



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS  
JOURNALS + DIGITAL PUBLISHING

---

Javanese Influence on Debussy's "Fantaisie" and beyond

Author(s): Richard Mueller

Source: *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Autumn, 1986), pp. 157-186

Published by: University of California Press

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/746641>

Accessed: 30-03-2016 04:28 UTC

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at

<http://about.jstor.org/terms>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).



*University of California Press* is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to  
*19th-Century Music*

<http://www.jstor.org>

# Javanese Influence on Debussy's *Fantaisie* and Beyond

RICHARD MUELLER

It has frequently been claimed, but never adequately demonstrated, that as a composer Debussy was strongly influenced by the Javanese music played at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1889. New insights on this tantalizing subject can be gained by reconsidering the available evidence of what he may actually have heard, in conjunction with the circumstances surrounding the composition, projected performance, suppression, and eventual revision of one work written soon after the Exposition, the *Fantaisie* for piano and orchestra.

Debussy began work on his *Fantaisie* in October 1889 and finished it the following April.<sup>2</sup> This piece is a three-movement piano concerto based on a cyclic theme. Sonata form is used in the first movement, and an ostinato incessantly

His only considerable works that are not avowedly associated with a particular external stimulus are his "Fantaisie" for piano and orchestra, and his String Quartet.

—Lawrence Gilman, 1907

This lovely work, seductively orchestrated, most elegantly written for the piano, full of youthful fire . . . Debussy seems to have written under the general influence of the *Symphony on a French Mountain Air* (*Symphonie cévenole*) of Vincent d'Indy.

—Léon Vallas, 1932<sup>1</sup>

repeated against successive variations of texture is the distinctive feature of the finale. The "Adagio" slips into the last movement without a break.

The *Fantaisie* was scheduled to receive its premiere on 21 April 1890, at a concert of the Société Nationale directed by d'Indy, with René Chansarel as soloist. Following the penultimate rehearsal, Debussy snatched the parts from the music stands to prevent an abbreviated performance, explaining in a letter to d'Indy that he preferred a merely "adequate" performance of the whole work to a truly "satisfying" performance of the first movement only.<sup>3</sup> Shortly thereafter, the work was engraved for publication, but it did not appear.<sup>4</sup> As late as 1895, Debussy envisaged performance and publication of the piece,<sup>5</sup> but his plans never materialized. By 1909, he refused to consider a performance without comprehensive revision of the orchestration. He wrote to Varèse:

---

*19th-Century Music* X/2 (Fall 1986). © by the Regents of the University of California. Notes for this article appear on pp. 184–86.

The *Fantaisie* of which you speak is not only unpublished, but I have had the idea for a long time to modify it almost entirely. Since 1889—the time when it was composed—I have had a change of opinion as to the way to use the piano with the orchestra. It was necessary also to write for the orchestra differently, or one contributed to a most ridiculous struggle between these two parts.<sup>6</sup>

Late in 1919, the work was performed in public for the first time, and in 1920 it was published by Fromont.<sup>7</sup> In 1968 Jobert brought out a version of the *Fantaisie* that incorporates revisions and corrections found in a copy of the 1890 engraving.<sup>8</sup>

The peculiar fate of the *Fantaisie* has previously been believed to be the result of Debussy's dissatisfaction with its orchestration and its conventional form. This article argues that the cyclic theme of the *Fantaisie* is based on a Javanese melody and that Debussy withdrew the work more because he was not content with its assimilation of Javanese influences.

## I

The first documented statement by Debussy on Javanese music occurs in a letter written to Pierre Louÿs on 22 January 1895:

Do you not remember the Javanese music, able to express every shade of meaning, even unmentionable shades, and which make our tonic and dominant seem like ghosts?<sup>9</sup>

Other Javanese musical qualities are briefly alluded to in remarks appearing in his article "Taste" in 1913:

There were, and there still are, despite the evils of civilization, some delightful native peoples for whom music is as natural as breathing. Their conservatoire is the eternal rhythm of the sea, the wind among the leaves and the thousand sounds of nature which they understand without consulting an arbitrary treatise. Their traditions reside in old songs, combined with dances, built up throughout the centuries. Yet Javanese music is based on a type of counterpoint by comparison with which that of Palestrina is child's play. And if we listen without European prejudice to the charm of their percussion we must confess that our percussion is like primitive noises at a country fair.<sup>10</sup>

In 1926, Debussy's friend and correspondent Robert Godet recalled the amount of time De-

bussy had spent in 1889 in contemplation of the exotic Bedayas and their music:

Many fruitful hours for Debussy were spent in the Javanese *kampong* of the Dutch section listening to the percussive rhythmic complexities of the gamelan with its inexhaustible combination of ethereal, flashing timbres, while with the amazing Bedayas the music came visually alive.<sup>11</sup>

Sources of information on Javanese music to which Debussy had access include published contemporary accounts of the music of the Exposition and of the Javanese gamelan sent to the Paris Conservatoire by the Dutch government in 1887. Apparently, the fame of the Conservatoire's gamelan had spread quickly through the musical circles of Paris. Tiersot remarked, in his publication on the Exposition:

It was the great interest of this Exposition to bring to life some objects that we were acquainted with in inert and mute form. . . . Although we had been able to consider the peculiar forms and the brilliant colors [of the instruments], to listen to certain isolated notes, to admire certain sonorities, for example, the sounds of the enormous gongs, full and sonorous as a bell of a cathedral, the principal ingredient escaped us. It was as if someone had shown us a complete collection of violins, cellos, flutes, horns, etc., and had told us: "This is the orchestra of the Conservatoire." Only one thing would be lacking: the symphonies of Beethoven.<sup>12</sup>

E. Raoul's booklet on the Javanese at the Exposition, published in 1889, asks: "Qui n'a entendu parler des célèbres gamelangs javanais?"<sup>13</sup> Information on the Conservatoire's gamelan was published in an article written by Léon Pillaut for *Le Ménestrel* (3 July 1887), in which matters of tuning and instrumentation are discussed.<sup>14</sup>

Debussy heard two types of music at the Javanese village: the music that accompanied the dancers, and the music of the processional march played by a set of eight *angklung* (tuned bamboo rattles). Transcriptions of both types were published by Louis Benedictus and Julien Tiersot.<sup>15</sup> Although there is some evidence that Debussy knew Benedictus's transcription of the Javanese music played at the Paris Exposition of 1900,<sup>16</sup> the primary factor in 1889 seems to have been his immediate experience of the Bedayas and their music. Indeed, Debussy made use of specific musical elements—melodies and

rhythms—that he heard, and he attempted to recreate musical effects associated with the music.

Debussy borrowed what he remembered of the performance. But Javanese music was a new phenomenon to him, and his perception of it, like that of other Parisians, was surely colored by his previous musical experience. Tiersot's description of the Bedaya dancers illustrates how visitors to the Javanese *kampong* responded to exotic phenomena:

According to his literary leanings, each compared the Javanese dancers with the heroine of a novel of his choice. One imagines Salammbô, another little Queen Rarahu. One of my fellow music critics actually declared that these dances—these sacred dances, contemplative in character and nearly motionless—reminded him of [the flower-maidens in] *Parsifal*. One [dancer] . . . is the living image of a little Indian divinity. Another is called Tamina, which is almost Pamina of *The Magic Flute*.<sup>17</sup>

Godet was reminded of familiar images of a more mundane sort:

Interpreting some myth or legend, they turned themselves into nymphs, mermaids, fairies and sorceresses. Waving like the ears of corn in a field, bending like reeds or fluttering like doves, . . . they formed a procession of idols. . . . The Bedayas would then remain poised in the air like terrified amazons. . . . But they are amazons only for a moment; now they are water-spirits or birds or flower-maidens . . . or butterflies.<sup>18</sup>

The language of Debussy's descriptions reflects the cultural limitations faced by Godet and Tiersot. To speak of Javanese music as "expressing shades of meaning," as organized pitchwise in terms that are richer than the "ghostlike . . . tonics and dominants" of Western music, as comparable in texture to the counterpoint of Palestrina, or as "charming" in its sonorous effect is to use frankly Western vocabulary and concepts. The Javanese, of course, scarcely conceive of their music in the same way. Debussy noticed and referred to those features of Javanese music that provided moral support for his own aesthetic position. As an advocate of radical harmonic ideas,<sup>19</sup> he was drawn to the apparent tonal freedom of Javanese music. The fledgling composer who was reminded of Palestrina when he heard Javanese music was also the *prix*

*de Rome* scholar overwhelmed by the music of Lasso and Palestrina when, on the advice of Liszt, he visited the church of Santa Maria dell'Anima in 1885.<sup>20</sup>

How and when, if at all, did Debussy's discovery of common means of expression in the music of Java influence his own music? Godet contended, in 1926, that the influence was not felt immediately and that the "palpable reality" of the influencing music played an insignificant role:

Not for a minute has Debussy thought of reproducing with Western instrumental resources the effect of polyphony and, especially, of percussive polyrhythms. . . . But how had he separated it [*la pure essence*] from the complexity and incoherence of brute sensations or of immediate emotions if he had not let these seeds germinate and if, after maturation, he had not chosen the most delectable among their fruits: those of a poetical nature? . . .

Such was his rapport with documentary evidence, and also with the palpable reality, that he attached importance to mental inspiration only as it was efficacious in bringing about the grouping of scattered materials (outward appearances, strong emotions, etc.) in his memory and his imagination, and in encouraging the miracle that changes them into aesthetic substance at the crucible of a sensibility made from clear emotion and from rational, that is to say (speaking in Debussyan fashion), from productive sentiment.<sup>21</sup>

As we shall see, the Javanese elements that appeared already in the *Fantaisie* constituted the "palpable reality" of the influencing music. The *Fantaisie* was the "crucible" that transformed "palpable reality" into "poetry."

If Godet and others did not notice the exotic element in the *Fantaisie*, it was because Debussy interpreted Javanese music as a Western composer. He unconsciously chose those elements to which he could relate. The influence of Javanese music on this work, then, amounted to compositional emphasis placed on elements that seem, to us, to coexist in both music systems. This is illustrated most clearly by Debussy's use of the pentatonic and whole-tone scale forms.

Javanese gamelans are tuned in one of two basic systems, the five-tone *slendro* or the seven-tone *pelog*. Double gamelans consist of two sets of instruments, one in each system. Insofar as the tuning of a gamelan contributes to its

unique aesthetic quality, each gamelan bears its own special tuning within the general characteristics of the system. Hence, the Western concepts of "interval" and interval measurement are not applicable when discussing the structure of Javanese tuning systems.<sup>22</sup>

This characteristic of Javanese music has caused some controversy among Western scholars. In 1885, Alexander Ellis noticed that the unusually large intervals of the *slendro* system seemed to divide the octave into equidistant intervals. In 1889, J. P. N. Land took issue with this approach and compared the *slendro* scale with the anhemitonic (i.e., without semitones) pentatonic.<sup>23</sup> Both Pillaut and Tiersot described the gamelans they studied as having anhemitonic pentatonic scales, Tiersot's notated on C and Pillaut's on C# (see ex. 1).<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, Tiersot pointed out that the tuning of the Exposition's gamelan was not interpreted in the same way by everyone:

Certain listeners, too prejudiced by false ideas that are now fashionable, mistakenly believed they recognized intervals other than those of the Western scale, particularly quarter tones. Not only does the oriental scale not use intervals smaller than a semitone, it does not even use a semitone, its only intervals being the whole tone and the interval of a tone and a half. Other, more serious, observers have remarked that the relationships between the notes of the instru-

ments of the *gamelan* were not always identical with the relationships existing between the corresponding notes of our scale. This is correct, but without wishing to address the question from the point of view of theory, I will observe only that this difference is scarcely more perceptible than that noticed by us between instruments in natural tuning and those in tempered tuning. I will even allow myself to suggest that this difference could very simply arise from the fact that the tuning of these instruments is not irremediable. I have reached the conclusion that, among instruments that are made to go together and play in unison, certain differences of intonation that get lost when the whole ensemble is playing but can still be heard close up are not intended.<sup>25</sup>

Tiersot's argument notwithstanding, the novel tuning of the *slendro* scale may have been linked with the concept of the whole-tone scale. This duality of interpretation was not lost on Debussy.

Both the pentatonic and whole-tone scales were known by Debussy prior to his direct experience with Javanese music. As early as 1884, in the *Air de danse* of his cantata *L'Enfant prodigue*, Debussy used a melody drawn from the pentatonic scale (ex. 2a). The cyclic theme of his *Printemps* (1887), a two-movement work for chorus and orchestra, is based on a complete pentatonic scale (2b), while the final section of its first movement is introduced by a rising line based on a whole-tone scale (2c).

a. Exposition gamelan (Tiersot).



Tiersot names these pitches *do*, *re*, *mi*, *sol*, *la*.  
The *rebab* adds *si* bemol and *mi* bemol.

b. Conservatoire gamelan (Pillaut).

Example 1: Perceived Javanese Pitch System.

a. *L'Enfant prodigue* (1884), *Air de danse*.

AIR DE DANSE  
Andante - dans un rythme un peu abandonné

b. *Printemps* (1887), cyclic theme, I, mm. 1–4.

Très modéré

c. *Printemps*, transition to final section, I, mm. 149–54.

Example 2: Early Use of the Pentatonic and Whole-tone Modes in Debussy.

Both scale-forms play a more prominent role in the *Fantaisie* than in these two or, indeed, any other preceding work by Debussy—or perhaps any other composer. The eighteen-measure transitional passage, marked *revenir peu à peu au Tempo I*, near the end of the first movement (□ 9–□ 2) is based almost exclusively on the whole-tone scale C#–D#–F–G–A–B. There is a tendency to harmonize the cyclic theme with triads and diatonic sevenths implied by the pitch structure of the pentatonic scale (I, 1, □<sup>1</sup> 1, □ 3, □ 9, □ 1; III, □ 1, □ 7, □ 1, □ 1). Both of the four-note pitch groups used by the cyclic theme are taken from the pentatonic scale (ex. 3). At □ (ex. 4) there is a profuse interlacing of pentatonic melodies (violin, □ 1; flute,

□ 4; English horn, □ 7; violin, □ 9; clarinet, □ 13; piano, □ 13; piano □ 17, etc.). But what is essentially new in the *Fantaisie* is the structural pairing of the whole-tone and pentatonic modes in tandem. At prominent junctures of the form in the first and third movements (□ 3 and □ 1), an expanding musical gesture culminates with a shift from the whole-tone mode to the pentatonic (exs. 4 and 5). The chromatic side-slipping of augmented triads intensifies the twenty-measure accelerando that rushes toward the grand restatement of the cyclic theme at the beginning of the animated coda at □. Debussy seems to have symbolized the ambiguity of the tuning of the *slendro* scale by his formal oppositions of these two scale types.<sup>26</sup>

Example 3: Representative Versions of the Cyclic Theme of the *Fantaisie*.

## II

Is Debussy's pentatonic melodic material the result of noodling with a novel tonal color, or does the composer of the *Fantaisie* have something specific in mind? The clue that has led to the identification of the cyclic theme of the *Fantaisie* with a particular Javanese melody is contained in Tiersot's description of the Javanese music played at the Exposition. After discussing the music and dance of the Bedayas, Tiersot describes a flirtatious type of dance performed by a couple dressed in ordinary clothes. He writes:

The music of these dances is not perceptibly different from that of the preceding, except, perhaps, that it allows for less affectation and complexity in its development. Likewise, the themes generally have less character, and the personality of the *rebab*, the melodic instrument *par excellence* of the Javanese orchestra, stands in the shadow of the percussive instruments, *bonang*, *saron*, and *gambang*, more often.

There is one dance, however, that, from the point of view of music as much as of choreography, seems

to enjoy the special favor of the Javanese, for it is the one they mention more often and play more willingly as a typical example of their music. It has the name *vani-vani*. . . Its principal theme . . . represents one of the more characteristic forms of the music proper to the *gamelan* [see ex. 9, line 7, for the melody quoted by Tiersot at this point]. The piece, fairly long, like those that accompany the Javanese dances, is developed with more logic and clarity than usual: it even takes, at times, a fairly precise meaning, and it seems that we can almost perceive the intimate relation with the dance, in spite of the fundamental differences in artistic conceptions between us and the peoples of the Far East. Beginning slowly, the notated theme, recurring with insistence and linking the developments formed by the characteristic rhythms of the other instruments, creates continuity in a piece that changes tempo several times consecutively. The accompanying figures and the ordinary counterpoints enter by turns and take their normal place in the development. But it is near the end that it takes its most peculiar aspect. The dance becomes animated. The pursuit takes on a more pressing, more passionate, aspect. All the instruments play at the same time. Suddenly, following a grand tremolo of the whole orchestra, the rhythmic instruments stop and we discover the melodic instruments which,

En retenant

Pf.

Orch.

pp dim.

Le double moins vite

1

pp

Vn. Fl.

pp doux et expressif

5

8va.

8va)

E. Hn.

Used by permission of the publisher, Theodore Presser Company  
Sole representative U.S.A. & Canada.

Example 4: *Fantaisie*,  $\square$  1–17 (autograph version, Fromont Edition, 1920).



(*sva*) - - - - -

10

Vn.

15

*pp* sub. *dim.* *pp* *p*

Cl. *pp* sub. *pp*

(*sva*) - - - - -

Example 4 (continued)

J 9

K 7

L 1

3

*ppp* (cb) *piu cresc.* (tutti) *molto cresc.* *f* (pf.)

Example 5: Modal Shift, *Fantaisie*, I, J 9–L 3.

playing with great intensity, execute in unison, in an animated tempo, a short development of the rhythmic figure forming the penultimate measure of the notated fragment. I would not know how to describe this process better than to compare it with that of certain classic overtures in the stretto passages of which some fragments of a principal theme are repeated by the whole string section in unison, to which the neat, sonorous rhythms of the rest of the orchestra respond. This formal sequence is reproduced three times in succession; yet the dance does not conclude with this energetic, animated episode: it resumes its slow pace and, ever winding down, finally stops on a final, unexpected note, without conclusion, leaving the attention suspended, the musical sense unresolved. Our musical amateurs say, "It is not finished."—But what is it that comes to an end in this world? Does not everything begin again? And although this does not happen with us, do we not always find ourselves in the presence of the immutable identity of things? Such, perhaps, is the philosophy behind this Javanese cadence . . . at least, however, that is what it could be even if its unknown composer had never thought of it.<sup>27</sup>

Tiersot's version of the *vani-vani* melody is taken from the instrumental parts he identifies as "melodic," the *bonang-ageng* and the *re-*

*bab*.<sup>28</sup> Both Groneman and Hood have published transcriptions of the *balungan* (the "notated part for the *saron*")<sup>29</sup> of a piece identified as *Wani-Wani* from sources that are roughly contemporaneous with the 1889 performance.<sup>30</sup> Groneman's version was collected in Yogyakarta in 1887, while Hood's comes from a Yogyanese manuscript transcribed in 1895.<sup>31</sup> Groneman's *Wani-Wani* (ex. 6a) presents the *bebuka* (solo introduction) and four statements of the gong cycle, a metric period that is marked at its end by the *gong ageng* (G) and that is divided, as is characteristic of the *ladrang* form, into four sub-units by the *kenong* (n). The *kempur* (p) is sounded at the mid-point of the *kenongan*, while the *ketuk* (t) marks the next level of subdivision.

A comparison of Groneman's *balungan* with Hood's (ex. 6b), which gives a *bebuka* and three gong cycles, will reveal that, in terms of pitch, *Wani-Wani* consists of two different cycles, or *gongan*. I will label the penultimate *gongan* of both versions *gongan A*, and the final, *gongan B*. If one takes notational differences into account

a. Isaac Groneman, *De Gamelan te Jogjakarta*, p. 72.

The musical notation consists of five staves. Below each staff are rhythmic markings: G1 t1 t2 n1 t1 p1 t2 n2; t1 p2 t2 n3 t1 p3 t1 G2 t1 t2 n1 t1 p1 t2 n2; t1 p2 t2 n3 t1 p3 t2 G3 t1 t2 n1 n2; t1 p2 t2 n3 t1 p3 t2 G4 t1 t2 n1; t1 p1 t2 n2 t1 p2 t2 n3 t1 p3 t2 G5.

Example 6: Transcriptions of *Wani-Wani*.

b. Mantle Hood, *Patet in Javanese Music*, p. 280.

Example 6 (continued)

(the third *slendro* degree is notated as E in Hood's version and F in Groneman's, and Western bar lines are placed at different points), the last two *gongan* of these two versions are nearly identical, there being differences only at A, *kenongan* 1, *ketuk* 1; A, *kenongan* 3, *kempur*; and B, *kenongan* 4, *kempur*. Since the final two *gongan* (A and B) of these versions are nearly identical, the provenance of the manuscripts from which they are taken is Yogyakarta, and the music played at the Exposition Universelle has been identified with the courts of Yogyakarta<sup>32</sup>—for all these reasons we may well imagine that the *balungan* of the *Wani-Wani* played at the Exposition is faithfully represented by the final two *gongan* of these versions.<sup>33</sup>

Although a document of limited ethnomusicological value, Benedictus's *Danse javanaise* (ex. 7) catches melodic details that support argu-

ments concerning the music heard at the Exposition by Debussy. One distinctive feature of the final section of the *Danse* is the rhythm of the motive (ex. 7c). The sixteenth-note pattern with which the C# is reiterated seems uncharacteristic of the unyielding succession of *balungan* notes. But a brief animated reiteration of a sustained *balungan* tone is a *saron* idiom,<sup>34</sup> and Benedictus's figure is the melodic pattern of Hood's transcription at the point in the first *kenongan* of *gongan* A, where Groneman has a different reading. This *saron* idiom seems to have generated the rhythm of another motive of Benedictus's *Danse* (ex. 7b). The idiomatic rhythm returns at later points in Hood's transcription, and it may be related to points of animation in Groneman's version of *Wani-Wani*.

Turning now to the heart of the matter, it is the *balungan* of *gongan* A that Debussy remembered from the *Wani-Wani* performance. If one

a. beginning, p. 9.

Lento ma non troppo.  
(Pedale tenue jusqu' a la fin du morceau.)

gva. -----

très doux

*p*

non legato sempre

(gva.) -----

rit.-----

b. p. 10.

cresc.

c. final section, p. 14.

Tempo 1 ma più mod<sup>to</sup>  
très rythmé

*f animé*

*sf*

Example 7: Louis Benedictus, *Musiques bizarres*, "Danse javanaise."

compares the repeated opening *kenongan* of this gongan with the ostinato theme of the final movement of Debussy's *Fantaisie* and with the violin melody of □ 1 (ex. 8), one is led to the conclusion that the cyclic theme of the *Fantaisie* is *Wani-Wani*.

Rhythmic grouping in Javanese music is end-accented.<sup>35</sup> The notes that fall between the gong instruments marking important metric positions in the cycle are part of an extended anacrusis that presses forward to the next gong marker. The second half of Debussy's ostinato neatly captures this accentual pattern (ex. 8, line 1). Although the repeated phrase at the beginning of Groneman's transcription (line 2, beginning) anticipates Debussy's ostinato with respect to its eight-beat length, its rhythm, and its contour, the first *kenong* phrase of *gongan* A (line 2, end) is closer in style to Debussy's theme.

Debussy's theme, the initial phrase of Gron-

man's transcription, and the A *kenong* phrase have several significant features in common: they are repeated immediately; the tone at the midpoint of the phrase is a *slendro* scale step, or a major second, above the tone at the end; and the contour of the second half of the phrase forms a curve that falls to the second step of the *slendro* scale, notated as D, before returning to G. The first *kenong* phrase of A anticipates linear details in the second half of Debussy's theme (the motives circled in ex. 8). The eighth-note ornament of the theme at □ 1 (line 4) was suggested by the four-note pattern that follows the ascending leap to A at the midpoint of the phrase, and the D–E–G motive that brings Debussy's ostinato to its point of conclusion abbreviates the more active line of the original, D–E–G–A–G. The similarity between the leap at the beginning of the first *gongan* of Groneman's transcription (line 2, beginning), C–D–C–A,



1. Ostinato, *Fantaisie*, III, □ 1.



2. *Wani-Wani*, (Groneman), first *kenongan*, *gongan* 1 and 3 (*gongan* A).



3. *Wani-Wani* (Hood), first *kenongan*, *gongan* 1 (B) and 2 (A).



4. Cyclic theme (transposed), □ 1 (first violins).



Example 8: Symmetrical Melodies Based on *Wani-Wani*.

and the initial leap of Debussy's melody, G–A–G–D, is a superficial resemblance, for it is not supported by the rhythmic accentuation. If the first half of Debussy's theme is lined up metrically with the first half of the first *kenong* phrase of A, as it is in ex. 8, the falling second A–G of Debussy's theme occurs at the same place as the descending second D–C of *Wani-Wani*, and the midpoint of both phrases is approached by a leap from the pitch D, shown by the arrows in the example.

This analysis fails to take account of a crucial difference between Debussy's theme and *Wani-Wani*: Debussy's ostinato begins its neighbor activity with its first note, while *Wani-Wani* falls from the gong tone G to its lower fifth C before introducing neighbor-note motion. The *Wani-Wani* contour forms two descending curves, while Debussy's melody shows balanced motion between an ascending curve and a descending one. In fact, leaving aside rhythmic differences, the second four notes of Debussy's

ostinato form a motive that is the exact inversion of the first four notes, as shown above line 1 of ex. 8. A pattern of symmetrical inversion around one or more axial pitches, here G and A, controls the organization of Debussy's line. Symmetrical movement also characterizes the *Wani-Wani* phrase. Notice, for example, the near retrograde between linear segments before and after the eighth-note rest in Groneman's version and the nearly balanced fall and rise of the four-note motive that begins with the melodic apex A. The feeling of symmetrical movement suggested by *Wani-Wani* has been systematized into an over-arching pattern by Debussy. He has clarified the Javanese symmetry by presenting it in a way that is simpler and more direct. That is, he has identified symmetry as an essential principle of organization in Javanese music and has reduced the complexity of the Javanese model to a simpler form by imposing this principle on the melody as a whole. The structure of other melodies related to Java-

nese models reflects a similar mode of transformation.

The motive played and repeated by the first violins at  $\square$  9, shown on line 8 of ex. 9, is nearly identical to the two-measure motive repeated at the beginning of Tiersot's *Wani-Wani* transcription, line 7. The sextuplets of the ascending arch do not contradict, but support the derivation of the violin melody from the performance of *Wani-Wani* that Debussy witnessed. That is, the rhythmic style of the music at  $\square$  makes much use of triplets and sextuplets, a metric division that is not found with the duple relationships between pulse levels of gamelan texture. But Tiersot described the sextuplet group as a rhythmic formula that characteristically marked the ends of phrases,<sup>36</sup> and he used it in the examples quoted on lines 6 and 7 of ex. 9. The uncommon emphasis placed on the triple division at  $\square$  would then appear to be the result of its prominence in the Javanese music played at the Exposition. The pitch and contour symmetry in the tail of the *Wani-Wani* motive played by the violins at  $\square$  9 relates to the motives shown on line 10, the ones played by the piano at  $\square$  17, the clarinet at  $\square$  23, and the harp at  $\square$  25. Moreover, the winds take up the line initiated by the violins, line 8, with a syncopated motive beginning on D $\flat$  whose pitch structure and contour is an exact inversion of the violin motive. Thus, Tiersot's *Wani-Wani* motive also becomes part of a pattern of symmetrical inversion around an axial pitch.

The pentatonic melody in m. 12 of Debussy's piano piece *Et la lune descend sur le temple qui fut* (line 1), from the second set of *Images* (1907),<sup>37</sup> a piece that Godet and Jean-Aubry singled out as showing Javanese influence,<sup>38</sup> is an example of this same structural principle. This melody is a slightly altered version of melodic lines appearing in both the 1889 and 1900 transcriptions of Javanese music by Benedictus (lines 2 and 3), a relationship confirmed by the fortuitous use of the quartal sonority from the 1900 transcription at the beginning of *Et la lune* (cf. lines 1 and 2). This line can be traced back to the last two *kenong* phrases of the *Wani-Wani* gong cycle quoted from the Groneman transcription (line 5). The *bonang* part of Tiersot's transcription of gamelan texture (line 6) reflects a pairing of three-note groups (bracketed) that fill out an interval of a seventh around an axial

pitch. Again, Debussy makes explicit the symmetry implied by a melody identified with Javanese music.

Three different melodic lines used by Debussy relate to *Wani-Wani* in the same way. In all three cases, Debussy transformed, or reduced, the linear complexities of the original line into a melody shaped by his own interpretation of Javanese structure: the symmetrical inversion of pitch structure and linear contour around a central axis is a characteristic principle of organization in Javanese music. Each of Debussy's models was perceived by him as a reflection of this principle and was simplified in such a way as to exhibit its effect.

Using a stylized element in place of a direct borrowing is a process that may be contrasted with the incorporation of a borrowing within an element of greater complexity. Both ways of transforming exotic material are found in the passage at  $\square$ , and both relate to Debussy's interpretation of Javanese pitch structure as being composed of symmetrically arranged pitch groups.

At  $\square$  a symmetrical pitch structure based on a scale borrowed from Javanese music, to be described shortly, supports a harmonic progression that seems to have little, if anything, to do with Javanese music. The pentatonic cluster on the first beat of  $\square$  is part of the diatonic scale articulated as a Western harmonic progression in the strings over the first four measures. At mm. 7–16 of the passage, Debussy uses a chromatic progression involving chords on E $\flat$ , G $\flat$ , and C $\flat$ . Javanese influence on pitch organization seems to extend only as far as the pentatonicism of the melodic motives.

The pitch organization of the first sixteen measures of  $\square$  was influenced by two different experiences with Javanese music, one at the Javanese village of the Exposition and the other at some unknown time in the halls of the Conservatoire.<sup>39</sup> The two largest gongs of the Conservatoire gamelan, as described by Pillaut and as illustrated in ex. 1b, are pitched on F $\sharp$  and B, tones that fall outside the pentatonic scale of the other instruments. Perhaps it was the non-conforming relationship of the pitches of these gongs that led Tiersot to mention in passing that the gongs of the Exposition's gamelan were tuned to the pentatonic scale.<sup>40</sup> The harmonic effect of the wayward gongs was not lost on

1. Debussy, *Et la lune*.

2. "Danse javanaise" (Benedictus, 1900).

3. "Danse javanaise" (Benedictus, 1889).

4. *Kenongan* 3 and 4, *gongan* A (Hood).

5. *Kenongan* 3 and 4, *gongan* A (Groneman).

6. *Bonang* part (Tiersot, p. 41).

7. *Wani-Wani* (Tiersot, p. 44).

8. *Fantaisie*, [T] 9 and 13.

9. *Fantaisie*, [T] 17.

10. *Fantaisie*, [T] 17, 23, and 25.

The score includes various musical notations such as dynamics (*p*, *pp*, *f*), articulation (accents, slurs), and performance instructions (e.g., *etc.*, *etc.*). It also features specific instrument markings: Vn. I, Winds, Pf., Cl., and Harp. Some measures are marked with circled numbers (1, 12) and letters (x, y, x', y').

Example 9

Debussy. While the pentatonic scale of the piano on the first beat of  $\square$  reproduces the *untransposed* pentatonic scale of the Conservatoire's gamelan, the  $G\flat$ - and  $C\flat$ -seventh chords of this passage are the harmonies implied by the wayward gongs sounding with the pentatonic scale. Interpreting the pentatonic scale as an eleventh chord with its second pitch, here  $E\flat$ , as root was suggested by a discovery that awaited Debussy at the Paris Exposition.

Two different Javanese ensembles performed at the Exposition, the gamelan that accompanied the dance and a group of *angklung* rattles led by a drum. The processional march of the *angklung* players announced that the dance performance was about to begin. The *angklung* is a pitched rattle made of three bamboo tubes tuned in octaves that slide back and forth, reproducing a clucking sound when the frame is shaken. The eight *angklung*, each with its own rhythmic pattern, played rhythmic ostinatos that changed and became more animated as the procession continued. At the peak of excitement the rapidly played *angklung* and drum

called to mind a tremolo effect, which Tiersot duly noted and described.<sup>41</sup> His example, quoted as ex. 10, combines the apparent pitches of the *angklung*, D, F, G, and A, with the pitch of the drum, which sounds G, a fifth below the D of the lowest *angklung*. Tiersot's words describe an harmonic effect that was sure to have caught Debussy's attention:

And what is this chord? A chord of the ninth, a full, rich harmony, absolutely modern, a Wagnerian chord, of which one can find characteristic examples in *Tristan and Isolde* and *The Meistersingers*. Here is proof of the artistic sentiment of the Javanese.<sup>42</sup>

Did Debussy perceive the sonority of the *angklung* tremolo in the same way? One would think so on the basis of his treatment of the harmony at the beginning of the passage at  $\square$ . The cluster played by the piano and strings on the first beat of  $\square$  (ex. 10b) duplicates the effect of the *angklung* tremolo, and the relationship between the bass tone  $E\flat$  and the scale of the cluster is structurally parallel to the relationship between the drum's G and the scale of the

a. *Angklung* tremolo (Tiersot, p. 35).



b. *Fantaisie*,  $\square$ , with chord formations implicit in the Conservatoire tuning (below).

Example 10



*angklung* ensemble. Furthermore, Debussy calls attention to this sonority by presenting it as the culminating point of the rising whole-tone scale played by the harp. Indeed, he sets off the pentatonic harmony here with the same technique he used to set off the expressive dissonance of the F# seventh near the end of the *Printemps* movement, shown in ex. 2c, namely, by introducing it with an ascending whole-tone scale. Clearly, the “absolutely modern” ninth of the *angklung* tremolo was behind the change of harmony in this syntactical pattern.

This analysis is confirmed by the reappearance of the F# (now Gb) seventh on the heels of the Eb harmony at m. 7 of [1]. Of course, the relationship of the F# and Eb harmonies to the pitches of the Conservatoire gamelan (ex. 10b) makes one wonder whether Javanese music had already influenced Debussy’s *Printemps*. Whatever the source of inspiration, his “discovery” was not the harmonies formed by the dissonant gongs of the Conservatoire gamelan; rather, it was his observation that the Javanese conceived of the pentatonic scale itself in terms not so

very different from those of “modern” forms of Western harmony, as suggested by the sonority of the *angklung* tremolo.

The “borrowed” *angklung* harmony on the first beat of [1] is an inseparable part of a more complicated chord, an eleventh. The C of the cyclic theme on the second beat of [1] adds yet another third, making the harmony a thirteenth. Now, the cyclic theme played at this point is based on a scale that is different from the four-note group of the preceding ostinato. In fact, its scale is identical to the scale of the *angklung* ensemble. Thus, the *angklung* sonority relates mutually to the chord played on the first beat of [1] and to the pitch collection of the version of the cyclic theme played by the violins.

Debussy’s fascination with the *angklung* ninth and the seventh chords built on the gong tones of the Conservatoire gamelan extends to the pitch relationships among these harmonies. The scale formed from the pitches of this gamelan, from which all three harmonies are derived, has symmetrical properties, as shown in ex. 11.

1.

2. [1] 1, Vns. [1] 9, Pf.

3. [1] 6, Fl. [1] 10, Pf.

4. [1] 13, Pf. [1] 13, Pf.  
Vns.

Example 11: Implied Symmetry in the Scale of the Conservatoire Gamelan and in the *Fantaisie*.

The structure obtained by extending the Conservatoire scale in both directions according to its pattern of intervallic symmetry provides the underlying pitch framework of the first sixteen measures of  $\square$ .  $E\flat$ , the root of the *angklung* "eleventh" is the lowest pitch of this scale; the non-Javanese pitches C, E, and G, are derived from it; and the surface pitch relations of the melodic and harmonic material follow its characteristic patterning. For example, at the point where the  $G\flat$  seventh enters ( $\square$  7), the  $D\flat$ – $E\flat$ –F group is played by the flute (line 3). With the  $C\flat$  seventh harmony of  $\square$  13 are heard the  $G\flat$ – $A\flat$ – $B\flat$  group of the piano melody and the  $C\flat$ – $D\flat$ – $E\flat$  group that forms a harmonic cluster between the piano and first violins (line 4). From  $\square$  9 to  $\square$  12 the piano melody uses, alternatively, the  $E\flat$ –F–G group (line 2) and the  $G\flat$ – $A\flat$ – $B\flat$  group (line 3). Finally, the  $D\flat$ – $E\flat$ –F group of the pentatonic cluster at  $\square$  1 is contextually associated with the  $A\flat$ – $B\flat$ –C group of the cyclic theme (line 2).

The dominant thirteenth of  $\square$  absorbs the borrowed *angklung* ninth, and the symmetrical pitch structure subsumes the structure of the pitch collection borrowed from the Conservatoire gamelan. In both cases a Western pitch structure exaggerates the structure of the borrowed pitch element in order to enhance its musical effect in its new, Western, context. Moreover, Debussy places these borrowings in a passage that uses exclusively elements taken from Javanese music—melodic motives, rhythms, sonorities, instrumental idioms. The association of a borrowing altered in this way with other elements related to Javanese music suggests that Debussy's intention in writing this passage was to recreate a musical effect—here, a harmonic effect—associated with the source of the influence.<sup>43</sup> The harmonic organization found at  $\square$  and its relation to Javanese music spring from the interpretation placed on Javanese pitch relations by Debussy, which, in turn, stems from his previous aesthetic position with respect to Western harmony. The recognition of this common bond is the reason Debussy decided to borrow Javanese pitch structures and set them off in this manner.

### III

The role that Debussy's *Fantaisie* plays in his assimilation of the Javanese influence is signi-

ficant, for the cyclic theme and other Javanese elements reappear in three pieces composed within two years of the completion of the *Fantaisie*: the piano piece *Tarantelle styrienne* (1890) and two Verlaine songs, *Clair de lune* (1891) and *L'Échelonnement des haies moutonne à l'infini* (December 1891).<sup>44</sup> Each piece begins with a phrase that refers to the Javanese music of the *Fantaisie*.

The *Tarantelle* and *L'Échelonnement des haies* begin with variants of the cyclic theme of the *Fantaisie* in which an eighth-note duplet is inserted between the second and third notes of the parent melody (ex. 12). The derived melodies are identical in rhythm and in contour, though not in meter, through their first seven notes. Although each is based on its own four-note pitch group, the difference in mode between the melody of the piano piece and the introductory line of the song is identical to the modal relationship between the ostinato of the final movement of the *Fantaisie* and the violin part of  $\square$ .

Based on the pitches of the pentatonic scale, the accompanying harmonies enhance the modal color of these melodies. While the open-fifth sonorities of the piano figuration of *L'Échelonnement des haies* remind one of the figuration at  $\square$  1–6 of the finale, the pairing of the E-major triad with the quartal chord at the beginning of the *Tarantelle* is derived from the pitch symmetry of  $\square$ . The pitch group of the melody of the *Tarantelle* combines with the  $G\sharp$  of the E-major triad to form a pentatonic scale on E, while at the same time this group forms a pentatonic scale on A with the A of the quartal chord. All six notes form a symmetrical scale that is embodied in the pitch structure of  $\square$  (cf. exs. 11 and 12).

Other relationships link the beginnings of these pieces with the *Fantaisie* and with Javanese music. The *Tarantelle* begins on E, the pitch level in the opening measures of the *Fantaisie*, while *L'Échelonnement de haies* begins on  $C\sharp$ , the pitch level of Benedictus's transcription (ex. 7). In both passages the Javanese melody that functions as the bottom line of the texture is placed in the middle register of the piano, suggesting thereby the registration of the gamelan. The cross-metric rhythm of the derived melodies is anticipated by the free rhythm of the cyclic theme at the beginning of the *Fantaisie*

a. Debussy, *Tarantelle styrienne* (1890), mm. 1–4.

b. Debussy, *L'Échelonnement des haies* (1891), mm. 1–6.

Example 12

and at □, which, in turn, stems from the rhythmic style of the *rebab* part, which Tiersot calls the melody *par excellence* of the gamelan (ex. 13).<sup>45</sup>

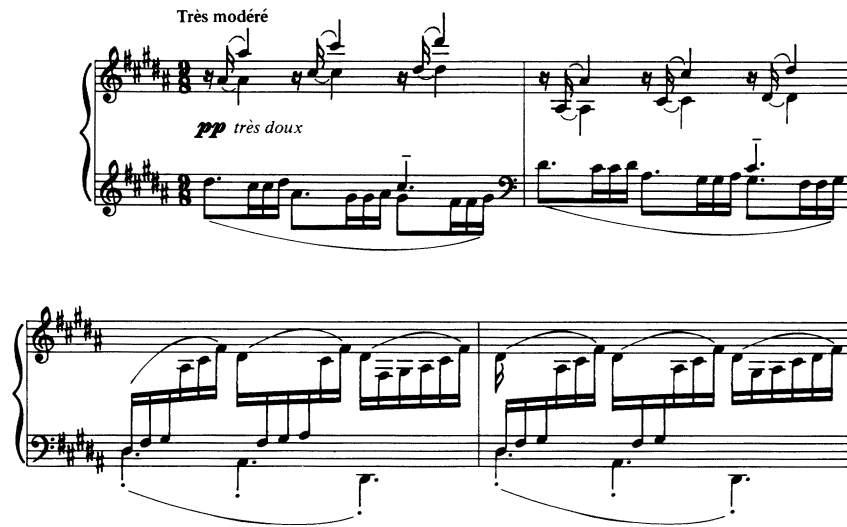
The opening phrase of *Clair de lune* (ex. 14) is based exclusively on the pentatonic scale. References to the pentatonic scale in pieces composed earlier have involved either pitch structures comprising four-note scales (instead of the complete pentatonic) or scales harmonized within a Western harmonic framework. At the beginning of *Clair de lune* the pentatonic scale is set off as a self-contained sonority. Roger Nichols has alluded to, but has not specified,

the gamelan effects in the melodic lines of this passage.<sup>46</sup> Viewed from the perspective of the *Fantaisie*, the melodic activity of this passage can now be related to the music of Java in precise terms. For instance, there are three melodic elements taken from the music of □ that reappear in a new guise: the neighbor ornament of the second half of the violin melody, melodic movement by contiguous seconds and fourths in the *Wani-Wani* theme, and the broken octaves of the piano figuration.

Various pieces of evidence confirm the link between these elements and Javanese music itself. The neighbor ornament of the violin mel-



Example 13: *Rebab* part. Cited from William P. Malm, *Music Cultures of the Pacific*, 2nd edn. (1977), Ex. 2-1, pp. 39-42.



Example 14: Debussy, *Clair de lune* (1891), mm. 1-4.

ody of □ and the opening of *Clair de lune* appears in m. 3 of Benedictus's transcription of the Javanese dance (ex. 7a), a fact that suggests it was clearly articulated in some of the music heard at the Exposition. The attention Debussy paid to this motive is confirmed by the brief sketches he made for Feure's ballet *No-ja-li* in 1914. Feure's scenario called for music imitative of a Malayan gamelan in the last two scenes, and the sketch for the prelude of this ballet sets off in a prominent way an inversion of the neighbor motive (ex. 15a).<sup>47</sup> The falling line of *Clair de lune* is closely related to the bass ostinato (ex. 15b) of the *No-ja-li* prelude.

The heterophony of the gamelan, as demon-


strated by the relationship between the larger (*barung*) and the smaller (*panerus*) *saron*, suggested the broken octaves of the piano part at letter □ of the *Fantaisie* and at the beginning of *Clair de lune*. When playing the *barung* pitch twice, the *saron panerus* forms a "broken octave" between the *barung* note and its reiteration, or anticipation, in the higher octave. In slow tempos, like that of □, the pulse on the higher metric levels is less clearly articulated, resulting in an aerial gamelan sonority that appears to evolve asymmetrically and spontaneously. The rhythm of the octaves at □ creates delicate, unforeseen shadings of sound. The rhythm of the octaves of *Clair de lune*, on the

a. fol. 19<sup>r</sup>.

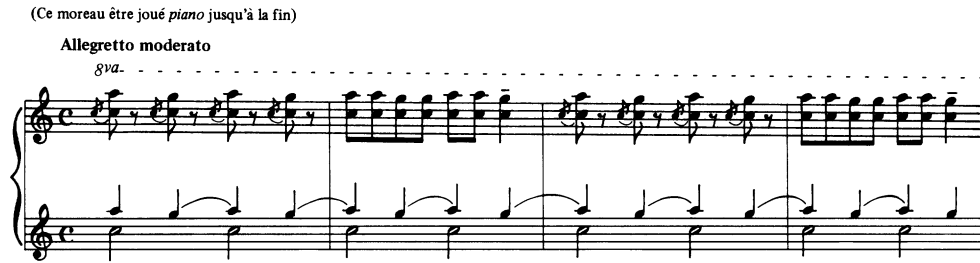
b. fol. 13<sup>r</sup>.

Example 15: Debussy, Sketch for *No-ja-li*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms 17726.

other hand, has its precedent in an idiom of *angklung* technique that is prominent in the *Fantaisie*. Shaking the *angklung* with a quick flick of the wrist produces a rapid repeated note. Colin McPhee contends that this feature of *angklung* style is more akin to Balinese performing traditions:

In Java the *angklung* is generally shaken back and forth to produce a tremolo tone. In Bali a single or quickly repeated double tone is preferred. The frame can be given a single jerk, causing each tube to knock against one end of its slot only, producing a sharp staccato tone; or it can be shaken so that the tubes knock one against each end of the slots, giving an accented tone with a fainter echo .<sup>48</sup>

However, the grace notes of the chords of Benedictus's transcription of *angklung* music (ex. 16) occur frequently enough to suggest that such a technique was noticeable to the casual observer. Debussy's fascination with this ornament is suggested by the broken octaves that adorn the B in the bass just prior to the rising whole-tone line that leads into the music of □ (□ 21–22; see ex. 17a), and by the triple-octave grace notes used with the melody from *Et la lune* discussed above (ex. 9, line 1). The duetting clarinet figure at □<sup>1</sup> 1–2 of the first movement (ex. 17b) creates, in effect, quickly repeated octaves. The repeated-note rhythm is heard initially with the opening notes of the second



Example 16: Louis Benedictus, *Musiques bizarres*, p. 3.

theme (ex. 17c), and it is related to the head motive of the oboe duet at the beginning of the finale (ex. 17d), which in turn sets up brief rhythmic interjections in the piano part (□ 5, 9, and 11).

The treatment of Javanese elements in the post-1890 compositions leads one to conclude that their influence on the *Fantaisie* was particularly strong. The passage in which Debussy took pains to imitate effects associated with Javanese music is broken down into its component parts, which recur in simpler combinations in pieces composed later.<sup>49</sup> While the reuse of the elements from □ in later works reflects the strength of the Javanese influence on □ insofar as Debussy, quite simply, remembered its Javanese elements, the process of simplifying the combinations of elements that recur suggests a tapering of the strength of the influence. The Javanese texture of □ is charged with the white heat of inspiration, while the opening passage of *Clair de lune* is the product of reflection on the receding memory of a vivid musical experience. In the Javanese passages composed after the *Fantaisie*, the range of borrowings is narrower and, in particular, the characteristic exaggeration of borrowed material is missing.

The intensity of the Javanese influence on the music of □ is matched by the breadth of its influence on the finale, whose constantly shifting texture feeds on developmental processes characteristic of Javanese music. The effect of these processes was felt by several composers traveling in Java during the 1920s. Leopold Godowsky wrote, in 1925:

The sonority of the gamelan is so weird, fantastic and bewitching, the native music so elusive, vague, shimmering and singular, that on listening to this new world of sound I lost my sense of reality, imagining myself in a realm of enchantment.<sup>50</sup>

Upon his return from the Far East in 1928, the American orientalist Henry Eichheim was quoted as saying:

Although the gamelan played a continuous accompaniment to the drama, the music never once grew monotonous. It is a quality which only oriental music possesses. We should soon get uncontrollably restless if we had to listen to a symphony of ours which lasted much more than an hour or two; but the Javanese music has such a constant quality of change that it never grows dull. It is really an undefinable thing. I have often studied it and have never been able to find a real explanation.<sup>51</sup>

This “constant quality of change” inspired Eichheim’s orchestral work *Java* (1929),<sup>52</sup> as it did this poetic description by Leonhard Hui-zinga in 1937:

There are only two things that one can compare it with: moonlight, and running water. It is pure and mysterious like moonlight; it is always the same and yet always changing, like running water. This music does not create a song for our ears; it is a “state,” such as moonlight poured over the fields. It runs and flows, clucking, tinkling and gurgling, as the water coming down from the mountains. Yet it is never monotonous. Now its sounds flow quicker and louder, just as the running water may suddenly speak louder in the night, and then again they fade into silence.<sup>53</sup>

In the finale, the cyclic theme functions as an

a. III, [S] 21–22.

b. I, [D] 1–2.

c. I, [C] 1–3.

d. III, [L] 1–2, 5–6.

Example 17: Examples of the *Angklung* Ornament in Debussy's *Fantaisie*.

ostinato even where the change of tempo, *le double moins vite*, momentarily arrests the gathering momentum of the music. The effect of repeating an ostinato in an orchestral sonority that is in a continual state of flux is the quality of Javanese music that Debussy tried to capture in the last movement as a whole.<sup>54</sup>

IV

Debussy's music criticism and his revisions of the *Fantaisie* suggest that Javanese influence on the formal processes of the last movement and on the music of [L] contributed to his feelings of ambivalence toward the work.

Even though he had himself used variation

processes in the *Fantaisie*, Debussy criticized Witowski, Dukas, and Rhené-Baton for writing variations. According to Léon Vallas, this criticism is the reason for his reassessment of the work. Vallas concluded: the "real reason why Debussy withdrew this work was that he considered the finale a failure."<sup>55</sup> In the finale the cyclic theme is most conspicuously subjected to processes of variation. But Vallas did not know that the cyclic theme is a Javanese melody. Thus an even stronger case can be made for the notion that Debussy's criticism of Witowski, which appeared in Debussy's very first column for *La Revue Blanche* (1 April 1901), is related to his rejection of the work:

The young Russian school attempted to rejuvenate the symphony by borrowing ideas from folk music. They succeeded in unearthing some real gems, but was there not always an irreconcilable conflict between the folk tunes themselves and the variations the composers felt they had to add? . . . You would hear a snatch of the most ingenuous refrain from some old peasant woman, quite embarrassed to be entwined in so much harmonic lace. These versions somehow seemed sadly constricted: the additions of all those weighty counterpoints had divorced the folk tunes from their rural origins.<sup>56</sup>

Although the variation processes of his finale were suggested by the "rural origins" of the *Fantaisie* theme itself, Debussy's criticism of Witowski nevertheless fits hand-in-glove with the decision to withhold his concerto from publication and performance. His critique reads like that of one who has himself gone to the well and found it dry.

Yet Debussy's review also addresses the question of the proper treatment of folk material. By speaking of the "irreconcilable conflict" between a folk tune and a composer's "variations" and by pointing out that "weighty counterpoints . . . divorced folk tunes from their rural origin," Debussy contends that a composer must use folk music with care in order not to destroy its authentic character. The fact that 1901 was a very early date for a composer to make such a statement, as noted by Richard Langham Smith,<sup>57</sup> tends to suggest that Debussy's criticism of Witowski is based, at a deeper level, on the realization of the failure of his own attempt to recreate the "rural origins."

It is for this reason that a remark on the his-

tory of the *Fantaisie* made by Maurice Emmanuel—who transcribed the famous conversation on harmony between Debussy and his teacher Guiraud from memory (which took place in 1889)—is particularly telling:

At the same time when, in the presence of his master Guiraud, he abused the *Sonate à deux thèmes* of the German classics and declared the form exhausted, he wrote, in 1889–1890, a work entirely classical in which the sacrosanct rules of bithematicism are sensibly observed: it is the *Fantaisie* for piano and orchestra, a concerto of the cyclic form dear to Saint-Saëns, Franck, and d'Indy. The themes are transformed rhythmically; they reappear from one passage to the next. He had hardly finished the work, when Debussy accused himself of inadvertence and of a mistake: he noticed that his pen betrayed his vision. This *Fantaisie* was disowned. It appeared to him a child of the school, because of its predictable developments, its contrapuntal scaffolding.<sup>58</sup>

Debussy's inevitable failure to recreate an effect associated with Javanese music provides an explanation for the irony of the events described by Emmanuel's report. It is reasonable to assume that a strong external influence might induce a composer to embark on a scheme he would ordinarily disavow.

Indeed, Emmanuel's reference to "contrapuntal scaffolding" as a reason for Debussy's dissatisfaction with the *Fantaisie* coincides with several trenchant remarks made by its composer. By warning of the danger of placing a folk melody in "counterpoint," Debussy calls attention to the problem in unexpected terms. It is usually the *harmonization* of a folk melody that undermines its indigenous character—its modal quality.<sup>59</sup> There is thus a telling coincidence between Debussy's sensitivity to the "weighty counterpoints" with which the Russian composers dressed up folk material, his observation that Javanese counterpoint makes that of Palestrina sound like "child's play," and the fact that at the time he witnessed the Javanese "art of counterpoint," he wrote a piece that he was to reject as a "child of the school, because of its predictable developments, its contrapuntal scaffolding." The "contrapuntal scaffolding" of □ and the variations of the finale were suggested by Javanese music itself, and when he had finished the work, Debussy suddenly realized his attempt to capture the eva-



nescent effects of this endearing exotic music had failed—a point that is confirmed by his revisions.

Debussy extensively altered an engraved print of the *Fantaisie* made in 1890. Most of the alterations are proof corrections and changes of orchestration, but there are several deletions or changes affecting the substance of the music.<sup>60</sup> The first sixteen measures of the passage at  $\square$  are altered significantly (ex. 18). The new version pasted on the manuscript simplifies the harmony and texture while preserving the musical effect of the passage. In particular Debussy has deleted the sonority that imitates the *angklung* chord, the chord progression drawn from the symmetrical pitch structure, and the counterpointing melodies. In brief, the passage containing a concentration of Javanese elements shows the most radical degree of revision, and the elements deleted relate directly to

musical effects associated with Javanese music that Debussy wanted to recreate.

Several changes of substance in the rest of the work involve elements that also can be related to Javanese music. The clarinet parts removed at  $\square^1$  1–2 of the first movement imitate, as pointed out above, the repeated graces of *angklung* technique (see ex. 17). The apotheosis of the *Wani-Wani* theme at the end of the last movement ( $\square$ ) is preceded by a twenty-measure passage based exclusively on the chromatic side-slipping of augmented triads. At this point the whole-tone/pentatonic modal shift receives its most dramatic treatment. In the Lang manuscript the four measures before  $\square$  ( $\square$  23–26 of the Fromont edition) are deleted, most likely because they constitute an unnecessary intensification of the phrase at  $\square$  19–22.

The deleted phrase (ex. 19a) is composed of two motives, labelled x and y. While the ani-

Example 18: Revised Version (Lang Manuscript).

mated figuration of *x* bears but a tenuous relationship to Javanese figuration, the homophonic setting of *y*, a motive obviously related to the cyclic theme, calls to mind the playing of the *Wani-Wani* theme in unison noticed by Tiersot. In a similar passage after  $\square$ , ten measures of augmented triads and whole-tone colors prepare for the recurrence of the violin motive of  $\square$ , played by the trumpet at  $\square$  11, and the concomitant shift to the pentatonic color. In this passage the Lang manuscript replaces motive *y* (ex. 19b) at  $\square$  3–4 and  $\square$  7–8 with the animated figuration of *x*. In this one passage, at least, it would seem that Debussy's revisions resulted in the substitution of conventional thematic material, *à la* Liszt, for something less accessible! Moreover, this small change affects directly the variation processes of the final movement.

Debussy's substantive revisions show that his dissatisfaction with the *Fantaisie* stemmed, in part, from the Javanese influence. His initial inclination to recreate Javanese musical effects in a literal manner is a way of coming to terms with a strong exotic influence that is reflected mutually in the first Balinese work by Colin McPhee, *Tabuh-Tabuhan* (1936), and in the first oriental composition by Henry Eichheim, *Javanese Sketch* (1918). And like Debussy, McPhee and Eichheim characteristically exaggerated the structure of borrowings that contributed significantly to the recreation of exotic effects. Moreover, both of these composers felt misgivings about their first exotic work.<sup>61</sup> This comparative evidence, of course, tallies with what one might expect of the initial stages of the assimilation of an exotic influence. If, indeed, Debussy modelled part of his work on elements of Javanese music, the idea that his dissatisfaction with the work involved, on some level, the Javanese influence is to be expected.

The heart of the matter concerns the evidence that establishes the presence of a strong Javanese influence. The specific links between musical elements of the *Fantaisie* and the documentary evidence is conclusive. Further confirmation stems from the immediate reuse of the *Wani-Wani* theme in *Tarantelle styrienne* and *L'Échelonnement des haies*, and from the reassociation of different Javanese elements in these and other works.

The relationship between Debussy's *Fan-*

*taisie* and d'Indy's *Symphonie cévenole* (1886), mentioned by Vallas, adds another dimension to the study of the dynamics of exotic influence. Reduced to a two-measure pentatonic ostinato and repeated insistently at the beginning of the last movement, d'Indy's folksong seems to anticipate the opening of Debussy's finale. Like Debussy's ostinato, d'Indy's reiterated motive combines ascending motion from G to D with a concluding dip in contour below G. But the striking resemblance of these two works at this point also sets off their differences and throws into relief the Javanese influence on the latter composition. In d'Indy's work the piano ostinato is seen to be background material supporting the statement of a lengthy theme by the brass, and with the change of mood the ostinato is later dropped. By contrast the ostinato of the *Fantaisie* quickly emerges as the principal theme of the movement, and it continues to function as an ostinato supporting variations in texture, even at the change of mood in the middle of the movement. Through all of its rhythmic variations the cyclic theme retains its sharply etched four-square structure. It is harmonized by diatonic chords suggested by the pentatonic scale, and thus its modal quality is everywhere retained. While the rhythm of the ostinato in the finale suggests the rhythm of the Javanese *balungan*, the rhythm of the theme at  $\square$  and at the beginning of the work is like the arhythmic improvisatory style of the *rebab*. Instead of recapitulating facts concerning other Javanese elements of the work, one need only point out that the piano ostinato of the *Symphonie cévenole* adumbrates the *Wani-Wani* ostinato as much as it anticipates Debussy's theme.

What role might the *Symphonie cévenole* have played in the genesis of Debussy's *Fantaisie*? Consider another striking coincidence involving the *Fantaisie* theme. A four-bar descending line over an F# bass note that is found in a transitional passage (mm. 35–38) of the song *Chevaux de bois* (1885) is quite close in style to the finale's ostinato. Its sixteenth-note pattern clearly prefigures the neighbor-note motive of the violin melody of  $\square$  (ex. 20).<sup>62</sup> Thus, Debussy's "inadvertent" decision to base a large-scale cyclic work on the *Wani-Wani* theme is parallel in import to his emphasis of the pentatonic and whole-tone scales and to his

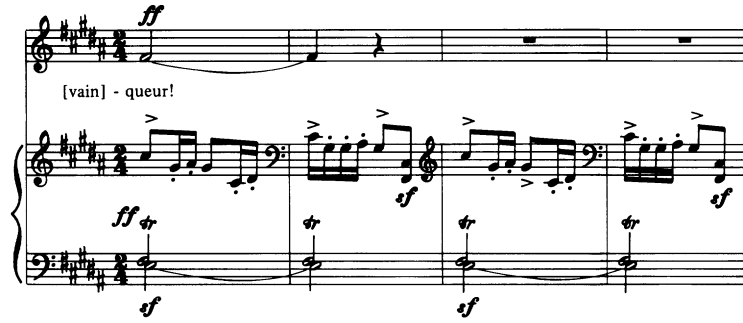
a.  $\boxtimes$  23– $\boxdot$

Musical score for Example 19a, measures 23–31. The score is divided into two systems. The first system shows measures 23–28, with a piano part (Pf.) and an orchestra part (Orch.). The piano part features a treble and bass staff with a 'pp' dynamic. The orchestra part features a treble and bass staff with a 'pp' dynamic. The second system shows measures 29–31. The piano part continues with a treble and bass staff. The orchestra part continues with a treble and bass staff. The score includes various musical notations such as triplets, slurs, and dynamic markings.

b.  $\boxdot$  3–11 (autograph version).

Musical score for Example 19b, measures 3–11 (autograph version). The score is divided into two systems. The first system shows measures 3–6, with a piano part (Pf.) and an orchestra part (Orch.). The piano part features a bass and treble staff with a 'p' dynamic. The orchestra part features a treble and bass staff. The second system shows measures 7–11. The piano part continues with a bass and treble staff. The orchestra part continues with a treble and bass staff. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, triplets, and dynamic markings.


Example 19: Substantive Revisions,  $\boxdot$  to  $\boxtimes$ .



Example 20: Debussy, *Chevaux de bois* (1885), mm. 35–38.

choice of terms used to describe Javanese music in his letter to Louÿs and in his article "Taste." The recognition of familiar elements in exotic music proved a healthy stimulus.

By itself, the observation that certain elements in Debussy's pre-Java style are structurally similar to elements of the music that Debussy was to hear in the Javanese *kampong* is not as significant as the point that these com-

mon elements are crucial for understanding the strength of the exotic influence: the foreshadowing enabled Debussy to comprehend exotic music immediately. He sat for hours in wonder and amazement—as did Tiersot, who noticed that the *angklung* ninth was proof of the "artistic sentiment" of the Javanese—and the result was his "Symphony on a Javanese Mountain Air." 

#### APPENDIX

Six versions of *Wani-Wani*, in cipher notation, have appeared in recently compiled collections of Javanese gending. Four are in *pelog*, two, in *slendro*. The earliest, of five dated versions, is in *slendro* and, typi-

cally, consists of a single A and a single B *gongan*. This version is *gending* no. 25 of the collection made by R. N. G. S. Probohardjono of Yogyakarta prior to 1 July 1957, the date of his introductory remarks:

(bebuka):	2	.	5	.	3	.	5	.	2	.	6	.	3	.	6	.	5
																	G
(gongan A):		.	1	.	6	.	3	.	5	.	1	.	6	.	3	.	5
			k				k		N		k		P		k		N
		.	2	.	3	.	5	.	3	.	6	.	5	.	3	.	2
			k		P		k		N		k		P		k		G
(gongan B):		.	5	.	3	.	5	.	2	.	5	.	3	.	5	.	2
			k				k		N		k		P		k		N
			.365		2365		2356		.216		..66		1561		3265		3235
			k		P		k		N		k		P		k		G

(The dotted ciphers are played in the upper octave.)

The rhythmic activity of Probohardjono's version of *gongan* A sets the pattern for the other recent transcriptions, but for one in which, like the versions of Groneman and Hood, there are four *balungan* pitches per colotomic instrument. The following version, found on p. 163 of the first volume of *gending* from Yogyakarta compiled by Kris Sukardi and Sogi Sukidjo in 1976 (the most recent of the dated collections), is in *pelog patet nem*. The pitches played simultaneously with the colotomic instruments are quite different not only from the early transcriptions, but also from the more recent ones:

( <i>gongan</i> A):	1231	3216	3265	3653	1231	3216	3265	3653
	k		k	N	k	P	k	G
	6532	3123	6612	3216	..61	2165	2356	3532
	k	P	k	N	k	P	k	G

For purposes of comparison, here is Groneman's version in cipher notation:

( <i>gongan</i> A):	121.	1216	3352	3565	121.	1216	3352	3565
	k		k	N	k	P	k	N
	33.5	2353	6165	2353	56.1	6535	2356	3532
	k	P	k	N	k	P	k	G

The colotomic pitches of Groneman differ from those of Probohardjono only at *kenongan* 1, *ketuk* 2; *kenongan* 3, *ketuk* 1; and *kenongan* 4, *ketuk* 1, and *ketuk* 2. The colotomic pitches of the other *slendro* version (from the undated collection), which is the only version with as many as three *gongan*, including two variants of A, are almost identical to those of the Probohardjono version. *Gongan* A1 uses 3 for 1 at *kenongan* 1, *ketuk* 1, while *gongan* A2 differs only at *kenongan* 4, *ketuk* 2, where 6 stands in place of 3.

Less active than the early versions, Probohard-

jono's *gending*, nevertheless, supports the theory that Debussy heard something quite close to the *balungan* of *gongan* A of the Groneman and Hood versions, insofar as it continues to reflect important melodic features used by Debussy: the opening leap, the whole-step relationship between the midpoint and the final note of the first *kenongan*, the repetition of the first *kenongan*, and the melodic contour that follows the climax of the line in the first *kenongan*.

I am grateful to Judith Becker for making available to me four *Wani-Wani* transcriptions found in collections from her private library and for providing me a

recording of *Wani-Wani* (Lokonanta, BRD-010). I also wish to thank René Lysloff for locating two versions of *Wani-Wani* in his copy of the six-volume 1976 publication of *gending* from Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

Only a trained ear can follow the *balungan* of the Lokonanta recording, which features the softer melodic instruments and a vocal part. This style of performance is totally at variance with the style of the *Wani-wani* performance heard at the Universal Exposition, as described by Tiersot.

#### NOTES

This article is based on a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Philadelphia, October 1984. I am deeply grateful to those persons and institutions who granted me access to primary source material: Mme Henry Gouin and the Royaumont Foundation (M Maréchal, director), for the 1890 engraving of the *Fantaisie* in the François Lang Collection; and Dr. Ethel John Lindgren, MA, FRSA, of Cambridge, England, for the scores and papers of Henry Eichheim. My research was supported by a summer stipend from the National Endowment for the Humanities and a fellowship from the Exxon Foundation, through the auspices of the Newberry Library, Chicago. François Lesure, Hélène Hogarth, Judith Becker, and René Lysloff kindly lent their expertise. Robert Morgan, Ralph Locke, and Stanley Howell read the manuscript and shared with me their critical insights.

<sup>1</sup>Lawrence Gilman, *The Music of Tomorrow* (New York,

1907), pp. 33–34; Léon Vallas, *Claude Debussy et son temps* (Paris, 1932), p. 65.

<sup>2</sup>The title page of the autograph manuscript reads: "Octobre 89—Avril 90 Cl. ADebussy." Robert O. Lehman Deposit, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Inaugurated on 6 May 1889, the Exposition Universelle ran for six months. See Louis Rousselet, *L'Exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris, n.d.), p. 5.

<sup>3</sup>Facts concerning the history of the *Fantaisie* are briefly summarized by François Lesure in his *Catalogue de l'œuvre de Claude Debussy* (Geneva, 1977), p. 72. Debussy wrote to d'Indy on 20 April, "En réfléchissant il eut mieux fallu une exécution suffisante des trois morceaux qu'une exécution satisfaisante du premier, obtenue grâce à vous." *Claude Debussy, Lettres 1884–1918*, ed. François Lesure (Paris, 1980), p. 28.

<sup>4</sup>Lesure, *Catalogue*, p. 72.

<sup>5</sup>Debussy wrote to Henri Lerolle on 23 September 1895: "je voulais répondre tout de suite à votre amiable lettre, mais le terrible Hartmann m'a obligé à m'occuper jour et nuit de ma *Fantaisie* pour piano et orchestre que Pugno doit jouer cet hiver chez Colonne, si celui-ci que je dois voir mardi n'est pas trop ébranlé par ma musique." Debussy, *Lettres*, p. 76.

<sup>6</sup>Debussy, *Lettres*, p. 185.

<sup>7</sup>Lesure, *Catalogue*, p. 72.

<sup>8</sup>Claude Debussy, *Fantaisie*, ed. André Jouve (Paris, 1968). The manuscript on which this edition is based is part of the François Lang Collection, Royaumont. See Lesure, *Catalogue*, p. 72.

<sup>9</sup>Quoted in Edward Lockspeiser, *Debussy: His Life and Mind* (London, 1962), I, 115.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Julien Tiersot, *Musiques pittoresques: Promenades musicales à l'Exposition de 1889* (Paris, 1889), pp. 33–34.

<sup>13</sup>E. Raoul, *Javanais et javanaises à l'exposition, 1889* (Paris, n.d.), p. 7.

<sup>14</sup>Léon Pillaut, "Le Gamelan javanais," *Le Ménestrel*, 3 July 1887, pp. 244–45.

<sup>15</sup>See Louis Benedictus, *Les Musiques bizarres à l'Exposition* (Paris, 1889), pp. 3–17; and Tiersot, *Musiques pittoresques*, pp. 31–47.

<sup>16</sup>See the discussion of ex. 9, below.

<sup>17</sup>Tiersot, *Musiques pittoresques*, p. 31.

<sup>18</sup>Quoted in Lockspeiser, *Debussy I*, 113–14.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp. 58–61.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 82–83.

<sup>21</sup>Robert Godet, "En Marge de la marge," *Revue musicale*, May 1926, pp. 59–61.

<sup>22</sup>See Mantle Hood, "Slendro and Pelog Redefined," *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology* 1 (1966), 28–48.

<sup>23</sup>Jens Peter Reiche, "Die theoretischen Grundlagen javanischer Gamelan-Musik und ihre Bedeutung für Claude Debussy," *Zeitschrift für Musiktheorie* 3 (1972), 5.

<sup>24</sup>Tiersot, *Musiques pittoresques*, p. 36; and Pillaut, "Le Gamelan javanais," p. 244.

<sup>25</sup>Tiersot, *Musiques pittoresques*, p. 36.

<sup>26</sup>Debussy's revision, in 1908, of his *Air de danse* from the cantata *L'Enfant prodigue* (1884) confirms the theory that he used the whole-tone/pentatonic shift as a syntactical device. At m. 51 of the revised *Air de danse* two measures of whole-tone figuration give way to a pentatonic motive. In the parallel passage of the 1884 version a dominant ninth harmony on D precedes the pentatonic motive.

<sup>27</sup>Tiersot, *Musiques pittoresques*, pp. 44–45.

<sup>28</sup>On p. 39 of *Musiques pittoresques*, Tiersot writes: "En principe, ce chant est fait par le *rebab* et les *bonang-ageng* aigus, allant à l'unisson."

<sup>29</sup>See Judith Becker, *Traditional Music in Modern Java* (Honolulu, 1980), pp. 249 and 14.

<sup>30</sup>Isaac Groneman, *De gamelan te Jogjakarta* (Amsterdam, 1890), p. 72; Mantle Hood, *The Nuclear Theme as a Determinant of Patet in Javanese Music* (Groningen, 1954), p. 280.

<sup>31</sup>Groneman, *De gamelan*, pp. 54–55; Hood, *Patet*, pp. 18–19.

<sup>32</sup>Lockspeiser, *Debussy I*, 114–15.

<sup>33</sup>See Appendix.

<sup>34</sup>Oral communication from René Lysloff, Director, University of Michigan Gamelan, Summer 1985.

<sup>35</sup>Judith Becker, *Traditional Music in Java*, pp. 108–09.

<sup>36</sup>Tiersot, *Musiques pittoresques*, p. 39: "Au point de vue rythmique nous observerons seulement que les thèmes mélodiques, soit en notes égales, soit en dessins figurés, appartiennent toujours à la mesure de deux ou quatre temps, tan-

dis que, dans les parties accompagnantes, les syncopes et les mouvements ternaires sont fréquents. Un des procédés rythmiques favoris des Javanais consiste à répéter une note importante en sextolets: presque toutes leurs phrases mélodiques sont terminées par une batterie de la note finale dans ce rythme, qui vient rompre ainsi, d'une façon singulière, la régularité du mouvement général."

<sup>37</sup>Lesure, *Catalogue*, p. 116.

<sup>38</sup>Claude Debussy, *Lettres à deux amis* (Paris, 1942), p. 81.

<sup>39</sup>The stylistic evidence to be presented here and the suggestion implicit in Tiersot's remarks that the Conservatoire's gamelan attracted the attention of musicians are the only pieces of evidence I have uncovered that suggest Debussy handled the instruments of this gamelan.

<sup>40</sup>Tiersot, *Musiques pittoresques*, p. 32: "puis des gongs de diverses espèces et de toutes dimensions, jusqu'aux plus grandes, tous faisant entendre une note perceptible, quoique parfois très grave, et étant accordés avec les autres instruments."

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 35: "A mesure que l'on avance, le mouvement s'accélère, les notes se précipitent: les instruments s'agitent en cadence, par groupes de quatre ou six doubles croches. Pendant ce temps, le tambour, se conformant au mouvement de l'ensemble, marque les temps forts avec sa note fondamentale. Enfin tous les instruments s'agitent à la fois, formant ainsi une sorte de tremolo qui peut être représenté par l'accord ci-dessous [the chord cited in the text at this point is given in ex. 10a]."

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>In March 1894 Maurice Kufferath criticized Debussy's String Quartet for its "flots abondants d'harmonies riches, largement soutenues, évoquant le souvenir du Gamelang." Léon Vallas, *Claude Debussy et son temps*, p. 141.

<sup>44</sup>For the dates, see Lesure, *Catalogue*, pp. 70, 80, and 81.

<sup>45</sup>Quoted from William P. Malm, *Music Cultures of the Pacific, the Near East, and Asia*, 2nd edn. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1977), pp. 39–42.

<sup>46</sup>Roger Nichols, *Debussy* (London, 1973), pp. 21–23.

<sup>47</sup>See also Robert Orledge, *Debussy and the Theatre* (Cambridge, 1982), exs. 51 and 52, p. 202. See pp. 186–205 for Orledge's study of the genesis and history of *No-ja-li*.

Though closely related to the *Wani-Wani balungan*, the neighbor ornament may have been suggested by the *rebab* part or by the relationship between the *saron panerus* and the *saron barung*. It appears not only in ex. 13, but also in the *rebab* part of a totally different transcription of Javanese music that was published in the first edition of Malm's *Music Cultures of the Pacific*. The characteristic feature of this ornament is the rhythmic anticipation of the neighbor note. When the *saron panerus* plays in "Yogya style," as described to me by René Lysloff, the first of the twice-played *balungan* pitches anticipates rhythmically the *barung* stroke.

<sup>48</sup>Colin McPhee, *Music in Bali* (New Haven, 1966), p. 235.

<sup>49</sup>The reuse of several different, but well-defined, elements abstracted from the *Fantaisie* is similar to the process of "continuing influence" that characterizes the Balinese music composed by Colin McPhee after his first exotic work, *Tabuh-Tabuhan* (1936). See Richard Mueller, *Imitation and Stylization in the Balinese Music of Colin McPhee* (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1983), pp. 334–79.

<sup>50</sup>Quoted in Jaap Kunst, *Music in Java*, ed. E. L. Heins, 3rd edn. (The Hague, 1973), I, 249.

<sup>51</sup>Undated clipping (Santa Barbara *Daily News*), Eichheim Papers, Dr. Ethel John Lindgren, Cambridge, England.

<sup>52</sup>Eichheim Manuscripts, The Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois. Is it only a coincidence that Stokowski, who was with Eichheim in Java early in 1928 and who shared Eichheim's enthusiasm for Javanese music, played Debussy's

*Fantaisie* with the Philadelphia Orchestra two weeks after he performed Eichheim's *Java* (8–9 and 22–23 November 1929)?

<sup>53</sup>Quoted in Kunst, *Music in Java* I, 249.

<sup>54</sup>Good examples of Javanese gamelan music are presented in the three-volume *Javanese Court Gamelan* recorded by Robert E. Brown (Nonesuch H-72044, H-72074, and H-72083). The evolving quality of gamelan sonority is best illustrated by the four *ladrang* compositions on the first side of vol. 3.

<sup>55</sup>Léon Vallas, *Claude Debussy*, trans. Maire and Grace O'Brien (London, 1933), p. 45.

<sup>56</sup>*Debussy on Music*, trans. and ed. Richard Langham Smith (New York, 1977), p. 16.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 18, fn. 6.

<sup>58</sup>Maurice Emmanuel, *Pelléas et Mélisande* (Paris, n.d.), p. 214.

<sup>59</sup>Colin McPhee's critical review of MacDowell's *Indian Symphony*, in *Modern Music* 13 (1936), 46, reads: "Despite the fact that MacDowell, in his *Critical and Historical Essays*, calls attention to the falseness of harmonizing (in that case) a Chinese melody, he repeats the same kind of naïveté again and again in this symphony, destroying all modal feeling." Although Bartók takes a somewhat broader view, his discussion assumes that the question is one of "harmonization." See "The Relation between Folk Music and Art Music (1931)," in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (New York, 1976), pp. 340–44.

<sup>60</sup>The manuscript of the François Lang collection, Royumont, is a print engraved, but not published, by Choudens in 1890. The numerous modifications that appear in this manuscript are inscribed in pencil; blue, green, and orange crayon; and red, blue, and black ink. In many passages alterations exist in several layers, and in some places, material has been deleted or changed by paste-ons. The modifications consist of proof corrections, changes in orchestration, and changes in the musical substance.

Authoritative conclusions concerning the dating of these modifications await further study of the manuscript. Yet the evidence now available does not fully support the thesis that they are the result of work carried out by Debussy after 1909, as is suggested by his letter to Varèse (fn. 6) or a statement quoted by the editors of the 1968 Jobert edition from a letter allegedly sent by Debussy to Roger-Du-

casse in 1909: "Le temps et les raisons d'éditeur m'ont fait négliger de la mettre au point jusqu'à ce jour. Il est certain que je n'abandonnerai pas cet enfant." If, as the editors of the Jobert edition would claim, these modifications complete Debussy's work of revision, then Marguerite Long's account of a conversation with Debussy that took place at St. Jean-de-Luz during the summer of 1917 does not make sense: "And when at St. Jean-de-Luz I admitted my liking for this youthful work and my desire to play it, he objected: 'No, not now. I want first to write something for you, something in which the piano will function in a way never before heard'" (Marguerite Long, *At the Piano with Debussy*, trans. Olive Senior-Ellis [London, 1972], pp. 27–28 and 11–12). Moreover, the changes of substance, even including the radical revision at □, hardly fulfill the expectations implicit in Debussy's confession to Varèse that he wished to "modify it almost entirely." The modifications seem to date from 1895 at the latest, when Debussy, as he wrote to Lerolle (fn. 5), was busy working on the *Fantaisie* for his publisher Hartmann and for an expected performance of the work by Pugno.

The revision pasted on the first sixteen measures of □ has one slight alteration (in m. 5). The original version of this passage is found in the first edn. (by Fromont), which is based on the autograph score now in the Robert O. Lehman Collection at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Pages 101–04 of the autograph, which include the first ten measures of □, are missing. There is no evidence to suggest that the original version of □ is not substantially what it appears to be in the first edition. The passage that precedes □ and that is missing from the autograph is the same in both the Lang manuscript and the first edition.

<sup>61</sup>On McPhee, see Richard Mueller, *Imitation and Stylization*, pp. 210, 217, 240–41, 259–62, and 303–04. I am also preparing a study of Eichheim's *Japanese Sketch*.

<sup>62</sup>Again, the music of both McPhee and Eichheim provide supporting examples. See Richard Mueller, *Imitation and Stylization*, pp. 316–32. The melodic motive of *Malay Mosaic* (1924) that Eichheim identifies as a Javanese melody is clearly foreshadowed by an accompaniment pattern of his setting of W. B. Yeats "The Heart of the Woman," which was published in 1910, some five years before Eichheim's first trip to the Far East and his initial exposure to authentic oriental music.