



Universidade de Aveiro Departamento de Comunicação e Arte
Ano 2017

**JOÃO MANUEL
PEREIRA
BETTENCOURT DA
CÂMARA**

**A MÚSICA PARA PIANO DE FRANCISCO DE
LACERDA E A INFLUÊNCIA DE CLAUDE DEBUSSY**

**THE PIANO MUSIC OF FRANCISCO DE LACERDA
AND THE INFLUENCE OF CLAUDE DEBUSSY**



Universidade de Aveiro Departamento de Comunicação e Arte
Ano 2017

**JOÃO MANUEL
PEREIRA
BETTENCOURT DA
CÂMARA**

**A MÚSICA PARA PIANO DE FRANCISCO DE
LACERDA E A INFLUÊNCIA DE CLAUDE DEBUSSY**

**THE PIANO MUSIC OF FRANCISCO DE LACERDA
AND THE INFLUENCE OF CLAUDE DEBUSSY**

Tese apresentada à Universidade de Aveiro para cumprimento dos requisitos necessários à obtenção do grau de Doutor em Música, realizada sob a orientação científica do Doutor António José Vassalo Neves Lourenço, Professor Auxiliar do Departamento de Comunicação e Arte da Universidade de Aveiro

A meus pais, a quem tudo devo!

júri

presidente

Doutor Vasile Staicu
Professor Catedrático, Universidade de Aveiro

Doutor António José Vassalo Neves Lourenço
Professor Auxiliar, Universidade de Aveiro

Doutora Sofia Inês Ribeiro Lourenço da Fonseca
Professora Adjunta, Escola Superior de Música e Artes do Espetáculo

Doutor Michel Marie Joseph Gabriel Renaud
Professor Catedrático Aposentado, Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Doutor Fausto Manuel da Silva Neves
Professor Auxiliar Convidado, Universidade de Aveiro

Doutor Francisco José Dias Santos Barbosa Monteiro
Professor Coordenador, Escola Superior de Educação do Porto

palavras-chave

Música, impressionismo/simbolismo musical, piano performance, Francisco de Lacerda, Claude Debussy.

resumo

Francisco de Lacerda (1869-1934) foi um compositor mais relevantes da história da música em Portugal, dado o seu papel importante no contexto da escola impressionista deste país. No entanto, as primeiras obras de Lacerda denotam uma linguagem distinta daquela que revela nos seus últimos anos como compositor, ainda ligada a uma abordagem algo conservadora da música, que teve as suas raízes na estética de César Franck e de outros músicos românticos. O trabalho de investigação aqui apresentado procura refletir sobre os principais aspectos biográficos e artísticos que determinaram as transformações da sua linguagem musical, sobretudo no que toca à influência da obra de Claude Debussy e à sua relação pessoal com Lacerda, assim como estabelecer as características estéticas da obra de um importante compositor português. Para além de analisar aspectos da interpretação das obras para piano de Francisco de Lacerda e Claude Debussy, e com base na carreira do autor como pianista e intérprete de Debussy, esta tese termina com uma reflexão sobre a performance das obras para piano de Lacerda, no contexto histórico e estético a que pertencem, e de acordo com as características próprias da sua linguagem musical.

keywords

Music, musical impressionism/symbolism, piano performance, Francisco de Lacerda, Claude Debussy.

abstract

Francisco de Lacerda (1869-1934) was arguably one of the most relevant composers in the history of music in Portugal, having established himself as the leading figure within the impressionistic school in the country. However, Lacerda's early works denote a distinctively different language to that of his later years, still relatively tied to a somewhat conservative approach to music, which had its roots in the aesthetics of César Franck and other romantic musicians. The research hereby presented attempts to reflect on what were the key biographical and artistic aspects that determined the transformations of his language, especially taking into account the influence of Claude Debussy's work and his personal relationship with Lacerda, as well as establishing the aesthetical framework of an important Portuguese composer. Together with evidence on the interpretation of both Francisco de Lacerda's and Claude Debussy's works, and based on the author's diversified career as a concert pianist and Debussy performer, this thesis ends with a reflexion on the performance of Lacerda's piano works, in the historical and aesthetical context to which they belong, and according to the characteristics that are exclusive to his work.

Table of contents

Index of documents	ii
Index of musical examples	iii
Introduction.....	1
Chapter I – Francisco de Lacerda and Claude Debussy: the crossing of two musical paths.....	11
From the Azores to Lisbon.....	12
Studying in Paris	15
Meeting Claude Debussy	20
<i>Danse du voile, Danse sacrée and Danse profane</i>	25
Chapter II – A perspective of Francisco de Lacerda’s piano works	37
Early Romanticism and Nationalism	38
Turning towards impressionistic modernity	45
Later pianistic production: <i>Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d’un artiste</i>	51
Chapter III – The influence of Debussy and the identity of Francisco de Lacerda’s piano works	59
Stretching and changing the use of tonality.....	61
Expanding score marking capabilities	40
Score features as descriptive tools	75
The third phase: signs of Dadaism, miniaturism and an aesthetics of simplicity.....	84
Chapter IV – The performance of Francisco de Lacerda’s piano works	93
Music layers and spatial conception	95
<i>Legato</i> playing as an impressionistic brush-stroke	103
Diverse accentuation markings and keyboard attack types	107
Tempo, rests and general agogic in their depictive dimension	111
Conclusion	115
Bibliography	119
Appendices.....	128

Index of documents

Image 1: Francisco de Lacerda at his home in Paris.....	16
Image 2: A letter by Claude Debussy to Francisco de Lacerda of January 22 1907	21
Image 3: A signed photograph of Claude Debussy dedicated to Francisco de Lacerda...	22
Image 6: A Claude Debussy postcard to Francisco de Lacerda's daughter Maria (1907)30	
Image 7: Another Claude Debussy postcard to Francisco de Lacerda's daughter Maria (1907).....	31
Image 8: The programme of a concert in which Francisco de Lacerda conducted Claude Debussy's first nocturne of his orchestral work <i>Nuages</i>	32
Image 9: A photograph of Alfred Cortot dedicated to Francisco de Lacerda.....	34
Image 10: Front cover of Alfred Cortot's recital programme in Teatro de São Carlos, in Lisbon, on April 11 1931, which included the performance of Claude Debussy's <i>Preludes</i> ' first book	34
Image 11: The autographed manuscript of Henri Duparc's orchestral nocturne <i>Aux Étoiles</i> dedicated to Francisco de Lacerda.....	35
Image 12: Francisco de Lacerda's manuscript of what would have been his work <i>Pour Le tombeau de Debussy</i>	36
Image 18: The manuscript of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Les oiseaux qui s'ent vont pour toujours</i> (<i>Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste</i>).....	46
Image 29: A publishing cover of some of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste</i> , with an illustration drawn by the composer himself (from a 1922 number of the <i>Contemporânea</i> magazine).....	55

Index of musical examples

Image 4: The main theme of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Danse du voile</i>	26
Image 5: The opening bars of Claude Debussy's <i>Danse sacrée</i>	28
Image 13: Francisco de Lacerda's dedicatory remark "Aos Meus" ("To My People") in <i>Lusitanas – Valsas de fantasia</i>	40
Image 14: The opening bars of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Sonatina</i>	43
Image 15: The opening bars of Johannes Brahms' <i>Piano Sonata no. 3</i>	44
Image 16: The second theme of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Sonatina</i>	44
Image 17: The second theme of Frederik Chopin's <i>Piano Sonata no. 3</i> 's first movement.....	45
Image 19: The use of consecutive diminished fifth's in Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Au clair de lune</i> (bars 23-25)	48
Image 20: A dominant-ninth section of Lacerda's <i>Au clair de lune</i> (bars 30-31)	48
Image 21: An example of a modal cadence (Aeolian mode) in Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Dança lenta</i> (bar 20)	49
Image 22: The opening bars of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Dança lenta</i> , with the <i>ostinato</i> motive in the left hand	49
Image 23: The Aeolian modal scale of the first and fourth sections of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Dança lenta</i> (bars 1 – 21 and 63-84).....	50
Image 24: The Phrygian modal scale of the second section of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Dança lenta</i> (bars 22 – 37)	50
Image 25: The Mixolydian modal scale of the second section of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Dança lenta</i> (bars 38 – 62)	50
Image 26: The opening bars of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Na Acrópole – Dança grega</i>	49
Image 27: The opening bars of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Dos minaretes de Suleiman-Djami</i>	52
Image 28: The deployment of the flattened sixth degree in the lower melodic line in Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Dos minaretes de Suleiman-Djami</i> (bars 19-20)	52
Image 30: An example of Francisco de Lacerda's suggestive score indications in <i>Deux Coqs, une Poule... et ce qui s'ensuit</i> (bars 1-2)	56
Image 31: Another example of Francisco de Lacerda's suggestive score indications in <i>Deux Coqs, une Poule... et ce qui s'ensuit</i> (bars 5-6)	56

Image 32: Bars 9-10 of Claude Debussy's <i>Cloches à travers les feuilles</i>	64
Image 33: The final four bars of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>La ramier blesse</i>	65
Image 34: Bars 10-12 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Dança lenta</i>	66
Image 35: Bars 1-11 of Claude Debussy's prelude <i>La fille aux cheveux de lin</i>	67
Image 36: Bars 1-2 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Litanies pour les bêtes malades</i>	67
Image 37: The opening bars of Claude Debussy's <i>Cloches à travers les feuilles</i>	68
Image 38: Bar 15 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Mon chien et la lune</i>	68
Image 39: Bars 11-12 of Claude Debussy's <i>Cloches à travers les feuilles</i>	69
Image 40: Bar 1-4 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Bruma</i>	69
Image 41: Bars 1-4 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Mon chien rêve</i>	70
Image 42: Bar 10 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Na fonte</i>	72
Image 43: Bars 20-21 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Na fonte</i>	72
Image 44: Bar 31 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Na fonte</i>	72
Image 45: The opening bars of Claude Debussy's <i>Étude pour les octaves</i>	73
Image 46: Bars 3-4 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Certain Renard</i>	74
Image 47: The last three bars of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Certain Renard</i>	74
Image 48: Bars 19-21 of Claude Debussy's <i>Poissons d'or</i>	75
Image 49: The 'Mephistopheles theme' in bar 33 of Franz Liszt's <i>Sonata in B minor</i> (left-hand)	78
Image 50: Bars 1-4 of Claude Debussy's <i>Poissons d'or</i>	79
Image 51: Bars 1-6 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Na fonte</i>	80
Image 52: Bars 1-6 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Bénédiction – Dans le baptême des Chenille</i>	80
Image 53: Bars 20-22 of Claude Debussy's <i>Et la lune descend sur le temple qui fût</i>	81
Image 54: Bars 48-51 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Granadinas</i>	81
Image 55: The main theme of Claude Debussy's prelude <i>La danse de Puck</i>	82
Image 56: The opening bars of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>La Levrette russe</i>	83
Image 57: Bars 10-14 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Deux coqs, une poule... et ce qui s'ensuit</i>	88
Image 58: Bars 1-6 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Le Ramier blessé</i>	90
Image 59: Bars 7-12 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>La Pieuvre</i>	90

Image 60: Bars 1-8 of Claude Debussy's prelude <i>Les sons et les parfums tournent dans l'air du soir</i>	99
Image 61: Bars 1-4 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Singes... - Pi-phi-li-rhou-ou-ak (Chant Nuptial)</i>	100
Image 62: Bars 3-4 of Claude Debussy's <i>Cloches à travers les feuilles</i>	101
Image 63: Bars 10-13 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Deux Coqs, une Poule... et ce qui s'ensuit</i>	102
Image 64: Bars 1-4 of Claude Debussy's <i>Poissons d'or</i>	105
Image 65: Bars 41-43 of Claude Debussy's prelude <i>Les sons et les parfums tournent dans l'air du soir</i>	106
Image 66: Bar 1 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>La Pieuvre</i>	107
Image 67: Bars 1-2 of Claude Debussy's <i>Cloches à travers les feuilles</i>	109
Image 68: The last three bars of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>Certain Renard</i>	111
Image 69: Bars 30-31 of Claude Debussy's <i>Poissons d'or</i>	113
Image 70: Bar 1 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>La Pieuvre</i>	113
Image 71: Bars 44-45 of Claude Debussy's <i>Poissons d'or</i>	115
Image 72: Bars 1-2 of Francisco de Lacerda's <i>La Pieuvre</i>	115

Introduction

If one considers the overall musical panorama of the last one hundred and fifty years in Portugal, it would be apparently fair to conclude that the Azorean composer Francisco de Lacerda (1869-1934) would not be one of the leading figures of music history in the country. Taking into account the conservatoire programmes, score publishing and the impact of mainstream musicological research of the past few decades, he would probably fall into a second tier of Portuguese composers. This is, in one's opinion, quite an inadequate judgement on his musical legacy, not only given what he achieved as a conductor, but also the historical significance and quality of his work as a composer.

The present study explores Francisco de Lacerda's musical production in a somewhat homogenous manner, by focusing on his work for a single instrument (the piano), which one tries to analyse and comprehend in order to perform it according to its intrinsic characteristics and within the frame to which it historically belongs. As it becomes clearer throughout the present thesis, such homogeneity doesn't at all exclude the differences that should not, on the other hand, be overlooked in the approach to said work. The fact that it was composed throughout Lacerda's life, spreading itself across decades of artistic production, had to denote some considerable evolution and, thus, distinctive features. It mainly showed a clear turning point at a certain stage that would determine in a definitive way the language and style of the Portuguese composer.

The first aspect that will come across to the reader is the actual dimensions of the musical *corpus* that is the subject of this study, posthumously published in a single

volume (Lacerda 1997). Besides the considerable *Trent-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste*, only a few other piano pieces constitute the whole of the composer's creation for this instrument. It doesn't however cease to be very significant of the period in which it sprung to life, thus gaining particular importance in the history of Portuguese music of the first three decades of the 20th Century.

Although one will prepare the ground for the ultimate objective of this study by providing an outlook of Lacerda's biography and work, its core will explore what surely is one of the most relevant aspects of his music: the influence of Claude Debussy, something that is easily perceivable in it. As one will later observe, such features as musical nationalism and miniaturism are important tendencies of his writing, but it seems no way arguable that his knowledge of Debussy's music together with their personal contact are key to understanding the composer's work. Would Lacerda's piano works have come out the way they did without this significant factor? It is not a likely, even if hypothetical, conclusion. Nevertheless, one should see him as the first standard-bearer of the impressionistic school in Portugal. This is one of the primary objectives of the present work, as well as the contribution that one will try to bring about to the knowledge of the life and work of a top tier Portuguese musician.

Francisco de Lacerda's piano works are not only plainly determined by inherent factors to the musical language itself, including the so called influences (of which Debussy's certainly is the most relevant), but also by an extra-musical dimension. It is convenient to observe that the programmatic trend in music is generally associated with works from the romantic period, especially of such composers as Franz Liszt and Hector Berlioz. Such widely known pieces as the Hungarian's symphonic poems or *Fantasia quasi sonata d'après une lecture de Dante*, or Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique*, are taken as symptomatic of that tendency. However, if one doesn't fall for a simplistic vision of

that way of understanding of music, couldn't the same question be posed regarding Debussy's works?

Impressionism in music is somewhat framed by musicologists as an approach which indirectly points towards an ulterior sense of that same extra-musical layer, not necessarily in a narrative manner as that of Liszt, but in a somehow sensorial fashion. But how is *Cloches à travers les feuilles* or *Minstrels* any less "narrativistic" than Liszt's *Fantasia quasi sonata d'après une lecture de Dante* or *Faust symphony*? When performing or listening to one of these works, does Debussy seem any less suggestive, or even descriptive, than Berlioz or Liszt? This very question seems relevant enough to be presented, since it does not represent an approach to Francisco de Lacerda's music that would be alien to its own nature. Especially with *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste*, there does not seem to be any less evidence of such an extra-musical dimension than that of Debussy's and, consequently, of Liszt's and other predecessors'. Later in this thesis one will discuss this issue, in order to comprehend the Portuguese's conception of music.

From another perspective, it will be necessary to emphasise Francisco de Lacerda's ability and courage in choosing his own path as a composer. That is particularly visible when in 1902 the composer set out a clear inflexion in his route, by abandoning the initial attempts of embracing the romantic legacy, not at all disputed by his teachers at the Schola Cantorum at that time. It was that embracement of so called Impressionism at that point that set the watermark for the rest of his compositional production, thus siding with such indisputable names as Claude Debussy, Maurice Ravel, to a lesser extent, and Erik Satie, from another perspective, in the pursuit of a new musical expression.

If one should not set too much of an emphasis on certain models assumed by the composer, they surely cannot, however, be at all ignored. With that in mind, as with any other composer, it is obvious that not all of them have the same weight in his music. It will be gradually clearer along these lines that, as stated before, Debussy constituted one of the main beacons of Lacerda's orientation as a composer. For this reason, and as previously mentioned, an analysis of Debussy's influence on the Portuguese's works will constitute a core component of this thesis, which will be illustrated by the composer's own writings, as well as the Frenchman's correspondence to him. By weighing those indissociable aspects, it will then contribute to safe guidelines for what the performance and interpretative standards of Francisco de Lacerda's works for piano should be for today's pianists. One of Portugal's greatest composers should surely not deserve anything less!

In light of what one just alluded to, it is precisely the need of an unprecedented contribution to the general studying of a musician of Lacerda's stature, particularly in Portugal, that pushed one towards this matter. That significant aspect of the study will focus in part on what Francisco de Lacerda wrote and achieved as a conductor regarding the French master in Portugal, France and Switzerland. This issue is in itself another significant contribution to musicological research in general, given the fact that it is academically unexplored to date. Its more general lines were referred to in José Bettencourt da Câmara's *Francisco de Lacerda, Musicien Portugais en France*, but not developed in a specific way to its fullest extent¹.

¹After the death of Francisco de Lacerda in 1934, one might say that his work, which the composer little seemed to try to divulge, remained almost forgotten for several decades. Only his symphonic poem *Almourol* (Lacerda's own orchestration of his piano piece *Ao crepúsculo – No cemitério de Eyoub*) was occasionally included in programmes of Orquestra Sinfónica da Emissora Nacional. In 1969, as part of that year's Gulbenkian Music Festival, the setting up of an exhibition and conference in Teatro Nacional de São Carlos (Lisboa) was entrusted to his fellow countryman Vitorino Nemésio, who actually had met Lacerda in his early years. From this, the idea of redacting a biography of Francisco de Lacerda by the author of

One cannot overstate that a generally unknown Portuguese composer had a significant musical and personal relationship with one of the greatest names in music history. This close connection, as well as Lacerda's contribution as a conductor and music producer to the acknowledgment of Debussy's work (for which he never hid his admiration), seems to be no less important than the influence that one referred to in previous lines. In other terms, it doesn't seem possible to analyse the latter without taking into account that very aspect.

Another issue that needs to be highlighted is that the present study could never be simply entitled *Claude Debussy and Francisco de Lacerda*, or anything of the sort. The fact that the research is set around the academic field of musical performance demands that one has that goal in mind when setting it out. Far from being a mere musicological dissertation on the historical and stylistic relationship between the two composers, one will try to come up with consistent proposals on how to approach Francisco de Lacerda's piano works from a pianist's perspective. It will thus be clear to the reader that one of the main objectives will be the comprehension of the work for piano of Lacerda, and not on an evenly balanced comparison between him and another composer. With that said, it does not at all mean that one will understate the contribution that, through this thesis, will be given to the knowledge of biographical aspects of the great French composer, as well as his influence on the works of other Portuguese composers².

Mau tempo no canal was born, although such a project ended up unaccomplished. Later on, the pianist and composer Filipe de Sousa took charge of editing *Trovas*, for voice and piano (Lacerda 1973), and of recording for the very first time some of the *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste*. A few years after the publishing of the complete set by José Bettencourt da Câmara (Lacerda 2000), recordings of some of those pieces by Brazilian pianist José Eduardo Martins and Portuguese pianist José Bon de Sousa were released. More recently, French pianist Bruno Belthoise recorded the complete works for piano of the Azorean composer, as edited by the Portuguese musicologist, who also later published the complete works for piano (Lacerda 1997) and the complete works for voice and piano (Lacerda 1996).

² The works of other Portuguese musicians of the first half of the 20th Century were influenced by Claude Debussy. In fact, the history of the reception of the great French composer's work in Portugal is yet to be researched. Chronologically and in terms of relevance, one should refer to Luís de Freitas Branco (1890-1955) before any others, whose works throughout the 1910s show strong evidence of his familiarity with

Even considering that Francisco de Lacerda was not an accomplished career pianist, and although his writings on interpretative matters (mainly as a conductor) will be relevant to the issues hereby discussed, it is the composer's piano works specifically, from a perspective of one's career as a concert pianist, that will serve as a pillar for what is proposed in these lines. By taking into consideration the great tradition of interpreting Claude Debussy's music, mainly through the lens of such distinct experts as Marguerite Long and Claudio Arrau, and somehow taking it into account when interpreting the works of Francisco de Lacerda, it will be possible to establish a safe approach as to how a pianist should consider performing Lacerda. The choice of sources itself for this thesis in Francisco de Lacerda's assets is symptomatic of that (which include, for example, inedited letters from some of the great names of the international piano scene, as well as French piano makers Pleyel³).

Finally, one could not end this introduction without referring to the implicit question that seamlessly and naturally directed the research. What problems have to be considered when using such a term as "influence" by one composer on another? How feasible is it to support an answer to that question through score analysis and the reading of correspondence and other writings? Are any lessons to be taken from considering other art forms, such as, for example, painting and literature? Together with this, and given the period and artistic current that one is dealing with, the notion of musical Impressionism (or Symbolism⁴) and the issues that naturally come from attributing that designation to

Debussy's music, especially his *Preludes* for solo piano (1918). His pupil António Frago (1897-1918), most likely through his master's orientation, also received some influence of Debussy, albeit his premature death in the same year of the French composer's passing. Later on, other Portuguese, such as Luiz Costa (1879-1960) and Cláudio Carneiro (1895-1963), would open up to the innovations of the musical language of which Claude Debussy was the first agent.

³ See 'Appendices'.

⁴ Even considering that this thesis is not actually centered around this issue, the clarification of the matter regarding the name of the movement to which both Claude Debussy and Francisco de Lacerda unquestionably belong is relevant. One thus recalls Stefan Jarocinski's 1966 work *Debussy –*

music (which at first seems more adequate in its original context of painting and literature) will not be overlooked.

On the one hand, it cannot be ignored that not all composers are alike in this matter, that the work of two or more artists can't have the same significance or value, and that those differences must be taken into account. On the other, the admission of the fact that such a ruling is inevitably constrained by personal choice is necessary, even when taking into consideration the obvious preoccupation with making a distinction between what is more relevant from what appears to be secondary. Only values of knowledge and scientific attitudes will enlighten whatever results come of such a study. In no way will Debussy's superior and acknowledged relevance in music history will affect one's judgement on the significance of Francisco de Lacerda's work. A musicological context will be respected, especially by going back to authoritative argumentations set out in the past, by such names as Roy Howat, François Lesure and Stefan Jarocinski on Claude Debussy's music, and José Bettencourt da Câmara on Francisco de Lacerda's life and work.

It is nevertheless through what one scientifically adds to that legacy that this thesis will be judged. This addition to what is already known about Francisco de Lacerda, his work and his relationship with Claude Debussy, was already overt in the objectives

impressionisme et symbolisme's main objectives, which aimed at presenting Debussy's work mainly as a symbolist, and not an impressionist: "[...] – explain the terms 'Impressionism' and 'Symbolism', / - verify to what extent it is possible to apply the term 'Impressionism' to Debussy's music, / - demonstrate how the aesthetical current in which Debussy's artistic personality was formed (and that he impregnated in a more stable way) was 'Symbolism'" (Jarocinski 1966, 17). One prefers to leave the question open to discussion, opting more prudently for the more generalised designation of "musical Impressionism", without forgetting the arguments presented by those who considered more adequate to go for "Symbolism". Actually, this is not a matter specific to this current. If the notion of 'musical Romanticism' is somewhat more peaceful, that of 'musical Classicism' or even 'Baroque music' have always been generating relevant questioning. In the transferring of notions and designations of plastic arts or literature to music, one should always keep in mind the nature of music as an art of sound, thus incapable of being a truly representative art. Debussy does not seem to have chosen between the Impressionism of painters and the Symbolism of poets, as he did not appear to have gone for either. Could it be the case that the French musician left us a work that, after all, depending on diverse aesthetical options, resists to being defined exclusively by one of these two terms?

presented in the very beginning of this project. The fact that the sources one is building on are almost integrally inedited constitutes considerable evidence to the novelty inherent to the contribution of this work. One will hereby present the results, by seeing them as a susceptible contribution to arriving at others in the future, from different perspectives that will accentuate distinct aspects or values and perhaps lead to varied results and conclusions.

Finally, it is relevant to present the structure of this thesis (carefully planned according to the idea that not only Claude Debussy's influence is present in Francisco de Lacerda's pianistic writing, but also that it's necessary to explore that issue) as well as providing the necessary historical and biographical background. With that in mind, Chapter I will explore Lacerda's most important biographical aspects, not only relating to his personal connection with Debussy, but also regarding his development as a musician, from his birth in the Azores Islands, to the *Revue Musicale* composition competition and his life in French-speaking Europe. In Chapter II, a general perspective of the Portuguese composer's piano works will be presented, including his musical beginnings in the Azores Islands, the bulk of his production in France (especially his studies in Paris, in the Conservatoire and the Schola Cantorum) and Switzerland and his later period in mainland Portugal. A thorough analysis of Lacerda's pianistic work's identity and, as well as the influence of Claude Debussy will be undertaken, with the acknowledgment of the stylistic identity of the Azorean's work and its integration in the impressionistic current, touching upon such aspects as the stretch and change of the use of tonality, non-functional diatonicism, use of modal-scales and whole-tone systems, block chords, the expansion of score marking capabilities and the employment of score features as descriptive tools. With all that established, Chapter IV will finally try establish a doctrine, so to say, on how to perform Francisco de Lacerda's works for solo piano, taking into account the

testimonies of Debussy performers of the past, analysing some thoughts by Lacerda and providing reflexions on the artistic context surrounding these works. One calls attention to the fact that the introductory recital to the presentation of this thesis will reflect the research and results presented by this work.

Chapter I - Francisco de Lacerda and Claude Debussy: the crossing of two musical paths

The subject-matter of this thesis makes it necessary to focus more detailedly on the cosmopolitan dimension of Francisco de Lacerda's life and work, especially when considering his relationship with Claude-Achille Debussy, which bestows upon this aspect of his life and career a greater sense of relevance than, supposedly, the musical characteristics that might have originated from his Portuguese roots. It is unquestionable that Lacerda's French years constitute his most remarkable period career-wise, mainly as a conductor in France and the Suisse Romande. No one could later deny the fact that he truly became musically and ideologically "French", even with the still present nationalistic features that spray across many of his compositions (some more than others).

Although it would be feasible to come up with a sustained study on the relationship between Francisco de Lacerda and several important musicians of the time⁵, it is unavoidable to realise such a task with Claude Debussy above any other name, given the importance of the relationship between the two composers and the significance of the French musician's influence on the Portuguese, thus providing any researcher with more biographical and musical evidence than any other of their contemporaries⁶. With that in

⁵ Francisco de Lacerda was acquainted and collaborated with other great performers of his time as a conductor, especially in French-speaking Europe. That was the case of pianists Marguerite Long, Alfred Cortot, Joaquin Nin, Raoul Pugno, Édouard Risler, Ricardo Viñes and José Iturbi, with whom he exchanged correspondence, as well as violinist Eugène Ysaye and singer Madeleine Grey (see 'Appendices'). Besides those names, Lacerda also kept in touch with other great contemporary figures, such as Vincent d'Indy, Henri Duparc and conductors Ernest Ansermet and Georges Witkowski, who were especially close to the Portuguese musician, for their friendship and exchange of artistic support.

⁶ It is thus understandable that Claude Debussy's letters to Francisco Lacerda were the first ones to be published, among other hundreds received by the Portuguese composer. Besides those, only recently have the letters from his father (João Caetano de Sousa e Lacerda) been published (Lacerda 1988). These letters constitute yet another relevant biographical source on Francisco de Lacerda, especially the environment in

mind, and after establishing the main facts of Lacerda's early years in the Azores Islands and mainland Portugal as a musician, it is the crossing of these two musicians in France that will constitute the bulk of this chapter.

➤ **From the Azores to Lisbon**

It would certainly come as a surprise to those who are not acquainted with Francisco de Lacerda's life and work to see someone born in one of the remotest of the Azorean islands (São Jorge), who did not have a single opportunity as a child and teenager to be exposed to any kind of high-end musical experience (such as attending a symphonic concert or a simple chamber music recital), and later arrive in Paris to successfully build one of the most accomplished musical careers that any Portuguese in history managed to consummate abroad, together with his contemporaries pianist José Viana da Mota and cellist Guilhermina Suggia. From the island, the archipelago, to the capital of the country, and from there to the City of Light, in the heart of Europe, the path of the Portuguese musician is made with tenacity and effort, but also exceptional talent.

It is in the island of São Jorge, in the Atlantic archipelago of the Azores, a set of nine islands with fewer than three-hundred thousand inhabitants at present, where Francisco Inácio da Silveira de Sousa Pereira Forjaz de Lacerda is born, in the year 1869. The underlining of such seemingly irrelevant data at first sight becomes important in order to comprehend the fact that the composer's birth and upbringing in such a remote, even culturally raw environment did not have a restraining effect whatsoever on his development towards establishing a notable career as a conductor within the musical panorama of early 20th Century Europe, as well as the composer of a significant work in

which the first period of his life took place, in the Azores.

Portuguese music history.

Having gained contact with the smallest of musical environments through his father's and uncles' endeavours as amateur musicians, being it in local religious and folk feasts or late-evening cultural get-togethers, where he became familiar with music by Portuguese composers whose works reached the Azores, such as João José Baldi, António José Soares, Fr. Joaquim Silvestre Serrão⁷, and even others, like Joseph Haydn, as well as arrangements of 1700s Italian opera arias, the young Francisco would take his first steps in learning the piano with his father⁸. It was at the age of sixteen, in 1885, already in the neighbouring island of Terceira, where he completed his secondary school studies, that Lacerda presents us with his very first composition: the mazurka *Uma garrafa de cerveja*. In the island's main city of Angra do Heroísmo, the young Azorean continues his musical studies with a local composer, Pedro de Alcântara, *kapellmeister* of the cathedral, whose coaching he adds to the musical initiation provided by his father in São Jorge. It is two years later that he leaves the Azores bound to Porto to study medicine.

Porto seems to constitute Francisco de Lacerda's pivotal point in which the Azorean definitely abandons any other life projects that he was considering taking, such

⁷ In the 18th Century and the first decades of the 1800s, the archipelagos of the Azores and Madeira, as well as the then colony of Brazil, integrated a vast space of circulation of works produced by Portuguese composers of the time, through a system of score copying. That way, in some convents and churches in the Azores, those same works that were performed in the Royal Chapel and the Bemposta Chapel in Lisbon were played. Fr. Joaquim Silvestre Serrão, born in Setúbal in 1801, established himself in the Azores in 1841, where he had a notable career as an organist, organ-maker and composer. An uncle of Francisco de Lacerda on his father side, Tomé Gregório de Lacerda, studied organ-making with him. It is thanks to Tomé Gregório that one owes the making of organs in some Azorean churches, such as the church of Velas, in the island of São Jorge, and of church of Piedade, in the island of Pico.

⁸ José Bettencourt da Câmara emphasises that "the young Francisco could not be presented with the most recent products of musical evolution. Before reaching the age of twenty, Debussy had already crossed Europe all the way through to Russia, having witnessed performances of *Tristan and Isolde* in Vienna, for example, and the environment in which the French composer went about since his childhood allowed him to conceive his future as a musician. In a similar way, Maurice Ravel enjoyed the chance of being taught by Gabriel Fauré in Paris, thus preparing a path that pointed towards composing since early on. Without denying that the youngest child of João Caetano Pereira de Sousa e Lacerda (1829-1913) and Maria da Silveira Pereira de Sousa e Lacerda (1829-1918) had the opportunity to live a certain musical experience during his childhood, such experience was merely that of his parents' household, in the island of São Jorge, in a remote Atlantic archipelago" (Bettencourt da Câmara 1987a).

as medicine and fine arts. It is in the northern city of Portugal that he resumes his piano studies, with António Maria Soler. Even if there is no documental indication that Soler influenced Lacerda in his decision to professionally pursue a musical career (though it does seem likely), one does know that he did advise him to leave the northern city for Lisbon to continue his piano studies with José António Vieira, to whom he recommended the young student.

As one can see in his “Guide chronologique”⁹, Francisco de Lacerda lived in Lisbon between 1890 and 1895, after a few months of residing in Porto. There he marries pianist Isaura Roquette Campos Soares in 1892¹⁰ and attends the Lisbon Royal Conservatoire, to which he is nominated as a piano professor, in the following year. In the Portuguese capital, Lacerda also collaborates with his brother José de Lacerda¹¹ in editing the *Actualidades* journal and develops social relationships with Portuguese intellectuals and musicians, such as composer Augusto Machado and pianists Francisco Baía and José Viana da Mota (Bettencourt da Câmara 2015).

In 1895, however, he decides to move to Paris and on August 31st applies for a scholarship that would allow him to pursue his studies in the French capital. After performing Beethoven’s *Sonata op. 13* and going through other tests, which, according to one of the newspapers of the time, were “[...] truly remarkable, having been approved unanimously by the jury” (September 2 1895 edition of *Correio Nacional*), he obtained the aforementioned scholarship.

⁹ See ‘Appendices’.

¹⁰ Two children were born from this wedlock: Maria and João de Lacerda. Both gave origin to the living descendants of the Portuguese composer.

¹¹ José de Lacerda, Francisco de Lacerda’s older brother, was another relevant figure in the family. Poet, physician, he also developed a political career as a member of parliament in the last few years of the Portuguese monarchic regime. He passed away in Estoril in 1911, a few months after the revolt that led to the instauration of the first Portuguese republic.

➤ **Studying in Paris**

It is the period initiated by this important decision on which the present chapter will focus. One could argue at first that such an approach apparently seems to overlook his early tries at composing. This could not be taken as a valid case, considering that not only no evidence came to us of any works composed in that period of time, but also (and substantially more paramount to the issue) that his early times in France are quite akin to the previous years when it comes to the compositional language employed. It is thus safe to state that Francisco de Lacerda's development as a composer can and should be analysed from this point onwards. It wouldn't be simplistic at all to say that his starting point in this matter coincides with the beginning of his musical studies in the Paris Conservatoire.

Late 19th Century Paris constitutes a worldwide beacon for the profound artistic revolution that started to gestate several decades earlier, in the very heart of the romantic period. With Édouard Manet, Camille Pissarro and even Paul Cézanne kicking off such an important revolution, later commonly known as Impressionism, a term coined from Claude Monet's painting "Impression, soleil levant", France (and more specifically its capital) could be seen as the very centre of the artistic changes that definitively influenced musical development as mostly seen in the works of Debussy, Ravel and a few others (even with some of them pointing towards other directions, such as Erik Satie).

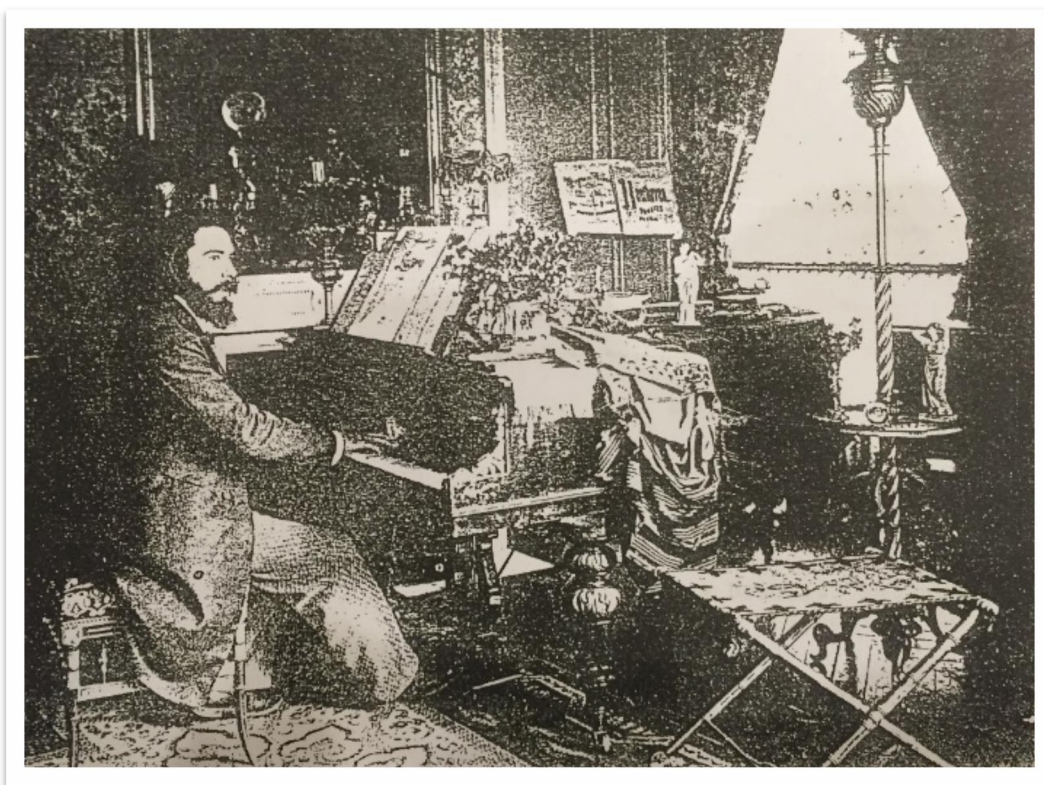


Image 1: Francisco de Lacerda at his home in Paris.

Taking into consideration Debussy's mindset, which developed according to the aforementioned context, it is clear that the author of *Pelléas et Mélisande* embarked in such a movement of innovation from early on, searching for a new musical language that would break free from the formal and harmonic constraints of his more conservative contemporaries, such as Vincent d'Indy and those closer to the Germanic influence¹².

¹² Francisco de Lacerda's attitude towards Richard Wagner and the wagnerianism of his time should be precised. If on the one hand, as a composer, he aligned himself with the French school from 1902 onwards, particularly with Debussy, thus distancing himself from his master Vincent d'Indy's germanism, his posture towards Wagner is not as adverse as that of Debussy, from the moment he overcame his juvenile wagnerian enthusiasm. It would be interesting to know if Lacerda, as a conductor, was a more or better committed interpreter of the French school than German music. That does not seem to be the case, especially considering the fact that any work to be executed requires the best commitment from the performer. Francisco de Lacerda actually left his position on Wagner clearly expressed, by assuming an intermediate position, so to say, one that was not that of the fanatical wagnerian followers of the late 19th Century and early 1900s, nor that of the adversaries of the work of the Bayreuth master. In a May 25 1899 letter to his father, Lacerda writes the following: "I have always found unbearable the wagnerian theory applied carelessly, and as a principle as well. Wagner, who I admire immensely, created his work, not a musical Bible, as argued by his more uncompromising supporters. The music of the future will be the music of all;

According to Déirdre Donnellon, “Debussy’s ambivalent attitude towards Wagner mirrored his desire to develop an individual musical style. This bid for artistic freedom was central to Debussy’s aims and it musically manifested itself in his reluctance to limit himself to composing within the canonical forms. [...] This belief in the need to progress beyond traditional symphonic writing informed his reviews of composers past and present, including the symphonic music of Schubert, Schumann and Mendelssohn, and contemporaries such as Joseph-Guy Ropartz, André Gedalge and Théodore Dubois, which were indirect propaganda for Debussy’s own experiments in orchestral composition. He repeatedly took advantage of the opportunity to trumpet his opposition to the use of formal sonata structure and, in particular, the use of large-scale motivic development. In this regard, his review of the premiere of Georges Witkowski’s *First symphony op. 14* served as a launchpad for an *exposé* of the modern symphony. His declarations that ‘since Beethoven the proof of the uselessness of the symphonic efforts of Schumann and Mendelssohn, for example, had been nothing more than a ‘respectful repetition of the same forms but already with less conviction’, reflect Debussy’s attempts to create a style of instrumental writing uninhibited by formal convention. Given that Witkowski was a pupil of Vincent d’Indy, it may also be regarded as an indirect challenge to d’Indy, the Schola Cantorum, and all those who had lambasted the pact of structure in Debussy’s own music” (Tresize 2003, 48-49).

September 27 1895 marks the arrival of Francisco de Lacerda in Paris¹³, where he attends the Conservatoire as an external pupil, given the student age restriction policies of the institution. For the following two years, he takes part in harmony, higher composition

Art evolves parallelly in a thousand different directions and cannot be restrained to the path (as broad as it might be) drawn by a single man. Thus, let the great Wagner rest in peace, certain that he was great among the greatest, but not the only one... One day, a Latin, an African, a visionary will come, shaped by a different civilisation, who will discover new horizons and will give Art a new boost. This is how she marches on, the great Art, the HOLY MANIFESTATION OF THE HUMAN SENTIMENT...”.

¹³ According to Francisco de Lacerda’s ‘Guide chronologique’ (see ‘Appendices’).

and counterpoint classes with Péssard, Widor and Libert, respectively. Notwithstanding his attendance and Libert's praising of his efforts, the language employed by Lacerda in his compositions of this period do not seem to actually reflect what could be somehow seen as a mirroring of the approach encouraged by the Conservatoire. It could be argued that the influence of such music as Chopin's and Schumann's, together with a sustained desire to contribute towards a Portuguese musical school, shaped the compositional language of Lacerda in this early stage, as one can see in the work of other Portuguese contemporaries, such as pianists José Viana da Mota and Alexandre Rey Colaço.

Unsatisfied with his condition as an external student in the Paris Conservatoire, Lacerda decides to attend the Schola Cantorum in 1897, which had been founded two years before by Vincent d'Indy, Alexandre Guilmant and Charles Bordes. At the Schola Cantorum, he could find a teaching establishment that focused on the canonical forms of the followers of the Germanic tradition, as well as other references of earlier periods.¹⁴ It is important to state that the musical environment of Paris of the time saw a somewhat harsh battle taking place between those who like d'Indy and Bordes fought for the revival of ancient music and the followers of the Conservatoire's agenda, mainly based on an 'uneventful empiricism' influenced by such models as Donizetti and Ambroise Thomas, instead of turning towards Bach, Beethoven and the great contemporaries like Wagner and Franck (Bettencourt da Câmara 1997, 21).

¹⁴ "The setting up of the Schola Cantorum, six years after the death of César Franck, must be interpreted in the light of this situation, since the institution proved to be among the first to look both backwards and forwards in its search for a modified musical aesthetics. Though its fame to stem from its associations with d'Indisme, it should be recognised that the driving force behind the Schola lays in its concern with the polyphonic masters and its determination to reassert those choral values which other conservatories had neglected to the point of atrophy. It would be a mistake, for instance, to think that it began life as a bricks-and-mortar edifice devoted to the education of young musicians. Long before settling on that aim, the school's founders had sought refuge in a choral society from which the first sparks of the institutional idea were struck. This society was the brain-child of Charles Bordes, whose enthusiasm for the strict contrapuntal composers of the 16th Century was one of the more heartening features of the scene at the time of Franck's unexpected departure" (Davies 1970, 284).

It is perhaps timely to consider how much Francisco de Lacerda owes to the music institutions he attended in the French capital. The two years in the Paris Conservatoire, where he was a colleague of Maurice Ravel¹⁵, seem to have left few marks in the Portuguese musician, whereas the Schola Cantorum can certainly be seen as relevant contributing factor to his professional path, especially as a conductor. Besides the orientation towards what would become his profession, especially thanks to the constant support of Vincent d'Indy, one could add to the contribution of the school in Francisco de Lacerda's life his fondness of folk songs and ethnographic research, as well as his interest for the recovery of the old masters of European music. In a musical environment that was gradually becoming more divided between 'd'indysme' and 'debussysme', Claude Debussy (a fierce critic of the Schola Cantorum) would not cease his support for these orientations that would definitively mark the Portuguese musician's profile¹⁶.

In the Schola Cantorum, which he attended from 1897 to 1902, before becoming a teacher there, Lacerda discovers his future as a conductor and is directed towards it. It is to this institution, and mainly his teacher Vincent d'Indy, who made him his assistant, that he owes the thrust towards the area of musical performance where he revealed a special aptitude from early on.¹⁷

¹⁵ In one of his handwritten notes, Lacerda stated the following, regarding the Paris Conservatoire: "Classes Pessard et Widor. Les [illegible]. Quelques condisciples (Ravel, Dupont, Pirro, [illegible])." Francisco de Lacerda and Maurice Ravel both attended Émile Pessard's composition class in the Paris Conservatoire. Ravel changed to Gabriel Fauré's composition and fugue class and André Gédalge's counterpoint class after the Portuguese musician had already left to the Schola Cantorum. One should recall that in 1898 Ravel was twenty-three years old and Lacerda twenty-nine.

¹⁶ Besides what Francisco de Lacerda owed the Schola Cantorum in terms of his professional career as a conductor, the school particularly left a mark in him in two areas in which he stood out: researching both ancient music and Portuguese folk music. Such research was especially relevant in the last six years of Lacerda's life and it was centered on several Portuguese music archives. One should highlight the field work in different regions of the country for the collection of folk music material, which would later originate an important work of which only a small part was published: his *Cancioneiro musical português*.

¹⁷ Vincent d'Indy writes in a June 11 1901 letter to Sousa Rosa (a representative of the Portuguese

What nevertheless shows the nature of the artist that Lacerda was is the fact that, as a composer, he found himself somewhat outside the Schola Cantorum framework and that of his master Vincent d'Indy. His early works at that time already show signs of an inflexion towards another aesthetical sense, which was already being approached in the French musical panorama by Claude Debussy. It is in the early years of the 20th Century (more clearly in 1902) that this turning point in the Portuguese composer's path takes place, allowing him to move forward in his own lane as a musical creator.

Although the present chapter does not aim at an analytical perspective of Lacerda's development as a composer, it is essential to underline this matter in order to comprehend the proceeding episode of the *Revue Musicale* competition and its role in the development of Francisco de Lacerda and Claude Debussy's relationship.

➤ Meeting Claude Debussy

The correspondence from Claude Debussy to Francisco de Lacerda dates back to the period of 1906-1908. However, according to other data, the contacts between both composers begin in 1904¹⁸, in the context of that year's *Revue Musicale* composition competition, in which the Portuguese was awarded the first prize for his *Danse du voile*.¹⁹

government in Paris): "De plus, il est de mon devoir de vous signaler, Monsieur le Ministre, les rares aptitudes de ce jeune homme au metier de chef d'orchestre. De Lacerda est né chet d'orchestre, se je puis m'exprimer ainsi, il a fait, cette année, dans l'art de la direction de tells progress que je n'ai pas craint de lui confier la responsabilité de la classe de orchestre de l'École lorsque j'étais forcé de m'absenter et il s'est acquitté tâche à ma complète satisfaction" (Bettencourt da Câmara 1996, 24).

¹⁸ One of the notes that Francisco de Lacerda wrote-down for his memoirs (which he ended up not even starting to work on) is quite significant regarding the relation between the facts that one will now point out to: "France / À l'École. Compositions (Poème symphonique avec voix). Découragement / La Revue Musicale. Concours. / La Danse du Voile. (La Danse?) / Claude Debussy / Eric Satie / "Pelléas et Mélisande" / L'ignoble Pujot. / Je rentre en moi-même." The voice and orchestra poem that Lacerda refers to is *Les morts* ("on the words of Jules Richépin"), composed in Ringère in September 1902.

¹⁹ "In the jury was Claude Debussy, who many considered already to be the greatest living French composer, and with whom Lacerda established a true friendship. To state, however, that Lacerda infinitely admired the author of *Peléas et Melisande* is clearly insufficient. In Lacerda, Debussy found something

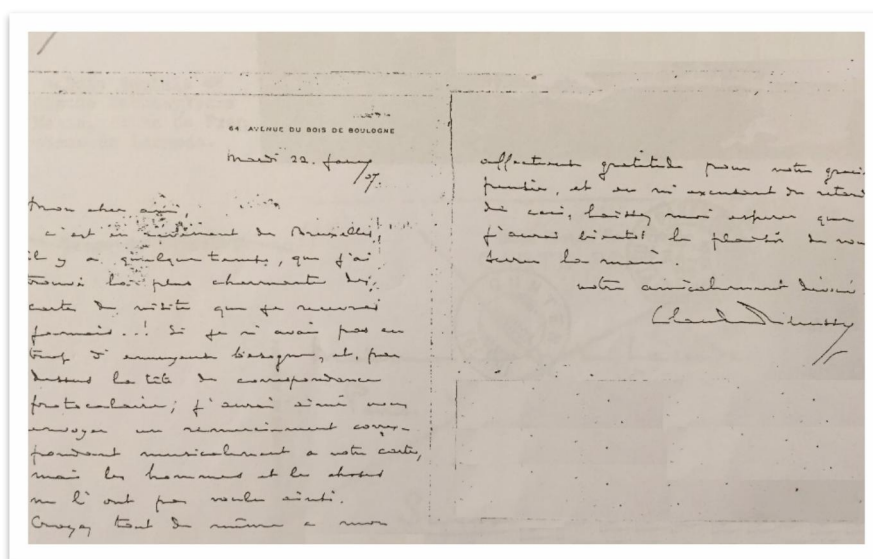


Image 2: A letter by Claude Debussy to Francisco de Lacerda's of January 22 1907.

The ideas behind the teaching establishment of the Schola Cantorum, heavily rooted in César Franck's musical heritage, seem to have gradually built up some indifference in Lacerda, thus also contributing to the pushing of the Portuguese towards aesthetic options close to those of Debussy. The few pieces of *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste* composed in 1902 (*Les oiseaux qui s'en vont pour toujours*, for instance) point in that direction, something that is fairly evident in the harmonic language already being deployed by the composer. Nevertheless, it is necessary to refer that the previously established relationships with important names of the other side of the spectrum, such as Vincent d'Indy, Alexandre Guilmant and Charles Bordes, remained unchanged and friendly, even if news of some friction between them has arrived to this day²⁰.

more than a friend and admirer: to Francisco de Lacerda, the French composer represented, so to say, a definitive reference in the dominium of contemporary musical creation. The considerations in Lacerda's writings regarding Debussy always point towards a creator of universal dimension. Whereas Ravel generates in him some reluctance, at least in the given time, his adherence to Debussy's art is undeniable." (Bettencourt da Câmara 1997, 32).

²⁰ See Vincent d'Indy's letters included in 'Appendices'.

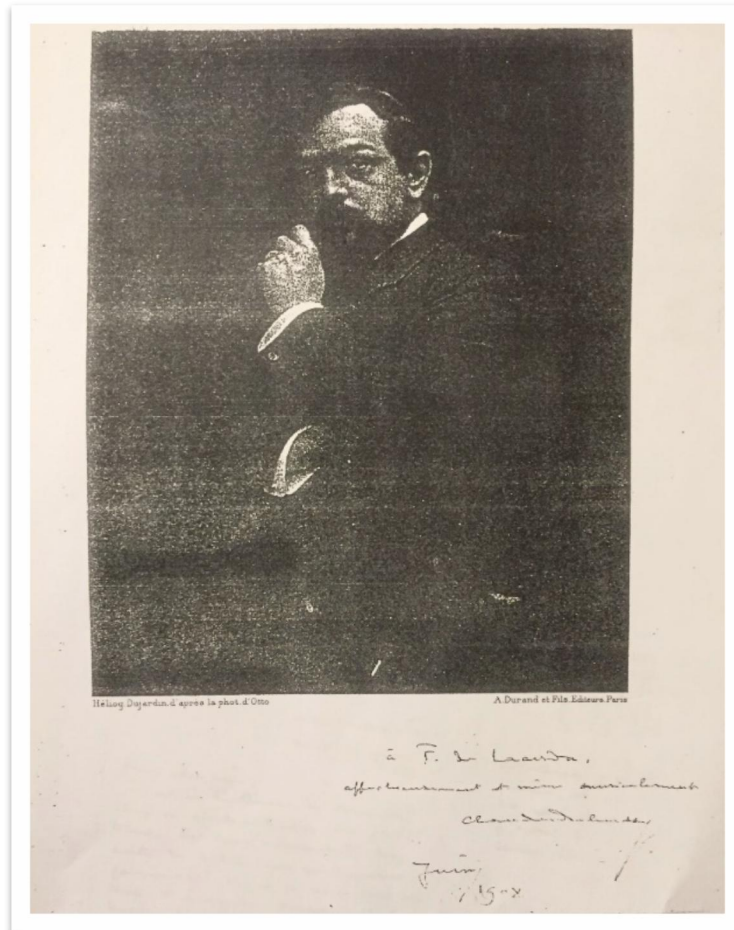


Image 3: A signed photograph of Claude Debussy dedicated to Francisco de Lacerda.

Taking Lacerda's *Danse du voile* as the central focus of an analysis on the musical aspects which the *Revue Musicale* competition can assist in bringing to light, and that in turn are key to understanding the beginning of Debussy and Lacerda's relationship, it seems germane to reflect on the influence of the French composer on the orientation of the competition. The *Revue Musicale* set out a very precise list of compulsory features to be followed by the candidates, such as a five-beat time signature and a length of approximately four pages.

Right at a first glance, the quinary layout should raise a significant question: in a time where traditional key signatures were still being used, and with only Debussy and d'Indy in the jury (the last one being a firm advocate of classic forms of the Germanic school, as previously mentioned), couldn't this be considered as a sign of Debussy's interference in the competition's orientation? It should not be forgotten that a 5/4 metric had only been very recently and still narrowly adopted at the time, and that it was Frederik Chopin, less than a century earlier, the first composer to embrace such a structure in an entire piece.²¹ From a slightly different angle, would it be feasible to regard Lacerda's *Danse du voile* as an important testimony of his shift towards a more modern approach and thus reinforcing the idea that this could be seen as a sign of his relationship with Debussy?

This issue seems relevant enough to point out some characteristics that markedly show the aforementioned detachment of the Portuguese composer from the Schola Cantorum and his moving towards an aesthetic frame closer to that of Debussy, already considered by many at the time as France's musical panorama's most relevant name: a constant use of perfect-fifth intervals (although not deployed with the same strength and obviousness of Debussy's parallelistic writing), a denser utilisation of a multi-voicing texture and an already clearer modal feeling, compared to any of Lacerda's previous works, such as his *Sonatina* for solo piano.

Even clearer is the published comment on the *Revue Musicale* regarding *Danse du voile*, for which Francisco de Lacerda was awarded the winning prize: "This composition

²¹ This is the *Larghetto* of Chopin's *Piano Sonata no. 1*, composed in 1828 and published in 1851. Ernest Chausson also utilises the same 5/4 time signature in his song *Le Colibri* (*Sept melodies, op. 2 no. 7*, 1879-1882), as well as Vincent d'Indy, later on in 1907, in the second movement (*Très animé*) of his *Sonata in B minor* for solo piano. One should also not forget the 5/4 movement of Piotr I. Tchaikovsky's *Symphony no. 6 "Pathétique"* (1893). Francisco de Lacerda would return to this complex quinary system in *Le Sange qui songe* (*Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste*). He also employed the 7/4 key signature in another 1822 piece of the same set: *Singes...*

was immediately selected ahead of the others for the qualities that the reader will soon appreciate. Firstly, the idea of the piece is clear and distinctly set in the five-beat metric; the themes present themselves as expressive, with plasticity, the proportions are just, his writing is sober and one does not ever feel any academicism. According to M. Debussy, ‘c’est de la musique aérée.’ Thus, the prize was given to this composition.” (*La Revue Musicale*, March 15 1904, no. 6:55-156). It should be noted that in a jury constituted by Vincent d’Indy and Claude Debussy, it was the latter’s opinion that was referred to, and not the one of his colleague. Debussy’s referring to Lacerda’s music as “musique aérée” is also curiously indicative of the French master’s mindset.

Although there is no confirmation in the available sources that the *Revue Musicale* competition marked the very first meeting between Francisco de Lacerda and Claude Debussy, it doesn’t impede one from taking it as an important mark in the path of the Portuguese and in his future friendship with the author of *Pélleas et Mélisande*²². It could not certainly be a mere coincidence that his coming closer to the French composer’s aesthetic approach, while leaving behind what he called the “genre franco-belge-allemand” (together with the fact that the bulk of the correspondence between the two dates back to the period of 1906-1908, a mere two years later) must clearly be seen as indicative of the idea hereby presented.

²² “Dans les nouvelles relations apparaît un jeune musicien portugais né aux Açores, Francisco de Lacerda. Elève de V. d’Indy à la Schola, il y était devenu professeur. Debussy lui avait emprunter en 1904 le thème d’une pièce – la Danse du voile – primé à un concours du Figaro pour sa Danse sacrée. Au début de 1906, il le prend en amitié, le recommande à Luigini, à Albert Carré comme “un musicien solide et éprouvé qui peut rendre de réelles services dans tout ce qui regarde les chœurs, l’orchestre, etc.” Il lui confie la partition des Fêtes de Polymnie de J.-Ph. Rameau, dont Durand lui a demandé d’assurer l’édition pour les Oeuvres complètes du musicien (bien que Saint-Saëns en soit l’un des directeurs). Il voulait aussi l’aider à éditer par souscription un recueil du folklore de son pays, suggérant le titre de “Chants et danses d’un petit peuple oublié” et se proposant d’en écrire la préface.” (Lesure 1995, 282). This appears to be a confusion on the part of Ernest Ansermet, which subsequently led François Lesure to making the same mistake (i. e. the statement that the competition that ended with the awarding of the prize to Francisco de Lacerda was an initiative of the *Figaro*, and not the *Revue Musicale*). It should also be noted that, according to other sources, the relationship between Lacerda and Debussy intensified in 1906, but did not start that year.

➤ *Danse du voile, Danse sacrée and Danse profane*

Having established the grounds on which Francisco de Lacerda's musicianship profited from his personal relationship with Claude Debussy, it is now necessary to reflect on how one can detect in Debussy any signs of his affiliation with the Portuguese composer, in the latter's life and work²³. Even considering Debussy's status as the spear tip of France's musical scene, the barometer of musical development in the late 19th Century, and Lacerda as a less relevant name still trying to establish his career, Debussy's *Danse sacrée* and *Danse profane* clearly testify to the French composer's esteem for the Portuguese.

²³ "Il avait aussi promis d'écrire "quelque chose pour harpe chromatique... instrument tout à fait inconnu pour moi", avouait-il le 28 novembre 1903. Cette harpe sans pédales avait été conçue par Gustave Lyon, directeur de la maison Pleyel, qui tentait de l'opposer à la harpe à pédales et venait d'obtenir la création d'une classe spéciale au Conservatoire de Paris. C'était pour les concours du Conservatoire de Bruxelles que Debussy avait obtenu la commande d'une oeuvre avec accompagnement d'orchestre. Il choisit de composer deux Danses, l'une sacrée, l'autre profane, en utilisant pour la première le thème d'une "Danse du voile" qu'un musicien portugais, Francesco [sic] de Lacerda, venait de publier dans la Revue musicale. Il peina en avril-mai pour livrer son manuscrit à temps à Durand. Ces Danses furent publiées presque en même temps que les trois chansons de France sur des poèmes de Charles d'Orléans et Tristan L'Hermite, qu'il dédia à M.me Bardac." (Lesure 1995, 256-257). One of the most extensive and precise biographies of Claude Debussy, published in 1995, reduces the reference of the relationship between the French composer and Francisco de Lacerda to little more than this passage. This can be taken as another example of how mainstream musicology needs to be questioned regarding this matter, as previously mentioned. Although Lacerda had a successful career in the very centre of the European musical environment of his time, the obliteration of the relevance of his work seems to haunt his memory. One only has to compare the attention given by the French to the presence of contemporary Spanish musicians, such as Isaac Albéniz and even Joachim Nin, to that of Lacerda's in order to confirm this lack of interest for the peripheries. It is relevant to recall that José Bettencourt da Câmara had already published works of and on Francisco de Lacerda for some years. Two years after the publishing of Debussy's vast biography by the "Cahiers Debussy"'s director and coordinator of the international team for the French composer's complete works edition, the same Portuguese musicologist invited François Lesure to participate in a series of initiatives on Lacerda that took place in the Azores, where the French musicologist stayed for two weeks, as well as in Paris (in the Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian). It is mainly the omission of Francisco de Lacerda as one of the first performers of Debussy that deserves the most notice, as one has been stating in this thesis. Only in a small footnote does François Lesure refer to the performance of Claude Debussy's *Danse sacrée* and *Danse profane*: "Lacerda dirige lui-même la *Danse profane* avec M.lle Ziélinka comme soliste en mai 1905." (Lesure 1995, 257).



Image 4: the main theme of Francisco de Lacerda's *Danse du voile*.

The two-piece set for chromatic harp (or piano²⁴) and string orchestra composed by Claude Debussy in 1904 denotes one relevant aspect for the thesis at hand: the articulation that available information allows to establish between this dyptic and Francisco de Lacerda's *Danse du voile*. Having been approached in that year by Pleyel to write a test piece for the newly created chromatic harp (as opposed to the widely used pedal harp), Debussy responded by composing both dances²⁵.

Is one able to detect the use of Francisco de Lacerda's musical material from *Danse du voile* amidst the French composer's distinctive and personal language? At first, it simply does not seem to be the case; no clear and complete thematic section from the

²⁴ One recalls the fact that Spain paid tribute to the memory of Claude Debussy (several of whose works were inspired in that country), in Madrid's Ateneo, on April 27 1918, a month after he was deceased. In this homage, his friend Manuel de Falla presented the audience with a small speech ("Profondeur de l'art de Claude Debussy"), followed by a performance by pianist Arthur Rubinstein, playing the French composer's *Danse sacrée* and *Danse profane*, among other pieces for solo piano. De Falla himself reported the following, later on: "L'Isle joyeuse, La Cathédral, Masques, La Soirée dans Grenade... ces joyaux d'évocation sonore, qu'avec tant d'autres oeuvres l'immortel musicien nous laissa en héritage précieux, furent interprétés avec un art consommé par Arthur Rubinstein, lequel ensuite nous donna avec l'orchestre une version aussi juste que personnelle des *Danses sacrée et profane*" (Falla 1992, 100).

²⁵ Debussy's first biography, by Louis Laloy, fails to refer to *Danse sacrée* and *Danse profane* in its section on the composer's 1904 production. It does point to the two pieces in the works' catalogue, at the very end of the book, with both the premiere and publishing dates. This lack of reference is understandable when it comes to the relation of the diptych for chromatic harp and string orchestra and Francisco de Lacerda; however, it is far less comprehensible that the premiere of the *Danses* has no place in Laloy's actual text (although it certainly is not the only case where a Debussy's work is not included in the catalogue, which was actually supervised by Debussy himself). Regarding the process through which this list was established, Louis Laloy clarifies: "Un catalogue très complet des oeuvres a été dressé par M. G. Jean Aubry, vérifié par l'auteur même, et inséré dans le programme du concert que le *Cercle de l'Art moderne* a donné au Havre le 22 avril 1908. Il a suffi d'y porter les ouvrages qui ont paru par la suite, de corriger quelques erreurs de détail, toujours sur le conseil de l'auteur, et d'ajouter quelques dates" (Laloy 1909, 101). The premiere of *Danse sacrée* and *Danse profane* took place in the same year of its conclusion, in the Concerts Colonne, under Édouard Colonne's baton, with harpist Wurmser-Delcour. Months later, in 1905, Francisco de Lacerda, at the time in charge of an Ensemble de Harpes Chromatiques course, also conducted the work.

Portuguese composer's piece for solo piano appears to be employed in any of the instruments throughout both works. However, Ernest Ansermet's testimony should not be overlooked as a very indicative piece of evidence otherwise. According to him, Debussy had invited Lacerda to his house and asked: "I enjoy your composition so much that I would like to use something from it. Would you allow me to do so?". Ansermet adds that "he composed his *Danse sacrée* for chromatic harp and they stayed friends from that day onwards. Lacerda went for lunch at Debussy's home every week and there he was in the company of Satie, but he would never bring up the fact that Debussy owed him the theme of his *Danse sacrée*" (Ansermet 1962, 459).

Francisco de Lacerda's modesty towards his personal friendship with Debussy is in fact noteworthy²⁶, the same modesty that unfortunately marked the Portuguese composer's attitude regarding his own work, which somehow remained in the shadow of his career as a conductor. In effect, it is thanks to Ernest Ansermet's writings, that one is today able to know about the aforementioned relation between his *Danse du voile* and Debussy's *Danse sacrée*, something that can never be overstated.

²⁶ Regarding Debussy's friendship and generosity towards young musicians, François Lesure says the following, referring to Francisco de Lacerda and others: "Enfin, ce que l'on n'a pas assez fait ressortir jusqu'à présent est le soutien que Debussy a souvent apporté à de jeunes musiciens. Lui, dont on a dit qu'il était peu ouvert aux musiques nouvelles, a encouragé et conseillé Falla, Lacerda, Varèse, Cyril Scott et d'autres. Ce 'maniaque du bonheur' (à Poniatovski, 1893) était aussi un 'maniaque d'affection' (à P. Louys, 1903)" (Debussy 1993, 10) [italics by the author of the thesis]. The only letter from André Caplet to Francisco de Lacerda that is known, written in Paris on June 7 1910, when the Portuguese composer was a conductor in Montreux, also testifies to Debussy's affection towards Lacerda: "Je suis allé voir ce matin notre ami Claude Debussy et lui ai renouvelé l'expression des sentiments dont vous m'avez chargé. Il y a été sensible. Il m'a dit sa sympathie affectueuse qu'il avait pour vous même et pour votre talent. Il espère que vous trouverez bien quelques minutes pour lui écrire les mille projets que, dit-il, vous devez avoir en tête" (see 'Appendices').

Très modéré (♩ = 120)

HARPE
chromatique

1ers VIOLONS
pp doux et expressif

2emes VIOLONS
pp doux et expressif

ALTOS
pp doux et expressif

VIOLONCELLES
pp doux et expressif

CONTREBASSES

Image 5: the opening bars of Claude Debussy's *Danse sacrée*.

Besides the one translated above, another reference can be found in Ansermet's *Entretiens sur la musique*, from which the following passage is extracted: "I said that, when forced to choose, Francisco de Lacerda chose conducting. The fact is that he had other possibilities. And if I commit the heavy indiscretion of mentioning his compositions, which few people are familiar with, it is because I am convinced that only the knowledge of those would give us a complete revelation of his artistic personality. Only once did the composer that he is come out to the public's knowledge: in Paris, in an Osiris competition for sacred dances, his work was awarded a prize and published. It impressed the jury enough for one of his members, M. Claude Debussy, to provide it with a public homage, by extracting from it, with all simplicity, a theme, with which he composed another dance for chromatic harp and orchestra. This simple fact is expressive enough to dispense me from being more indiscrete regarding a work that I don't despair to see given to the public

and whose publishing, I'm not afraid to say, would be an essential contribution to Music” (Ansermet 1983).

If at first sight one is not able to immediately detect *Danse du voile*'s imprint in *Danse sacrée*, a closer look at the melodic treatment developed by Debussy might in fact reveal what Ansermet suggests to be true. Even if somewhat remodelled and somehow refined, certain sections of the main theme of *Danse sacrée* seem to be fairly similar to the continuous left-hand rhythmic accompaniment of *Danse du voile*. Such accompaniment continuously develops in the five-beat metric and it constantly shows an alternation between sets of three and four quavers with much longer dotted-crochet values. Similarly, in *Danse profane*, in every occasion when the dance-like feeling provided by the *staccato* crochets appears, always preceded by a rest (as in the case of Lacerda's piece), a much longer rhythmic figure is followed, with analogous phrasing and *élan*. One could even argue that the upwarding E/E/G-sharp/G-sharp sequence in such quavers is identical (although inverted) to the main theme of the right hand of *Danse du voile*, also deployed with quavers and a crochet.

Following Ernest Ansermet's testimony and briefly analysing Claude Debussy's *Danse sacrée*, it seems to be a valid conclusion that although the French composer did not actually compose the work on an actual *Danse du voile* theme, in a sort of rhapsodic or even variational form rooted on a main melodic material, he did extract some relevant aspects of the solo piano work by the Portuguese and utilised them in a creative but still detectable manner. In fact, this seems to relate much better to the fact that Debussy asked to “use something” from it, as in employing certain features of a piece, and not necessarily basing a whole work on an identifiable theme.

This two-way relationship between Francisco de Lacerda and Claude Debussy, when it comes to this specific matter, can also be suggested by the fact that Gustave Lyon,

to whom *Danse sacrée* and *Danse profane* were dedicated, entrusted Lacerda with a chromatic harp course to be given in Paris. Could this three-way relationship in the same context be regarded as a mere coincidence? It hardly seems to be something that should be looked at as irrelevant.

By being acquainted with Francisco de Lacerda's biography, one is able to confirm the facts related to his familiarity with Debussy, as accounted by Ernest Ansermet (facts that he himself heard from the Portuguese in person, later on in Switzerland). This relationship effectively takes place in Paris, between 1904 and 1907 (the year of Lacerda's establishment in Switzerland).

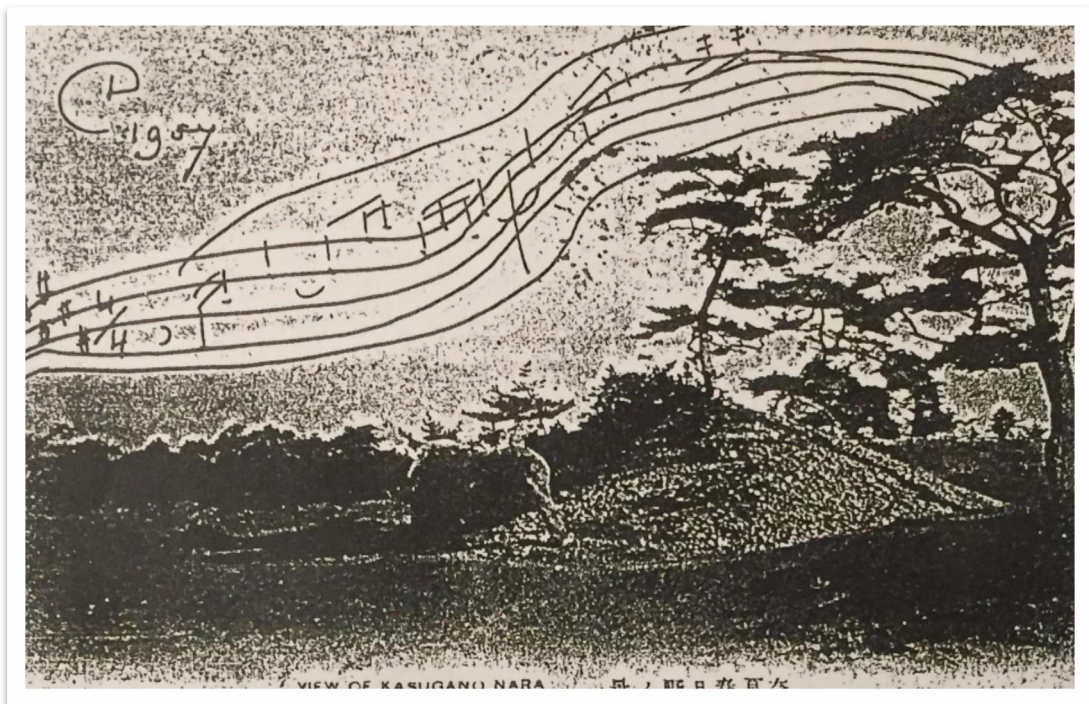


Image 6: A Claude Debussy postcard to Francisco de Lacerda's daughter Maria (1907).

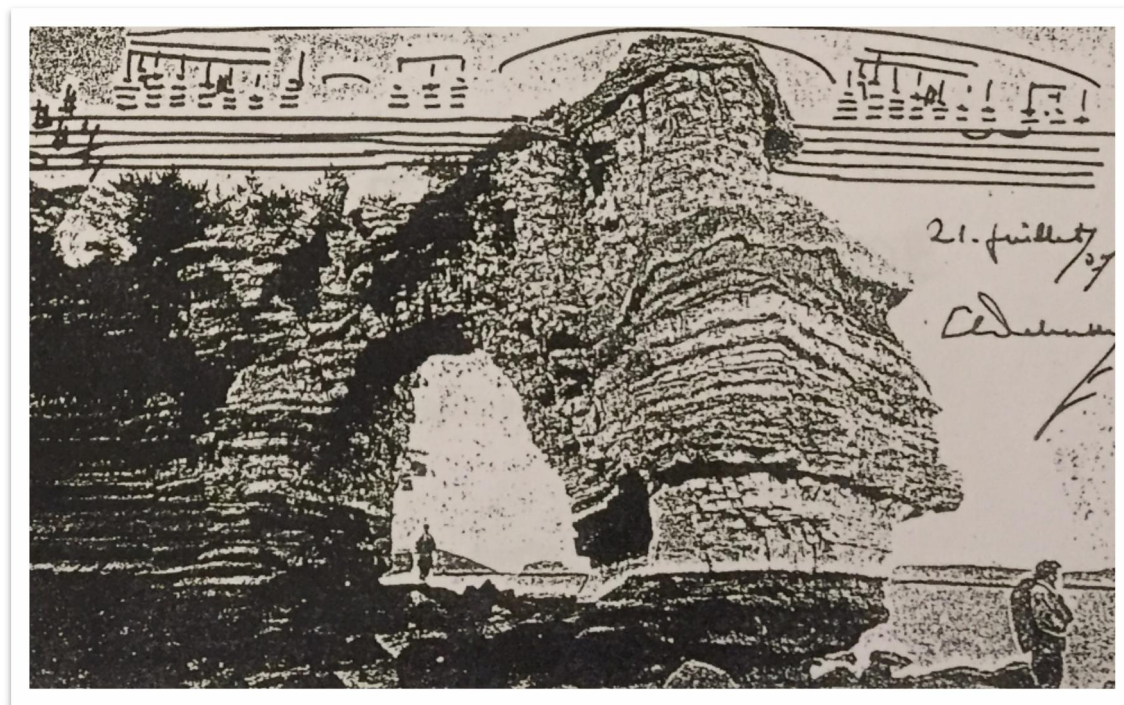


Image 7: A Claude Debussy postcard to Francisco de Lacerda's daughter Maria (1907).

One also takes notice of some references to another fact in which Francisco de Lacerda's biography crosses with that of Claude Debussy. One of his projects at that time, which unfortunately did not come to fruition, was the publishing of a book entitled *Chants et danses d'un petit peuple oublié*, with a preface by Claude Debussy. This "petit peuple oublié" surely refers to the people of the Azores, with this project having originated during some months between 1899 and 1900 when Lacerda interrupted his residence in France and stayed in his native islands. He alludes to this project in a short personal note in which he merely writes what the title of the book would be. Debussy also refers to this project in his September letter to Louis Laloy.²⁷

²⁷ In Debussy's September 10 1906 letter to Louis Laloy, the French composer refers to Francisco de Lacerda, who was in Güten (Switzerland) as millionaire L. de Coppet's private trio's pianist (a fact that Debussy apparently had no knowledge of): "J'avais découvert aussi que Lacerda était à Gunten... mais comment? Chez qui? Les employés de la poste de ce pays ne sont pas tenus d'être comme le M. Dupin de *La lettre volée*... Aussi je n'ai pas osé lui écrire. Si vous le voyez, dites lui que je pense souvent à lui et à son 'petit peuple'" (Debussy 1993, 218-219).

1904, the year of the *Revue Musicale* competition, as previously referred, is the time when Lacerda accepts his first position as a principal conductor, in the municipal casino of La Baulle. In the following year, the foundation and direction of the orchestra and choirs of the Concerts Historiques de Nantes are entrusted to him. It is believed that Claude Debussy had gone to Nantes shortly after to attend the performance of his *La Damoiselle Élue* conducted by his Portuguese friend. In the same year of 1905, in Paris, where Lacerda kept residence, M.lle. Zielinska performed *Danse sacrée* and *Danse profane* under his baton, on May 12 in the Salle Pleyel. These are not the only works by his friend that Lacerda would conduct throughout his career. *Nuages* would be performed in Montreux and, in 1913 in Marseille (where he was the principal conductor of the Association Artistique de Marseille orchestra), *Rondes du printemps* was also included in one of the programmes of that orchestra, in 1912, and in other occasions the *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune*.

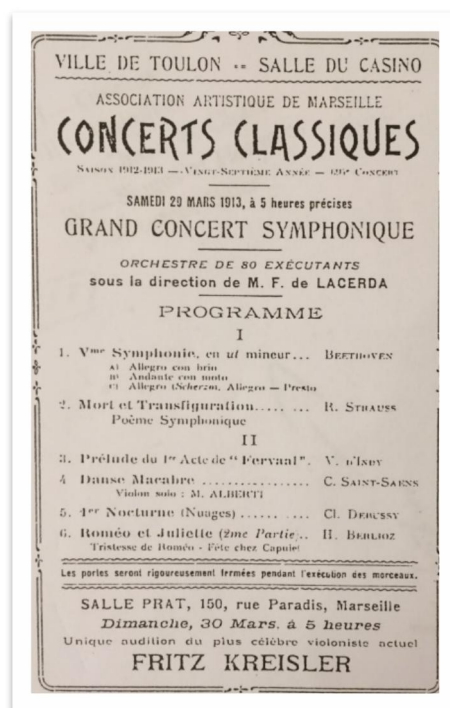


Image 8: The programme of a March 13 1913 concert, in which Francisco de Lacerda conducted Claude Debussy's first nocturne of *Nuages*.

It is to this famous work by Claude Debussy that Francisco de Lacerda refers to in a curious note in his “Guide Chronologique”, regarding a December 17 1905 concert: “1905, Déc. 17: Ce même jour, fit son entrée aux Concerts du Conservatoire, notre Claude Debussy, avec «L’après-midi d’un Faune»... Ils en ont fait une gueule les vieuz abonnés! Hein! Cela vou change un peut de vos gavottes et rigaudons, de votre musique de décorés et d’officiels! / Les trop belles dames ont fait la moue et ces vieux bonhommes décoratifs, incapables ont, à ce qu’ils paraît, siffloté... / Tas de cruches, va! - Et ces momies la croyent comprendre J. S. Bach!".

Amongst Francisco de Lacerda’s assets is the score of the most famous orchestral work by Debussy, *Prélude à l’après-midi d’un faune*, given to him by the composer himself, with the following dedication: “À F. de Lacerda / qui est vraiment musician / affectueusement, Claude Debussy / Mai / 1906”. Also, in an autographed copy of *Images*, for solo piano, one can read the following handwriting: “Pour F. de Lacerda / amicalement / Claude Debussy / Mars / 1908”, and in the voice and piano reduction of *Pélleas et Melisande*, offered to Lacerda by Debussy, the latter wrote: “Pour F. de Lacerda / avec ma sincere amitié. / Claude Debussy / Mars / 07”.

However, one is not able to easily find the name of Francisco de Lacerda among the first performers of Debussy’s music, of which the usually referred to are conductors André Messager, André Caplet, Ernest Ansermet and pianists Ricardo Viñes, Edouard Risler, Marguerite Long and Alfred Cortot. As a first-rate performer of the French composer’s genius music, the name of the Portuguese conductor seems to have been erased from history.²⁸

²⁸ The lack of justice by mainstream musicology towards Francisco de Lacerda should again be noted. Charles Timbrell, for example, in his article “Debussy in performance” (Tresize 2003, 259-277), does not make any reference to him, even considering the fact that he was one of the Claude Debussy’s very first conductors. He does make justice to the importance of Ernest Ansermet, though ignoring the fact that he personally got acquainted with Debussy through the Portuguese conductor, and, even more so, that he owed

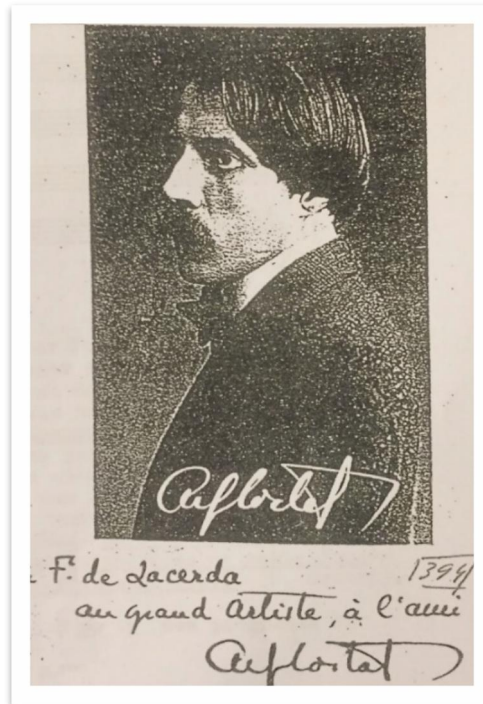


Image 9: A photograph of Alfred Cortot dedicated to Francisco de Lacerda.



Image 10: Front cover of Alfred Cortot's recital programme in Teatro de São Carlos, in Lisbon, on April 11 1931, which included the performance of Claude Debussy's *Preludes*' first book.

his career to the initial push provided by the very person he considered as his true master: Francisco de Lacerda. It was thanks to Lacerda's recommendation that Ansermet obtained his first appointment as a conductor, replacing the Portuguese musician as the principal conductor of the Montreux Kursaal orchestra in 1912.

Francisco de Lacerda did not indeed forget to include works by his friend Claude Debussy in his concert programmes, even if he never dedicated an entire performance to him, contrary to the case of Camille Saint-Saëns' works, in a Montreux Kursaal "Festival Saint-Saëns" of April 10 1910, in which pianist Raoul Pugno and violinist Eugène Ysaÿe took part. It is especially within the context of programmes dedicated to contemporary French music (as was the case of the April 20 1911 "Festival Compositeurs Français", also in the Kursaal) that works by Claude Debussy are performed, among those of other composers, such as Henri Duparc, Vincent d'Indy, Gabriel Fauré, Édouard Chabrier and Édouard Lalo.

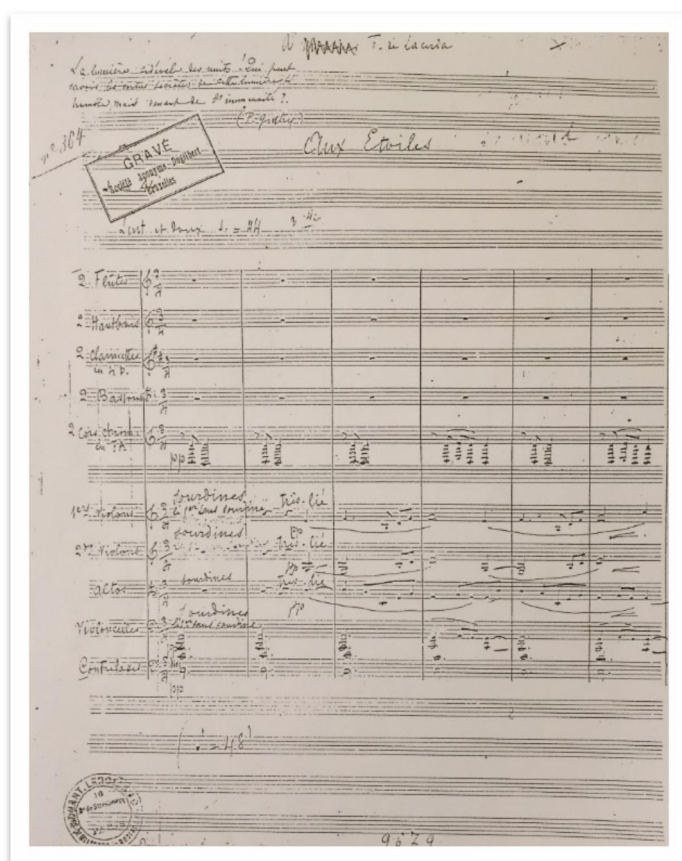


Image 11: The first page of the autographed manuscript of Henri Duparc's orchestral nocturne *Aux Étoiles* dedicated to Francisco de Lacerda.



Image 12: Francisco de Lacerda's manuscript of the only existing sketch of his *Pour le tombeau de Debussy*.

After nine years of success as an orchestral conductor in France and Switzerland, Francisco de Lacerda decides to return to the Azores in 1913, where he stayed until 1921. It is there that he learns of his friend Debussy's death, in 1918. In his native island, in Urzelina, he receives an invitation from their mutual friend Louis Laloy, director of the *Revue Musicale*, to write a piece for a special 1920 supplement of the magazine dedicated to Debussy, side by side with such names as Maurice Ravel, Igor Stravinsky, Béla Bartók, Manuel de Falla, Paul Dukas, Francesco Malipiero and Eugène Goossens. Francisco de Lacerda then began to compose what would be his *Pour le tombeau de Debussy*, of which he never completed more than the first few bars, thus not taking part in the significant tribute to one of music history's greatest creators, who honoured him with his friendship.

Chapter II: A perspective of Francisco de Lacerda's piano work

The present chapter presents a general outlook of the pianistic production of Francisco de Lacerda, considering his development as a musician from a young age in the Azores Islands, right through to his death in Lisbon, in July 1934. In this voyage across the piano work of the Portuguese composer, one will especially focus on some of the pieces, which, for different aspects, seem to be particularly significant of the period, or context, in which they were composed.

One can understand the exclusion of the *mazurka Uma garrafa de cerveja* (a small youthful experiment composed in Angra do Heroísmo in 1886, when the author was seventeen years old) from the complete works for solo piano edition (Lacerda 1997), due to its lack of real musical interest. It is understandable that the first attempts of the young Azorean show signs of the environment in which they were composed, pointing towards his parents' old piano, where he had been learning to decipher piano transcriptions of Italian operas. The naiveté and lightness of the rhythmic structure as well as the sparse harmonic texture closely rooted on the key of C major denote his limited musical exposure of his early years in his native island of São Jorge. One should thus not assign any major importance to this exercise that merely suggests Lacerda's desire to become a composer.

Nevertheless, his decision to move to the city of Porto to study medicine, quickly followed by a swift change of spirit to pursue a musical career by applying to the Lisbon Conservatoire, point towards a period of uncertainty and professional indefiniteness, which

leads to a time of unexistent compositional production. Of the six years of his first period in the Portuguese capital, first as a student of the Lisbon Royal Conservatoire and later as a piano teacher in the same institution, no signs of any incursion into musical composition arrived to the present day.

➤ **Early Romanticism and Nationalism**

It is only in 1895, when the composer establishes himself in Paris as a student of the Paris Conservatoire that his work seems to kick-start more affirmatively, thus marking what could be considered as Lacerda's first Parisian period. Having just arrived from his native Portugal, with a somewhat basic baggage of conservatorial music studies from his time in Lisbon, the young Portuguese is quite far from the artistic language easily recognisable in his musical writing from 1902 onwards.

Nevertheless, *Canção de berço* and *Lusitanas – Valsas de fantasia* constitute an interesting mark in the composer's path, as well as his first two *mélodies*, for voice and piano: *L'indiférent* (1898) and *Les papillons du jour* (1899). Whereas these works, which were conceived on poems by Lacerda's friend Marc Legrand (the first one "d'après Heine"), reveal an already cosmopolitan musician, in the two pieces for piano one sees him returning to the country he had just left. The *mélodies* are effectively French; *Canção de berço* and *Lusitanas* are musically Portuguese.

The precise date of both piano compositions is unknown, with no sources available to confirm it, although the first edition, by Lambertini, indicates 1896 as the year in which they were published²⁹. One can safely conclude that the two works for

²⁹ In a December 31 1896 letter, Portuguese editor Michelangelo Lambertini writes the following, on *Lusitanas* and *Berceuse*: "I carefully examined your compositions, which I found to be delicious, especially the first waltz and the *berceuse*. The second waltz, more characteristically lusitanian, is perhaps not as

piano were composed in Paris, in the later stages of 1895, or even 1896³⁰.

Having just arrived in Paris and attending the Conservatoire, before switching to the newly-founded Schola Cantorum, Lacerda grows under the influence of a quite conservative approach to music, with Vincent d'Indy orientating this last teaching establishment according to the language of the great romantics, such as Robert Schumann, Frederik Chopin, Richard Wagner and César Franck, while still emphasising the importance of such music as that of Rameau and other Baroque composers, something that is evinced, for example, by the clearly tonal approach taken by Lacerda, by contrast with his later works. Another important aspect of the pedagogic principles of the Schola Cantorum is the importance given to folk music. Charles Bordes, one of Lacerda's teachers in that institution, was famously associated with folk music prospection, using Basque tunes in his compositions, as well as others, such as Vincent d'Indy in his *Symphonie sur un chant montagnard français*.

In spite of the highbrow references to the aforementioned romantic composers and the bright nature of the writing of *Lusitanas*, both works sound “portuguese”, integrating themselves in the Portuguese musical nationalism panorama of the last decades of the 19th Century and the beginning of the 1900s, together with other piano works by such musicians as pianist Alexandre Rey Colaço, who composed “Fados” for solo piano³¹. Paris itself, thirsty for exoticism at the time, stimulated these nationalisms, enthusiastically welcoming Russian musicians that went there, especially through the Rimsky-Korsakov, and Spanish composers such as Isaac Albéniz and Manuel de Falla.

enjoyable... But nothing can really be said, given that the public is an eternal child. My personal opinion, which in fact has no value, is that the two that I have cited are full of charm and simplicity (qualities that I love and that are not very common today). So, great debut and... on we go!”.

³⁰ In his “Guide chronologique”, Francisco de Lacerda writes: “1897, Mars – Premières publications”, most likely referring to the two pieces for solo piano published by Michelangelo Lambertini (see ‘Appendices’).

³¹ José Viana da Mota also provides another example of this tendency in his solo piano set *Cenas portuguesas*, which includes pieces whose titles are the same as those of traditional Portuguese dances, such as “Chula” and “O Malhão”.

Indeed, the most relevant attribute of *Canção de berço* and *Lusitanas – Valsas de fantasia* for the purpose of this chapter is the intrinsic nationalistic nature of the two solo piano works. The first of them being a lullaby, it seems fairly evident that Francisco de Lacerda sought the suggestion of Portuguese folk music as a sort of ‘camouflaged’ blueprint for the composition. *Lusitanas*, on the other hand, have this feature much more evidently present. The title, which could be roughly translated as “*Lusitanians*” (another word for ‘Portuguese’), together with the dedicatory remark “Aos Meus” (“To My People”), also point in the same direction.

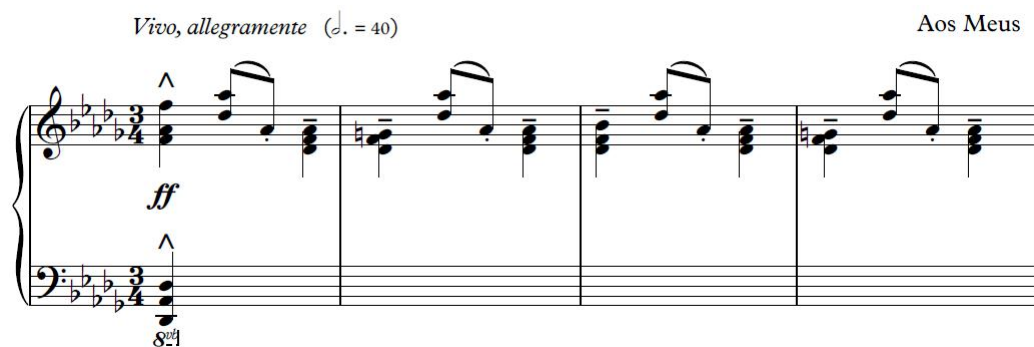


Image 13: Francisco de Lacerda’s dedicatory remark “Aos Meus” (“To My People”) in *Lusitanas – Valsas de fantasia*.

If it is accepted that Lacerda based his *Canção de berço* on a traditional lullaby from his native island, in the case of *Lusitanas* it is not definite that an explicit use of folk melodies from Portugal has been employed. However, the general feeling of the piece is all but a testimony to the composer’s will to create characteristically Portuguese music. His friend José Viana da Mota³² said himself that “composers who try to assign a national colour [to their music] manage to do it better through the free outburst of their feeling

³² See Bettencourt da Câmara, João. 2015. “José Viana da Mota e Francisco de Lacerda”. *Isleña* ISN – 0872-5004.

than by simply using melodies of the people. Maybe the folk song is the best way to reach the soul of the people, but one must then find the very own expression for the nation's feeling" (Freitas Branco 1972, 225-226).

Besides the two works published in 1896, Francisco de Lacerda's production for piano up to 1902 includes several pieces which show the composer's ongoing search for his own musical language. The pieces composed in this period under such a quest illustrate some of the aesthetical tendencies found in the Parisian musical environment at the time. Leaving aside the features that relate to the influence of folk music already explored in *Canção de berço* and *Lusitanas*, another important trace of the Portuguese composer's music of this period is the imprint of romantic traces, from Chopin, Schumann and even Brahms. Three aspects seem to protrude in this: the length of the compositions, which is evidently greater than that of his later works, the treatment of the pianistic writing with a sense of an orchestral approach and the use of a still rather conservative harmonic texture, rooted in a steady tonal structure.

Perhaps the most relevant case of such a romantic pursuit by Francisco de Lacerda is his *Sonatina*, a one-movement work that suggests a broader three-movement piece, actually never concluded. Written while attending the Schola Cantorum, the *Sonatina* perhaps isn't a mere academic exercise, as it reveals a search for a complex romantic form of the *allegro-sonata* structure.

It seems timely to recall that this classical form had been thoroughly revolutionised by the early 1800s greats. Already in Beethoven's last piano sonatas, it is clear that a wide transformation was underway under the German composer. The actually three-section *allegro* framework was intentionally left behind, by seeking a much more free-flowing, organic evolution of the work. Beethoven's *Piano Sonata op. 110*, for example, is an obvious testimony of that, by being conceived in a several part section, in which all

of the sections are interconnected and continuously reappear throughout the work with only minor harmonic and melodic differences (see both the *ariettas* and fugues). Franz Liszt took this even further with his *Sonata in B minor*. Not only is the great work for solo piano a single, thirty-five-minute movement, with an evident cyclical treatment of all the material, it is also according to his disciples an intended musical translation of Goethe's *Faust* poem. Not ever before was the sonata form treated and revolutionised in such a profound way.

Francisco de Lacerda's *Sonatina* is not in any terms in the same level as any of the aforementioned examples of the great romantic repertoire. However, as mentioned before, it still denotes in an obvious manner the composer's wish to adopt not only the harmonic features of the late romantic movement but also the structural approach of the *allegro-sonata* form that originated from the endeavours undertaken by Beethoven, Liszt, Brahms and César Franck³³. With a more detailed overlook of the *Sonatina*, several aspects can provide the evidence of this.

The opening bars, for example, present an obvious textural feeling that could lead one to make a comparison with Brahms' writing. The sheer vertical treatment of the work, with fairly full chord structures and very sparse melodic substance could point towards the German composer's pianistic approach. More than retaining a tune or melodic section when hearing Lacerda's work, the actual weight and broad sound feeling with heavy harmonic usage is what one immediately comes across with. Also, it would probably be possible to relate the continuous deployment of medium-fast semiquavers and triplet quavers in the lower region of the keyboard, frequently alternating with high-pitched

³³ In the *Sonatina* manuscript itself, the opinion of Francisco de Lacerda's teacher Vincent d'Indy was not encouraging. After positively underlining the cyclical construction of the movement, he criticises detours of the musical discourse, which would be against sound classical principles: "C'est bon, de construction et l'idée (puis qu'il n'y en a qu'une) n'est pas mauvaise, mais il y a un défaut de circulation, un arrêt du coeur, ça c'est à éviter dans toute constitution saine".

chords in the right hand, with Brahms' *Piano Sonata no. 3*' first movement. In this, not only the aforementioned aspect is key to the structure of the piece, but also the energetic dotted rhythms are present throughout, just as in Lacerda's piece, as well as the chromatic descent in the bass line in both cases, from the tonic note to the dominant (a widely employed procedure that goes back to the Baroque period).



Image 14: The opening bars of Francisco de Lacerda's *Sonatina*.



Image 15: The opening bars of Johannes Brahms' *Piano Sonata no. 3*.

Another aspect that can lead to a comparison of Lacerda's writing in *Sonatina* with that of the 1810s generation could be the manner in which a softer melodic line is sustained by a flourish of *legato* semiquavers in a diatonic or chromatic flow. In this aspect, one could relate *Sonatina*'s bar 22 to the second theme of Chopin's *Piano Sonata no. 3*'s first movement.



Image 16: The second theme of Francisco de Lacerda's *Sonatina*.



Image 17: The second theme of Frederik Chopin's *Piano Sonata no. 3*'s first movement.

Francisco de Lacerda's *Sonatina* can be seen as a last attempt of the composer's pursuit in trying to embrace the same approach as the great romantic names of the 19th Century. However, it is not the only work in which Lacerda attempts to achieve this. Although of smaller dimensions, such pieces as *Papillons* and *Na fonte* show some of the same features present in the *Sonatina*. A firmly rooted tonal structure, instead of the use of modal and pentatonic resources which characterise the composer's later works, the use of constant *legato* semiquaver lines, among other aspects, illustrate the aesthetic orientations of Francisco de Lacerda in his first few years in Paris.

➤ Turning towards impressionistic modernity

The first piece that would be part of the collectanea *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste*, entitled *Les oiseaux qui s'ent vont pour toujours*, was composed in 1902, thus constituting the first sign of the artistic turnaround that Lacerda's

conversion to a new musical language signified. In a fragment of his personal annotations, the musician himself wrote about the year of 1902 “Je rentre en moi même”, thus revealing his own acknowledgement of such a turn in his path.

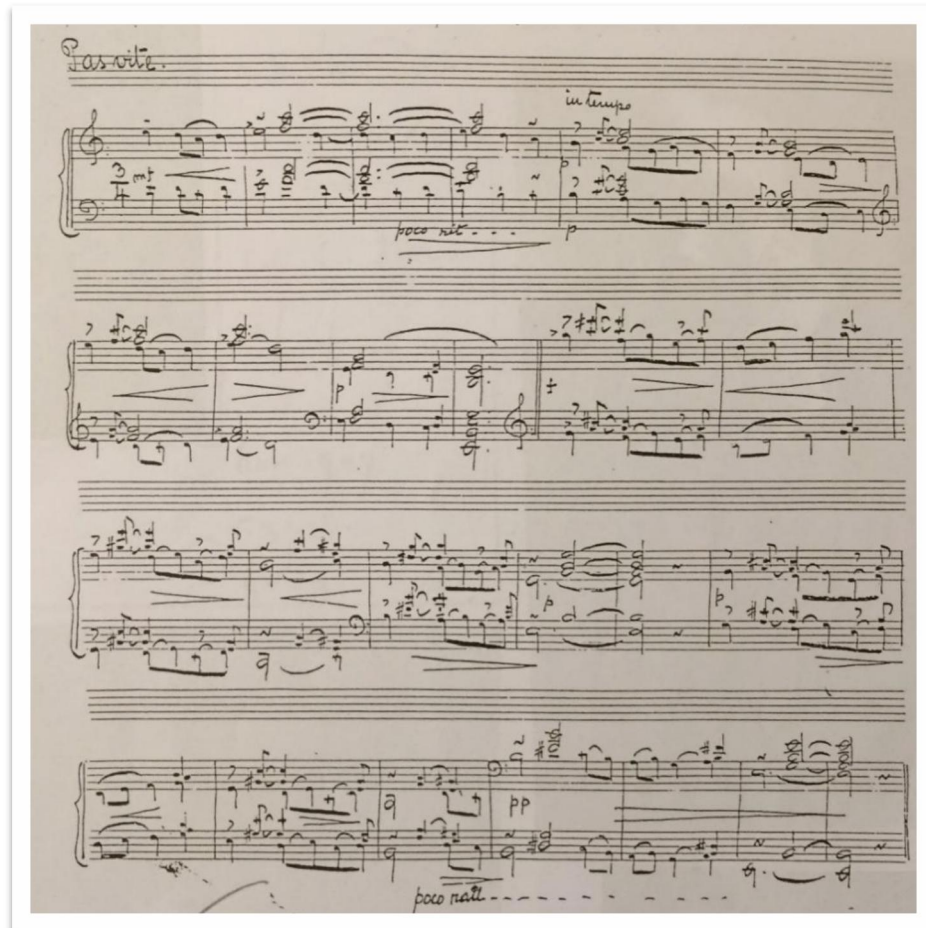


Image 18: The manuscript of Francisco de Lacerda’s *Les oiseaux qui s’en vont pour toujours* (*Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d’un artiste*).

Besides the atmosphere and poetic density of the title, let us focus on the staunch betake of the harmonic texture in which the taste for augmented chords is already evident. For these features, as well as the dimensions that point towards the future miniaturist, *Les oiseaux qui s’en vont pour toujours* unequivocally indict the Lacerda of maturity. It is thus understandable that the author himself, already retrospectively looking on his work,

considered the year of 1902 as the time when he discovered his true self as a musical creator.

A few years before the *Revue Musicale* competition, which was already referred to in the first chapter of this thesis, the Portuguese composer begins to arrive at his trademark aesthetical characteristics. The main aspect that needs to be taken into account regarding this matter is his approximation to the language of Claude Debussy, with whom he possibly had already established personal contacts with at this time³⁴. Whereas, as mentioned before, the compositional features of Lacerda's previous works are firmly tied to the principles of romantic music, he now starts to embrace a journey that takes him to the neighbourhood of the French school of the late 19th Century and the first few decades of the 1900s.

Without a doubt, other works as *Au clair de lune* also constitute evidence of this. Conservative tonal structures, previously key to the Portuguese, now give way to modal shapes, harmonic verticalism and even some chromatic-driven sequences, which can suggest Debussy's influence, especially when deployed in threads of consecutive diminished fifths (or augmented fourths). This piece actually demonstrates that Francisco de Lacerda does not abandon tonality, even as modality gains more significant weight in his writing. When it comes to its literary aspect, both quatrains of Paul Verlaine's poem chosen as an epigraph to this piece unequivocally point towards the sense of new artistic references that the Portuguese musician attempted to make his own.

³⁴ As stated in the previous chapter, it is not possible to pinpoint the date of the Portuguese composer's first personal contact with Claude Debussy, due to the lack of documental confirmation. As far as it is possible to know, this encounter took place around 1904, the year of the *Revue Musicale* competition. However, his contact with great works of the French composer must surely started prior to that occasion. Francisco de Lacerda probably was present in one of the first performances of *Pélleas et Mélisande* in Opéra Comique (1902), given the fact that in his assets he kept a programme of the premiere of this major work by Debussy (although no actual references to Lacerda's impression of the music can be found). It could also be conceivable that that booklet had later been offered to him by Debussy.

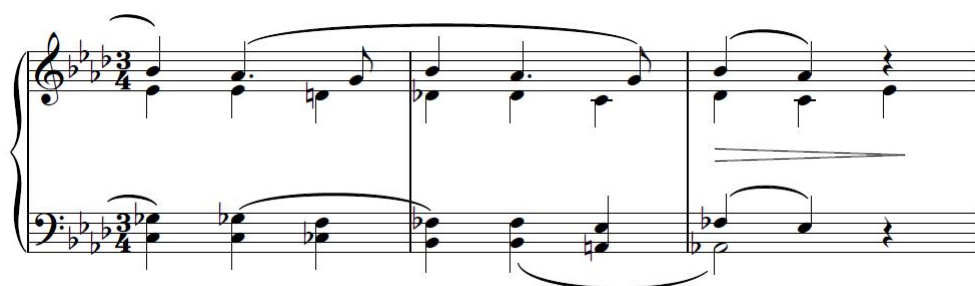


Image 19: The use of consecutive diminished fifths (or augmented fourths) in Francisco de Lacerda's *Au clair de lune* (bars 23-25).

To be noted as well is the upward and downward stretch of unresolving dominant chords, which are usually tainted by the sporadic insertion of the major-ninth note, something that is also remarkably debussyesque. Throughout the French composer's piano works it is possible to detect this feature, in such pieces as *Images* and *Préludes*. The following example is also an excerpt of Lacerda's *Au clair de lune*.

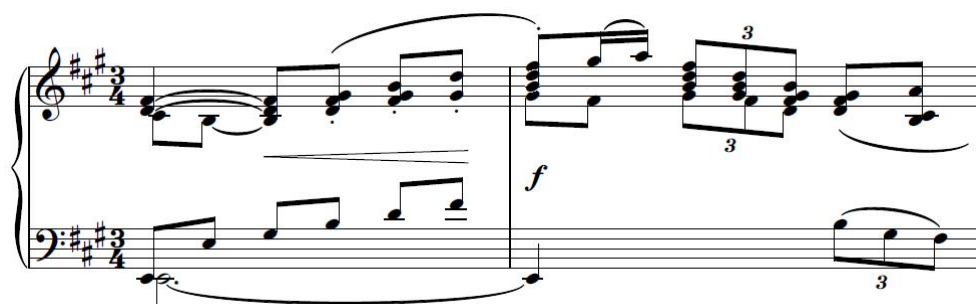


Image 20: A dominant-ninth section of Lacerda's *Au clair de lune* (bars 30-31).

In *Dança Lenta*, another of Francisco de Lacerda's remarkable works of this period, the use of modality is structural. Written in the key of C-sharp minor, the work develops in a kaleidoscopic way, through different modes, which becomes evident by the successive key signature changes. The preference for obvious modal cadences, without

recurring at any time to a perfect or imperfect cadence, makes the change away from tonality a very palpable matter.

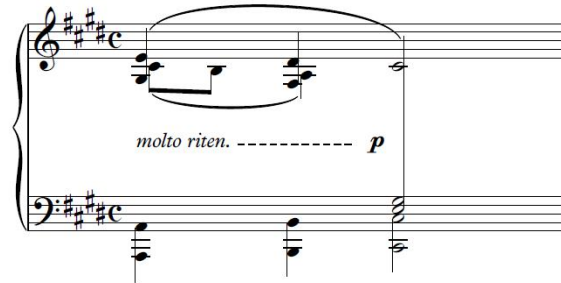


Image 21: An example of a modal cadence (Aeolian mode) in Francisco de Lacerda's *Dança lenta* (bar 20).

Far from the miniaturistic option that would come about later on, in 1910 Francisco de Lacerda shows his constructive ability with intentionally reduced thematic means in his *Dança lenta*, in what can be considered as a second phase of his development as a composer. In that sense, what becomes obvious at first is the very short motive that serves as the basis for the whole work. Exposed in the first few bars in its melodic nakedness, this motive consists in the simple G-sharp/B minor-third interval.

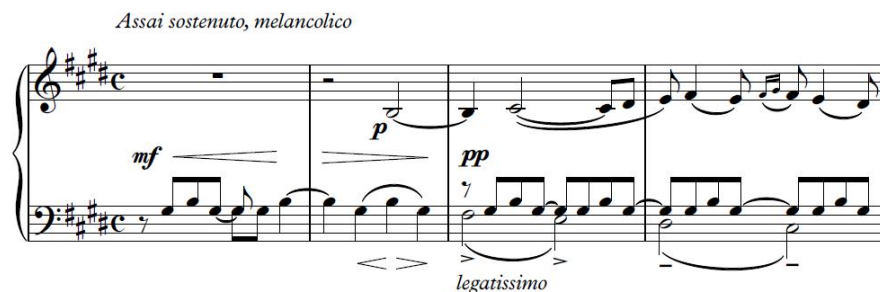


Image 22: The opening bars of Francisco de Lacerda's *Dança lenta*, with the *ostinato* motive in the left hand.

Globally articulated in four different sections (the last of which being the *da capo* of the first one, in an A-B-C-A structure), Lacerda writes the first three parts in different modes, based on the same tonic note, before finally returning to the first section mode, as just mentioned. Therefore, one can detect the sequence of the following modal scales in *Dança lenta*: Aeolian, Phrygian, Mixolydian and, again, Aeolian, as seen below.

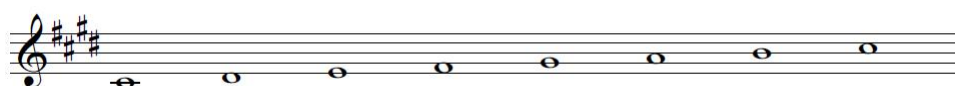


Image 23: The Aeolian modal scale of the first and fourth sections of Francisco de Lacerda's *Dança lenta* (bars 1 – 21 and 63-84).

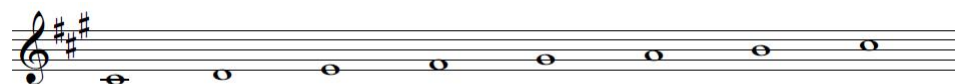


Image 24: The Phrygian modal scale of the second section of Francisco de Lacerda's *Dança lenta* (bars 22 – 37).

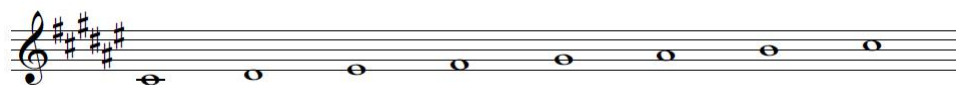


Image 25: The Mixolydian modal scale of the third section of Francisco de Lacerda's *Dança lenta* (bars 38 – 62).

Later on, after Montreux and Marseille, Francisco de Lacerda's biography shows a considerable period of musical inactivity, in the Azores, between 1913 and 1921, before he took residence in Lisbon once again. In the Portuguese capital, he resumes as soon as possible his professional activity as a conductor³⁵, and, as a composer, several of the *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artist* begin to appear, constituting a project that would take place across the following years.

³⁵ In 1923, Francisco de Lacerda establishes the symphonic orchestra Filarmonia de Lisboa and conducts it in concerts in Lisbon (Teatro de São Carlos) and Porto (Teatro de São João), with cellist Guillermina Suggia as a soloist. Unfortunately, disagreements with musicians, perhaps related to conflicts caused by Lisbon businessmen, undoubtedly led to the rapid extinction of an important musical structure that, under the baton of the great Portuguese conductor, would likely invigorate the national musical environment.

➤ **Later pianistic production: *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste***

Another characteristic of Francisco de Lacerda's piano music in question is related to the composer's search for exotic influences. Just as Debussy, who pursued a similar goal, as seen in the second book of *Images*, for example, the Portuguese attempts to suggest a Middle-Eastern ambience in his triptych *Levantinas*. Starting with the actual titles of the three pieces (*Na Acrópole – Dança grega*, *Dos minaretes de Suleiman-Djami* and *Ao crepúsculo – No cemitério de Eyoub*), Lacerda's only trip to the Middle East (1925), especially Greece and Turkey, seems to have taken its toll when it comes to influencing the composer's aesthetic approach.



Image 26: The opening bars of Francisco de Lacerda's *Na Acrópole – Dança grega*.

The three evocative titles leave no room for doubt that this was a clear intention by the Azorean, and not only a mere sporadic feature to be deployed. The music itself explores the exotic atmosphere suggested by the titles. A Greek dance feel is freely induced in *Na Acrópole – Dança grega*. Not only the usage of modal textures spreads throughout the piece, the rhythmic patterns of the first and third sections, with its alternation between sharp quaver values and crotchet rests is quite disclosing.

In *Dos minaretes de Suleiman-Djami*, whose title evokes the Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul, the alternating binary and ternary rhythmic cells suggest an Arabic slow dance³⁶. The actual melodic progressions, in which the sixth degree note constantly falls half-a-tone, reinforces such suggestion.



Image 27: The opening bars of Francisco de Lacerda's *Dos minaretes de Suleiman-Djami*.

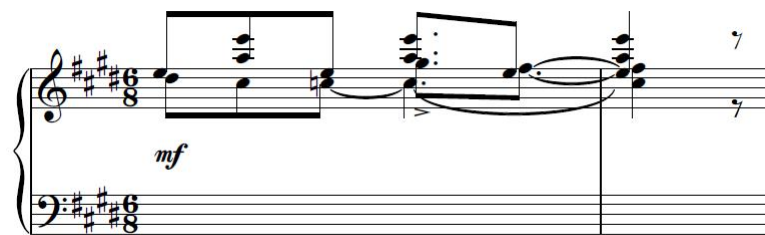


Image 28: The deployment of the flattened sixth degree in the lower melodic line in Francisco de Lacerda's *Dos minaretes de Suleiman-Djami* (bars 19-20).

³⁶ One should note that in this piece the composer opts for dividing the 6/8 time signature alternately between two dotted quavers and the usual three quaver cells. Even the less attentive listener would notice the capricious turning of the dance, which one thus presumes to be of Middle-Eastern influence.

However, *Ao crepúsculo – No Cemitério de Eyoub*, at least for the connotation suggested by the title, seems to call one's attention to the withdrawal with which a musician should look at these incursions of composers through extra-musical paths, both in their literary and/or visual dimensions, if not for its inherent musical characteristics alone. This piece, which seems to be heavy on 'orientalising' suggestions, was orchestrated shortly after by the composer, giving birth to the symphonic poem *Almourol*, of contrary nationalistic meaning (i. e. Portuguese)³⁷. From the Istanbul cemetery to the old stones of the castle in the Tagus River that go back to the origins of the Portuguese nationality, the differences reach no further than between the pianistic version and its orchestration of the same sounds (a prodigious orchestration, in fact, by the great conductor the author was!).

Lacerda's pianistic production cannot be considered without particularly looking at *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste* as certainly the most significant work of the Azorean composer for solo piano. The thirty-six short-piece set constitutes the best pianistic expression of the period that has been analysed so far, not only chronologically, but also when it comes to the musical features that characterise what the author of this thesis considers to be Lacerda's third phase³⁸, even when taking into account the fact that this was a project that spread throughout nearly three decades. In fact, one knows that the first piece the composer himself included in the set, even before the project of uniting the thirty-six tracks came about, dates back to 1902, in Paris,

³⁷ Almourol is the name of one of the most idiomatic castles in Portugal, located in a small island in the Tagus river. It was conquered from the moors in 1129 by the first king of Portugal, Afonso Henriques, and handed over to the Knights Templar. It is commonly seen as one of the symbols of Portuguese nationality.

³⁸ Even musicologist José Bettencourt da Câmara, who has dedicated himself for a long time to recovering Francisco de Lacerda's work, does not refer to one's perception of what could constitute a third phase in the musical production of the Portuguese composer, which in the case of *Trent-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste* is illustrated by the possible dadaistic note particularly present in the humorous atmosphere of some of the pieces of the set. One will expand this matter in the next chapter of the present thesis, when the establishment of identity traces in the composer's work will be attempted. Chronologically speaking, this third period corresponds to the composer's production of the third decade of the 20th Century.

a decisive year in the life of the composer, as stated before. Some of the others were composed in 1907 (Switzerland), but the majority are from 1922 onwards (Lisbon), as most of the manuscripts confirm³⁹.

The first matter that must be underlined refers to the dimensions of each of the pieces. Long time had passed since Francisco de Lacerda attempted to embrace the larger compositional forms, well expressing the composer's initial dependency on the romantic legacy, as seen in the case of the *Sonatina*. However, the first *Trente-six histoires*, composed shortly after the aforementioned work, reveal a completely different strategy and approach in terms of size, structure and harmonic language.

In fact, not a single one of the several pieces lasts longer than three minutes, and some even total less than a single minute. It appears that this is perhaps the most perfect example of Lacerda's journey towards a sense of miniaturism in his writing. His dedication to *Trente-six histoires* and the actual concept of the work reveal a much more careful mindset and care for the structure of the piece. Whereas the manuscripts available today seem to be somewhat disorganised and packed among other documents, what arrived to us of the thirty-six pieces reveals a carefully spruced task, even when it comes to his calligraphy and clarity with which the composer presents us the score. Nevertheless, only a few pieces were published in Portuguese cultural magazines *Contemporânea* and *De Música*, in a facsimile reproduction of a composer's clean copy (Bettencourt da Câmara 1987a, 97). The publishing of the complete set of those pieces only took place many decades after the death of the composer, through the initiative of musicologist José Bettencourt da Câmara (Francisco de Lacerda 2000).

³⁹ One should recall that *Les oiseaux qui s'ent vont pour toujours* (*Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste*) dates back to 1902, even before the composer came up with the idea of the set of pieces, in which he later included this one.

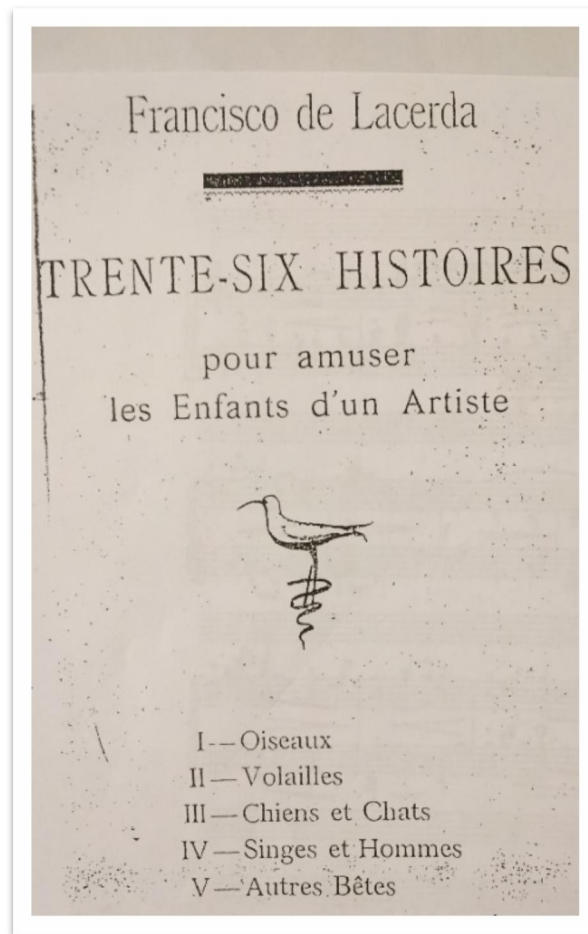


Image 29: A publishing cover of some of Francisco de Lacerda's *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste*, with an illustration drawn by the composer himself (from a 1922 number of the *Contemporânea* magazine).

The *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfant d'un artiste* also presume a particular intention of suggesting images or specific atmospheres, testifying to the composer's particular capacity to do so. What one sees in *Levantinas* could wrongly lead to the conclusion that this is just another similar attempt. However, this three-piece set, although successful in suggesting exotic influences through its straightforward rhythmic and harmonic features, doesn't come close to the profound and vaster approach undertaken by Lacerda in *Trente-six histoires* regarding this matter.

Not only each of the titles is particularly suggestive and specific, they also frequently present us with a descriptive notion that requires continuous action, a plot of some sort. Whereas *Ao crepúsculo* or *Dos minaretes de Sulejman-Djami* present a mere suggestive atmosphere, the thirty-six stories in general go beyond that when it comes to the matter at hand. The ninth piece is not simply called *Le Canard*; with the title *Le Canard qui a mangé des Grenouilles* Lacerda seems to require more than just the image of the bird to construct the piece. There seems to be, with this, a concrete image, even a narrative. In several of them, the composer tries to coagulate simple realities, such as that of an animal, with profoundly symbolic terms. *Les Oiseaux qui s'en vont pour toujours* or *Mon Chien rêve* are good examples of this. The issue comes out as even more significant if one takes into account the philosophical dimension of some of the pieces: the density of the nightly darkness, the anguish regarding the mystery of death...

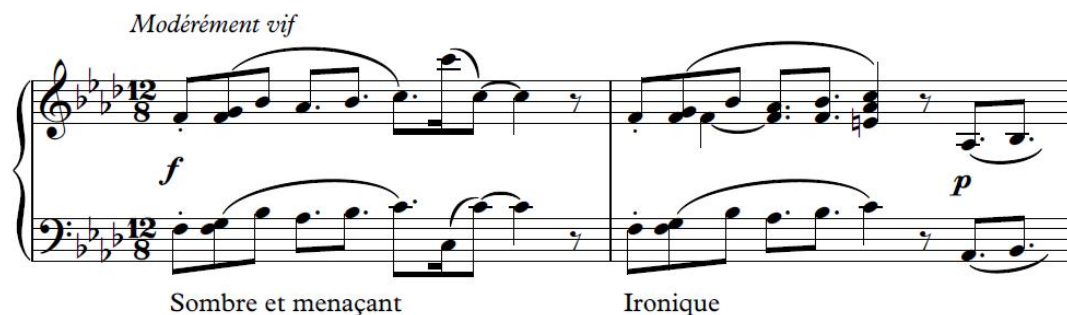


Image 30: An example of Francisco de Lacerda's suggestive score indications in *Deux Coqs, une Poule... et ce qui s'ensuit* (bars 1-2).

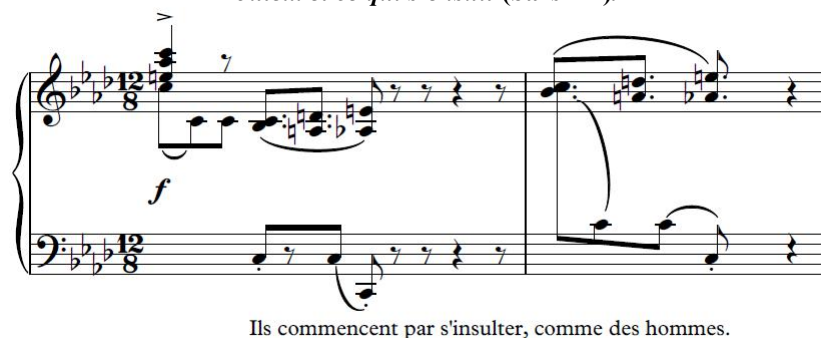


Image 31: Another example of Francisco de Lacerda's suggestive score indications in *Deux Coqs, une Poule... et ce qui s'ensuit* (bars 5-6).

The use of expressive punctuation marks in the titles also reinforces the symbolic nature of the pieces, as with *Deux Coqs, une Poule... et ce qui s'ensuit*, for example. Going even further into the expressive indication in the actual score, not only the tempo/character markings seem to be more complex and poetic than in any other work of the composer, Lacerda comes to the point of suggesting which mood or attitude should be attributed to a given passage, as seen in the examples above.

One should globally see *Trent-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste* as Francisco de Lacerda's greatest work for piano⁴⁰. Given its meaning and significance, more focus will be given to it in the following chapter of this thesis.

The composer did not nevertheless stop writing some other pieces for solo piano in this last period of his life (1921-1934). Not all of them in the complete works edition (Francisco de Lacerda 2000) will be referred to, given their circumstantial character, even considering that in those cases he did not abdicate his own demand of quality of writing. That is the case of such pieces as *Chanson triste, Par la brume...*, "*Douce clarté d'un jour nouveau...*", among others.

The incursion into Spanish-style suggestions is obvious in the case of *Granadinas - Para o leque de Rosário*. A few hispanic-leaning traces in the accompaniment of some of the *Trovas* also remind one of his friend and correspondent, Manuel de Falla, who was visited by Lacerda in 1926, in Granada⁴¹.

⁴⁰ It seems necessary to refer to the highest point in Francisco de Lacerda's production: the *Trovas*, for voice and piano, of which some were orchestrated by the composer himself, thus giving origin to two sets for voice and orchestra. Whereas the *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste* illustrate Lacerda's cosmopolitan side, the *Trovas* testify to his persistent nationalistic preoccupation, even during his third compositional phase. By feeding themselves of a deep knowledge of Portuguese folk music, the *Trovas*, however, do not cease to incorporate language innovations that, in this last phase of his career, Francisco de Lacerda could not simply leave out. One can thus state that the *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste* represent the prime work of the Portuguese composer for solo piano, whereas the *Trovas* have the same relevance in the field of his voice and piano and voice and orchestra repertoire.

⁴¹ See 'Appendices', where inedited letters from Manuel de Falla and his sister Carmen to Francisco de Lacerda are transcribed.

Another work of diverse character that should be pointed out is *Duas valsas*, whose production date is unknown. These two pieces eventually date back to Lacerda's Montreux period, or even to Marseille, in the 1910s. The composer possibly projected a vaster composition, which was not completed. Moreover, the manuscript barely shows a later erased subtitle that seems significant: *Valsas cómicas e sentimentais*.

Chapter III – The influence of Debussy and the identity of Lacerda's pianistic writing

What seems to be such a challenge presented by the title of this chapter is the fact that one must systematise and condense the several aspects of diverse roots of Francisco de Lacerda's style in the light of another musician's influence, Claude Debussy, as well as acknowledging those from other musicians, without overlooking the features that are unique to the Portuguese composer's music. The central issue on this matter seems to be that such high quality music is, at the same time, a product of undeniable originality and also a fruit of both the relationship of the composer with one of the greatest names in French music history and one of the most determining artistic movements of the last two centuries, i. e. the so called musical Impressionism.

When any minimally informed listener absorbs the sounds of whatever he or she is listening to, the first natural reaction to it, right after the involuntary feeling of enjoying or disliking it, is to be able to recognise the author. One can certainly affirm that such a situation may not be possible if, in fact, the case is that of a music that hasn't got in itself enough original and specific characteristics that can lead one to almost unarguably point towards a certain composer. It would seem fair enough to be listening to a section of a João Domingos Bomtempo's piano concerto and perhaps not distinguishing it straight away from a passage of a Johann Nepomuk Hummel work of the same genre. However, if it is a piano piece by Ludwig van Beethoven, or a keyboard one of Johann Sebastian Bach, the outcome of such an attempt would certainly be far different. To which of these

two cases could Francisco de Lacerda's piano works be compared in this matter?⁴²

Thus, the first question that is presented is that of recognisability. Even if it is considered that Francisco de Lacerda's music should be seen as a product of a great talent, as acknowledged by some of his peers, being easily recognisable by musicians listening to it, the crude fact is that it is, unfortunately, widely unknown contemporarily⁴³. The main objective of this chapter is to contribute with analytical knowledge and background on his works for piano, so that the necessary frame of mind is set in order for a performer to become familiar with his music.

The present chapter will attempt to explore the most important aspects that both indicate the original features of Lacerda's compositions for solo piano and help one understand how other characteristics that originate from Debussy's influence combine into what should be considered as some of the greatest works in Portuguese music history. For better clarity and comprehension, these aforementioned features and issues will be handled and analysed separately. Comparisons to characteristics of Claude Debussy's pianistic writing will be established in each of them, if applied.

It is also important to underline that the focus of this chapter will obviously be on what one proposes to be Francisco de Lacerda's second and third phases, since one cannot take his initial attempts at approaching the romantic legacy of the 19th Century as the signature style of his work, as discussed in the previous chapter. Romantic influences

⁴² An episode that took place during the first recording of Francisco de Lacerda's orchestral works, in Budapest (1998), illustrates this issue quite well: conductor János Sandór said that what is really interesting about the Portuguese composer is the fact that, although one can recognise his proximity with Debussy (and Ravel, to a lesser extent), his music is perfectly distinguishable from theirs [oral report by José Bettencourt da Câmara].

⁴³ Throughout this thesis, one insists on the reasons that explain the evident erasure of Francisco de Lacerda as a composer from music history, as well as a conductor, to a lesser extent. It should again be reminded that Ernest Ansermet, during Lacerda's lifetime, was one of the few people not to forget the importance of the compositional work of his conducting master. One should also note the acknowledgement of the quality of Lacerda's music by Madeleine Grey, who was only probably acquainted with some of his *Trovas* (see 'Appendices'). As for the pianist who accompanied her in a performance of some of the *Trovas* in Paris, Alfred Cortot, he does not seem to know of other works by his friend Francisco de Lacerda, such as the *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste* (see also 'Appendices').

in Lacerda's early production, such as in *Sonatina*, especially from composers like Robert Schumann, Frederyk Chopin and Johannes Brahms, seemed to have been somewhat quickly overcome. The sense of nationalism in Lacerda's music, present in a few piano pieces, of which one could highlight *Canção do berço* and *Lusitanas*, also nearly dissipated when a new orientation started to take shape in the Portuguese's approach⁴⁴. Thus, the turning towards modernity in the beginning of the 20th Century, already evident in the year of 1902, dictates the steady formation of Francisco de Lacerda's very own language, within the context of what is widely known to have happened in the artistic world of 1900s Paris. The following analysis of different musical aspects is not only contributing to the understanding and performance of his music, but also to coherently stowing it in the stylistic and historic frame that, in fact, it belongs to.

➤ **Stretching and changing the use of tonality**

One of the most striking aspects that Impressionism had to offer to music development in history is perhaps the dismantling of the traditional use of tonality as the very basis of all compositional production. It is arguably fair to state that, although some composers prior to Debussy and Ravel had already been softly suggesting at extending the boundaries of tonality, it is in the first few years of the 20th Century that the rupture marking the advent of modern music took place, as well as modern art in general.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ The issue regarding the nationalistic orientation in Francisco de Lacerda's work is taken into account differently in the case of his piano music and his compositions for voice and piano. Such an orientation, which is evident in his first phase, up to 1902, seems to disappear in his later works for solo piano. The same could not be said, however, regarding his voice and piano production, especially in *Trovas* and other less relevant pieces of the later stages of his path as a composer, in the 1920s and early 1930s. Those works combine references to Portuguese folk music together with the novelties of impressionistic writing. This difference (which perhaps Francisco de Lacerda was not consciously aware of?) is very significant.

⁴⁵ In order to illustrate the concomitance in what occurs in music and the other forms of art, one reminds that in 1905 (the year of the premiere of Claude Debussy's *La mer* and Maurice Ravel's finishing *Miroirs*) takes place the first exhibition of the 'fauves' in Paris. In 1907, Pablo Picasso completes his *Demoiselles*

However, as with any other artistic issue, change is not abrupt and does not come about from absolutely nowhere. Being a human phenomenon, music changes and evolves naturally and fluidly, even in cases where it happens at a considerably fast pace, through the actions of some musicians in particular. It is thus important to denote that Franz Liszt⁴⁶ over any other, in the second half of the 1800s, already pushes the harmonic envelope to new limits, in a way preparing the ground for what would originate from the revolutionary French movement a few decades later.

Let us take the Hungarian composer's *Mephisto waltz no. 3*, for instance, composed in 1883. Although the first *Mephisto waltz*, dating back some twenty-one years before the aforementioned one, already suggests some kind of shifting in terms of harmonic language, by its courageous deployment of consecutive fifths throughout the piece, pretending to describe Mephistopheles' tuning his violin, it is in *Mephisto waltz no. 3* that Liszt openly challenges established conventions. Without looking at the key signature, just by listening to it, it is impossible to determine in which key the work is actually written on, even considering the key signatures presented on the score. It is not just that the successive lines of overlapping perfect-fourth intervals give a certain feeling of tonal uncertainty to it. The actual harmonic structure is vague, with the very last cadence (a normally compulsory feature to any musical work at the time) even being, to

d'Avignon and a few months later, in 1908, Ravel finishes composing *Gaspard de la nuit*. In the meantime, in Vienna, the future creator of what would come to be recognised as the most accentuated expression of modern music, i. e. dodecaphonic serialism, still seems to be attached to romantic roots, in which he was formed as a student of Alexander Zemlinsky (Arnold Schönberg). Pierre Boulez appeared to be correct when affirming what many would quote in decades to follow: "C'est avec la flûte du faune que commence une respiration nouvelle de l'art musicale [...]" (Michel 1958). The pioneering of Claude Debussy indeed is even more glaring if one takes into account that his *Prélude à l'après midi d'un faune* is premiered in 1894 and that in the second half of that same decade the composer is already working on his great and only opera: *Pélleas et Mélisande*.

⁴⁶ In spite of all that has been written about Richard Wagner (and particularly on his so called "Tristan chord"), it is Franz Liszt who one should recognise as a forerunner of modern music, certainly more so than the author of *Parsifal*. This is particularly evident in some of Liszt's later works, such as *Nuages*, for its use of the whole-tone scale; also, in the organ *Requiem* for example, there is a sense of "dépouillement" that could perhaps already foresee aspects of Erik Satie's works that likely interested Francisco de Lacerda.

say the least, non-existent! And if any doubts still persisted, in *Mephisto waltz no. 4* Franz Liszt doubles down on such a revolutionary intent and sets up the cadential structure of the piece to be obviously modal, by using the very ancient mode that was almost paranoiacally avoided by the Renaissance and Medieval masters: the Hypophrygian mode. Liszt was thus not only happy to completely break with any harmonic conventions of the past, he provocatively splashed the “diabolus in musica” notion all over this historic but rarely performed work for solo piano.

However, the aforementioned examples that pre-date Debussy’s revolution still constituted very rare exceptions, and that is where the French composer’s role in turning the tonal world upside down comes in. The most obvious feature of Claude Debussy’s music that reveals his revolutionary approach to tonality and harmony is the breaking-up of established conventions on the tonic-dominant relation. Boyd Pomeroy, in his article “Debussy’s tonality: a formal perspective”, underlines this matter by arguing that “[...] one of the least traditional aspects of Debussy’s tonal practice concerns his treatment of this fundamental harmonic relation, its radical transformation in some pieces and (real or apparent) conspicuous absence from others. For some analysts (most notably Richard S. Parks), this departure from earlier tonal norms effectively disqualifies Debussy’s music from consideration as genuinely tonal” (Tresize 2003, 156). From a cautious perspective however (if one admits this analysis to be a somewhat radical one), it is unarguable that even if the dominant-tonic connection is still there, it is presented by the French composer in a very mild, under-the-surface manner, pasted over with non-tonal harmonic sheds in the foreground.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ “The Debussyist harmony created a scandal in its day. Its richness and novelty were not at first understood, because of a failure to integrate it in the system in which it fit. People only saw an arbitrary nihilism there, where in truth a logical growth of value was prevalent” (Coueroy 1921, 117).

In *Images II*, one of Claude Debussy's later works for solo piano, the composer presents one with many cases in which the centennial relationship between tonic and dominant that form the main cadential structure in the tonal system is ruptured. In *Cloches à travers les feuilles*, the first piece of the set, bars 9 and 10 are an illustration of this, where the E-flat based dominant seventh chord does not resolve to what is expected to be an A flat chord, but instead breaks through to a far distant C based harmony.

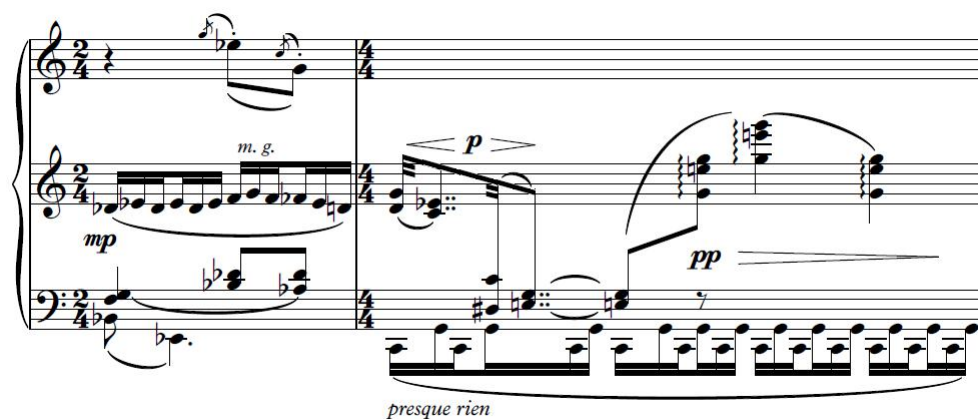


Image 32: Bars 9-10 of Claude Debussy's *Cloches à travers les feuilles*.

In Francisco de Lacerda's case, the taking of the dominant-tonic relation and its twisting by combining distant harmonic textures in this type of chord in a cadential situation does not happen in the exact same manner in which Debussy employs it. The Portuguese composer tends to break with traditional tonal usage by setting up cadences in which the dominant function is replaced by chord structures that, if looked at in other contexts, do not assume that role. In other words, rather than sharply dismembering a dominant-tonic chord progression by making two unrelated major-fifth/dominant-seventh harmonies clash, he attempts to achieve a similar result by giving other harmonic cells the role of a dominant harmony, without the whole passage necessarily assuming any other type of conventional cadence form (i. e., plagal, imperfect, etc.). The final two bars of *Le*

ramier blessé are an example of this notion, with an augmented-F chord sustained by the dominant degree resolving to the tonic, as illustrated below.

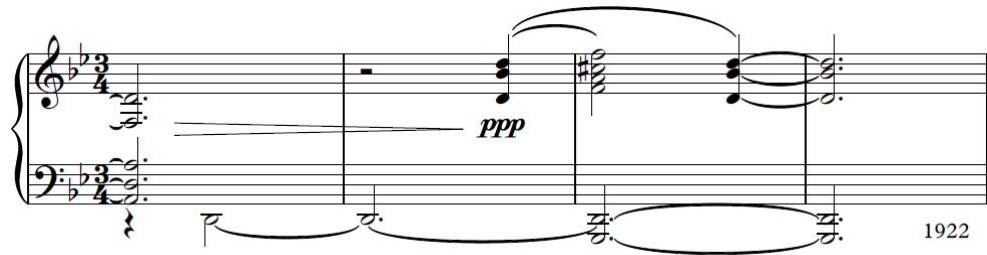


Image 33: The final four bars of Francisco de Lacerda's *La Ramier blessé*.

Where Francisco de Lacerda and Claude Debussy seem to be perfectly aligned regarding this broad issue is in a new use of modality as a means of overcoming old tonality, without breaking with the notion of the tonic note (on the contrary, renewing it). Again, Boyd Pomeroy argues that in “[...] Debussy’s mature style, while the traditional major/minor system continues to inform tonal identity on a large scale in whole pieces, or substantial, self-contained sections thereof, at the level of surface detail that system is often undermined by a prevalence of degrees of modal scales such that melodies and chord successions often resist traditional tonal classification” (Tresize 2003, 157). In Lacerda’s case, such situations seem more prevalent in cadential sequences, by embracing the very diatonic progressions that the ancient modal structures had defined centuries before, even if the principle itself is the same as in Debussy’s approach.

As seen in the previous chapter, the 1910 *Dança lenta* constitutes an excellent example of the systematic use of modality by Francisco de Lacerda, among others to which one could fall back on. Below, one can observe a passage of the piece, where the bass line and harmony show a clear use of the Aeolian mode.



Image 34: Bars 10-12 of Francisco de Lacerda's *Dança lenta*.

Also as another tool utilised to dismantle the traditional tonal structures, it is useful to underline what Boyd Pomeroy refers to as “non-functional diatonicism”. In his words, “[...] Debussy’s diatonic writing, the quality of harmonic goal-directedness, so crucially defining for earlier tonal styles, is often undermined through the characteristic presence of a (strictly non-functional) pentatonic patina (quite apart from its undermining by other factors, rhythmic and phrase-structural [...])” (Tresize 2003, 157). Regarding this issue, one shouldn’t also overlook the use of other harmonic resources, such as whole-tone and pentatonic progressions. Both of these are evident in Debussy’s opening of *La fille aux cheveux de lin* and Lacerda’s *Litanies pour les bêtes malades* (*Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d’un artiste*). In this kind of liturgical parody, this new diatonicism is here and there dyed with a brush of chromaticism, which does not go against the general archaic suggestion that leads the composer into even omitting the time signature from the score.



Image 35: Bars 1-11 of Claude Debussy's prelude *La fille aux cheveux de lin*.



Image 36: Bars 1-2 of Francisco de Lacerda's *Litanies pour les bêtes malades*.

The whole-tone scale, as well as augmented chords, is another important resource utilised by impressionist musicians, thus approximating even more evidently Francisco de Lacerda and Debussy, as previously mentioned.⁴⁸ Lacerda systematically employs this feature in its melodic and/or harmonic form, to the point of composing entire pieces on whole-tone scales and augmented chords, as seen in some of the *Trente-six histoires pour*

⁴⁸ Bettencourt da Câmara, José. 1993. "A escala de tons na obra de Francisco de Lacerda." *Revista Música* IV-1.

amuser les enfants d'un artiste (La Pieuvre, Le Cerf blessé, Le Phoque jaloux...). In the following examples, among many others in both Debussy and Lacerda's cases, one illustrates the melodic use of the whole-tone system.



Image 37: Bars 31-32 of Claude Debussy's *Etude pour les octaves*.

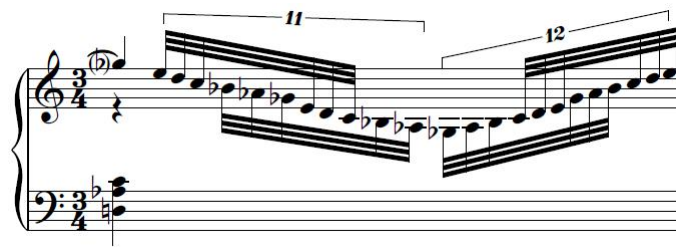


Image 38: Bar 15 of Francisco de Lacerda's *Mon chien et la lune*.

A relevant characteristic that crosses over from Claude Debussy's innovative approach to Francisco de Lacerda's music is the manner in which both composers establish their notion of a chord syntax. In a substantial number of cases, chord progressions are employed with a pure textural sense, rather than conventional sequences, even resulting, in many instances, in a slight feeling of bitonality or even polytonality, originating from "[...] chordal superimposition (several independent triads juxtaposed), or of the harmonisation of a conjunct melodic passage with consecutive major thirds, giving the effect of a series of major tonics and of consecutive polytonality" (Tresize 2003, 157), as seen in Debussy's *Et la lune descend sur le temple qui fut*'s bars presented

below, as well as bars 5-9 of Lacerda's *Bruma*. In this very short April 15 1925 work for solo piano, the Portuguese composer takes the principle of sound reduction means to its highest level, by constructing the whole piece on a sole chord that is parallelly repeated at different heights.

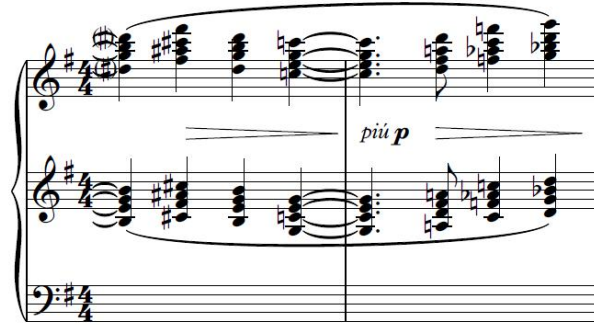


Image 39: Bars 11-12 of Claude Debussy's *Et lune descend sur le temple qui fut.*

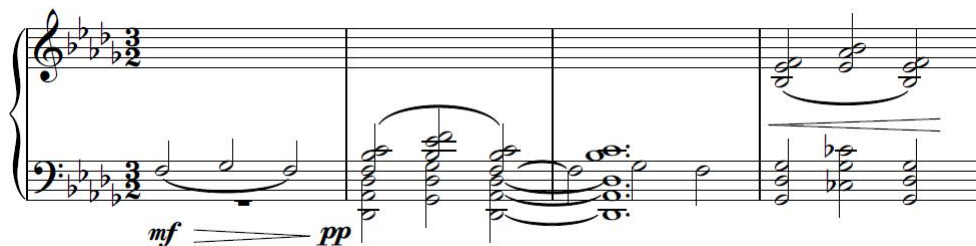


Image 40: Bars 1-4 of Francisco de Lacerda's *Bruma.*

Other rigorous uses of this, for the pure timbric value of the chord, can be found in other piano pieces of Francisco de Lacerda. Again, *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste* provide countless examples of it. In *Mon chien rêve*, that which would be a simple dominant-seventh inversion in traditional writing constitutes the only sound agglomerate with which the whole piece is constructed.



Image 41: Bars 1-4 of Francisco de Lacerda's *Mon chien rêve*.

➤ Expanding score marking capabilities

It is presumably needless to recall that a musical score is a mere translation of the transcendent process that, through the performer as a vehicle, constitutes the actual becoming of the musical work. Accordingly, one must consider the details on the score as essential beacons for the compliance with the composer's intentions and thus achieving the truest possible outcome of the music itself.

Since musical Impressionism developed as a movement that aspires to explore timbre to its outmost potential, one must conclude that score markings are directly related to this objective and must be regarded, in the context of this topic, as an important underlying issue for the better understanding of the matter at hand. However, the challenging point on this subject is tied to the fact that, although Francisco de Lacerda and Claude Debussy, for all the reasons explored throughout this thesis, are both unquestionably, even diversely, representative of what is known as musical Impressionism, but are so with different levels of precision in their writing, albeit using fairly similar notation techniques. It is thus a question of intensity and quantity, and not one of actual writing approach. One shouldn't then overlook some of those tools and compare them in the cases of both composers.

Regarding the issue of phrasing, what must be noted in the first place is that Lacerda and Debussy use it as a means of reinforcing the atmosphere of the work, whereas composers of the past tend to employ it in accordance with melodic “breathing”, such as Frederyk Chopin, and actual pianistic technique (especially arm movement), as in the case of Johannes Brahms. Both in Lacerda and Debussy’s case, articulation and phrasing should be considered as an integral part of all the other features of a given piece, as a means of actually empowering them and thus illustrating the composer’s descriptive intentions for it. And although Lacerda’s scores show the same approach, even if far less abundantly, the two composers are close to each other in their sense of exactitude and criterion.⁴⁹

In relation to this matter of phrasing serving as a carrier for the agogical sense, Lacerda’s youth work *Na fonte* already presents different examples that illustrate this. Whereas in bars 10 and 15 the two groups of three quavers in the right hand staff are connected with a single slur, suggesting a longer and more fluid line, the same cell in bar 31 appears to be broken into two groups, in terms of phrasing. Also, in bars 20 and 21, the first two quavers are clearly separated from the following ones, which, interestingly enough, are rhythmically different, since they are in fact dotted. The four dotted ones are, however, placed over a single slur. This sudden change of melodic pace in such short space, thanks to different phrasings, surely illustrates the issue under analysis.

⁴⁹ Pianist and Debussy performer José Eduardo Martins writes that the “[...] notion of articulation in the pianistic work of Debussy must be taken into account as inherent to dynamics, timbre and agogic. It comes to corroborate the ample sense, showing paths, indicating the exact thinking of the author. Debussy is the first composer who writes for piano in which the exactitude of the idea is transmitted in its fullness. [...] To Debussy, the sound to be extracted is the important thing. [...] It should be noted in a more detailed analysis that, in the employment of the signs determining the articulation, Debussy takes almost exclusive use of traditional markings. However, it is its abundance, in a criterious and selective way, that brings to his score an additional texture, complementing the actual notes” (Martins 1982, 49).

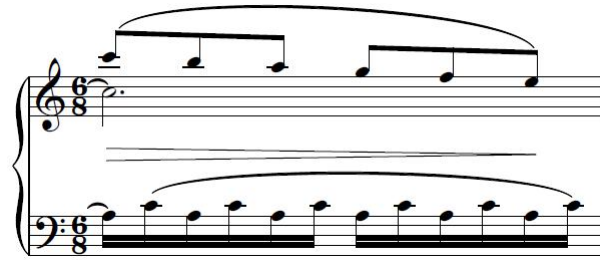


Image 42: Bar 10 of Francisco de Lacerda's *Na fonte*.

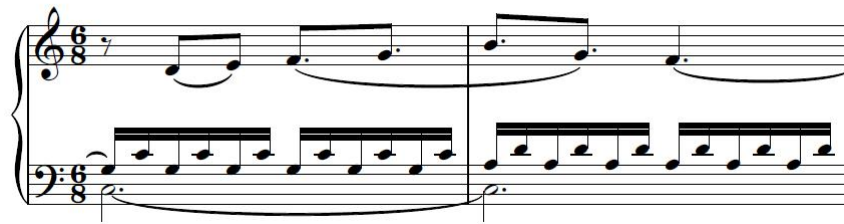


Image 43: Bars 20-21 of Francisco de Lacerda's *Na fonte*.



Image 44: Bar 31 of Francisco de Lacerda's *Na fonte*.

It is then possible to compare these examples with cases in which Debussy approaches the same melodic and rhythmic cells with different phrasings. In fact, “[...] similar passages are sometimes presented with distinct solutions when it comes to articulation” (Martins 1982, 49). Below is an example of such an instance from Debussy's *Etude pour les octaves*. It is observable that with the same pattern (although inverted) in the right-hand of the first two bars, Debussy completely changes the nature of

the passage by departing from a separated semi-quaver plus two slurred ones to three connected semi-quavers. Also, in bars 3 and 4, the same cell of four semi-quavers is phrased differently: in the first case, all of the figures are evenly slurred, whereas in the following measure the very last semi-quaver is shortened with a *staccato* marking, reinforcing the *forte* and *crescendo* markings and thus reaffirming the sharp increase in sound volume and sudden interruption of the musical phrase.⁵⁰ More instances of such rich and diverse markings are present in every bar of the presented example.



Image 45: The opening bars of Claude Debussy's *Étude pour les octaves*.

⁵⁰ Ludwig van Beethoven was perhaps the first constant user of intense *crescendi* that end up in sudden *piani*, thus creating an environment of great tension and shock, but in no case were these tightly connected to types of phrasing and articulation that complemented and enhanced this sort of atmosphere.

Where both composers also seem to be closer in their approach, but in this case with apparently similar levels of precision and abundance, is in their use of timbre and duration markings. Even in somewhat faster *tempi*, the changes in attack for each note appear to come with striking tightness and quickness, sometimes suddenly shifting from one quaver to the next. A good example of this setting in Lacerda's case is his piece *Certain Renard*, from *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste*. Looking at its first six bars, here presented, one can easily observe, for instance, that in the case of the first four crotchets of bars 3 and 4, there is a sudden heavy accent on the fourth note, preceded by a *staccato* one and followed by a slightly lighter accentuation in the following crotchet. The same principle of dramatic accentuation shifts is seen in the third and second last bars of the piece, where although the fourth crotchet and whole-note are clearly accentuated, there is an unmistakable notation difference between the two.

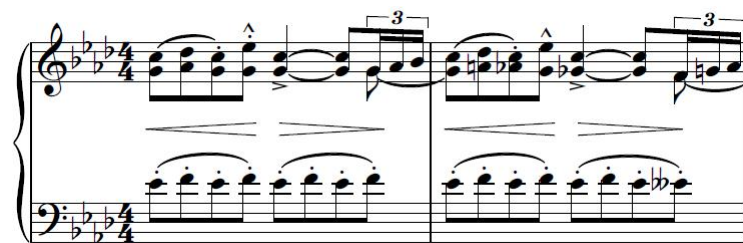


Image 46: Bars 3-4 of Francisco de Lacerda's *Certain Renard*....

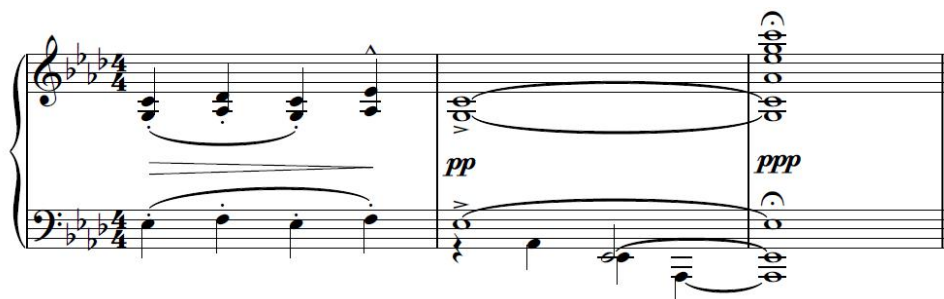


Image 47: The last three bars of Francisco de Lacerda's *Certain Renard*....

In Debussy's case, such care with different timbre possibilities through very precise and quick changes in notation markings is also one of his most common features, as mentioned before. In his *Poissons d'or*'s bars 19 to 21, it is clear the minute difference in accentuation from one quaver to the next in every single beat, ranging from mere *staccato* to plain *portati*, and even to *portati* with *staccato* signs.



Image 48: Bars 19-21 of Claude Debussy's *Poissons d'or*.

➤ Score features as descriptive tools

As mentioned in previous lines, there is an interesting connection between the heavy extra-musical dimension in a great number of works by composers of the romantic period and the search for the descriptive sense with which the impressionists approach their music. According to Nigel Simeone, “Debussy's preoccupation with the most effective way of depicting nature was shared by the greatest visual artists of the same period. In 1897 Paul Cézanne wrote that ‘art is a harmony parallel to nature’; and in 1902 he stated that ‘the transposition made by the painter, from a perspective of his own, gives a new interest to that part of nature which he has reproduced; he renders as a painter that which has not yet been painted; he makes it into a painting in an absolute sense – that is

to say something other than reality. This is no longer straightforward imitation” (Tresize 2003, 102).

To those who are naturally skeptical of any programmatic approach to music, the terms presented above might appear as liable to criticism. It is true that the association with Cézanne’s known formula does not seem misfitted. Although music may not be understood as faithful imitation of nature, one does not need to fear interrogation about the way it relates itself with nature, which is an issue that seems particularly pertinent in the case of both Francisco de Lacerda and Claude Debussy.

The very first use of the term ‘Impressionism’ applied to Debussy’s music dates back to 1887⁵¹, in a report by the secretary to the Académie des Beaux-Arts, and, as in the history of painting, it was demeaningly used to ascribe a tendency to be avoided: “Monsieur Debussy does not lapse into banality, nor is he platitudinous. On the contrary, he has a pronounced tendency – too pronounced – towards an exploration of the strange. One has the feeling of musical colour exaggerated to the point where it comes to forget the importance of precise construction and form. It is strongly hoped that he will guard against this vague Impressionism, which is one of the most dangerous enemies of truth in works of art” (Tresize 2003, 102)⁵².

Even considering that Debussy initially referred to the term ‘Impressionism’ in music as used by “imbeciles” with “the utmost inaccuracy”⁵³, he later admitted to the *Revue Musicale* critic and editor-in-chief Emile Vuillermoz, in 1916, that he felt “a great

⁵¹ Jarocinski, Stefan. 1966. *Debussy: Impressionism and Symbolism*. Mainz: Eulenberg Books.

⁵² One cannot overlook the apparently strange similarity of the terms employed in this criticism (which intended to be constructive!), with young Debussy’s ‘deviations’, considering the ‘detours’ pointed out by Vincent d’Indy to the *Sonatina* of his Portuguese pupil. Even if the two cases are surely different, the same traditional principles of a balanced construction of the work are invoqued. It is the issue of form (or the lack thereof...) that will be insisted on by the critics of what ended up being called ‘musical Impressionism’.

⁵³ Tresize, Simon. 2003. *The Cambridge companion to Debussy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 102.

honour [to be called] a pupil of Claude Monet”⁵⁴. As it happened in painting, one sees Debussy as the first ‘impressionist’ in the area of musical creation (although Richard Wagner already had accepted the notion of Impressionism as applicable to his music), assuming as something positive that which had been pointed out to him by some critics as a path to avoid.

So, taking into consideration the almost century-old manner in which musicologists and musicians in general define Debussy as an impressionist, it is safe to assume that this should be taken as an accurate classification of his music. However, the great question to be asked regarding this topic is how all this reflects on the score itself, as well as in Francisco de Lacerda’s music. Firstly, one would find relevant to take what was discussed in the previous point regarding accentuation and articulation markings and try to comprehend how it might be connected to this very issue.

Franz Liszt, to whom references were already made as perhaps the main revolutionary composer that laid ground to the artistic movement that is being discussed, already took this matter and somewhat explored it. For example, it is universally known among pianists who were raised in the musical tradition of the Hungarian that specific themes of his *Sonata in B minor* contain consistent thematic material and articulation signs that suggest to the performer and listener a connection with a respective character or episode of Goethe’s *Faust*, on which this piano work appears to be based. Claudio Arrau, perhaps the last great heir of this lisztian tradition, widely reported this in the case of the Mephistopheles theme (shown below), with its very sharp *staccato* markings together with the *marcato* indication underneath⁵⁵.

⁵⁴ Trezise, Simon. 2003. *The Cambridge companion to Debussy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 103.

⁵⁵ “The world lost one of the greatest musicians of the twentieth century. Those of you in this audience who are my students are beneficiaries of the following unbroken and priceless heritage: I studied with Claudio Arrau. / Arrau studied with Martin Krause. / Martin Krause studied with Liszt. / Liszt studied with Czerny.



Image 49: The ‘Mephistopheles theme’ in bar 33 of Franz Liszt’s *Sonata in B minor* (left-hand).

Nevertheless, for the matter at hand, how is musical Impressionism different in this aspect? More than just attempting to narrate a storyline, by pointing towards its characters and episodes, Francisco de Lacerda and Claude Debussy seem to be taking this issue to a new level, by depicting nature and reality through extremely detailed effects that provoke the performer’s and listener’s senses and imagination. According to E. Robert Schmitz, from “[...] all these perceptions, and in striking musical progressions, Debussy synthesises the essence of landscapes [...], personal moods of the moment [...], nature’s angriness [...], loneliness [...], manly, robust or fierce qualities [...]. His [music] is indeed that balanced interaction of senses and mind toward creation which embodies the theory of perceptivism. From a multitude of passing and heterogeneous stimuli, Debussy, in the crucible of his imagination and by a genial transmutation, fashions an alloy richer than the purest metal and attains by his modern alchemy one of the most fascinating apexes in the historic evolution of the Art of Sounds” (Schmitz 1966, 12). It is with this frame of thought that one should look at some practical examples of such issues.

The first matter that should be taken into account when it comes to this issue is that of movement and rhythm. By particularly choosing a specific pace at which the

/ Czerny studied with Beethoven. / Beethoven studied with Haydn. We have this unbroken line going right back to 18th Century Haydn. It is a precious and valuable heritage of which we are privileged to be part. If you value it you also will feel a responsibility to pass it on to those who come after you (Randles 2012, 68) [a transcript of a speech given by Ruth Nye, senior piano professor at the Royal College of Music, in London, and the piano professor of the author of this thesis at that institution].

music flows and develops, the sense or atmosphere that a piece suggests is consequently amplified. That is seen, for example, in the case where the flow of water is attempted to be depicted by Lacerda and Debussy in some of their piano works. For instance, the deployment of very quick and continuous rhythmic cells reinforces this idea as presented below in Debussy's *Poissons d'or* and young Lacerda's *Na fonte*. In this 1897 piece, the opening tri-tone-based *arpeggios* point towards a somewhat pre-impressionistic sensibility, despite the still naturalist (Portuguese?) suggestion of the title.

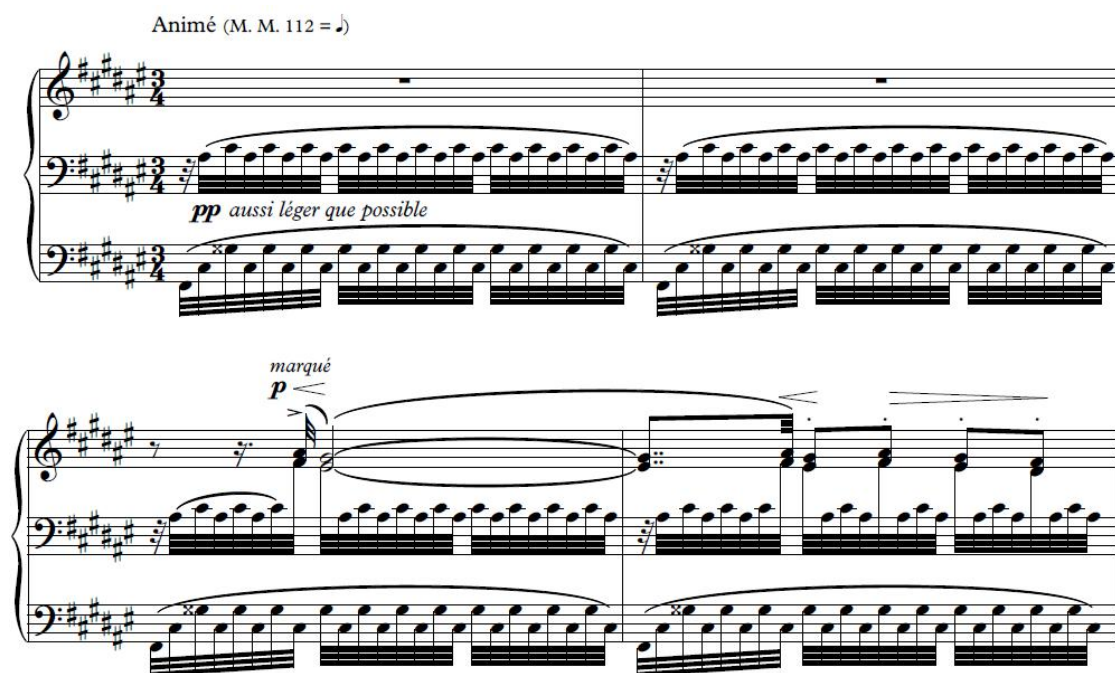


Image 50: Bars 1-4 of Claude Debussy's *Poissons d'or*.

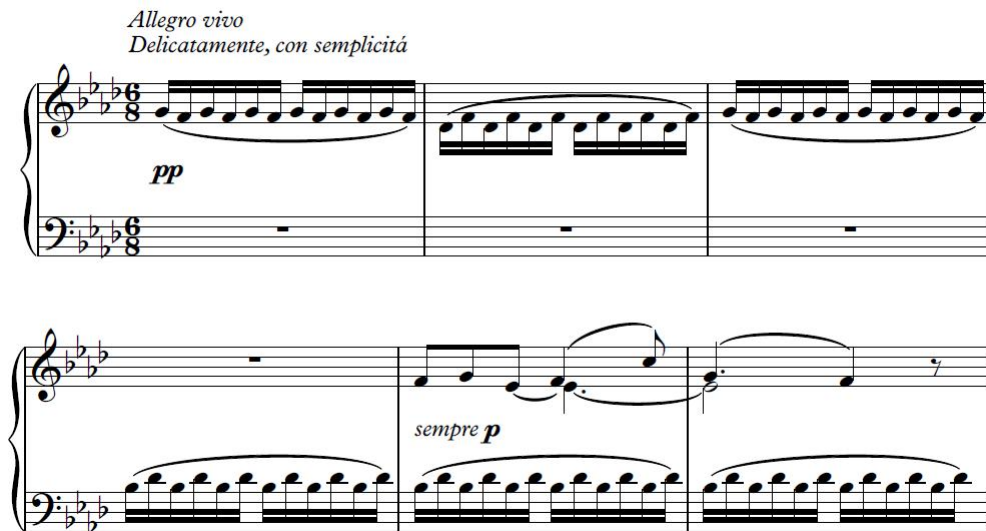


Image 51: Bars 1-6 of Francisco de Lacerda's *Na fonte*.

Looking at a completely different atmosphere, the cases where both composers seem to intend to depict an image of a religious context is achieved by their opting for very steady, long rhythmic values, together with unswerving, completely vertical chord progressions, such as in Lacerda's *Bénédiction – Dans le baptême des Chenilles* and Debussy's *Et la lune descend sur le temple qui fût*. Indeed, the religious suggestion appears to fit quite well within the solemn chord progression, both regarding the similarities with the vertical writing of a chorale or the suggestion of a paced sounding of bells.

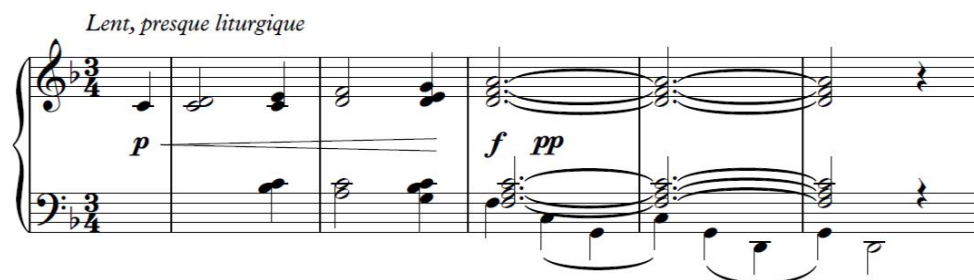


Image 52: Bars 1-5 of Francisco de Lacerda's *Bénédiction – Dans le baptême des Chenilles*.

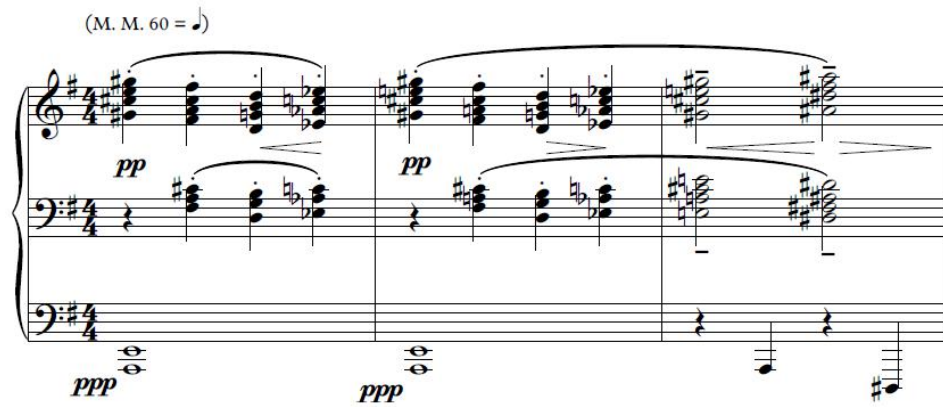


Image 53: Bars 20-22 of Claude Debussy's *Et la lune descend sur le temple qui fût*.

Besides the issue of movement and pace, the question of different approaches to the keyboard and the consequent distinctive timbres and effects are also key to the subject of this topic. As referred to before, accentuation and articulation markings also provide a considerable contribution to the descriptive nature of a said work. Whereas in *Na fonte* and *Poissons d'or* the desired effect is that of a soft and lively fluidity, in Lacerda's *Granadinas – Para o leque de Rosário*, which seems to evoke a Spanish atmosphere, and Debussy's dance-like prelude *La danse de Puck*, sharp gaps emphasised by short slurs and *staccato* markings in the last note of each rhythmic cell greatly boost the sense and atmosphere of the pieces.



Image 54: Bars 48-51 of Francisco de Lacerda's *Granadinas*.

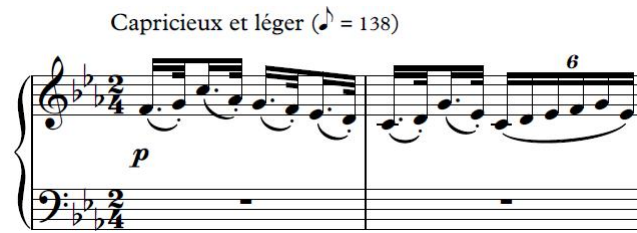


Image 55: Bars 1-2 of Claude Debussy's prelude *La danse de Puck*.

Finally, where Francisco de Lacerda seems to go much further than Claude Debussy is in the choice of literary indications on the score. Whereas the French composer takes the traditional approach of merely requesting a specific kind of sound, *tempo* and timbre (yet developing it more than other composers of the past by being more detailed and specific), with such markings as *souple*, *vite*, *léger*, *capricieux*, *en dehors*, *rapide et fluyant*, *nerveux*, among others, Lacerda describes with more exactitude and impressionistic sense, sometimes in a truly poetic and symbolistic way, what he intends to achieve in a given piece.

This is clearly observable in many of the pieces of *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste*, such as in *La Levrette Russe* (“*Souple, élégant, mais quelque peu stupide et prétentieux*”), *Mon Chien et la lune* (“*Avec une certaine naïveté*”), or *Le Bouc ivre* (“*Energique, emporté, orgiastique*”). These indications follow the traditional *tempo* markings, or even throughout the flow of the musical text through other written expressions, some suggestive, some humorously descriptive, programmatic, as if they wished for the musical work to become something that, in all fairness, it cannot be: a literary piece.

A literary description often precedes the musical text, as in *L'Agneau égaré* (“Un Agneau, un troupeau, un Berger. / Un chien, Des sonailles, etc. etc. / Un colline à droite. La mer au fond. Le ciel très bleu.”) and *Le Petit d'Elephant pleure* (“Il pleure car il a fait

le villain, et alors il a été vertement grondé et même un peu battu, il regretted sa Maman et son Pays et pense à des choses très éléphantines et tristes...”). One also notes the case of *Mon Chien et la lune*, in which Francisco de Lacerda intentionally includes the name of his friend Claude Debussy right next to Frederik Chopin’s (“Les chiens aboient et hurlent à la lune, / sans qu’on puisse en supposer la cause... / *Brehm*, vol. I, p. 349 / Viens ici! Tais, toi! Que vois-tu? / Des ombres? Chopin? Debussy? / Viens ici. Tais-toi. Ce sont des Amis à nous”).



Image 56: The opening bars of Francisco de Lacerda’s *La Levrette Russe*.

On should not overlook how much the inclusion of Debussy’s name next to Chopin’s in this short piece of one of Lacerda’s major piano works signifies. Not only it explicitly testifies to the reciprocal friendship between the two composers, it also pays tribute to the greatness of Debussy’s work. Lastly, it expresses the praise of the art that united them, the art that soothes one’s fears of the unknown, of the dark night!

➤ **The third phase: signs of Dadaism, miniaturism and an aesthetics of simplicity**

One began this chapter by referring to the issue of recognising the style of a composer, the writing processes through which he affirms his own identity within the context of a school or current in which one can integrate him, with greater or lesser proximity. It is due to this individual style that an artistic creator is distinguishable from others, very much recognisable in his work when one listens to its performance. One considers that these characteristics that uniquely shape the work have its origins in the man that created it, in him as an individual and his aesthetical choices, right next to those aspects that he might have absorbed from other artists, i. e. in plain terms, the influences that one can detect in his work.

As stated throughout this thesis, Francisco de Lacerda is evidently representative of a determined current in music history that came to be known as Impressionism. This current, which historically has French roots, is itself recognisable through characteristics that unite a group of creators with diverse national origins, some of who did not even study in France⁵⁶. As one studies the influence of Debussy on a Portuguese musician, the latter's integration in such a group of musical creators becomes evident. Nevertheless, it is necessary to expand one's analysis towards the differences between them, that is, the way in which each one turned something common into a unique, personal language. That

⁵⁶ As previously mentioned in other footnotes, this is the case of several Portuguese musicians, who not only never met Claude Debussy, as Francisco de Lacerda did, but also did not study in France. Among others, one highlights Luís de Freitas Branco and his pupil António Fragoso, in whose works the influence of the innovative writing of the French composer is visible. It is not difficult to establish the vehicles that allow the influence of a musician over others to run through, such as travelling and the circulation of musical scores, which is particularly verifiable in the case of Luís de Freitas Branco. Moreover, the history of the reception of Debussy's work in Portugal is still to be established, even considering some contribution to the subject by Júlia de Almendra.

is exactly what will be established in the case of Francisco de Lacerda, with particular attention given to his works for solo piano.

That uniqueness, which earns value to a given artistic work, is what in itself comes to be of interest. In this case, it is the man who Francisco de Lacerda was that is expressed in his work that makes him extend himself in the musical legacy he left. These individual traces of the composer are, on the other hand, what highlight the limits of the influence that other composers might have had on him. The matter at hand thus seems to be of great importance and could not be omitted from one's concerns when approaching the work of the Portuguese composer.

Francisco de Lacerda was not a mere imitator, he did not just produce 'stylistic exercises', and that is in itself evident by merely listening to a performance of one of his signature works. Where can those identity traces be found? How were elements absorbed from other composers integrated in his music without diminishing his artistic distinctiveness? This is the great question that expresses the very essence of creation: the authentic creator does not merely repeat, he gives birth to something new, even when embracing extraneous elements⁵⁷.

Up to this date, it hasn't been proposed that from the first decade of the 20th Century onwards there is a more than a stylistic change in Francisco de Lacerda's music.

⁵⁷ On this issue (i. e. each creator's need to not be submerged under the influences of others, even if they come from the greatest musical creators), one should remember the clear-cut words by Manuel de Falla, himself a friend and correspondent of Francisco de Lacerda (see 'Appendices'), and also an admirer of Claude Debussy, even considering his later rejection of the so called "debussysme": "Je disais que la réforme debussyste constitue l'un des faits les plus marquants de l'histoire musicale contemporaine. Beaucoup penseront à lire ce qui précède, que je fais allusion à l'influence directe exercée par l'esthétique ou même par les procédés de Claude Debussy sur certains compositeurs qui ont mérité pour cela, d'être catalogués avec l'étiquette: "debussystes". Mais ce n'est pas cela que je veux dire; car leur existence, à travers cette influence, n'aurait d'importance que relative et même... négative. Je suis de ceux qui pensent qu'un véritable artiste ne doit jamais s'affilier à telle ou telle école, pour éminente que soient les qualités dont elle brille. L'individualisme est – à mon humble avis – l'une des premières vertus que l'on doit attendre de l'artiste créateur. Mais qui donc, considérant en toute impassibilité et conscience l'actuel renouveau de la musique européenne pourra nier que l'oeuvre de l'auteur de *Pelléas* en marque puissamment le point de départ?" (Falla 1995, 58-59).

It is not enough to highlight in the evolution of his writing the great shift that led him to abandon late Romanticism in the first few years of the 20th Century and opt for what he has found outside the Schola Cantorum, especially in the work of Claude Debussy. One thus proposes, for the first time, the consideration of a third phase in the development of the Portuguese composer's writing.

It is the *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste* that best testify to these transformations in Francisco de Lacerda's writing that came about in the 1920s. These changes particularly configure the identity, the uniqueness of the musical creator he unarguably was. Those aspects will be briefly touched upon, while at the same time referring to the changing historical and artistic context that partially explain them.

It should not be forgotten that this period in art history, especially in Paris, constitutes a very tumultuous time, in which one sees the proliferation of diverse artistic currents and tendencies. Together with currents that came from before the post-war years, such as Fauvism, Expressionism, Cubism and Futurism, others appear in the 1920s, such as Surrealism and Dadaism. It is particularly this last movement that seems articulable (with some care) to the transformations in Lacerda's music of that time.

A possible musical Dadaism has been proposed regarding the work of Erik Satie, who was also a Schola Cantorum student and socialised with Lacerda at Claude Debussy's home⁵⁸. No other information regarding the relationship between the three musicians came to this day, including any letter from Satie in the Portuguese musician's assets (which might be explained by the slinky personality of the first⁵⁹).

⁵⁸ See Claude Debussy's September 5 1908 letter to Francisco de Lacerda in 'Appendices'. The reference to Erik Satie by Claude Debussy in the text is significant, since the latter is referred to as '*votre ami E. Satie*', instead of '*notre ami E. Satie*'. Even more important is the allusion to '*parfum de sacristie*', which, according to Debussy, was present in the Schola Cantorum, the institution that Satie was attending as a student (even though he already was in his forties at the time).

⁵⁹ One recalls that in Francisco de Lacerda's assets there is a copy of Claude Debussy's instrumentation of Erik Satie's *Gymnopédies* by Durand editions. This copy must have been offered to the Portuguese

In Francisco de Lacerda's assets there can be found a few rare French pieces of the 1920s, such as works by Darius Milhaud, for example. However, Lacerda, who stays part of that decade in France and Switzerland, where he performs in important concerts as a guest conductor, does not abandon the writing processes that integrates him in musical Impressionism. Faithful to himself, he continues to utilise his own language to express something of the sensibility for what the new times were bringing about⁶⁰.

It is in this context that one should historically understand the issue of humour and programme in Francisco de Lacerda's piano works of this period. Not only the majority of *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artist* are very much dominated by a heavy sense of amusement, playfulness and even irony, as seen in such titles as *Le coq et son ombre*, *Deux coqs, une poule... et ce qui s'ensuit* and *Le phoque jaloux*, the atmosphere of these pieces itself is greatly stressed by not only clear descriptive indications, as discussed in the previous topic, but also by very suggestive narrative sentences and even onomatopoeitic expressions that Lacerda deploys throughout the score, something that at the time was quite unusual, at least in its frequency and articulation with the actual music writing.

As examples of this, one can read on the score of *Le phoque jaloux* such words as "Elle (timidement): Pa-ta-ti, pa-ta-ta..." and "Lui (bouffi de suffisance)", or in the case of *Deux coqs, un poule... et ce qui s'ensuit...*, "Ils commencent par s'insulter, comme des hommes.", "1^{er} coq", "2^{me} coq", "Sombre et menaçant", "Ironique" and even the quote of the insults that each cock yells to the other ("1^{er} coq: 'Escargot!'", "2^{em} coq: 'Huître'"). And if that was not enough to completely take the performer and listener inside the world

musician by Debussy himself.

⁶⁰ However, one should not expect an openness by Francisco de Lacerda to the radical rupture with the past that the musical Europe of the 1920s started to propose, of which Arnold Schoenberg's dodecaphonic serialism is an example. This positioning of the Portuguese composer would surely not allow him to embrace the refusal of the traditional notion of art that was inherent to Dadaism.

of the piece, Lacerda takes it even further by writing in the bottom of the score “Ces insultes sont fidèlement traduits”, as a kind of playful footnote.

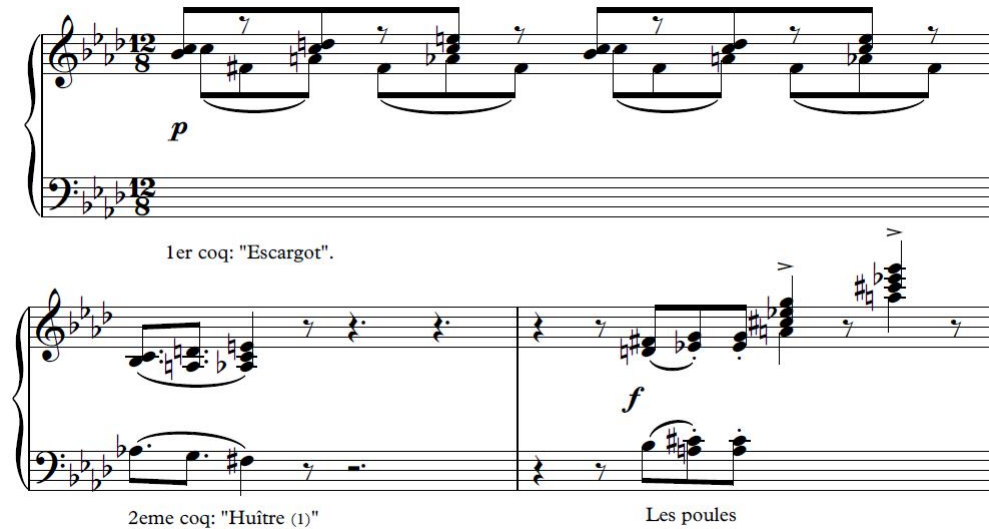


Image 57: Bars 10-14 of Francisco de Lacerda's *Deux coqs, une poule... et ce qui s'ensuit*.

The great feature that identifies Francisco de Lacerda's third phase writing surely must be the matter of the dimension of his pieces, not only in terms of size itself, but also form and musical substance. The coming about of the first *Trent-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste* is very much idiomatic of this, although it does become much clearer with the later pieces of the set that the composer wrote in the 1920s.

When it comes to the dimensions of a piece, it is clear that Lacerda begins to conceive them in a much more synthetised manner, by choosing not to develop a musical idea as extensively as before (with the exception of a very few separate works, such as *Dança lenta*). Regarding this matter, José Bettencourt da Câmara states that, historically, "[...] after the weariness of the Romantic movement, one of the paths that were left to the Art of the Sounds was that of a contention of means and taking refuge in the discreet humour that makes the onus of existence less heavy to be beared. The explanation for the

taste for miniatures as being due to the incapacity of taking long efforts fades away when one recognises it not only as a right but also as a response to the aesthetical necessities of the time and the result of a conscious choice” (Bettencourt da Câmara 1987a, 138).

Already in 1903, Francisco de Lacerda writes the following, regarding his project of a musical poem that he would call *Madressilva*, but ended up not coming to fruition: “There can be more music in three bars than in a whole symphony”. In these very few words, one finds an entire purpose, a project that would define his maturity works, and that would be accentuated in the 1920s. This would be more clearly expressed in his main solo piano repertoire, but could also be seen in his music for voice and piano (or voice and orchestra), in his *Trovas*. Most of these pieces (which were marked by the effort to contribute towards a Portuguese musical nationalism) are also miniatures that show a maximum concentration of the musical expression.

Coming back to the *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d’un artiste*, one should take notice, for example, of the very short piece *Le Ramier blessé*, which constitutes a true summit of musical expressiveness. The musical structure is organised around the simple chromatic descent of major thirds (to which Lacerda resorts in different pieces of the set: *Maître Corbeau*, *Le reveil de la Marmotte*, *Quand les Bêtes ont froid*), thus originating augmented chords that allow one to hear the moaning of a melody that repeats itself around the notes of the minor-third interval.

This stripping down of the writing is taken to extreme levels, so to say, as seen in the case of *La Pieuvre*, when the killing of the red fish by the octopus is consummated by a very slow, innocuous melodic line, as if only silence itself is appropriate to describe the tragic scene. The chromatic changes of this simple melodic line should however be noted.



Image 58: Bars 1-7 of Francisco de Lacerda *Le Ramier blessé*.

Visqueux et tragique (♩ = ♩)

f

mf

(...!!!!...)

(♩ = ♩)

... Après ceci, elle rentre dans son trou... et l'on lui voit qu'un oeil très phosphorescent et diabolique

Image 59: Bars 7-14 of Francisco de Lacerda *La Pieuvre*.

Although the short form (as it is usually known) and its association to the universe of children has a long history in Western music, especially in the works of some composers of the 1800s (Robert Schumann in particular), few musicians would have assumed it in such a radical manner as Francisco de Lacerda did. In his work, the short form serves a true aesthetics of simplicity that musical analysis will likely end up finding to be quite evident, since its richness can be spotted by a capable and attentive reading of the *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste*.

In conclusion, what is perceivable from analysing the approach of Francisco de Lacerda in his piano works is that the Portuguese composer conquers his own musical language within the framework of musical Impressionism, in its harmony, colour and strong suggestive and depictive dimension, pushing the human senses and imagination to their most creative dimensions, especially under the influence of Claude Debussy's music. Nevertheless, it would be inaccurate and even unjust to the memory of one of the most relevant names in Portuguese music history not to acknowledge, as demonstrated, his very own developments, his breaking barriers between what modern art had begun to offer in the Parisian artistic environment of the early 1900s and being able to successfully (even geniously!) integrate it in his own Art of Sounds.

Chapter IV – The performance of Lacerda’s piano works

It is never excessive to underline that Francisco de Lacerda, as stated repeatedly throughout this thesis, is a generally unknown composer to most of today’s performers and many musicologists, even in his native country. Notwithstanding, and as mentioned before as well, the undeniable quality and value of his music should justify that his works be performed next to those of the most well-known Portuguese composers, some of them his contemporaries, but with far more name-recognition⁶¹.

To this day, the very few recordings of Lacerda’s piano music that exist, and any performances of his pieces, had no actual way of being based on a major, consistent musicological work that could shed light on how they should be interpreted. Although the tireless work by musicologist José Bettencourt da Câmara on the composer’s life and the aesthetical frame of his musical production has been quite extensive and detailed, there still is no conceived insight, so to say, put together by any performer that could offer a solid framework through which other musicians can be informed. This issue also applies to Francisco de Lacerda’s works for piano, given that they constitute a relevant part of his production as a composer, together with his orchestral and voice and piano work.

⁶¹ Not to mention the case of Luís de Freitas Branco, one could illustrate this fact by comparing the history of the reception of António Fragoso’s work with that of Francisco de Lacerda. One could safely affirm that, since early on, the work of the young Portuguese composer, who passed away prematurely in 1918 (the same year of Claude Debussy’s death), was the object of attention and partially published. Naturally, part of the explanation of that is related to how much of an impact his death at the age of twenty-one had on his contemporaries, thus not allowing him to develop what seemed to be very promising career as a musical creator. It is not understandable, however, that the same did not happen in Francisco de Lacerda’s case, who found his own path within musical Impressionism, by developing his own artistic profile. One should not lament that justice is paid to some musicians; nevertheless, it should be a reason for frustration that to others such justice is only paid much later on, or, in some cases (as Lacerda’s), that it ends up not happening at all to this date.

So far, a pianist could start working on any of Lacerda's pieces with an intuitive sense of the composer's aesthetical lines and possibly adapting approaches that are employed when playing Claude Debussy's works, or any others by composers who could perhaps be seen as belonging to the same artistic vicinity, as is the case of Erik Satie. However, it does not seem enough to the author of this thesis that this merely empirical manner is enough in order to understand and perform the Portuguese composer's piano works in the fullest of fashions. The present chapter will thus focus on contributing towards a better performance of Francisco de Lacerda's works for solo piano.

It is first of all necessary to recall the manner in which most of this thesis is conceived, mainly the fact that it is centered on the influence of Claude Debussy on Francisco de Lacerda's pianistic writing. Considering that one began by exploring the personal relationship between both composers, providing a general outlook on the Portuguese composer's piano works and establishing different aspects that denote the influence of Debussy on Lacerda's compositions, it would only be coherent to embrace the same logic and arriving at such a goal by analysing the French composer's piano works from a performer's point of view, according to the author's experience as a career concert pianist and Debussy performer, as well as enriching such a demonstration with what renowned pianists had to say and demonstrate regarding this very matter.

It should be needless to say that, together with the near anonymity of Francisco de Lacerda's works, the fact that the Azorean composer was not a concert pianist and piano teacher, thus not leaving behind a pianistic school that could be carried on by his pupils into the future, also adds to the aforementioned problem, for it is not possible to learn from tradition how to best perform his pieces⁶². However, Lacerda's unpublished writings

⁶² This situation is perhaps less serious in the case of Francisco de Lacerda's works for voice and piano. From the two singers who were able to receive instructions by the composer himself regarding the performance of his *Trovas*, Marina Dewander Gabriel and Arminda Correia, it was the latter that, having

“Escritos sobre música”⁶³, although not specific on piano playing itself, provide sporadic illustrating tools that can help to sustain one’s proposals presented in this chapter.

Finally, since a good portion of the techniques and ways with which one approaches a given piano work transcend any historical and aesthetic context and are common across the centuries (it being a Beethoven *Sonata* or a Debussy *Prelude*), this chapter is organised on key topics that are somewhat specific to impressionistic music, especially Debussy’s, as seen below.

➤ **Music layers and spatial conception**

It is important to start this analysis by establishing what perhaps is the main notion around which Impressionism revolves, in order to comprehend the manner with which a work from this period should be approached. Thus, a statement by Paul Cézanne, one of the foremost impressionists (later post-impressionist), together with Nigel Simeone’s consideration on the matter, already referred to in ‘Chapter III’, should be recalled.⁶⁴

This argument is perhaps even more important to the subject of performing impressionistic music than even to the previous chapter, where an analytical outlook of Debussy’s and Lacerda’s works was undertaken. Given that the analysis of a score is just

become a teacher at the Lisbon Conservatoire, sporadically transmitted those indications to some of her students. The efforts by Arminda Correia in terms of the inherent issues to singing in the Portuguese language were related to the fact that she actually had living contact with Portuguese composers of her time, such as Francisco de Lacerda and, later on, Fernando Lopes Graça [oral report by José Bettencourt da Câmara].

⁶³ In an edition prepared by José Bettencourt da Câmara, the publishing of the aforementioned work is being undertaken. The title is of the editor’s responsibility and the edition combines many writings on music, inedited in their most part, that the composer left us: conferences, speeches, courses as well as some articles. For one’s work, the texts that are of most interest to this research are “L’art du chef d’orchestre” (notes for a work that the Portuguese composer never finished), “A arte de acompanhar” and “Curso de canto”.

⁶⁴ See page 75 of this thesis.

that in itself, and the score is not actual music per se, a performer, more than a musicologist, should bear in mind Cézanne's words when attempting to interpret and execute. What Simeone tries to underline in the French painter's words is a somewhat basic contraposition of Realism and Impressionism. Whereas, for example, a Jean-François Millet painting attempts at reproducing nature down to the utmost detail, perhaps in an almost photographic fashion, Cézanne goes for a "transposition [...] from a perspective of his own", "something other than reality", and that it "is no longer straightforward imitation", as one reads in the author's terms. In other words, reality itself is not necessarily perceived as it exists, for the artistic experience originates from his perception of reality, his senses, from within the spirit of the creator. This is, in fact, a complete and integral shift on the part of who gives birth to the work of art.

However, how can one acknowledge this approach and apply it to music, since music constitutes a form of art that isn't able to actually depict nature and exterior reality as painting can, and one cannot define it as representative art (if in fact any art form can truly be representative...)? In fact, if one somehow distances himself from the classical forms of the nearlyone-hundred-and-fifty years before Debussy and considers musical Impressionism for its revolutionary nature (as one should), that comparison is actually possible. Franz Liszt's and Hector Berlioz's attempts at programmatic music somehow pretend to depict nature, to present narratives and plots, with the French composer's *Symphonie Fantastique* possibly being the most cited example of such an approach. Claude Debussy, however, transforms the whole process into something much closer to what Paul Cézanne's words describe. *Les sons et les parfums tournent dans l'air du soir* is not a mere narration of what happens in a given place at night; *Cloches à travers les feuilles* does not solely suggest the size and sound of the bells and the color of the leaves... The reference to sounds, smells, color and movement in these cases clearly points

towards the human being absorbing and going through such experiences through his senses, emotions and mind. Thus, even in music, the creator and performer actually become the center of this mysterious process, the actual vehicle through which reality is not only **depicted**, but also **experienced**⁶⁵.

All things considered, given the fact that the artist is the center of the perception of reality, a very important aspect to bear in mind is that of space. By living and taking in nature, the human senses provide the means through which the artist experiences and interprets it⁶⁶. Those senses create the spatial conception that surround the axis (i. e. the artist), the very center of such a process, in a way constructing the dimensions that enfold it. Even taking into account that feel and odour can provide a small portion of such a perception (and obviously putting aside sight, which obviously is the one sense that completes it the most), sound is the sense that greatly enriches the notion of space. It is thus not inconceivable to conclude that music offers a way to illustrate that in quite a concrete manner. Claude Debussy's music can be safely seen as the epitome of such a notion up to that point in music history.

In the case of a composer who was also a musical critic, as well as giving interviews to magazines and newspapers, it is impossible not to find in his writings (which are of great historical and aesthetical interest) statements that point towards this matter. One has chosen an excerpt of a Claude Debussy reply to an inquiring by the November 4 1909 issue of issue of the *Comoedia magazine*: "One attaches to much importance to the writing of music, to the formula and the method! One searches his own ideas, develops them, modifies them in order to fit them with other ideas, one does

⁶⁵ "'La musique est un total de forces éparses'... fait dire Debussy à son porte-parole, M. Croche. 'Elle reste un transposition sentimentale de ce qui est «invisible» dans la nature'" (Long 1960, 129).

⁶⁶ "L'opinion de la fondatrice des célèbres *Annales*, Yvonne Sarcey, rejoint la mienne. Elle éclaire encore un autre aspect du problème: 'La musique de Debussy m'émeut, répond-elle à l'enquête de *La Revue*, elle me transporte dans le pays du rêve – d'un rêve tendre, voluptueux, charmant...' (Long 1960, 131-132).

metaphysics, but one does not make music. It should be spontaneously registered by the ear of the listener without any need to discover abstract ideas in the maze of complicated development” (Debussy 1987, 296).

In *Les sons et les parfums tournent dans l’air du soir*, the composer attempts to somehow depict the sense of the odours and sounds of the nightly air, as the title suggests. Considering such an involvement, the absorbance of those two realities constitute a good instance of the aforementioned spatial conception of which the artist is the very centre. It is through him that the experience is generated, for those two features might be present in nature, but without that process, they could not be lived and thus enriched.

For that, Debussy applies the technique of employing different parallel music layers, that pop-up and organically move throughout the piece, suggesting that the reception of diverse signals from the outside stimulate sensorial action. Right in the first eight bars of the piece, one is able to distinguish three different layers, as shown below: a lower line, with steady crotchet figures, a melodic line coloured by intervals in-between, and, from bar 3 onwards, a new intermediate layer with block chords. These three layers not only are deployed in different regions of the keyboard but also demand different attacks, through contrasting markings, dynamics and phrasing.

If one looks to obey to what Debussy establishes on the score, the extremely distinct indications between the layers should originate such independent sound productions that the effect must be that of a sense of three-dimensional space, with the bass line providing a broad, surrounding sound, the melody a more obvious depiction of what is being presented and the later middle line a new and surprising appearance from a more distant point in space, given its *pianissimo* and *mezzo-legato* approach⁶⁷.

⁶⁷ “*Les sons et les parfums tournent dans l’air du soir*, préludent ici à l’année 1910. Datés du 1er janvier, ils sont un cadeau lourd de sens, riche de l’angoisse baudelairienne: charme troublant des vibrations de la nuit, langueur de l’éphémère que nous sommes, avides d’ivresses sans lendemain. Seul compte le Plaisir de



Image 60: Bars 1-8 of Claude Debussy's prelude *Les sons et les parfums tournent dans l'air du soir*.

In Francisco de Lacerda's case, *Singes... Pi-Phi-li-rhou-ou-ak* (*Chant Nuptial*), one of the *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste*, constitutes a possible example of this issue of sound layers and spatial conception. The first four bars show distinct rhythmic patterns and articulation in different regions of the piano. The top line is filled with sharper markings, such as the second and fourth crotchet *staccati*, and fairly quick triplet figures. The idea of a dialogue between the monkeys in different points of the conceived space is created by the contrast within that layer, in which they relate with each other, and the bass line, much deeper, with a steadier descendant line filled with chromatic crotchets. The spatial conception is further amplified by the lower dotted whole-note, which, surely non-coincidentally, shows a heavy accent marking.

l'heure! disait volontiers Debussy. Dès la première page, il faut réussir le *legato* 'égal et doux': la poésie flotte, vous enveloppe et s'accroche comme la brume. Une *coda*, sonnerie de cors en *diminuendo*, rappelle le monde devenu lointain" (Long 1960, 103).

It should thus not be arguable that the performer must take into account these different but simultaneous sound conceptions. Whereas the triplet patterns require a light *articolato* approach that provides the necessary agility, the middle-lower layer demands a very different attack in order to achieve the desired contrast that is illustrated by the aforementioned score features, possibly through a sustained *legato*. Also, given its utmost importance in creating the feeling of space and dimension, the bass dotted whole-note should be played in a way in which the respective accent is clear and provides that sense of deepness and amplitude (not to mention duration).

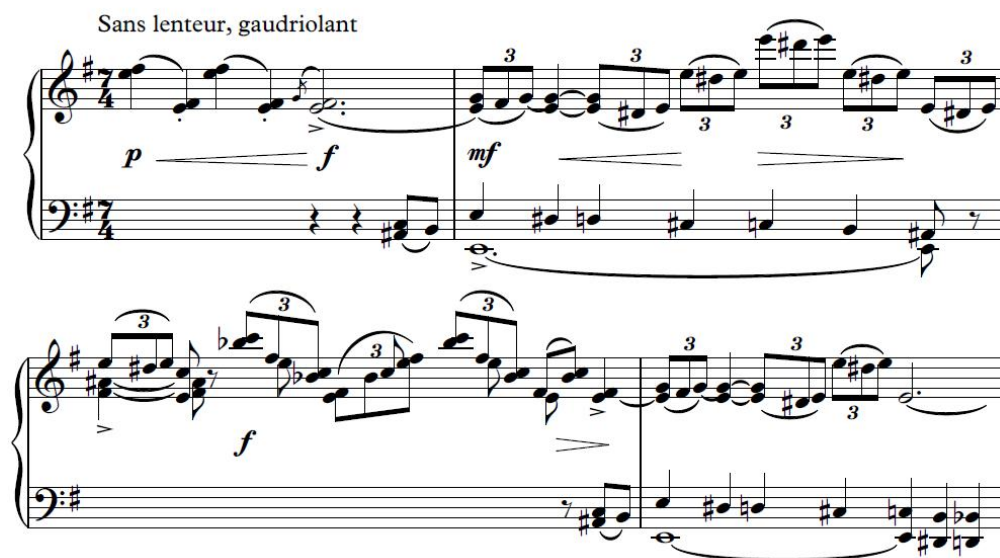


Image 61: Bars 1-4 of Francisco de Lacerda's *Singes... Pi-phi-li-rhou-ou-ak (Chant Nuptial)*.

In *Cloches à travers les feuilles*, the issue of spatial conception is taken to a level like perhaps in no other work for piano by Claude Debussy. The French composer does not solely rest on developing two different musical ideas, for the sound of bells and the depiction of leaves; he actually comes to the point of coming up with different layers for

diverse bell sounds from distinct points in space. As seen in bars 3 and 4, the score presents a middle layer of triplet semiquavers, which one could see as suggesting the airborne leaves in the wind, the top line the striking of higher-pitched bells and the middle-lower of deeper-sounding ones. However, to the point mentioned above, the bass minim with a *portato* marking and the two semiquaver ‘A’s with the sharpest accentuation markings clearly do not fit in these layers. They thus must constitute two other realities, as if depicting the striking of other bells from different points in space. If one takes into account the difference between the *legato* and “*un peu en dehors*” of the top bells, the *mezzo-legato* of the lower ones, the sharply accentuated midde-A bells and those of the bass-‘A’s in *portato*, together with the leaves layer, one arrives at a place where five (!) different realities in space are being transmitted, with the sharply different sound effects suggesting a very broad spatial experience.

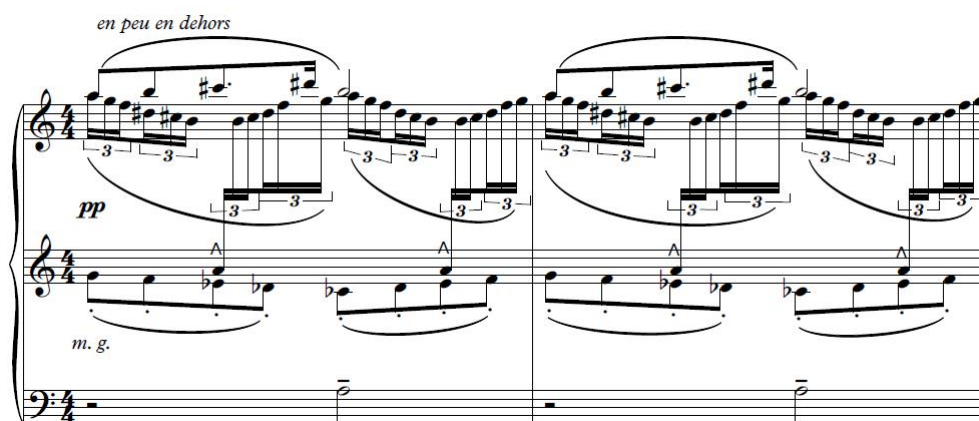


Image 62: Bars 3-4 of Claude Debussy's *Cloches à travers les feuilles*.

Francisco de Lacerda's *Deux Coqs, une Poule... et ce qui s'ensuit* also appears to suggest a similar approach to that of Debussy. In bars 10 to 13, presented below, the dialogue between the two cocks in one place, and the chickens in another point in space,

with the sharp exchange between high-pitched sounds and lower ones in the piano, reinforced by alternating *legato*, *staccato* and heavy accentuation markings, is illustrated. It should be then considered an approach in which the *legato* figures are reinforced, with a possible slight *tempo* drag (something that might already be pointed out by the dotted quavers group, instead of triplets), and the *staccato* ones clearly shown by a sharper attack on the key, especially through a faster lifting of the finger after contact with the keyboard. The accentuated figures, necessarily demanding a heavier and more prolonged touch, can be better emphasised by actually prolonging not only the crotchets themselves, but also the rests, thus suddenly presenting a steadier environment at this point in the narrative. That way, a nitid contrast is provided, and that services the idea of the three moments and characters in the depicted space.

1er coq: "Escargot".

2eme coq: "Huitre (1)"

Les poules

Image 63: Bars 10-13 of Francisco de Lacerda's *Deux Coqs, une Poule... et ce qui s'ensuit*.

➤ ***Legato* playing as an impressionistic brush-stroke**

Impressionism in painting has brought about new techniques that can translate the previously mentioned notion of nature being not only depicted but experienced through the senses of the creator, thus departing from a point of view of presenting reality in the most accurate manner possible. Such techniques as *impasto*⁶⁸ and wet-on-wet painting (or *alla prima*) permitted the artist to come out with a more defused canvas, where the limit lines of a subject are much more subdued, with the transition between colours and shapes being more subtle and the overall panorama showing a pastier ensemble⁶⁹. The actual Italian word *impasto* is literally translated as “mixture”, or “paste”. Also, a wet-on-wet technique, in which the first layer is left undried before the following one is applied, permits colours to merge and naturally create, already on the screen, a more undefined hue.

In music, the most direct correlation with this could probably be established with the harmonic innovations that were discussed in the previously, by exploring a vast mixing of major, minor, pentatonic and whole-tone systems. However, the mere revolutionary sense that those harmonic features suggest is not enough to lead one to point towards an impressionistic sound. If the performer does not employ adequate techniques that can lead the listener, or the pianist himself, to audibly detect that, the effect surely is not achieved. In other words, a pentatonic or whole-tone passage cannot mirror the characteristic sound of an impressionistic work if, for example, a pianist approaches the keys with the touch that would be appropriate for a Beethoven sonata.

⁶⁸ Weyer, Angela, and Pilar Roig Picazo, Daniel Pop, Joann Cassar, Aysun Özköse, Jean-Marc Vallet, Ivan Srsa. 2016. *EwaGlos – European Illustrated Glossary of Conservation Terms for Wall Painting and Architectural Surfaces*, 89. Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag.

⁶⁹ Gury, Al. 2008. *Alla Prima: A Contemporary Guide to Traditional Direct Painting*. Danvers: Watson-Guption Pub.

All in all, one of the features that is strikingly distinct from what had previously been applied, in earlier artistic movements, is the *legato* technique. It is widely known that Franz Liszt and Frederyk Chopin hugely admired the music of Vincenzo Bellini. In every single work for piano by these two composers from the 1810 generation, one is able to see how *bel canto* decisively shaped the way in which they saw how a melodic line should be conceived. The most important aspect regarding this issue is undoubtedly the *legato*. Any pianist who had the opportunity of developing as an artist under the ageless school of Franz Liszt, or who has read testimonies on Frederyk Chopin's playing, is aware of how deeply every single note of a melodic line should be considered and approached in their view. For instance, written reports on the premiere of Chopin's *Piano concerto no. 1*, with the composer at the piano, refer to the fact that, even in a *piano* dynamic, the *cantabile* and *legato* of his melodies were of such intensity that they actually appeared to sound *fortissimo*, just as if one was listening to the voice of an opera singer filling a whole theatre. The *legato* was thus a means at the service of simulating the human voice, of achieving the desired intensity that is typical of that of a singer, just as Martin Krause and his pupil Claudio Arrau insisted on⁷⁰.

In Claude Debussy's music, however, the *legato* is one of the many tools that can create a specific favoured effect to serve the purpose and narrative of a given piano piece. With it not being a melodic, *cantabile* feature, it becomes, so to say, free to serve the depictive objective that the work suggests. If one takes into account the earlier paragraph

⁷⁰ Joseph Horowitz, when interviewing Claudio Arrau, asks for this matter to be discussed: "JH/ Beyond connective fingerings, are there any particular principles you apply to *legato* passages? CA/ Never play two notes at the same dynamic. That's the only way you can imitate the human voice. [...] JH/ Do you actually think in terms of hearing a singer, or being a singer? CA/ Krause [Arrau's teacher and a pupil of Liszt] did this. Particularly if somebody couldn't produce a *cantabile*, he would make them sing, and then copy on the piano what they had sung. [...] Singing has always interested me – not only the phrasing, but also the physical gestures of good operatic actors. [...] JH/ When you suggest vocal phrasings at the piano, do you also try to imitate the breath span of a singer? CA/ Actually, in the music of the nineteenth century all the phrasings have to do with the movement of breathing" (Horowitz 1982, 102).

that refers to the innovations in impressionistic painting, any stroke to the keyboard could possibly be compared, in a way, to a type of brush stroke. Galina Eguiazarova constantly speaks about the need of a pianist to ‘paint’ or ‘draw’ the music lines with his arms just as if he was a painter himself⁷¹.

If one considers the *impasto* and wet-on-wet techniques, the defuse and pasty colour schemes and lack of defined lines, the *legato* technique should be the closest comparison to painting that one could find in piano performance. Whether it being in describing and showing the steady but fast flow of a breeze, as in Claude Debussy’s *Cloches à travers les feuilles*’s swift demisemiquavers, or the nightly air’s near stillness, in *Les sons et les parfums tournent dans l’air du soir*’s slowly creeping semiquavers (both examples below), a *legato* technique can create an *impasto* sound production that could properly serve the depicting of realities suggested by such pieces as these.

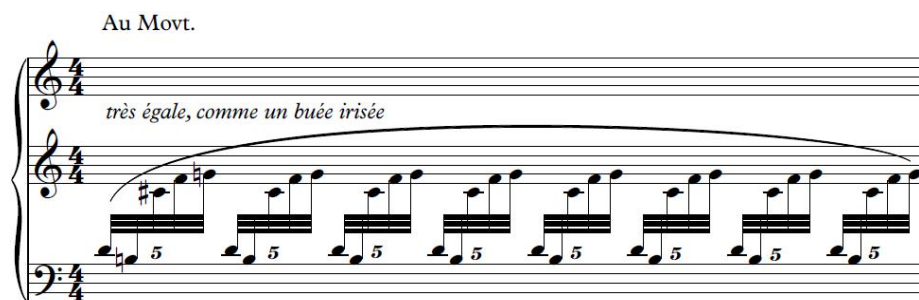


Image 64: Bar 13 of Claude Debussy’s *Cloches à travers les feuilles*.

⁷¹ In a curious anecdote, in a piano masterclass at the Gubenkian Foundation (Lisbon, 1999), Galina Eguiazarova, Radu Lupu’s master and a Reina Sofia school senior piano professor, referred to pianist Michelangeli (Arturo Benedetti) as the highest of examples of how to ‘draw’ or ‘paint’ a music line with one’s arms while playing. However, because the professor only spoke in Russian and the translator at the time was not a musician and had never heard about the Italian pianist, he incorrectly transmitted what she was trying to say by referring to Renaissance master Michelangelo instead. Mrs. Eguiazarova somehow understood that he was mistakenly speaking about the painter instead of the 20th Century pianist and corrected him, by stating that a pianist can also ‘paint’.

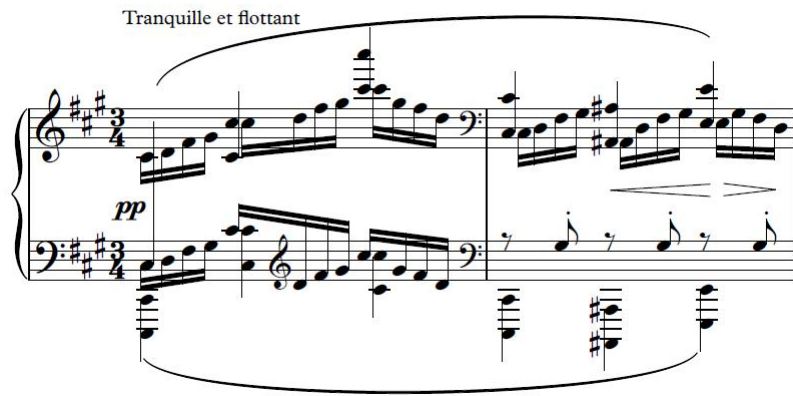


Image 65: Bars 41-42 of Claude Debussy's prelude *Les sons et les parfums tournent dans l'air du soir*.

In Francisco de Lacerda's piano music, cases that represent the issue here discussed are quite common. The Portuguese composer's piece *La Pieuvre* has a similar theme to that of Debussy's *Poissons d'or*. The suggestion of the small red fish, as described in the score, swiftly and fluidly moving in the waters is achieved by fast ascending and descending sets of demisemiquavers with long *legato* markings, as shown below. Whereas it would be likely that a *legato arpeggio* section in a Chopin concerto would require a clearer note articulation, here a softer touch on the keyboard should be considered, even more greatly amplified if one is able to place not the actual tip of the finger but the middle part of the distal phalange, as if caressing the key⁷². This is a successful approach in order to obtain a softer and pastier sound, given the fact that the point on which the finger touches the key has a broader contact area and thus inputs a less

⁷² In an interview of Claudio Arrau by Joseph Horowitz, the following is discussed, regarding *legato* playing: "JH/ What about the *legato* playing as an aspect of cultivating a nonpercussive sound? CA/ There are schools that say there is no *legato* on the piano. That's nonsense. What produces *legato* is of course not lifting the finger from the key until the next finger has truck the next key. The *legato* sound is something Martin Krause was keen to teach. He made his students practice without pedal. *Legato* technique is less practiced today, I think. Many times I have heard someone playing and though 'This is beautiful, but it sounds like Prokofiev, and it is supposed to be Beethoven'. JH/ You have a passion for *legato* fingerings. When you play *legato* octaves, you not only connect the outer notes, but also the inner notes by crawling around with your thumb. CA/ I think this must be my own concept, because I have never even heard it mentioned by anyone else. I use a rotational movement with the thumb. (Demonstrating, Arrau makes his rubber-jointed right thumb crawl like a caterpillar from a white key to a black; the top joint ascends first while the bottom joint maintains contact with the white key)" (Horowitz 1982, 101).

sharp movement through the piano mechanism. On top of that, if such a contact is not made in a static fashion, i. e. if the distal phalange rubs the key instead of just being placed on it statically, the effect is even more greatly increased⁷³.

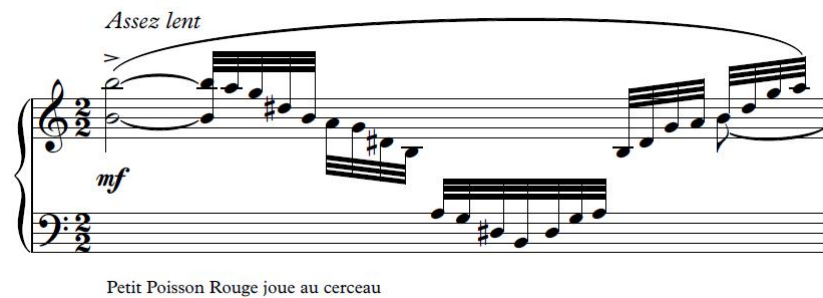


Image 66: Bar 1 of Francisco de Lacerda's *La Pieuvre*.

➤ Diverse accentuation markings and keyboard attack types

The previous chapter reflected on the employment of richly varied accentuation markings as an important depictive tool. As mentioned before, whereas up to mid-19th Century piano music composers had a somewhat limited set of different possibilities on this issue, with no great difference being considered between types of accents⁷⁴, Claude Debussy's approach denotes a wide variation of required key attacks, by not only showing a clear distinction between the two aforementioned accentuations, but also creating other ones through a combination of different symbols and new dynamic

⁷³ Regarding the manner of obtaining a soft and pasty *legato* sound, pianist Vlado Perlemuter states the following when interviewed by Hélène Jourdan-Morhange, on performing Maurice Ravel's *Jeux d'eau* (another piano work from an impressionist on the theme of water): "V P - [...] The way to produce the necessary floating sonority is to keep a light hand, but with the fingers close to the keys. H J-M – It is often played quite articulated. V P – Indeed, that is because it is difficult to obtain the necessary fluidity when it is slurred, but notwithstanding, Ravel asked me to play the beginning smoothly and *legato*" (Perlemuter 2005, 5).

⁷⁴ One should be reminded that the *portato* sign only started to be systematically used in Chopin's music and that the two different kinds of accentuations, i. e. the *marcato* and regular accent symbols, only found a regular and clear utilisation with Franz Liszt.

markings and indications (*en dehors, souple, très sec, sans lourdeur, comme un buée irisée, effilée...*)⁷⁵.

The obvious challenge for a performer who is limited to the smaller panoply of keyboard attack types that is considered to be standard doctrine for all classical and romantic repertoire is to come up with new ways of interacting with the keyboard in order to be able to produce the vastly different and much more varied sound experience that a Claude Debussy work demands. In short, how can one take a, so to say, traditional way of conceiving sound on the piano for late 1700s and first half of the 19th Century repertoire, which very much evolves around the issue of volume and cantabile playing, and bring it some steps further in order to come up with a truly rich impressionistic approach? As pianist José Eduardo Martins states, “Debussy is the first composer to essentially care about sound and its results. The evolution of his piano works is marked by the more and more imperative presence of the search for a pure sound. In a letter to B. Molinari, in 1915, Debussy writes that ‘few are those to whom the beauty of sound is enough’. There is in all of his work a more accentuated interest for the conscious selectivity of sound and its consequences. Stefan Jarocinski states that ‘it seems that from Debussy’s music, and not wanting to fall on abstractions, it is impossible to examine the questions of tonality and harmony without considering the matters of texture’. When discoursing on the real timbre of a musical work, he points to two issues: the sound source (the means of execution that the composer uses) and the way in which he treats the sound matter” (Martins 1982, 41).

⁷⁵ Among many new or recent literary expressions used by Claude Debussy, only a meticulous study of his work and that of his contemporaries could lead us to conclude which of those expressions are the ones that have Debussy as their creator. If such expressions as “effilée” or “comme un buée irisée” are an obvious creation of his, one can not state with the same assurance that others like “en dehors” or even “sans lourdeur” had not been used before him by other composers.

Let us consider Claude Debussy's *Cloches à travers les feuilles*' first two bars, presented below. As stated before, the composer employs different music layers with distinct attack types in order to suggest different realities. In these measures, even with its simplicity of a mere set of slow quavers coloured by a long whole-note, the fact that there are three different instructions on how to approach the keyboard (a *marcato* and *portato* on the whole-note, a *mezzo-legato* touch on quavers 1 to 3 and 5 to 8 and a *mezzo-legato* and *portato* placement of the C-flat quaver) points towards the generation of vastly distinct sounds, as if different bells in varied points in space become obvious to the performer and listener.

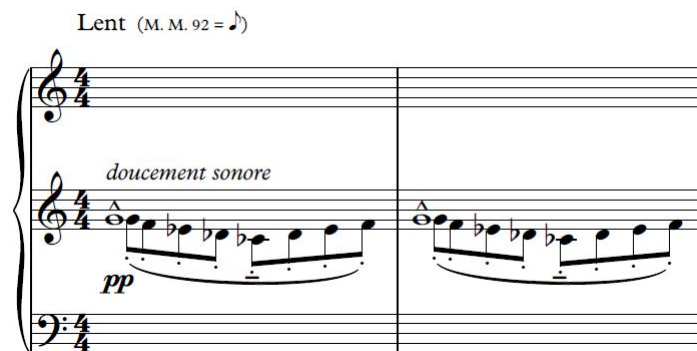


Image 67: Bars 1-2 of Claude Debussy's *Cloches à travers les feuilles*.

Francisco de Lacerda's *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artist* offers the greater number of examples of this issue in all of his piano works, since they are in fact the bulk of his third-phase work, in which his approach develops into a much richer use of the piano, even closer to Debussy's doctrine regarding the use of different markings (as discussed in Chapter III) and respective keyboard attack types. As the opening lines of the present chapter state, the fact that Lacerda was not a concert pianist or career piano teacher, as well as not leaving any writings on actual piano performance, presents a challenge. However, there is an excerpt of his unpublished "Escritos sobre

música” that is of interest for the matter at hand, given that it touches on the problematic of sound production, or, as the Portuguese composer calls it, “the great sonority”. Of that section, the following should be emphasised: “The exaggerated demand of sound quantity has been originating lamentable results, strange inconsequences. When a great sonority is naturally obtained by the orchestration (Wagner), it can be admirable and is of logical employment; but when it is demanded and achieved by tension and effort, it necessarily is of bad quality.” Bearing that in mind, and even acknowledging that Lacerda does not touch upon very specific issues of accentuation and is even discoursing in a context of symphonic orchestra playing and conducting, and not piano performance, it is essential to highlight his preoccupation with the quality of sound, just as was the case with Claude Debussy, as previously mentioned.

An appropriate example of what has been discussed so far is Francisco de Lacerda’s *Certain Renard...*’s last three bars. As seen in the score excerpt below, the composer requires three different types of key attacks in just five beats: the first three quavers in the right hand, as well as the left-hand’s four quavers, show a *mezzo-legato* texture, whereas the last right hand quaver has a *marcato* symbol and the following whole-note perfect-fourth requires a standard accent.

Let us look at how Claudio Arrau sees cases like this: “Actually, I have three ways of striking [...]. One [...] is to begin with the fingers hanging just above the keys, then lifting the entire arm and dropping. The second is to begin touching the keys and *yank* the arm weight down by suddenly pulling the elbows in. The third is to again begin with the fingers already touching the keys, and then pushing away, and up with the wrists” (Horowitz 1984, 104). Taking this into consideration, if one goes for the third option for the *mezzo-legato* parts, more slowly rotating the elbow and wrist, the desired effect would be achieved, with a pastier and smoother sound produced; for the *marcato*,

since it is quicker and sharper, it would most likely be better accomplished by going for the second option, as it allows the key strike to be more sudden and consequently project the arm upwards, thus leaving it already in place (gravity-wise) for option one, which follows it, in order to organically allow the arm weight to land on the accented note (this way, the desired broader and more sustained sound will be naturally obtained).

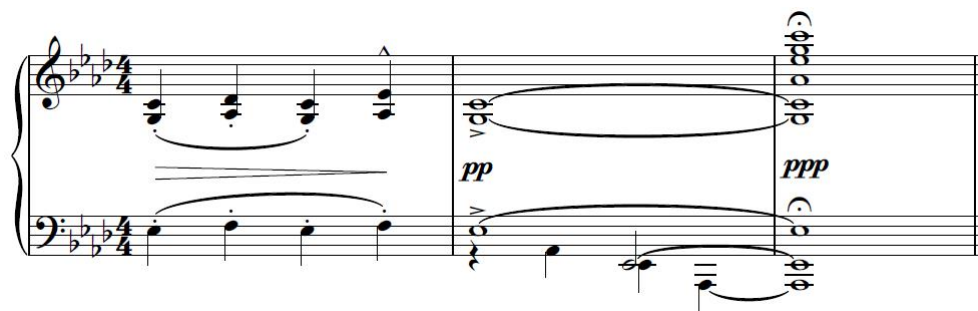


Image 68: The last three bars of Francisco de Lacerda's *Certain Renard...*

➤ Tempo, rests and general agogic in their depictive dimension

Seeing music as an organic manifestation of life itself, of its fluidity and natural development, the issue of tempo, of pulse, i. e. the agogic, is of the utmost importance. If life is not and cannot be seen as a mechanical reality, one should not approach music in that fashion. Francisco de Lacerda, as a conductor (requiring great dominance of the human gesture as a natural process), clearly understood this. In his “L’art du chef d’orchestre”⁷⁶, he states that “[...] these a) gestures of agogic indication / b) gestures of dynamic expression translate feeling; they personify, so to say, intimate sensations, indicate expression, partial or collective, that should be imprinted in what is executed.”

⁷⁶ This text is part of “Escritos sobre música” (see footnote 63).

The 1810 generation masterfully applied the notion of *rubato* to music, as is universally perceived. Especially considering Franz Liszt's and Frederyk Chopin's approach according to Vincenzo Bellini's *bel canto*, the agogic, the fluid stretching and compressing of *tempo* and pulse in a given musical phrase follows the breathing patterns of a singer. A suspension or *appoggiatura* is generally considered to need time reinforcement, whereas its resolution should generally be shorter. The end of a phrase organically calls for its respective drag, as well as a climatic point in a given section.

However, impressionistic music gives birth to a new notion where a *rubato* is another of a set of expressive tools that serve the depiction by the artistic creator in translating into sound the sensorial experience that he is going through. José Eduardo Martins states that in Claude Debussy's piano works "[...] rigid moments are rare [...]. Albeit the usage of traditional markings in the first works, when it comes to *tempi*, the elastic flexibility is present. This apparent freedom, the arabesque itself, so often employed by Debussy, has an important role. [...] To understand the agogic importance of the *rubato* in Debussy is something of great complexity, since it demands that the performer absorbs the notion of the term in its fullness. [...] Such liberty, which reinforces the expressiveness of a passage, does not destroy the rhythmic centre; it just makes it more flexible and elastic" (Martins 1982, 28).

One of the two issues that illustrate the matter at hand is related to the stretching and compressing of the pulse, i. e. of the *tempo*. It is true that the way Claude Debussy and Francisco de Lacerda employ rhythm patterns to describe a given reality already reinforce this. In Chapter III, one analysed how sudden changes into fast demisemiquavers in the French composer's *Poissons d'or* effectively relate to the fast movements of the fish, as seen in the excerpt further below. The same could also be applied to Lacerda's *La Pieuvre*. However, a very strict and rigid performance of such

passages would certainly destroy the feeling of fluidity and rushing that the described motion tends to have.

Taking into account the image of a fish suddenly moving quickly in the waters, the demisemiquavers in the first bar of *La Pieuvre* should definitely not be played in a rhythmically strict manner. Good evidence on this matter is the fact that the composer actually varies the number of notes within a group, from five, to four, to seven... The performer should have this fluidity of *tempo* in mind and reinforce this notion, by highly stretching the pulse and then compressing, originating a wave-like agogical feeling and thus impersonating the fast movement changes that the theme of this piece seems to suggest. The score excerpt below shows arrows and other indications in red that illustrate this approach, in both *Poissons d'or* and *La Pieuvre*.

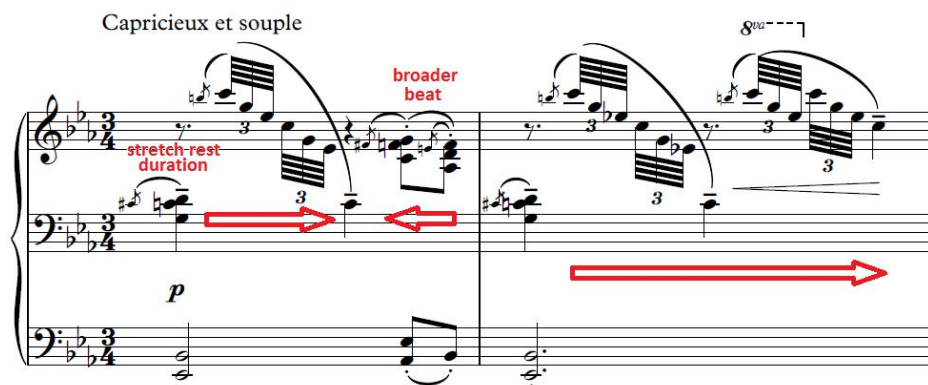


Image 69: Bars 30-31 of Claude Debussy's *Poissons d'or*.

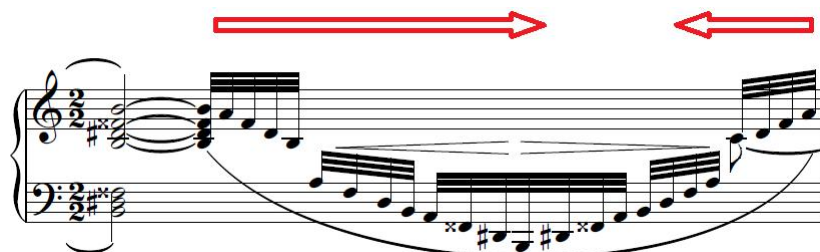


Image 70: Bar 6 of Francisco de Lacerda's *La Pieuvre*....

The second and final issue to be approached here and greatly enriches the agogical treatment of a piece is that of silence. Again, considering the use of rests in romantic music, as serving the breathing patterns of a singer and providing an organic balance to the structure of a *cantabile* musical phrase, in works of such musicians as Debussy and Lacerda they serve instead as a means of suggesting a reinforcement of a given atmosphere or narrative. In such fluid, fast moving sensorial experiences and nature depictions, sudden silence, very often of undefined duration, provides a massive brush-stroke that contrasts with whatever material had been evolving so far. The agogic sense of a piece cannot merely be determined by how slow or how fast it evolves, or by the mere amount of acceleration or drag one applies to it. A feeling of suspense, a break in narrative, the notion that silence is, in fact, sound, for it is part of the overall musical narrative, is of the utmost importance.

Again taking Claude Debussy's *Poissons d'or* as an example, one detects a very important marking right in between bars 44 and 45: a *fermata* over the barline, instead of a rest or a note. In bar 44, the swift and fluid movement of the fish is obviously depicted by the fast demisemiquavers in the two top staff lines. Bar 45 takes that even further, by starting on a sound vacuum, on a rest, and suddenly moving to even faster rhythmic patterns. Thus, the silence, the suspension between the two, especially considering that it has no defined duration, is crucial to the narrative of the piece.

In the case of Francisco de Lacerda's piano music, examples of this are significant. Within an analogous theme, *La Pieuvre* constitutes a good illustration of such an issue. Even if the same effect is not employed by a *fermata*, as in the case of Debussy's work, one should note that, between the fast movements of demisemiquavers, there are long duration figures. The minim notes provide a sudden stop in the music flow, originating the same feeling of suspension as the *fermata* deployment in *Poissons d'or*.

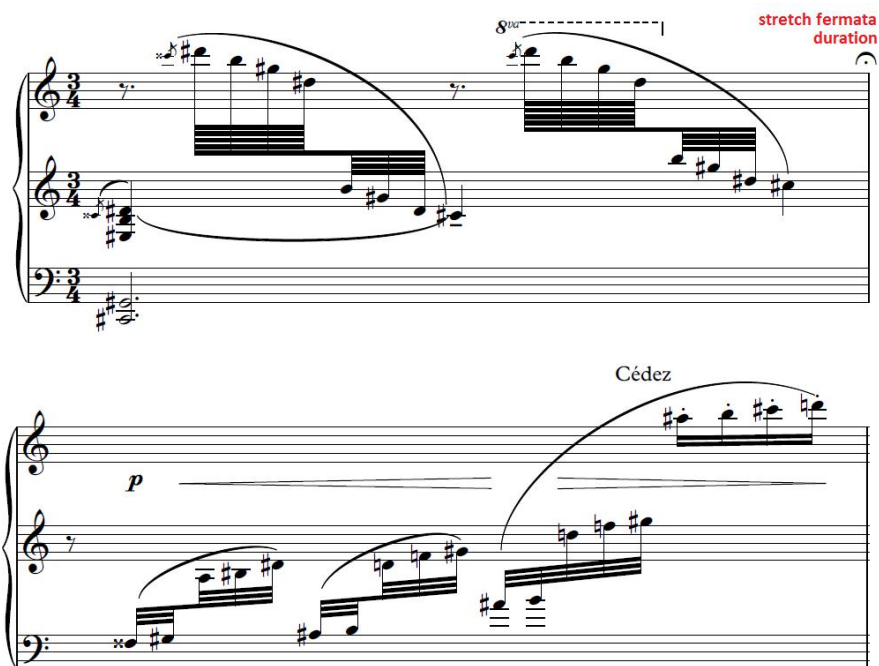


Image 71: Bars 44-45 of Claude Debussy's *Poissons d'or*.

Assez lent

stretch minim duration

mf

Petit Poisson Rouge joue au cerceau

stretch minim duration

Image 72: Bars 1-2 of Francisco de Lacerda's *La Pieuvre*.

Whereas it is universally known to pianists that a *fermata* or any equivalent agogic stop should be considered in a balanced manner in relation to the proportions of the musical section in question (some even argue that a *fermata* should traditionally be

considered as if adding half of the value of the note over which it is placed), the depictive, often dramatic and sensorial nature of an impressionistic piano work should require, for those same aspects, that the performer exaggerates the value and meaning of such a suspension. The more the pianist can stretch the feeling and pulse of the minim notes in *La Pieuvre*, the effect of the demisemiquavers' swift change would be greatly increased, and the sudden resting on the minim notes would also show a much more sustained feeling of stillness within the fluidity of the music. Would there be a better and more effective way to depict the movement of a fish, hovering still in the ocean's waters and suddenly moving swiftly without notice? ...

Conclusion

When one first considered the possibility of developing the project of this thesis, the obvious thought that came to mind was the challenge presented by the fact that it would be dealing with a composer that few have heard of before and whose works are rarely performed, unfortunately even in his native country. Notwithstanding the musicological research already available for a few decades on Francisco de Lacerda, the lack of consistent performance of his music and the consequential non-existence of a school and tradition of playing that could shed some light on how to approach his music constituted a foggy landscape in which it was not easy to travel and look forward.

It could perhaps be argued that the proximity of Francisco de Lacerda with Claude Debussy's music should automatically lead one to interpreting his works within the framework that is considered when performing the French composer's pieces for solo piano. However, if one is sincere in his pursuit for achieving an honest and consistent result in his playing, should it not always be preceded by serious and informative research, no matter what composer is being performed?

First of all, one of the first conclusions to arrive at, after all the work undertaken, is that even if it is possible to put Debussy and Lacerda in the same aesthetical basket, that instant, intuitive approach must not suffice. No serious artist should base himself solely on intuition. For that reason alone, the first three chapters of this thesis ended up being of even greater importance than what one initially thought when projecting the work. The last chapter, for example, would never be doable if that preparatory research

and analysis had not been executed in the previous one, when it comes to both composer's biography and work. And if that already was the natural impression at first, its relevance turned out to be even clearer than expected. It should not be forgotten that Chapter IV constitutes the very centre of this thesis, towards which the whole research was directed. The successful conclusions that were arrived at will hopefully offer a basis through which performers will be able to better comprehend Francisco de Lacerda's works for solo piano and thus arrive at a more adequate interpretation and performance when it comes to the composer's artistic current and the individual traces of his music.

Secondly, it does not seem enough to once again state what has been mentioned in the introductory lines regarding the importance of comprehending the interpretation and performance of Francisco de Lacerda's piano works. If in fact one is referring to a leading composer in Portuguese music history, it is unacceptable that a systematic study on the playing of his piano repertoire is not available to the public, especially if one considers that a few other major Portuguese composers' works have been studied and researched on from a performer's point of view. A basic reading of a Lacerda score through the eyes of a Debussy performer is not only insufficient, it is largely unfair considering the unarguable marks of individuality of the Portuguese composer. Even if similar techniques are employed, as shown in the last chapter of this thesis, understanding Francisco de Lacerda's music as his own is not just paying the deserved tribute to him, it is actually treating it with the respect than any relevant name in music history surely deserves. And if there is anything that this thesis has shown is that Francisco de Lacerda musically is his own man, in every single sense. In fact, not only his originality leads one to make such a statement, it actually sets him apart from other more recognisable names who, through any impartial pair of eyes, were not as successful (or capable?) in setting themselves aside just enough from the artistic currents of their time and created their own language.

As previously stated, one sometimes hears that Lacerda's work does not constitute what it could have been when it comes to its dimensions; it merely showed a genius musician who, perhaps with another kind of personal nature and more encouragement from his native country, could have produced more. In any case, besides being a great orchestral conductor, as well as other facets of his rich personality, he is very significant as a composer. If one takes chronology into account, he is the very first to bring impressionistic modernity to Portuguese music history, before Luís de Freitas Branco and António Fragoso. Francisco de Lacerda's name should be part of an essential list of Portuguese musical nationalism, so to say. His *Trovas* for voice and piano, and partially for voice and orchestra, constitute one of the high points in Portuguese music history in that music genre. His orchestral works (*Almourol*, *Epitáfio* and others) should be considered for their quality and originality, as well as for revealing the profoundly knowledgeable conductor who created them. Besides, he is a composer with a superior notion of what music is as an art form, without overlooking the fact that it also satisfies other functions, such as that of entertainment (an aspect of his profile that could be illustrated with many examples).

His piano music runs the risk of being undervalued within the context of his work as a whole, especially falling behind his voice and piano or orchestral repertoire. One hopes, however, that this thesis can contribute towards it being more broadly known and understood, as well as its value acknowledged, and that it can become clear how it is an important testimony of Lacerda's characteristics as an impressionist composer, both analytically and in performance terms.

Throughout the present work, one saw how the Portuguese composer went from his romantic beginnings, very much tied to a 1800s legacy, to his openness to the innovations of early 20th Century French music, which he smartly saw as the art of his

time. References to other composers in his musical writing were confirmed, especially to that of Claude Debussy, which constituted the primary goal of the research; nevertheless, the liberty with which Lacerda embraces those influences is also unmistakable.

In the artistic world in which he took part, he generously promoted recent works of contemporary French composers through his performances; on the contrary, he seemed to renounce from doing the same with his own works, which is very much different from what many musical creators who were also conductors or soloists had done throughout history. This sense of modesty cannot be seen as a sign of a lack of importance given by Lacerda to his own work as a composer, since everything that he stated and done points towards a feeling that, when composing, he was not satisfied with just being a mere follower of what was being proposed by others, as relevant as those names might be, such as that of his friend Debussy.

No harsh words are intendedly directed at any particular composers or musicians in music history. On the other hand, what these closing arguments attempt to point at is the outcry that a whole nation (if serious!) should have for having a countryman who was considered as geniously gifted not only by relevant names of his time, but by the person who perhaps sits on one of the highest chairs of the musical universe, the great Claude Debussy, and is not deemed to have his name and works in conservatoire programmes, recitals, concerts or memorials with the least of dignities. If Friedrich Schiller's words are true, and "worthless is a nation that does not gladly stake its all in its honour", then Francisco de Lacerda's near erasure from Portuguese music history surely must be one of the best evidence of the validity of that sentence.

Bibliography

Addessi, Anna Rita. 1999. "Aspects de l'influence stylistique de Debussy sur Falla." *Actes du Colloque International* 18-21: 179-204.

D'Almendra, Júlia. 1948. *Les modes grégoriens dans l'oeuvre de Claude Debussy*. Paris: Librairie Gabriel Enault.

Ansermet, Ernest. 1962. *Les fondements de la musique dans le conscience humaine*, Neuchâtel: À La Baconnière.

Ansermet, Ernest. 1983. *Ecrits sur la musique*, Neuchâtel: À La Baconnière.

Ansermet, Ernest, and Jean Claude Piguet. 1983. *Entretiens sur la musique*, Neuchâtel: À La Baconnière.

Bathori, Jane. 1953. *Sur l'interprétation des melodies de Claude Debussy*. Ivry sur Seine: Éditions Ouvrières.

Bettencourt da Câmara, João. 2015. "José Viana da Mota e Francisco de Lacerda." *Islenha* ISN – 0872-5004.

Bettencourt da Câmara, José. 1987a. *A música para piano de Francisco de Lacerda*, Lisboa: Instituto para a Cultura e Língua Portuguesa.

Bettencourt da Câmara, José. 1987b. "A trova na história da música portuguesa para canto e piano." *Colóquio / Artes* 75.

Bettencourt da Câmara, José. 1987c. "Impressionismo e nacionalismo na obra de Francisco de Lacerda". *Boletim o Instituto Histórico da Ilha Terceira*, Vol. 44.

Bettencourt da Câmara, José. 1993. “A escala de tons na obra de Francisco de Lacerda.” *Revista Música* IV-1.

Bettencourt da Câmara, José. 1994a. “Eça de Queirós e Francisco de Lacerda.” *Colóquio/Letras* 134-73-83.

Bettencourt da Câmara, José. 1994b. “Emergência da modernidade na música portuguesa da primeira metade do século XX.” *Colóquio / Artes* 100.

Bettencourt da Câmara, José. 1996. *Francisco de Lacerda: musicien portugais en France*. Paris: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian.

Bettencourt da Câmara, José. 1997. *O essencial sobre Francisco de Lacerda*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

Bettencourt da Câmara, José. 2002. “Luís de Freitas Branco e Francisco de Lacerda”, *Brotéria* 155.

Boulez, Pierre, 1987. *Penser la musique aujourd'hui*. Paris: Gallimard.

Branco, João de Freitas. 1960. *Alguns aspectos da música portuguesa contemporânea*. Lisboa: Ática.

Branco, João de Freitas. 1987 *Viana da Mota – Uma contribuição para o estudo da sua personalidade e da sua obra*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

Branco, João de Freitas. 1995. *História da música portuguesa*. Lisboa: Publicações Europa-América.

Briscoe, James R. 1990. *Claude Debussy: A guide to research*. New York: Garland.

Briscoe, James R. 2000. *Debussy in performance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Brown, Matthew. 2012. *Debussy Redux: The impact of his music on popular culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Cauchie, Maurice. 1957. *L'école française de piano, 1784-1845*. Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau-lyre.

Chimènes, Myriam and Laedreich, Alexandra. 2013. *Regards sur Debussy*. Paris: Fayard.

Coeuroy, André. 1921. *La Revue Musicale*. Paris, May, 1921. 117.

Cortot, Alfred. 1930. *La musique française de piano*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Cortot, Alfred, 1934. *Cours d'interprétation*. Paris: Legouix Librairie Musicale.

Davis, Laurence. 1970. *César Franck and his circle*. London: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Debussy, Claude. 1927. *Lettres de Claude Debussy à son éditeur*. Paris: Durand et Cie.

Debussy, Claude. 1942. *Lettres à deux amis*. Paris: Corti.

Debussy, Claude, 1987. *Monsieur Croche et autres écrits*. Paris: Gallimard.

Debussy, Claude. 1993. *Correspondance 1884-1918 – Réunie et présenté par François Lesure*. Paris: Hermann.

Dietschy, Marcel. 1962. *La passion de Claude Debussy*. Neuchâtel: Ed. À la Baconnière.

Donnellon, Déirdre. Debussy as musician and critic. Chap. 3 in *The Cambridge companion to Debussy*, ed. Simon Trezise, 43-58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dusmenil, Maurice, 1932. *How to play and teach Debussy*. New York: Schroeder and Günther Inc.

Falla, Manuel de. 1992. *Ecrits sur la musique et sur les musiciens*. Arles: Actes Sud.

Fleury, Michel. 1999. *L'Impressionisme et la Musique*. Paris: Fayard.

Guigue, Didier. 2009. *Esthétique de la sonorité: L'héritage de Debussy dans la musique pour piano du XXe siècle*. Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan.

Gury, Al. 2008. *Alla Prima: A Contemporary Guide to Traditional Direct Painting*. Danvers: Watson-Guptill Pub.

Harper, Nancy Lee. 2005. *Manuel de Falla: His Life and Music*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press

Hess, Carol A. 2001. *Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Horowitz, Joseph. 1982. *Conversations with Arrau*. New York: Limelight editions.

Howat, Roy. 1993. *Debussy in proportion: A musical analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Howat, Roy. 2009. *The Art of French Piano Music: Debussy, Ravel, Fauré, Chabrier*. Yale University Press: London.

Hudson, Richard. 1994. *Stolen Time – The History of Tempo Rubato*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Imgarden, Roman, 1986. *The work of music and its identity*. London: The Macmillian Press.

Jarocinski, Stefan. 1966. *Debussy - impressionism and symbolisme*. Mainz: Eulenberg Books.

Jankélévitch, Vladimir. 1949. *Debussy et le mystère*. Neuchâtel: Ed. De la Baconnière.

Lacerda, João Caetano de Sousa e. 1988. *Cartas a Francisco de Lacerda*. Preface and revision by Teresa Bettencourt da Câmara and José Bettencourt da Câmara. Angra do Heroísmo: Secretaria Regional da Educação e Cultura.

Laloy, Louis. 1909. *Claude Debussy*. Paris: Les Bibliophiles Fantaisistes.

Landormy, Paul. 1943. *La musique française de Franck à Debussy*. Paris.

Lesure, François. 1994. *Claude Debussy*. Paris: Klincksieck

Lesure, François. 1994. *Claude Debussy - Biographie critique*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Lesure, François. 2003. *Catalogue de l'oeuvre de Claude Debussy*. Paris: Fayard.

Lockspeiser, Edward. 1978. *Debussy: His Life and Mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Long, Marguerite. 1960. *Au piano avec Claude Debussy*. Paris: Gérard Billadot.

Long, Marguerite. 1963 *La Petite Méthode de piano*. Paris: Éditions Salabert.

Lourenço, Sofia, 2012. *As escolas de piano europeias – Tendências nacionais da interpretação pianística no século XX*, Porto: Universidade Católica Portuguesa.

Martins, José Eduardo. 2011. *Impressões sobre a música portuguesa – Panorama, criação, interpretação, esperanças*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra.

Martins, José Eduardo. 1982. *O som pianístico de Claude Debussy*. São Paulo: Novas Metas.

Michel, François. 1958. *Encyclopédie de la musique*. Paris: Fasquelle.

Myers, Rollo H. 1968. *Erik Satie*. New York: Dover.

Noble, Jeremy. 1967. "Portrait of Debussy. I: Debussy and Stravinsky." *Musical Times* 108: 22-25.

Palmer, Christopher. 1973. *Impressionism in Music*. London: Hutchinson.

Perlemuter, Vlado and Jourdan-Mourhange, Hélène. 2005. *Ravel according to Ravel*. London: Kahn & Averill.

Piston, Walter. 1978. *Harmony*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc.

Randles, Roma. 2012. *Ruth Nye and the Arrau Heritage*. Guildford: Grosvenor House.

Roberts, Paul. 2003. *Images: The Piano Music of Claude Debussy*, London: Amadeus Press.

Roberts, Paul. 2008. *Claude Debussy*. London: Phaidon Press.

Schmitz, Robert E. 1966. *The piano works of Claude Debussy*. New York: Dover.

Schonberg, Harold C. 1987. *The great pianists: From Mozart to the present*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Spampinato, Francesco. 2011. *Debussy poète des eaux – Métaphorisation et corporéité dans l'expérience musicale*. Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan.

Stewart, Gordon. 1996. *A history of keyboard literature: Music for the piano and its forerunners*. Boston: Cengage Learning.

Tappolet, Claude. 1994. *Ernest Ansermet: Correspondence avec compositeurs européens (1916-1966)*. Geneva: Géorg Editeur.

Timbrell, Charles, 1992. *French pianism – A historical perspective*. Portland-Oregon: Amadeus Press.

Taruskin, Richard. 2005. *The Oxford History of Western Music*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Treize, Simon. 2003. *The Cambridge companion to Debussy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Weyer, Angela, and Pilar Roig Picazo, Daniel Pop, Joann Cassar, Aysun Özköse, Jean-Marc Vallet, Ivan Srsa. 2016. *EwaGlos – European Illustrated Glossary of Conservation Terms for Wall Painting and Architectural Surfaces*. Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag.

Wheeldon, Marianne. 2009. *Debussy's Late Style*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Vallas, Léon. 1973. *Claude Debussy, his life and works*. London: Dover.

Viana da Mota, José. 1941. *Música e músicos alemães*. Coimbra: Publicações do Instituto Alemão da Universidade de Coimbra.

Vieira de Carvalho, Mário. 1993. *O Teatro de São Carlos*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda.

➤ **Musical scores**

Debussy, Claude. 1891. *Deux Arabesques*. Paris: Durand et Schoenwerk.

Debussy, Claude. 1900. *Nocturnes*. Paris: E. Fromont.

Debussy, Claude. 1901. *L'isle joyeuse*. Paris: Durand & Fils.

Debussy, Claude. 1904. *Danse sacrée et danse profane*. Paris: Durand e Cie.

Debussy, Claude. 1904. *Pélleas et Mélisande*. Paris: Durand & Fils.

Debussy, Claude. 1905. *Suite Bergamasque*. Paris: Durand et Cie.

Debussy, Claude. 1908. *Children's Corner*. Paris: Durand et Cie.

Debussy, Claude. 1909. *La mer*. Paris: Durand & Fils.

Debussy, Claude. 1910. *Preludes*. Paris: Durand et Cie.

Debussy, Claude. 1916. *Etudes*. Paris: Durand et Cie.

Debussy, Claude. 1990. *Images – Première Série*, edited by Ernst-Guenter Heinemann according to the revision of François Lesure. Munich: Henle Verlag.

Debussy, Claude. 1990. *Images – Deuxième Série*, edited by Ernst-Guenter Heinemann according to the revision of François Lesure. Munich: Henle Verlag.

Lacerda, Francisco de. 1973. *Trovas para canto e piano*, preface and edition by Filipe de Sousa. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

Lacerda, Francisco de. 1996. *Obras para canto e piano*, edited by José Bettencourt da Câmara. Angra do Heroísmo: Governo Regional dos Açores.

Lacerda, Francisco de. 1997. *Obras para piano*, edited by José Bettencourt da Câmara. Angra do Heroísmo: Governo Regional dos Açores.

Lacerda, Francisco de. 2000. *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste*, edited by José Bettencourt da Câmara. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

➤ Recordings

Debussy, Claude. *Claude Debussy*. Claudio Arrau (piano). © 2003 by Philips Import. PHI-4323042. Compact disc.

Debussy, Claude. *Claude Debussy – L'oeuvre pour piano*. Aldo Ciccolini (piano). © 2002 by Angel. CZS5741222. Compact disc.

Lacerda, Francisco de and Debussy, Claude. *Francisco de Lacerda – Claude Debussy*. José Eduardo Martins (piano). © 1999 by vzw De Verenigde Cultuurfabriken. RP/GMA 991. Compact disc.

Lacerda, Francisco de. *Francisco de Lacerda - Le Piano Portugais*. Bruno Belthoise (piano). © 1997 by Disques Coriolan. COR 330 701. Compact disc.

Lacerda, Francisco de. *Francisco de Lacerda – Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste*. José Bon de Sousa (piano). © 1997 by Movieplay Portuguesa. MOV 3-11046. Compact disc.

APPENDICES

Table of contents

Introduction.....	135
1 – Inedited writings by Francisco de Lacerda	137
1.1 – “Souvenirs – Les mémoires des autres”	137
1.2 – “Guide chronologique”	139
2 – Letters received by Francisco de Lacerda	145
2.1 – Letters from Claude Debussy	145
2.2 – Inedited letter from Ema Bardac (Claude Debussy’s widow).....	152
2.3 – Inedited letters from Vincent d’Indy	153
2.4 – Inedited letters from Louis Laloy	160
2.5 – Indetied letters from Romain Rolland	164
2.6 – Inedited letters from Ernest Ansermet	167
2.7 – Inedited letter from André Caplet.....	172
2.8 – Inedited letters from Henri Duparc.....	173
2.9 – Inedited letter from Gustave Samazeuilh	178
2.10 – Inedited letter from Camille Saint-Saëns.....	179
2.11 – Inedited letter from Albert Roussel	180
2.12 – Inedited letter from Alfred Bruneau	182
2.13 – Inedited letter from Georges Witkowski	183

2.14 – Inedited letters from Marguerite Long	185
2.15 – Inedited letter from José Iturbi	188
2.16 – Inedited letters from Joaquín Nin	190
2.17 – Inedited letters from Alfred Cortot	195
2.18 – Inedited letter from Madaleine Grey	202
2.19 – Inedited letter from Magdalena Tagliaferro	204
2.20 – Inedited letters from the Kursaal of Montreux board	205
2.21 – Inedited letters from the Association Artistique de Marseille board	210
2.22 – Inedited letters from the Maison Pleyel.....	213
2.23 – Inedited letter from Max Echig & C.ie.	215
2.24 – Inedited letters from Manuel de Falla and his sister Maria del Carmen de Falla.....	217

Introduction

Science is not built on mere opinion, or according to the very ways of seeing things by the researcher, since it is determined by the objective of producing affirmations on matters and facts, for which we recognise a value of truth and, at least, likelihood. It is thus based on observation, on documents, on sources.

Here lies the importance of those sources, as well as the necessity of explicitly relating them to the affirmations one presents on any given fact. The work should somehow lead one to his departure point, to the documents on which one is substantiating. That way, the scientific rigour can be checked by not only the academic community, but also by the common, interested reader.

When those sources are still inedited, as is the case of the majority of those here presented, its assemblage in a collection is more than convenient, which will have the added value of making them available for other researchers.

The sources on Francisco de Lacerda are abundant. In some domains, as for example the correspondence with important cultural figures of his time, they exist in great number. The musician himself, in full consciousness of the value of what he had achieved and would leave behind, preserved a vast set of testimonies, now part of his assets. After his death, some documents remained in the family, having been deposited in Museu de Angra do Heroísmo and Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Angra do Heroísmo, in the Azores, in the 1970s and 80s.

The criteria for the constitution of this collection were globally related to the selection of documents that refer to the matters that this thesis discusses: the crossing paths of Francisco de Lacerda and Claude Debussy, as well as matters regarding the piano and piano technique, centered around the works for this instrument by Francisco de Lacerda. One thus illustrates the exceptional career of the Azorean, highlighting its intersection with the path of a French musician who today is universally recognised as one of the great composers of all-time.

This collection combines documents that are inedited in almost their totality. The only exception are the letters from Claude Debussy to Francisco de Lacerda, which were published early on, given the importance of the sender. All other correspondence sent to Lacerda, which includes letters from such names as Henry Duparc, Vincent d'Indy, Ernest Ansermet and many others, remains inedited and is partially transcribed here.

1 – Inedited writings by Francisco de Lacerda

The two texts by Francisco de Lacerda chosen for this collection are inedited and their manuscripts can be found in the composer's assets (Museu de Angra do Heroísmo, Azores). The first one is quite significant of the way the musician saw the small universe that was his starting point in the Azores; the second one, entitled "Guide chronologique", is an interesting set of notes that refer to his path as a musician between the years of 1890 and 1906, especially the musical life in Paris in which he integrated himself, after arriving in the French capital, in 1895. "Souvenirs – Les mémoires des autres" constitutes a single sheet manuscript; as for the "Guide chronologique", it is a series of separate sheets, chronologically presented here. For their informative value on Lacerda's career and life, one only regrets that they did not give birth to the book of memoirs that the great composer ended up not writing.

1.1 – "Souvenirs – Les mémoires des autres"

SOUVENIRS

Les mémoires des Autres

A Fragueira! Souvenirs qui se confondent avec la rumeur de la mer, le chant des oiseaux, l'odeur des plantes, la lumière et les ombres, les jeux des vagues, l'horizon sans limites... Cela était si harmonieux, si parfaitement beau, que je n'ai pu apprendre, dans toute ma vie, les mots qu'il faudrait pour en donner une vague idée de toute la beauté de cette période. Il aurait fallu de la peinture, de la musique et des vers – comme ceux du Dante! Les miens. Nos origines – simplicité! Mes grands-pères.

O Raulino; ses histoires (en trois journées!). Chasses et pêches.

La St. Jean. Une pieuvre. (Première nuit d'orage; ma cousine, M.A.!).

Caldeira! (à la Jules Verne!) Indépendance! Liberté.

Une nuit d'orage; Luísa. Première révélation de la Femme. Ma soeur, son rôle, nos jeux.

A escola. Os professores. Os companheiros.

Mes tantes. Mes témérités (La Tour, le torrent, la nage). Arthur. Notre bateau. Notre désir de naufrager.

Mon Pleyel! Mes improvisations, précocité, ma première Composition «Le naufrage du bateau Açoriano». Mon père.

À l'Église, les messes, les fêtes.

Mon cousin Miguel. Mon oncle Thomé! Mon frère José. Les pêches nocturnes, les crabes.

As festas do Espírito Santo (o gado, os «bandos», etc.). Os bailes, rivalidades. Novena do Natal.

Période de Calheta. Le Prêtre M. A. C.. Mon indépendance! Une grande épopée. L'Atlantide.

Première séparation. Angra, le Lycée. Anedoctes. Música, namoro, toiros.

Retour, blessée et sombre. Mon père. Voyage mémorable».

1.2 – “Guide chronologique”

Guide chronologique

1890, 11-VII – Bon examen de piano au Conservatoire de L.e.

1891, 11-VIII – Organisation d’un Concert de Charité (inauguration de la nouvelle Salle de Concerts du Conservatoire).

“ *XII – Nommé professeur auxiliaire des classes de piano.*

1892, 21-XI – Concours pour la place de professeur au Conservatoire.

1895, 31-VIII – Concours pour le pensionat à l’étranger.

1895, 23-IX – Départ pour Paris.

1897, mars – Premières publications.

“ *Exécution aux Concerts Rouge (!).*

1899, 6-XII – Centenaire de Almeida Garret (Société de Géographie).

Exécution de 2 morceaux.

1900, VI – Membre du Jury à l’Exposition Un. selle de Paris.

1901, 2-IV – Je dirige (première fois?) le Concert Guilmant à la Schola.

1903, Avril – Premiers concerts de l'orchestre d'amateurs.

Mai – Concert de charité, Salle Érard.

1904, Février – Inauguration de l'Orgue de N. D. de Bercy.

“ 8-II – Concert à Laon.

1904, 1.er-VIII – Inauguration du Casino M.al de La Baule.

1905, 16 Février – Conférence à l'É. le des H. tes Études Sociales.

“ Juin – Concert Zielinska (Salle Pleyel).

“ “ Orfeo?

Nantes.

1905, Décembre, 17: Concerts Lamoureux. M. Safonoff, «Chef d'orchestre de la Société Impériale et Directeur du Conservatoire de Moscou» dirige. Programme assez médiocre, exécution assez banale. Le plus intéressant c'est Mr. Safonoff lui-même. Dirige l'orchestre sans baton.

De blanc ganté, il nous apparaît comme un Mr. qui va faire quelques tours d'escamotage. On sourit, on va rigoler. Il commence, on ne sourit plus. Ce n'est pas si bête que cela en avait l'air... C'est certainement un bon musicien, qui conduit avec autorité, d'une façon bizarre, inattendue, avec une mimique assez expressive et pas trop exagérée. Il triture la pâte sonore et pétrie sa symphonie avec aisance et conviction. Il pousse le quatuor, tire les cuivres, sème les nuances, fouette les

vents, fait lever tout ça en soufflant dessous...

Ce n'est pas si bête... Il faut y réfléchir (1).

Au programme une énorme symphonie (la 6^e.) de Glazounoff. C'est ni bon ni mauvais, ni russe, ni allemand, ni français... Brahms et l'alcool on perdu cette belle expérience! – le libre, capricieux et vagabond jeune homme de Stenka Razine...

1 – Note. Non! Decidement la baguette est indispensable. Elle précise, determine mieux; elle s'impose avec plus de clarté (plus volontaire).

1905, Déc. 17: Ce même jour, fit son entrée aux Concerts du Conservatoire, notre Claude Debussy, avec «L'après-midi d'un Faune»... Ils en ont fait une gueule les vieux abonnés! Hein! Cela vous change un peu de vos gavottes et rigaudons, de votre musique de décorés et d'officiels!

Les trop belles dames ont fait la moue et ces vieux bonhommes décoratifs, incapables ont, à ce qu'il paraît, siffloté...

Tas de cruches, va! - Et ces momies la croient comprendre J. S. Bach!

M.elles Marie de l'Isle et Mary Garden rentrent à l'Opéra Comique. La douce M.me Carré appelle celle-ci: Garden party!

1905, Décembre, 29 – Au moment même (ce 29 Décembre) ou je conduis à Nantes mon premier concert, il y a à la Schola, à Paris, un autre concert où mes élèves du Cours d'ensemble vocal chantent à capella des oeuvres de Josquin, Palestrina, Vittoria et Schütz.

1906, Janvier, 6 – "Société Nationale (Salle Erard). De l'abondant programme, je retiens les 'Miroirs' de M. Ravel. Ce petit bonhomme a, évidemment, du talent. Un talent assez particulier, assez spécial; un talent à la Caran d'Ache. Un singe très bien dressé. Plus que ça, peut-être.

Il a le sens de la caricature. Je lui est [sic] conseillé (chez les Cruppi) de faire quelque chose sur «Don Quichote». Cela lui conviendrait certainement. Mais... le comprendrait-il, le sublime monument de la littérature espagnole? Le pire c'est qu'il a du talent, des «ressources», mais qu'il est peu intelligent et d'une ignorance honteuse. Très ordinaire, presque vulgaire, il surprend par ses élans, ses saccades, de bon gout. Avoir du talent ou du génie, c'est quelque chose de très étonnant... Cela pousse comme pousserait une belle fleur sur un rocher aride et nu...

La «Barque sur l'Océan» de ces «Miroirs», ainsi que l'«Alborada» ce sont des choses qui existent, de très belles choses."

1906, Janvier – Promu Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur.

1906, Janvier – Concert du London Symphony Orchestra.

A remarquer l'exécution de la 9.e Symphonie de Beethoven, sous la direction de Stanford. Exécution molle, grise, lente... mais propre. Trop en mesure! (Surtout les chœurs.)

Société J. S. Bach. Efforts artistiques intéressants. Mr. Gustave Bret, avec sa belle barbe et sa gaucherie dirige comme un prêtre dirait sa messe. (Un très mauvais prêtre, bien entendu.)

Voir le n.º du 15 de ce mois du Courrier Musical l'article (de Destranges?) sur mon premier concert de Nantes.

V. d'Indy est en Amérique. Je dois travailler comme un enragé: mes leçons et mes cours, mes deux classes à la Schola, préparer les chœurs et l'orchestre pour le concert que je dirige et Labey dans l'absence du directeur; mes concerts de Nantes, ma correspondance...

À ce qu'il paraît, d'Indy fut accueilli à New York assez froidement. Cela n'aurait pas d'importance si c'était absolument injuste.

1906, Février – Théâtre de Mathurins. La «Mort de Tintagiles» de Maeterlinck, abimé par une inéptie musicale du Sieur Jean Nouguès... M.me Georgette Leblanc y est, malgré ses défauts, ses exagérations, assez intéressante. Mais bien plus intéressante est M.me Colette Willy dans une pantomime malheureusement, du même Nouguès... C'est dommage! Cette femme, bien dressé, bien conduite, dans bonne atmosphère, ferait de belles choses. C'est en effet, une femme très doué, très intelligente, presque très artiste... Où ira-t'elle tomber par cette rampe basculante où il n'y a pas mal de taches de boue?!...

Entendu, chez Sérieux, «Le coeur du Moulin» de Déodat de Séverac (intégralement). Ce n'est pas encore ça; cherchez mieux, jeune homme. Un pluz de simplicité, de naturel, s. v. p. Oubliez pour quelque temps les tendances enragés de votre Maître et de vos enragés collègues. Vous avez de quoi; cherchez en vous même...

1906, Février, 2 – Je dirige, à la Schola, un beau programme.

Ballet de la Royne (1582)

Philothée

Orfeo (de Monteverdi)

C'est de ce concert auquel il n'assistait même pas, que l'insigne maître chanteur Pierre Lalo écrit ceci dans le «Temps»: ... à la demande de mes excellents amis Labey et Castua... (À développer)

Mais il écrit si bien! (Lalo)

18 - «Jour d'été à la montagne» de d'Indy. C'est bien long, un jour d'été à la

montagne; restons en plaine. Il y a de très belles choses, mais toutes gâtées, par ce vice de penser, de trop raisonner. C'est trop habile!

1906, Février – Courrier Musical du 15, article de C. Mauclair «Propositions sur la musique». Transcrire quelques lignes de l'occultisme musical...

C'est beau, la littérature!...

4 (28 Janvier) – Concerts Lamoureux. "Faust" de Schumann. 2 auditions (28 Janv. et 4 Février).

Lyrisme intense, sentimental. Monotonie invincible (à développer).

4 – Chez Colonne. Du Mozart. La Symphonie en ut maj. (Jupiter), consciencieusement massacrée par ces 80 et quelques excellents exécutants. Les sss... du chef pour obtenir une certaine douceur, sont bien incommodes...

Que ce serait bien cela, joué par 25 ou 30 musiciens un peu mieux choisis!...

4 – Conservatoire. Quatuor Caplet. Les Quatuors de Beethoven (op. 127, 131, 135). Presque très bien. Le quatrième du quadrille, Mr. Hasselmann, est (musicalement, bien entendu) le plus faible. Malgré l'exemple du 1^{er} violon et de l'alto, il reste bien éloigné du style, de la manière...

2 – Letters received by Francisco de Lacerda

2.1 – Letters from Claude Debussy

In an academic project that has as one of its main objectives the studying of the relationship between two European musicians, especially the influence of the work of one on the other, the correspondence between them constitutes a significant source. Given that Claude Debussy is recognised as one of the greatest musical creators of all time, it is understandable that his letters to Francisco de Lacerda are the only ones already published among thousands of others received by the Portuguese musician.

Letter of February 22 1906

The manuscript that Claude Debussy refers to in this letter most likely is that of a Francisco de Lacerda transcription of Jean-Philippe Rameau's *Fêtes de Polymnie*. From this letter, one can perhaps conclude that it is through Debussy that the Portuguese composer is received on February 13 1906 by André Carré, the director of the Théâtre National de l'Opéra-Comique. The purpose of that meeting is unknown to date, but the importance that it would have for a musician beginning his career is evident.

Lundi 22. 2 / 06

Mon cher ami,

Votre manuscrit est suffisamment clair et il est bien inutile de vous donner la peine de le réécrire.

Si vous voulez passer demain chez moi, je vous remettrais la suite, à moins que je ne l'envoie chez vous?

Pour Carré, voulez-vous que je lui écrive directement ou aimez-vous mieux lui remettre vous-même cette lettre?

Ma cordiale sympathie.

Claude Debussy

Letter of February 22 1906

This is just one of the small notes sent from one residence in Paris to the other, possibly by personal messenger. It testifies to the regular contact between the great French musician and Francisco de Lacerda in that period.

Jeudi – 22 – 2 / 06

Mon cher ami,

Voulez venir me voir samedi prochain à 11 ¹/₂ et m'excuser de ne pas avoir pu vous prévenir tous ces jours derniers.

Bien votre

Claude Debussy

Letter of March 9 1906

Besides the collaboration with editor Auguste Durand, this letter suggests an important matter for this thesis, when it comes to the relationship between two musicians: the articulation that one has been trying to establish between both composers' experience as parents and their work. One can see the devoted father that Debussy was to Claude-Emma (who inspired him to write *Children's corner*) in the expressed worry for the state of health of Francisco de Lacerda's daughter Maria. On the Portuguese musician's side, the *Trente-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste* reflect that same experience. Some of those pieces were also inspired by Chouchou, who Lacerda knew well.

Vendredi 9 – 3 / 06

Mon cher ami,

Je regrette que vous soyez grippé et surtout que votre petite fille soit malade, et n'aurais pas voulu vous ennuyer davantage. Seulement Mr. Durand me réclame "Polymnie" d'une façon pressante et je suis donc obligé de vous demander de bien vouloir m'apporter ou me l'a renvoyer le plus vite possible.

Merci et cordialement votre

Claude Debussy

Letter of January 22 1907

The terms of this letter express quite well the courtesy and friendship between Lacerda and Debussy. Of the letters from the French composer to his Portuguese friend, this is one of those that show Debussy's address printed on top: "64, Avenue du Bois de Bologne". The French composer had recently travelled to Brussels to be present at the rehearsals for his opera *Pelléas et Mélisande*, in the Théâtre de la Monnaie.

Mardi 22 janvier / 07

Mon cher ami,

C'est en revenant de Bruxelles, il y a quelque temps que j'ai trouvé la plus charmante des cartes de visite que je recevais jamais...! Si je n'avais pas eu trop d'énuyeuse besogne, et, par dessus la tête de correspondance protocolaire, j'aurais aimé vous envoyer un remerciement correspondant musicalement à votre carte, mais les hommes et les choses ne l'ont pas voulu ainsi.

Croyez tout de même à mon affectueuse gratitude pour votre gracieuse pensée, et m'excusant du retard d'un mois, laissez moi espérer que j'aurai bientôt le plaisir de vous serrer les mains.

Votre amicalement dévoué

Claude Debussy

Letter of April 22 1907

This letter refers to a proposal by millionaire Louis de Coppet for Francisco de Lacerda to integrate his private trio in Switzerland, combining the functions of pianist and music teacher to his children. Regarding the matter of this thesis, it is important to highlight Debussy's opinion about Lacerda as that of a "bon pianiste transpositeur".

Lundi 22 avril / 07

Mon cher ami,

Votre lettre me parvient trop tard pour que je puisse faire quelque chose d'utile... d'ailleurs ne sachant pas comment les choses se passent, je n'aurais pas su à qui vous recommander!

Peut-être vous exagérez sur ce que l'on demande... Le répertoire c'est Massenet, Delibes; ça n'est guère effrayant; vous seriez aussi "bon pianiste transpositeur" que les gens qui sont là.

L'important c'est que vous soyez dans la place, une fois cela fait les circonstances vous mettraient à votre vraie place.

Excusez moi de n'avoir rien pu faire, et tenez moi au courant n'importe comment.

Votre ami

Claude Debussy

Letter of July 24 1907

This is a letter sent to Switzerland, where Francisco de Lacerda was staying as the pianist of the Coppet's private trio's pianist, before applying for the position of principal conductor of the Montreux Kursaal orchestra, with the support of Claude Debussy, Vincent d'Indy and others. Debussy returns to a more personal tone in this letter, by humoursly referring to his own work as a composer. It should be noted that Lacerda socialises with Debussy in Paris during the period in which most of the latter's friends abandoned him due to the scandal caused by his relationship with Emma Bardac (a previous lover of Gabriel Fauré, to whom he dedicated *La bonne chanson*). An allusion to banker Sigismond Bardac (the husband that Emma had left) could perhaps be seen in this letter.

Mercredi, 24. 7. / 07

Mon cher ami,

Excusez mon retard à vous remercier de l'envoi des cartes postales; par ailleurs c'est un supplice un peu "tantalien", que cette débauche de vert et de bleu ne peut qu'inciter à envoyer promener le papier à jamais "réglé" et qui ressemble si curieusement à d'innombrables petites grilles, empêcheuses d'évasion vers le doux pays de la "Flamme". Pourtant nous quitterons Paris à la fin de ce mois, chassés de la maison par un fourrier qui nos menace d'un bas [?] donjon de sinistres...

Nous allons à Pourville, petite plage absurde parmi toutes celles qui "ceinture" nos côtes – partout. Nous y serons sans doute fort mal, et c'est le dessus que je compte pour y travailler sans craindre le charme envahissant du paysage!

À part l'ennui des besognes prévues j'espère que vous êtes content de la Suisse, puisqu'en homme aimant de planer sur les cimes vous y trouvez au moins tout ce qu'il faut pour ce genre d'exercice.

Vous trouverez ci-joint les cartes postales pour M. et [?] M. de Lacerda à laquelle j'envoie mon meilleur souvenir, et pour vous, cher ami, mon amitié coutumière.

Claude Debussy

Letter of September 5 1908

Among the letters that Claude Debussy sent to Francisco de Lacerda, this one was chosen to integrate the correspondence collection of the composer edited by François Lesure (Debussy 1993, 242). It shows the critical vision of Debussy on the dominant aesthetic orientations of the Schola Cantorum, of which the recipient also departed from. Debussy starts the letter by rejoicing in the positive outcome of Lacerda's application to become the orchestral director of the Kursaal of Montreux. Besides the reference to Erik Satie, it is also interesting to see how Debussy refers to his daily work as a musical creator, by comparing himself to a tireless ant.

Samedi: 5 – IX - 08

Cher ami,

J'ai été très heureux d'apprendre votre nomination et que M.r Émery n'était pas aussi bouché que son nom l'indique... Vous voilà, enfin!, avec un peu de tranquillité sur la planche; en outre, ne vous semble t'il plus préférable de respirer l'air de Montreux au lieu de ce parfum de sacristie qui est celui de la "Schola"?

A ce propos votre ami E. Satie vient de terminer une fugue ou l'ennui se dissimule derrière des harmonies malveillantes, dans quoi vous reconnaitrez la marque de cette discipline si particulière à l'établissement cité plus haut.

Si cela vous intéresse, sachez que je continue à vivre d'une vie de termite.

Je dévore à peu près vingt pages de papier de musique par jour; croiez bien qu'au point de vue hygiénique c'est déplorable! Au point de vue artistique je n'affirmerais pas que ce soit absolument utile.

Enfin, il faut bien mériter le droit d'être sur la terre; mais comme la vie d'un chêne est plus belle et surtout plus profitable. Par exemple: un chêne peut devenir l'une de ces salles à manger Henri II dont rêvent les jeunes filles! ou un piano sur lequel les mêmes jeunes filles s'attardent naïvement sur la dernière pensée de Francis Thomé.

Mais je m'arrête de peur de m'attendrir et vous assure de ma sincère amitié et de l'affectueux souvenir des miens.

Claude Debussy

2.2 – Inedited letter from Ema Bardac (Claude Debussy's widow)

Claude Debussy first lived with Gabrielle Dupont, for about ten years, having then married for the first time dressmaker Marie-Rosalie Texier (known as Lilly among friends and family). In 1905 he met Emma Bardac, the wife of a banker, with whom he had a relationship and ended up marrying in 1908, after divorcing Lilly (for which she tried to commit suicide). From this union, Debussy's only daughter, Claude-Emma, was born, in 1905. The piano suite *Children's corner* is dedicated to her. Francisco de Lacerda also knew Chouchou and, according to testimonies, some of his *Trent-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste* were inspired by her. Some contacts of Lacerda with the Debussy family took place after his death, in 1918, as the Ema Bardac letter transcribed here shows.

Letter of 1924 [?]

The only letter that arrived to this day from Claude Debussy's widow to Francisco de Lacerda confirms some contact that the Portuguese conductor had with her in his last period of artistic activity in France and Switzerland, during the 1920s. The signature adopted by the sender should be noted (Emma Claude Debussy), as well as her opinion of the need that Paris had for musicians of the calibre of Lacerda. Probably written in 1924, one should remind that on May 15 of that year Francisco de Lacerda conducted J. S. Bach's *St. John's Passion* with the Colonne orchestra and the Nantes Schola Cantorum choirs in Paris, for the Saison d'Art da VIIIème Olympiade, in a programme that included such musicians as Willem Mengelberg, Sergej Prokofiev and Igor Stravinsky.

Lundi

Mon cher ami

*J'ai été très touchée de votre affectueuse pensée en recevant cette carte evocatrice.
Quel dommage que vous ne veniez pas conduire à Paris où l'on aurait grand besoin de
bons chefs compréhensifs de ce qui leur est confié!*

Ne viendrez vous pas bientôt?

*Avec mes souvenirs les meilleurs je vous envoie l'expression de mes sentiments
sincères.*

Emma Claude Debussy

24 rue Vivienne XVI.e

2.3 – Inedited letters from Vincent d'Indy

Paul Marie Théodore Vincent d'Indy (Paris, 1851 - Paris, 1931) was one of the figures that most determined Francisco de Lacerda's biography, even considering that the Portuguese composer departed from the orientations of his professor. The set of letters that d'Indy sent to Lacerda is quite vast and still inedited. They spread across three decades, from the time Lacerda was a student of his right to the end of d'Indy's life. Some of the more significative of those letters were chosen for this collection.

Letter of September 23 1902

This letter, written in Vincent d'Indy's small handwriting, is quite harsh in its tone regarding a piece that Lacerda had composed for a *Figaro* competition in 1902 (the year in which the Portuguese composer also wrote his first piece of *Trent-six histoires pour amuser les enfants d'un artiste*). One does not know if the work ended up being submitted or not; if it was, he was not awarded any prize for it, contrary to what would happen two years later in the *Revue musicale* competition, in which Lacerda received the winning prize, for his *Danse du voile*. It most likely was destroyed by the composer, since no other reference to it is known. One is lead to thinking that the piece was unacceptable for its strange tonal structure, recalling some of the terms with which d'Indy referred to some of Claude Debussy's works.

Paris, 23 Septembre 1902

Mon cher Lacerda,

Je me hâte de vous renvoyer votre mélodie puisque c'est pressé à cause du concours bien qu'un concurs organisé par le Figaro!... hum!!... ça ne sera jamais bien artistique... enfin, tentez l'aventure tout de même.

Je suis content de vous dire que votre mélodie me plaît vraiment comme musique, il y a des excellentes choses notamment le début et la fin. Je n'en dirait pas autant de la construction qui, elle, est bien défectueuse... Comment, vous qui êtes à la Schola depuis 3 ans, écrivez vous dans une pièce aussi courte un milieu en Sol quand le ton principal est Ré b. ???

Vraiment, je ne comprend pas du tout. Ce milieu en Sol est cause de toutes les défectuosités de la pièce, d'abord 2 mesures de transition faites pour le besoin de la cruse

(page 2) et d'en tirer !!! un macaroni ou fromage n'est [?] en comparaison; et puis, le ton de fa mineur qui vient après serait bon en lui même, puisque succédé de Ré b., serait hideux après Sol, malgré l'artifice cause du fil blanc de la mesure qui précède.

Tout ça c'est la faute du Sol; on dirait que vous aviez écrit ça d'abord dans une bonne tonalité et puis que sous l'ennui de je ne sais quelle influence, vous l'avez transposé après coup!...

Voilà le gros défaut de votre mélodie; il est tout à fait nécessaire de la corriger avant de l'envoyer au concours, mettez donc un milieu en Fa b., ou en Fa, même en Sol b. (non dom.) mais biffez carrément en Sol qui détourne formidablement et nous cause dans la pièce; alors vos 2 modulations deviendront normales et tout rentrera dans l'ordre et l'harmonie.

Par exemple, autre chose qui pourra même vous faire élimier à vue de nez par le jury (j'ai vu des jugements de ce genre) c'est votre façon de commencer le morceau par la sous-dominante... le fait est que c'est plutôt bizarre et je n'en vois guère la nécessité, car le ton principal arrivant à la 5.e mesure paraît vraiment lui même une dominante et l'esprit ne c'est plutôt où il en est dans ces interventions de fonctions. Je crois qu'il nous serait facile de commencer carrément sur la tonique, (comme à la fin du morceau) je vous l'indique en crayon en votre manuscrit.

Enfin, une dernière defectuosité, mais beaucoup moindre, celle-là, c'est le peu de lumière apporté par la cadence Mi majeur, qui voudrais être lumineuse et ne l'est pas parce qu'on a entendu le ton depuis déjà 5 mesures. Mais, si vous ne trouvez pas moyen de changer ce passage, il peut rester ainsi, tant que les 2 autres corrections sont absolument indispensables, celles du ton de Sol, parce que c'est de la "composition musicale", et celle de 3 premières mesures, parce qu'on ne ira pas votre mélodie. À part ces défauts de construction qu'un vieux Scholard comme vous ne devrait pas faire, la musique de la mélodie est bien, elle est en effet, je crois une de vos meilleures choses. Aura-t-elle le prix du Figaro??? – Mais, je le crois bien, que je compte absolument sur vous pour reprendre notre classe d'ensemble chorale! Je crois vous l'avoir bien dit à la fin de la dernière saison. Il faudra seulement d'arranger pour obtenir des hommes plus exactitude. Comme ils n'y aura pas d'innombrables concerts l'année qui vient on aura bien le temps de préparer les matières et vous êtes tout désigné pour les résultats de l'année dernière pour être chargé de nouveau de cette besogne.

Je compte sur vous et je vous envoie, en attendant que nous nous voyons, mes meilleurs et plus affectueux souvenirs.

Vincent d'Indy

J'ai bien reçu votre dernière lettre, la preuve c'est que j'en utilise l'enveloppe.

Letter of September 12 1904

A handwritten letter on Schola Cantorum stationery, written in Boffres, in the Château de Faugs (Vincent d'Indy's residence and the current Musée Vincent d'Indy). It confirms the role that Vincent d'Indy had in Francisco de Lacerda's success in France, in this case, in his intervention in Lacerda's obtaining his first position as an orchestral conductor, in the La Baule casino. This constitutes one of the first steps towards the foundation of the Concerts Historiques de Nantes, entrusted to the Portuguese musician. D'Indy's role in the success of Lacerda's career also resulted in the conductor having to withstand some hostile attitudes, especially from former colleagues (as is the case of Gustave Samazueilh, who also attended d'Indy's composition class).

Mon cher Lacerda

J'espère que votre saison à la Baule aura été bonne et que vous aurez eu satisfaction artistique et pécuniaire, les 2 se complétant. Je viens vous dire que je compte sur vous pour réorganiser d'une façon particulièrement soignée le Cours d'ensemble vocal de la Schola, qui avait un peu périclité, mais pas pour votre faute.

Je tiendrai la main à ce que votre cours soit assidûment suivi pour ceux, qui doivent obligatoirement y assister, de par le règlement, d'abord tous les élèves de solfège, indistinctement; ceux qui n'ont pas sa voix suivront les Cours qui sera pour eux une bonne leçon de lecture, et ceux qui en ont pourront entrer à la Chorale de Concerto.

Les répétitions spéciales au Concert et payées aux élèves, seront affichées, il y en aura au moins 6 par concert, y compris la [?] aux arches et je m'arrangerai pour que vous ayez la musique en temps opportun. Bref, je veux faire de notre Cours une véritable Chorale appelée à vendre des services de tout genre.

J'ai, pour des raisons de coïncidence de classes et de répétitions, été obligé de changé vos heures du Cours qui seront bien désormais

le Mardi, à 5 heures 1/2

et le Jeudi, à 4 heures 1/2.

Vous voyez, mon cher Lacerda, que je compte beaucoup sur vous et votre amicale bonne volonté, et cependant, je ne puis passer sous silence une proposition que je reçois et pour laquelle malgré la peine que j'aurais de vous perdre je n'en peux m'empêcher de penser à vous. Il s'agit d'une position de Chef d'orchestre de Concert dans une ville de province importante de l'ouest, j'ignore encore les conditions d'engagement et aussi la

solidité de cette fondation de Concerts mais, d'après ce qu'on me dit, ce serait tout à fait artistique, concerts périodiques comme nos concerts dominicaux de Paris, avec une orchestre qu'il faudrait probablement former, mais qu'on n'aurait pas secure dans la main.

Dites moi, si, de premier abord, cela vous [?] de quitter Paris si la position était avantageuse, ce que je ne sais pas, et d'après votre réponse, je m'informerai plus exactement.

Mais j'avance que, sincèrement, je préférerais infiniment vous garder à Paris auprès de moi...

Croyez moi toujours, mon Lacerda, votre bien affectionné.

Vincent d'Indy

Jusqu'au 1 octobre, à Boffres (Ardèche).

Répondez moi le plutôt possible, je vous prie.

Letter of June 1 1906

A handwritten letter on Schola Cantorum board stationery, quite significant for the noble attitude of its sender, even in periods of friction with the recipient. It is unknown if Francisco de Lacerda responded to the proposal to meet up with Vincent d'Indy to resolve the issues between them, but d'Indy never stopped supporting his former student throughout his life. As was the case with Claude Debussy, he offered him a recommendation letter when Lacerda applied for the principal conductor position of the Montreux Kursaal orchestra, about a year after this letter was written.

Paris, le 1er Juin 1906

Mon cher Lacerda,

Si je ne sais pas résister à une manifestation amicale, en revanche, il ne me connaîtrait pas, celui qui croirait que je céderais jamais devant une menace. Ce qui m'a exaspéré hier – et il y avait bien de quoi – ce n'est pas votre susceptibilité exagérée que je connais de longue date et sur laquelle j'ai fermé les yeux, mais la parole d'ingratitude que je ne m'attendais point dans votre bouche que vous nous quitteriez “en ennemi”.

La Schola se porte assez bien pour n'avoir aucun souci de votre inimitié, mais celui qui a beaucoup fait pour vous (il lui en coûte de le rappeler) a été blessé de cette parole qui vous a échappé, je veux bien le croire; c'est déjà trop de l'avoir pensée.

Moi qui ne serai jamais l'ennemi de personne, je ne demande pas mieux que de recevoir vos explications et si vous voulez venir à la Schola mardi prochain à 6 h., nous tâcherons de dissiper ce malentendu, si malentendu il y a.

Croyez, mon cher Lacerda, à mon estime artistique.

Vincent d'Indy

Letter of December 25 1927

A letter written in Agay, a beach resort relatively near Marseille, where Vincent d'Indy's old disciple had performed in 1927, heading the orchestra of which he had been the principal conductor in the 1912-1913 season. The French composer thanks him for the inclusion of his work *La quest the Dieu* (a part of the third act of his drama *La légende de Saint Christophe* op. 67, finished in 1915) in the programme (one of the last concerts of the Portuguese conductor's career). It is unknown if both men ever met again, with the French composer's passing in 1931 and Lacerda's in 1934.

Agay, 25 décembre 27

Mon cher Lacerda,

Croyez que j'ai été très ennuyé de ne pouvoir causer un instant avec vous, lors de mon si court passage à Marseille. J'aurais voulu tout au moins vous remercier d'avoir mis ma "Quête de Dieu" à votre dernier programme (que je viens de recevoir), mais pressé par les conditions d'une tournée réglée par un "manager" j'ai du repartir de Marseille à 7 h. du matin, et conséquemment, n'ai pu donner aucun rendez vous.

J'espère, à un autre passage pouvoir m'arranger autrement.

Au revoir, donc, j'espère, mon cher ami, et croyez toujours à la sincère amitié de votre vieux maître

Vincent d'Indy

2.4 – Inedited letters from Louis Laloy

Musicologist and sinologist Louis Laloy (Gray, 1874 – Dole, 1944) had been a colleague of Francisco de Lacerda at the Schola Cantorum, in the composition class of Vincent d'Indy. With Lacerda, he was one of the Schola's students who from early on became friends with Claude Debussy. Laloy was the author of the great French composer's first biography, among other works that he dedicated to French music of his time and Chinese culture and music. It is possible that Debussy's interest on the Far East comes from his contact with Laloy (to which testify two postcards sent by Debussy to Francisco de Lacerda's daughter Maria). The correspondence from Laloy to Debussy is already published, unlike the letters from the French musicologist to Francisco de Lacerda. Of those, some are transcribed below.

Letter of October 10 1904

1/10 1904

Rahon p. Chaussin
(Jura)

Mon cher ami,

Je n'avais pas reçu la circulaire en question, restée sans doute aux mains de Combarieu, mais dès l'arrivée de votre lettre j'ai écrit à J. Simon et à Debussy, qui fera certainement quelque chose, car il vous estime et espère en vous. Quant à moi, mon cher ami, je n'ai eu aucun effort à faire pour dire votre mérite. J'ai ajouté qu'il y avait un abîme entre les concerts que vous dirigiez à la Schola et ceux qui étaient confiés aux autres, et de fait il me semble qu'entre un Labey et vous on ne peut songer à hésiter. Mais à vous parler franc, je me méfie un peu de d'Indy, fort capable de vous avoir recommandés l'un et l'autre.

J'ignorais votre passage et triste voyage, n'ayant pas remarqué le timbre de Zurich sur votre carte. La fatalité vous fera donc toujours traverser nos régions sans arrêt? J'achève en paix mes vacances. Le temps est clair et froid, nous irons à la chasse aux alouettes demain. Je reste jusqu'à Toussaint.

Il existe à Dôle une charmante jeune femme, entousiaste de Debussy, et quoi de plus... mais sapristi! J'oublie que vous êtes marié et que je ne dois pas troubler vos chastes

oreilles avec de tel récit. Apprenez donc seulement que mon chien commence à bien jouer du piano et que pour ma part je me suis mis au cor à pistons. M'emploierez-vous?

Donnez moi votre adresse à Paris, présentez mes respectueux hommages à Madame de Lacerda, et croyez moi toujours

Votre vieil ami

Laloy

Letter of July 22 1906

Paris, le 22/71906

Cher ami,

Victoire! C'est vous qui dirigerez la partie française du concert, et cette partie comprendra:

a Ouverture de Sylla et Glaucus

b Un air de Castor et Pollux

c Airs de Lalande

d Si les 30 minutes ne sont pas dépassés, une des Suites d'Écorcheville.

Je vais prendre chez vous, et vous envoyez là bas, la musique déposé chez votre concièrege, n'est ce pas?

En revanche, nous accepterons, pour l'air de Castor et Pollux, leur chanteuse, M.lle Rosamund (bouche de roses!), un soprano qui chante en français disent'ils, et est toute prête à suivre vos conseils. Il est vraiment impossible de faire venir de Paris un chanteur pour un seul air. Je pense que vous pourrez aller à Bâle quelques jours avant le congrès pour initier tous ces braves Suisses à la musique française.

Si, rassurez-vous, elle viendra, mais elle jouera du clavecin dans un petit concert, un soir, et j'ai déjà retenu pour vous l'enviable position de tourneur de pages, et de... ce que vous voudrez.

Je suis encore ici jusqu'à vendredi; ensuite en Bretagne: Ker-Lann, à Saint-Quay Portrieux (Côtes du Nord), du 15 août au 15 septembre à Rahon, et le 15 à Gunten am Thunersee pour vos beaux yeux, cher ami, et quelques autres... Je sens comme vous avez été accueillants et bons pour ces charmantes amies, et vous en suis très reconnaissant. Je crois qu'elles vont bien travailler en cette saine solitude, mais, hélas! l'amie française ne les a pas suivies. J'espère qu'elle ne vous manque pas, et que le travail absorbe toutes vos forces. C'est même mon seul espoir. Il faut que je sois bien votre ami pour ne pas vous envier furieusement...

C'est l'année des mariages; après ma cousine, voilà la petite brunette que j'ai amené chez Laheudrie (M.e Vuillermet) qui s'est décidée (pour un Russe!). Je suis même très occupé à faire des démarches pour elle, car elle a, étant fille naturelle, beaucoup de difficultés avec l'administration ennemie de tout ce qui est naturel. Et vous pensez que je

metts à mes bons offices toute la bonne grâce dont je suis capable.

J'attends un mot de vous pour vous envoyer le paquet, et suis

Votre vieil et fidèle ami

Laloy

2.5 – Inedited letters from Romain Rolland

It is in early 1900s Paris that Francisco de Lacerda meets one of the future great figures of European culture, Romain Rolland (1866 – 1944), right around the time when he begins to socialise with Claude Debussy (1904). A great novelist, historian and musicologist, Rolland was awarded the Nobel literature prize in 1915. Besides his studies on Italian painting and other vast works, his writings *Vie de Beethoven*, *Beethoven - Les grandes époques créatrices* (translated into Portuguese by Fernando Lopes Graça), *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* and *Musiciens d'autrefois* are of great significance. Contrary to published correspondence between Romain Rolland and other important European names, such as Richard Strauss, Sigmund Freud, Stefan Zweig, Hermann Hesse and Louis Aragon, the letters between him and Lacerda are unfortunately yet to be released. It is known through other sources that the Portuguese presented the conferences and speeches mentioned in the letters below thanks to his connection with Romain Rolland, then a Sorbonne History of Music professor. The second Rolland letter accompanied typographical proof of programme notes requested by Lacerda for one of his concerts. Besides these letters (in Museu de Angra do Heroísmo, Azores), there is an autographed manuscript of the French musicologist's text on Haendel's *Messiah*.

Letter of October 16 1904

Cher Monsieur

Avez-vous reçu la convocation du Comité de Musique à l'École des Hautes Études Sociales? Nous nous sommes réunis hier, et nous avons dû (car le temps presse) fixer le programme et l'heure. Nous nous sommes permis de vous inscrire, sous réserve de votre consentement, aux dates des Jeudis soir 19 décembre, 26 janvier, et 16 février. Voulez-vous me dire si ces dates vous conviennent, et envoyer le plus tôt possible le sujet exacte de vos conférences à M. Pierre Marcel, secrétaire de l'École d'Art, à l'École des Hautes Études Sociales, 16, Rue de La Sorbonne. Notre programme est si chargé qu'aucun de nous ne peut faire plus de 3 conférences – étant donné surtout que nous voulons finir à Pâques (il nous a paru qu'il y avait des inconvénients à donner des concerts après Pâques, sauf en des cas exceptionnels). Vous remarquerez aussi que le jour de conférence est changé. Le Vendredi, plusieurs de nos chanteurs étaient retenus à l'Opéra; et, selon, toute possibilité, c'est le Jeudi soir que sera adopté comme convenant au plus grand nombre.

J'espère que vous avez passé de bonnes vacances; j'ai vu par la Revue musicale

qu'elles avaient dû être intéressantes, mais non sans fatigue, j'imagine. Je pense que vous êtes tout à fait rétabli maintenant, et je vous envoie mes meilleures amitiés.

Veillez me croire, cher Monsieur, votre tout dévoué

Romain Roland

Je passe en ce moment mes journées dans les bibliothèques. Vous aurez donc de la peine à me trouver chez moi. Mais pour tous renseignements prestés relatifs à l'École, veuillez vous adresser à M. Pierre Marcel, ou à Landormy.

Letter of 1904 [?]

Vendredi

Cher Monsieur

*Voici les épreuves corrigées. J'y ai ajouté, comme vous me l'avez dit, quelques lignes sur
Le Messie, en y intercalant la note de Grove.*

Croyez moi, je vous prie, bien cordialement à vous

Romain Rolland

2.6 – Inedited letters from Ernest Ansermet

Ernest Ansermet, considered to be the greatest Swiss conductor of the 20th Century, always saw Francisco de Lacerda as his master and inspiration, having started his career as a musician in 1912, thanks to the sponsorship of the Portuguese conductor, who recommended him for the position of director of the Kursaal of Montreux orchestra. Ernest Alexandre Ansermet (Vevey, 1883 – Geneva, 1966) was also one of the historic performers of Claude Debussy's works, who he knew personally, through Lacerda. When it comes to the Portuguese musician, Ansermet not only recognised his value as a conductor, he also admired him as a composer. That is clearly mentioned in some of his early articles, as well as his later books and interviews. The publishing of numerous letters sent to Lacerda will be a relevant contribution towards understanding the personality of one of the greatest conductors of the 20th Century, as well as that of the recipient.

Letter of 1907 [?]

Undated, this is one of the first letters from Ansermet to Francisco de Lacerda. It shows that the Portuguese musician, already residing in Switzerland at the time, opened up some doors in the Parisian cultural scene to the young Swiss, including introducing him to Claude Debussy.

Paris, 100 rue d'Assas

Mercredi

Cher Monsieur de Lacerda,

Je reçois à l'instant votre carte. J'étais navré d'avoir manqué dimanche l'heureuse fortune de vous voir. Je le suis plus encore: comment! c'était donc pour moi que vous aviez retardé votre départ! Vous comprenez qu'à l'embarras que j'avais s'ajoute maintenant l'angoisse de vous sentir justement offensé. J'espère seulement que ma carte vous sera parvenue par les soins de M. de Coppet, et vous sera expliqué le fâcheux concours de circonstances. Votre dernière lettre me montrait qu'il n'avait pas moyen de nous voir. Dès lors je ne vois plus d'utilité à presser mon voyage. D'autre part, je devais occuper ici l'appartement d'un ami; et le concierge qui le savait ne savait cependant pas mon nom; il aurait dû se douter qu'Ansermet était l'hôte attendu. Bref, je supplie les dieux de vous faire

perdre le souvenir de moi plutôt que de vous laisser en butte aux mauvais tours que je vous joue involontairement, et je prie «Musique» en particulier, au nom de l'amour que je lui porte d'interférer en ma faveur auprès de vous qui l'aimez.

Votre carte me laisse entrevoir des choses inespérés. Romain Rolland... ce seul nom me remplit de joie et un peu de peur. J'attends de l'ambassade Suisse une carte qui me donnera le droit de travailler à la Bibliothèque Nationale.

À l'étage au-dessus habitent les Babaïan. Aurais-je la joie d'apercevoir un jour Laloy dans l'escalier? Et si je le rencontre aurai-je l'aplomb de lui parler?

Je vous souhaite encore bonne chance en Suisse. J'ai bien songé à vous pendant votre voyage et aux difficultés que devaient vous amener une telle expédition.

Encore pardon, et croyez, cher Monsieur et ami, à mes sentiments de gratitude et d'autres dévouements.

E. Ansermet


Letter of 1910 [?]


Written in 1910, this is one of the letters in which the young Ansermet shows his enthusiasm after being present at concerts in which Francisco de Lacerda conducted the Montreux Kursaal orchestra. It also refers to one of the articles he published on the Portuguese conductor, to whom he owed the push towards the brilliant conducting career he would have in the future. Among others, this letter clearly expresses both the great admiration that Ansermet had for Francisco de Lacerda and the friendship that united the two families.

Lundi

Mon cher ami,

Croyez que j'ai été le premier navré de ne pouvoir rester jeudi et aller vers vous hier. Il y a ici une épidémie terrible de tout. Ma femme est de plus en plus [?]. Elle a passé cette dernière nuit à tousser. Moi-même, j'ai été fiévreux, cassé et j'ai eu mal à la tête toute la semaine.

Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire que tout ce qui tenait à vous, jeudi dernier, a été remarquable. Manfred en particulier, nous a tous deux extrêmement emporté. Pour ma part, j'ai trouvé ça admirable de netteté. Le passage  aux violons avec son cresc. et son arrivée dans cette lumière douce du thème, tout à coup, m'a absolument ébloui.

La virtuosité de vos altos dans  la couleur de vos trompettes et trombones; tout cela en général: merveilleux! J'ai pris grand plaisir à la belle Folia et plus encore au Concerto grosso, que je veux relire et que je souhaite re-entendre. Étonnante, cette descente du finale, avec ces notes accentuées en piano!

Mais l'air de Lia n'est vraiment pas grand' chose. Et M.me Sprecher bien à plaindre. J'oubliais de vous dire que la Flûte enchanté m'a ravi.

Il a été trop tard hier pour parler de votre article qui était sous presse depuis samedi matin. Je l'ai fait, trop pressé, pour avoir le temps de vous le montrer. C'était très difficile. Je ne puis parler de vous comme de quelqu'un que je connais, parce qu'également chacun le sentirait; mais alors je dois prendre garde de ne pas faire un «article d'ami». D'autre

part, si je disais tout ce que je pense de votre musicalité cela épaterait tellement les gens qu'on ne me croirait plus du tout. Alors j'ai écrit ces lignes sous cette pensée dominante «dire ce que je pense, en lui faisant le moins de tort possible». En l'écrivant, je me suis rendu compte qu'il y avait beaucoup plus à dire que je ne pensais, bien qu'en prenant l'essentiel, parce que rien n'avait encore été dit. Bref, il a fallu condenser. Et j'espère seulement qu'il n'y aura qui vous mécontente.

À jeudi. Je me rejouis d'entendre la petite danse. Je suis en train de commencer une collection de Baudelaire, tout ce qu'il y a de plus «Fleurs du mal»; j'ai une vieille fièvre d'âme qui doit sortir; ça donnera je crois quelque chose de lourd, de morbide et d'amer. Mais aurais-je le temps de l'écrire?

Marguerite qui tousse sans cesse, me dit de vous embrasser pour elle; je ne sais si c'est sérieux... En tout cas, recevez mes bonnes amitiés, et dites beaucoup de choses aux vôtres.

E. Ansermet

Letter of April 17 [1923?]

Far after the previous letter, the present one dates back to the year of 1923, when, in Lisbon and Porto, Francisco de Lacerda conducted his newly founded Filarmonia de Lisboa orchestra (that unfortunately did not last long). In the meantime, Ernest Ansermet had already become one of the most renowned conductors in the world.

“Jolimont” Les Marécottes S/Salvan

17 Juillet

Cher ami,

À Paris, Ritch, Kochansky et Koussevitsky m’ont donné de vos nouvelles. Et on m’a montré vos programmes de Lisbonne et Porto, et raconté le succès extraordinaire de votre entreprise. J’en suis très heureux, je vous en félicite de tout coeur et je souhaite que ces concerts deviennent une institution stable. Mais, plus de nouvelles depuis plusieurs semaines. Seriez vous malade? Un petit signe de vous ou des vôtres me rassurerait. Peut’on faire quelque chose pour vous? Dites moi si vous avez des projets et si je puis vous être utile.

Je suis depuis dix jours au vert, avec Marguerite et Jacqueline – celle-ci, fatiguée par le examens finaux d’école en avait grand besoin. Mais j’avais à reprendre une correspondance informale, et toutes sortes de travaux: préparation de programmes, organization, etc. Et dans 10 jours, voyage à Salzbourg pour les festivals internationaux.

Tous les vœux, amicaux souvenirs aux vôtres, et avec l’espoir de prochaines nouvelles, recevez cher ami mes plus affectueux messages,

E. Ansermet

2.7 – Inedited letter from André Caplet

Francisco de Lacerda knew conductor and composer André Caplet (1878-1925), one of the musicians that from early on acknowledged the exceptional value of Claude Debussy's works, having conducted several of them. Caplet's only letter to Lacerda that is known to this day, written in Paris on June 7 1910 and sent to the then conductor of the Kursaal of Montreux orchestra, testifies to the affection of Debussy towards Francisco de Lacerda.

Letter of June 7 1910

7 Juin 1910

Cher Ami,

Je suis resté plus longtemps que je ne pensais aux "Avants" et j'ai perdu ainsi le plaisir de vous revoir. J'ai visité le chalet "Maison" dont vous me parlez. Il est à ma parfaite convenance. Malheureusement... le propriétaire se décide à l'habiter cet été: donc, je n'ai plus rien à espérer de ce côté. Il n'y a pas d'autre villa à louer aux Avants!

J'ai vu à Cornaux S/Clarens deux maisons qui pourraient me convenir: j'attends les réponses et les conditions des propriétaires. Dès que je serais fixé je vous écrirai, car je compte – ainsi que vous me l'avez si aimablement proposé – mettre à contribution votre obligeance.

Je suis allé voir ce matin notre ami Claude Debussy et lui ai renouvelé l'expression des sentiments dont vous m'avez chargé. Il y a été sensible. Il m'a dit toute sa sympathie affectueuse qu'il avait pour vous même et pour votre talent. Il espère que vous trouverez bien quelques minutes pour lui écrire les mille projets que, dit-il, vous devez avoir en tête.

Donc, cher ami, à très bientôt sans doute.

Tous mes respects à Madame de Lacerda.

À vous, en vive et toute sympathie

André Caplet

Rue de la Tour 26

Paris-Passy

2.8 – Inedited letters from Henri Duparc

The relationship of Henri Duparc (one of the most important *lied* creators in history) with Francisco de Lacerda is completely unknown to the international musicology establishment. Francisco de Lacerda supported him during his serious illness, by helping him with instrumentations of some works, such as the nocturne *Aux étoiles*, to whom it was dedicated. Although they were friends, Henri Duparc was considerably older (Paris, 1848 – Mont-de-Marsan, 1933), having been a colleague of Vincent d'Indy in César Franck's music class. The letters of Duparc to Lacerda are many, constituting an unexplored source regarding that important composer. Unfortunately, the actual manuscripts of the letters are nowhere to be found, having arrived in the Azores, in Lacerda's asset, only copies of those.

Letter of September 11 1909

The following letter was selected for this collection of documents given its significance regarding an issue approached in this thesis: Francisco de Lacerda as a pianist. As previously stated, even considering the fact that Lacerda's career was developed as a conductor, he also performed in public as a pianist several times. Here we see Henri Duparc referring to Lacerda's aptitude in that field, accompanying an Italian singer who visited the composer with the intent of requesting his opinion on her interpretation of his work. Duparc specifies for which of his famous *lieder* he would like Francisco de Lacerda's participation as an accompanist.

Paris, 14 rue Oudinot, 11 Sept. 1909

Cher monsieur,

Je suis obligé de recourir à votre grand talent et votre extrême obligeance: vous m'excuserez de le faire en toute simplicité. Mme Duparc vient de recevoir une charmante lettre de Mme Rounay, qui nous annonce sa visite pour jeudi prochain. Elle désire me faire entendre deux de mes mélodies que je ne lui ai jamais entendu chanter, "La vie antérieure" et "Lamento"; mais voilà! je suis absolument incapable de l'accompagner: quand je joue du piano je ressemble à un éléphant qui se promènerait sur des porcelaines. Seriez vous assez aimable pour venir avec Madame de Lacerda – à qui Mme Duparc écrit en ce moment pour le lui demander de déjeuner à la Villa Amélie le vendredi, 17. Vous me ferez le plus grand plaisir et me rendrez le plus grand service. J'espère d'ailleurs qu'à un point de vue vous ne le regretterez pas, car je vous montrerai des transcriptions à 2 pianos que

j'ai faites de quelques admirables morceaux d'orgue de Franck (notamment les 3 derniers Corals) dont la sonorité est vraiment bonne et plus les morceux sont si beaux.

Si vous n'avez pas le recueil de ces mélodies, je serai heureux de vous l'offrir: veuillez seulement m'écrire un mot à la Villa Amélie et mon premier soin en arrivant sera de vous envoyer ces quelques pages. Nous sommes ici depuis 6 semaines environ, et nous y vivons dans le plus complet aturdissement, ayant à nous occuper de bien des choses en vue du très prochain mariage de mon fils. Nous rentrons enfin Lundi, et je vous avoue que, pour ma part, je ne serais pas fâché de retrouvé auprès de notre beau lac un peu de calme et un repos dont j'ai diablement besoin.

Bien à vous, cher monsieur, et à bientôt. Mes plus respectueux hommages, je vous prie, à Madame de Lacerda.

Henri Duparc

P. S. Toute réflexion faite, je rouvre ma lettre pour vous demander venir vendredi au lieu de jeudi: Mme Rounay n'arrive de Milan que jeudi à 2h.20: elle ne sera donc chez moi qu'à 3 h. ou 3h.½, e il me paraît impossible qu'elle ait l'intention de chanter immédiatement après un long voyage. Au cas où elle ne disposerait que de jeudi, je vous en avertirais immédiatement par téléphone: seulement j'ignore votre adresse. Soyez assez aimable pour me l'envoyer à la Villa Amélie avec la mention "pour attendre", et pour me dire en même temps si je dois au cas écheant, vous téléphoner directement, ou vous envoyer un message téléphonique.

C'est donc, sauf avis contraire, vendredi que je vous demande de venir.

Letter of March 27 1910

The following four handwritten letters by Henri Duparc, who was then already losing his sight, as he mentions, refer to the score of his symphonic poem *Aux étoiles*, which was dedicated to Francisco de Lacerda (see Chapter I of this thesis). The dedication was however omitted from the work's edition by Gustave Samazueilh, a former fellow disciple with Lacerda in the Schola Cantorum. Lacerda never forgot this unpleasant episode that had happened between the two, to which he alludes in a brief excerpt of one of his speeches in Lisbon, in the 1920s. In the April 13 1911 letter, one should denote Duparc's admiration towards Lacerda as a conductor, as well as his friendship. The December 10 1911 letter shows the decision of the Portuguese musician to not renew his contract as the principal conductor of the Montreux Kursaal orchestra, thus carefully preparing his replacement by Ernest Ansermet.

Villa Amélie, 27 Mars 1910

Cher ami,

Je suis très heureux que ce petit morceau vous plaise, et je vous prie de vouloir bien accepter la dédicace. Mais comme c'est près, le 7 Avril! Je vous avoue que je ne suis pas sans inquiétude, car malgré tous mes soins, j'ai peur qu'il n'y ait encore beaucoup de défauts. Vous n'imaginez pas la peine vraiment atroce que m'est donnée à cause de ma vue, ces 12 pages d'orchestre si simples: figurez vous que je lime là dessus depuis 2 grands mois, grattant sans cesse et recommençant ces pages, mettant des si où je veux mettre des ré, et dès là où je veux mettre des ut – ne voyant pas quand j'écrivais l'harmonie, ce que j'avait écrit au quatuor, etc., etc. Ça a été une torture, une agonie. Enfin, ... je crois qu'à forces de turbines, j'ai fini par le rendre exécutable; mais si, à la lecture, vous trouvez des fautes, soyez indulgent, sans avoir rien d'épatant, n'est pas mal, je crois.

Bien à vous. Hommages respectueux, je vous prie, à Madame de Lacerda, avec les meilleurs souvenirs de M.me Duparc.

H. Duparc

Letter of April 13 1911

Villa Amélie, Jeudi soir 13/4/1911

Cher ami,

M.me Duparc me charge de vous demander si cela ne vous fait rien de remettre à Lundi au lieu de Samedi, en raison d'arrangements intérieurs nécessités pour la veille de Pâques. Elle demande aussi instamment à Madame de Lacerda de vous accompagner.

Je vais vérifier demain matin votre partition des Étoiles [sic] et le matériel, d'après la partition gravée qui a servi à Chevillard et à Ropartz, et je vous renverrai le tout dès que ce sera fait.

Bien cordialement à vous, et compliments encore pour le superbe concert d'aujourd'hui. Vous êtes épatant.

H. Duparc

Letter of December 10 1911

Villa Amélie, Dimanche 10 Xbre 1911

Deux mots seulement, cher ami, pour vous dire que nous allons bien, et vous remercier votre lettre. Je suis heureux de savoir qu'Ansermet a réussi, et j'espère bien que cela lui sera utile pour l'avenir, – bien qu'à la vérité je n'ose pas y compter en ce qui concerne votre succession au Kursaal à cause des horribles [?] qui en ont la direction.

Quant au "Manoir de Rosemonde" je trouve que vous le prenez trop au tragique: c'est une inconvenance que je trouve surtout ridicule, et je suis étonné que Rouart s'y soit preté. Je lui ai dit d'ailleurs... et signalé les 2 énormes fautes dont je vous ai parlé: je ne peux pas comprendre que Samazeuilh ne les ai pas vues. Quant à vous, si j'ai un conseil à vous donner, c'est de laisser cela entre Samazeuilh, Ropartz et moi et de ne pas paraître personnellement là-dedans: vous dites que c'est "très mesquin, très petit"; si on a voulu vous offenser, qu'on ait pas le plaisir de constater qu'on a réussi.

Bien à vous et à bientôt.

H. D.

2.9 – Inedited letter from Gustave Samazeilh

Composer and critic Gustave Samazeilh (Bordeaux, 1877 – Paris, 1967) was a colleague of Francisco de Lacerda in Vincent d'Indy's Schola Cantorum class. Here one sees the only letter to the Portuguese conductor available in his assets. Although it is not completely dated, one can safely conclude that it was written in 1912, since the recipient was then the principal conductor of the Association Artistique de Marseille orchestra. In this letter, the composer asks Lacerda to include one of his most well-known works in one of the concert programmes.

Letter of October 11 1912

11 Oct.

Mon cher Lacerda,

Je me souviens des aimables propositions que vous m'avez faites naguère de faire entendre une œuvre de moi. Me permettez-vous de vous les rappeler et de vous dire le plaisir que j'aurai à voir exécuter à Marseille, sous votre direction, mon Étude Symphonique d'après La Nef. Joué d'abord aux Concerts Lamoureux elle a figuré l'an dernier deux fois aux programmes de Witkowski à Lyon. Ropartz l'a joué à Nancy, Baton à Engers et Croci-Spinelli à Toulouse. Le matériel complet est gravé chez Durand, ainsi que vous le montre le catalogue inclus.

J'espère, mon cher Lacerda, qu'il vous sera encore possible de me faire une petite place – et je vous en serais très obligé. En attendant, je vous remercie d'avance ce que vous tenterez dans ce sens et vous prie de me croire toujours cordialement votre

Gustave Samazeilh

Je rentre le 19 Oct. à Paris où mon adresse est 99 rue de Prony (XVII^e).

2.10 – Inedited letter from Camille Saint-Saëns

The only letter from Camille Saint-Saëns (Paris, 1835 – Algiers, 1921) to Francisco de Lacerda, handwritten on Hotel Cecil stationery (Lausanne), dates back to Lacerda's Montreux period. Contrary to what happened with other important French composers of the time, no information regarding other contacts between these two musicians is available. Could that be explained by Saint-Saëns personality and the aesthetic orientations of his music? One does not know if the present letter refers to the "Festival Saint Saëns", a concert organised and directed by Francisco de Lacerda in the 1911/12 season of the Kursaal orchestra, with the respective programme completely made with works by the French composer. Violinist Eugène Ysaÿe and pianist Raoul Pugno took part in this event, playing the composer's *Violin concerto no. 3* and *Piano concerto no. 4*, respectively, as well as performing together his first *Violin sonata*.

Letter of October 9 1910

9 Octobre 1910

Cher Monsieur

Il m'est impossible de rester en Suisse; je retourne demain à Paris où de nombreuses affaires me réclament.

Agréez mes compliments très empressés.

C. Saint-Saëns

2.11 – Inedited letter from Albert Roussel

Of the few letters from composer Albert Roussel (1869 – 1937) to Francisco de Lacerda that arrived to this day, the one below was chosen because of its greatest musical significance. Although it is not dated, one can conclude that it is from 1912, the year in which Lacerda leaves his post as the Montreux Kursaal orchestra principal conductor and takes the same position at the Association Artistique de Marseille.

Letter of 1912 (?)

Bois-le-Roi (Seine et Marne)

Villa du Bon Air, rue de la Presch

Mon cher ami

Je reçois ce matin votre aimable lettre et je tiens, avant tout, à vous féliciter de votre nomination à Marseille; vous trouverez là des éléments qui vous permettront de réaliser vos projets musicaux, et ce sera pour le plus grand bien de la musique. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire que je serais très heureux de d'être joué sous votre direction, cette année ou la prochaine; ce serait une occasion de revoir Marseille où je me plaît toujours, et, sauf cas d'impossibilité absolue, j'irais bien volontiers vous serrer la main.

Comme œuvres d'orchestre, j'ai 3 partitions gravées. D'abord une toute petite chose, chez Derrets, la musique de scène, pour orchestre réduit, d'un acte de J. Aubry, intitulé le «Marchand de sable qui passe». Je ne crois pas que cela puisse convenir à de grands concerts symphoniques.

Ensuite, ma symphonie Le Poème de la forêt. Je vais prier Rouart de vous en adresser la partition. S'il vous paraît impossible de donner l'œuvre intégralement, je ne vous conseillerais pas de détacher l'Andante (Soir d'été) comme on a fait quelques fois. Ce morceau isolé est presque incompréhensible. Au contraire le finale Faunes et Dryades peut à la rigueur se jouer seul, l'auditeur étant prévenu naturellement qu'il ne s'agit que d'un fragment. Chevillard l'avait donné ainsi la première fois qu'il l'a joué et Coste vient de l'exécuter ainsi à Biarritz. Bien entendu, je préférerais que toute la symphonie peut figurer au programme.

Enfin, les Évocations qui ont été jouées cette année à la S.té N.ale et qui viennent de paraître chez Durand. Je compte en avoir cet hiver la 1^{er} audition (officielle!) aux Concerts de dimanche. L'oeuvre comprend 3 parties: «Les dieux dans l'ombre des cavernes», «La ville rose», «Au bord du fleuve sacré».

C'est une sorte de grande symphonie qui m'a été inspiré par un grand récent voyage aux Indes et dont le finale comprend des Soli et des chœurs très développés. Elle a été fort bien accueillie par le public musicien et je pense qu'elle vous intéressera. Mais la question des chœurs est un obstacle qu'il est quelques fois très difficile de surmonter [?] et même à Paris.

La partition, format de poche, n'a pas encore paru; mais je vais demander à Durand de vous envoyer la grande partition en communication.

Je vous souhaite, mon cher ami, toute satisfaction de la part de votre orchestre et, en attendant le plaisir d'aller vous entendre, je vous serre cordialement la main.

Albert Roussel

P. S. Je suis à Bois-le-Roi jusqu'à fin novembre; ensuite mon adresse est à Paris 157, avenue de Wagram.

2.12 – Inedited letter from Alfred Bruneau

A handwritten letter by French composer Alfred Bruneau (1857-1934), recommending the hiring of pianist Marguerite Long to Francisco de Lacerda, then at the Association Artistique de Marseille orchestra. The French pianist would end up being hired and played under Lacerda's baton in 1912. Alfred Bruneau offered a score of his opera *L'Ouragan* to the Portuguese conductor, with the following dedication: "À Francisco de Lacerda / bien cordialement / de son confrère / Alfred Bruneau" (Museu de Angra do Heroísmo, Terceira – Azores).

Letter of May 18 1912

Paris, 10 rue de la Grange

(10 Arr.)

18 Mai 1912

Cher Monsieur,

J'ai appris avec plaisir votre nomination à Marseille et je vous en félicite.

Vous serait-il possible de faire engager pour un des concerts de l'an prochain Madame Marguerite Long? Je n'ai pas à vous dire qu'elle grande et admirable artiste c'est. Vous le savez aussi bien que moi. Je serais heureux si la chose s'arrangeait, grace à vous et je vous en aurais une réelle reconnaissance.

Dites-moi ce que vous pensez de ce project et de sa réalisation. Je vous remercie vivement de votre réponse et vous prie de croire à mes meilleurs souvenirs.

Alfred Bruneau

2.13 – Inedited letter from George Witkowski

Just as Francisco de Lacerda, Georges Martin Witkowski (1867-1943) was a student of Vincent d'Indy at the Schola Cantorum and, besides being a composer, also pursued a career as a conductor, especially in Lyon, where he was the director of the local conservatoire. Amongst the numerous letters to Lacerda, the one selected below was typed on Société des Grands Concerts de Lyon stationery. It refers to the negotiations between the institution and the Portuguese musician for a concert that he would conduct with the respective orchestra.

Letter of January 9 1926

Lyon, le 19 Janvier 1926

Cher Ami

Je regrette bien de ne pas vous avoir vu il y a deux ans, les circonstances se pretaient mal à donner suite au désir que vous m'aviez formulé de venir conduire un concert à Lyon.

Mais ceci va peut être s'arranger pour cette année, si vous pouvez vous y prêter. À ce sujet, j'ai écrit à Madame LE MEIGNEN.

Le concert pour lequel je pourrais vous céder complètement la baguette doit avoir lieu le 21 Février; je dirige ce jour-là, plusieurs de mes oeuvres aux Concerts PASDELOUP à PARIS. Le programme en sera pas compliqué, sauf une chose difficile qui demande un chef expérimenté comme vous: le Concerto pour violon et orchestre de SZYMANOWSKI, que doit jouer Mademoiselle Ortense de SAMPIGNY.

Pour le reste du programme, je n'ai encore rien décidé, nous pourrions en causer si vous voulez venir.

Pour les répétitions, je ferais répéter solidement l'orchestre deux fois avant votre arrivée et vous pourriez avoir deux répétitions: une le vendredi et une le samedi. Je crois que ce serait largement suffisant pour que vous ayez une direction excellente, car mon orchestre est très souple, très bon, et dernièrement j'ai passé la baguette à d'Indy qui a fait le concert avec la simple répétition générale, à la satisfaction de tout le monde et à la sienne en particulier.

Vous n'auriez donc aucune surprise de ce côté.

Reste à examiner la question financière pour laquelle malheureusement je ne suis pas très armé pour vous donner tout ce que je voudrais; mais les concerts en France, à l'époque actuelle, sont dans une situation très précaire, même les plus solides, et nous sommes obligés de prendre les plus grandes précautions pour en pas choir.

Dites moi donc quelles seraient vos exigences minima, en tablant en même temps sur ce que Madame LE MEIGNEN pourrait vous offrir à l'occasion, et je vous promets, de mon côté, de faire l'impossible pour arriver à une bonne solution.

J'espère que vous allez bien et vous assure que je serais très content de vous revoir.

À vous toujours très fidèlement et cordialement

G. M. Witkowski

2.15 – Inedited letters by Marguerite Long

Two letters from Marguerite Long (1874-1966) to Francisco de Lacerda can be found in his assets. Both are handwritten and do not present any date, but it is assumable that they are from 1912, the year in which Long performed in Marseille under the Portuguese conductor's baton. At the time when the letters were written, the French pianist (author of such books as *Au piano avec Claude Debussy*, *Au piano avec Gabriel Fauré* and *Au piano avec Ravel*) was then already a relevant name in the piano performance scene in France. In the first letter to Lacerda, she acknowledges his indication that modern French music should be played, a fact that shows the Portuguese's artistic orientation in his career in France and Switzerland. Considering that it was impossible to perform Vincent d'Indy's *Symphonie cévenole* (or *Symphonie sur un chant montagnard français*, for piano and orchestra), Long proposes to play an "oeuvre exquise": *Ballade*, by Gabriel Fauré (the then director of the Paris Conservatoire). In the second letter, she demands a particular French piano brand, as well as refusing to abide by the 1800s tradition of having a performance of a work for a single instrument right in between orchestral works.

Letter of October 29 [1912]

Paris 18 Rue Foureroy

29 Xbre

Monsieur

Je vous fais expédier le matériel d'orchestre du Concerto em mi b de Liszt et celui de la Ballade de Fauré. N'ayant jamais reçu de réponse M. de Lacerda, je suppose que ces deux oeuvres ont été agréées. Il serait d'ailleurs trop tard aujourd'hui pour en changer. Je jouerai donc le Concerto de Liszt en première partie, et la Ballade, dans la 2ème partie du concert.

Quant au piano solo, je jouerai volontiers quelques morceaux en bis, si l'on en exprime de désir; mais je désire que l'on n'indique sur le programme aucun n.º de piano seul, étant donné l'importance des deux morceaux que je joue avec orchestre.

Recevez, Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments distingués.

Marguerite Long

Ci-joint la copie d'une courte notice parue dans un programme, dont je m'excuse de ne pouvoir vous envoyer un exemplaire.

Je vous rappelle que je joue un piano Erard.

Letter of November 22 [1912]

Paris 18 Rue Foureroy

22 Novembre

Monsieur

M. Tardy m'a fait part des programmes que vous me proposez pour le concert du 12 Janvier prochain. Puisque vous désirez en seconde partie de la musique française moderne, et qu'il n'est pas possible de jouer la Symphonie Cévénole de Vincent d'Indy je serais très heureuse de jouer la Ballade de G. Fauré, dans la version originale pour piano et orchestre. Je sais qu'elle a été donnée l'an dernier à Marseille, mais dans circonstances spéciales; d'ailleurs une seconde audition, sous votre direction, de cette oeuvre exquise ne pourra que la faire mieux apprécier du public, et elle le mérite.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments distingués.

Marguerite Long

2.16 – Inedited letter from José Iturbi

Pianist and conductor (as well as harpsichordist and film actor) José Iturbi Báguena (Valência, 1895 – Los Angeles, 1980) studied at the Paris Conservatoire with Victor Staub (who in turn had studied with Antoine Marmontel). In 1909, Iturbi succeeded Édouard Risler at the Conservatoire, as a piano teacher. The only letter that can be found in Francisco de Lacerda's assets between the two is from the year of 1928, when the Portuguese was already at the end of his career as a conductor. One is not able to confirm if Iturbi actually performed under Lacerda, as well as his sister Amparo Iturbi (1898-1969), referred to in the letter.

Letter of June 1 1928

Neuilly sur Seine, le 1er de Juin 1928.

115, Avenue du Roule

Monsieur Lacerda

4 rue Montgrand

Marseille

Cher Monsieur et Ami,

Vous savez quelle joie j'aurais eue de donner suite à la conversation que nous avons eue dernièrement aux Champs Élysées et de donner un concert avec vous et votre orchestra à Marseille. J'ai donc écrit à l'Administration des Concerts Classiques à ce sujet et au sujet de ma soeur (l'an dernier, je n'avais accepté un engagement qu'à condition qu'elle-même soit engagée cette année, chose acceptée par votre Comité).

Chaque fois que j'ai tenu compte des ressources précaires de la Caisse concerts classiques, on a semblé ne pas comprendre mon effort et cela crée nombre de difficultés, palabres, correspondances et surtout une situation qui m'est parfaitement désagréable car je n'ai pas l'habitude de traiter mes engagements comme l'on la plus banale des céréales. Je vous écrit tout ceci, cher Monsieur, pour que vous soyez au courant des efforts que j'ai fait et de ma bonne volonté, mais malheureusement, en retour, je reçois une lettre à peine

correcte qui coupe net à mes désirs de concession. Je le regrette, j'aurais été heureux de vous serrer la main et de vous revoir.

Croyez, je vous prie, cher Monsieur et Ami, à mon meilleur souvenir. Je vous envoie l'assurance de mes sentiments les plus cordiaux.

José Iturbi

2.17 – Inedited letters from Joaquín Nin

Francisco de Lacerda took part in Joaquín Nin's initiative "Étude des Formes Musicales au Piano depuis le XV.e siècle jusqu'à nos jours en Douze Auditions", on June 1907 in Paris' Salle Berlioz, conducting a string orchestra. In the Azorean musician's assets (Museu de Angra do Heroísmo, Azores) one can find Joaquín Nin's book *Idées et commentaires* (Librairie Eischenbacher, Paris), with the following dedicatory remark: "Lisez ce livre, grand Ami / inoubliable, / et venez, car / vous trouvez intacte, partout / où vous la'vez prodiguée, / la belle lumière de Foi et / de Vie qui est en vous. / Ici, dans ces humbles pages, / quelques reflets de celle que je reçus. / je vous embrasse fraternelle- / ment et vous tends, forte- / ment, mes deux mains. / Nin à Francisco de Lacerda". This remark speaks to the friendship that united both artists and that is translated in the vast number of letters between the pianist and the composer. Of Cuban origin, father of the controversial writer Anaïs Nin and composer Joaquín Nin-Culmell, Joaquín Nin y Castellanos (Havana, 1879 – Havana, 1949) had been a composition student in the Schola Cantorum, where he later took a position as a teacher, just as Francisco de Lacerda.

Letter of November 30 1930

Mon très Cher

Évidentemnt, vous avez le droit de penser les pire choses de moi; c'est entendu! J'ai tout fait pour m'attirer les pires reproches de votre part... et j'ai bien peur que ces reproches soient très amères. Mais Jeanne Gautier me communique aujourd'hui votre lettre en me priant de vous répondre d'urgence, car elle part pour un jour et demi. Et je viens "courageusement" provoquer vos foudres! Tout compte fait, la faute n'est pas aussi grave que vous pouvez le croire.

Je travaille comme un desesperé sans m'accorder ni repos ni loisir. Je travaille été comme hiver, le jour et une bonne partie de la nuit. Je voyage beaucoup aussi, et cela m'oblige lorsque je rentre à forcer la machine. J'ai augmenté mon catalogue d'ouvres, non sans peine, car en realité je ne peu écrire que pendant l'été à St. Jean-de-Luz. Mais le nombre de mes interprètes c'est muttliplié d'une façon tout à fait inattendue, et lorsque je suis à Paris c'est, tous les jours, une ou deux répétitions de mes "trucs". Aujourd'hui, je rentre de Londres: auditions de mes oeuvres. Dans quelques jours j'y retourne pour enregistrer, avec Jacques Thibaud et à la demande de celui-ci, "Au jardin de Lindaraja" et une partie de ma "Suite espagnole". Ma "Rapsodie Ibérienne" pour violon et piano,

joué l'autre jour en première audition par Micha Elman à Londres et à Paris, vient de paraître. Je viens de donner le bon à tirer de ma Suite pour violoncelle et piano. En même temps je commence à m'occuper d'orchestre: l'orchestration de mon "Chant élégiaque" est finie. Maintenant je vais orchestrer la "Granadina" et le "Polo". En même temps je réalise la basse des sonates de José Herrando, un élève de Corelli, espagnol, plein d'invention et d'esprit. Jeanne joue déjà quelques unes de ces pièces avec la maîtrise et la perfection que vous lui connaissez.

Et ainsi une fois après les autres, sans une minute, une vraie minute, pour moi. Lorsque je vous ai su malade j'ai eu beaucoup de peine, mais pas "peur", car je vous sais bati à sable et à chaux. Puis, de meilleures nouvelles sont arrivées qui calmait notre peine (je dis notre, car Maria Luisa partage avec moi joie et peine et elle vous aime beaucoup, vous le savez).

En février nous commençons une tournée avec Jeanne: elle durera quelques six semaines à base des deux programmes ci-joints: Lyon, St. Etienne, Macon, etc. puis Cannes, Nice, Beaulieu, Marseille, Toulon, Toulouse, Poitiers, Angoulême, Niort, La Rochelle, Tours, Angers, etc. Puis nous jouons à Berlin, Londres etc. "restent quelques villes dont les dates ne sont pas arrangées".

L'idée de vous revoir, d'abord et celle de jouer à Lisbonne, ensuite, où personne ne songe à s'occuper de moi ni de Jeanne (sauf vous!) m'enchant et nous séduit. Le tout c'est de savoir quand cela pourrait se faire surtout; ensuite les conditions (parler de ça c'est moins drôle, hélas!); et pour finir, les programmes (ou le programme si les deux auditions aurait lieu dans deux milieux totalemente différents).

Dates libres: en Avril et en Mai. Possible encore en Janvier entre le 8 et le 15 (offerte à Londres mais pas encore arrêtées). En Mars, peut-être, mais tout à fait à la fin, en tout cas.

Conditions: Nous vous prions de nous les fixer vous même, ce que vous ferez sera bien, et sera accepté avec joie. Ce que vous nous suggererez (si vous ne voulez pas fixer vous même la chose) sera adopté à l'unanimité (unanimité de deux, mais unanimité quand même).

Programme: s'il s'agit de musique de chambre, voici les deux programmes de cette année. Si vous voulez des morceaux avec orchestre, Jeanne peut jouer ce que vous voudrez (depuis Bach jusqu'à Ravel, en passant par Pierné et sa Fantaisie basque, qui est bien). Moi je peux jouer les "Nuits dans les jardins d'Espagne" de Falla. Vous voudrez bien

remarquer – d’après les programmes modèles que je ne joue que de la musique espagnole, et autant que possible la mienne ou celle que j’ai remise en honneur (musique ancienne, clavecinistes et violinistes).

Comme le public fait un accueil on peut plus chaleureux à cette msique et comme le succès de ces séances est infallible, san oser entrer dans des considérations d’ordre critique d’aucune espèce, nous continuons... Jeanne est devenue ma meilleure interprète et elle s’en trouve très bien aussi.

C’est cette forme de programme qui lui a ouvert presque toutes les portes. Elle est bien heureuse d’entrevoir la possibilité d’aller jusqu’à Lisbonne. Et moi, Cher, je n’ai pas besoin de vous dire avec quelle joie je ferai ce voyage. Qui mieux que mes frères ibériens pour comprendre cette musique?

Je vous fais parvenir une brochure que dois à l’initiative de mon éditeur. Le cas échéant je peux mettre à la disposition des organisateurs de ces deux auditions un nombre illimité de ces brochures pour la presse, pour les professeurs de musique et pour les personnalités les plus marquant du monde musicale de Lisbonne. Que vous dire encore?

Des millliers de choses accumulées depuis des années, bonnes à dire, certes mais si longues à écrire! Jeanne vous écrira dès son retour. Et Maruca, qui est allé entendre Tristan, m’a chargé de vous dire toute son affection.

Quand revenez vous?

Je vous embrasse en toute fraternité.

Nin

Letter of April 8 1931

Mon très Cher!

La question de dates peut s'arranger. Le malentendu vient de ceci: je vous ai télégraphié le 7 Mars; mais comme après cette date j'ai reçu une lettre de la Sociedade de Concertos de Lisbonne où l'on m'indiquait comme possible la seconde quinzaine de mai, j'ai accepté cette seconde proposition.

Mais ceci passe maintenant au second plan car, toutes comptes faits, j'avais demandé à la S. de C. de L. 15 livres de plus et M. Joyce Diniz me répond qu'il ne peuvent pas m'accorder cette augmentation. Comme, bien entendu, il ne s'agissait pas d'un vain marchandage mais d'une nécessité matérielle je viens d'écrire à M. Joyce Diniz que, à mon très grand regret, je me vois forcé de décliner l'offre dont la Sociedade de Concertos a bien voulu m'honorer. Ce cachet, suffisant si je me trouvait – si nous nous trouvions, Jeanne et moi – en Espagne, par exemple, devient trop court en partant d'ici, où nous nous trouverons à l'époque prévue pour le départ vers Lisbonne.

Si au moins on avait pu obtenir l'appui de Coimbra et Oporto, cela aurait pu se faire. Mais deux concerts, seuls, à Lisbonne, pour 75 livres, c'est impossible. Jeanne pourrait y aller avec une pianiste et vous donner deux beaux concerts; je ne voudrais pas l'éliminer pour mon seul plaisir ou mieux pour mes seuls raisons.

Elle peut voyager en seconde, elle peut se passer de sleeping, à la rigueur. Son pianiste ou sa painiste, lui demandera un cachet d'accompagnatrice ou, admettant même que se fut avec Madeleine de Valmalète, elle y arriverait. Avec moi, c'est impossible: je me connais. Elle est partie pour Paris hier, car elle y donne un récital, Salle Gaveau, le 23: son adresse est rue Vital, 5, Paris 16.e.

C'est inutile de vous le dire, en grand chagrin pour moi que de renoncer à ce voyage au Portugal et de remettre notre prochaine entrevue au calendes grecques. Je m'étais belle et bien réservé une quinzaine à fin de pouvoir bavarder et flâner avec vous autant que vous me l'auriez permis. J'avais même accepté de modifier mes programmes, de travailler des trucs qui ne sont plus de mon "ressort", de remettre sur le métier des pages oubliées... Tout ça pour voir ce sacré Francisco. Tout à l'eau!

Zut!

On parle d'une tournée en Espagne l'année prochaine; cela faciliterait les choses, tout de même!

En hâte, mon bon Ami, car je joue ce soir à Monte Carlo; Ninon Vallin chante mes oeuvres. J'ai juste le temps de passer la bite. Quelle vie!

Maruca et moi nous vous embrassons bien et espérons que toutes préoccupations dentaires est bannie de votre tête à jamais. Salut, mon bon, et tous nos vœux toujours, pour vous et les vôtres tous.

VIII Avril MCMXXXI

Nin

Dois-je vous dire merci, encore et toujours, pour avoir pensé à moi? Je regrette tout le temps que vous aviez gaspiller pour moi!

2.18 – Inedited letters from Alfred Cortot

Alfred Cortot (Nyon, 1877 – Lausanne, 1962), who is considered as one of the most relevant names of the French piano school, was a friend and collaborator of Francisco de Lacerda. Under the Portuguese's baton, the Swiss performed in Montreux (December 1 1912), Marseille (January 8 1928) and Paris (?). He is one of Lacerda's most prolific correspondents and some of the letters available in the latter's assets were chosen to be presented below. They generally refer to practical issues, related to the pianist's own career management, as well as his interest on Lacerda's *Trovas*, which he premiered in Paris, on October 22 1932, with singer Madeleine Grey.

Letter of November 17 1905

Sent to the founder and conductor of the orchestra and choirs of the Concerts Historiques de Nantes, this letter is significant of the commitment that Alfred Cortot employed in managing his career and of the concessions he appeared to have made along the way, especially when it comes to pay, in order to book some performances. At the time, the French pianist was twenty-eight years old.

17 Nov. 05

Mon cher Ami,

Si Vous pouviez arranger quelque chose aux environs du 24 Mars, à Nantes, j'accepterai une indemnité de 200 fr. pour avoir le plaisir de faire de la musique avec Vous. Mais ne parlez pas de ce chiffre, n'est ce pas?

Bien votre et merci d'avance de ce que Vous pouvez faire.

Alf. Cortot

87 Boul. V. Michel

Letter of October 9 1912

Sent to then principal conductor of the Association Artistique de Marseille orchestra, this letter refers to the works that Cortot would be performing in Marseille under Francisco de Lacerda's baton, who recently had travelled to the Azores to visit his father, João Caetano de Sousa e Lacerda, deceased a few months later in 1913.

Cher Ami,

Moi aussi je suis ravi de faire de la musique avec Vous et je me rejouis d'être au 8 déc.

Mais pas Schumann, c'est ce que j'ai joué en dernier lieu à Marseille. Voulez Vous le 4ème Concerto de S.t Saens (ut min.). Je ne l'ai jamais joué là bas. Et comme 2ème morceau Andante Spianato et Polonaise avec orch. – du bien des soli, mais je ne peux pas jouer 3 fois. Je préférerai beaucoup jouer avec orch. – Si Chopin ne Vous plait pas, voulez Vous les Var. Symph. de Franck?

Mille amitiés en hâte.

Votre

Alf. Cortot

(Je n'ai pu Vous répondre, n'ayant pas votre adresse aux Açores.)

Letter of February 4 1913

This letter was sent to Francisco de Lacerda a few days after another one presented in this collection, written by French-Brazilian pianist Magdalena Tagliaferro (see Tagliaferro's February 7 1913 letter).

4 Fev. 1913

Cher Ami,

M.lle Magdalena Tagliaferro dont je vous ai parlé, passe à Marseille vendredi matin, s'embarcant pour Alger à midi. Elle ne connaît personne à Marseille et je la prie passer chez Vous vers 10h 1/2, espérant que Vous ou Madame Lacerda pourra aller déjeuner avec elle chez Vallet et que Vous lui rendez moins pénible ce départ toujours désagréable! Je suis sûr que même sans l'entendre Vous serez ravi de la connaître.

Croyez moi, mon cher Ami, de coeur à Vous et offrez je Vous prie mes hommages respectueux à Madame de Lacerda.

Votre

A. Cortot

Letter of January 1 1928

On the very top of this handwritten letter, the following is printed: “alf. Cortot – 79. Avenue Henri-Martin / Tél. Passy 60-51”. The demanding tone by Alfred Cortot in this letter should be noted, especially considering the decades of collaboration between the French pianist and Francisco de Lacerda, as well as their long-lasting friendship. Cortot refers to the bad habits of the audiences, which imposed programmes that were typical of 19th Century tradition, with alternating orchestral and soli instrument pieces. He also discusses the place given to César Franck’s *Symphonic Variations* in the programme, suggesting that they should finish the concert with the work, instead of opening the second half with it (in place of the composer’s *Le Chasseur Maudit*). One could perhaps detect a certain detachment of the French pianist from César Franck’s work in the use of the expression “finissez avec...”

1 Janv. 28

Cher Ami,

Je suis au regret de ne pouvoir répondre au désigne que Vous m’exprimez si amicalement – mais ma résolution formelle de ne jamais jouer de soli lorsque j’ai le plaisir de faire de la musique avec orchestre est basé sur le désir que j’ai de conserver à une audition de cette nature son caractère de manifestation musicale pure.

Il faut réagir, croyez moi, contre les mauvaises habitudes du public.

Conservons donc ces deux pièces et Franck – étant bien entendu que je jouerai les Variations en seconde partie, mais pas en dernier numéro. Finissez avec Le Chasseur Maudit.

Bien à Vous et à bientôt.

Votre

Alf. Cortot

Letter of April 6 1931

This handwritten letter is one of the first with which Cortot, from Paris, keeps his friend Francisco de Lacerda informed, in Lisbon, about his efforts to have the composer's *Trovas* premiered in the French capital, which would only take place in the following year.

Bien cher Ami,

En rentrant d'Italie, je trouve vos Trovas qui me rappellent les bons instants d'affectueuse intimité qui nous ont réuni l'an dernier et qui me sont en même temps qu'un précieux gage de votre amitié, un témoignage de votre sensibilité musicale auquel je vais attacher tous mes soins pour lui assumer une interprétation digne de lui et de son esprit si profondément original.

J'ai demandé à Vera Janacopoulos de les chanter – en portugais – à notre concert du 20 Mai. Voudriez Vous donc m'envoyer de suite la partie chant et p.no pour elle? Et aussi, une petite traduction des poèmes – car je ne voudrais pas risquer de tomber dans de fâcheux contresens – ainsi qu'une petite note étymologique sur le mot Trovas. Je me souviens bien de ce que Vous m'en avez dit, mais, une fois de plus, je désire traduire vos intentions avec fidélité.

C'est une vraie joie que vous me donnez, cher Ami, en me permettant de révéler à nos auditeurs de Paris cette oeuvre si pleine de rêve et de poésie. Je Vous en remercie et je n'ai qu'un regret qui est de penser que Vous n'aurez que les échos lointains du succès qui ne manquera pas d'accueillir vos pièces. Voulez Vous que je sollicite quelques éditeurs susceptibles de publier votre oeuvre d'assister au concert?

Bien affectueusement à Vous, cher Ami

Votre

Alf. Cortot

Letter of October 17 1932

In this letter, Alfred Cortot finally informs Francisco de Lacerda (who was in Lisbon at the time) about the date for the premiere of the *Trovas* in Paris, on October 22 1932. One also highlights the reference to Pedro de Freitas Branco, who was present at a rehearsal for that recital. Freitas Branco was then starting to become more widely known internationally as a conductor (a Maurice Ravel's works frequent performer very much admired by the composer himself). He had premiered one of the *Trovas* sets for voice and orchestra with Azorean singer Marina Dewander Gabriel in Lisbon, in 1928.

Paris, le 17 Octobre 1932

Bien cher Ami,

Enfin, et à moins d'événement imprévu, il semble bien que nous alons pouvoir donner, le 22 octobre, la première audition de vos Trovas, avec Madeleine Grey, qui les interprète d'une manière tout-à-fait remarquable. Freitas Branco vous en aura peut-être déjà parlé, car il a eu l'occasion d'assister à l'une de nos répétitions. Je ne manquerai pas de vous tenir au courant du succès certain de cette audition et je vous envoie, bien cher Ami, l'expression de ma sincère amitié.

Alf. Cortot

Letter of October 23 1932

Besides the personal tone of Francisco de Lacerda's friend in this letter, one should also note the terms with which Cortot shows his gratitude towards the Portuguese conductor for how much the musical scene in France had owed him. This is also the letter in which the Swiss pianist reports on the success of the premiere of the *Trovas* in Paris, of which he was the great proponent, together with singer Madeleine Grey. Unfortunately, no similar signs of enthusiasm about the premiere of this masterpiece in Portugal came to this day.

Paris, le 23 Octobre 1932

Bien cher Ami,

J'ai le grand plaisir de vous annoncer que la 1.^e audition de vos Trovas a eu lieu hier soir avec un succès considérable, devant un public nombreux et enthousiaste, dans la salle de notre École. Nous aurions pu certainement redire toutes vos mélodies devant l'accueil enthousiaste qui leur a été fait. Nous nous sommes bornés à la répétition de la 3.^e; mais il entre bien dans les intentions de Madeleine GREY, qui a été une interprète véritablement convaincante et chaleureuse, de redonner fréquemment ces pièces et je me permets de vous signaler qu'un éditeur m'a déjà demandé s'il y avait la possibilité de s'arranger avec vous pour la publication de la collection.

Je suis heureux plus que je ne vous saurais dire de la réception qui a été faite à votre œuvre. Je me suis permis de dire en quelques mots toute l'affection que et l'admiration que vos anciens camarades avaient pour vous et pour l'action bienfaisante que vous aviez exercée sur le développement de la musique en France. L'audition de vos mélodies vous a valu de nombreux nouveaux amis parisiens et vous pouvez être assuré de leur considérable succès dans les années à venir.

Vous voyez donc que j'ai été bien inspiré en vous demandant de faire taire votre modestie et vos scrupules. Je m'en félicite doublement, puisque la soirée d'hier m'a permis de donner à l'ami et à l'artiste que vous êtes un témoignage sincère d'affection.

Je vous envoie, ci-joint, le programme de notre séance et je prierai Margot de vous faire parvenir les extraits des critiques qui, j'en suis sûr, vous donneront satisfaction.

Croyez moi, cher Ami, bien affectueusement à vous,

Alfred Cortot

2.18 – Inedited letter from Madeleine Grey

French soprano Madeleine Grey (1869-1979) is one of the personalities that integrate this collection of letters who Francisco de Lacerda never met, although their paths might have chronologically crossed in France, in the 1920s. The Ravel and Fauré collaborator and performer, as well as other French musicians, Respighi and Villa-Lobos, was particularly interested in Lacerda's *Trovas*. She became familiar with these songs through a pianist Alfred Cortot's invitation to perform them in Paris. One is not able to find any evidence from any Portuguese musician or otherwise of such an enthusiasm for this repertoire as Grey showed in this letter. After Maria Dewander Gabriel sang one of the voice and orchestra sets in Lisbon, in 1928, with Pedro de Freitas Branco conducting, as well as the *Trovas* in France, Francisco de Lacerda's voice repertoire has very rarely been interpreted in the following few decades.

Letter of June 26 1932

Paris 36 Avenue Junot

22-6-32

Monsieur

Je viens vous dire d'abord toute la joie que j'ai eu de connaître et de travailler 7 de vos adorables Trovas. J'espère que je ne prononce pas trop mal le portugais que Freitas Branco a eu la gentillesse de m'indiquer. Malheureusement le concert où les Trovas devaient être exécutées avec Cortot aujourd'hui n'a pas lieu et est remis à la rentrée.

Toutefois je tiens à chanter vos mélodies autant que possible, aussi bien à l'étranger et pour cela je viens vous prier de me faire la grande faveur de m'envoyer un matériel d'orchestre [?]; je voudrais pas chaque fois demander à Cortot que me les prête. Je veux être libre et les tenir de vous, en ma possession. Je les donnerais en 1^{re} audition publique (car les Concerts Cortot sont privés) soit chez Lamoureux ou O. S. P. et j'envie bien aussi que Branco les dirige. J'espère aussi un jour pouvoir les chanter à Lisbonne où je ne suis jamais allée. En tout cas je les ai déjà mises aux programmes de Scandinavie avec accp.t de piano. D'autre part M.e Branco me dit que vous en avez d'autres de très belles et je vous serais très reconnaissante de me les envoyer pour que je puisse en travailler

une autre série pendant les vacances.

M.e Branco doit aussi vous écrire. Croyez, Monsieur, que je serais heureuse de vos connaître, de vous les chanter et croyez, en attendant, à mon admiration toute dévoué.

Madeleine Grey

36 Avenue Junot

Paris 18.e

2.20 – Inedited letter from Magdalena Tagliaferro

Letter of February 7 1913

Written on a C.ie G.le Transatlantique stationery, this letter relates to the February 4 1913 letter by Alfred Cortot, transcribed above. The Brazilian-French pianist Magdalena Tagliaferro (Petropolis, 1893 – Rio de Janeiro, 1986), a student of Pugno, Marmontel and Cortot, was important in the reception of modern French music (Debussy, Ravel, Milhaud...) in Brazil. The exuberant personality of the Brazilian-born pianist is quite evident in this letter.

À Bord Le 7 Fév. 1913

À Monsieur et Madame de Lacerda

J'ignore s'il vous a été donné d'assister à mes glorieux efforts pour parvenir à monter à bord, si oui, cela a du être un spectacle assez réjouissant! Car, soit dit sans l'ombre d'un reproche, en votre si agréable compagnie j'ai un peu oublié l'heure et suis arrivée pour m'entendre dire: on ne peut plus monter, la passerelle est enlevée! Et en effet le [?] partait sans moi! Mes supplications attendrissent un des agents de la compagnie et sous ses ordres quatre ou cinq matelots me hissaient, me poussaient et s'en sortirent si bien que je finis par me retrouver sur mes deux pieds et à bord! Je ne vous [?] pas avoir eu un instant d'émotion?

Le temps continue radieux et la traversée splendide jusqu'à présent. Je ne veux pas tarder à venir vous dire une fois encore tout mon bonheur de vous connaître et [?] de tout mon coeur merci pour votre si charmant accueil qui m'a profondément touché.

J'ose espérer avoir bientôt l'occasion de vous revoir et en attendant, vous prie de croire à mes sentiments de très vive sympathie

Magdalena Tagliaferro

Chez M.me Wedell

Villa Georges

Chemin du Telemly

Alger

2.21 – Inedited letter from the Kursaal of Montreux board

After the foundation of the choir and orchestra of the Concert Historiques de Nantes (1905-1907), Francisco de Lacerda, possibly seduced by the profile of a country such as Switzerland, took the position of principal conductor of the Kursaal of Montreux orchestra. This is the musical institution that he lead for the longest period of his life (1907-1912), performing with some of the greatest soloists of his time, although he had a difficult relationship with the board of administrators. The tone of such relationship is clear in the letters transcribed below, as opposed to, for example, the cordial exchanges with the Association Artistique de Marseille staff, between 1912-1913.

Letter of September 18 1909

Montreux, le 18 Septembre 1909

Monsieur F. de Lacerda

Chef d'Orchestre

Kursaal

Monsieur,

Les délégués à l'inauguration du monument de l'Union postale universelle seront à Montreux le 6 Octobre. Une partie des dames et messieurs, ceux qui ne se rendront pas à Glion, seront au Kursaal à 4 h. ½ de l'après-midi, les autres arriveront vers les 5 h. ½. Je pense que tous ces messieurs partiront vers les 6 h. ½; vous voudrez donc bien faire en sorte que l'orchestre soit à disposition dès l'arrivée du premier groupe jusqu'au départ de ces messieurs.

Veillez prendre note qu'il ne devra pas être joué d'airs nationaux; pour le surplus vous pouvez composer le programme comme bon vous semblera.

Si le temps le permet et s'il fait assez chaud (ce qui est peut probable) le concert aura lieu dans le jardin, si non dans la salle.

Avec considération distinguée

A. Émery

Letter of September 20 1909

Montreux, le 20 Septembre 1909

Monsieur F. de Lacerda

Chef d'Orchestre

E. / V.

Monsieur,

J'ai bien reçu votre lettre du 18 ct. Il s'agit simplement de ne pas donner des airs nationaux parce qu'il y a un trop grand nombre de pays représentés, et si l'on exécute l'hymne national d'un pays on risque de froisser les représentants d'un autre pays que l'on pourrait oublier. Je pense que personne ne se formalisera s'il se trouve un air national dans un pot-pourri, mais, puisque nous avons le choix, évitez de prendre des morceaux qui peuvent prêter à l'équivoque.

Je ne crois pas qu'à cette occasion il y ait lieu de donner un concert symphonique. Les invités viennent pour prendre rafraîchissements et non pas pour entendre un concert; par conséquent, ils causeront entre eux, circuleront et mangeront. Des oeuvres classiques ne seront donc demandées ni désirées, Quant au concert symphonique du lendemain il n'est pas nécessaire de le renvoyer.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de ma considération distinguée.

A. Émery

Letter of May 5 1911

As previously mentioned, this letter refers to the first concert conducted by the young Ernest Ansermet (without pay!), an opportunity provided by Francisco de Lacerda. As stated throughout this thesis, it is Ansermet who Lacerda puts forward to the administrative council of the Kursaal as his replacement, when in 1912 the Portuguese musician did not renew his contract as the principal conductor. The career of one of the most renowned conductors of the 20th Century, Ernest Ansermet, started at this point, with great support by another internationally acclaimed conductor, a Portuguese with whose name few are acquainted today.

Montreux, le 5 Mai 1911

Monsieur F. de Lacerda

Chef d'Orchestre

Kursaal

Monsieur,

Nous avons l'avantage de vous faire part des décisions prises par le Conseil dans sa séances d'hier:

1.° Mr. Ansermet est autorisé à diriger un concert symphonique pendant la saison prochaine, il devra s'entendre avec vous quant'à la date et le programme de ce concert. Mr. Ansermet ne demande pas de cachet.

2.° Nous vous rappelons que l'orchestre doit être au complet dès le 1er. Septembre 1911.

3.° Sur votre demande d'accorder une gratification aux musiciens Amelung et Heilmann qui pour des raisons d'âge ne peuvent être gardées dans l'orchestre, le Conseil à décidé d'accorder les gratifications suivantes:

à Mr. Amelung Frs. 3.000 – et à Mr. Heilmann Frs. 2.000 – Vous êtes prié de communiquer cette décision aux intéressés en leur transmettant les remerciements du Conseil pour les services qu'ils ont rendus.

Veuillez prendre note des décisions ci dessus et agréer Monsieur, nos salutations empressées.

A. Émery

Letter of July 8 1911

Montreux, le 8 Juillet 1911

*Monsieur F. de Lacerda
Chef d'Orchestre
Kursaal*

Monsieur,

À la demande du Comité d'ORPHÉE à Mézières, le Conseil d'administration du Kursaal avait autorisé M. Giroud flûtiste à jouer dans l'orchestre à Mézières. Je viens d'apprendre que Mr. G. n'a pas été engagé et je demande à connaître les motifs pour lesquels il ne l'a pas été. Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, mes salutations empressées.

A. Émery

Letter of November 8 1911

Montreux, le 8 Novembre 1911

Monsieur F. de Lacerda

Chef d'Orchestre

Montreux

Monsieur,

Dans sa séance d'hier, l'Administration a appris, en ce qui concerne la direction des concerts, que vous ne vous conformez pas exactement à la teneur de votre convention qui dit à l'art. 5. "En sa qualité de 1er. chef d'orchestre, M. de Lacerda doit, en plus des répétitions nécessaires au bon fonctionnement de l'orchestre, conduire au moins CINQ concerts par semaine, soit, pendant la saison d'hiver le concert symphonique du Jeudi et 4 autres concerts de l'après-midi, dont celui du dimanche. Il dirigera en outre, alternativement avec le sous-chef les concerts plus complets donnés le soir, en cas de suspension des attractions."

Or, cette convention étant signée elle est faite pour s'y conformer.

D'autre part, la direction du Kursaal nous informe que depuis jeudi vous n'avez plus dirigé de concert, sans que jusqu'ici ni le Conseil d'Administration, ni la Direction n'aient été avisés du motif de votre absence.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, nos salutations empressées.

A. Émery

2.22 – Inedited letters from the Association Artistique de Marseille board

The tone of the Association Artistique de Marseille letters is very much different than those of the Montreux Kursaal, signed by A. Émery. Given that they refer to matters of season programming, they do not show a formal tone, or even the arrogant one that is detectable in the Kursaal correspondence (which perhaps is one of the reasons for the declining state of health that lead to Francisco de Lacerda's departure from the Montreux institution). The first letter transcribed below relates to the 1912/1913 season, the only period when Lacerda lead the orchestra as its principal conductor; the second one, from much later on, after the composer's long stay in the Azores (1913-1921), refers to his return to conducting in France and Switzerland in 1923, as a guest conductor. One recalls that Lacerda's repertoire preferences of that period privileges great symphonic-choral works by J. S. Bach (*Mass in B minor*, *Magnificat*, *St. John's Passion* and *St. Matthew's Passion*), J. Brahms (*A German Requiem*) and even R. Wagner (*Parsifal*, in a concert setup).

Letter of June 1 1912

Marseille, le 1.er Juin 1912


Cher Monsieur de Lacerda

Je pense que ma lettre vous trouvera en bonne santé et ayant effectué une excellente traversée.

Je n'ai pas grande chose à vous signaler depuis votre départ, il n'y a pas longtemps pour que événements importants aient eu le temps de se produire.

Orchestre – M. Rehbock a accepté votre offre, soit 260 f. par mois et son voyage aller et retour. C'est une tube-basse en ut et 5 pistons, comme les instruments en usage chez Colonne et Chevillard, il peut donner le ré au dessus du fa que vous m'avez indiqué,



c'est à dire la note suivante:  *Je pense qu'il vous donnera complète satisfaction.*

Programmes – J'attends, selon votre promesse, par un prochain courrier, le programme général de la saison. Nous avons l'habitude de, 2 ou 3 semaines avant l'ouverture, de faire une affiche générale de la saison, indiquants les noms des solistes de l'orchestre, ceux des concertistes ou chanteurs engagés et enfin les principales oeuvres que nous comptons donner en première audition. Je vous serais donc obligé de me faire savoir quelles sont les oeuvres que vous désirez que nous annoncions l.r en admettant que

nous ayons des chœurs à notre disposition (ce qui est presque certain) 2.e en admettant l'hypothèse peu probable, si nous n'aurions pas de chœurs, ce qui nous obligerait mentionner un plus grand nombre d'oeuvres symphoniques.

Concertistes – Il importe que je connais au plutôt la distribution par dates des solistes que vous prévoyez afin de poursuivre leur engagement. Vous avez prévu, je crois, un pianiste pour le 2.e concert (27 Octobre) et, dans le cas où ce sera Cortot, vous voudriez qu'il joue le Concerto de Schumann; mais, si nous sommes contraints d'engager un autre pianiste à cette date, il y a des chances pour que ce concert ne lui convienne pas. D'autre part, il serait bien de le réserver pour Cortot, s'il ne vient que plus tard dans le courant de la saison.

Voulez vous me dire quels concertos nous pourrions demander au pianiste du 2. concert. Si par exemple c'était Marguerite Long, ou Risler ou Viñes?

À propos de Cortot, je crois qu'il serait bon, pour faciliter son engagement, que je lui écriveriez de suite, en lui conseillant de nous demander que le cachet que vous m'avez indiqué comme possible soit 600 f.

Remarques sur concerts – Mon ami Causan a du vous faire part de quelques difficultés que nous pourrions avoir dans la préparation du concert du 26 Décembre et du 2 Février. Pour le premier des concerts, vous ne pouvez guère répéter que le lundi, 23 décembre et le jeudi matin, jour du concert. Il ne serait peut être pas prudent dans ces conditions, de placer là votre bénéfice que serait bien mieux le 22 décembre – toujours pour le premier concert des chœurs si vous y tenez.

Pour le concert du 2 Février, il convient que vous prévoyez la répétition générale pour le vendredi soir, 31 Janvier, notre salle étant occupé le samedi, pour le bal du syndicat de la presse.

Sans autre pour l'instant, et dans l'attente du plaisir de vous lire, je vous prie d'agréer, cher Monsieur, avec mes hommages pour madame de Lacerda et vos enfants, l'assurance de mes plus cordiaux sentiments.

Pons (?)

Letter of October 26 1923

Marseille, le 26 Octobre 1923

Cher Monsieur De LACERDA,

Je viens de recevoir votre lettre du 16 courant dont le contenu m'a fort étonné, et a étonné aussi beaucoup mon Ami CAUSAN, car ni l'un ni l'autre n'avons été touchés par la lettre dont vous parlez. Causan était même fort surpris que vous n'ayez jamais répondu à la lettre qu'il vous avait écrite l'année dernière.

Nous vous avons lu avec grand plaisir, et nous sommes prêts à répondre à votre demande de Musique dans la mesure ou la chose nous sera possible.

Si vous voulez bien m'indiquer les morceaux que vous désireriez, j'en parlerai au comité et je ne doute pas qu'on vous donne satisfaction au moins pour ceux de ces morceaux qui ne sont pas inscrits à nos prochains programmes de cette Saison.

Au point de vue Location, nous nous entendrons toujours. Quant'aux garanties que vous nos offrez nous les accepterons pour nos couvrir vis-à-vis de nos camarades de l'Association car, s'il ne s'agissait que de nous, nous passerions outre volontiers.

Au plaisir de vous lire, et en vous envoyant encore toute les bonnes amitiés des Camarades qui ont gardé de vous le meilleur souvenir, je vous prie de croire toujours à mès sentiments bien cordiaux.

Pons (?)

P.S. - Il ya quelque temps, Monsieur SECCHIARI, notre Chef actuel, nous avait parlé d'un échange avec vous, qui lui avait été proposé par une tierce personne.

Inutile de vous dire que nous avons accepté avec plaisir cette combinaison. Depuis, nous ne savons plus rien.

De votre côté, vous ne me parlez pas de cela. Que c'est-il donc passé?

Nous esperons toujours que la chose est possible et que votre très prochaine lettre nous le confirmera.

2.23 – Inedited letters from the Maison Pleyel

Letter of May 13 1902

This typed letter on Maison Pleyel & C^{ie} stationery is quite significant of how Francisco de Lacerda, advised and supported by Vincent d'Indy, prepared the launch of his career as an orchestral conductor. The requested support (later received) included that of a piano making company such as Pleyel. One believes that such support by piano makers to pianists has not yet been researched and studied in a particular manner. Even today, many artists become somehow tied to those firms and have the advantage of receiving sponsorships from them.

Monsieur Francisco de Lacerda

17 rue Froidevaux

Paris XIV^e Arr.

Cher Monsieur,

En réponse à la lettre que vous avez bien voulu lui adresser le 7 du courant, notre Directeur empêché nous charge de vous informer qu'il a écrit à tous les casinos dont vous lui avez fourni la liste, pour vous recommander.

Il a joint à chacune de ses lettres, la copie de la recommandation de Mr. V. d'Indy.

Nous vous prions d'agréer, cher Monsieur, avec les compliments de notre Directeur, nos civilités très empressées.

PP.on Pleyel Wolf Lyon

Letter of May 25 1912

Paris, le 25 Mai 1912

N.° 33

Monsieur de Lacerda

Grand Hotel

Marseille

(Bouche du Rhône)

Cher Monsieur,

Nos avons bien reçu votre estimée du 23 du courant et nous notons que le piano préparé à votre intention, devra être expédié à Lisbonne, pu être dirigé aux Açores sur le paquebot quittant cette ville le 5 Juillet prochain.

Nous avons donc tout le temps nécessaire pour faire parvenir et instrument en temps voulu et vous pouvez compter que vos instructions seront scrupuleusement suivies,

Nous regrettons bien vivement de n'avoir pu terminer le travail de révision assez tôt pour profiter du départ du 5 Juin et nous espérons que ce contre-temps ne vous causera pas d'ennuis.

Notre Directeur, Mr. Lyon, est absent aujourd'hui et ne pourra prendre connaissance qu'à son retour dans le courant de la semaine prochaine, de la lettre que vous lui avez adressée.

Dévoués à vos ordres, nous vous prions d'agréer, cher Monsieur, l'expression de nos sentiments les plus dévoués.

PPno Pleyel Lyon C.

2.24 – Inedit letter from Max Eschig & C. ie

Among several letters that editor Max Eschig sent to Francisco de Lacerda (presently in Museu de Angra do Heroísmo, Azores), this one refers to the Portuguese conducting works by Manuel de Falla in France (who he would later visit in Granada, as confirmed by the letters between the two, as well as the Spanish composer's sister Carmen, available here). It also points to the ongoing recording of Lacerda's *Trovas*, who the French editor arranged for together with his friend Joaquín Nin. Unfortunately, the publishing of the work in France did not come to fruition.

Letter of March 3 1927

Paris, le 3 Mars 1927

Monsieur Fr. de LACERDA

Hôtel Beauvau

4, Rue Bellevue, 4

- Marseille -

Cher Monsieur,

Je m'empresse de répondre à votre lettre du 29. Je suis très heureux du succès que vous avez obtenu avec l'audition de l'“AMOUR SORCIER” et suivant votre désir je me mettrai en rapport avec Monsieur RANCE au sujet du règlement de la location.

Je vous fais parvenir ci-inclus la note sur cet ouvrage ayant paru dans les programmes des Concerts Colonne lors des exécutions dirigées par M. Arbós et j'espère qu'elle pourra vous servir.

Manuel de Falla est toujours à Grenade: Antequeruela Alta, mais il viendra à Paris au mois de Mai pour son festival de l'Opéra et la création de l'“AMOUR SORCIER” - “El RETABLO” et la reprise de “LA VIE BRÈVE” à l'Opéra Comique.

Votre recueil des “TROVAS” est chez le graveur. Nous n'avons pas encore pu obtenir des épreuves mais nous espérons que vous aurez très prochainement satisfaction.

N'oubliez pas de me donner votre nouvelle adresse lorsque vous quitterez Marseille. Jusque là j'adresserai toute communication à l'Hôtel Beauvau.

J'espère que vous êtes entièrement rétabli et je vous envoie, cher Monsieur, mes meilleures souvenirs.

Max Echig

P. S. - Voulez-vous avoir la bonté de me renvoyer à l'occasion, la partition d'orchestre de l'“Interlude” d'Albeniz que vous n'avez exécuté.

2.24 – Inedited letters from Manuel de Falla and his sister Maria del Carmen de Falla

Manuel de Falla, widely considered as the greatest Spanish composer of the 20th Century, had a lot in common with Francisco de Lacerda. As was the case of the Portuguese composer, de Falla chose Paris to integrate himself in its cultural environment and complete his studies, with Lacerda having arrived in the French capital in 1895 and de Falla in 1907. Both were friends with Debussy, whose works aesthetically inspired them and indicated their way forward. Manuel de Falla and Francisco de Lacerda did not cease to embrace nationalistic traces of their own countries in their works, just as Debussy did. Lacerda visited the Spanish composer in Granada in 1929, having then promised to hand him some books on the issue of Atlantida, which would later give birth to the latter's opera *Atlántida*. It should be added that de Falla had also a lot to thank another friend of Francisco de Lacerda regarding this work: Ernest Ansermet, who conducted the opera in the United States of America and Switzerland, having also written about it (notes for a concert programme in Geneva, on April 3 1963, and a booklet for Cascavelle VEL2005, 1990, a recording of a concert with Montserrat Caballé and Heinz Rehfuss). The letters that are transcribed below are a result of Lacerda's visit to de Falla in Granada and remain inedited. Besides these, there are also two postcards sent by the Spanish composer in the Azorean's assets. Manuel de Falla's reference to a Francisco de Lacerda's "childhood work" in his typed letter on the Atlantida theme may refer to the note that can be seen in the text "Souvenirs – Les mémoires de autres", here transcribed: "Une grande épopée. L'Atlantide". One cannot in any case associate one of young Lacerda's ambitious dreams to de Falla's last great work, which, in fact, he left incomplete (later concluded by Ernesto Halffter).

Letter of December 20 1929

Granada, 20 de Dbre. 1929

Mi querido amigo e compañero:

No sé como agradecerle su precioso envío, que acabo de recibir y que confirma mi acendrada admiración por este "sol embotellado" como usted, tan acertadamente, le llama. Cada vez que levanto mi copa va un brindis por usted, com el deseo de que pronto volvamos a vernos y a seguir nuestras charlas. ¿Inútil creo decirle el recuerdo gratísimo que también nosotros guardamos de su estancia en Granada?

Mil gracias también por su nuevo ofrecimiento de bibliografía sobre la "Atlántida". ¿Ira en ello incluido esse trabajo de infancia de que me habló usted? ...

Con nuestros mejores deseos de muy felices Navidades y Año Nuevo, reciba usted el saludo cordialísimo de su muy devoto amigo y compañero.

Manuel de Falla

Letter of December 20 1929

Granada 17-2-930

Mi distinguido amigo:

Mi hermano Manuel ha estado con un fuerte ataque nervioso y está sometido a un plan de aislamiento con prohibición de escribir, que gracias a Dios le tiene muy mejorado. Esa es la razón por la cual no le ha escrito a Ud., y hoy al recibir sus gratísimas líneas, no quiere dejar pasar mas tiempo y es por lo que yo lo hago en su nombre.

En efecto recibió el ejemplar portugués de la Atlántida que tanto le agradece y con el libro recibió tambien su retrato que conservará siempre con mucho cariño y al que corresponde con el suyo adjunto.

¿Y Ud. como se encuentra de salud?

Supongo recibiría U. la carta de mi hermano en que le contestaba a su pregunta sobre el clima de Málaga. ¿Desistió Ud. de venir?

Con nuestros más cordiales y afectuosos recuerdos se reitera suya aff.ma amiga

M.^a del Carmen de Falla