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# Rethinking Debussy

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## An Artist High and Low, or, Debussy and Money

Denis Herlin

Translated by Vincent Giroud

"Without intending to compare myself to Balzac, as I am no match for that literary cathedral, I at least have in common with him perpetual financial worries and the complete ignorance of what you call 'savings.'"<sup>1</sup> Thus wrote Debussy on June 25, 1898, to his publisher Georges Hartmann. Though the sentence perfectly reflects the composer's sense of humor, it was no joke. On the contrary, anyone who has read the recent volume of Debussy's correspondence could not have failed to notice that lack of money is a recurrent theme and returns like a leitmotiv, even though Debussy was not the only artist who experienced financial worries or had to resort to his friends or publishers. This preoccupation disappeared only during rare periods, such as between 1885 and 1889, the four years when the composer was on a stipend after being awarded the Prix de Rome, or between 1902 and 1905, after the success of *Pelléas et Mélisande*. As a matter of fact one should distinguish between two periods, the one before *Pelléas*, the other after the premiere of the work at the Opéra-Comique, when Debussy became the most prominent French composer of his time. Thus between 1890 and 1902 he overcame his financial difficulties by receiving subsidies from close friends, such as Étienne Dupin, René Peter, and the Loewensteins—a circle of friends that needs to receive closer attention—or else from Ernest Chausson, Henry Lerolle, and the Fontaines, another, better known circle of friends.<sup>2</sup> Nor should one forget his friend the writer Pierre Louÿs, who, though he had shared Debussy's poverty, became relatively well-off thanks to the success of his novel *Aphrodite* in 1896 and thus was able to help the composer financially at times of "purée noire" (French slang for "dire need").<sup>3</sup> Similarly Debussy's publisher Georges Hartmann, aware of the composer's talent, supported him from 1895 onward through regular advance payments. His sudden death in April 1900 created problems for Debussy, since Hartmann had left his affairs in the greatest disorder: "He had been a providential being for me and he played this part with such good grace and a good



smile, rather rare among art philanthropists," he wrote to Louÿs on April 25, 1900.<sup>4</sup> Following the success of *Pelléas* Debussy's principal financial support came from Jacques Durand, his official publisher as of 1902, then exclusive publisher as of 1905.<sup>5</sup> When Debussy died he owed Durand the fairly large sum of 66,235 francs, an amount to which I will return later. Yet Debussy's debts are still difficult to assess. Are we to believe him when he confessed to Louÿs on June 13, 1899, a few months before his wedding, "Excuse me for taking the opportunity of this letter to ask you the favor of lending me fifty francs, I am in the blackest *purée*, not to mention being 300,000 francs in debt."<sup>6</sup> If the stated figure is correct, Debussy's indebtedness would represent a gigantic sum. But perhaps he exaggerated the amount? Be that as it may, at his death in March 1918, the *notaire* wrote down in his inventory the amount the composer owed to various people, including Jacques Durand, which came to 189,452 francs, in other words more than half of the 300,000 francs Debussy had alluded to in 1899.<sup>7</sup> Several questions arise from this preliminary survey: Was Debussy a composer who did not earn a good living, or one who enjoyed a comfortable income? How can one explain his debts to his publisher? In what ways did the need for money influence his artistic choices? Was it a burden, or conversely, did it stimulate Debussy in new directions? This essay attempts to answer these various questions.

That Debussy often experienced precarious financial situations was partly due to a deliberate choice he made as a composer. Indeed he made the bold decision not to accept any official position, such as a choral director or conductor. When Chausson, who tried to help in any way he could, in late December 1893, found Debussy a job as second conductor at the casino in Royan, or when he suggested that Debussy advertise the fact that he was looking for pupils, the composer turned him down:

I was told, personally, that you did not want to give private tuition! How then could people holding such an odd and false view consider offering you anything whatsoever? I think it is highly important that you demolish this ridiculous idea. And in order to achieve that, there is no other way than saying loudly everywhere that you are looking for pupils or a position as an opera coach, or something else. Little by little the prejudice will disappear. Perhaps another one will take shape. It will be said that you are addicted to teaching! And so what, once we reach that point?<sup>8</sup>

Despite his lack of money and Chausson's urgings, Debussy did not attempt to find pupils. In a letter to Hartmann dated November 11, 1896, he apologized for not keeping an appointment because his "only pupil! (hats off! . . .) changed the time of [his or her] lesson and came this morning without advance warning."<sup>9</sup> This lack of taste for teaching did not incite him to apply for a job at the Conservatoire, "a dark, dirty place . . ., where the dust of bad traditions sticks to one's fingers."<sup>10</sup> Yet he agreed, in February 1909, under Gabriel Fauré's



directorship, to join that institution's *conseil supérieur d'enseignement* (faculty advisory board) as Ernest Reyer's successor,<sup>11</sup> and from then on he participated regularly as a judge in Conservatoire examinations. Any refusal of a more stable situation was not due to radical ideas or political choices: unlike Maurice Ravel, Debussy unhesitatingly agreed to become a *chevalier* in the Légion d'honneur in January 1903; in July 1914 he considered being a candidate for the Académie des Beaux-Arts. The beginning of the First World War prevented him from doing so.<sup>12</sup>

Moreover Debussy was not a composer-performer like Camille Saint-Saëns. Although he accompanied a singer in songs by Edvard Grieg, played Rimsky-Korsakov's *Capriccio espagnol* for four hands with René Chansarel in 1894, and performed the piano part in Guillaume Lekeu's *Quartet* in February 1896 and January 1897, he did so only as a favor to the Société nationale de musique, of which he was a member. Save for those instances and a few private concerts, he never publicly performed works by other composers. Similarly although he occasionally played a few of his piano works in public after 1910 and accompanied his own songs, he did not enjoy appearing as a pianist, except to accompany his own songs. The concerts he conducted between 1908 and 1914 are obvious exceptions; they took place in a particular context to which I will return. Debussy soon gave up editorial chores like the piano four-hand or two-piano transcriptions of works by Saint-Saëns, Schumann, or Wagner realized between 1889 and 1891, and resumed them only during the First World War, when he revised Chopin's works as well as a few works by Bach, Durand having launched an edition of classics for the piano intended to replace German editions.<sup>13</sup> Thus Debussy deliberately made the choice to live from his art as a composer, while having no personal fortune; he declined official functions, teaching, and a performing career. Such an ethic can be at once a challenge and a balancing act worthy of a circus performer if the artistic production is limited or the number of operatic works is small, as in Debussy's case, or if the work is not as successful as one had hoped.

It is difficult to try to assess Debussy's income, given the wide dispersal of his papers owing to the vicissitudes of his life and that of his heirs. From his first opus published in 1882 through the 1900s we have only his contracts with various publishers (all have been published in the correspondence). Fortunately, for the 1902–18 period the following documents survive:

First, those preserved in the archive of the Durand publishing house:

- 39 contracts, all published, with the exception of one dated July 17, 1905, discovered only after the publication of the correspondence
- 154 receipts for amounts paid to Debussy by his publisher Durand; they include both advances and down payments for contracts as well as royalties<sup>14</sup>



- a register including, as of 1907, Debussy's account and records of the various advances paid to him

Second, the documents preserved in the music department of the Bibliothèque nationale de France under the call number Rés. Vm. dos. 13:

- three contracts with Maud Allan, Gabriel Astruc, and Serge Diaghilev (Rés. Vm. dos. 13 [4], [7], [20])
- two royalty and artistic property statements for the years 1907–8 (Rés. Vm. dos. 13 [13], [14])
- a statement concerning Debussy's account, dated April 1913, corresponding to advances paid in 1912 (Rés. Vm. dos. 13 [15]); this matches the figures in the Durand register
- a statement of foreign royalties for the year 1912 (Rés. Vm. dos. 13 [16])
- a royalty statement for September 1912 through April 1913 (Rés. Vm. dos. 13 [17])

Finally, the documents preserved in the Société des auteurs et compositeurs dramatiques (SACD) library:

- various Opéra-Comique, Théâtre du Châtelet, and Théâtre des Champs-Élysées registers recording performance proceeds and payment of royalties

I have unfortunately not been able to gain access to the records at the Société des auteurs, compositeurs, et éditeurs de musique (SACEM), but some of the figures paid can be reconstructed based on Durand's royalty receipts.

By bringing together the evidence supplied by these sources, one can reconstitute most of the figures earned through the sale of works and most of the royalties paid to Debussy. First, there is the income earned through the sale of works, arranged by genre in five tables (see tables 7.1a to 7.1e). These tables do not include works for which I have no information or others, such as *Khamma*, which gave rise to a conflict, or *Le Palais du silence* and *Crimen amoris*, which went no further than the draft stage.<sup>15</sup> It should also be noted that the figures in francs included in the various contracts and receipts span the period from 1882, at the start of Debussy's career, to 1916, the date of his last compositions. Throughout this period the value of the franc did not fluctuate much and inflation was minimal, which makes comparisons easier. Table 7.1a, which deals with piano works, shows that until 1903 earnings came down to an average of between 100 francs and 125 francs for a piano piece, which results in 300 francs for the *Estampes* or 375 francs for each of the two books of *Images*. These figures are similar to what Debussy received in September 1889 for the two-piano arrangements of Wagner's *Flying Dutchman* Overture and Robert Schumann's *Six Studies in the Form of a Canon*, Op. 56.



Moreover it should be made clear that contracts, no matter with what publishers, do not include royalties based on the sale of scores. The first increase in earnings occurred in July 1904 with the contracts for *Masques* and *L'Isle joyeuse*, the very period when Debussy broke up with Lilly and, after an escape to Jersey, moved to Dieppe with Emma. However, a comparison between the amounts paid for these two magnificent pieces (500 francs each) and those paid for the *Hommage à Haydn* or the *Berceuse héroïque* (also 500 francs each) leaves one wondering. However interesting the last two works may be, they are no match for *Masques* and *L'Isle joyeuse*. Further increases can be seen with *Children's Corner* in 1908 (3,000 francs), then in 1910 for the first book of *Préludes* (7,000 francs), culminating at 12,000 francs in 1912 for the second book of *Préludes* and in 1915 for the two books of *Études*. It is even more illuminating to compare these figures with those received, for example, by Ravel, who was beginning to be a recognized composer, or Gabriel Fauré and Saint-Saëns, both widely renowned.<sup>16</sup> On August 31, 1908, Ravel received the sum of 1,500 francs from his publisher Durand for *Gaspard de la nuit*, namely half of what Debussy had been paid in that same year for his *Children's Corner*. On April 14, 1910, Durand offered Ravel 1,000 francs for the piano four-hand collection *Ma Mère l'Oye*, then, one year later, on April 18, 1911, 1,300 francs for the *Valses nobles et sentimentales*. The amounts paid to Debussy for his piano works between 1909 and 1915 thus vastly exceed the amounts offered to Ravel. As for Fauré, he usually was paid 1,000 francs, whether for a barcarolle or a nocturne.<sup>17</sup> Let me add that on April 24, 1912, Saint-Saëns received a payment of 2,000 francs for his set *Six études pour la main gauche*, Op. 135, two-thirds less, that is, than what Debussy was to receive three years later for six of his *Études*. One should therefore note that, although Debussy was not paid much before 1904 for his piano works, he was very well paid in the years after 1908.

The figures in table 7.1b concerning chamber music are not highly significant, since Debussy's production in this field was more limited. However, it allows one to understand the composer's bitterness in October 1893, when he sold his quartet to Durand: "I've sold your *Quatuor* to the Barbarians of the place de la Madeleine, 250 francs !!" he wrote to Chausson on October 23. "They brutally admitted that they were not giving me a sum proportionate to the effort this 'work' represents."<sup>18</sup> How can the two charming *Arabesques* sold for 200 francs to Durand two years before, or the two *Romances* on poems by Paul Bourget sold for 150 francs to the same publisher, compare with the *Quatuor*? Perhaps Debussy also remembered that Durand had granted him the same sum (250 francs) in November 1889 to transcribe Saint-Saëns's Second Symphony for piano four hands! The difficulties he encountered composing for string quartet, combined with the small financial return, hardly incited him to write a second quartet. As for the sales of the sonatas Debussy wrote in



1915–16, they are comparable to what Fauré received when he composed, almost at the same time as Debussy, his second Sonata for Violin and Piano, Op. 108, and his first Sonata for Cello and Piano, Op. 109. For each of these Fauré was paid 4,000 francs by Durand, an amount identical to that paid to Debussy for the Sonata for Flute, Viola, and Harp and the Sonata for Violin and Piano. Debussy, however, was paid only 3,000 francs for the Sonata for Cello and Piano, despite having bargained with his publisher, as he wrote to Durand on August 9, 1915:

As no method has been found yet to transmit a “performance”—there is the gramophone, imperfect and costly at that, I have taken the liberty to ask you about my sale conditions. . . . We are not in agreement but it seems that we should come to an understanding? A Sonata for Cello and Piano does not sell like hot cakes, yet the virtuosos of this instrument have been demanding it for a long time; furthermore, the repertory is not rich! Therefore, without mentioning its importance, such terms being reserved for food, one can trust that it is necessary,—that is still not a very brilliant reason, so it is best to rely on your personal appreciation.<sup>19</sup>

This letter, incidentally, reveals what turns the conversations between composer and editor could take, even though Debussy did not like to discuss such matters with Durand, as he added a coda to his letter: “This is, my dear Jacques, a ‘business-man’ letter which I did not enjoy writing; others will follow to correct it.”<sup>20</sup>

Table 7.1c gathers songs and choral works by Debussy. Songs generally sold for about 100 francs, whether in the case of *Mandoline* or those of the *Proses lyriques* and the *Chansons de Bilitis*, a figure almost identical to the one garnered by the piano pieces. As I noted apropos *Masques* and *L’Isle joyeuse*, the amount paid changed in July 1904 for the second series of *Fêtes galantes*, increasing from 100 to 200 francs per song. The other three cycles Debussy composed in 1910 and 1913 were sold for amounts between 500 and 1,000 francs depending on the importance of the collection. By comparison Fauré received 4,000 francs in November 1914 for *Le Jardin clos*, a cycle of eight songs, a more modest sum than that paid to Debussy for the *Trois Ballades de François Villon* (3,000 francs) and the *Trois Poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé* (2,000 francs).

Table 7.1e brings together all the information on orchestral and other works. From the outset the figures look relatively small compared to the ones paid for piano works or songs. Two hundred francs for the *Prélude à l’après-midi d’un faune*, a lump sum including the transcription for two pianos, looks meager indeed next to the *Proses lyriques* or the *Chansons de Bilitis*, which Hartmann bought from Debussy for the respective amounts of 400 and 300 francs. And what of the 2,000 francs for *La Mer* compared to the 3,000 francs offered by the same Durand to Debussy three years later for the *Children’s*



Corner!<sup>21</sup> As for the *Images pour orchestre*, the composer fortunately had the initial contract modified twice. This contract, by the way, included the two series of *Images* for piano for a total price of 1,500 francs. One of the two receipts Debussy signed on February 9, 1910, for a total of 750 francs, stipulates that the amount was allocated "based on the importance of [the] manuscript of the *Images...pour orchestre*."<sup>22</sup> I do not mean to draw a parallel between the inherent quality of these works, but one still has to admit that the 6,300 francs earned by Debussy for the composition of the orchestral *Images* looks rather paltry compared to the 7,000 francs obtained for the first book of *Préludes*. The amounts for *Le Martyre de saint Sébastien* and *Jeux* are much higher, since they include payments from Gabriel Astruc and Serge Diaghilev, who commissioned the works. Granted, the 4,000 francs Durand offered for the orchestral score of *Le Martyre*, a work of more imposing dimensions than *La Mer*, is hardly generous, but the amount was largely offset by what Debussy earned for the symphonic arrangement and its revision (4,000 francs). As everyone knows, Caplet orchestrated part of *Le Martyre*, but despite my efforts I have not been able to trace any payment for his work, evidently performed without compensation.

Payment for the operas (table 7.1e) is the most complex to analyze. The sales to Durand occurred after *Pelléas* had been staged at the Opéra-Comique. Debussy had retained the rights to his opera, probably as a result of being plunged into turmoil by Hartmann's demise. Fromont, who was only a front for Hartmann, was probably not willing to take risks and had let Debussy face them on his own. Debussy thus had the orchestral score engraved at his own expense, covering the costs through a subscription.<sup>23</sup> Given the success of the opera, the composer had no reason to sell the work to Durand. Yet he had to resign himself to do so at the end of March 1905 in order to settle amicably with his first wife, Lilly, an attempt that in any event failed, resulting in a court judgment on July 17, 1905.<sup>24</sup> The total of the sale of the full score of *Pelléas* amounted to 25,000 francs and was divided, as was the practice, into two, two-thirds to Debussy and one-third to Maeterlinck. It is interesting to compare this contract with the one signed one month earlier (on February 10, 1905) by Paul Dukas and Maeterlinck with Durand for the musical tale *Ariane et Barbe bleue*. The terms are similar and the figures paid are for the same amounts, except that the payment was spread as follows: "6,000 francs upon delivery of the manuscript, 6,000 francs at the first performance in a Parisian state theater, 4,000 francs at the 25th performance, 9,000 francs at the 50th performance in the same theater."<sup>25</sup> Obviously all these clauses were de facto inapplicable to *Pelléas*, even though on the date the contract was signed with Durand, the lyric drama had only been performed at the Opéra-Comique thirty-six times. As for the sale of *Le Diable dans le beffroi*, it was far more complex, since it went through successive renegotiations that might be a little tiresome to detail here.<sup>26</sup> In any



event Debussy pocketed the specified down payments without delivering a single note of the music. However, those advances were added to the debt he owed his publisher. After the *Diable dans le beffroi* mishap, neither Debussy nor Durand suggested advance payments for *La Chute de la Maison Usher*. The amounts indicated derive from a manuscript note in Durand's hand, dated August 26, 1916, and are probably based on discussions they had together. The manuscript text of the third version of the libretto is dated late September 1916, clear evidence of the work Debussy tried to accomplish before his death. From this work there exists a fair copy from the same period, comprising the first scene and the beginning of the second. However, the figures indicated for *Le Diable dans le beffroi* and *La Chute de la Maison Usher* do not take into account specific agreements Debussy had arranged in July 1908 with the Metropolitan Opera in New York, giving the opera house exclusive rights to the American premiere.<sup>27</sup>

Let us now examine the royalties Debussy received from the Société des auteurs et compositeurs dramatiques and the Société des auteurs, compositeurs et éditeurs de musique. Royalties paid to Debussy by the SACEM for performances of his orchestral works amount to less than those received from the SACD, which derive principally from the ticket sales for performances of *Pelléas et Mélisande* at the Opéra-Comique. Thanks to the accounts of the Opéra-Comique, now preserved at the SACD, and to Durand's receipts, it has been possible to reconstruct fairly faithfully the amounts of those royalties between 1902 and 1913. Royalties directly received by the composer and shared with Maeterlinck amounted to 12 percent of the ticket sales, in other words 6 percent for each author. In the contract signed by Debussy and Maeterlinck with Durand, article 4 stipulated that the authors remained "proprieters in France and Belgium of their royalties as received from the SACD."<sup>28</sup> This clause, however, did not go into effect; indeed four months later, on July 17, 1905, Debussy signed a contract, to which I will return later, which stipulated that he gave Durand, as a guarantee, the right to receive his SACEM and SACD royalties. These were paid back to him but, in case of default, they could serve as collateral. This clause, which expired on October 13, 1913, provides an accurate picture of the royalties earned by Debussy between 1907 and 1913 based on the figures mentioned in Durand's receipts. Moreover I have been able to supplement these data for 1902–6 and 1914 thanks to the SACD registers (see fig. 7.1).<sup>29</sup> The high number of ticket sales in 1902, the year of the premiere of *Pelléas et Mélisande*, is due to the twenty-three performances at the Opéra-Comique. All in all, Debussy's lyric drama was performed on that same stage 107 times in his lifetime. The returns, averaging 5,500 francs a performance, rose sharply in 1906 (averaging 8,162 francs) to culminate in 1911–13 at around 8,750 francs. The drop in 1910 is partly explained by the fact that there were no performances of the work at the Opéra-Comique. To



that should be added the many performances abroad from 1907 onward in most European countries (Belgium, Germany, United Kingdom, Italy, Switzerland, the Austrian Empire) and in the United States (New York, Chicago, and Boston). With the exception of Belgium and Switzerland, which both had contracts with the SACD, the royalties were paid directly to Durand, who repaid them to the authors. But although *Pelléas et Mélisande* was one of Debussy's principal sources of income, it was not the only one. *Le Martyre de saint Sébastien*, Vaslav Nijinski's *Faune* and *Jeux* choreographies, as well as those of the *Nocturnes* and *Children's Corner* by Loie Fuller, also made money, not to mention stagings abroad (England, United States, Germany, Italy) of the new orchestration of *L'Enfant prodigue*, the cantata that had earned Debussy the Prix de Rome in 1884. The success of this last work astonished Debussy. In a letter to Durand of March 24, 1910, he ironically declared, "You will see that *L'Enfant Prodigue* is going to overtake *Pelléas*... and, that is prodigiously comical!"<sup>30</sup>

We now need to examine Debussy's other sources of income. This part is by far the most difficult to assess, since so little information is available. This income derived chiefly from private pupils; from his contributions to the *Revue blanche* in 1901, to *Gil Blas* in 1903, and later to S.I.M. from November 1912 to March 1914; from his concert appearances between 1908 and 1917; and from the contracts he signed with Astruc and Diaghilev. Concerning the income for the lessons he taught to his few pupils (Michèle Worms de Romilly, Nicolas Coronio, and Raoul Bardac),<sup>31</sup> I have no data. With regard to his

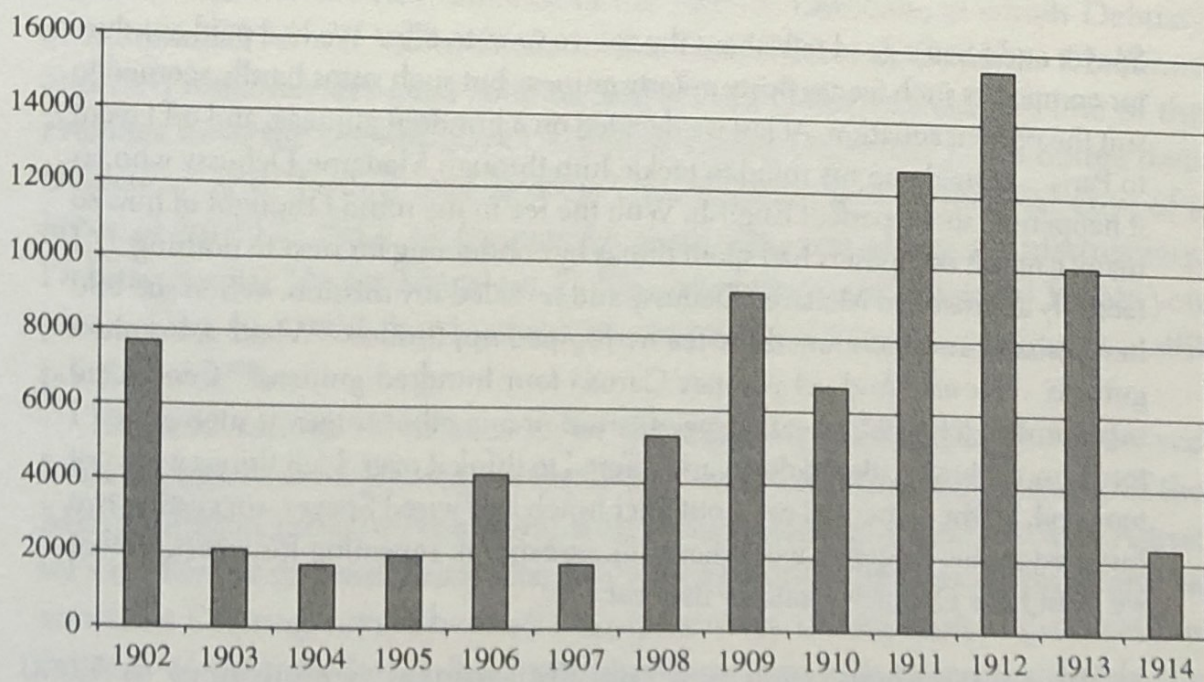


FIGURE 7.1 Royalties (1902–14).



activity as a reviewer, I have not been able to find any indication of the amounts he was paid. It is clear, however, that the resumption of this activity in 1912, after a silence of nine years, was due to growing financial need, and that Vuillermoz, who took great pains to convince Debussy to write a monthly chronicle, must have approached him with a sufficiently enticing sum for him to accept such a constraint. To determine this income I have approximated the sum of 200 francs per S.I.M. article. But it may have been more.

By the same token, little information is available on the conditions under which Debussy worked as a performer, whether as conductor, pianist, or accompanist. However, his decision to appear as a conductor, of his own works exclusively or, more rarely, as a pianist, was above all dictated by his ever-growing financial need. In July 1907 he considered conducting for the first time, as he joyfully reported to Durand in a letter: "I have firmly committed myself to conducting *L'Après-midi d'un faune* and *La Mer* in London on 1 February next year.... And in April to conducting two concerts, one in Rome, the other in Milan. In one of these concerts, I am considering treating myself to the first hearing of the *Images*. ... What do you make of this little revolution?"<sup>32</sup> The two Italian concerts did not take place, but the one in London occurred on the date mentioned by Debussy and with the program specified. The composer was responding to an invitation from Sir Edgar Speyer, patron of the Queen's Hall Orchestra. Sir Henry Wood (1869–1944), the English conductor who led the Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts and conducted many contemporary works there, was entrusted with the negotiations with the composer, with Emma Debussy acting as interpreter, as he recorded in his memoirs:

Speyer and I had a good talk about the fee we were to offer. We had paid conductor-composers such fees as thirty or forty guineas but such sums hardly seemed to suit the present situation. At last we decided on a hundred guineas, and off I went to Paris.... I made up my mind to tackle him through Madame Debussy who, as it happened, spoke perfect English. With the fee in my mind I thought of how so many English composers had spoilt things by conducting for next to nothing. ... I tactfully approached Madame Debussy and revealed my mission. When she told her husband and mentioned the fee he jumped up, furious. "What? A hundred guineas... for *me*? And yet you pay Caruso four hundred guineas?" I corrected this immediately. "We never engage Caruso or any other singer at such a fee," I told him. Debussy calmed down and offered to think it over. I felt things were not too good, all the same; so I went out after lunch and wired Speyer, suggesting two hundred guineas. Speyer wired back his agreement, repeating his assertion that we must have Debussy whatever the cost.<sup>33</sup>

At the contemporary exchange rate, 200 guineas is equivalent to 5,000 francs, a high sum, comparable to the fees commanded by the pianist Paderewski. This amount, which appears to have been the condition demanded



by Debussy to conduct abroad, is also mentioned in a letter from Debussy to Caplet dated June 3, 1913, when the composer, paraphrasing the last line of "L'Ombre des arbres," the third song of the *Ariettes oubliées*, brings up the cancellation of a concert in England, probably an invitation from Lady Speyer: "I was telling you, more or less, that the London concert didn't happen. All my hopes have drowned as a result; even worse, 5,000 francs have fallen into the Channell!"<sup>34</sup> As Debussy did not enjoy leaving Paris, he agreed to appear in concerts only if he received payment he deemed sufficient. On several occasions he received competing offers, for instance in 1913 from Alexandre Ziloti and Serge Koussevitzky, regarding a Russian tour.<sup>35</sup> Ziloti, who had contacted Debussy first, was turned down in favor of Koussevitzky, his competitor, who had larger financial means thanks to his wife's income. Unfortunately I have not been able to verify the amounts of the proposed payments, but it is highly probable that they approached the ones for the English concerts. As for the concerts Debussy gave in Paris, little information is available on his fees. When he twice conducted *La Mer* in January 1908, his first appearance as a conductor, incidentally, I do not know the amount Colonne offered him. But given the resources of this organization it was surely not as high as the fees he was offered in England. Moreover if Debussy agreed to conduct the Concerts Colonne orchestra, it was probably because Colonne had trouble mastering the complexities of the score; also it provided Parisian audiences a second hearing of *La Mer*—and a much better one than that given by Chevillard three years before at the premiere. Furthermore it allowed Debussy to get some practice conducting in advance of the February 1908 London concert. The only financial data I have found concern a concert given in Paris on March 21, 1914, by Emmanuel Rey, director of the Agence musicale, at which Debussy accompanied Ninon Vallin-Pardo in the *Trois Poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé* and *Le Promenoir des deux Amants* and played *Children's Corner*, one of the *Préludes* from the second book ("Général Lavine excentric"), "La Soirée dans Grenade," and "Jardins sous la pluie" (from *Estampes*). In the postscript of a letter of July 15, 1913, to Jacques Durand, who was acting as intermediary, Debussy wrote, "As for Monsieur E. Rey: he really is not generous! Would you please have him told that I want a thousand francs? In my opinion, it is still poorly paid!"<sup>36</sup>

To these various other sources of income, one should add those derived from the agreements he negotiated directly with Gatti-Casazza, director of the Metropolitan Opera in New York; with Maud Allan for *Khamma*; with Astruc for *Le Martyre de saint Sébastien*; and with Diaghilev for *Jeux*. Fortunately the contracts Debussy signed have all been preserved. On the basis of these various sources of information, I have attempted to reconstitute approximately the amount of Debussy's additional income, not taking into account, however, his Parisian concerts, save for the one I just mentioned. Figure 7.2 summarizes the



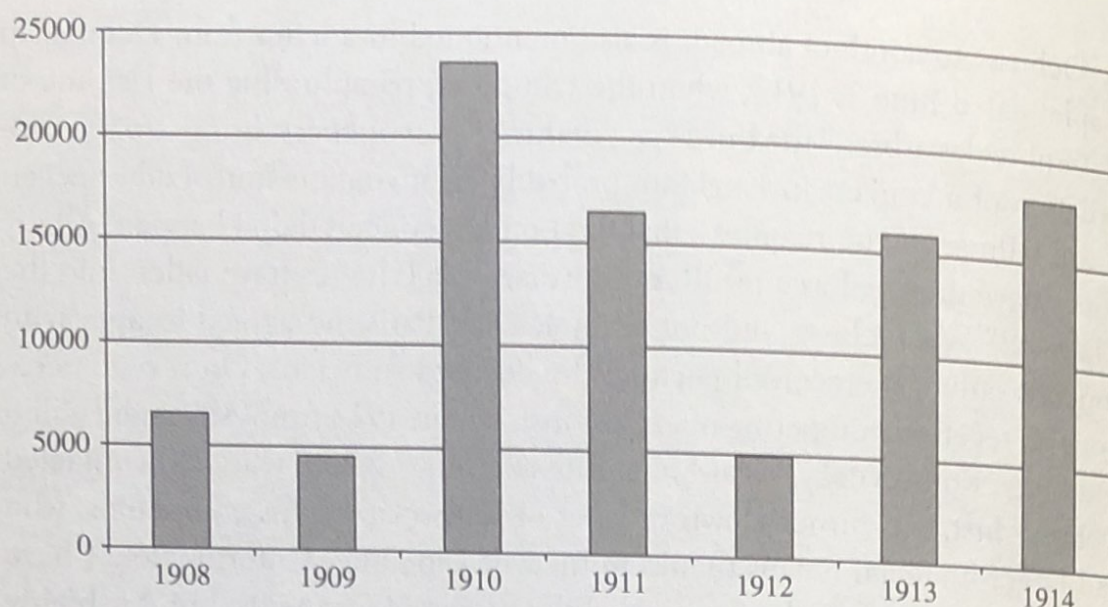


FIGURE 7.2 Additional income (1908–14).

annual amounts of this additional income.<sup>37</sup> Its magnitude in 1910 can be explained by the payments Debussy received for the composition of *Khamma* and *Le Martyre de saint Sébastien*. The year 1913 and the first part of 1914 were also prosperous thanks to Debussy's concert appearances.

Figure 7.3 gathers all the data outlined so far (sale of works, royalties, and additional income).<sup>38</sup> These call for several comments. I took as my point of departure the premiere of *Pelléas et Mélisande* in April 1902, which was when Debussy became an established composer. The size of the 1902 income is due largely to the twenty-three performances of the lyric drama and the resulting returns. The figure for 1904 (11,344.40 francs) can be explained by Durand's advance payment for the composition of *Le Diable dans le beffroi* (6,000 francs). The spectacular rise in income in 1905 (25,336.87 francs) was due to the sale of *Pelléas et Mélisande* to Durand; as explained earlier, this was done in order to cover the legal costs of Debussy's divorce from Lilly. From 1902 until 1907 Debussy's annual income fluctuated greatly, ranging from around 10,000 francs in flush years to around 5,000 francs, with, however, a sharp drop in 1907 (3,702.25 francs). From 1910 to 1913 Debussy's annual income fluctuated between 40,000 and 50,000 francs. The decrease noted in 1914 can be explained by the start of the First World War. If that had not taken place, the 1914 income would probably have been higher than that of the previous years, since the amount given here (around 30,000 francs) was earned in the first six months. As for the 1915 income, it came exclusively from the many works he composed between June and November (*Études*, *En blanc et noir*, and the two sonatas). The worsening of his illness in late November and his December 7 operation brutally interrupted this creative activity. The low income of the



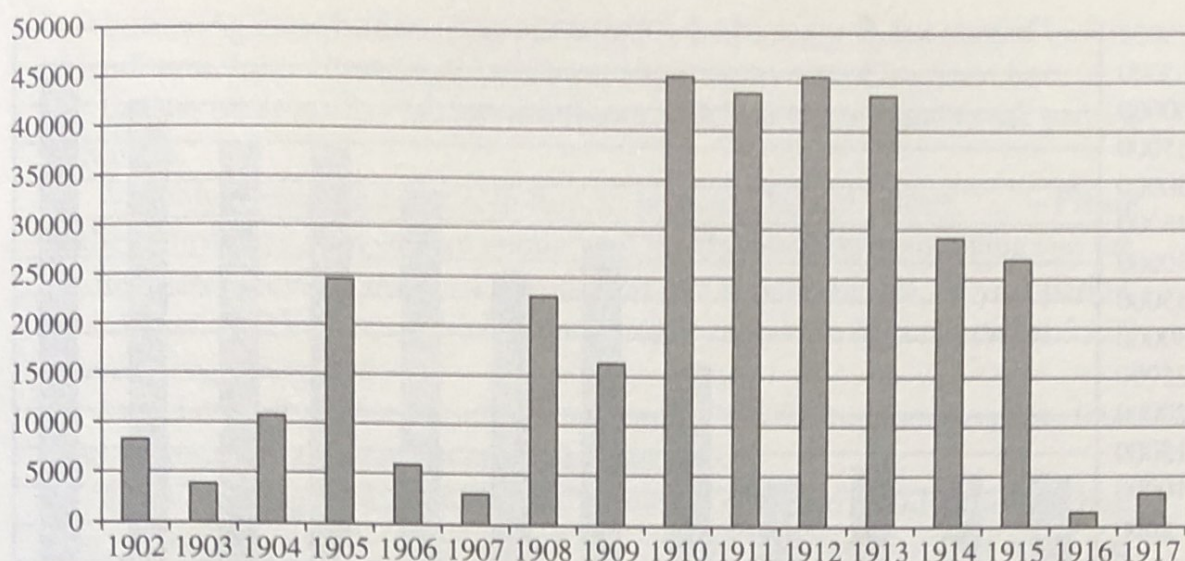


FIGURE 7.3 Debussy's income between 1902 and 1917.

1907–9 years no doubt explains the financial difficulties the Debussys were to experience beginning in 1909, despite the composer's efforts between 1910 and 1914.

At this point it is useful to compare these amounts with the income of other professions. I am relying on the analysis of social change from 1880 to 1914 in the relevant chapter of Antoine Olivesi and André Nouschi's book, *La France de 1848 à 1914*.<sup>39</sup> If one starts at the bottom of the salary scale, a low-grade civil servant earned at the beginning of his career between 800 and 1,200 francs a year, a salary lower than that of a qualified manual worker. A teacher without a bachelor's degree began a career at 2,000 francs a year, whereas a university professor could earn more than 15,000 francs in 1909. While most doctors had an annual income between 8,000 and 12,000 francs, prominent physicians and surgeons could earn more than 50,000 francs, even 100,000 francs annually. These few figures provide financial information that allows for a better appreciation of Debussy's income in the Parisian society of his day. Unfortunately no comparable studies exist for contemporary composers such as Jules Massenet or Saint-Saëns; they would help to refine the present analyses. Whatever the case may be, Debussy in the years 1910–14 was an artist who earned a very good living (see fig. 7.3). Yet reading his correspondence for the period provides a striking contrast: it was precisely then that Debussy was continuously looking for money, whether it was advances from Durand or loans from banks, which forced him to rely on a businessman, Léon Bertault, who was supposed to help him to meet various deadlines. As figure 7.4 shows, the deficit of his Durand account is staggering to contemplate: despite a relatively stable debt between 1907 and 1910, it subsequently never stopped increasing, reaching at Debussy's death, as we



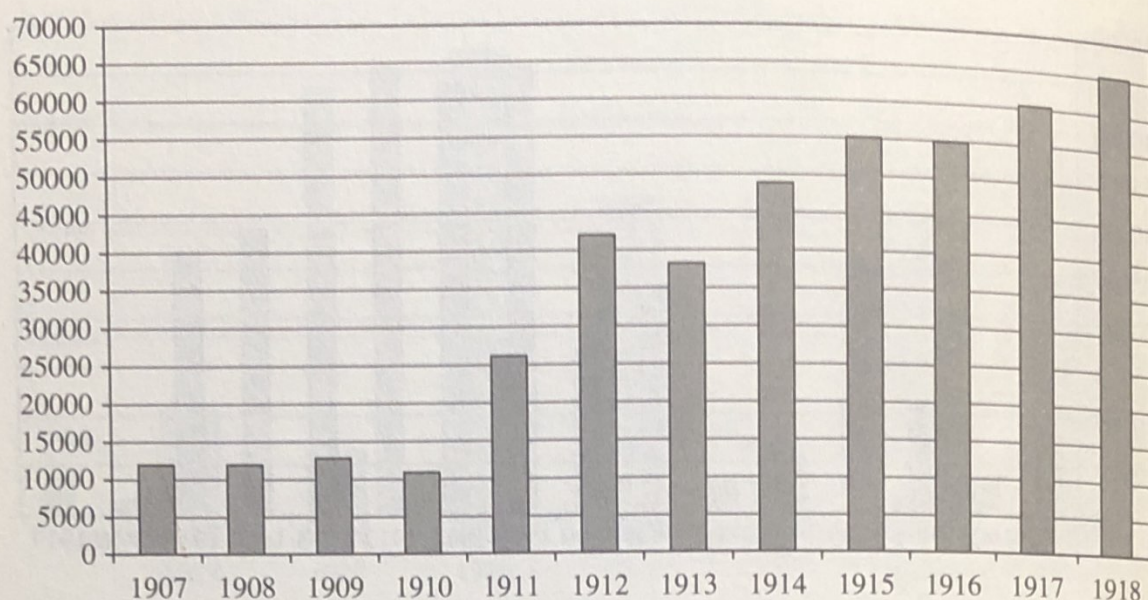


FIGURE 7.4 Deficit of the Debussy-Durand account (1907–18).

have seen, the sum of 66,235 francs. This deficit results first from the payments for *Le Diable dans le beffroi*, an opera for which Debussy failed to deliver a single line and for which Durand had paid the handsome sum of 24,000 francs.

The second (and principal) reason came from the monthly pension (400 francs) he paid to Lilly Debussy-Texier. As stipulated by a note in Durand's hand preserved in the publisher's archive, "No difference was ever made between the sale of scores and the payment of the alimony. Scores were always paid for with cash in their entirety. They were further supplemented by advance payments for work in progress and scores that were never received (*Le Diable dans le beffroi*). Hence an overdraft caused by the alimony." Indeed on the very day the divorce from Lilly was pronounced (July 17, 1905), Durand committed himself through a contract signed with Debussy to paying "to Madame Debussy through her solicitor and as due from Monsieur Debussy a monthly alimony of four hundred francs, on the fifteenth of every month, beginning at the signature of the present contract and for the entirety of Monsieur Claude Debussy's lifetime." This amount, which was paid regularly from August 1905 onward, comes to a total of 60,548 francs, a deficit Debussy tried to fill partially. The weight of his debt explains the distress of letters like the one he wrote to Durand on October 30, 1912:

My dear Jacques,

The meeting with the "money men" was as painful as it was fruitless.... My conditions were deemed ridiculous. They were asking more than double. I therefore don't know what to do!



Borrowing from the Société is a little unkind. Monsieur B. is a man of limited friendliness; he is a brute and, moreover, I am not certain of his discretion.

On the other hand, I am too overdrawn with you to continue to ask you for advances.

My only remaining hope is to turn to Jacques Durand "alone." ... — Please believe, first of all, that you are entitled not to take anything I am asking you for, or my distress, into account. — I would need you to lend me, for a 4-year period, the sum of 12,000 francs, which I would repay you at the annual rate for 3,000 francs—beginning next year.

I need not tell you how painful it has been for me to write the preceding lines and to appear to speculate on our friendship.

The only thing I am asking is that, no matter what you decide, you will bear me no grudge, and will retain towards me a friendship that I consider more precious than all others, and above these difficulties.<sup>40</sup>

But his debts toward the Durand firm were not the only ones. The postmortem inventory mentions that Debussy had borrowed 44,843.40 francs in October 1913 from an organization called *L'Avenir du proletariat*.<sup>41</sup> In a letter probably dating from June 1914 to Maurice Martin, a solicitor who tried to help him to secure new loans, he wrote down the names of people to whom he owed money, amounting roughly to 40,000 francs, yet he did not mention the loan from *L'Avenir du proletariat*.<sup>42</sup> The names of some of those lenders still figured in the postmortem inventory. Others not mentioned on Debussy's list include Henry Russell, director of the Boston Opera Company, to whom Debussy owed 5,000 francs.<sup>43</sup> Let me add, to close this discussion, that the loans contracted by Debussy generated high interest, some of which added 25 percent of the borrowed amount.<sup>44</sup> This resulted in a diabolical spiral: the more Debussy borrowed, the more he owed.

The comparison between Debussy's income and his debts raises the question of how such a situation occurred. The separation from Lilly and his association with Emma Bardac produced a radical change of lifestyle. From January 1899 until July 1904 Debussy lived in a modest one-bedroom apartment located at 58, rue Cardinet, of which Michèle Worms de Romilly, one of Debussy's rare pupils, has left a description:

The Debussys lived there on the fourth floor of a narrow rental building... a small apartment meticulously clean and neat... The place breathed an air of intimacy and peace in two small rooms connected by a glazed partition. One was the maestro's studio where, on his desk, manuscripts, inkpots, and pencils were arranged in perfect order. There was also a sofa, a few oriental carpets and on the walls, paintings by Lerolle, Jacques Blanche, Thaulow... In the other room, there were an upright piano, books, scores.<sup>45</sup>

During that period the royalties generated by *Pelléas* no doubt helped him to reimburse advances paid by Hartmann and owed to his heirs following his



death in April 1900. Debussy's financial situation must have improved quickly because in August 1903 he considered purchasing a piece of land in Burgundy, Lilly's native region.<sup>46</sup> His proprietary dreams soon vanished, however; in September 1904, after staying with Emma in Jersey, then in Dieppe, he left the rue Cardinet to live for a year in an apartment at 10, avenue Alphand in the sixteenth arrondissement. One year later he moved with Emma to a very handsome townhouse on avenue Foch, owned by Mr. Fairbin, an alcoholic Englishman (in Debussy's own words).<sup>47</sup> The rent for this dwelling amounted to 10,000 francs a year, paid by Emma Debussy with the annual pension for the same amount she received from her first husband, Sigismond Bardac. As Debussy wrote to his friend the painter Paul Robert, Emma had little additional income and, to my knowledge, no personal fortune.<sup>48</sup> This did not prevent some of the composer's colleagues from spreading rumors that his association with Emma was dictated by money, nor from making jokes about the title of the third of the *Images pour piano* (second series), "Poissons d'or!"<sup>49</sup> It was for Debussy to take on the couple's other expenses: a female cook, a nanny for Chouchou, a car with its driver, Jules, and probably a housemaid for Emma. To this one should add the expenses for the decoration of the house, tastefully arranged by Emma, clothing expenses, and summer stays in luxury hotels (in Eastbourne, Dieppe, and Houlgate). Despite a higher and higher income, Debussy alone was not able to meet the expenses of such a lifestyle. In September 1913 he confessed to the visiting Victor Segalen that he was considering a move to the suburbs in order to have more peace and a less costly house.<sup>50</sup> The need for money was such that it caused tensions in the Debussy household, as he admitted to Durand a few months before:

To fight on one's own is nothing! But to fight "en famille" becomes odious! Add to this the domestic demands of an obsolete luxury which one will not understand that it has become, nowadays, impossible to sustain.

As for me, I am struggling only in the name of a certain point of honor which may be illusory, but can be explained in the sense that I do not want, some day, to be blamed for accepting the current situation only to exploit it to my advantage—(the delicious irony of this state of affairs!)

It may be partly my fault, for I have no energy except intellectually; on a daily basis I trip against the tiniest stone, which anyone else would kick away easily! Besides I have an inborn horror of arguments of any sort.<sup>51</sup>

Yet this expensive lifestyle was not due solely to Emma, whose aesthetic sense did, after all, appeal to Debussy. As Raoul Bardac wrote several years after Debussy's death, "The life he led there was one not of luxury (for he had no expensive or conspicuous tastes) but of extreme comfort and refinement."<sup>52</sup> Several details in Debussy's correspondence show to what extent he was



sensitive to the way Emma organized her daily life, for example when he arrived in Vienna, alone, in late November 1910 and emptied his suitcases in his hotel room: "I go back upstairs, sadly unpack my bags, note their prodigious orderliness; I do not miss the lovely opportunity to marvel tenderly at your domestic virtues. I think what this unremarkable room would be like if you were with me, with your decorative genius."<sup>53</sup> To be sure, Debussy had a relationship with money that did not make it easy to put any aside in savings. At the Villa Médicis he freely borrowed from fellow students or Count Primoli, ostensibly to help his needy parents but actually to purchase a few coveted objects. When he was living with Lilly, Michèle Worms de Romilly wrote down in her memoirs:

Debussy had the surest, most refined natural taste, and loved beautiful things. He enjoyed ancient art; he spent long sessions at an antique dealer's, close to our home on Avenue Victor Hugo, using the lesson fee as down payment (to the despair of his wife, who anxiously awaited his return to buy dinner supplies). There was above all a certain Louis XV sofa he often spoke to me about; he was dying to acquire it.<sup>54</sup>

The composer was well aware of his irresistible and sudden infatuations with objects. As he wrote to André Poniatowski in February 1893:

All in all, Desire is everything: you have a mad, sincere craving, almost a need, for an art object (a Velasquez, a Satsuma vase, or a new type of necktie). What a joy when you own it, it is truly love—At the end of a week nothing—the object is there—you spend five or six days without glancing at it. You only see it with a recurrence of passion after an absence of several months....—Like the sun, which is so marvellously dear at the first return of April mornings,—and later becomes tedious as the summer months go by.<sup>55</sup>

Leaving aside the rumors spread during Lilly's hospital stay after her October 1904 suicide attempt, there was a certain insouciance in Debussy's character; he did not hesitate, as he told Segalen in October 1907, to pocket the 500 francs an American woman had sent him without sending her the line of music requested in return.<sup>56</sup> In a letter from the 1890s, which I recently discovered, to an unidentified recipient who reproached him for not reimbursing him, Debussy retorted:

Really your second letter was useless, you are far too harsh in your diligent attempts to prove to me that I am a dishonest person!... I often act, with culpable lightheadedness, especially under certain circumstances! That does not prevent me from experiencing remorse; in any event, I am not that black, believe me....

Furthermore, if one fell from greatness by borrowing money, many people would deserve the rope at once, and people you esteem all the same. Besides I have not done it to everybody, but only to those who seemed to be somewhat



sympathetic to me, and because of an ill luck that has never stopped pursuing me, despite my alleged talent for making money.<sup>57</sup>

These few texts and testimonies are not intended to pass moral judgment, but simply to get a better focus, to the extent that can be done, on Debussy's psychology. Whatever else one might say, Debussy, by forming a bond with Emma, succeeded in moving to a different social status in a period when what is now called "social mobility" was exceptional. The success of *Pelléas*, coming on top of this change, made Debussy more famous. It is, moreover, significant that the raise Durand gave him in July 1904, when he paid him for *Masques*, *L'Isle joyeuse*, and the second series of *Fêtes galantes*, coincided with the beginning of his affair with Emma. By becoming a "bourgeois" he was able to command larger sums from Durand. The metamorphosis from a poor composer with an active nightlife, living somewhat on the margins of society, into a member of the establishment is manifested in several photographs in which, in Emma's company, he can be seen wearing an elegant suit and bowler hat. Erik Satie, a long-time friend, was not fooled when writing to his brother on April 11, 1911: "Debussy married a very rich woman six years ago. He is living on avenue du Bois de Boulogne in a sumptuous townhouse surrounded by a magnificent garden. He is kind enough to entertain me for lunch every Friday."<sup>58</sup> Debussy was well aware of existing social barriers, as is evident in the anguished letter he wrote to Hartmann on July 14, 1898, probably when he fell in love with Alice Peter, the dedicatee of the *Chansons de Bilitis*:

In addition to all that, my life has been embellished with sentimental complications that made it most troubled, the most complicated thing I know. I would need a lot of money to overcome, or even destroy, the barriers laws put up between those who seek personal felicity, and since I barely have enough not to starve, I am witnessing, powerless, the ruin of all my tender, beautiful dreams.<sup>59</sup>

Debussy paid a heavy price for destroying the social barriers separating human beings, the first time in 1894 at the time of the breakup of his engagement to Thérèse Roger, the second time in 1904, once he started living with Emma. Most of his friends, often from more favored social classes, like Pierre Louÿs, did not forgive him for abandoning a woman from his milieu, the modest milliner Lilly, for a woman of the world, and dropped him from their acquaintance.

Finally, we have to confront the question I asked in my introduction: What influence did the need for money exert on Debussy's artistic creation between 1909 and 1914? In February 1907 Vuillermoz, an ardent *debussyste*, censured him for the orchestration of *Le Jet d'eau*, one of the *Cinq Poèmes de Baudelaire*, for offering "disdainfully, just scraps from old drawers, repeats and new



editions.”<sup>60</sup> Admittedly several orchestrations, such as that of the *Rapsodie pour clarinette et piano*, which partly financed the August 1911 vacation at the *grand hôtel* in Houlgate, or *La Plus que lente* in February 1912, and probably the *Berceuse héroïque* in December 1914, were dictated by financial need. Should one include the orchestral version of the *Trois Ballades de François Villon*, realized five months after the one for voice and piano? The question cannot be answered in a straightforward fashion. I can simply point out that although the composer had considered orchestrating two of his *Proses lyriques* between 1896 and 1902, he was very reluctant to add any kind of orchestral noise to his songs. Only a close friend such as Caplet was allowed, in October 1912, to orchestrate two of his *Ariettes* (“C’est l’extase” and “Green”). On the other hand, there is no question that the solo piano version of the *Épigraphes antiques* Debussy produced in April 1915 was dictated by pressing need, all the more so since the First World War was depriving him of part of his royalties. On April 6, 1915, the date he signed a contract at Durand’s for this transcription, the document stipulated that his 1,500 francs down payment also applied to a transcription of *Jeux* for piano four hands that never saw the light of day. The enumeration of these arrangements of various works implies no aesthetic judgment whatsoever and is simply meant to clarify the conditions under which they were produced. From this point of view, the two-hand version of the *Épigraphes antiques*, of such fearful pianistic difficulty, would repay a study as a model of “sonic equivalence,”<sup>61</sup> an idea he preached to Dr. Benfeld, author of the awkward 1904 four-hand transcription of his quartet commissioned by Durand.

With the exception of the *Rapsodie pour saxophone et orchestre*, the orchestration of which he did not complete, and possibly the *Marche écossaise*, Debussy was not fond of commissions and kept at bay anyone putting any kind of artistic pressure on his art. Yet in September 1910, when the couple began to feel that the financial noose was getting tighter, he accepted Maud Allan’s proposition to compose a ballet on a theme of her own devising. The many worries this slightly mythomaniac dancer made him go through disgusted him with the work, which he did not orchestrate himself. A few months later he was approached by Gabriele D’Annunzio and the dancer Ida Rubinstein with a view to writing music to accompany the theatrical piece by the Italian poet and the choreography by the Russian dancer. When he received D’Annunzio’s letter in Vienna on November 30, 1910, he was not much in favor of the proposition, fearing that he might give “the impression of holding some kind of specialized business for ballerinas.”<sup>62</sup> But D’Annunzio’s charm and friendly pressure on Emma from Astruc and Ida Rubinstein triumphed over Debussy’s reticence. In addition came a sum of 20,000 francs stipulated by the contract signed on December 9, 1911, an amount that “in



feelings of high propriety and artistic respect" became his, even if he missed the deadline.<sup>63</sup> Roger-Ducasse, who had been approached before Debussy but declined the offer, joked about Debussy's acceptance in a letter to his friend Lambinet dated December 9, 1910, stressing, "Our musician must have been offered and have received the fat sum, otherwise he wouldn't have gone along with it."<sup>64</sup> Likewise the ballet *Jeux* would not have been born in 1912–13 without Diaghilev's persistence and money. I can add that the propositions from Maud Allan, D'Annunzio, and Diaghilev freed him from the impasse in which he found himself over his opera *La Chute de la Maison Usher*, while providing opportunities to write for the stage. Without those well-paid contracts, we might not have had any more orchestral works. As I have shown, it was financially more viable to write a series of piano works, like the second book of *Préludes* or the *Études*, than a work for orchestra. Here again, I do not intend to bring in any aesthetic assessment that would devalue one work to the benefit of another. On the contrary, I am trying to come up with a statement of fact by linking Debussy's oeuvre to the constraints of his daily life, constraints, however, that should not be overstated. In any case, it seems to me relevant to analyze Debussy's production in the years 1908 to 1914 from this angle.

Yet are we to follow Paul Dukas, when he wrote to his friend Paul Poujaud on March 11, 1915, "I have the impression that editorial work has spoiled this fine musical intuition that guided him once and he has lost the assurance to which we owe the *Faune* and *Pelléas*"?<sup>65</sup> The composition of the sonatas, the *Études*, and *En blanc et noir* provides a sweeping denial. Debussy was the first to believe it and said so in September 1917 in a letter to Jacques Durand, evoking that fine summer of 1915: "I thought I had succeeded in mounting my horse again and had triumphed over bad luck. . . . What has happened since—I almost dare not think of it! But, I am still sick and the catalogue of my works has not grown much."<sup>66</sup> Far from having a negative effect, the constant need for money contributed to the birth of works that otherwise might not have existed. But that was clearly not Debussy's view, as he confessed in November 1907 to Roger-Ducasse, who wrote to a friend, "Debussy told me (and this is cruel coming from his mouth) that an artist should not expect to earn his bread through his own work, but, conversely, from a patron of the arts, from a prince of the state, who would supply him with all he needed. The last interesting artistic manifestation was Wagner. On the day when, having found Ludwig II, he was able to devote himself entirely to his ideas."<sup>67</sup>



TABLE 7.1A Sale of Piano Works

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
April 11, 1891	<i>Deux Arabesques</i>	Durand et Schoenwerk	200
March 14, 1891	<i>Suite bergamasque</i> , published June 1905	Choudens then Fromont	100
January 31, 1891	<i>Ballade slave (Ballade) Valse romantique</i> <i>Tarentelle styrienne (Dances)</i>	Choudens	200 <sup>1</sup>
July 27, 1892	<i>Nocturne</i>	Paul Dupont	100
August 7, 1903	<i>Estampes</i>	Durand	300 <sup>2</sup>
July 8, 1903	<i>Images (1st set)</i> published October 1905	Durand	375
July 8, 1903	<i>Images (2nd set)</i> published January 1907	Durand	375
March 30, 1904	<i>D'un cahier d'esquisses</i>	Schott	250 (?) <sup>3</sup>
July 29, 1904	<i>Masques, L'Isle joyeuse</i>	Durand	1,000
July 31, 1908	<i>Children's Corner</i>	Durand	3,000
December 31, 1909	<i>Hommage à Haydn</i>	Durand	500
April 15, 1910	<i>La plus que lente</i>	Durand	1,000
February 29, 1912			500 (orchestration)
February 9, 1910	<i>Préludes (1st book)</i>	Durand	7,000
January 31, 1912	<i>Préludes (2nd book)</i>	Durand	12,000
July 15, 1914	<i>Six épiques antiques</i>	Durand	3,000 (four hands)
April 6, 1915			1,000 (piano solo version)
November 19, 1914	<i>Berceuse héroïque</i>	Durand	500
December 17, 1914			500 (orchestration)
July 9, 1915	<i>En blanc et noir</i>	Durand	4,500 (two pianos)
September 3, 1915	<i>Études</i>	Durand	12,000

1. See also François Lesure and Denis Herlin, eds., *Claude Debussy, Correspondance 1872–1918* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), 557.

2. The contract also applied to the sale of the *Trois Chansons de France* for a total of 600 francs. I divided the amount by half for each work.

3. The amount indicated is based on the price at which the work, originally published in the magazine *Paris illustré*, was sold to Schott frères (Brussels) in March 1904.

It is highly probable that the sum corresponds to the amount Debussy received from the magazine. See Henri Vanhulst, "L'éditeur bruxellois Schott frères et *D'un cahier d'esquisses* de Debussy," *Cahiers Debussy* 26 (2002): 9–10.



TABLE 7.1B Sale of Chamber Music Works

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
October 13, 1893	<i>Quatuor</i>	Durand	250
January 12, 1910	<i>Rapsodie pour clarinette et piano</i>	Durand	1,500
July 21, 1911			1,000 (orchestration)
July 18, 1910	<i>Pièce pour clarinette et piano</i>	Durand	500
August 9, 1915	<i>Sonate pour violoncelle et piano</i>	Durand	3,000
February 5, 1916	<i>Sonate pour flûte, alto et harpe</i>	Durand	4,000
February 5, 1916	<i>Sonate pour violon et piano</i>	Durand	4,000



TABLE 7.1C Sale of Songs and Choral Works

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
June 6, 1882	Nuit d'étoiles	Bulla	50
September 24, 1890	Mandoline	Durand et Schcenwerk	100
June 17, 1891	Romances ( <i>L'âme évaporée, Les feuilles s'ouvraient</i> )	Durand et Schcenwerk	150
August 30, 1891	Trois Mélodies sur des poèmes de Verlaine, published in August 1901; one unidentified song on a poem by Bourget	Choudens	150 <sup>1</sup>
September 21, 1893	<i>La Belle au bois dormant, Romance, Paysage sentimental</i>	Paul Dupont	200
January 15, 1894	<i>Proses lyriques</i>	Hartmann/Fromont	400
April 27, 1897 May 20, 1898	<i>Chansons de Bilitis</i>	Hartmann/Fromont	300
May 16, 1902	<i>Cinq Poèmes de Baudelaire, La Damoiselle élue</i>	Durand	1,000
August 7, 1903	<i>Trois Chansons de France</i>	Durand	300
March 8, 1904	<i>Printemps</i>	Durand	250
July 4, 1904	<i>Fêtes galantes (2nd set)</i>	Durand	600
June 5, 1907	<i>Le Jet d'eau</i>	Durand	500 (orchestration)
June 23, 1908	<i>Trois Chansons de Charles d'Orléans</i>	Durand	1,500
April 15, 1910	<i>Deux Poèmes de Tristan L'Hermite</i>	Durand	1,000
June 1, 1910	<i>Trois Ballades de François Villon</i>	Durand	3,000
November 24, 1910			1,500 (orchestration)
July 15, 1913	<i>Trois Poèmes de Mallarmé</i>	Durand	2,000
December 4, 1915	<i>Noël des enfants qui n'ont plus de maison</i>	Durand	1,500

1. This amount also includes the sale of two piano pieces: *Rêverie* and *Mazurka*.



TABLE 7.1D Sale of Orchestral Works and Other

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
April 24, 1890	<i>Fantaisie pour piano et orchestre</i> , unpublished	Choudens	200
October 24, 1894	<i>Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune</i>	Hartmann/Fromont	200 (including the two-piano transcription)
August 17, 1903	<i>Rapsodie pour saxophone et orchestre</i> , unpublished	Durand	100
May 7, 1904	<i>Danses pour harpe</i>	Durand	300
December 22, 1904	<i>La Mer</i>	Durand	2,000
			500 (four-hand version)
August 7, 1903			750
April 15, 1908	<i>Images pour orchestre</i>	Durand	4,800
February 9, 1910			750
			= 6,300
December 9, 1910	<i>Le Martyre de saint Sébastien</i>	Astruc/Durand	20,000 (Astruc contract)
January 11, 1911			4,000 (orchestral score)
May 12, 1911			2,000 (arrangement as an orchestral suite)
June 9, 1911			2,000 (revision of the piano-vocal score)
			= 28,000



	Jeux	Diaghilev/Durand
June 18, 1912		10,000 (Diaghilev contract)
August 30, 1912		6,000 (orchestral score)
August 30, 1912		1,000 (transcription for piano two-hands)
August 30, 1912		1,000 (for concert performances)
April 6, 1915		500 (two-piano transcription) <sup>1</sup>
		= 18,500
July 15, 1913	La Boîte à joujoux	6,000 (piano version)
September 5, 1913		2,000 (orchestration)
September 12, 1913		
October 27, 1913		= 8,000

1. This arrangement was never realized.



TABLE 7.1E Sale of Operatic Works

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
March 31, 1905	<i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i>	Durand	16,666 (orchestral score)
March 31, 1905			9,000 (piano vocal score) = 25,666
October 14, 1903	<i>Le Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand	12,000 (orchestral score)
October 10, 1910			12,000 (piano-vocal score) <sup>1</sup> = 24,000
August 26, 1916	<i>La Chute de la Maison Usher</i>	Durand	10,000 (orchestral score)
(conjectural) <sup>2</sup>			5,000 (piano-vocal score) 10,000 (unspecified) = 25,000

1. This sale of a work yet to be composed concerned the sale of the rights to sell the piano-vocal score: "The undersigned Claude Debussy, living at 80 Avenue du Bois de Boulogne, sells and transfers to Monsieur Jacques Durand, publisher, established in Paris at 19 Avenue de l'Alma, my ten per cent (10%) royalties on the piano-vocal Score and libretto of *Le Diable dans le beffroi*." Quoted in Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 1320. I have found no other mention anywhere of royalties on the sale of scores.
2. Manuscript note in the Durand archives, Paris, dated August 26, 1916.

Annual Income

1902

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
May 16	<i>Cinq Poèmes de Baudelaire</i> <i>La Damoiselle élue</i>	Durand (contract)	1,000
Total I			1,000
Date	Royalties	Source	Amount in francs
1902	Royalties from SACD		7,919.19
Total II			7,919.19
Total (I+II)			8,919.19



1903

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
August 17	<i>Estampes</i>	Durand archive	600
October 14	<i>Trois Chansons de France</i>	(contract)	
	1st monthly payment for	Durand archive	500
	<i>Diab! dans le beffroi</i>	(receipt)	
November 14	2nd monthly payment for	Durand archive }	500
	<i>Diab! dans le beffroi</i>	(receipt)	
December 15	3rd monthly payment for	Durand archive	500
	<i>Diab! dans le beffroi</i>	(receipt)	
Total I			2,100
Date	Royalties	Source	Amount in francs
1903	Royalties from SACD		2,337.60
Total II			2,337.60
Total (I+II)			4,437.60

1904

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
January 14	4th monthly payment for	Durand archive	500
	<i>Diab! dans le beffroi</i>	(receipt)	
February 12	5th monthly payment for	Durand archive	500
	<i>Diab! dans le beffroi</i>	(receipt)	
March 8	<i>Printemps</i>	Durand archive	250
		(contract)	
March 15	6th monthly payment for	Durand archive	500
	<i>Diab! dans le beffroi</i>	(receipt)	
March 30	<i>D'un cahier d'esquisses</i>	Schott	250
April 15	7th monthly payment for	Durand archive	500
	<i>Diab! dans le beffroi</i>	(receipt)	
May 7	<i>Danses</i>	Durand archive	300
		(contract)	
May 13	8th monthly payment for	Durand archive	500
	<i>Diab! dans le beffroi</i>	(receipt)	
June 15	9th monthly payment for	Durand archive	500
	<i>Diab! dans le beffroi</i>	(receipt)	
July 4	<i>Fêtes galantes (2nd set)</i>	Durand archive	600
		(contract)	
July 11	10th monthly payment for	Durand archive	500
	<i>Diab! dans le beffroi</i>	(receipt)	
July 29	<i>Masques, L'Isle joyeuse</i>	Durand archive	1000
		(contract)	

(continued)



1904 Continued

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
August 16	11th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	500
October 1	12th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	500
October 15	13th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	500
November 3	14th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	500
November 15	15th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	500
December 22	<i>La Mer</i> (1st down payment)	Durand archive (receipt)	1,000
<b>Total I</b>			9,400
Date	Royalties	Source	Amount in francs
1904	Royalties from SACD		1,944.40
<b>Total II</b>			1,944.40
<b>Total (I+II)</b>			11,344.40

1905

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
January 14	16th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	500
January 28	<i>La Mer</i> (2nd down payment)	Durand archive (receipt)	500
February 15	17th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	500
February 27	<i>La Mer</i> (3rd down payment)	Durand archive (receipt)	500
March 15	18th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i> <sup>1</sup>	Durand archive (receipt)	500
March 31	<i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	16,666.65
April 15	1st monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	500
May 15	2nd monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	500
May 27	Liquidation of the account deposited by M. Fromont, publisher, Paris, for <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	1,052.45



June 13	3rd monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	500
July 17	4th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	500
August 16	5th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i> <sup>2</sup>	Durand archive (receipt)	100
September 15	6th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	100
September	<i>Images (1st set)</i>	Durand archive (1903 contract)	375
October 14	7th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	100
November 15	8th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	100
December 16	9th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	100

**Total I** 23,094.10

Date	Royalties	Source	Amount in francs
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1905	Royalties from SACD		2,242.77
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**Total II** 2,242.77

**Total (I+II)** 25,336.87

1. Under the terms of the contract of March 31, 1905, Debussy received 9,000 francs for the sale of the piano-vocal score of *Pelléas et Mélisande*. The sum was not paid to him, but corresponded to the first eighteen payments for *Le Diable dans le beffroi*. Beginning on April 15, 1905, Debussy received more monthly payments of 500 francs for *Le Diable dans le beffroi*.
2. From that date onward, the Durand firm agreed to pay 400 francs to Lilly Debussy until Debussy's death in exchange for exclusive rights to his works and the delivery of four scores every year. If these conditions were not respected, Durand could reimburse himself on forthcoming royalties. The clause was abandoned on October 3, 1913, when Debussy recovered the entirety of his rights.

1906

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
January 15	Fee for the revision of <i>Fêtes de Polymnie</i> and for the four-hand transcription of <i>La Mer</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	1,000
February 15	11th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	100
March 15	12th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	100

(continued)



1906 Continued

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
April 17	13th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	100
May 14	14th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	100
June 20	15th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	100
July 13	16th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	100
August 13	17th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	100
September 17	18th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	100
October 15	19th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	100
November 15	20th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	100
December 17	21st monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	100
Total I			2,100

Date	Royalties	Source	Amount in francs
1906	Royalties from SACD		4,412.87
Total II			4,412.87
Total (I+II)			6,512.87

1907

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
January 15	22nd monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	100
February 9	23rd monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	100
March 14	24th monthly payment for <i>Diable dans le beffroi</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	100
March 31	<i>Images (2nd set)</i>	Durand archive (Debussy's account)	375
June 5	Orchestration of <i>Jet d'eau</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	500
June 15	Advance payment for work in progress	Durand archive (Debussy's account)	500
Total I			1,675



Date	Royalties	Source	Amount in francs
February 8	Royalties from SACEM	Durand archive (receipt)	225.05
March 11	Royalties from SACD	Durand archive (receipt)	749.15
May 11	Royalties from SACD	Durand archive (receipt)	1,053.25
Total II			2,027.45
Total (I+II)			3,702.45

1908

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
April 15	<i>Images pour orchestre</i> <sup>1</sup>	Durand archive (contract)	4,800
June 23	<i>Trois Chansons de Charles d'Orléans</i>	Durand archive (contract)	1,500
July 31	<i>Children's Corner</i>	Durand archive (contract)	3,000
July 31	Orchestration of <i>L'Enfant prodigue</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	1,000
July 31	Orchestration of <i>Printemps</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	800
Total I			11,100

Date	Royalties	Source	Amount in francs
April 15	Royalties for performances of <i>Pelléas</i> and payment for rental of <i>Pelléas</i> in New York	Durand archive (receipt)	1,438.85 <sup>2</sup>
April 15	Royalties from SACEM through March 31	Durand archive (receipt)	460.35
April 24	Royalties from SACD until this day	Durand archive (receipt)	2,193.20
June 23	Payment for rental of <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> in Milan, 1907-8 season, there being no royalties	Durand archive (receipt)	155.55
November 10	Payment for rental of <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> in New York, 1908-9 season	Durand archive (receipt)	1,000

(continued)



1908 Continued

Date	Royalties	Source	Amount in francs
November 12	Royalties from SACD, 2nd and 3rd trimesters	Durand archive (receipt)	264.35
Total II			5,512.30
Date	Additional income	Source	Amount in francs
February 1	Concert at the Queen's Hall, London ( <i>La Mer</i> , <i>Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune</i> )	See above, 158	5,000
July 5	Contract for exclusive performance rights to <i>La Chute de la Maison Usher</i> and <i>Le Diable dans le beffroi</i> at the Metropolitan Opera	Lesure and Herlin, <i>Debussy</i> , <i>Correspondance</i> , 1110 (10,000, including 2,000 paid to Debussy at signing)	2,000
Total III			7,000
Total (I+II +III)			23,612.30

1. It is no doubt significant that the sum matches exactly the alimony paid by Durand to Lilly Debussy in a year.
2. The amounts received are detailed in the "Compte de Monsieur Debussy" (F-Pn Rés Vm. dos. 13 [13]): "May 31 Remittance for rental of *Pelléas et Mélisande* in New York 1,000/ June 25 royalties *id.* Frankfurt 301.55/ July 23 royalties *id.* 137.30." The total of these figures matches the amount indicated above (1,438.85 francs). *Pelléas et Mélisande* was premiered in Frankfurt in April 1907. The New York premiere, on the other hand, took place in February 1908.



1909

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
January 15	Advance payment for work in progress. Note: "Applied to the contract for the sale of the <i>Préludes</i> 9 February 1910."	Durand archive (receipt) Lesure and Herlin, Debussy, <i>Correspondance</i> , 1146	1,000
July 27	Advance payment for work in progress. Note: "Applied to the contract for the sale of the <i>Préludes</i> 9 February 1910."	Durand archive (receipt)	1,000
December 31	<i>Hommage à Haydn</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	500
Total I			2,500

Date	Royalties	Source	Amount in francs
March 16	Royalties from SACEM through December 31, 1908	Durand archive (receipt)	99.10
March 16	Royalties from SACD through February 28, 1909	Durand archive (receipt)	5,875.90
May 1	Foreign royalties and rental payments for <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> during the 1908-9 theatrical season (as per contract)	Durand archive (receipt)	2,808.75
October 9	Royalties from SACEM for remittances nos. 239, 240, 241, 242, year 1909	Durand archive (receipt)	666.55
Total II			9,450.30

Date	Additional income	Source	Amount in francs
February 27	Concert at the Queen's Hall, London ( <i>Nocturnes</i> , <i>Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune</i> )	Lesure and Herlin, Debussy, <i>Correspondance</i> , 1157	5,000 (?)
Total III			5,000
Total (I+II +III)			16,950.30



1910			
Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
January 12	<i>Rapsodie pour clarinette et orchestre</i>	Durand archive (contract)	1,500
February 9	<i>Préludes</i> (1st book)	Durand archive (Debussy's account)	3,000
February 9	"Additional payment based on the importance of my manuscript of <i>Images 2<sup>e</sup> Série pour orchestre</i> <i>Ibéria, Rondes, Gigue</i> sold by contract on 15 April 1908 and final payment for the two-piano series."	Durand archive (receipt)	750
February 9	"Additional payment based on the importance of my work <i>Printemps, suite symphonique pour orchestre, piano et chœur</i> sold by contract on 8 March 1904."	Durand archive (receipt)	1,000
April 5	Advance payment on royalties and work in progress <i>La plus que lente</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	1,500
April 15	<i>Deux Poèmes de Tristan L'Hermite</i>	Durand archive (contract)	1,000
April 15	<i>Trois Ballades de François Villon</i>	Durand archive (contract)	1,000
June 1	<i>Pièce pour clarinette et piano</i>	Durand archive (contract)	3,000
July 18	Advance payment on work in progress	Durand archive (contract)	500
August 26	Orchestration of <i>Trois Ballades de François Villon</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	466.65
November 24		Durand archive (receipt)	1,500
Total 1			15,216.65



Date	Royalties	Source	Amount in francs
January 12 March 12	Royalties from SACEM, remittance no. 243 "Royalties for Opéra-Comique performances of <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> on 11 and 25 March and 10 and 11 April 1909."	Durand archive (receipt) Durand archive (receipt)	112.10 1,050.25
April 15 April 15	Royalties from SACEM, remittance no. 244 (April 1910). "Corresponding to my royalties for performances abroad for 1909/1910 season of 1st <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> – 11nd <i>L'Enfant prodigue</i> based on statement submitted."	Durand archive (receipt) Durand archive (receipt)	346.55 668
July 8	"Corresponding to my royalties, based on today's statement, for <i>L'Enfant prodigue</i> in London, <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> in Berlin and Bremen, <i>L'Enfant prodigue</i> in Boston, and my royalties from SACEM for the 1st trimester 1910 [remittance no. 245]."	Durand archive (receipt)	1,073.17
July 18	Royalties for five New York performances of <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> 1909–10 season	Durand archive (receipt)	1,000
August 26	"Corresponding to my royalties for <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> for the three 1910 London performances."	Durand archive (receipt)	533.35
September 23	"Corresponding to my royalties for five performances of <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> to be given in Chicago during the 1910/1911 theatrical season."	Durand archive (receipt)	1,000
October 14 November 16	Royalties from SACEM for remittance no. 246 "Corresponding to my royalties for performances of <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> in London 1910/1911 winter season."	Durand archive (receipt) Durand archive (receipt)	148.05 1,000
Total II			6,931.47

(continued)



## 1910 Continued

Date	Additional income	Source	Amount in francs
September	<i>Khamma</i>	Maud Allan (contract) Lesure and Herlin, Debussy, <i>Correspondance</i> , 1312	10,000
December 2	Concert in Vienna ( <i>Petite Suite, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Ibéria</i> )	Lesure and Herlin, Debussy, <i>Correspondance</i> , 1344	4,000 (?)
December 4	Concert in Budapest ( <i>Children's Corner, Pagodes, Hommage à Rameau, Jardins sous la pluie</i> and with Rose Féart: <i>Fêtes galantes</i> [1st set], <i>Green</i> , two <i>Proses lyriques</i> )	Lesure and Herlin, Debussy, <i>Correspondance</i> , 1346	2,000 (?)
December 9	<i>Le Martyre de saint Sébastien</i>	Astruc (contract) Lesure and Herlin, Debussy, <i>Correspondance</i> , 1356	8,000
Total III			24,000 (?)
Total (I+II +III)			46,148.12



Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
May 12	Sale of the libretto <i>Masques et bergamasques</i>	Durand archive (Debussy's account)	500
May 12	Arrangement as an orchestral suite of symphonic fragments from <i>Le Martyre de saint Sébastien</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	2,000
May 12	<i>Le Martyre de saint Sébastien</i> (1st down payment)	Durand archive (receipt)	2,000
May 23	<i>Le Martyre de saint Sébastien</i> (2nd down payment)	Durand archive (receipt)	2,000
June 9	"Corresponding to my fee for my revision of the piano-vocal score of <i>Le Martyre de saint Sébastien</i> , reduced by Caplet."	Durand archive (receipt)	2,000
July 21	Advance payment on foreign royalties. Note: "Applied towards <i>Khamma</i> : see two-hand reduction of the ballet <i>Khamma</i> . Towards an orchestral suite from <i>Khamma</i> "	Durand archive (receipt)	2,000
July 21	Orchestration of the <i>Rapsodie pour clarinette</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	1,000
November 18	Advance payment on the sale of <i>Khamma</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	3,000
Total 1			14,500

Date	Royalties	Source	Amount in francs
January 11	Royalties from SACEM, remittance no. 247	Durand archive (receipt)	147.05
March 10	Royalties from SACD "for performances of <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> 1st Opéra-Comique on 18, 21, 23, and 25 February 1911 11nd in Brussels for 3 performances in January 1911."	Durand archive (receipt)	2,569.50
March 10	"Corresponding to the remittance for Rome, (according to the San Martino contract) <i>Le Martyre de saint Sébastien</i> , paid to me by SACD on 10 March 1911."	Durand archive (receipt)	1,500

(continued)



## 1911 Continued

Date	Royalties	Source	Amount in francs
March 10	"Corresponding to my royalties 4 performances of <i>L'Enfant prodigue</i> " in Magdeburg, 1910-11 season	Durand archive (receipt)	31.85
April 10	Royalties from SACD	Durand archive (receipt)	2,630.95
	1st SACD (March remittance) 2,452.55 francs		
	2nd SACD (remittance no. 248, April)		
May 5	Royalties "for foreign performances of <i>L'Enfant prodigue</i> , 1910/1911 season"	Durand archive (receipt)	350.85
June 12	Royalties from SACD "April remittance for <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> and May remittance for <i>Le Martyre de saint Sébastien</i> , minus the deduction for my cancellation of 28 May 1911 at the Châtelet"	Durand archive (receipt)	4,834.20
July 8	Royalties from SACEM (remittance no. 249)	Durand archive (receipt)	565.10
October 10	Royalties from SACEM (remittance no. 250)	Durand archive (receipt)	302.25
Total II			12,931.75

Date	Additional income	Source	Amount in francs
May 1911	<i>Le Martyre de saint Sébastien</i>	Astruc (final payment on contract)	12,000
June 25	Concert in Turin ( <i>Children's Corner, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Ibéria</i> )	Lesure and Herlin, <i>Debussy, Correspondance</i> , 1356	5,000 (?)
Total III			17,000 (?)
Total (I+II+III)			44,431.75



Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
January 31	<i>Préludes (2nd book)</i>	Durand archive (contract and receipt)	12,000
February 29	Orchestration of <i>La plus que lente</i> "salon waltz authored by me."	Durand archive (receipt)	500
April 29	Advance payment "on remittances stipulated by the sale contract for <i>Crimen amoris</i> , for which I wrote the music."	Durand archive (receipt)	5,000
August 30	"Corresponding to the remittance due at the delivery of my manuscript of the score of my ballet <i>Jeux</i> , and advance payment on the sum of six thousand francs due as per the sale contract signed today."	Durand archive (receipt)	3,000
August 30	"Corresponding to my fee for the piano two-hand transcription of my ballet <i>Jeux</i> ."	Durand archive (receipt)	1,000
August 30	"For the rights to the concert version of my ballet <i>Jeux</i> , transferred to Mssrs. Durand & Co."	Durand archive (receipt)	1,000
September 18	"Advance payment on the remittance due on delivery of the orchestral score of the ballet <i>Jeux</i> ."	Durand archive (receipt)	500
October 22	"Advance payment on the remittance due as per the sale contract for my ballet <i>Jeux</i> on delivery of the orchestral score."	Durand archive (receipt)	2,000
Total I			25,000

(continued)



1912 Continued

Date	Royalties	Source	Amount in francs
April 3	"Corresponding to my royalties for foreign performances during the 1910/1911 and 1911/1912 seasons for <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> and <i>L'Enfant prodigue</i> , as per statement submitted today." Royalties from SACEM (remittance no. 252)	Durand archive (receipt)	3,141.75
April 10	"Corresponding to the royalties and rental payment for <i>Le Martyre de saint Sébastien</i> abroad during the 1911/1912 theatrical season as per statement."	Durand archive (receipt)	230.56
May 4	"Corresponding to my SACD royalties for <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> in Brussels 50.25 May 1911, <i>Id.</i> in Nice 575 March 1912, <i>Id.</i> in Nice 38.35 April 1912, <i>Id.</i> in Geneva 73.60 April 1912, <i>Id.</i> Opéra Comique Paris [and] <i>L'Après Midi d'un faune</i> at the Châtelet," 4,428.05	Durand archive (receipt)	443.35
June 10	Royalties from SACD for remittance of June	Durand archive (receipt)	5,165.25
July 10	Royalties from SACEM (remittance no. 253)	Durand archive (receipt)	3,713.25
July 10	"Corresponding to my royalties for one performance of <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> in Chicago and one in Boston during the 1911/1912 theater season."	Durand archive (receipt)	645.25
			400



Date	Royalties	Source	Amount in francs
August 9	"Corresponding to my royalties for 2 performances of <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> to be given in 1912/1913 in Chicago, 3 <i>id.</i> given at Covent Garden summer 1912, 1 <i>id.</i> in Vienna in 1912."	Durand archive (receipt)	1,091.25
September 16	"Advance payment on my foreign royalties."	Durand archive (receipt)	500
October 8	Royalties from SACEM (remittance no. 254)	Durand archive (receipt)	393.25
Total II			15,723.91
Date	Additional income	Source	Amount in francs
June 18	<i>Jeux</i>	Diaghilev (contract), Lesure and Herlin, Debussy, <i>Correspondance</i> , 1521	5,000
October	2 articles for S.I.M.		400 (?)
Total III			5,400
Total (I+II +III)			46,123.91



1913				
Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs	
January 22	"Advance on the first payment for the sale of <i>Crimen amoris</i> as per sale contract."	Durand archive (receipt)	500	
April 4	"As a loan I promise to repay as soon as Mr. de Diaghilev has paid me the remittance for the same sum due for my score of <i>Jeux</i> ."	Durand archive (receipt)	5,000	
April 4	"As final payment for the sale of my ballet <i>Jeux</i> ."	Durand archive (receipt)	500	
April 4	"Advance payment on my work in progress." Note: "Applied towards the sale of <i>Caprices en blanc et noir</i> ."	Durand archive (receipt)	1,500	
July 15	<i>La Boîte à joujoux</i> , <i>Trois Poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé</i> (1st down payment)	Durand archive (receipt)	6,000	
July 25	<i>La Boîte à joujoux</i> , <i>Trois Poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé</i> (final payment)	Durand archive (receipt)	2,000	
September 5	Advance payment on the orchestration of <i>La Boîte à joujoux</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	1,000	
September 12	Advance payment for the orchestration of <i>La Boîte à joujoux</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	500	
October 27	"As final payment of the sum agreed upon for the orchestration of my ballet <i>La Boîte à joujoux</i> ."	Durand archive (receipt)	500	
Total			17,500	



Date	Royalties	Source	Amount in francs
January 8	Royalties from SACEM (remittance no. 255)	Durand archive (receipt)	375.15
February 17	"Corresponding to my SACD royalties, January 1913 remittance, for <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> ."	Durand archive (receipt)	3,230.50
April 4	"Advance payment on my foreign royalties." <sup>1</sup>	Durand archive (receipt)	500
June 13	"Corresponding to my royalties 1st From the Société de la rue Chaptal remittance no. 256 11nd From the Société des Auteurs dramatiques, remittances for February, March, April, and May 1913 111rd May remittance for the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées 1Vth Proceeds from sale of author's tickets (Porcher) between 1907 and June 1913 Vth Rental royalties for <i>L'Enfant prodigue</i> in Milan until 1914 VIth royalties for 2 performances of <i>Pelléas</i> in Boston 1912/1913 season."	Durand archive (receipt)	5,127.65
July 15	Royalties from SACEM (remittance no. 256)		778.35
October 7	Royalties from SACEM [remittance no. 257]		347.62
Total II			10,359.27

(continued)



1913 Continued

Date	Additional income	Source	Amount in francs
April 14	<i>Jeux</i>	Diaghilev (contract), Lesure and Herlin, Debussy, <i>Correspondance</i> , 1521, 1596	5,000
1913	7 articles for S.I.M.		
December 10	Concert in St. Petersburg (2 Nocturnes, <i>Rapsodie pour clarinette et orchestre</i> , <i>La Mer</i> , <i>Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune</i> , <i>Images pour orchestre</i> , <i>Marche écossaise</i> )	Lesure and Herlin, Debussy, <i>Correspondance</i> , 1712	1,400 (?) 5,000 (?)
December 13	Concert in Moscow (same program)	Lesure and Herlin, Debussy, <i>Correspondance</i> , 1723, n. 3	5,000 (?)
Total III			16,400
Total (I+II +III)			44,259.27

1. According to Debussy's account (F-Pn Rés. Vm. dos. 13 [17]), part of these advance payments corresponded to performances of *Pelléas et Mélisande* in Vienna and Frankfurt: "1912 November 4 on royalties for one performance of *Pelléas* in Vienna 78.29 ... 1913 February 7 for 2 performances *Pelléas* in Frankfurt 154.75 ... March 4 one performance *Pelléas* in Frankfurt and Vienna 144.95." These sums total 377.95 francs, an amount deducted from the advanced payments of September 16, 1912 (500 francs), and April 4, 1913 (500 francs). This explains the negative figure on the statement: 622.05 (1,000-377.95).



1914

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
January 26	"Advance on payments stipulated by the sale contract for <i>Le Palais du silence</i> ."	Durand archive (receipt)	3,000
February 17	Transcription for violin and piano of <i>Minstrels</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	500
February 17	"As final remittance for the payments stipulated by the sale contract for <i>Le Palais du silence</i> ." Note: "Payment for the orchestration."	Durand archive (receipt)	1,000
July 15	<i>Six Épigraphes antiques</i> (1st down payment)	Durand archive (receipt missing)	1,500
July 31	<i>Six Épigraphes antiques</i> (final payment)	Durand archive (receipt)	1,500
November 19	<i>Berceuse héroïque</i>	Durand archive (contract)	500
December 17	Orchestration of the <i>Berceuse héroïque</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	500
<b>Total I</b>			<b>8,500</b>

Date	Royalties	Source	Amount in francs
1914	Royalties from SACD ( <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> )	SACD	1,734.21
1914	Royalties from SACD ( <i>Nocturnes, Children's Corner</i> )	SACD	922.82
<b>Total II</b>			<b>2,657.03</b>

Date	Additional income	Source	Amount in francs
1914	3 articles for S.I.M.		600 (?)
February 22	Concert in Rome ( <i>La Mer, Rondes de printemps, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Marche écossaise</i> )	Lesure and Herlin, <i>Debussy, Correspondance, 1755</i>	5,000 (?)

(continued)



1914 Continued

Date	Additional income	Source	Amount in francs
March 1	Concert in The Hague (2 Nocturnes, <i>Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune</i> , <i>Marche écossaise</i> and 3 <i>Préludes: Danseuses de Delphes</i> , <i>La fille aux cheveux de lin</i> , <i>La Puerta del vino</i> )	Lesure and Herlin, <i>Debussy, Correspondance</i> , 1755	5,000 (?)
March 21	Concert in Paris with Ninon Vallin ( <i>Trois Poèmes de Stéphane Mallarmé</i> , <i>Le Promenoir des deux Amants</i> , <i>Children's Corner</i> , <i>Général Lavine eccentric</i> , <i>La Soirée dans Grenade</i> , <i>Jardins sous la pluie</i> )	Lesure and Herlin, <i>Debussy, Correspondance</i> , 1642	1,000
April 28	Private concert in Brussels with Ninon Vallin at Mr. and Mrs. Wittouck's ( <i>Le Promenoir des deux amants</i> and <i>Chansons de Bilitis</i> , <i>La Soirée dans Grenade</i> , <i>Jardins sous la pluie</i> [ <i>Estampes</i> ], <i>Hommage à Rameau</i> , <i>Reflets dans l'eau</i> , <i>Danseuses de Delphes</i> , <i>La Fille aux cheveux de lin</i> , <i>General Lavine eccentric</i> )	Lesure and Herlin, <i>Debussy, Correspondance</i> , 1803	2,000 (?)
July 17	Concert at the Queen's Hall, London ( <i>Petite Suite</i> , <i>Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune</i> , <i>Children's Corner</i> , <i>Danses for harp</i> , and six songs with Maggie Teyte)	Lesure and Herlin, <i>Debussy, Correspondance</i> , 1836	5,000
Total III			18,600
Total (I+II +III)			29,757.03



1915

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
February 11	"Corresponding to my fee for my revision of Chopin's works, consisting of: Ist Walzes II <sup>nd</sup> Ballades and Impromptus III <sup>rd</sup> Preludes and Rondos IV <sup>th</sup> Études V <sup>th</sup> Mazurkas."	Durand archive (receipt)	500
March 26	"Final payment of my fee for a revision of Chopin's Complete Works."	Durand archive (receipt)	1,000
April 6	Transcription for piano two hands of <i>Six Épigrapbes antiques</i> and transcription for two pianos (four hands) of <i>Jeux</i>	Durand archive (receipt)	1,500
April 28	"Corresponding to my fee for my revision of J. S. Bach's Complete Works: Ist 6 Sonatas for violin and piano II <sup>nd</sup> Sonatas for violin or flute and piano III <sup>rd</sup> 2 Trios for violins and piano IV <sup>th</sup> 3 Sonatas for viola da gamba and piano."	Durand archive (receipt)	1,000
July 9	"Advance payment on work in progress." Note: "Applied towards payment for <i>Caprices en blanc et noir</i> ."	Durand archive (receipt)	2,000
July 15	"Applied towards payment for <i>Caprices en blanc et noir</i> ."	Durand archive (receipt)	1,000
August 9	<i>Sonate pour violoncelle et piano</i>	Durand archive (contract)	3,000
September 3	<i>Études</i> (1st down payment)	Durand archive (receipt)	6,000
October 2	<i>Études</i> (final payment)	Durand archive (receipt)	6,000
October 19	<i>Sonate pour flûte, alto et harpe</i>	Durand archive (contract)	4,000
December 4	<i>Noël des enfants qui n'ont plus de maison</i>	Durand archive (contract)	1,500
Total			27,500



1916

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
August 10	"Advance payment on work in progress."	Durand archive (receipt)	200
Total I			200

Date	Royalties	Source	Amount in francs
June 8	Foreign rental payments and royalties: <i>Pelléas et Mélisande</i> "30 July, royalties for 3 summer 1913 London performances 600. October 2, <i>id.</i> 2 <i>id.</i> in New York 200. July 30, <i>id.</i> 3 <i>id.</i> in London summer 1914 600. 1913 August 25. Rental for London Mr. Denkof 150." <i>L'Enfant prodigue</i> "1913 November 3 for royalties on 3 performances. Budapest. 72.20. October 22. <i>id.</i> for rental in Cairo. 22.25. 1914 May 9. <i>id.</i> in Naarden. 22.25. 1916 January 10. <i>id.</i> for 10 performances in London. 221.60."		1,888.30
Total II			1,888.30
Total (I+II)			2,088.30

1917

Date	Works	Source	Amount in francs
February 5	<i>Sonate pour violon et piano</i>	Durand archive (Debussy's account)	4,000
Total			4,000



## NOTES

1. François Lesure and Denis Herlin, eds., *Claude Debussy, Correspondance 1872–1918* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), 408: “Sans vouloir créer un parallèle entre moi et Balzac, n’ayant rien de l’envergure de cette cathédrale littéraire, j’ai au moins en commun un éternel souci de l’argent et l’ignorance complète de ce qu’on appelle ‘des économies.’”

2. See the chapter devoted to Ernest Chausson, Henry Lerolle, and the Fontaines in Jean-Michel Nectoux, *Harmonie en bleu et or: Debussy, la musique et les arts* (Paris: Fayard, 2005), 32–67.

3. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 300, 497.

4. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 557: “Ç’avait été quelqu’un de providentiel pour moi et il mettait à jouer ce rôle une bonne grâce et un bon sourire, assez rares chez les philanthropes d’Art.”

5. On Debussy’s relations with the publishing firm Durand, see the excellent study by Robert Orledge, “Debussy, Durand et Cie: A French Composer and His Publishers (1884–1917),” in *The Business of Music*, ed. Michael Talbot (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), 121–51.

6. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 497: “Excuse-moi si je profite de cette lettre pour te demander le service de me prêter cinquante francs, je suis dans la purée la plus noire, sans parler de mes 300.000 f de dettes.”

7. The inventory was begun on March 7, 1919, and completed only on December 24, 1923. The liabilities of Debussy’s estate included:

- A claim on his royalties from the organization L’Avenir du Prolétariat “for a principal sum of eleven thousand, eight hundred and sixty francs and seventy centimes due on a loan for twenty four thousand, four hundred francs contracted before Mr. Bourdel, *notaire* in Paris, on the twenty-seventh of October, nineteen hundred and thirteen: 11,867.70. And for a principal sum of thirty thousand francs, representing a loan contracted before the same *notaire* on the twenty-ninth of October, nineteen hundred and fifteen: 30,000. Principal total: forty one thousand, eight hundred and sixty seven francs and seventy centimes: 41,867.70. Plus, the sum of two thousand, nine hundred and seventy five francs and seventy centimes, representing interest at an annual rate of six per cent for the aforementioned sums, at the time of death: 2,975.70. Principal and interest together (at the time of death): forty four thousand, eight hundred and forty three francs, forty centimes: 44,843.40.”
- 1st for the expenses of the funeral and funerary monument: 10,500;
- 2nd owed to Dr. Crépel: 7,920;
- 3rd owed to Dr. Darier: 660;
- 4th owed to Dr. Arron: 800;
- 5th owed to the firm Waring et Gillon, cabinetmakers: 1,237.80;
- 6th owed to Mr. Havet, solicitor with the Paris Appeals Court: 609.95;
- 7th owed to the firm Bechstein: 2,100;
- 8th owed to the firm Choudens: 1,250;
- 9th owed to Mrs. Morand et fils: 403.20;
- 10th owed to Lemercier, booksellers: 769.10;
- 11th owed to Mr. Ledain, cockroach exterminator: 60;
- 12th owed to Mr. Blaizot, bookseller: 90;
- 13th owed to the firm Monduit for house work: 227.20;



- 14th owed to Villien for storage expenses: 540;
- 15th owed to the firm Thomas and Son, London, for supplies: 613.75;
- 16th owed to the house Carnaval de Venise, for supplies: 1,969;
- 17th owed to Mr. Cézard Dutocq: 2,952;
- 18th owed to Mr. Jacqueline: 280;
- 19th owed to Mr. Russel[1]: 5,000;
- 20th owed to Mr. Perrussel: 12,000;
- 21st owed to Mr. Crevel: 18,941.90;
- 22nd owed to the firm Henry et Talet: 3,210;
- 23rd owed to the firm Durand et C<sup>ie</sup>: 66,235.10;
- 24th owed to Mme Marie-Rosalie Texier [Debussy's first wife]: 1,134.

I.e. a total of 144,609 francs, to which should be added the sum owed to *L'Avenir du Prolétariat*, amounting to 44,843, which represents a debt of 189,452 francs.

8. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 171, October 26, 1893:

On m'a dit, à moi, que vous ne vouliez pas donner de leçons! Comment donc des gens qui ont une si singulière et si fausse opinion pourraient-ils songer à vous offrir quoi que ce soit? Je crois qu'il est de la plus grande importance pour vous de travailler à détruire cette idée ridicule. Et, pour y parvenir, vous n'avez pas d'autre moyen que de dire partout et très haut que vous cherchez des élèves ou une place de répétiteur de chant, ou autre chose. Peu à peu le préjugé tombera. Il s'en formera peut-être un autre. On dira que vous vous adonnez exclusivement au professorat! Qu'importe, quand nous en serons là?

9. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 332: "Mon unique élève! (Saluons!...) a changé l'heure de sa leçon en venant ce matin sans m'en prévenir."

10. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 1224, letter to André Caplet, November 25, 1909: "Le Conservatoire est toujours cet endroit sombre et sale que nous avons connu, où la poussière des mauvaises traditions reste encore aux doigts."

11. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 1154.

12. However, in early March 1918, while her husband was literally dying, Emma Debussy made one final attempt by approaching Charles-Marie Widor for his help in getting Debussy admitted to the Académie des Beaux-Arts. See *ibid.*, 2186–87.

13. Within two years Debussy produced six transcriptions for Durand: a two-piano, four-hand arrangement of the overture to *The Flying Dutchman* by Richard Wagner (receipt of August 2, 1889, for 100 francs); one of Robert Schumann's six *Studien für den Pedal-Flügel*, Op. 56 (receipt of September 23, 1889, for 100 francs); and four of works by Saint-Saëns: *Introduction et Rondo capriccioso* (receipt of March 4, 1889, for 100 francs), the *Airs de ballet d'Étienne Marcel* (receipt of October 4, 1889, for 100 francs), the Second Symphony (receipt of November 8, 1889, for 250 francs), and a *Caprice sur les airs de ballet d'Alceste* by Gluck (receipt of March 2, 1891, for 150 francs).

This list of Saint-Saëns, Schumann, Wagner, and Bach should be supplemented by the revision of Jean-Philippe Rameau's *Fêtes de Polymnie*, which Debussy realized at Jacques Durand's request. On January 15, 1906, he received the sum of 1,000 francs for this work, as well as for the piano four-hand transcription of *La Mer*. The edition of the *Fêtes de Polymnie* was, however, the work of the Portuguese composer Francisco de Lacerda. See Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 936.

14. One of them is preserved with the letters from Debussy to Jacques Durand deposited at the Médiathèque Mahler, Paris.



15. All details on payments received by Debussy for these are included in the appendix: *Khamma* (September 1910, July 21, 1911, November 18, 1911); *Le Palais du silence* (January 26, 1914); *Crimen amoris* (April 29, 1912, January 22, 1913).

16. Information on the amounts received by Ravel, Fauré, and Saint-Saëns have been kindly supplied by Durand Publishers, to whom I am very grateful.

17. Save for the Thirteenth Nocturne, for which Fauré received 1,500 francs on January 20, 1922. The difference can probably be attributed to the loss of value of the franc after the First World War.

18. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 168–69: “J’ai vendu votre *Quatuor* aux Barbares de la place de la Madeleine, 250 f!! ils ont eu le cynisme d’avouer qu’ils ne me donnaient pas une somme en rapport du travail que représente cette ‘œuvre.’”

19. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 1918:

Comme on n’a pas encore trouvé le moyen de transmettre une ‘exécution’ — il y a bien le gramophone, d’ailleurs imparfait et coûteux, je me suis permis de vous demander mes conditions de cession... Nous ne sommes pas d’accord mais il me semble que nous devons nous entendre? Une *Sonate pour Violoncelle et piano* ne se vend pas comme des petits pâtés, pourtant les virtuoses de cet instrument me l’ont demandée depuis longtemps; puis, le répertoire n’est pas riche! Donc, sans parler de son importance, car c’est une référence applicable aux denrées seulement, on peut croire à sa nécessité, — ça n’est pas encore une raison très brillante, et il faut mieux s’en rapporter à votre appréciation personnelle.

20. Ibid.: “Voilà mon cher Jacques, une lettre de ‘business-man’ qui ne m’a pas amusé d’écrire, d’autres suivront qui la corrigeront.”

21. As a comparison, Saint-Saëns received the sum of 10,000 francs on November 15, 1902, for his Concerto for Cello and Orchestra, Op. 119.

22. Paris, archives Durand.

23. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 728–30.

24. Ibid., 892.

25. Paris, archives Durand. I am especially grateful to Nelly Quérol, director, Éditions Durand, Salabert et Eschig, who kindly made these documents available to me.

26. On this topic, see Orledge, “Debussy, Durand et Cie,” 132–38.

27. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 1100–101. See also appendix, 180.

28. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 894. The same clause also appears in the contract with Dukas.

29. The sums in the table are detailed in the appendix, 174–96.

30. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 1260: “Vous allez voir que *L’Enfant Prodigue* va dépasser *Pelléas*... et, c’est prodigieusement comique!”

31. Bibliographical information on these pupils is provided in *ibid.*, 2240, 2248, 2294.

32. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 1015: “Je me suis engagé ferme à conduire le 1<sup>er</sup> Février prochain *l’après-midi d’un faune* et *la Mer* à Londres... Et en Avril, à diriger deux concerts, l’un à Rome, l’autre à Milan. Dans l’un de ces concerts je pense pouvoir m’offrir la première audition des *Images*... que dites-vous de cette petite révolution?”

33. Sir Henry J. Wood, *My Life of Music* (London: Gollanz, 1938), 157–58.

34. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 1612: “Je vous disais, à peu près, que le concert à Londres n’avait pas lieu. Toutes mes espérances en sont noyées; au surplus, c’est 5000 f qui tombent dans la Manche.”



35. Debussy received two competing offers for an Austro-Hungarian tour in December 1910. One came from Károly Hubay of the Harmonia agency, the other from T. Barczy on behalf of the Rózsavölgyi agency. See *ibid.*, 1295, 1307–8, 1317–18.

36. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 1642: "Pour Monsieur E. Rey, il n'est vraiment pas généreux! Voulez-vous lui faire dire que je désire: mille francs. À mon avis, c'est encore peu payé."

37. The sums in this table are detailed in the appendix, 174–96.

38. The sums in this table are detailed in the appendix, 174–96.

39. Antoine Olivesi and André Nouschi, *La France de 1848 à 1914* (Paris: Nathan, 2002), chapter 11.

40. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 1553:

Mon cher Jacques,

L'entrevue avec les 'hommes d'argent' a été aussi pénible qu'inutile... mes conditions ont été jugées ridicules. C'est plus du double qu'ils exigeaient. Alors, je ne sais plus que faire!

Emprunter à la Société est un peu désobligeant. Monsieur B. est un homme d'une amabilité très fruste; il est rude, et au surplus, je ne suis pas sûr de sa discrétion.

D'un autre côté, je suis trop à découvert chez vous pour continuer à vous demander des avances.

Il ne me reste pour tout espoir qu'à m'adresser au 'seul' Jacques Durand...—Croyez bien, tout d'abord, que vous avez le droit de ne tenir aucun compte et de ce que je vous demande, et de ma détresse.—Il faudrait que vous me prêtiez pendant une période de 4 ans, la somme de 12.000 f., que je vous rendrai par 3000 f, annuellement.—à partir de l'année prochaine.

Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire combien il m'a été pénible d'écrire ce qui précède et d'avoir l'air de spéculer sur notre amitié. La seule chose que je vous demande, c'est que quoi que vous ayez décidé, vous ne m'en voudrez pas, et me conserverez une amitié qui m'est précieuse entre toutes, et par-dessus tous ennuis.

41. See n. 7.

42. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 1829.

43. *Ibid.*, 1669–70. See also n. 7, where the sum owed to Russell is listed among the liabilities of Debussy's estate.

44. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 1491.

45. François Lesure, "Debussy professeur par une de ses élèves," in *Claude Debussy, Textes*, ed. Martine Kaufmann, Denis Herlin, and Jean-Michel Nectoux (Paris: Radio France, Van Dieren, 1999), 22:

Les Debussy habitaient là au quatrième étage d'une étroite maison de rapport... un petit appartement d'une propreté et d'un ordre méticuleux... On respirait là un air d'intimité, de paix dans deux petites pièces réunies par une baie. L'une était le studio du maître où, sur son bureau, étaient rangés manuscrits, encriers et crayons dans un ordre parfait. Il y avait aussi un divan, quelques carpettes d'Orient et aux murs, des tableaux peints par Lerolle, Jacques Blanche, Thaulow... Dans l'autre pièce, il y avait un piano droit, des livres, des partitions.

46. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 766.

47. *Ibid.*, 1536.

48. *Ibid.*, 877–78.

49. Jacques Depaulis, ed., *Roger-Ducasse, Lettres à son ami André Lambinet* (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2001), 47.



50. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 1660, n. 1.

51. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 1641–42, July 13, 15:

Se débattre tout seul n'est rien! Mais se débattre "en famille" devient odieux! Ajoutez-y les exigences domestiques d'un ancien luxe, dont on ne comprend pas qu'il est devenu, maintenant, impossible à soutenir.

Pour moi, je ne lutte qu'au nom d'un certain point d'honneur peut-être faux, mais explicable en ce sens que, je ne veux pas qu'un jour on me reproche de n'avoir accepté la présente situation que pour l'exploiter à mon profit—(charmante ironie des choses!)

Il y a peut-être de ma faute, car je n'ai d'énergie qu'intellectuellement; dans le quotidien je trébuche à la moindre petite pierre, qu'un autre enverrait promener d'un facile coup de pied! Et puis, j'ai l'horreur native de toute espèce de discussions.

52. Raoul Bardac, "Dans l'intimité de Claude Debussy," *Terres latines* 4 (March 1936): 72: "Il menait là une vie non de luxe (car il n'avait pas de goûts luxueux ni d'apparat) mais de confort et de raffinements extrêmes."

53. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 1337: "Je remonte, défais mélancoliquement mes sacs, en constate la prodigieuse eurhythmie; jolie occasion pour m'attendrir sur tes vertus domestiques à laquelle je ne manque pas. Je pense à ce que serait cette chambre médiocre, si tu étais avec moi, avec ton génie de l'arrangement."

54. Lesure, "Debussy professeur par une de ses élèves," 15:

Debussy avait un goût naturel très sûr, très raffiné, et adorait ce qui était beau. Les antiquités lui plaisaient; il faisait de longues stations chez un antiquaire, proche de notre maison, avenue Victor Hugo, et y laissait en acompte le prix de ses leçons (au grand désespoir de sa femme qui attendait anxieusement son retour pour acheter le dîner.) Il y eut surtout un certain canapé Louis XV dont il m'entretint souvent et qu'il brûlait d'acquérir.

55. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 114:

Et somme toute le Désir est tout: on a une envie folle et sincère, presque un besoin, d'un objet d'art, (un Velasquez, un vase de Satzouma ou une nouvelle forme de cravate). Quelle joie le moment où on le possède, c'est vraiment de l'amour—Au bout d'une semaine rien—l'objet est là—on passe cinq ou six jours sans y laisser tomber un regard. On ne le revoit avec un rappel de passion qu'après une absence de plusieurs mois....—Tel le soleil, qui est si merveilleusement cher au premier retour des matins d'avril,—pour nous lasser ensuite le long des mois d'été.

56. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 2202.

57.

Vraiment votre seconde lettre était inutile, vous vous ingéniez à me prouver par trop durement que je suis un malhonnête homme!... J'agis souvent, avec une coupable légèreté, surtout dans certaines circonstances! ce qui ne m'empêche pas d'avoir des remords, en tout cas, je ne suis pas si noir que cela, croyez-le....

Ensuite s'il fallait manquer de grandeur parce qu'on emprunte de l'argent, bien des gens mériteraient immédiatement la corde, et des gens que vous estimez tout de même. D'ailleurs je ne l'ai pas fait avec tout le monde, mais simplement avec ceux, qui me semblaient me témoigner quelque sympathie, et à cause d'une guigne qui n'a jamais cessé de me poursuivre, malgré ma soi-disante facilité à gagner de l'argent.

58. Ornella Volta, ed., *Erik Satie, Correspondance presque complète* (Paris: Fayard/IMEC, 2000), 149–50: "Debussy a épousé, il y a six ans, une femme fortement riche. Il



habite avenue du Bois de Boulogne un somptueux hôtel entouré d'un magnifique jardin. Il veut bien me recevoir à déjeuner, tous les vendredis."

59. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 411:

Avec tout cela ma vie s'est ornée de complications sentimentales qui en font la chose, la plus troublée, la plus compliquée que je sache. Il me faudrait beaucoup d'argent pour sauter, ou même détruire, les barrières qu'élèvent les lois entre ceux qui veulent un bonheur personnel, et comme j'ai à peine de quoi ne pas crever de faim, j'assiste impuissant à la ruine de tout ce que je rêve de beau et de tendre.

Alice Peter (1864–1934) was a theater director. Née Loewenstein, sister-in-law of René Peter, she first married, on April 12, 1882, Maurice Abraham Meyer Van Ysen, by whom she had a son, Georges (who died in a car accident in June 1914). After their divorce on August 28, 1891, she married Michel Peter, from whom she was soon separated, although they were officially divorced only in 1910. Beginning in the summer 1907 she headed the Eldorado, a large music hall on the Boulevard de Strasbourg, whose star singing comic was Dranem. Having become acquainted with Gus Bofa (real name Gustave Blanchot, 1883–1968), who designed most posters advertising Eldorado shows, she married him on January 20, 1916. Dedicatee of the *Chansons de Bilitis* (1899), she may have been, according to Lilly Debussy, the composer's mistress, probably in the years 1897–98. Debussy presented to her the manuscript draft of *La Chevelure*, with its highly erotic text, as published in the supplement to the magazine *L'Image* (October 1897), which, it may be recalled, was already dedicated to her.

60. Review cited in Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 994, n. 2.

61. Letter of August 11, 1904, in *ibid.*, 860.

62. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 1344: "L'air de tenir une spécialité pour danseuses."

63. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 1356.

64. Depaulis, *Roger-Ducasse, Lettres*, 76: "Notre musicien a dû recevoir et percevoir la forte somme, autrement il n'aurait pas marché."

65. Cited in Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 1879, n. 2: "J'ai l'impression que les travaux d'éditeur ont gâté cette belle intuition musicale qui le guidait autrefois et qu'il n'a plus cette assurance qui nous a valu le *Faune* et *Pelléas*."

66. Lesure and Herlin, *Debussy, Correspondance*, 2148: "Moi, je croyais avoir remonté sur ma bête et avoir vaincu le mauvais sort... Que s'est-il passé depuis—je n'ose presque pas y penser! mais, je suis toujours malade et le catalogue de mes œuvres ne s'est pas beaucoup augmenté."

67. Depaulis, *Roger-Ducasse, Lettres*, 44–45: "Debussy me disait (et dans sa bouche, cela est cruel) qu'un artiste ne devrait pas attendre son pain de son travail, mais au contraire, d'un Mécène, d'un prince d'État, qui lui fournirait tout ce qu'il faudrait. La dernière manifestation d'art intéressante fut Wagner. Le jour où, Louis II trouvé, il put se donner tout entier à ses idées."