attraction to things oriental, as in his project *Siddharta* with Victor Segalen in 1906-7, and may have introduced a gamelan orchestra to Formosa from distant Malaya deliberately for scenes 7 and 8.

Early in November 1913, de Feure approached Debussy with his scenario and seems to have had no trouble in persuading him to agree to the collaboration. The number of Debussy's theatrical projects that were never completed comes to over thirty between 1886 and 1917, and since the momentous success of the Diaghilev ballet in Paris in 1909, he had been increasingly concerned with establishing himself in this medium. Both the music of *Khamma* and the marionette-like conception of the children's ballet *La Boîte à jousjoux* reflect the influence of Stravinsky's *Petrouchka* (1911), and the younger composer's growing reputation

through this and *The Firebird* greatly affected Debussy. The tepid reception accorded to *Jeux* in comparison to the succès de scandale of *The Rite of Spring* in May 1913 may have been one reason why Debussy went ahead so readily with de Feure's English ballet project.

It was almost certainly de Feure who first approached Charlot and not vice versa; for, sometime in early November, the authors of *Le Palais du Silence* granted him exclusive rights to theatrical representations of the ballet anywhere in the world, an agreement which is referred to in the first contract made between Durand, de Feure, and Debussy on 21 November 1913. It was only on 27 November that Debussy signed his own contract with the Alhambra Theatre Society.

It is unlikely that Debussy began sketching his score for *Le Palais du Silence* immediately, because the first half of December 1913 was spent in successful but exhausting conducting engagements in Moscow and St. Petersburg at the invitation of Koussevitsky. However, on 6 January 1914, Debussy wrote to Durand, as an excuse for not going to Brussels, that "*Le Palais du Silence* is taking up all my time,"⁸ and the 14 double pages of sketches in the notebook in the collection of Mme. de Tinan were almost certainly made in early January 1914. By mid-January Debussy had apparently given up work on his Chinese ballet, and was busy preparing for a concert with Arthur Hartmann in the Salle des Agriculteurs on 5 February. This was to include transcriptions for violin and piano of *Il pleure dans mon coeur*, *La Fille aux cheveux de lin*, and *Minstrels*. Debussy's manuscript of *Minstrels*, delightfully described as a "transcription for piano and Hartmann", now in the Eastman School of Music, Rochester, New York, is dated 17 January 1914. Presumably Debussy, who was ill and depressed throughout 1914, could no longer summon the necessary concentration to finish an extended 15- to 20-minute orchestral score of the same proportions as *Jeux* or *Khamma*. The next extended work he wrote was *En blanc et noir* in June-July 1915. Financially necessary conducting engagements in Rome (18 to 23 February) and in the Hague and Amsterdam (26 February to 2 March), the orchestration of the first section of *La Boîte à joujoux*, and an important concert on 21 March at the Salle Gaveau (in which Debussy accompanied Ninon Vallin in the première of his *Trois Poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé*) meant that the completion of *Le Palais du Silence* for performance in early May receded further and further into the distance. By mid-March, Charlot must have been getting worried that he would have no ballet at all for his forthcoming revue, and Debussy was forced to find a swift solution in order to fulfill his contract.

Fortunately, early in 1912 Henri Büsser had reorchestrated Debussy's second Rome *envoi* of February 1887, *Printemps*, incorporating the wordless female chorus parts into the orchestra in the process. Since its famous

condemnation by the Académie des Beaux-Arts for “vague impressionism”, Debussy, although initially enthusiastic about the “very special colour” and “great range of feelings”⁹ embodied in his bi-partite symphonic suite, seems to have lost interest in the score. The original orchestration was destroyed in a fire, and Büsser had to work from the only published version for piano duet (with optional chorus) of 1904. His approved orchestration received its first performance at the Société Nationale on 18 April 1913, and had been published by Durand. Perhaps another performance at the Concerts Chevillard on 7 December further reminded Debussy of its existence, of the fact that it was relatively little known, and that it was about the right length (15 minutes) for a ballet. So, giving ill-health as his justifiable reason, Debussy proposed to the Alhambra Theatre a modification of his original contract, offering them in compensation the exclusive rights for England to adapt *Printemps* for the stage during 1914. A codicil to this effect was added to Debussy’s contract of 27 November 1913 on 17 April 1914, and the delivery date for the *Le Palais du Silence* was moved forward by common consent to 1 September, Charlot having written to Durand on 1 April that there could be no question of *Printemps* “purely and simply taking the place of *Le Palais du Silence*”.¹⁰

Debussy expressed his doubts to Durand on 20 April that he would ever complete his Chinese ballet and seems not to have returned to it during the summer of 1914, preferring the simpler task of arranging six of his ten *Chansons de Bilitis* of 1900 as the *Epigraphes antiques* for piano duet. He “did not write a note or touch a piano” while at Angers in August and September,¹¹ being much distressed by Germany’s declaration of war on France on 3 August, by the nearby practicing of soldiers on trumpets and drums, and by his own inability to make any useful contribution to the war effort. However, Charlot had not given up hope of producing his Chinese ballet, for Debussy wrote to Durand on 9 October:

I have received a letter from M. André Charlot: he spoke of “No-ya-ti” [sic] (formerly “Le Palais du Silence”) as if he intended to perform it this year! That seems premature to me. Besides, I should not like this music to be played until the fate of France is decided, for she can neither laugh nor cry while so many of our people are being heroically destroyed!¹²

Debussy probably never mentioned the matter again, and Charlot appears not to have pressed his legal claim further, or tried to find another composer for de Feure’s scenario.

Returning to *Printemps*, Büsser’s orchestration seems to have reached London by the end of March, for on 1 April Charlot wrote to Durand that he had just heard the score after only two hours of orchestral re-

hearsal, and that it seemed extremely "suitable" for his requirements. He added: "One can certainly achieve something of great interest in staging this delightful symphony, but there are a quantity of 'buts'." Chief among these was that the second part (pp. 44-98,¹³ 6½ minutes) was scenically perfect, but too short on its own. With part one added, however, the whole (15 minutes) was too long! So Charlot wanted to use the first part up to fig. 5 (pp. 1-11 [measure 4], 2 minutes) as an overture, and then he wanted a section lasting "just under a minute" during which "a poem of 16 to 20 verses" was to be recited, plus another section of "three minutes at most" for "a poetic scene involving two or three people". The whole of the second part was to be retained as a grand ensemble for the full Alhambra corps de ballet.¹⁴

Charlot wanted the cuts to be suggested and authorized by Debussy immediately, as rehearsals had to commence on the following Monday (6 April). He hoped that Debussy would be well enough to do this himself, but, failing this, he strongly hinted that he would make the cuts himself if an answer was not forthcoming, and hoped that Durand knew him well enough to trust him not to do anything artistically sacrilegious!

It is difficult to see where Debussy would have cut the requested 2½ minutes out of the second half of part one of *Printemps* (pp. 11-43), if indeed he authorized any cuts at all, which is unlikely. The best solution would probably have been to cut from fig. 5 straight to the descending chromatic scale (p. 27, fig. 13) which leads into the main theme in C (p. 28), the main dividing point in the movement, rather than make a series of shorter cuts as Charlot had suggested. The above solution would leave about 3½ minutes of music, or give a 3 minute cut in the passage in question. The risk of unbalancing Debussy's formal plan for the sake of a couple of minutes of music was enormous, and Charlot may well have been forced to abandon his attempts to shorten the ballet.

With or without official cuts, *Not Likely!*, a new revue in two acts and twelve scenes by George Grossmith and Cosmo Gordon Lennox, produced by the former with André Charlot, opened on Monday 4 May 1914, and proved to be the longest running of Charlot's pre-war revues, enjoying 305 performances in all. Debussy's *Spring* ballet with Mr. Morrison as "Winter," Miss Mossetti as "The Youth," and Miss Monkman as "The Maiden" in the "poetic scene for two or three people" in part one, and the full corps de ballet in part two, was performed as scene 4 in an important spot immediately before the main interval. The scenario is credited on the program to Messrs. Ronsin, Marc-Henri, and Laverdet, with headaddresses by Maison Lewis and, ironically, costumes by Georges de Feure! A picture of the rather crowded second part, showing that de Feure was well acquainted with Poiret's lampshade style of 1909 and



Spring, Part 2, as pictured in the 6 June 1914 program of the Alhambra Theatre.
From the Enthoven Collection, Theatre Museum of the Victoria
and Albert Museum, London. Reproduced by kind permission.

his harem, or divided, skirt of 1911 was included in the program on 6 June 1914.

On the day following the opening of *Not Likely!*, the critic of *The Times* singled out the Debussy ballet for special praise, though neither composer nor title were mentioned. The following extract gives a fascinating first-hand account of the production:

. . . there is one scene in the first act which stands out as the gem of the entertainment. Winter, with mournful tread, passes from a Grecian glade, a delightful picture of many shades of green, and as he goes, the flowers and grass burst forth in the joy of spring, and the fancy of the young men and maidens, led by Miss Phyllis Monkman and Miss Carlotta Mossetti, lightly turns to thoughts of dancing. As they dance, the spirit of spring, of love, and of life enters into their hearts, and the curtain falls upon a riot of color and motion. Brief as the interlude was it furnished the most pleasant moments of the evening.¹⁵

After *Not Likely!*, de Feure was featured increasingly in Charlot's war-time revues, producing his own *Temple of the Sun* ballet, which included Erik Satie's first *Gymnopédie* (in Debussy's 1897 orchestration?), in *5064 Gerrard!* (which opened 19 March 1915), as well as many other smaller scenes. He also wrote and designed the 1917 Christmas pantomime *Aladdin* for Drury Lane.

In *Not Likely!*, Debussy's ballet rubbed shoulders with an early song (not credited) by Jerome Kern called *Honeymoon Lane* in scene 1, as well as a "revue of the Music-Hall songs from 1864-1914" as scene 8. The finale consisted of a "Revue Parisienne" featuring the celebrated dancers Maurice and Florence Walton, and a cakewalk with an introductory verse by Elsa Maxwell. As the revue was such a flexible format, the solo dancers in the *Spring* ballet began to be varied from July 1914 onwards, and in the week ending 29 August the whole ballet was withdrawn and its position taken by a scene entitled *The Sloping Path*, featuring the rather risqué sounding "Pass Along Girl"! Most of the more spectacular and topical numbers remained, simply being shuffled about, and it is interesting to note that, although Debussy's name was included in large type below scene 4 on the program while none of the other composers' names were listed, his was the only name not included on the main advertisement on the front page of the program. He was undoubtedly regarded as being in a different musical class altogether.

There is a strong possibility that Debussy saw his *Spring* ballet at the Alhambra. In his early days he often frequented the music-hall, and between 16 and 19 July 1914 he made his seventh and last visit to London, again for financial reasons,¹⁶ to play at a concert organized by Sir Edgar Speyer on Friday, 17 July. He stayed with the Speyers at 46 Grosvenor

Street and could easily have seen the performance on Saturday, 18 July when Mr. Colverd played "Winter" and Miss Broadwood "The Maiden". On that same night, before the main revue, he would have been treated to such delights as the overture *Chispagos* by a Mr. Reeves, Minnie Kaufmann the trick cyclist, and Chinko the juggler, all of which escapist fare he would no doubt have relished.

The symphonic suite *Printemps* of 1887 was actually Debussy's third choral and orchestral essay on the same subject in the 1880s. The first, set to words by the Comte de Ségur and written as a qualifying piece for the 1882 *concours* of the Prix de Rome,¹⁷ was later published in 1928 as *Salut Printemps*. The second, written for the 1884 *concours* to a text by Jules Barbier: "L'aimable printemps ramène dans la plaine Zéphir avec les oiseaux",¹⁸ in fact began as a four-part chorus with piano duet about 1881. It is interesting to see that the 1882 and 1884 essays are in ABA plus coda form, the faster A sections in A major surrounding a slower B section for soprano solo in F# major in both cases. In 1887, Debussy similarly cast his slower first section in F# major, although this third work has a far more flexible key scheme and a more sustained development with one main motive pervading both of its parts. A major, the other "Spring" key, occurs briefly in the second part of the 1887 *Printemps* (pp. 74-79), although the main key of this faster section is D major. Coincidentally the same key and time signatures are shared by Debussy's early romance "Voici que le printemps" (Paul Bourget) of January 1884. *Printemps* is Debussy's most attractive score before *L'Après-midi d'un faune* and deserves to be performed more often, with or without its later ballet.

Mme de Tinan's sketchbook including the sketches for *Le Palais du Silence* was recently made available for study in a photocopy placed at the Centre de Documentation Claude Debussy in St. Germain-en-Laye. The book is titled *Le Palais du Silence ou No-ya-ti. Ballet de "M. de Fleure" (1914)* [sic] and the original was shown at the 1962 Debussy Exhibition in the Bibliothèque nationale.¹⁹ In fact, of the 48 double pages, 2 to 8 are early sketches for scene 1 of *La Chute de la Maison Usher*, 24 to 48 are sketches for the late Violin Sonata, and only pages 10 to 23 are for *Le Palais du Silence* itself. The violin Sonata sketches bear witness to the struggle this work, and especially its finale, caused the ailing Debussy in the winter of 1916-17. The celebrated reference to "Le Scorpion oblique et le Sagittaire rétrograde ont paru sur le ciel nocturne" (page 2b), previously thought to be "the only element of the scenario . . . written by Debussy"²⁰ in the sketches for *Le Palais du Silence*, in fact refers to the music used to accompany the first entry of the evil doctor in *La Chute*, as can be seen by a comparison with the vocal

score.²¹ Many other misunderstandings surround this mysterious oriental ballet. Lockspeiser calls it *Le Palais de Silence*,²² and the mistakes about “de Fleure” and “No-ya-ti” which derive from the typed cover of the de Tinan sketchbook (not by Debussy) are usually repeated whenever the ballet is mentioned.

In addition, Marcel Dietschy in *La Passion de Claude Debussy* indulges in sheer invention when he says “Laloy proposed two texts to Debussy, *Le Palais du Silence*, which became *No-Ya-Ti*, without taking any musical form, and a scenario on the *Fêtes galantes* of Verlaine.”²³ Louis Laloy is known to have been interested in ancient Chinese culture and legend,²⁴ but this is no reason to credit him with the authorship of *Le Palais du Silence*. As François Lesure has shown in his introduction to the correspondence of Louis Laloy and Debussy (1902-14),²⁵ Laloy was only called in originally in November 1913 to modify Charles Morice’s lyric tale *Crimen Amoris* (adapted from Verlaine) which Debussy disliked. Copyright problems however forced Laloy and Debussy to recast and retitle the work as *Fêtes galantes*, for which a new contract was drawn up with Durand on 27 January 1914. *Fêtes galantes* was another theatre project to be abandoned in 1914, though in Debussy’s last interview on 31 January,²⁶ he mentions only this and *La Boîte à joujoux*. Dividing his attention between *Fêtes galantes* and *Le Palais du Silence* in January 1914 may have been one reason why both remain unfinished.

The existing music for *Le Palais du Silence* amounts to a collection of ideas, many of which have no clefs or key or time signatures, as was Debussy’s usual practice with sketches. At least 15 different motives are discernible, some with developments and harmonizations indicated. The longest continuous extract, some 35 measures in all not counting revisions, is of the opening prelude, and Example 1 (pp. 10b-11a)²⁷ shows two of the main ideas for the ballet: *A*, an arch-shaped motive in ‘oriental’ parallel fourths over fourth- and fifth-based side-stepping chords (marked *x*), and *B*, an undulating bass idea associated by Debussy with “Le Silence”. *B* later occurs in parallel fifths on p. 14. Debussy clearly marks with a cross the “Commencement du Ballet” and indicates that *A* is to be scored for fl[ûte] and cl[arinette]. As about 6 measures of what looks like an arabesque for solo cello or viola in triple time precedes Example 1 on p. 10a, Debussy’s cross probably marks the point at which the curtain rose. A single measure rest at the top of p. 11a is marked “La petite Princesse No-ja-li” (note, not “No-ya-ti” by Debussy, although the following measure is crossed out, and the subsequent arabesque-like idea is unclear and is nowhere repeated).

The sketch for the prelude stops shortly after the four repeated measures shown in Example 2 (p. 11b). This introduces a new motive in major seconds, *C*, and some widely spaced and very advanced bitonal

EXAMPLE 1: Sketchbook, pp. 10 (b)–11 (a)

[Prélude] [Flute Clarinet]

[p] A

+ Commencement du Ballet: Fl[ûte] Cl[arinette]

"Le Silence"

[Rideau]

La petite princesse No-ja-li

B

chords which are harmonic extensions of *x* from Example 1. These measures may have been used to represent No-ja-li herself, being the first clear musical idea after the end of Example 1.

Example 1 is the only extended passage that got as far as a second version, and the solo cello (or viola) arabesque opening, itself much modified, originally led into a simultaneous statement of motives *A* and *B*. This was later rejected when Debussy cut straight from measure 6 to the start of Example 1. 3/4 and 4/4 time motives recur throughout the sketches and these are the only time-signatures employed.

The *A* and *B* motives and further harmonic extensions of *x* recur in varying forms in the remainder of *Le Palais du Silence* sketches. The *C* idea from Example 2 is less used in its original rhythmic form, but

EXAMPLE 2: Sketchbook, p. 11 (b)

C

[f]

extension of X

together with the perfect fourth and the perfect fifth, the major second as an interval pervades the whole score, both harmonically and melodically. Example 3, from the top of p. 13b shows an ostinato figure

EXAMPLE 3: Sketchbook, p. 13 (b)



built from a major second and a perfect fourth, covering a perfect fifth in all. Over this, offbeat eighth-note chords in superposed fourths lead to a return of *A* from Example 1. Example 4 from p. 19b shows seconds and fourths again in prominent use, and Debussy might well have had his earlier piano piece, *Pagodes* (1903) in mind when he sketched this passage, the main harmonic bases of the ballet being

EXAMPLE 4: Sketchbook, p. 19 (b)



wide-spaced bass triads of B major and D# minor. However, the ten-year gap between *Pagodes* and *Le Palais du Silence* is everywhere apparent, the latter being less repetitive and pentatonic, producing a barer, more genuinely oriental sound. In addition, there are some less immediately "oriental" passages, often more chromatic, and sometimes based on sliding thirds. From page 21 onwards, the melodic line is often more

like an arabesque for violin, though the second- and fourth-based chords in the accompaniment identify these passages as belonging to *No-ja-li*. These arabesques bear no thematic resemblance to the opening bars of the score, and their occasionally ecstatic nature suggests that they may be sketches for the final pages of the ballet.

In the end, therefore, *Printemps*, written in Italy for the French Academy, was ironically the only English ballet by Debussy to be performed in England during his lifetime, and one can only conjecture what the completed score for *No-ja-li* would have been like with its scene for gamelan orchestra and its final dramatic dénouement. From the existing sketches it seems likely that it would have been an exciting score from the harmonic point of view, with a timeless simplicity and a distinct oriental flavor not present in *Khamma*. Its closest contemporary equivalent is the prelude to *La Boîte à joujoux*. There is no sign of compromise as far as any audience or players are concerned, and it was probably external factors, that is, conducting tours and the war, which led Debussy to first lay aside and then abandon his most exotic theatrical venture. The later change of title to *No-ja-li* may have indicated a change in focus by its authors towards a more human overall approach, although the idea of “silence” was one which appealed increasingly to Debussy during the war years, and his letter to Godet, written on New Year’s Day 1915, shows the value he placed on this all-too-rare commodity: “You are probably the only man who understands that silence does not simply mean oblivion! But these offensive times make delicacy a rare flower, so sweet to inhale!”²⁸ On the other hand, Debussy would doubtless have known Poe’s apocalyptic story of the terrors of “desolation” and “silence” from his copy of Baudelaire’s *Nouvelles histoires extraordinaires*.

The only stage project to survive the war and Debussy’s other manifold distractions was his Poe opera, *The Fall of the House of Usher*, which remains, also tantalizingly incomplete, as his own personal and non-financial obsession. Plans for a “drame indien” with Gabriele d’Annunzio in 1914, the resurrection of the idea of writing incidental music for P.J. Toulet’s adaptation of *As You Like It*, and an original “drame fantastique” in 1917 all came to nothing, and apart from *Usher*, the *No-ja-li* sketches were the last theater music Debussy actually composed. “I do not hold out much hope for 1914”, he wrote prophetically to Godet on 1 January,²⁹ and in the end, the *Berceuse héroïque* was the only new work completed in that year.

Just as Debussy produced several pieces based on the theme of spring in the 1880s, so Charlot’s revue *Now’s the Time* included another *Spring*

ballet, specially added to feature Adeline Genée on 10 January 1916. By comparison with Debussy's *Spring*, however, it was a failure and ran for only four weeks, being a plotless *divertissement* with no set of its own, designed by Alexander Genée to extracts from *The Language of Flowers* and *In Fairyland* by Sir Frederic Cowen.³⁰ If Debussy heard or read about it, he may well have thought that there was some justice in the world after all!

NOTES

¹ Founded by Charles Morton in 1892. Alfred Butt was manager in 1911-12, having taken over from the aging Morton in 1904. Morton was also manager of the Alhambra Theatre between 1877 and 1880.

² Manuscript, n.d., 9 pp., in the collection of Mme. G. de Tinan, Paris. Based on the original scenario by W. L. Courtney and Maud Allan.

³ Its history and composition are traced in detail in my article "Debussy's Orchestral Collaborations 1911-13. 2: *Khamma*," *The Musical Times* 116 (1975) pp. 30-35.

⁴ See I. Guest, "The Alhambra Ballet," *Dance Perspectives* 4 (1959) for further details.

⁵ Opened 11 June 1913. 8d. a mile was the current fare for a long tour by taxicab, the fashionable haunts visited providing the tenuous link between the various items in the revue.

⁶ As in Theodor Kosloff's Assyrian ballet *Asiduena*, which closed the first act of *Keep Smiling* (opened 18 October 1913) and which used arrangements of music by Glazunov, Rimsky-Korsakov, Borodin, Ravel, etc., conducted by Landon Ronald.

⁷ Typed copy, 7 pp., signed and dated 2 November 1913, in the property of Durand and Co., 4 Place de la Madeleine, Paris 8. Quoted by kind permission. François Lesure, in his *Catalogue de l'oeuvre de Claude Debussy* (Geneva 1977) p. 139, says that de Feure wrote his scenario before 1891.

⁸ *Lettres à son éditeur* (Paris: Durand, [c. 1927]) p. 120.

⁹ Cited in E. Lockspeiser, *Debussy: His Life and Mind*, vol. 1 (London: Cassell [1962]) p. 75.

¹⁰ Letter in French, quoted by kind permission of Durand and Co.

¹¹ Letter to Durand dated 21 September 1914. *Lettres*, p. 126.

¹² *Lettres*, p. 128. A change of emphasis seems to have taken place in the title of the ballet during the summer of 1914.

¹³ All references will be to the Durand orchestral score, Paris 1913, 98 pp.

¹⁴ From Charlot's unpublished letter in French, quoted by kind permission of Durand and Co.

¹⁵ 5 May 1914, p. 5. No author given.

¹⁶ See Durand letter, early July (?) 1914, p. 121. His published correspondence makes no mention of *Printemps* around this time.

¹⁷ Bibliothèque nationale ms 973c.

¹⁸ BN ms 968.

¹⁹ Catalogue (ed. F. Lesure) no. 304, p. 68.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ BN ms 9885, p. 5.

²² *Debussy: His Life and Mind*, vol. 2 (London: Cassell, [1965]) p. 207.

²³ (Neuchâtel, Switzerland: Editions de la Baconnière, 1962), pp. 223-224. The mistaken authorship recurs on p. 276, entry 239.

²⁴ See his *Légendes des Immortels, d'après les auteurs chinois* (Paris: Messein, 1922).

²⁵ *Revue de Musicologie* 48 (1962) p. 4.

²⁶ With Maurice Montabré, published in *Comoedia* on 1 February. See *Monsieur Croche et autres écrits*, ed. F. Lesure ([Paris]: Gallimard, [1971]) pp. 307-308 for the full text.

²⁷ (a) and (b) refer to the left and right hand side of each double page in the de Tinan sketchbook.

²⁸ *Lettres à deux amis* (Paris: J. Corti, [c. 1942]) p. 142.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

³⁰ See I. Guest: *Adeline Genée: A Lifetime of Ballet under Six Reigns* (London: A. and C. Black, [c. 1958]) p. 153.