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An HISTORICAL AND MUSICAL STUDY OF AARON COPLAND'S FIRST ORCHESTRAL WORK: GROSG, A BALLET IN ONE ACT

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

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*****

The Ohio State University

1996

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To My Parents and Sister
With Love
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The discovery in 1992 of the revised score for Grohg, a Ballet in One Act, an early composition by Aaron Copland (1900-1990), was an exciting event for Copland scholarship and for the world of American music. This score, part of the material Copland gave to the Copland Archive at the Library of Congress in 1989,1 might have remained unnoticed for some time had it not been for a fortuitous set of circumstances.

Oliver Knussen, an English composer and conductor, was fascinated with Grohg, and was thrilled to come into contact with a "photocopy of Copland's own complete piano

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1According to Lloyd Pinchback, one of the archivists at the Library of Congress, the Copland Archive was established in 1989 when Copland gave approximately 400,000 pieces of musical material, including scores and recordings, to the Library of Congress. He also donated his letters and journals at this time. Pinchback stated that Copland had had a relationship with the Library of Congress since 1943, and had donated various musical materials since that time. Following Copland's death on December 2, 1990, the Archive received his books and other miscellaneous documents. The cataloging of all the materials Copland gave in order to establish the Archive was completed at the beginning of 1994.
reduction of *Grohg" in the late 1980s.\(^2\) He arranged to work with Boosey & Hawkes, Copland's publishers, to reconstruct a score for *Grohg*. In 1990 Knussen received a list from the publishers of manuscripts associated with *Grohg* that were in the Copland Archive. He noticed that one manuscript listed under the title of *Cortège Macabre* was considerably longer than the work published under that name.\(^3\) He requested that this score be sent to him from Boosey & Hawkes, who in turn contacted the Archive. Upon receipt of the score, Knussen realized that this particular manuscript was actually the 1932 revised score of Aaron Copland's first orchestral work, *Grohg, a Ballet in One Act*, composed in 1922-25, but never performed or published during Copland's lifetime. Following this discovery, Knussen conducted the world premiere with the London Sinfonietta and the American premiere with the Cleveland Symphony.\(^4\)

The presentation of *Grohg* received critical acclaim. Michael Kennedy's review in *The [London] Sunday Telegraph* of the world premiere states:

\(^2\)Oliver Knussen, "In Search of 'Grohg'," *Tempo* 189 (June, 1994), 6.

\(^3\) *Cortège Macabre*, completed in 1923, is an early piece by Copland. It will be referred to either by its full name or by *Cortège* in this document.

\(^4\)See Chapter II for further information on the orchestral performances of *Grohg*. 
Grohg is an astonishing piece, more dissonant and aggressive than almost anything that followed, and prophetic in its use of jazz rhythms. The invention is copious, the orchestration colourful and assured.\(^5\)

A reviewer for the American premiere, Donald Rosenberg of The [Cleveland] Plain Dealer, says: "As Copland's initial plunge into orchestral writing, Grohg is an amazing point of departure."\(^6\) Grohg also received a New York premiere with Dennis Russell Davies and the American Composers Orchestra. Knussen's discovery and the subsequent performances of Grohg provide the impetus for the present study.

The ensuing examination of Grohg raises several issues: 1) its relationship to the remainder of Copland's oeuvre, 2) the means by which Copland borrowed his own material to create new works, 3) differences between existing circulating opinions concerning the piece and the recently released documentation that clarifies the history of the composition, and 4) the continuity of Copland's musical style.


\(^6\)Donald Rosenberg, "Orchestra takes time for modern curiosities," The Plain Dealer (February 18, 1993), Magazine section, 33.
The first issue focuses on where *Grohg* should be placed in relation to the remainder of Copland’s oeuvre. Although Copland is perhaps best known for his "popular" compositions *Appalachian Spring*, *Rodeo*, and *Billy the Kid*, these three works represent but a small portion of the extensive oeuvre created by Copland. They also belong to the same genre—ballet. This is one of the leading genres for Copland, and one in which he worked throughout his career. Although *Grohg* is also a ballet, its importance in relation to Copland’s oeuvre has not yet been determined.

A second issue concerns the extent to which Copland borrowed his own material in the process of creating other pieces. Prior to this study, there was little evidence of the amount of musical material that Copland extracted from

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7Copland wrote the music for two operas, six ballets, eight films; he also composed numerous orchestral pieces, as well as chamber pieces, keyboard, choral and solo vocal works. According to the last available work-list, the total number of compositions that comprised Copland professional works is over 100. William W. Austin and Vivian Perlis, "Work-list," found in William W. Austin, "Aaron Copland," *The New Grove Twentieth-century American Masters* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1980), 202-208.

8During his career Copland composed the orchestral music for six ballets: *Grohg* (1922–25, revised 1932), *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!* (1934), *Billy the Kid* (1938), *Rodeo* (1942), *Appalachian Spring* (1943-4), and *Dance Panels* (1959, revised 1962). The Clarinet Concerto (1947–8) was also used for another ballet, but Copland did not originally intend for it to be performed in connection with a theatrical event.
Grohg in order to create the well-known pieces *Cortège Macabre* (1925), *Dance Symphony* (1928-29), and the eighth scene in his first performed ballet, *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!* (1934). However, the scores of these works in conjunction to the various scores for *Grohg*, found in the Archive, reveal extensive borrowing. There is also a question as to whether or not Copland substantially altered the music from *Grohg* in order to create these pieces.

The third issue is the question of how existing notions about the history of *Grohg* can be reconciled with documents that are now available in the Copland Archive. This dissertation points out that there are serious discrepancies between the documented history of *Grohg* and statements later made in books, program notes, and attributed to Copland, concerning the origins of the work. For example, Copland said *Grohg* was based on F. W. Murnau's *Nosferatu*, a film version of *Dracula*. A close examination of evidence concerning the film, the time period, and Copland’s own documents from the Archive show that this is probably not the case.9

The fourth issue focuses attention on the continuity of Copland’s musical style. An analysis of the music in the revised score for *Grohg* indicates that Copland’s fluency of musical language does not seem to have

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9Chapter II provides a close examination of the script of *Grohg* and the movie *Nosferatu*. 
undergone substantial alterations during the course of his career even though previous scholars, e.g., Julia Smith and Arthur Berger, following the dictates of current musicology of their time, divided Copland’s oeuvre into specific style periods. It is important to realize that neither Smith nor Berger was able to analyze all of Copland’s compositions from the early 1920s, inasmuch as detailed information regarding these pieces was scarce prior to his death in 1990. This was due, in part, to the fact that Copland had not released all of his compositions for publication. Thus, several of his early works were not available for scholars to study. The examination of the revised score and the other materials related to

Grohg, now preserved in the Archive, provide a glimpse into the young composer's musical maturation.

This dissertation attempts to cast new light on Copland's early style by examining the historical circumstances and the musical evidence of Grohg, one of his most important works from the early 1920s.\footnote{Arthur Berger states, "Grohg, As it fell upon a day, and the Symphony for Organ and Orchestra are the chief works of this professional beginning." Berger,\textit{ Copland}, 38. See also Chapter II for further discussion.} It will not function as either a revisionist document or as an attempt to dismiss existing scholarship on Copland and his music.

The issues raised above provide the foundation for the present study of Grohg, a Ballet in One Act. In tracing the history of the composition and examining its stylistic features this dissertation will attempt to determine Grohg's place in Copland's oeuvre. It will argue that Grohg, as Copland's first orchestral work and ballet, and as a piece that illustrates many of Copland's mature compositional techniques, is a harbinger for his later ballets and orchestral pieces.
CHAPTER II
HISTORY OF GROHG

Aaron Copland arrived in Paris on June 19, 1921, intending to continue his musical training at the newly opened American Conservatory of Music in Fontainebleau. His experiences, as one of the first students to matriculate at the new conservatory and as a young American in Paris of the early 1920s, provide a framework for understanding the circumstances surrounding the composition of Grohg. Copland's biography has been studied and written about; however, his impressions, based on his journal entries and his letters to his family, concerning various cultural events in Paris and his activities there are further explored in this chapter. A brief review of Copland's early musical education in America, as well as his activities in Paris are explored in the first portion of this chapter, entitled Biography. The history of Grohg, including a comparison between the ballet scenario and the silent horror movie credited with being its inspiration, concludes this chapter.
Biography

Aaron Copland began his musical education when he was 11 years old. "Music as an art," Copland states, "was a discovery I made all by myself." This "discovery" started when he listened to his sister Laurine practice the piano. After studying piano for a short time with Laurine, she indicated that he had advanced beyond her musical abilities. Impassioned by his musical discoveries, Copland sought others who would assist him in his quest for knowledge.

The pattern of seeking out private instructors is one that recurs in Copland's life. He did not attend college, but instead worked in the family store and at other jobs. Yet, there was always a desire to explore, to learn; Copland sought knowledge by listening to others, reading, and attending events that he felt encouraged his own maturation.


Copland had been exposed to music as a child since all his brothers and sisters, Ralph, Leon, Laurine and Josephine, took some form of musical lessons. Copland also recalled various musical events in his diaries and journals that had an impact upon him, such as, a "Jewish Wedding; the evening gathering around the piano (The Pink Lady);14 the neighborhood vaudeville shows" and "singing lessons at the Met."15 Copland’s reference to the evening gathering pertains to his recollections of Ralph and Laurine playing violin and piano during the evening entertainment at home. The last entry in Copland’s diary, concerning the Met, refers to Laurine’s singing lessons at the Metropolitan Opera School.16

Copland also lived within walking distance of the Brooklyn Academy of Music. By his own testimony, this place had a profound impact on his musical development; he

14The Pink Lady was a popular musical that began its New York run on March 13, 1911, according to Stanley Green, Broadway Musicals: Show by Show (New York: Hal Leonard Books, 1985), 18. Two popular songs from The Pink Lady that sold as sheet music were "On the Saskatchewan," a piece with some syncopated accompaniment, and the waltz "My Beautiful Lady." It is possible that these were the pieces that Copland was recalling.


remembered hearing his first concert there, a solo piano recital by Paderewski.\textsuperscript{17} The Academy was also one of the hosts for performances by the New York Symphony, conducted by Walter Damrosch, and for the Metropolitan Opera. Attending concerts was one of the ways Copland expanded his "musical horizons."\textsuperscript{18}

In addition to the various musical activities that Copland recalled, he also had the opportunity to attend the ballet in New York City. One activity that Copland recollects is "standing in line at the Metropolitan Opera House about that time [1916-1917], to see ballet."\textsuperscript{19} The ballet troupe was Diaghilev's Ballets Russes performing at the Metropolitan Opera House during their first American tour in 1916-17. Their programs included Weber/Berlioz's \textit{Le Spectre de la Rose}, Stravinsky's \textit{L'Oiseau de Feu} and \textit{Petrushka}, and Rimsky-Korsakov's \textit{Schéhérazade}.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{17}Aaron Copland, Diaries and Journals, Book 1. Also found in Neil Butterworth, \textit{The Music of Aaron Copland} (London: Toccata Press, 1985), 14.

\textsuperscript{18}Aaron Copland and Vivian Perlis, \textit{Copland: 1900 Through 1942} (New York: St. Martin's/Marek, 1984), 32.


Another place that had an impact on Copland's musical development was the Brooklyn Public Library. As Copland recalled, "The old Brooklyn Public Library on Montague Street . . . held riches of which my immediate neighbors were completely unaware." These riches consisted of books about music, and musical scores. Copland is reported to have studied these scores intently and to have communicated with friends about the music. He also asked his friends to secure scores he had heard about but was unable to find.

During his teenage years, Copland realized he wanted to make music his career. He knew that this decision would not be an easy one for his family.

Music is so uncertain, so few reach the top, and how does one support a family on so shaky a basis? And where did you get such an idea anyway? I asked myself all these things if only because I realized I would hear them from my father sooner or later. But deep down I knew that reasonableness had nothing to do with it. The urge toward spending a life in music was irresistible.

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21 Dobrin, Copland, 17. Montague Street was not within walking distance of the Copland household.

22 Ibid., 18. Also found in Smith, Copland, 23.

23 Copland and Perlis, Copland, 22-23. Also found in Copland, The New Music 1900-1960, 152.

24 Copland and Perlis, Copland, 25.
Copland recognized that he "needed a real teacher of harmony and counterpoint" in order to be a composer.\textsuperscript{25} His piano teacher, Leopold Wolfsohn, told Copland about Rubin Goldmark who was "an important figure in the music world of New York."\textsuperscript{26} Goldmark had studied with Dvořák and had some of his works published by the Wa-Wan Press. Copland's lessons with Goldmark began in 1917, when Copland was 16 years old, and continued until he left for Paris in 1921. The lessons included music theory, harmony, counterpoint, and composition.\textsuperscript{27}

Copland later recalls feeling that Goldmark's teaching methods were too conservative as his lessons progressed, and he wanted to learn about modern music.

As far as I can remember no one ever told me about "modern music." I apparently happened on it in the natural course of my musical explorations. It was Goldmark, a convinced conservative in musical matters, who first actively discouraged this commerce with the "moderns."\textsuperscript{28}

\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., 27.

\textsuperscript{26}Dobrin, \textit{Copland}, 19.


\textsuperscript{28}Aaron Copland, "Composer from Brooklyn," 153.
During this time period, when it was common for young Americans to travel to Germany to continue their musical training, Copland expressed an interest in studying in France. This interest was spurred by a friend, Aaron Schaffer, who corresponded with Copland while he was taking graduate courses at the Sorbonne in 1920. Although Copland wanted to join his friend in Paris, he was unable to take the trip at that time. In the same year, 1920, Copland saw an announcement in the music magazine, *Musical America*, "of a plan by the French government to establish a summer school for American musicians in the Palace of Fontainebleau."^{29}

The American Conservatory of Music at Fontainebleau was created in response to discussions between Walter Damrosch and his friend, Francis Casadesus, in 1918.\(^\text{30}\) Damrosch’s plan contained the suggestion:

> to continue . . . pleasant and important international musical relations by founding a summer school somewhere in France, preferably near Paris, to which American men and women, already sufficiently advanced in their study of music, could repair for three months every summer

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in order to acquaint themselves with French art and French methods of teaching.31

This idea was later accepted by members of the Ministry of Beaux-Arts within the French government, and notices were placed in leading musical magazines. Articles following the 1920 announcement in Musical America kept the public apprised of the school's opening, and the necessary requirements for application.32 On April 9, 1921, a headline in Musical America proclaimed: "Students Now Enrolling for New Music School at Fontainebleau."33 Copland recalled: "I was in such a rush to enroll that I was the first student to sign up and be accepted."34

The American Conservatory of Music at Fontainebleau opened its doors in June 1921. The administrative staff consisted of Walter Damrosch, American founder, Francis Casadesus, director, and Camille Saint-Saëns, honorary general director.35 Among the instructors at the school

31Ibid., 264-65.

32"French American School of Music To Be Housed In Fontainebleau," Musical America (March 19, 1921), 2. Further details regarding the requirements for the school appear in a much later article: "Jews Entirely Welcome, Say Committee on Fontainebleau School, Disclaiming Statement," Musical America (April 30, 1921), 1 and 2.

33"Students Now Enrolling for New Music School at Fontainebleau," Musical America (April 9, 1921) 31.

34Copland and Perlis, Copland, 35.

35Ibid., 47.
were Paul Vidal, composition, Albert Wolff, conducting, and Nadia Boulanger, harmony. According to the April 9 article in *Musical America*, the "course of study to be covered at Fontainebleau" is similar to that of the Conservatoire of Paris,"36 where the instructors taught during the school year.

When Copland arrived in Paris on June 19, 1921, he was enthralled with all that was going on around him: "I was the typical American tourist, impressed at how foreign everything seemed."37 He felt the charged atmosphere that he describes as follows:

The very word "modern" was exciting. The air was charged with talk of new tendencies, and the password was originality—anything was possible. Every young artist wanted to do something unheard of, something nobody had done before. Tradition was nothing; innovation everything. . . . Paris, of course, was the center of this renewed excitement in the arts.38

Paris was indeed an important artistic center in the 1920s. During this time, living composers, e.g., Honegger, Poulenc, Milhaud, Auric, and Stravinsky, had their compositions performed regularly. Concerts


established by Serge Koussevitzky, who would have an important impact on Copland's musical development, were held during the spring and fall. According to his travel diary Copland attended some of the Koussevitzky Concerts during his stay. In these concerts Koussevitzky performed compositions by little-known contemporary composers in addition to well-known works.

Another aspect of Paris's artistic milieu that was meaningful for Copland, because of his interest in ballet, was the abundance of professional dance companies. One of the most consequential events in the dance world of the 20th century occurred when Serge Diaghilev introduced the Ballets Russes to Paris in 1909. Diaghilev's significance is recognized throughout the world, and has been well researched. In the context of the present work, it is important to emphasize that the Diaghilev enterprise used new music created by such composers as Debussy, Auric, Milhaud, Prokofiev, and Stravinsky, and collaborated with several avant-garde artists such as Cocteau and Picasso.


40 An example of an early Koussevitzky Concert program from 1921, and a later program from 1923 is found in Appendix B.
This type of collaboration with the most inventive and prolific artists in other areas to create a coherent, syncretic spectacle was a revolution in the development of dance in the early 1910s, and was still fresh and new in the minds of many Frenchmen in the 1920s. These years were the most powerful of the Diaghilev enterprise. The "scandalous" ballets Diaghilev produced in 1912 and 1913, L'après midi d'un Faune and Le Sacre du Printemps, were still being debated by critics and other members of the artistic community, and both ballets were part of the Ballets Russes' repertoire when Copland arrived in France in 1921.

During his stay in France, Copland tried to see as many ballets as possible since, as he told Philip Ramey,

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41 Diaghilev produced ballets with the Ballets Russes until his death in 1929.


Both Richard Shead and Garafola mention that the revision of Le Sacre du Printemps was restaged on December 15, 1920, with new choreography by Massine. Richard Shead, Ballets Russes (New Jersey: Wellfleet Press, 1989) 106. Also found in Garafola's book on page 404. This version was performed again in 1923. Eric Walter White states that in Massine's version, "The action was stripped of its historical and archaeological pretensions and the ballet was danced before a single backcloth." Eric Walter White, Stravinsky: The Composer and His Works (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1979), 215.
"Ballet was the big thing in Paris during the 1920s." In the 1920s, the Ballets Russes continually sought ways to attract an audience by using new and different means of staging, new scenarios, and either new or revised music. The ballets that premiered from 1921 to 1924 included nationalistic ballets, e.g., as Le Renard (1922), Danses Russes (1922), and Les Noces (1923), to remakes of traditional ballets (both full-length and as one-act productions) as exemplified by The Sleeping Princess (1921), and Le Mariage de la Belle au Bois Dormant (also called Aurora’s Wedding) (1922). Diaghilev also produced dances that reflected the modern current of the time, such as Les Biches (1924) and Le Train Bleu (1924).

The Ballets Russes was not the only dance company in Paris. According to Lynn Garafola, there was at least one other major ballet company, Ballets Suédois, active in the 1920s, as well as a smaller ballet group, Soirées de Paris. She indicates that both companies lasted only until 1924.

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44Garafola, Diaghilev’s Ballets Russes, 408-11, 117-118
45A complete list of Diaghilev premieres in Paris from 1921 through 1924 appears in Appendix B.
46Garafola, Diaghilev’s Ballets Russes, 215. There is some question regarding 1924. According to André
The Ballets Suédois (Swedish Ballet) was under the direction of Rolf de Maré, who created the company to present programs reflecting his native Swedish culture.\textsuperscript{47} As with the Ballets Russes, the Swedish Ballet developed multi-media events collaborating with some of the members of Les Six, i.e., Milhaud, Honegger, Tailleferre, Auric and Poulenc. Sally Banes notes that the works produced by the Ballets Suédois may be grouped into three basic categories: "ballets derivative of the Diaghilev style and themes; dances based on Swedish folklore; and original avant-garde productions."\textsuperscript{48} One work had a direct link with the Ballets Russes. Börlin, choreographer for the Swedish Ballet, recreated Debussy's Jeux in October 1921. This work had originally been choreographed by Nijinsky in 1913 and performed by the Ballets Russes.\textsuperscript{49} The primary


\textsuperscript{49}Bengt Håger, \textit{Ballets Suédois (The Swedish Ballet)} (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989), 15, 74. According to Håger, Börlin's new choreography sought to reflect Debussy's idea of an "innocent" tennis game
concentration for the Swedish Ballet was on promoting new works. During an interview for a dance magazine Copland stated: "For those of us interested in new scores by contemporary composers, the Swedish Ballet tended to be even more fascinating than the Ballets Russes."

There were two other ballet companies in Paris in the 1920s. One was Comte Étienne de Beaumont's Soirées du Paris, whose company was also influenced by the Ballets Russes, and created productions that reflected a similar collaborative effort among Parisian artists and musicians. The other ballet company was associated with the Paris Opera. This company, founded in the late 1600s, focused its productions in the 1920s on both Classical and Romantic ballets.

between a young man and two young ladies, a game that had "a background atmosphere and impressions that were subtle, sensual and fleeting."

A complete list of the ballets premiered by the company is found in Appendix B.

According to Garafola, Comte Étienne's productions represented "lifestyle" ballets, such as Trois Pages Dansées, and classical ballets, such as Salade (music by Milhaud) and Gigue (music by Bach and Handel). Garafola, Diaghilev's Ballet Russes, 110, 120.

Some of the ballets presented at the Opéra from 1921 to 1924 were Le Rêve de la Marquise (1921), set to music by Mozart, Suite de Danses (1922), Cydalise et le Chêvrepied (1923), and Adolphe Adam's Giselle (1924). Garafola, Diaghilev's Ballet Russes, 120-121.
As ballet was one of Copland's interest, one of his first memories upon arriving in Paris, in 1921, was attending a performance on June 19 of *Les Mariés de la tour Eiffel* by the Ballet Suédois. The music of this ballet was by Auric, Tailleferre, Honegger, Milhaud, and Poulenc. The story by Cocteau represents the avant-garde style sought by the impresarios of the two major dance companies, and was one that made an impression on the young Copland. Cocteau’s script revolves around a photographer whose camera is so large that the characters enter and exit the stage through it. Two actors verbally comment on the action, and are hidden from the view of the audience by their costumes as gramophones. The main story focuses on a wedding reception held on the second level of the Eiffel Tower on July 14, Bastille Day. The photographer is, of course, there to get pictures, but his birdie, supposedly an ostrich, has run away. As the photographer tries to take pictures of the wedding party, all manner of things, e.g., a bathing beauty, a lion who eats one of the guests, the couple’s future child who kills the wedding party, a cyclist, and five dancers dressed as telegrams, come out of the camera as "the birdie." After the ostrich returns to the camera, the

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54 Copland and Perlis, *Copland*, 44. This production premiered on June 18, 1921.
picture of the wedding party is sold to an art collector. The wedding party returns to life, and the guest who was eaten by the lion steps out of the camera. The story ends with the whole wedding party proceeding into the camera to take the honey-moon.\(^{55}\)

This piece caused quite a stir among the audience. As Copland recalled:

> The audience was shocked by the modernity of the music and the fanciful nature of the production; they whistled and hooted each time the curtain descended. . . . It was a perfect way to spend one of my first nights in Paris—to get right into the action, where controversial music and dance were happening.\(^{56}\)

In a later interview, Copland stated that he "saw Milhaud's *L'Homme et son Désir*" performed by the same group, the Swedish Ballet on his first night in Paris, June 19.\(^{57}\) Bengt Häger states that Milhaud's ballet "represents a newly emerging tendency: the quest for a deeper dimension in dance."\(^{58}\) This dance depicted "the theatrical image of a man caught in the Brazilian forest

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\(^{55}\)Häger, *Ballets Suédois*, 29-32, 139-146. Also found in Banes, "An Introduction to the Ballets Suédois," 42-43, 45.

\(^{56}\)Op. cit., 44.

\(^{57}\)Ramey, "Copland and the Dance," 9.

both by overpowering night and his own obsession."\textsuperscript{59} It was performed on four levels. On the top level were the dancers who symbolized the passing hours.\textsuperscript{60} On the next level a dancer representing the moon was followed by other dancers that personified shadows.\textsuperscript{61} The "Moon's" reflection, or counterpart, was on the bottom level and moved from the opposite side of the stage with other "shadows" coming behind her. Also on the second level from the top were the musicians, who were hidden from the audience's view by large cutout figures holding instruments in their hands. Members of the orchestra were likewise placed on the third level from the top. It was in the center of this level, the widest section, that the majority of the dancing took place between the principal characters and the inhabitants of the forest. The principal characters are a man, a dream woman, and a real woman.\textsuperscript{62} According to the story by Paul Claudel, the man


\textsuperscript{60}The costumes for the dancers portraying the significance of time were flowing, all-encompassing garments with a flame-like headdress. These garments were either black for night, or white for the dawn.

\textsuperscript{61}The performer representing the Moon appeared on stage holding a large round object near her head, upon which was a circular headdress. The rest of her costume was a flowing, lightly colored gown. The "Shadows" were garbed in black filmy garments.

\textsuperscript{62}Häger, \textit{Ballets Suédois}, 123-127.
is "in the grip of primeval powers, robbed by Night and Sleep of both face and name." The women lead the man onto the stage and depart, only to have one woman return during the "sleeping" man's dance of desire as he is surrounded by the sounds of the forest. Both characters, man and woman, "disappear toward the edge of the stage" as the day breaks.

The descriptions of these two ballets, *Les Mariés de la tour Eiffel* and *L'Homme et son Désir*, highlight the avant-garde style that the *Ballets Russes* and the *Ballets Suédois* were attempting to capture in the early 1920s, and that soon went out of vogue. The stories of these ballets are important because of the impression they made on Aaron Copland. It is possible to speculate, based on the amount of information in his diaries and journals, that he shared the stories of both ballets and his personal experience at these ballets later with his friend and relative, Harold Clurman, who plays an important role in the development of a script for *Grohg*.

Copland's original purpose in France was to study, not to see ballets. After spending a few days in Paris, he traveled to Fontainebleau and began his summer courses.

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63Ibid., 126. Also found in Banes, "An Introduction," 41.
As previously stated, the curriculum for the school was to be the same as that offered at the Paris Conservatoire, with students receiving a certificate of completion at the end of the summer session. Copland’s lessons consisted of piano, composition, conducting, and musicianship. The latter was added to his schedule after he attended a harmony class taught by Nadia Boulanger.

She is a woman of 40, I should judge, and is without any doubt the exception that proves the rule that there can be no great female musicians. This intellectual Amazon is not only professor at the Conservatoire, is not only familiar with all music from Bach to Stravinski [sic], but is prepared for anything worse in the way of dissonance that I may choose fit to hammer out.65

In the early 1920s, it was unusual for a woman to be an instructor in higher education, and Copland had qualms about taking Boulanger’s course. He overcame these misgivings after attending the class, and continued to work with her in Paris during his extended three-year stay.

According to Copland, he had always intended for his stay in France to last for more than just the summer.

My plan was to stay on in Paris for the winter after the closing of summer school. This would

give me a chance to acclimatize myself to French ways and at the same time to find a suitable teacher with whom to continue my studies.66

Copland did not live alone in Paris. Prior to embarking for France, he received word from his cousin Elsie Abrams Clurman that another relative, Harold Clurman, was going to be in Paris in the fall of 1921 to begin studies in literature and drama at the Sorbonne. The two young men arranged to room together during the duration of their stay; they became fast friends and each exposed the other to the worlds they inhabited as musician and dramatic scholar respectively. Copland took Clurman to concerts and ballets, and Clurman reciprocated by taking Copland to plays and literary discussions.67 The young Copland was invited to Boulanger's Wednesday afternoon soirées, and was able to meet such famous composers as Stravinsky, Milhaud, Poulenc, and Roussel,68 who attended these social and artistic gatherings. Copland frequently took Clurman to these events. That

66 Aaron Copland, "Composer from Brooklyn," 154.

67 Complete descriptions of various events attended by Copland and Clurman are found in Harold Clurman All People are Famous (instead of an autobiography), (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1974), 29-39.

68 Copland and Perlis, Copland, 66. Copland’s Travel Diary entry for November 19, 1922, mentions meeting with Honneger, Koussevitzky and Blair Fairchild.
Boulanger allowed Copland to bring a guest, and later accepted Clurman at these soirées, indicates the level of respect she had for Copland and then for Clurman.

Boulanger encouraged Copland to travel during the summer months. With Clurman as his travelling partner, and at Boulanger's instigation, Copland undertook short trips to Germany and Vienna to investigate "new" music. It was also Nadia Boulanger who, as Copland's mentor, urged him to write an orchestral work, a ballet that he originally titled *Le Nécromancien*, and that was later renamed *Grohg* after the title character.69

**Circumstances of the Composition**

While in Paris, and even when he traveled, Copland continued to explore different ways of expressing musical ideas. By the end of 1921 he was engaged in writing a series of three keyboard pieces entitled *Petites Valses*,70 which he showed to Mademoiselle Boulanger:

Mademoiselle suggested that I try to build them into a ballet. Everyone wanted to write ballets due to the enormous popularity and influence of the Diaghilev, Nijinsky, and Stravinsky ballets.71

69Ibid., 84.

70A complete description of this set of waltzes is found in Chapter IV as part of the analysis of *Grohg*.

71Copland and Perlis, *Copland*, 82.
On Boulanger's advice, Copland employed these waltzes as the musical foundation for his first ballet. However, neither he nor Clurman had created a script for the new piece. The lack of a story for this work did not concern the young composer, as the music was for him more important than the story. As Copland later said in an interview:

... it was fun to think of writing a ballet for which dances had to be invented after you wrote your music, so that your music after all was the stimulus that produced the dance.\textsuperscript{72}

Since this first ballet was not commissioned (all of his subsequent ones were), there were no conditions established by a producer or choreographer as with some of Copland's later ballets, e.g., \textit{Hear Ye! Hear Ye!}. Copland completed the collection of waltzes by February 1922\textsuperscript{73} and, according to dates on various manuscripts, began working on his ballet.\textsuperscript{74}


\textsuperscript{73}The latest date on the manuscript for the waltzes is February 9, 1922.

\textsuperscript{74}A manuscript page with the date of 1921 containing various thematic ideas for \textit{Grohg} is located in the Copland Archive. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter III.
In March 1922 an event that both Copland and Clurman would credit many years after the composition of Grohg with having an impact on their scenario occurred in Berlin, Germany: F. W. Murnau released the groundbreaking, silent horror movie Nosferatu, eine Symphonie des Gravens (Nosferatu, a symphony in terror). Copland said, "that this bizarre tale would be the basis for my ballet."  

Although Copland stated in various interviews that he and Clurman saw Nosferatu in Paris in the fall of 1922, in one interview he says that he saw the film in the "Summer, 1922" without stating where, current research on the film has raised questions concerning the complete validity of this statement. This issue will be further explored later in this chapter.

While Copland and Clurman traveled during the summer of 1922 and subsequent summers, Copland continued working on the music for his ballet. He wrote of his compositional progress to Nadia Boulanger in August 1922.

As for actual composition, my Ballet is progressing very slowly but surely. I still can't find a satisfactory story to go with it, but I continue to develop separate dances.

75Copland and Perlis, Copland, 84.
76Ramey, "Copland and the Dance," 10.
The first musical section of the ballet to be completed with orchestration was the opening, entitled "Cortège Macabre" in 1923. Boulanger arranged for Copland to perform this section for Koussevitzky while he was still in Paris, prior to his assuming the conductorship of the Boston Symphony Orchestra in the fall of 1924. According to various accounts, Sergei Prokofiev was also present at this performance, and he criticized the amount of ostinati in the piece before the Maestro was able to comment. As Copland later recalled:

Under my arm I carried my only orchestral score, Cortège Macabre. Maestro asked me to play it. Prokofiev was visiting that day . . . and much to my discomfort, he stood directly behind me at the piano while I played--I wanted to do my selling job alone. When I had finished and before anyone could say anything, Prokofiev blurted out, "Too much bassi ostinati."78

Prokofiev's remarks notwithstanding, Copland remembered Koussevitzky "promised to conduct the piece with the Boston Symphony Orchestra during his first season."79 Unfortunately, this did not occur.80

78Copland and Perlis, Copland, 91-92. Also found in Moses Smith, Koussevitzky (New York: Allen, Towne & Heath, Inc., 1947), 118, and Dobrin, Copland, 45.
80The Symphony for Organ and Orchestra was the first Copland work Koussevitzky performed with the Boston Symphony Orchestra.
Boulanger also performed Grohg in a piano four-hand arrangement at a farewell party in 1924 just before his return to America.  

Copland continued to work on the orchestration of Grohg after his return to the United States. In 1925, he received a Guggenheim Fellowship, which he held from 1925 through 1927. This fellowship enabled him to spend time composing. He was engaged in a number of commissions, and was able to work at the MacDowell Colony in Peterborough, New Hampshire. According to the score, Copland completed the orchestration for Grohg there in 1925. He divided the work into three parts:

Part I: Introduction/"Cortège Macabre"
Part II:  "Dance of the Adolescent"
          "Dance of the Opium-Eater"
          "Dance of the Street-Walker"
          "Dance of the Young Girl"
Part III:  "Dance of Mockery"
          Finale/Coda.

Before he had the opportunity to use the piece as a performable ballet, Copland began extracting various sections from it to fulfill other requirements. The first work created from Grohg was for a contest that occurred shortly after Copland’s arrival in New York. He saw an article announcing that Howard Hanson would be presenting the score was complete at the time of the performance.
a series of concerts featuring "new works by Young Americans." The article also contained a call for manuscripts. Copland submitted the first portion of Grohg and called the new composition Cortège Macabre; it was accepted and performed by the Rochester Symphony under Hanson's direction on May 1, 1925, in Rochester, New York.

The reviews of this concert reveal a hesitancy on the part of critics to accept a new work by a relatively new composer. Some of the reviews focused on the musical and instrumental aspects of the work. Others, e.g., F. D. Perkin's review in the New York Herald-Tribune described Copland as an "ultra-modernist" who "made some interesting experiments in combinations of sound in his "Cortège Macabre" from an unnamed ballet composed in 1923." A. J. Warner, a reviewer for the Rochester Times-Union, stated:

Mr. Copland's work was without doubt the most challenging of the morning; it probably sounded--it

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83A comparison between the current existing score of Grohg and Cortège Macabre is found in Chapter V.

84Copland had premiered his Symphony for Organ and Orchestra with Nadia Boulanger, soloist, Walter Damrosch directing the New York Symphony in January 11, 1925.

is equally true—the ugliest to many in the audience.86

Two years later, in 1927, Cortège Macabre was performed in New York.87 Again, the reviews were mixed. After this, Copland pulled the piece from his performing repertoire, but was persuaded by Hanson to reinstate it in 1971, after a 44-year lapse.88

In May 1928 the New York Times announced a contest sponsored by RCA Victor for new music compositions; the deadline for submission was May 29, 1929.89 Due to a self-perceived lack of time, Copland again turned to Grohg, utilizing the "Dance of the Adolescent," "Dance of the Young Girl," and "Dance of Mockery" in order to create a "new" piece in time for submission.90

In despair at having nothing to offer, I seized upon the old ballet Grohg, written in Paris, and

86A. J. Warner, "Performance of New Music Received with Interest," Rochester Times-Union, (May 2-, 1925), 22.

87"Program," The Beethoven Symphony Orchestra First Subscription Concert: Carnegie Hall (December 12, 1927).

88Copland and Perlis, Copland, 86. There is no indication in the scores for this piece that any alterations were made to the music from the time Copland pulled the composition out of his performing repertoire to the time it was reinstated in 1971.

89Ibid., ftnt. 3, 380.

90A comparison between the current score and Dance Symphony is found in Chapter V.
extracting three of the movements I liked best, called the whole a *Dance Symphony* and sent it in on the final day.\(^91\)

Although Copland borrowed the three dances from *Grohg*, he did not provide programmatic titles for each of the movements in the score for *Dance Symphony*. Instead he used tempo markings to delineate the three divisions. He also did not include any type of program at the beginning of the score; this appeared later in the printed edition by Boosey & Hawkes released in 1931.\(^92\) The *Dance Symphony* was one of five compositions that won, and shared, the grand prize of $25,000. This work premiered in 1931 with Stokowski leading the Philadelphia Orchestra at the Academy of Music in Philadelphia. Arnold Dobrin recalled: "The symphony was well received."\(^93\) Marc Blitzstein, an American composer, also recognized traits that were emerging in other Copland pieces when he stated in his review:

Aaron Copland's *Dance Symphony* is interesting chiefly because of what it indicates in his development. Actually part of a ballet [*Grohg*], sections of which were written ten years ago, it

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\(^{91}\)Copland, *"Composer from Brooklyn,*" 160.

\(^{92}\) *Dance Symphony* was originally published by Cos Cob Press in 1931. Boosey & Hawkes took over the Copland repertoire from Cos Cob Press.

\(^{93}\)Dobrin, *Copland*, 113.
is a veritable source-bed of his later music. There are the beginnings of the multiple-rhythmmed jazz, the virtuoso orchestra. The first pages have that mystic melancholy of his best slow movements, the quick sections are brilliant and nervous, and a little overwrought in instrumentation. Vitality, exuberance are manifest, style is as yet uncertain.94

By 1932, Copland had decided to revise Grohg.95 In the revision, he removed the "Dance of the Young Girl," and focused on three characters, an Adolescent, an Opium-Eater and a Street-Walker.96 He also made other alterations in the music that shorten the work to approximately 35 minutes in length from the original 38-40 minutes.97 Once again the piece was not performed.

In August 1934 Ruth Page, a noted American choreographer and dancer, commissioned Copland to write the music for her new ballet, Hear Ye! Hear Ye!, to be performed during the 1934-35 season.98 As time was once more at a premium, Copland again used his own material in order to complete the score by the November premiere. As

95No reason has been discovered for this decision.
96Character list provided in the manuscript.
97The alterations in the score are discussed later in this document.
98Copland and Perlis, Copland, 233. The scenario for Hear Ye! Hear Ye!, a satire of a courtroom drama, was written by Ruth Page and Nicholas Remisoff.
Copland states in the full orchestral score: "Note Used in Hear Ye! Hear Ye! : Ukulele Serenade (Complete), "Dance of the Street-Walker" from Grohg (Complete), excerpt from An Immorality." The "Dance of the Street-Walker" became Scene VIII in Hear Ye! Hear Ye!, and was renamed "Apache Dance." Hear Ye! Hear Ye! was performed in two cities, Chicago in 1934-35 and New York in 1936, and received fairly good reviews for the music.

Mr. Copland's music exactly fitted his subject. It embodies every type of jazz and almost every known kind of dissonance, the whole welded with an expert hand.

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After the 1936 performance of *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!*, Copland shelved the various manuscripts for *Grohg*. He donated the scores to the Library of Congress prior to 1990 for inclusion in the Copland Archive.\(^{103}\) In 1992 Oliver Knussen, who had been working with the Copland Estate and Boosey & Hawkes on a reconstruction of *Grohg*, received a listing of the scores associated with the composition held at the Library of Congress from an employee at Boosey & Hawkes.\(^{104}\) He noticed a discrepancy in the number of pages of one score, *Cortège Macabre*, as listed by Boosey & Hawkes in comparison with that listed by the catalogers.

Under a subsection devoted to the *Cortège Macabre* (which I knew to be about 50 pages long) was an entry for an ink score with photocopied inserts totalling one hundred and ninety-one pages.\(^{105}\)

Upon inquiry to Boosey & Hawkes, Knussen received the score and "discovered" the 1932 revised *Grohg* score. He then performed *Grohg* as an orchestral piece for the world premiere on June 20, 1992, at the Aldeburgh Festival. He

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\(^{103}\)Information concerning the Copland Archive is found in footnote 1, Chapter I. Further information on the scores and manuscripts is located in Chapter III.

\(^{104}\)Oliver Knussen, "In Search of 'Grohg'," *Tempo* 189 (June, 1994), 7.

\(^{105}\)Ibid.
subsequently conducted the American premiere with the Cleveland Orchestra in February 18, 1993, and recorded Grohg on the Argo label. Grohg also received a New York premiere with the American Composers Orchestra under the direction of Dennis Russell Davies on October 31, 1993.

In each of the above instances, critics and scholars of American music recognized Grohg as an important early Copland orchestral piece. Paul Driver’s review of the world premiere for The [London] Sunday Times provides a synopsis of the history of the piece, stating:

Between these works [Mary of Egypt by John Tavener and De Staat by Louis Andriessen] we heard the first performance of Copland’s early, Gothic-horror ballet Grohg (1924) [sic], which has never been staged and whose score was lost in the archives until Oliver Knussen recently tracked it down. The music was recycled by Copland in his Cortège Macabre and Dance Symphony, both of 1925 [sic], and the 1934 ballet Hear Ye, Hear Ye. But the integral work makes a vivid and vigorous impact.

In The [Cleveland] Plain Dealer Donald Rosenberg says of the American premiere:

The score is all over the map, as far as compositional influences, but what piquant and ingenious

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106 Aaron Copland, Grohg, performed by the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Oliver Knussen (Argo 443 203-2), 1993.

effects the young Copland achieves. . . . The late Copland remains a composer for all time. 108

One review of the New York premiere indicates that Copland has not yet found his own voice, yet the overall tone of the article is favorable.

This stew of Grand Guignol, Eastern European exoticism, American syncopation and French bitonality represents a composer tuned to other voices but not yet sure of his own. The music sprawls agreeably, sometimes humorously. 109

Leighton Kerner’s review of this performance for The Village Voice indicates that Copland was a "wizardly orchestrator with a canny theater sense." 110 Kerner also mentions the connection between Copland’s ballet and Murnau’s Nosferatu.

In 1922, Copland and Harold Clurman, the future drama critic and director, went to a Paris movie house, saw Murnau’s Nosferatu, and, what with Diaghilev still influencing the artistic scene there, collaborated on a one-act ballet scenario

108 Donald Rosenberg, "Orchestra takes time for modern curiosities," The Plain Dealer, Magazine section (February 18, 1993), 33.


about a vampire-magician's thwarted loves [sic] for three dead women (one at a time). 111

The association with Nosferatu also appears in the press releases from the various organizations, e.g., Boosey & Hawkes (for Aldeburgh), and the American Composers Orchestra. For example, a writer for Boosey & Hawkes states that after Copland and Clurman saw Nosferatu they "were inspired to create a macabre dance work drawing upon the supernatural elements of the film." 112 The press release from the American Composers Orchestra is even more direct, stating that Grohg "draws inspiration from the classic German film Nosferatu." 113 The story is also mentioned in the program notes for each of the performances, as well as in earlier programs for Dance Symphony. In fact, one of the first appearances of a possible link between Nosferatu and Grohg is in a program for Dance Symphony written for a 1967 concert:

Copland based his ballet scenario on a German horror movie titled Nos Feratu, which dealt with a vampire who sucked blood from the necks of the dead and a necrophilic magician (Grohg) who

111 Ibid. The gender of the Adolescent and the Opium-Eater was not specified by Copland or Clurman.


possessed the power to revive the dead and make them dance.114

These statements, and even the title of Kerner’s article, “Copland’s Dracula,” associate Copland’s ballet with Murnau’s film, a subtly altered version of Bram Stoker’s Dracula.

At the time the reviews were written, research on both Nosferatu and Grohg was in progress. The reviewers were utilizing Copland’s own statements, seemingly accepting them at face-value, without consulting the additional scholarship on either work. As previously mentioned, this research has posed several questions regarding the accuracy of Copland’s statements.

**Comparison of Grohg and Nosferatu**

Based upon the current scholarship for Nosferatu,115 as well as the story told by the film, there are several discrepancies between Grohg and the movie. First, the

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story of Nosferatu does not correspond to the script for Grohg. Second, the types of principal characters and what they symbolize in Nosferatu/Dracula are different from those in Copland and Clurman’s scenario. A third contrast between the two works concerns the authors’ perception of death and destruction. The last obvious divergence is the manner in which the authors of both stories use love.

It is difficult to find features common to both the Grohg script and Nosferatu/Dracula. The Dracula story is one that is familiar to many. In Stoker’s novel, a young man named Jonathan Harker travels to the Carpathian Mountains in order to assist Count Dracula in traveling to England and in purchasing a ruined abbey. During his stay with Dracula, Harker becomes aware that the Count is a vampire, and also that he is the Count’s prisoner. Harker escapes from his host and manages to reunite with Mina his fiancée (who becomes his wife during the story); Mina is attacked and infected by the vampire. The only way to save her from becoming one of the undead, like her friend Lucy Westerna, and to destroy "an ancient horror erupting
into the world of the commonplace,"¹¹⁶ is to annihilate the vampire in the traditional way.¹¹⁷

In Murnau’s Nosferatu, various modifications occur: The Count’s name becomes Orlok; the leading lady’s name is Nina; the primary location changes to Bremen; Orlok inhabits an old mansion across the street from the Harker’s rather than an old English abbey; and the year is 1838 not 1897.¹¹⁸ Despite these minor alterations, there was no doubt that Murnau copied the Dracula story. Indeed, Bram Stoker’s widow was able to sue the filmmaker successfully for copyright infringement in 1922.¹¹⁹


¹¹⁷ Ways of destroying a vampire, according to legend, consist primarily of a stake through the heart. If the creature does not turn to dust or vanish, then the head must be cut off and the mouth stuffed with garlic. These methods are described in detail in Stoker’s novel and also in Paul Barber, Vampires, Burial and Death (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1988), and Manuela Dunn-Mascetti, Vampire: The Complete Guide to the World of the Undead (New York: Viking Studio Books, 1992).


¹¹⁹ According to David Skal, Florence Stoker’s case took three years to decide. In 1925 she won the case, and the court ruled that all copies of the film were to be destroyed. The court, however, did not oversee the
In contrast, Copland and Clurman's story is one of magic, horror, and love. Currently, only two pages, one and three, exist of the four-page script written in French. These pages, when combined with the synopsis, in English, found in the beginning of the score, describe a sorcerer who has the power to bring corpses back to life to serve him, and to fulfill his "supreme wish" of finding "someone who loves him in spite of his repulsive appearance."120 "Sa figure, au long nez crochu, aux yeux géants, est tragique en sa laideuer, tragique—et pitoyable." (His face, with a long crooked nose, gigantic eyes, is tragic in its ugliness, tragic and pitiful.)121 Originally, the magician focuses his attention on six cadavers: an Adolescent, an Opium-Eater, a Street-Walker, a Woman of the World (une femme du monde), a young artist (un jeune artiste), and a beautiful young girl (une belle


121 Copland and Clurman, Grohg script, 1.
On the first page of the script the number of corpses, six, is crossed out and changed to four, as seen in Appendix B. On the third page of the script, the sections pertaining to the Woman of the World and the young artist are crossed out, indicating the characters who were removed from the script prior to the completion of the 1922-25 score.

According to a synopsis found in an early version of the score, each of the reanimated creatures, except for the young girl, has an immediate negative reaction to the terrible appearance of the sorcerer. The young girl, who "dances as if in a dream," does not react at the first appearance of the magician. It is only when she becomes truly aware of Grohg that she recoils from him in horror. This is the final insult to the magician, who grabs her and "forces her to dance with him." During the dance, he believes he sees the other servants leave their coffins

122The pages containing the information about the Adolescent, Opium-Eater, and Street-Walker are missing from the original script in French. Therefore, it is impossible to know what gender Copland and Clurman assigned to the Adolescent and the Opium-Eater. The gender of the Young Artist is ambiguous due to the appearance of both masculine and feminine articles in the script. (See Appendix B). The synopsis that accompanies the score of the ballet is written in English and does not provide any further clarification.
123Ibid., 3.
124Ibid.
to mock him. This belief becomes a reality, and, terrified, Grohg throws the young girl into their midst, causing them to vanish. Thus, Grohg is left alone.

When Copland revised Grohg in 1932 he rewrote the scenario, removing the young girl's character; the Street-Walker became the character who is forced to dance with the magician, and who is thrown into the crowd of mocking servants. This action also corresponds to the reduction in the number of dances in the revised score. Copland removed the fourth character's dance—the "Dance of the Young-Girl."

The differences between the two stories are obvious. Both Nosferatu and Dracula are about a vampire who seeks to destroy, while Grohg is about a sorcerer who is trying to find love. Nosferatu and Dracula contain a change of setting, with the principal characters traveling from Bremen to the Carpathian Mountains (or from London to Transylvania) and back, possibly representing a symbolic voyage to the "other world." There is no traveling in Grohg; all the action occurs in the magician's courtyard with its high walls and hidden doorways. Another major difference is the lack of a "Hero" in Grohg as personified by Jonathan Harker in Nosferatu/Dracula.

125Ibid., 1.
The second important area of contrast concerns the principal characters and what they symbolize. Dracula or Nosferatu symbolizes evil, and Jonathan Harker, his wife, and their friend Lucy represent good. Copland and Clurman’s characters in Grohg depict a slow decay in moral values. For example, Grohg is the only "living" creature on the stage. Although his activities occur at night, the script specifies that the courtyard is illuminated by moonlight, there is no indication in the script that he is a vampire; he does not appear from a coffin.

In the original 1922-25 Grohg, the four corpses whom the magician reanimates represent varying degrees of innocence. The first person to be brought back from the dead is an adolescent. This character is young and has barely begun to experience life. The Opium-Eater, who by the very fact that his/her death was brought about by slowly destroying the body through drug use, represents the decline from innocence into depravity. The total lack of morals is found in the Street-Walker, who uses her body to achieve her own goals, e.g., money or life, even if she is repelled by the person she is enticing. According to the original script, the young girl is the last to be endowed with life. She represents love to Grohg. Her destruction and the annihilation of all the servants (the undead) illustrates a withdrawal from those who mock the
importance of life. In the end, Grohg is the only one on stage; he is illuminated by a spotlight, and "he slowly retires, as if the entire action had been a figment of his imagination."126

The third dissimilarity between the two stories concerns the way death and destruction are perceived. In Grohg, the magician has control over death through his ability to reanimate the corpses. Thus, death is not an ending to life. Although this is also true of Nosferatu and Dracula, death is portrayed differently. It does not represent the final resting place in Stoker and Murnau’s stories, as illustrated through the Count’s self-reanimation after dark. During the day and when he has to travel, the Count is seen in a coffin. This supports one of the concepts of vampire mythology that Stoker and Murnau followed.

Another idea found in the vampire legends is that a vampire is believed to be active only between sundown and dawn. Indeed, one of the most critically acclaimed scenes of Nosferatu is the vanishing destruction of the Count as the sun rises. In contrast to Count Orlok’s fate, Grohg

does not vanish when the light strikes him at the end of the story.

The way in which a person becomes one of the "undead" is yet one more element relating to death that appears in Dracula. In the novel, Lucy Westerna, a leading female character, is turned into one of the undead through contact with Dracula's blood while she is still alive.127 Thus when she physically dies and is placed in a crypt, she reappears as an evil creature who must be destroyed. The cadavers of Copland and Clurman's script are those who have died a "natural" death and are reanimated only by the magician's power.

The destruction of Grohg's servants, who vanish, is reminiscent of a theme found in vampire tales. When the undead are destroyed, they either vanish or turn to dust. According to vampire mythology, the way these creatures are "killed" is more complex than through the simple touch of Grohg.128 In Copland and Clurman's script, as well as in the synopsis that accompanies the score, Grohg may dance with and order his servants about, but he is unable to touch them. This action returns the servant to its lifeless state, not to dust, as when Grohg slaps the

127 The action concerning Lucy Westerna does not appear in Murnau's film.

128 See footnote 117 for the various methods of destroying the undead.
Adolescent or when he strikes either the young girl (1922-25) or the Street-Walker (1932).

The last important difference between Grohg and Nosferatu/Dracula is the way in which the authors deal with love. According to Copland and Clurman, Grohg was trying to find someone who would love him despite his physical deformities. In Dracula and Nosferatu, the Count represents the personification of evil; there is no love in him. However, Jonathan Harker is able to save his wife, Mina, through the power of his love for her. This redemptive quality also appears in Nosferatu when Nina sacrifices herself to Count Orlok, keeping him with her until the sun rises in order to save those whom she loves.

In addition to these obvious discrepancies between Nosferatu and Grohg, there is one other problem. When did Copland and Clurman see Murnau’s film? One fact divulged by the scholarship surrounding Murnau’s film provides information suggesting that neither Copland nor Clurman could have seen the film in either Berlin during the summer of 1922 or in Paris during the fall of that same year. Despite the fact that during this time Murnau was engaged in a lawsuit with Mrs. Stoker about copyright infringement, evidence indicates that Nosferatu was being shown in Budapest in August 1922.129 By the fall,

129Skal, Hollywood Gothic, 57.
Murnau’s production company had declared bankruptcy and it has been speculated by scholars of Nosferatu that he did not have enough funds to release the film in Paris.

Copland and Clurman, however, maintain that the film had an impact on their collaboration on the scenario about a magician who brought people back from the dead to serve him. This description is remarkably close to Copland’s synopsis of Nosferatu: "It was about a vampire magician with the power to make corpses come to life." As has been shown, Nosferatu is not about a vampire magician who reanimates the dead; it is a version of Bram Stoker’s Dracula with a few minor alterations.

Another difficulty with accepting the statements linking Murnau’s film with Copland’s ballet is the lack of evidence. At the present time, there is no written document that supports the notion that Copland and Clurman saw the film while in Paris. There is also no mention in Copland’s travel diary from the summer travels of 1922 that he and Clurman took to other European countries, e.g., Austria or Germany, that the two saw Murnau’s Nosferatu in another city. Copland does not mention this outing in any of his letters from this time as seen by the letter to Boulanger dated August, 15, 1922 quoted earlier.

130Copland and Perlis, Copland, 84.
in this chapter. It is my belief, based upon copious documentation from this period found in the Copland Archive, that so powerful an event would have been described in a letter or journal entry by Copland.

It seems as if the primary link between the two tales is that both are Gothic horror stories in which the main character is also the title character, and both make use of common themes found in many horror narratives. These ideas focus on a supernatural being who has control over everyday events, and upon death and its power. This is exemplified in Nosferatu by the Count's ability to control animals, e.g., horses and wolves, and people, Jonathan. The idea of a being who has control over others and over death is also found in Copland and Clurman's scenario for Grohg, where the sorcerer is able to reanimate the dead.

The only similarity between Grohg and Nosferatu is the number of coffins displayed in the ballet. In the movie, six coffins are loaded on a wagon and Count Orlok climbs into the last coffin in order to be transported to Bremen. In Copland's ballet, six coffins are dragged out on stage by the magician's servants. The magician, Grohg, appears on stage as four of the coffins are opened to
display the "potential" servants as previously described.\footnote{131}

Given these facts, it seems plausible that both Grohg and Nosferatu utilize ideas common to the horror-story genre while not being directly connected. It is probable that Copland and Clurman knew about the movie or saw it after they had collaborated on the four-page script for Grohg.\footnote{132} An examination of the two extant pages of the script for Grohg and the various synopses associated with a few of the scores reveals that the scenario is a classic example of the Gothic horror story. The first page of the script provides a description of an empty room surrounded by a tall wall that has hidden doorways for entering and exiting. Stairs descend into the room on two sides of the wall, and moonlight is the only means of illumination. Later, on page three, the narrative implies that there are many rooms that contain the different characters.

The extant pages of the script are not dated; however, the appearance of six and then four characters, as well as the sorcerer, indicates that these pages are from the 1922-25 period. A synopsis with a similar number

\footnote{131}{In the 1922-25 original, four coffins are opened. In the revised 1932 version only three coffins are opened.}

\footnote{132}{The Copland Archive has the first and third pages of the script.}
of featured performers may also be from the early 1920s and may have accompanied the original score.

Conclusion

A study of the circumstances surrounding the creation of Aaron Copland’s first orchestral work, *Grohg: a Ballet in One Act*, provides a glimpse into various aspects of Copland’s life while in France, especially the abundance of cultural activities he experienced during his three-year stay. The examination of the composition’s history also illuminates his relationship with his teacher and mentor, Nadia Boulanger. Boulanger’s encouragement of Copland to learn about "new" music is demonstrated by the various letters that he wrote to her while on his summer trips in Europe. One summer trip in 1922 to Germany and Vienna sets the stage for the comparative discussion regarding *Nosferatu* and *Grohg*. Despite the fact that one of the first written connection between the two works occurs many years after the composition of the piece, and that other writers as well as Copland and Clurman mention this connection, the comparison of *Nosferatu* and *Grohg* reveals that *Grohg* is not directly related to Murnau’s classic horror movie, but is instead an example of a scenario that incorporates elements of the Gothic horror genre.
CHAPTER III
SOURCES OF GROHG

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, Grohg was based on Petites Valses, and itself became the basis of the later works Cortège Macabre, Dance Symphony, and the eighth scene of Hear Ye! Hear Ye!. Scholars of American music are fortunate that most, if not all of the manuscript materials for these pieces and for Grohg are housed in the Copland Archive. A complete listing of all materials relating to Grohg, provided by the Archive, led to the discovery of the 1932 revised score for Grohg that in turn prompted this study of Copland's ballet. This examination of the available scores for the work illustrates how Copland used musical materials from Petites Valses to create Grohg, and from Grohg to create Cortège Macabre, Dance Symphony, and Scene VIII of Hear Ye! Hear Ye!.¹³³

¹³³Cataloging is finished on all of the material in the Archive. See Appendix C for a complete listing of all the scores associated with Grohg. In this document, these scores are referred to with two numbers; the first number indicates the significance of the score to this study, and is prefaced by the letters RL. The second number, beginning with the letters LC-ARCO, represents the file listing in the Archive.
Currently, there are 32 cataloged files in the Archive containing either music or related materials from the ballet Grohg.\textsuperscript{134} The scores come in a variety of sizes and types; there are full and miniature scores, as well as manuscript sketches, complete piano scores, two-piano scores, and orchestrated scores, most in Copland's hand.\textsuperscript{135} There are even a few published scores for such works as Dance Symphony. There are 22 complete scores of different pieces related to Grohg: three are labeled Grohg; four Cortège Macabre; five Dance of the Adolescent; two scores of Three Dances from Grohg exist with titles in English and French respectively; six scores of the Dance Symphony; and two scores for Hear Ye! Hear Ye!. Other scores are incomplete due to missing pages, or should be considered rough sketches.\textsuperscript{136}

Most of the scores are in excellent condition, although Copland uses various types and weights of paper for his manuscripts and scenarios, e.g., fragile

\textsuperscript{134}The files are separated into four boxes.

\textsuperscript{135}Determination and attribution of handwriting are based on comparing Copland's handwriting from his travel diary and other diaries and journals, as well as from personal correspondence that date from the same time period with the manuscripts.

\textsuperscript{136}Miscellaneous pages from Grohg or Dance Symphony are discussed later in the chapter.
onion-skin paper for a few of the scores and for the duplicate script of *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!*.\textsuperscript{137}

The original 267-page manuscript for *Grohg*, dated June 1922-Dec. 1925, is divided into three separate files in the Copland Archive.\textsuperscript{138} The first file holds a complete *Cortège Macabre* manuscript (RL-la/LC-ARCO 8.A1),\textsuperscript{139} labeled *Grohg*, which contains introductory material from *Grohg* and includes all the characters from the ballet: "*Grohg, Young Girl, A streetwalker, an opium-eater, an adolescent, major domo, and servitors [servants] of Grohg.*"\textsuperscript{140} This manuscript encompasses the opening 58 pages of the ballet. The manuscript for *Dance Symphony* (RL-1b/LC-ARCO 11.3) continues the page-number sequence with pages 60 to 267.\textsuperscript{141} RL-1b/LC-ARCO 11.3 has two title pages; one is entitled *A Dance Symphony* while the other cover page is ""Three Dances" (Excerpt from 'Grohg' ballet

\textsuperscript{137}Some of the manuscripts were available only in photocopies.

\textsuperscript{138}The combination of these scores is numbered RL-1 (a, b, and c respectively) in Appendix C, as it is divided between *Cortège Macabre* (RL-la/LC-ARCO 8.A1), *Dance Symphony* (RL-1b/LC-ARCO 11.3), and *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!* (RL-1c/LC-ARCO 26.3).

\textsuperscript{139}This score (RL-la/LC-ARCO 8.A1) also exists in a photocopied form (RL-la1/LC-ARCO 8.A2).


\textsuperscript{141}Page 59 is missing.
in one act).' Although the appellation is similar to that found in other Dance Symphony scores, the consecutive page numbers and the presence of four dances instead of three indicate that this is either a part of the original 1922-25 *Grohg* or an early version of *Dance Symphony*.  

The *Dance Symphony* manuscript (RL-1b/LC-ARCO 11.3) is missing several pages. A number of these pages are in a file for the scores and manuscripts to *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!* (RL-1c/LC-ARCO 26.3), and some are in another section of the *Dance Symphony* file box. Although a few pages are still missing from the original version of *Grohg*, the majority of the score is intact. Indeed, both Knussen and Caltabiano state that only two to four hundred bars of additional music would be required to reorchestrate the original 1922-25 version of *Grohg*. It is my opinion, based on an examination of the scores, that it is highly possible that the missing pages are included with another composition that has not been linked to *Grohg*.

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142 See Chapter II for the history of *Grohg* and its development into other compositions.

143 Copland obscured some of the original page numbers by pasting new numbers over the old. The original numbers can be read by holding the pages up to the light, and also by gently folding back some of the paste-overs.

As previously mentioned, Copland revised Grohg in 1932 by shortening it from 267 to 191 pages.\textsuperscript{145} He placed the new date in the top right hand corner of the first page under the original 1922-25 date and his name. The difference in the overall length of the revised Grohg represents cuts from the original score, signified by a diagonal line through various measures, sections, and even complete pages. It also reflects alterations in instrumentation and narration.\textsuperscript{146}

Another difference between the 1932 revised score and the original 1922 manuscript are various rhythmic alterations. For example, in one particular revision the change in rhythm between the 1922 manuscript, shown in Figure 1A, and the 1932 revised score, Figure 1B, appears five measures after Rehearsal 2. This alteration

\textsuperscript{145}The revised Grohg score is listed as RL-2/LC-ARCO 8.

\textsuperscript{146}See Table 1 in Chapter V for more information.
indicates that Copland not only changed the meter signature from 4/4 to 5/4, but that he created an asymmetrical rhythm that is in keeping with other rhythmic patterns found in this particular section of Grohg, the "Cortège Macabre." Therefore this change in the rhythm functions as a precursor to the other asymmetrical rhythms in the composition.\textsuperscript{147}

In addition to the cuts in musical material, there are various changes in instrumentation throughout the revised version.\textsuperscript{148} For example, at four before Rehearsal 44, Copland inserts a trombone solo against the ostinati

\textsuperscript{147}It is impossible to know exactly why Copland made this change and other rhythmic changes. Perhaps it was done in order to compress and clarify the dramatic action that should be occurring on stage. (It must be remembered that this composition has never been performed as a ballet.)

\textsuperscript{148}A complete listing of the changes in instrumentation appear in Table 1 in Chapter V.
in the woodwinds, percussion and strings to introduce a "new" rhythm into the Opium-Eater's dance.

Another obvious change between the two versions is Copland's use of narration in the score, representing the dramatic action that takes place in the ballet. Copland increases the amount of narration in the revised version.

The state of these sources and their placement in various file boxes provides an indication of Copland's compositional methods. Copland never allowed anything to go to waste. This frugality in material matters, seen by the use of various types of paper, was also important in musical ones. If he did not have time to compose a new piece, as previously discussed in the cases of Dance Symphony and Hear Ye! Hear Ye!, Copland borrowed his own material from an earlier manuscript and incorporated it into the new piece. In the case of Dance Symphony, Copland turned to Grohg for his musical material.  

The manuscript sources for Grohg also provide another insight into Copland's compositional technique. Copland stated that he generally wrote the orchestration from piano sketches, discussed later in this chapter, that developed into two-piano versions.  

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149 The changes are detailed in Chapter V.

Appendix C, there are many two-piano renderings of *Grohg*, *Cortège Macabre*, *Dance of the Adolescent*, and *Dance Symphony*. Assuming Copland’s statement is accurate, it is possible to speculate that the numerous two-piano versions were written before the full scores, and that Copland orchestrated the two different scores, 1922-1925 and 1932, from two-piano versions.

Some of the dual piano manuscripts contain information regarding Copland’s approach to orchestration, since he indicated the type of instrumentation on the manuscript, (see Figure 2). This is most clearly seen in RL-4/LC-ARCO 8.3, a "two-hand piano arrangement done by the composer" of *Grohg*. Many scores are not dated.

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151 Many scores are not dated.

152 Aaron Copland, *Grohg: Ballet in one act*, (Two-hand piano arrangement by the composer), (Washington, D.C.: Copland Archive, Library of Congress, 1925). RL4/LC-ARCO 8.3. It is possible to speculate that this represents one of the piano reductions of the original version.
Other sources of Grohg are the various sketches, the majority of which are single pages, located in the Archive. As with the two-piano versions, Copland indicated the type of instrumentation on his sketches. This is seen in a sketch dated 1921 (RL-5b/LC-ARCO 8 misc.) where he writes a single line for two oboes and two clarinets (see Figure 3). He then turns the page upside down and writes four more measures that are very similar to the "Dance of the Street-Walker" (see Figure 3). This method of using all of the manuscript paper appears many
times, and is a common trait of Copland’s. At times he writes one way on the left side and inverts the page for a different idea on the right side, such as in Figure 4.

One of the most fascinating sets of sketches is "Rough Sketches for Ballet Le Necromancier [sic] Ballet en
une acte" (RL-8/LC-ARCO 8.2). Although, Copland stated that "Le Necromancier" [sic] was the original title to his ballet, this is the only document that contains this title. It also indicates that Copland had conceived an outline for the specific dances in his ballet. The first two pages of this material contain assorted musical lines with Copland's comments in French. One of the segments is introductory material for two pianos that Copland may have developed into the Cortège Macabre. Other miscellaneous notations are from different sections of Grohg. For example, Copland provides an outline of the dances on the first page with the following description shown in Figure 5.

Danse I  mff pg 26-27
Danse II  the highest point page 38 beginning m4
         rythy [sic] test point page 36
         third test point page 30
Danse III highest fff--page 55
         lowest ff--page 47
Danse  Climax--page 66

Figure 5: Outline of the Dances:
"Le Necromancier [sic] Ballet en un acte"154

153Copland states in his autobiography that Le Nécromacien was the original title of Grohg. See Chapter II for more details. Copland and Perlis, Copland, 88.

Another important set of sketches contains the Petites Valses (RL-3/LC-ARCO 8.5) that represent the musical genesis for Grohg. Copland added the phrase "Origin of Ballet Grohg" near the title at a later date. According to the dates visible at the end of each section, Copland completed the three waltzes on three different dates. The first waltz, occupying the top three lines on the first page, is dated Jan. 21,'22. The second waltz, entered on the bottom five lines on the first page and dated Dec., ’21, was the first to be completed. The third waltz has a date written at the top of the second page of Feb. 9, ’22.

As we have seen in this chapter, a substantial amount of physical material for Copland’s Grohg exists in the various types of manuscripts, written in a variety of ways, that are now preserved in the Copland Archive. This vast wealth of material provides a glimpse into Copland’s compositional methods, and shows us clearly that Copland borrowed his own music for the "new" compositions Cortège Macabre, Dance Symphony, and Scene VIII of Hear Ye! Hear


156Information concerning Copland’s habit of writing the completion date at the end of a composition appears in Chapter V.
Ye!. Copland made very few changes when he recycled Grohg into these compositions. Their music therefore represents Copland's style as of 1922-25, the dates of composition for the original version of Grohg.
CHAPTER IV

MUSICAL ANALYSIS OF
PETITES VALSES AND GROHG

An analysis of the Petites Valses, (Origin of Ballet Grohg)\textsuperscript{157} and each major section of the 1932 revised version of Grohg exhibits particular style traits found by Copland scholars in his mature works.\textsuperscript{158} There have been numerous scholarly studies of Copland's later works highlighting the various musical characteristics that make his compositions recognizable. These characteristics may be divided into four basic categories; a general description of them appears at the beginning of this chapter to provide a foundation for the musical analysis.

\textsuperscript{157}Aaron Copland, Petites Valses (Origin of Ballet Grohg), manuscript (Washington, D.C.: Copland Archive, Library of Congress), 1921–22. A diplomatic transcription of the Petites Valses appears in Appendix D.

On the title page of the manuscript for the Petites Valses (RL-3/LC-ARCO 8.5), Aaron Copland added "(Origin of Ballet Grohg)." The exact date this notation was placed on the manuscript is not known. Aaron Copland, Petites Valses, manuscript from 1921-22.

\textsuperscript{158}The revised 1932 manuscript of Grohg (RL-2/LC-ARCO 8.A1) was published in 1992 and may be obtained from Boosey & Hawkes, Copland’s publishers. All musical examples are reprinted by permission of Boosey & Hawkes, Inc.
Elements of Copland's Style

Rhythm. This is an important element in Copland's works, as anyone who has heard his music can attest. Hugo Cole, a Copland scholar, says, "Copland tends to develop complex rhythmic patterns persistently and regularly."159 Julia Smith states that it was during Copland's trip to Paris in 1921-24 that he first wrote music containing polyrhythm.160 It was also at this time that he first composed rapidly changing meters and irregular eighth-note patterns. Rapidly changing meters are clearly seen and heard in Grohg during the "Dance of the Adolescent," and the "Dance of the Opium-Eater."161 Other rhythmic patterns found in Grohg are discussed later in this chapter.

Melody. Copland's melodies encompass a diversity of styles. In what might be referred to as his "folk" style,


161Rapidly changing meters appear in several other works of Copland, e.g., the Piano Variations (1930), specifically Variations 1, 7, 14, and 16; Appalachian Spring Suite for 13 Instruments (1943-44) during the opening measures as well as at Rehearsal numbers 5, 13, 14, 16, 31, 35, 43, and 49; and in the Red Pony Film Suite for Orchestra (1948) during "The Gift," at Rehearsal 5-15.
he wrote works that included both actual folk songs, e.g., "Springfield Mountain" for *Lincoln Portrait* (1942), and original melodies in the folk idiom, e.g., *Music for Radio* (1936). His own, original melodies ranged from highly angular, disjunct melodic lines, e.g., "Why Do They Shut Me Out of Heaven" from the *12 Poems of Emily Dickinson* (1944-50), to what Arthur Berger calls "declamatory style."

In place of the arch of traditional melody that starts at one point and progresses to another, or returns after excursion, it is more usual to find in Copland's music a kind of impassioned speech in tones, a broad recitative revolving about a fixed point.162

The declamatory style is particularly apparent in "Gyp's Song" from *The Second Hurricane* (1935-36), Copland's "play-opera."

Scholars have also recognized Copland's frugality in melodic and thematic construction.163 As David Matthews expresses it, "Copland has a predilection for themes made up of only a few adjacent notes."164


163 Although a theme can consist of melody, harmony, rhythm, and timbre, for the purposes of this discussion, "theme" will refer to the melodic content.

scholar, Neil Butterworth, says, "The most consistent stylistic feature of Copland's music is the economy of thematic material."\textsuperscript{165} Butterworth continues by discussing the three- and four-note themes that are found in a number of pieces, e.g., the Piano Sonata (1939-41), Fantasy (1955-57), and the Piano Quartet (1950).

The way in which Copland develops his melodic material has also been examined by scholars. This development is discussed in an article by Larry Starr, who writes:

> The procedure of melodic variation—where a basic cell is gradually expanded into a longer unity (without departing too far from the content of the basic cell itself) through a process of repetitions, reordering and the accretion or interpolation of new elements—formed the essence of Copland's approach to the construction of thematic material during his entire career.\textsuperscript{166}

In Grohg, themes are created with a minimum of notes and include specific intervals associated with Copland's musical style.

The means by which Copland uses the intervals of a fourth, fifth, and third have frequently been discussed by


scholars. Neil Butterworth finds that the minor third is "Copland's favourite interval." Copland centers the melody of the opening theme in Grohg upon the minor third. The intervals of a fourth, fifth and third are used as segments of the melodic line, and are also an integral part of the harmonic accompaniment.

The interpenetration of melodic and harmonic elements is another basic characteristic of Copland's style. The actual pitches and intervals of the melodic lines form the basis for the accompanying lines and chords in a highly logical and seemingly organic growth process.

Harmony. Copland's harmonies are frequently derived from the melodic line, as noted by Starr. Therefore, if the melody consists predominantly of minor thirds, then Copland's harmony utilizes minor thirds, or their inversion. As with other composers, Copland also employs counterpoint to create harmony by layering one voice or instrumental part over another. This type of layering is most striking during the "Dance of Mockery" in Grohg.


169Starr, "Ives, Gershwin and Copland," 183.

170Ibid.
Another harmonic style trait of Copland's music is parallel chord progression, found in works such as Our Town (1940-44) and the Violin Sonata (1942-3).\textsuperscript{171} In discussing these works, Berger notes, "This use of parallel triads a whole step apart has become quite a characteristic device with Copland."\textsuperscript{172} Thus, Copland frequently avoids traditional voice-leading techniques and disguises the exact tonality of a composition. One of the most striking appearances of this device in Grohg is found in the accompaniment of the "Dance of the Adolescent," beginning at Rehearsal 23.

Timbre. Copland's instrumentation has been commented upon by numerous scholars and composers, such as Virgil Thomson, Arthur Berger, and Neil Butterworth.\textsuperscript{173} Copland's own description of the sounds created by various instruments, as well as his statements that the composer should know the limitations of both instrument and

\textsuperscript{171}See the opening measures of these works as cited in Berger, \textit{Copland}, 66.

\textsuperscript{172}Ibid.

performer, indicate his awareness of the importance of instrumental combinations in his compositions.174

The timbral qualities found in Copland's works often contain pitches in widely-spaced registers that create an "open" sound, as found in the opening and closing segments of *Billy the Kid* (1938). At times, Copland intentionally combines various instrumental colors in unusual ways to create a particular mood or effect. For example, he uses a piano, muted trumpet and celesta to produce an other-worldly jazz sound during the "Dance of the Opium-Eater" in *Grohg*.

As we shall discover in the following analysis, Copland's first orchestral work and ballet, *Grohg*, contains all of the elements that scholars recognize as being part of his mature musical style. The analysis traces the use of these elements in *Grohg* after examining some of them in his *Petites Valses*, a collection of three unpublished dances for keyboard that form the point of origin for *Grohg*.175

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175See footnotes 155 and 157 regarding *Petites Valses* as the "Origin." A source at Boosey & Hawkes indicated in a phone interview that the waltzes are being prepared for publication. The exact date of release has not been determined.
The analysis of the *Petites Valses* suggests that they are sketches exploring various musical elements. The lessons Copland learned in composing the waltzes were later applied to *Grohg*. The analysis of *Grohg* examines various aspects of its musical style and their relationship to the dramatic action as delineated in the score through the annotations of Copland and Clurman.

**Analysis**

*Petites Valses*

A brief study of each of Copland’s *Petites Valses*, found in Appendix D, provides an analytical base for the subsequent examination of *Grohg*. A comparison of these three dances reveals a few common features as well as several differences. Two obvious similarities among the waltzes are the use of the piano and the use of standard waltz meter, 3/4. Another similarity is the absence of a key signature for any of the waltzes. This trait was common during Copland’s early period, as Smith reports.

Copland also explores various intervals both harmonically and melodically in all three waltzes, but most frequently employs the fourth and the fifth. In each of the dances Copland creates his harmony from the intervals that are

176 The time signature appears only in the first waltz.

177 Smith, *Copland*, 84.
prominent in the melodic line. Another shared feature unifying the three waltzes is the use of ternary, ABA, form with a Coda.

Among the differences between the waltzes, one of the most obvious is the length of each piece. Although the pieces share an ABA formal structure, the first is the most compact, and the third is the longest. The first waltz is 27 measures long, as may be seen in Appendix D. The A section, shown in Figure 6, occurs in measures 1-9. Although other composers simply write the anacrusis into the first measure, Copland wrote the first measure with a rest on the downbeat as seen in Figure 6.

Figure 6: Petites Valses I
A Section
Measures 1-9
Contrasting material, shown in Figure 7, is found in the B section beginning with the anacrusis to measure 10.

Figure 7: Petites Valses 1
B Section
Measures 10-17

This portion continues through the downbeat of measure 17. The A section returns with the anacrusis to measure 18. The short Coda is an extension of the last measures of the second A section, and commences on the second beat of measure 25 and proceeds through measure 27.

The second waltz is five measures longer than the first, as can be seen in Appendix D. The A section consists of measures 1-4 written out (see Figure 8), with the direction "Repeat 4 measures" at the end. In this section, the alto contains the more actively moving line
while the soprano sustains a single note; the left-hand plays an "um-pa" accompaniment.

Figure 8: Petites Valses 2
A Section
Measures 1-4

The change between the sections is again clearly indicated by the musical material. Both soprano and alto have more active moving lines in the B section, and Copland omits the accompaniment. See Figure 9 for the B section, measures 9-12.

178There is no indication in the manuscript that Copland intends for the accompaniment to continue. At the same time, the absence of rests in the B section through the beginning of the Coda, measures 9-28, in the lower staff leaves the question open.
The A section returns in measure 17 (see Figure 10) with the following changes: a different opening grace-note pattern, movement at the end of the phrase in the soprano, and without the accompaniment.\textsuperscript{179}

In the Coda, consisting of measures 25-32, Copland compresses the four-measure phrases into two measures to create a sense of acceleration and anticipation, and he

\textsuperscript{179}Ibid.
extends the um-pa pattern of the accompaniment (measures 29-32, shown in Figure 11) to conclude the dance.

Figure 11: Petites Valses 2 Coda Accompaniment Measures 29-32

The longest of the three Petites Valses is the last one, shown in Appendix D, containing a total of 59 measures due to more phrase repetitions. As previously stated, in Petites Valses 2 Copland composed the first four measures of the A section before printing on the manuscript "Repeat 4 measures." In the third waltz, the annotations are more complex. At the end of the first eight measures, Copland tells the performer to "Repeat 8 measures." At the end of measure 28, he writes, "Repeat 6 measures" without specifying which measures. In measure 35, Copland tells the performer to repeat the first 19 measures that embody the entire A section. See Figure 12 for an example of the annotations found in the third waltz.
In the third waltz, the A section comprises measures 1-16, with measures 17-20 representing an extension of A section material. Copland repeats the A section, without the extending material, in measures 35-54. See Figure 13 for the first A section.

Figure 13: Petites Valses 3
A Section
Measures 1-16
In this waltz, Copland delineates the sections by either a full measure rest, as in the transition from the A section into the B section, shown in Figure 15A, or by the presence of an additional note, C-sharp$^5$, as in the return of A, Figure 15B.

$^{180}$Descriptions in the text use the registral designation of the Acoustical Society of America, see Figure 14.
Figure 15: Petites Valses 3
A: Transition from A Section to B Section
Measures 17-21
B: Transition from B Section to A Section
Measures 26-35

The B section consists of measures 21-34 with measures 21-28 written out in musical notation, as shown in Figure 16. The Coda is made up of measures 55-59.
Another difference among the waltzes is the timbre. The timbre of Petites Valses 1 centers on the middle to upper range of the piano, C4 to B-flat5, as Copland places both the melody and harmony in the treble clef. However, he punctuates the ends of the phrases in the A section with even higher pitches, a two-note chord of either A-flat5 and D6 or A-natural5 and D6. He writes the marking sans pedal that also affects the timbre of the piece.

The timbre of the second waltz differs from the first as Copland utilizes a wider range of the piano. In the first waltz, the range is slightly more than three octaves, focusing on the area above C4. In the second
waltz, the range is not quite four octaves, with the majority of the piece being played in the middle register of the piano, from D2 to C-sharp5.

In comparison, the timbre of Petites Valses 3 is a combination of the first and second; the melody remains in the middle register (first waltz), and the accompaniment pattern is in the lower register (second waltz). The total range of the third waltz is approximately three and a half octaves, from C-sharp2 to F-sharp5.

Copland focuses on a particular compositional problem in each of the waltzes. Indeed, one of the principal differences among the dances is which musical element Copland explores in each. In the first waltz he seems to focus principally on the interval of a fifth both melodically and harmonically, with a secondary focus on the rhythm.

He writes a leap of a perfect fifth in the A section melody, from A-flat4 to E-flat5, as previously shown in Figure 6. This leap is preceded by a two-note anacrusis into the first full measure, and into each new phrase. In the A section, this anacrusis consists of a half-step interval followed by an upward leap of a perfect fifth (see Figure 17). This interval pattern is the same one
found in the anacrusis into the first phrase of the B section. Copland changes the intervals of the anacrusis in the second phrase of the B section, measure 14 (Figure 18), as well as the return to the A section (Figure 19).

In the B section, the melodic line descends and ascends in a series of perfect fifths that are then sequenced down one whole step to complete the B section. See Figure 20.
Copland also focuses on the interval of a fifth in the accompaniment. For example, the three-note chord that comprises the accompaniment portion in the A section (Figure 21) consists of the quintal chord F-C-G, voiced as C4, F4, and G4. In the B section, the central role of the fifth is continued in the accompaniment through a series of chords that span a perfect fifth (see Figure 22).
These chords descending by step from F-flat\(4\) C-flat\(5\) to E-double flat\(4\) B-double flat\(4\) follow the sequence in the right-hand shown in Figure 20. The roots of these dyads are a whole step apart supporting Berger's statement regarding parallel chords as a characteristic of Copland's music.

Copland's secondary point of concentration in the first waltz is the rhythmic structure. In the A section, he establishes a repetitious, two-measure rhythmic pattern, or ostinato, in the accompaniment as shown in Figure 21. He alters the ostinato in the B section, as shown in Figure 22, by inserting one additional chord on the last beat of measure 11, creating a four measure pattern. The resulting rhythmic configuration has a duple feel that obscures the triple meter of the waltz by offsetting the principal accents with a hemiola.
In the second waltz, Copland's main focal point shifts completely to the rhythm, with melody as a secondary concentration. He immediately provides a different mood by starting the piece with a distinct rhythmic device, a four-sixteenth grace-note pattern (Figure 23). This pattern is repeated, articulating the beginning of each of the 10 phrases. The majority of

![Grace-note Figure Measure 1](image)

these phrases are four measures long.

Copland frequently ties the third beat to the first beat of the following measure in the melody, creating a syncopation on the second beat as another rhythmic device. Although he utilizes this procedure in the first waltz, he does it more in the second. The pattern of the third beat being tied to the first is combined with a \( \downarrow \uparrow \) rhythm at the beginning of each phrase. It is also used in the second and third measures of each of the four-measure phrases in conjunction with the quarter note pulse as previously shown in Figure 8.
Copland places the rhythmic pattern $\frac{1}{4} \uparrow \uparrow$ in various voices throughout the waltz. For example, in the first A section, the rhythmic figure is found in the alto with a sustained note in the soprano, as shown in Figure 8. In the B section both soprano and alto voices employ the same rhythmic motive at the beginning of the phrase as seen in Figure 9. In the repeat of the A section, Copland uses $\frac{1}{4} \uparrow \uparrow$ in the alto at the beginning of the phrase and in the soprano at the end. The Coda, measures 25-32, begins like the A section, shown in Figure 8. Copland, however, alters the rhythm in measure 28 creating a variation of the $\frac{1}{4} \uparrow \uparrow$ rhythm (see Figure 24).

The other element Copland explores in the second waltz is the counterpoint between the soprano and alto lines. This interplay among moving lines also occurs in Grohg (see, for example, Rehearsal 6 shown in Figure 43). In the beginning of the second waltz, the alto line is the
more active voice; it consists of repeated notes and a descending line that spans the interval of a major third, as seen in Figure 8. At the commencement of the B section, Figure 9, Copland increases the activity for both soprano and alto parts. Both voices descend so that the soprano spans a major third and the alto line a perfect fourth. At the conclusion of the B section, measures 13–16, the alto and soprano lines again span a major third (see Figure 25). The melodic interval of a third is also an important feature in Grohg.

Figure 25: Petites Valses 2
End of B Section
Measures 13–16

The resulting harmony from the interplay between the soprano and alto voices throughout Petites Valses 2 illustrates the principal use of the intervals of a fifth, fourth, and third.

In the third waltz, Copland concentrates on formal structure. The melody for the third waltz contains clear-cut antecedent and consequent phrases, each four measures
long, as shown in Figure 13. The registral placement of the phrase endings, where measures 3 and 4 are in an upper register hinting at a possible question and measures 7 and 8 are in the lower register providing an answer, makes the two phrases sound like an antecedent--consequent pair. Harmonically, the music does not clearly support the antecedent--consequent structure, because it is difficult to assign traditional tonal functions to bitonal chords, such as those found in the first two measures where the treble outlines an F major chord and the bass sounds an F-sharp major chord. However, the use of bitonality here looks ahead to Copland's use of bitonality in Grohg.

The formal arrangement of the third waltz is also developed through the accompaniment. Copland begins this composition on the down beat without any grace notes such as those of the second waltz. The accompaniment for the first four measures employs the traditional "um-pa-pa" rhythm associated with the waltz. The B section accompaniment continues the strong triple meter feel by having an obvious downbeat, although Copland does not always complete the full three beats.\textsuperscript{181} The melody of the B section, utilizing the $\frac{1}{4}$ rhythm so prevalent in the first and second waltzes, is in direct contrast to the melody of the A section shown in Figure 13.

\textsuperscript{181}See Figure 16.
When comparing the waltzes to the music of *Grohg*, it is apparent that Copland took Nadia Boulanger's suggestion to "build them [the waltzes] into a ballet" seriously.\(^{182}\) The third waltz forms the most substantial link to the ballet; the melody of the A section, Figure 15, becomes the principal theme in the "Dance of the Street-Walker," while the B section melody, Figure 16, develops into the secondary theme in the Street-Walker's dance, and represents the flirtatiousness of the character. Copland uses the second waltz as the "Dance of the Young Girl," the dance of the fourth character in the original, 1922-25 manuscript.\(^{183}\) He also employs the rhythmic pattern of four descending grace-notes found in *Petites Valses 2* in a similar manner in *Grohg*, forming a tenuous connection between the two pieces.

The individual compositional techniques found in the *Petites Valses*, e.g., the derivation of harmony from melody, the persistent use of specific rhythmic ideas, and the registral placement of pitches to establish the mood of the piece, appear to be in a developmental stage when compared to their appearance in later pieces. These compositional techniques when combined form an integral

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\(^{182}\) Copland and Perlis, *Copland*, 82.

\(^{183}\) The "Dance of the Young Girl" later became the second movement for *Dance Symphony*. It was cut from the 1932 revised score of *Grohg*. 
role in Copland's mature musical style. As we shall discuss below, all of the same characteristics are likewise present in Grohg.

*Grohg, a Ballet in One Act*

The next portion of this chapter is based upon the only complete extant score of the ballet, the 1932 revised manuscript, now available from Boosey & Hawkes. In contrast with the 1922-25 original manuscript, the revised 1932 score indicates the following segments within the existing three-part structure:

- **Part I:** Introduction/"Cortège Macabre"
- **Part II:** "Dance of the Adolescent"
  - "Dance of the Opium-Eater"
  - "Dance of the Street-Walker"
- **Part III:** "Dance of Mockery"
  - Finale/Coda.

For ease in finding the specific passages, rehearsal numbers in the 1932 score will be used, and musical examples will likewise be written as they appear there.

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184 Aaron Copland, *Grohg, a Ballet in One Act*, Revised 1932 manuscript. The published score is a photocopy of the manuscript found in the Copland Archive. It was copyrighted in 1992 by Boosey & Hawkes as sole representatives for the Copland Estate. All musical examples are reprinted by permission of Boosey & Hawkes, Inc.

185 A diagram of the 1922-25 structure is found in Chapter II.
Rhythm. Copland was known for creating complex rhythmic patterns interspersed with traditional rhythms. William Austin states: "The orchestral music relies more often and for longer stretches on traditional patterns of dance and march, with steady tempos enlivened by odd accents and phrasings."\(^{186}\) Copland's use of various rhythmic patterns and changing meters is established in the first part of Grohg. The rhythms become more complex in the second part during the characters' dances, before reaching a climax during the "Dance of Mockery" in the third part.

In the first part of Grohg, Copland establishes a steady tempo, \(J = 48\), for the 'Entrance' theme,\(^{187}\) heard in the short, 24-measure, Introduction. One of the principal rhythmic motives, RM1, in this theme is a short-short-long pattern. Copland augments it to short-short-long before the second rhythmic motive, an even longer extension of RM1, is heard (see Figure 26).


\(^{187}\)The names of the various themes, unless otherwise indicated, are my own. They were chosen according to the way in which they reflect the dramatic action.
The rhythm of the 'Entrance' theme is heard throughout the composition as a unifying device. Rhythmic motive 1 (RM1) is used extensively to signal a change in the action. It is performed whenever a character is introduced to the audience or enters the stage, the only exception being the Opium-Eater.

Although this rhythm is maintained in the Introduction, Copland varies it in the "Cortège Macabre," beginning at Rehearsal 3, by adding four descending grace-notes that are played before the short-short-long rhythm returns in the double basses and the piano (see Figure 27).

![Figure 26: Grohg 'Entrance' Theme First Trumpet Measures 1-7](image)

![Figure 27: Grohg "Cortège Macabre" Rhythm--1 Double Bass Rehearsal 3](image)
In this section the steady duple meter accentuates the dramatic activity. According to the annotations, during the "Cortège" Grohg’s servants are dragging the coffins onto the stage, in a slow dirge-like procession, one group at a time. Thus the short-short-long rhythm \((RM_1)\) could represent the step-step-drag motion of the servants.

While the first group makes an appearance, the double basses continue to play the rhythm shown in Figure 27. Copland inserts a new rhythmic pattern in the bass clarinet in A at Rehearsal 6 that becomes the secondary theme for the cortège (see Figure 28).

![Figure 28: Grohg "Cortège Macabre" Rhythm—2 Bass Clarinet in A Rehearsal 6](image)

After two groups have appeared on stage with coffins, Copland writes a dance for the servants that retains the duple meter but inserts a \(5/4\) measure, offsetting the regular rhythm, as exemplified by the violin I part shown
in Figure 29. The rhythmic pattern acts as a recurring ostinato throughout the entire ballet.

During the servants' dance, Copland overlaps various repetitious rhythmic patterns in the orchestra at four before Rehearsal 14, as shown in Figure 30. These rhythmic patterns consist of rhythm a, in the oboe and clarinet in A, and rhythm b, in the horns and second violins and violas. At Rehearsal 14 a new rhythmic motive, , is added to the texture, appearing in the piccolo and first violins. Copland places these ostinati in various instruments throughout Grohg.
The use of ostinati is a characteristic feature of Copland's music. Quincy Charles Hilliard, in his *A Theoretical Analysis of the Symphonies of Aaron Copland*, cites numerous examples of ostinati present in Copland's First, Second and Third Symphonies.\(^{188}\) Copland was also criticized for his use of ostinati in Grohg by Prokofiev when Copland first performed the "Cortège" portion for Koussevitzky.\(^{189}\)

As discussed above, duple meter is maintained in the first portion of the "Cortège." At Rehearsal 17, the

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\(^{189}\)Prokofiev's reaction to hearing Copland's "Cortège Macabre" is discussed in Chapter II, page 31.
entry of the third group of servants, Copland disrupts the
duple rhythm by changing the meter signature to 5/4+3/2 as
shown in Figure 31. This alternation between 5/4 and 3/2
meters continues until Grohg enters at Rehearsal 19.

![Figure 31: Grohg](image)

In the second part, containing the characters' dances, Copland writes specific rhythmic figures that accentuate the individual personalities. Copland here combines dance and march rhythms with non-traditional accents and rhythmic ostinati in a manner commonly associated with his more mature works.\footnote{In *Billy the Kid*, for example, Copland writes the rhythms of a Jarabe, a Mexican dance, to represent the Mexican women who are in the Frontier Town in the first scene. He also uses several well-known cowboy tunes, altering their rhythm slightly. These tunes are *Great Grand-Dad*, *Git Along Little Doggies*, *The Old Chisholm Trail*, and *Good-bye Old Paint*. The use of these tunes establishes the atmosphere of the old western frontier.}

The "Dance of the Adolescent" is fairly light and moderately fast, representing the youthfulness of the character. The 'Adolescent's Dance' theme, beginning at Rehearsal 23 and shown in Figure 32, is very rapid, with a
staccato pattern played by the bassoon. It has the same rhythm, '♩♩♩♩', found in the "Cortège" ostinato of the servants dance previously shown in Figure 29. This pattern, '♩♩♩♩', is one of three rhythmic motives of the 'Adolescent's Dance' shown in Figure 32. The other two rhythmic motives are 「」 and 「」.

![Figure 32: Grohg](image)

"Dance of the Adolescent"
'Adolescent's Dance' Theme
Bassoon
Rehearsal 23

In the case of the Opium-Eater, the second character, Copland writes two different rhythms. The first, seen in Figure 33, represents the Opium-Eater's actions before the character succumbs to the drug. It is slightly syncopated as if the person is swaying and swerving. The piano enters at four before Rehearsal 40 with a syncopated accompaniment pattern reminiscent of a jazz piano vamp. At Rehearsal 40 a trumpet joins in with the theme, shown in Figure 33, as the piano vamp continues. This theme, referred to as 'Jazzy,' is offset by an eighth note rest
and is played in a quasi staccato manner as shown in Figure 33.

![Figure 33: Grohg “Dance of the Opium-Eater” ’Jazzy’ Theme Rehearsal 40](image)

The second rhythmic pattern associated with the Opium-Eater, beginning at Rehearsal 42, is part of the ‘Vision’ theme, where the drug-induced tranquillity is suggested through the legato nature of the music. Copland alternates the meter rapidly during this five measure theme from 4/4 to 3/4 to 2/4 and back to common time (Figure 34B). This contrasts with the metrical changes in the "Dance of the Adolescent" (Figure 34A) that is heard when the teenager does not respond to Grohg or the other servants at five after Rehearsal 35.
Figure 34: Grohg
Meter Changes
A: "Dance of the Adolescent"
Frenzy—5 After Rehearsal 35191
B: "Dance of the Opium-Eater"
'Vision'—Rehearsal 42

191 This is a reduced score. The piccolo, flutes, and clarinet in D all have the same rhythm as the oboe I (Ob I). The clarinet in A, trumpet in B-flat, first harp, right hand of the piano, and the first and second violins have the same rhythm as the English horn (C.I.). The triangle and woodblock, and second trumpet are the same as the first trumpet (Tr I). The violas, celli, left hand of the piano, cymbals, bass drum, timpani, tuba, contrabassoon, bassoon, and bass clarinet perform the same rhythm as the contrabasses (C.B.).
At three before Rehearsal 44 Copland writes, "Grohg induces a new rhythm in the Opium-Eater’s Dance." This is an attempt to re-energize the Opium-Eater, drawing him away from his calming visions. The entire rhythmic motive, found in the strings, piano, horns, and winds (see Figure 35), is a version of the right hand accompaniment of the Jazz vamp previously seen in Figure 33. This rhythm, , recalls the pattern of the "Cortège"

![Figure 35: Grohg "Dance of the Opium-Eater" "New" Rhythm Piano, Violin I and II, Oboe I and II, English Horn, Clarinet in D, Woodblock 3 Before Rehearsal 44](image)

ostinato, Figure 29, and the opening motive of the 'Adolescent’s Dance,' Figure 32. However, the pattern of accents is different in Figure 35 than in either Figures 29 or 32.

Copland subdivides the measures containing this motive, beginning at three before Rehearsal 44, creating a sense of syncopation with accents on the "and" of beat two and on beat four as shown in Figure 35, or creating a 3/8

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192Copland, Grohg, 73.
measure followed by a 5/8 (3 + 2) measure, or a grouping 3 + 3 + 2/8.

The first theme for the third character, the Street-Walker, has a contrasting, rapid tempo, in triple meter. (See last two measures of Figure 36.) As previously discussed, this melody is the same as the A section in the third of the Petites Valses. For the second theme of the Street-Walker’s dance, when Copland states "Frightened, the Street-Walker becomes coquettish"193 at Rehearsal 60, the tempo changes to lento rubato. Although this tempo change is not indicated in the manuscript of the third Petite Valse, the trumpet melody here is reminiscent of the end of the B-section melody in the third waltz. Figure 36 presents the transition between the second theme, played Lento rubato, into the return of the first, PV3A, played Subito Allegro Molto.

193Ibid., 103.
Figure 36: Grohg
"Dance of the Street-Walker"
Rhythm—Transition
3 Before Rehearsal 61

At Rehearsal 65 Grohg joins the Street-Walker in her dance. His active participation with her is reflected at five after Rehearsal 65 by the music's steady march-like style that gradually accelerates (see Figure 37).
According to Copland, "Grohg attempts to pursue" the Street-Walker at Rehearsal 73. She evades him, and his passion turns to fury. The tempo throughout this section has increased to the point that the 3/4 measures are conducted in one, and this fast tempo propels the music and action into the third part of Grohg, the "Dance of Mockery" followed by the Finale/Coda.

The beginning of the third part at five before Rehearsal 77, the "Dance of Mockery," is clearly delineated in the autograph with a Roman numeral III. This appears above a new tempo marking of Allegro Vivo with a metronomic indication of $J = 200$. In this section of the ballet, Copland overlaps the simple rhythmic patterns found in earlier sections, placing each of them in different instrumental parts. This overlapping of

\[194\text{Ibid.}, 127.\]
rhythmic material reaches a height of complexity that is illustrated by two different sections that contain the same rhythm, two after Rehearsal 88 and at Rehearsal 99 (see Figure 38). At two after Rehearsal 88 Grohg believes he sees the Opium-Eater advancing to scorn him. At Rehearsal 99, "All goes awry" as Grohg loses control over all of his servants. In both places the lower strings play a steady 3/8, while the upper strings play a duple pattern that crosses the bar line (see Figure 38). The piano, piccolo, flute, oboes, and clarinets are all playing a diminution of the rhythm that first occurs at the beginning of the "Dance of Mockery," five before Rehearsal 77, repeated at Rehearsal 77 (see Figure 39).

195Ibid., 177.
Copland writes a note to the conductor, Figure 40, that appears over the orchestral parts at both two after Rehearsal 88 and at Rehearsal 99. This facilitates the performance of the piano and winds against the strings' rhythm, previously shown in Figure 38, by clarifying the patterns' similarity to the rhythm at Rehearsal 77.
For the Finale/Coda, commencing at seven after Rehearsal 102, when Grohg remains alone on the stage after withstanding the jeering by his servants, Copland returns to common time, using rhythmic motive 1 of the 'Entrance' theme, previously shown in Figure 26. He adds an additional eighth note beat to the common time to extend the "long" as the pattern begins (see Figure 41). The music progresses into a steady, slow, march-like pace in quarter notes, simulating the reflective quality of the dramatic action as Grohg slowly retires from the stage, leaving it devoid of all activity.
Another means of heightening the dramatic action is the alteration of tempo. For example, as mentioned previously in the discussion about the Street-Walker's Dance, Copland changes the tempo from *Subito Allegro Molto* to *Lento rubato* and back to symbolize the vacillating character of the prostitute. Another example is the contrasting tempos of the opening and closing section of *Grohg*. In the beginning, Copland writes *lento* for the 'Entrance' theme, accentuating the slow, ponderous movement of the servants dragging in the coffins during the "Cortège." This is in direct contrast to the *Allegro Vivo* of the "Dance of Mockery" where the activity on the stage is chaotic. The way Copland varies the tempo in *Grohg* is consistent with those in other works, e.g., *Billy the Kid*, where the changes in tempo accentuate the action taking place on the stage. It is also found in his film scores from the 1940s, e.g., *The Red Pony* (1948), that Copland reworked into orchestral suites in the 1940s and 1960s.

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196 In *Billy the Kid* Copland changes the tempo between the "Prairie Night (Card Game at Night)" and the "Gun Battle." In the former while Billy is playing cards with some of his buddies out on the prairie, Copland writes *molto moderato* as the tempo. However, when Billy is fleeing from the law and is involved in a gun battle, Copland composes the music at an allegro where the quarter note equals 144.

197 One example of the change in tempo supporting the dramatic action of the film is in "The Gift" section of *The Red Pony*. During this segment, Jody, the young boy,
Melody. One of the principal characteristics of Copland's music, according to numerous scholars of American music, is the economy of his melodic material. Close examination of the various themes found in Grohg supports this, showing that the same economy of means typical of his later works is already present in this composition from the early 1920s.

The first theme presented in Grohg, 'Entrance,' is heard in the Introduction, and is shown in its entirety in Figure 42. As previously stated, the 'Entrance' theme unites the entire composition by returning frequently as the characters appear or by signifying a change in the dramatic action. It is divided into two distinct melodic motives. The first, labeled a in Figure 42, consists of a minor third present in the trumpets, and echoed by the flutes and clarinets. The second motive, b in Figure 42, contains a series of repeated quarter notes in the trumpets before being heard in the flutes and clarinets.
Melodic motive b continues in the trumpet with the last note of the series of repeated notes leaping a perfect fifth before descending three whole steps. This is accompanied by an ascending melodic line in the horns, and by a repeat of the first motive with the ascending minor third in the trombones (see Figure 42).

Melodic motive b of the 'Entrance' theme is an embellishment of melodic motive a, with two extra pitches, F-sharp5 and E5. Thus, the most important melodic interval in the theme is the minor third.

Figure 42: Grohg
Introduction
'Entrance' Theme
The next theme, located in the "Cortège Macabre" and referred to as 'Cortège' (shown in Figure 43), begins at Rehearsal 6 and is performed by the bass clarinet. It commences with the interval of a minor third before leaping a minor sixth.

Figure 43: Grohg  
"Cortège Macabre"  
'Correo' Theme  
Rehearsal 6
This example contains overlapping melodic lines; Copland pairs the extreme angularity of the 'Cortège' theme with the static quality of the 'Entrance' theme. However, he changes the order of the 'Entrance' theme, previously shown in Figure 26, and has the divisi double basses perform the second melodic motive, containing the interval of a fifth (see the X in Figure 43), before the clarinets enter with the first motive (E.T.a).

Copland fragments these two themes, 'Entrance' and the 'Cortège,' and places portions of them in different instruments that gradually overlap each other. He also manipulates the themes by changing their intervallic content. For example, at one after Rehearsal 10, motive a of the 'Entrance' theme is transformed to span a diminished fifth instead of a minor third, and is presented in parallel perfect fourths. See Figure 44.

Figure 44: Grohg
"Cortège Macabre"
'Entrance' Theme Variation
1 After Rehearsal 10
Throughout the first part of *Grohg*, the themes are composed of a minimum of notes and intervals. As has been shown through the various examples above, the primary melodic interval during this section is the minor third. Although Copland is known for his use of fourths and fifths both melodically and harmonically, Butterworth found that the interval of a minor third plays a significant role in major works, e.g., Organ Symphony (1924), Piano Concerto (1926), *Dance Symphony* (1928-29), Vitebsk (1929), the Violin Sonata (1942-43), *Appalachian Spring* (1943-44), Third Symphony (1944-46), the Emily Dickinson Songs (1944-50), *Dance Panels* (1965), and *Night Thoughts* (1972).

In the second part of *Grohg*, presenting the characters' dances, Copland writes two melodic themes per character. The first theme for the Adolescent will be referred to as 'Tender Regard' since the annotation in the score states: "Grohg tenderly regards the adolescent." Performed by the viola, this theme begins with a descending melodic line composed of five notes spanning the interval of a perfect fifth, from G5 to C5 (see Figure 45). Copland presents a sequence of the beginning two

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198 See the discussion on pages 70-73 and 113.


measures a minor third higher by using the last triplet figure in the second bar as a bridge into the new section. Thus, he emphasizes the intervals of a perfect fifth and minor third.

Figure 45: Grohg
"Dance of the Adolescent"
'Tender Regard' Theme
Viola
Rehearsal 22

The next theme in the "Dance of the Adolescent" appears at Rehearsal 28 in the bassoon and will be called 'Adolescent's Dance,' Figure 46. Again, Copland employs

Figure 46: Grohg
"Dance of the Adolescent"
'Adolescent's Dance' Theme
Rehearsal 23
the minor third predominantly, although it is introduced by the intervals of a perfect fourth and fifth at the beginning of the theme. In the third repetition of the 'Adolescent's Dance' theme Copland varies the melodic content of the second rhythmic motive, M.2, previously shown in Figure 32 and removes the third rhythmic motive, M.3. As seen in Figure 46, he extends the second motive by changing the melodic intervals to include perfect fourths, major thirds, and a diminished fourth, as well as the minor third.

The two themes associated with the Opium-Eater, the second character, are 'Jazzy' at Rehearsal 40 and 'Vision' at Rehearsal 42. The 'Jazzy' theme begins with a piano vamp before the solo trumpet enters with the melodic line (see Figure 33). The melody starts with the minor third that is repeated before ending with a turn figure around G-sharp4.

The second theme, referred to as 'Vision' and shown in Figure 47, represents the tranquil nature of the character's dream-state. It is marked legato and is composed of two melodic motives, both containing the interval of a minor third. The first motive primarily alternates major seconds with a small leap of a minor third, while the second motive near the end of the theme
contains a series of descending minor thirds as seen in Figure 47.

The Street-Walker's second theme, 'Coquette,' occurs after Grohg has approached her and she disguises her apprehension by flirtatious gestures at Rehearsal 60. The melodic line in 'Coquette' centers upon major thirds with a passing tone between the two primary notes, as shown in Figure 48. This theme is played twice before

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201 The first theme for the Street-Walker, PV3A, has already been discussed in the analysis of the third Petite Valse.
fading into the first theme of the Street-Walker as previously seen in Figure 36.

Throughout Part II of Grohg, Copland connects the various themes with bridge material that is similar to the transitional material he writes in later works, and that provides a glimpse into a more mature Copland. In the bridge sections he either repeats a particular portion of the previous theme, employs scales, or writes wide leaps such as the augmented octave found at Rehearsal 21 linking the end of Part I with the beginning of Part II (see Figure 49).
The various ways Copland connects the disparate sections within this ballet, as described above, are found in his later compositions, such as *Lincoln Portrait* and *Appalachian Spring.*

The intervals and melodic content found during the first two parts of *Grohg* are likewise utilized in the third part, but with a different effect. This part contains the "Dance of Mockery," in which the servants ridicule the magician, and the Finale/Coda. Copland connects the second part with the beginning of the third part at nine after Rehearsal 76 by introducing a fanfare...

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202 Copland uses portions of the introductory theme in the *Appalachian Spring Suite* to connect the end of the first portion, representing the young couples expressions of joy and apprehension for the future, with the second section when the older neighbor offers suggestions. Later in this same piece, Copland writes scales to act as a bridge between the second and third variations of "Simple Gifts." In *Lincoln Portrait,* Copland also precedes the second theme, the "Springfield Mountain" melody, with an arpeggiated chord played with a dotted rhythm reminiscent of the first theme heard in the Introduction.
performed by the solo clarinet in D and echoed by a solo trumpet (see Figure 50).

In the third part of Grohg Copland layers one melodic motive on top of another in a pattern of accretion and interpolation that heightens the dramatic interest. He composes a new theme that appears at the beginning of this section, seen in Figure 39 above. This theme is added to others from the previous sections and is performed at various tempi to create the sense of derision the servants have for Grohg.

Harmony. Copland experts discuss his use of harmony primarily in terms of the accompaniments created from intervals found in the melodic line. The harmonies he writes in Grohg consist of traditionally spaced triads, open arpeggiated chords generally comprising the intervals of a fourth or fifth, pedal tones that provide harmonic
stability, and cluster chords. An example of each type of accompaniment follows.

One model of the triadic harmony found throughout this piece is in the 'Entrance' theme, Figure 42, where traditional minor triad sonorities alternate with the melodic lines' minor/major thirds.

Copland does not always spell chords in thirds. Occasionally, he stacks the chords in open fourths, fifths, or tritones. As shown in Figure 51, the flutes enter the "Cortège" with parallel chords consisting of either a tritone plus fourth, or fourth plus tritone at three after Rehearsal 5. The bass notes of these chords are a tritone apart (see Figure 51).

![Figure 51: Grohg "Cortège Macabre" Chords—Flutes 3 After Rehearsal 5](image)

There are also numerous examples of arpeggiated chords, triads and sometimes seventh chords. For example, during the "Dance of the Adolescent," the clarinet in A joins the flutes and celesta in accompanying the 'Tender Regard' theme by playing triplet arpeggiated chords. This
example also contains sustained pedal tones in the English horn, bass clarinet and French horn (see Figure 52).

When Grohg strikes the Street-Walker at Rehearsal 76, the piccolos, flutes, oboes, clarinets, second and third trumpets, and piano play two distinct cluster chords. (See Figure 53 for the piano part.) In the following
measure Copland writes a rest with a fermata for the orchestra. During the next six measures, the only sound is the double basses playing one note of a three note descending line, on the downbeat of every other measure. This descending line is reminiscent of the end of the 'Entrance' theme, and concludes the second part of the ballet.

Timbre. Although Grohg is Copland's first orchestral work, he already exhibits mastery over the large orchestra employed in this composition. (See Figure 54 for a listing of the instruments as they appear at the front of the score.)

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203 Copland adds the glockenspiel in the 1932 revised Grohg, but does not include it on the list that appears at the beginning of the score, seen in Figure 54.
1 Flauto piccolo  
2 Flauto grandi  
2 Oboi  
1 Corno Inglese  
1 Clarinetto piccolo in D  
1 Clarinetto in A  
2 Fagotti  
1 Contrafagotto  
4 Corni in F  
3 Trombe in C  
2 Pistoni in B-flat  
3 Tromboni  
1 Tuba  
Timpani  
Cassa  
Piatti  
Tam-Tam, Tambouro Militare, Tamburino  
Legno, Triangolo, Rattle, Zilofone  
Piano  
2 Arpe  
Celesta

Figure 54: Grohg  
Orchestra

A large orchestra is a feature in many of Copland’s mature works, e.g., Symphony for Organ and Orchestra (1924), Piano Concerto (1926), Symphonic Ode (1927-29), First Symphony (1928), The Red Pony Suite (1948), and the Third Symphony (1944-46).

Copland introduces the majority of the instruments during the first part of Grohg, exposing the listener to various timbral combinations that are exploited throughout the ballet. For example, the ‘Entrance’ theme is presented like a fanfare, with the initial performance heard as an alternation between the trumpets, divided into three parts, clarinets, flutes, and second violins and
violas. At the end of the theme the French horns, also divided into three parts, provide an ascending countermelody to the trumpets' descending line, as previously shown in Figure 42. The xylophone enters at the end of the theme and plays the first rhythmic and melodic motive, while the trumpets and trombones sustain their notes.

In the "Cortège" portion of Grohg, Copland punctuates the 'Entrance' theme with a very heavy, low bass sound built on perfect fourths, using the timpani, cellos, double basses, and piano. This concentration of lower sounding instruments accentuates the lugubrious character of the funerary march, in which the servants are bringing in the coffins.

Copland recognizes that particular instruments can create an emotional response. For example, he uses the bass clarinet in A for the 'Cortège' theme. (This may have been in the back of his mind when, in *What to Listen For In Music*, he says that the bass clarinet has a "ghostly quality" in its lower register.) Another example is at Rehearsal 12 when the servants dance around

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204 The presentation of this theme is similar to the way Copland writes the first four notes of "Springfield Mountain" in *Lincoln Portrait*. These notes, arpeggiating a D-major chord, are played as a fanfare before the narrator begins his oration.

the two coffins. Copland begins this section with a xylophone, strings played col legno, and woodblock—all instrumental timbres associated with the rattling of bones.206

Another common timbre found in Grohg is the "Jazz" sound. "Copland was fascinated by the particular timbre of the jazz band, the special tonal timbre that exists partly because of the absence of strings."207 This sound is used for two of the characters in Grohg. The first is for the Opium-Eater, as already mentioned. The 'Jazzy' theme is performed by a muted trumpet accompanied by piano, playing a jazz vamp, and a snare drum played with brushes. Copland augments the jazzy sound by including a celesta during the 'Vision' portion of this character's dance. The celesta adds an ethereal quality to the music.

The second character who has a jazzy sound is the Street-Walker. For the second theme, 'Coquette,' in the "Dance of the Street-Walker," Copland uses only a trumpet

206These effects are similar to those that Copland was later to create in Billy the Kid. For example, in the 'Gun Battle' section of Billy the Kid, Copland uses muted trumpets and a side drum to represent gun shots.

Copland’s use of instrumentation to either personify a particular item or emotion is also apparent in his Music for the Movies, an orchestral suite consisting of five episodes from his music for various films. The five movements are "New England Countryside," "Barley Wagons," "Sunday Traffic," "Story of Grovers Corners," and "Threshing Machines."

207Dobrin, Copland, 82.
and piano. The timbral effects for this section are clearly listed in the score; the trumpet is to sound "like a kazoo." This produces the effect of a sleazy night-club. This quality of sound is heard again in *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!* whose story revolves around a murder in a night-club/cabaret.

Another effect that Copland exploits in *Grohg* is the absence of sound. Sudden silences dramatize the events on stage; he employs silence during the change from the first part, Introduction/"Cortège," to the second containing the characters' dances. The "Cortège Macabre" concludes with at least an eighth-note rest in all the parts, as if taking a breath before beginning the next section. "All movement stops" is Copland's annotation at Rehearsal 21. The only sound is the rolling of the timpani as all of the other instruments fall silent for a full measure, thereby setting the stage for the dance of the first character, the adolescent. Copland also writes a rest representing an unexpected silence after Grohg has thrown the Street-Walker into the crowd of jeering servants ending the "Dance of Mockery."

Perhaps one of the most dramatic uses of orchestration, seemingly unique to *Grohg*, occurs at the
end of the ballet during the Finale/Coda. The full orchestra is playing portions of the 'Entrance' theme, and Copland withdraws the instruments, one group at a time, until only the double basses, bass drum, and solo clarinet remain. As Grohg completely disappears from view, a solo violin plays the end of the 'Entrance' theme before performing the first motive, echoed by the bass clarinet. The double basses play a C octave pedal against the minor third motive of the 'Entrance' theme played by the clarinet and accented by the regular rhythm of the bass drum, as the sound decrescendos to pppp during the "slow curtain." 210

Conclusion

This analysis of Petites Valses and Grohg has revealed a number of features prominent in both works, e.g., complex rhythmic patterns, economic use of thematic material, and the use of melodic intervals to create harmony. These traits, as well as others discussed in this chapter, are recognized and acknowledged by scholars as being typical of Copland's mature style.

The analysis has also demonstrated how the music for Grohg accentuates the attributes of the various characters and the dramatic action annotated in the score, despite

210 Ibid., 191.
the fact that the story was written after the compositional process commenced.

On the basis of the information presented in this chapter, new questions arise as to how Copland altered Grohg in order to incorporate sections from it into the related compositions Cortège Macabre, Dance Symphony, and Scene VIII of Hear Ye! Hear Ye!. These questions will be addressed in the following chapter.
CHAPTER V
GROHG AS A SOURCE
FOR LATER COMPOSITIONS

Cortège Macabre, Dance Symphony, and Hear Ye! Hear Ye! are recognized by American music scholars as significant examples of Copland's early style. Julia Smith, one such scholar, notes, "The Cortège is significant because it contains the first example of Copland's use of polyrhythms as such."\(^{211}\) She also mentions that Hear Ye! Hear Ye! is a "throwback, a hybrid, descending from the earlier "jazz" style."\(^{212}\) Each of the above-listed compositions shares a direct link to Grohg, as illustrated by Table 1. This Table shows the differences between the scores for Cortège Macabre (RL-1a/LC-Arco 8.A1), Dance Symphony (RL-1b/LC-Arco 11.3), and Scene VIII of Hear Ye! Hear Ye! (RL-1c/LC-Arco 26.3) in comparison with the only complete score, the 1932 revised manuscript of Grohg (RL-2/LC-Arco 8).

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\(^{212}\)Ibid., 187.
Table 1 consists of four columns; the first contains information concerning the 1932 revised Grohg; the second is Cortège Macabre (1923); the third and fourth columns center on Dance Symphony (1928-29), and Scene VIII of Hear Ye! Hear Ye! (1934) respectively. Abbreviations found in Table 1 include: G for Grohg, CM for Cortège Macabre, DS for Dance Symphony, and HY(Scene VIII) for Hear Ye! Hear Ye! (Scene VIII). Following the table is a brief discussion of the comparison of each composition to the 1932 revised Grohg.
### TABLE 1:
COMPARISON SHOWING THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE 1932 REVISED GROHG SCORE AND RELATED COMPOSITIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Revised Grohg 1932</th>
<th>Cortège Macabre 1923</th>
<th>Dance Symphony 1928-29</th>
<th>Hear Ye! Hear Ye! (Scene VIII) 1934</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large Orchestra</td>
<td>Same Orchestra as G</td>
<td>Same Orchestra as G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction mm. 1-24</td>
<td>Introduction mm. 1-21 same as G</td>
<td>Meter 5 after Rehearsal 2 stays in Common time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change meter 5 after Rehearsal 2 to 5/4</td>
<td>Cuts to 4 before Rehearsal 230 for beginning of &quot;Dance of the Adolescent.&quot;</td>
<td>Cuts Cortège Macabre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rests throughout all parts mm. 24 &quot;Curtain rise&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proceeds to Cortège Macabre at Rehearsal 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 After Rehearsal 3 Bassoon and Horns Performing</td>
<td>1 After Rehearsal 3G Bassoon and Horns Rest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 After Rehearsal 3 no annotation to harpists</td>
<td>6 After Rehearsal 3G note to harps regarding pedals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 5 no annotations for harpists</td>
<td>Rehearsal 5G note to change pedals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adds 4 measures before Rehearsal 4G</td>
<td>Adds 5 measures before Rehearsal 6G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Before Rehearsal 6G Celesta up an octave</td>
<td>Adds 1 measure before 7G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 7 corresponds to Rehearsal 13CM</td>
<td>Rehearsal 13 corresponds to Rehearsal 7G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Continued on next page
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rehearsal Grohg</th>
<th>Corrège Macabre</th>
<th>Dance Symphony</th>
<th>Hear Ye! Hear Ye!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1932 (Continued)</td>
<td>1923 (Continued)</td>
<td>1928-29 (Continued)</td>
<td>(Scene VIII) 1934 (Continued)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine after Rehearsal 9 last note A</td>
<td>Nine after Rehearsal 16 last note B-flat</td>
<td>Rehearsal 16 corresponds to Rehearsal 9G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 9 corresponds to Rehearsal 16CM</td>
<td></td>
<td>Adds 4 measures after Rehearsal 17CM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 10 corresponds to Rehearsal 18CM</td>
<td>Rehearsal 16 corresponds to Rehearsal 9G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 12 corresponds to Rehearsal 25CM</td>
<td>Rehearsal 18 corresponds to Rehearsal 10G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annotation at Rehearsal 12: &quot;The Servitors dance about the two coffins.&quot;</td>
<td>Rehearsal 25 corresponds to Rehearsal 12G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 13 corresponds to Rehearsal 27CM</td>
<td>Annotation at Rehearsal 25: &quot;The Servitors dance about the four coffins.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 13 no Harp pedals</td>
<td>Adds 14 measures before Rehearsal 21CM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 15 corresponds to 2 after Rehearsal 30CM</td>
<td>Rehearsal 27 corresponds to Rehearsal 13G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 15 no annotation to conductor regarding polyrhythm</td>
<td>Rehearsal 27 note regarding Harp pedals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 16 corresponds to Rehearsal 32CM</td>
<td>2 after Rehearsal 30 corresponds to Rehearsal 15G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 after Rehearsal 30 annotation to conductor regarding polyrhythm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rehearsal 32 corresponds to Rehearsal 16G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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Table 1: Continued on Next Page
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Revised Grohg 1932 (Continued)</th>
<th>Cortège Macabre 1923 (Continued)</th>
<th>Dance Symphony 1928-29 (Continued)</th>
<th>Hear Ye! Hear Ye! (Scene VIII) 1934 (Continued)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 after Rehearsal 16 changes clef in Viola to treble</td>
<td>4 after Rehearsal 32 uses bass clef for Viola</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 17 corresponds to Rehearsal 42CM</td>
<td>Rehearsal 42 corresponds to Rehearsal 170</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 18 corresponds to Rehearsal 43CM</td>
<td>Rehearsal 43 corresponds to Rehearsal 180</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 before Rehearsal 18 Cello has a C-sharp</td>
<td>2 before Rehearsal 43 Cello has C-sharp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 before Rehearsal 18 Violin 1 has 3 F-sharps-A-F-sharp-E-F-sharp</td>
<td>2 before Rehearsal 43 Violin 1 has 3 C-E-flat-C-B-flat-C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 19 corresponds to 1 before Rehearsal 46CM</td>
<td>1 before Rehearsal 46 corresponds to Rehearsal 190</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 21 end &quot;Cortège&quot;</td>
<td>Adds 26 measures before Rehearsal 210 to end piece</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 before Rehearsal 23 corresponds to Rehearsal 3DS</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rehearsal 3 corresponds to 2 before Rehearsal 230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 before Rehearsal 23 begins on downbeat</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 before Rehearsal 3 Solo begins on end of beat 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 before Rehearsal 23 Trumpet plays F-sharp5</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 before Rehearsal 3 Trumpet plays G-flat5 (enharmonic spelling)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 After Rehearsal 36 beginning of &quot;Dance of the Opium-Eater&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Dance of the Opium-Eater&quot; cut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Continued on Next Page
| Table 1: Continued |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| **Revised Grohg** | **Cortège Macabre** | **Dance Symphony** | **Hear Ye! Hear Ye!** |
| 1932 (Continued)  | 1923 (Continued)  | 1928-29 (Continued) | (Scene VIII) 1934 (Continued) |
| "Dance of the Young Girl" cut | | "Dance of the Young Girl" called II Movement | |
| Rehearsal 53 beginning "Dance of the Street-Walker" equals HY(Scene VIII) | | "Dance of the Street-Walker" cut | Scene VIII corresponds to Rehearsal 55G |
| Instrument: Uses Bass Clarinet | | | Instrument: No Bass Clarinet; Bass Clarinet line placed in 1st Bassoon |
| 2 after Rehearsal 53 Clarinet in D no rest on downbeat | | 2 after beginning Clarinet in E-flat rest on downbeat | |
| 2 after Rehearsal 53 Clarinet in D plays 4 B-flat to G4 | | 2 after beginning Clarinet in E-flat plays 3 D5 to C5 | |
| 5 before Rehearsal 54 corresponds to 5 before Rehearsal HY(Scene VIII) | | 5 before Rehearsal 1 corresponds to 5 before Rehearsal 55G | |
| 5 before Rehearsal 54 divide Oboes for solo line | | 5 before Rehearsal 1 English Horn accompanies Oboe solo 4 notes | Rehearsal 1 add Oboe 1 accompanies Flute 4 notes |
| 2 after Rehearsal 54 Bass Clarinet | | | 2 after Rehearsal 1 no Bass Clarinet |
| | | | 4 after Rehearsal 1 adds Flutes to double Oboes |
| | | | 4 after Rehearsal 1 omit English Horn |
| | | | 6 after Rehearsal 1 omit Contrabassoon |

Table 1: Continued on Next Page
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Revised Grohg</strong> 1932 (Continued)</th>
<th><strong>Cortège Macabre</strong> 1923 (Continued)</th>
<th><strong>Dance Symphony</strong> 1928-29 (Continued)</th>
<th><strong>Hear Yel Hear Yel</strong> (Scene VIII) 1934 (Continued)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opening Theme: (PV3A) Clarinet in D no rest on downbeat measure 3 (occurs each time PV3A performed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Opening Theme (PV3A): Clarinet in E-flat rest on downbeat measure 3 (occurs each time PV3A performed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 36 corresponds to Rehearsal 3HY(Scene VIII)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rehearsal 3 corresponds to Rehearsal 56G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 56 Glockenspiel solo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rehearsal 3 Xylophone solo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 after Rehearsal 56 Oboe and English Horn enters</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 after Rehearsal 3 omit Flutes</td>
<td>8 after Rehearsal 3 no Oboe/English Horn (Start pattern 2 measures later)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 before Rehearsal 57 two Oboes</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 before Rehearsal 9 omit 2nd Oboe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 57 corresponds to Rehearsal 3HY(Scene VIII)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rehearsal 4 corresponds to Rehearsal 57G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 57 use Glockenspiel and Xylophone</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rehearsal 4 remove Glockenspiel—only use Xylophone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 57 double Violin I at octave</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rehearsal 4 no doubling Violin I at octave</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 after Rehearsal 4 omit Bass Clarinet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 after Rehearsal 4 no Tambourine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 before Rehearsal 5 no Percussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 before Rehearsal 5 Brass rest on downbeat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 before Rehearsal 58 Brass perform on downbeat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Continued on Next Page
Table 1: Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Revised Grohg 1932 (Continued)</th>
<th>Cortège Macabre 1923 (Continued)</th>
<th>Dance Symphony 1928-29 (Continued)</th>
<th>Hear Ye! Hear Ye! (Scene VIII) 1934 (Continued)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 58 Trumpet does not rest</td>
<td>Rehearsal 58 Oboe doubled</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 after Rehearsal 5 Trumpet rests 2 beats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 59 corresponds to Rehearsal 6 (Scene VIII)</td>
<td>Rehearsal 59 grace-notes in English Horn</td>
<td>Rehearsal 6 corresponds to Rehearsal 59G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 60 corresponds to Rehearsal 7 (Scene VIII) (Coquette Theme)</td>
<td>Rehearsal 60 right hand Piano doubles Trumpet melody</td>
<td>Rehearsal 60 Instruments: Piano, muted Trumpet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 61 corresponds to Rehearsal 8 (Scene VIII)</td>
<td>Rehearsal 61 melody in Flute</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rehearsal 8 corresponds to Rehearsal 61G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 after Rehearsal 61 Violin I accents rhythm</td>
<td>3 after Rehearsal 61 Violin I accents rhythm</td>
<td>3 after Rehearsal 8 change Violin 1 rhythm</td>
<td>Rehearsal 9 add English Horn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Continued on Next Page
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Revised Grohg 1932 (Continued)</th>
<th>Cortège Macabre 1923 (Continued)</th>
<th>Dance Symphony 1928-29 (Continued)</th>
<th>Hear Ye! Hear Ye! (Scene VIII) 1934 (Continued)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 and 4 before Rehearsal 63 scale in Oboe</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 and 4 before Rehearsal 10 omit 2 notes in oboe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 after Rehearsal 63 divide Violins I and II</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 after Rehearsal 10 no divide Violins I and II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 64 corresponds to Rehearsal 11</td>
<td>HY(Scene VIII)</td>
<td>7 before Rehearsal 11 add Violins I and II and Viola part</td>
<td>Rehearsal 11 corresponds to Rehearsal 64G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 after Rehearsal 65 continue Tamborine</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rehearsal 11 omit Contrabassoon and Bass Drum</td>
<td>4 after Rehearsal 11 no Contrabassoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 before Rehearsal 66 no rest in Oboe</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 after Rehearsal 12 end of measure remove Tamborine</td>
<td>4 after Rehearsal 12 end of measure remove Tamborine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 after Rehearsal 67 through 68 2nd Oboe part</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 before Rehearsal 13 Oboe rests 2 beats</td>
<td>4 before Rehearsal 13 Oboe rests 2 beats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 after Rehearsal 67 rests in Violin II and Viola</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 after Rehearsal 14 through 15 omit 2nd Oboe part</td>
<td>4 after Rehearsal 14 through 15 omit 2nd Oboe part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 68 corresponds to Rehearsal 15</td>
<td>HY(Scene VIII)</td>
<td>Rehearsal 15 corresponds to Rehearsal 68G</td>
<td>Rehearsal 15 Piano added, no Harps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 68 Harps, no Piano</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Continued on Next Page
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Continued</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Revised Grohg</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932 (Continued)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 68 Percussion consists of Triangle, Military Drum, Bass Drum and Glockenspiel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 after Rehearsal 68 Horns performed as written</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 71 corresponds to Rehearsal 17 HY(Scene VIII)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 after Rehearsal 71 Oboes entrance overlap Violins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 72 corresponds to 8 before Rehearsal 18 HY(Scene VIII)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 74 corresponds to Rehearsal 19 HY(Scene VIII)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cortège Macabre</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923 (Continued)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dance Symphony</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928-29 (Continued)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hear Ye! Hear Ye!</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Scene VIII) 1934 (Continued)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 15 Percussion only Military Drum and Bass Drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 after Rehearsal 15 Horns perform octave higher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 17 corresponds to Rehearsal 71G (Cut Rehearsal 70G-71G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 17 and 1 after Rehearsal 17 Oboes double Violins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 after Rehearsal 17 adds Xylophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut 4 before Rehearsal 72G to 72G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 before Rehearsal 18 corresponds to 72G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 before Rehearsal 18 omit Oboe and English Horn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 19 corresponds to Rehearsal 74G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 19 cut Bassoon 1 measure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 after Rehearsal 19 cut Bass Clarinet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 after Rehearsal 19 cut Piccolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 after Rehearsal 19 cut E-flat Clarinet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Continued on Next Page
Table 1: Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Revised Gradh 1932 (Continued)</th>
<th>Corrêge Macabre 1923 (Continued)</th>
<th>Dance Symphony 1928-29 (Continued)</th>
<th>Hear Ye! Hear Ye! (Scene VIII) 1934 (Continued)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 after Rehearsal 76 corresponds to end of Scene VIII <em>Hear Ye! Hear Ye!</em></td>
<td>111 Movement corresponds to 5 before Rehearsal 77G, beginning “Dance of Mockery”</td>
<td>2 before Rehearsal 32 Strings play chord on downbeat (similar to 1 before Rehearsal 82G)</td>
<td>End of Scene VIII corresponds to 2 after 76G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 before Rehearsal 77 corresponds to beginning III Movement DS: Beginning “Dance of Mockery”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 before Rehearsal 82 Strings play 3 eighth notes</td>
<td>2 before Rehearsal 32 Strings play chord on downbeat (similar to 1 before Rehearsal 82G)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 before Rehearsal 82 Strings play on downbeat</td>
<td>1 before Rehearsal 32 Rest in Strings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 82 corresponds to Rehearsal 32DS</td>
<td>Rehearsal 32 corresponds to Rehearsal 82G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 before Rehearsal 83 Cor I &amp; II begin with grace notes</td>
<td>4 before Rehearsal 33 No grace notes in Cor I &amp; II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 before Rehearsal 83 Clarinet I &amp; II has grace note</td>
<td>4 before Rehearsal 33 No grace note in Clarinet I &amp; II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 83 corresponds to Rehearsal 33DS</td>
<td>Rehearsal 33 corresponds to Rehearsal 83G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 83 Trombone has D4 and F4</td>
<td>Rehearsal 33 Trombone has A4 and F4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 92 corresponds to Rehearsal 42DS</td>
<td>Rehearsal 42 corresponds to Rehearsal 92G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 after Rehearsal 42 omit Trombone/Tuba</td>
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<thead>
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<th>Table 1: Continued</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Revised Grohk</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932 (Continued)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 after Rehearsal 92 Bassoon I &amp; II no rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 95 corresponds to Rehearsal 45DS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 after Rehearsal 95 Violin II not divided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 after Rehearsal 102 corresponds to end of <em>Dance Symphony.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cortège Macabre</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923 (Continued)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dance Symphony</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928-29 (Continued)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 after Rehearsal 42 Bassoon I &amp; II rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehearsal 45 corresponds to Rehearsal 93G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 after Rehearsal 45 Violin II divided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of <em>Dance Symphony</em> corresponds to 5 after Rehearsal 102G.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hear Ye! Hear Ye!</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Scene VIII) 1934 (Continued)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Grohg and Cortège Macabre

Copland created Cortège Macabre, as previously mentioned, in answer to a call for compositions announced in a 1925 newspaper article. Annotations on various manuscripts labeled Cortège Macabre provide a glimpse into the way Copland converted the opening portion of his ballet, Grohg, into a separate work. For example, all the scores for Grohg have the dates 1922-25, while the full scores for Cortège Macabre are dated 1923. As has previously been established, dates that appear in the scores in Copland's hand indicate when they were completed. Therefore, the date 1922-25 on the ballet score for the original Grohg is in accord with the manner in which he dated other major works, such as those found in the Work-list compiled by William W. Austin and Vivian Perlis for the Copland article in the New Grove Twentieth-century American Masters. In this catalog Copland's

213 Chapter II provides a brief history of Cortège Macabre.

214 Further information concerning the manuscripts of Grohg and related compositions is found in Chapter III.

215 The discrepancy in the dates found in listings for Cortège Macabre reflects a common Copland trait in dating his compositions. The full scores for Cortège Macabre are dated 1923, showing when Copland completed this section in Grohg. The other date, 1925, is used to indicate the first appearance of Cortège Macabre as an independent piece.
Symphonic Ode is dated 1927-9, and El salón México 1933-6.216

The manuscripts of Cortège Macabre supply additional information as to Copland's working methods. For example, the sketches of this piece are in pencil, while the full score is in ink, indicating a finished and publishable version. There is also the aforementioned difference in length. The Cortège Macabre score is 58 pages long as opposed to 30 pages in the corresponding section in the 1932 version of Grohg. The variance in length is due to the cuts that Copland made between the composition of the original 1922-25 score for Grohg and the 1932 revision, as well as possible increases in the number of measures needed to create the independent piece of music. These cuts as well as alterations in tempo markings are present in the annotations Copland made while preparing the piece for publication.217 Copland also states on this score that the music beginning at Rehearsal 3 is the same as that at the start of Dance Symphony, developed from Grohg at a later time.


It is possible to speculate that the 1923 Cortège Macabre score (RL-la/LC-Arco 8.A1) represents the way Copland intended the original 1922 Grohg to commence. The reduction from 267 pages in the original Grohg score to 191 pages for the 1932 version can be accounted for in part by the absence of the 205 added measures found in Cortège. 218

Perhaps the most intriguing change is the annotation for Rehearsal 25CM that musically corresponds to 12G as listed on the second page of Table 1. In this annotation Copland specifies four coffins at Rehearsal 25 instead of two coffins at Rehearsal 12 in the revised Grohg score. This annotation clearly indicates that this particular page in Cortège Macabre was once a part of the original 1922-25 score.

Despite the additions of numerous measures and changes in the instrumentation, few alterations were made that affected the overall content. A similar phenomenon occurs when comparing the 1932 revised Grohg to the Dance Symphony.

218It is obvious that the number of measures missing from the original Grohg is greater than the number of measures added to Cortège Macabre. The original Grohg had 76 more pages than the 1932 revised score. There are only 28 additional pages in Cortège Macabre when compared to the corresponding section in the 1932 Grohg. Therefore there are an additional 48 missing pages. Given Copland’s working habits it is possible that he removed the other pages and used them for scrap paper.
Grohg and Dance Symphony

As shown in Table 1, Copland removed entire sections, such as the "Cortège Macabre," "Dance of the Opium-Eater," and the "Dance of the Street-Walker" in creating his Dance Symphony. He also removed the substantial seven-page Coda from the end of the revised Grohg to complete this contest piece for RCA Victor. However, the removal of these sections, consisting of 361 measures, did not diminish the quality of Dance Symphony. As seen in the first entry on Table 1, Copland uses the same orchestration in Dance Symphony as in Grohg. It is not until the "Dance of Mockery" segment, described on the last two pages of Table 1, that subtle alterations in the orchestration and the deletion of the grace-notes appear. Other significant items are the change in rhythm in the Introduction and at 4 before Rehearsal 23G [3DS]. In the Introduction, measure 22 remains in common time. At 4 before Rehearsal 3DS the entry is offset. Of the three works drawn from Grohg, Dance Symphony retains the closest connection to the 1932 revised Grohg score. The work most distant from the revised Grohg is Hear Ye! Hear Ye!.

219See Chapter II for a brief history of the origin of Dance Symphony.

220See Chapter IV, Figure 54, for the list of instruments.
**Grohg and Scene VIII of Hear Ye! Hear Ye!**

Scene VIII of *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!* employs the music from the "Dance of the Street-Walker" in *Grohg* as an "Apache Dance." At this point in Ruth Page’s ballet an audience in the court-room, as well as the judge, members of the jury, and the attorneys, see the actions leading up to a murder as described by the first witness. This witness outlines an "extremely seductive Tango or habanera (jazzed) ending in a kind of apache dance" between a night-club hostess and a male cabaret dancer.\(^2\)

Therefore, in Table 1 the column concerning this scene is blank until the fourth page, where the description of the "Dance of the Street-Walker" begins. The first important difference between the revised *Grohg* and this scene is the instrumentation; Copland condensed the large orchestra of *Grohg* for the smaller one of *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!* He removes the bass clarinet, and at times omits the English horn, contrabassoon, glockenspiel, and various other percussion instruments. This has a noticeable effect on the timbral quality of the piece.

The change in tone color between the two works is most evident during the 'Coquette' theme, previously

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discussed in Chapter IV. In *Grohg*, Copland uses only a piano and muted trumpet to accentuate the "Jazzy" element of the music. This is in contrast to Scene VIII of *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!* where Copland revised the orchestration, providing a much fuller sound with violins, violas, cellos, and flutes. As seen on the sixth page of Table 1, the right-hand of the piano doubles the muted trumpet melody at Rehearsal 60G; this action does not occur in Scene VIII, where the strings do not double the flute melody.

Page specified that the "Apache" dance was to last approximately five minutes.222 This time restriction may account for the cut of 4 measures before Rehearsal 72G. As noted on page 8 of Table 1, Rehearsal 72G corresponds to 8 before Rehearsal 18 in Scene VIII in *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!*. In spite of these alterations, Copland maintains the drama found in the "Dance of the Street-Walker" in *Grohg*.

**Conclusion**

Overall, the comparison of *Grohg* with the other pieces derived from it is striking in that it shows how little of the original *Grohg* music was changed. Table 1 and the subsequent discussions focus on the few differences found between *Grohg* and the various works

222Ibid.
derived from it. Thus, when one hears *Cortège Macabre*, *Dance Symphony*, and the eighth scene of *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!*, one is essentially hearing the major sections of *Grohg*. 
Aaron Copland had the ability to envision sound as illustrated through his numerous ballet and movie scores. This dissertation has delved into Grohg, his first ballet, its consequential development, and its relationship with his later works, in order to demonstrate the remarkable continuity of Copland's musical style.

In the Introduction this author raised several issues regarding Grohg. The first issue dealt with Grohg's placement in Copland's oeuvre, which spans over 100 pieces. The discovery of this work expands the number of compositions scholars of American music, particularly Copland scholars, have to examine in order to trace Copland's musical development. As has been shown in this document, Grohg is indeed a precursor to his more mature works. This is evident through the stylistic traits that Copland used throughout his compositional career that are present in this first ballet and orchestral work.

The second issue concerned the extent to which Copland borrowed large portions his own material in order to create new compositions. One of the rather surprising
results of this study is the discovery that Copland did not substantially change the musical material from Grohg in order to produce these new compositions. Instead, he subtly altered the musical content by adding measures, and changing instrumentation. Copland removed the first part of the ballet and renamed it Cortège Macabre; he extracted three dances, "Dance of the Adolescent," "Dance of the Young Girl," and "Dance of Mockery," in order to enter a contest with Dance Symphony; Copland also adopted the musical content from the "Dance of the Street-Walker" to produce Scene VIII in Hear Ye! Hear Ye!

The third issue pertained to reconciling the various opinions about Grohg with existing documentation that was donated to the Copland Archive in 1989 and 1990. As has been shown in this document, discrepancies in statements concerning the history of Grohg became apparent through in-depth examination of these documents. For example, one of the major inconsistencies concerns the origin of the scenario for Grohg that links the script with the German horror film Nosferatu. Contrary to previous statements by

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223See Chapter II for a history of Grohg and its relationship to other compositions; Chapter III for a description of the various scores associated with Grohg; and Chapter V for a review of Grohg as the source of other compositions. See Table 1 of Chapter V for a comparison of the scores.
other scholars, e.g., Arthur Berger or Russell Walsh, and based upon an examination of the available documents and current scholarship on Nosferatu, this author has concluded that Grohg does not have a direct link with Nosferatu, but is instead an example of a Gothic horror-tale.

Through an examination of the circumstances surrounding the composition of Grohg, the conflicting statements, as well as Copland’s later recollections, are clarified. This history, found in Chapter II, describes the various activities that Copland was engaged in when he created the work. These activities, as well as his growing interest in modern music, his exciting impressions of the avant-garde dances and ballets he experienced, and the new accessibility of the literary and dramatic world, provided the impetus for him to compose a ballet and to collaborate on a scenario for Grohg with his cousin and friend, Harold Clurman.

The fourth issue concerned Copland’s musical style. Although earlier Copland scholars have separated Copland’s music into various style periods, this dissertation has

shown that there are specific musical characteristics present in *Grohg*, composed in 1922-25/1932, that are also present in Copland’s mature compositions. This succinctly illustrates a continuity of musical style.

As previously stated, *Grohg* has generally been referred to in articles and books either in passing, as a work he produced during his first stay in France, or at greater length in connection with one of the pieces Copland created by borrowing musical material from it. The primary reason for the paucity of information regarding *Grohg* is that Copland never released the entire work to the public.

Although scholars were aware that Copland had used *Grohg* as a source for two of the compositions created after his return to the United States, *Cortège Macabre* and *Dance Symphony*, they were not aware of the fact that Copland had not changed the music from *Grohg* to create them. Therefore, with the new information concerning the identity of *Cortège Macabre* and *Dance Symphony* with *Grohg*, one can state with added confidence that *Grohg*, an early piece, illustrates stylistic traits found in mature Copland compositions.

In conclusion, the goal of this dissertation was to present and examine Aaron Copland’s first orchestral work, *Grohg, a Ballet in One Act*, and to explore the ways in
which it can clarify our understanding of Copland’s oeuvre. Prior to this study, there was little substantive information concerning Grohg and its relationship to his later works. In particular, there was a lack of evidence illustrating that Copland so extensively borrowed his own musical material to create other pieces. This is certainly a proven case with Grohg. As has been shown, Copland used major sections of Grohg to create two "new" pieces, as well as a portion of third. Comparison of these works with Grohg, and of Grohg with its own "source," the Petites Valses, provides insight into Copland’s compositional techniques. Grohg is an important early work by Copland, and one that does indeed represent a point of departure for an illustrious professional career.
March 29, 1996

VIA FACSIMILE

Ms. Roberta L. Lindsay
2218 Burning Tree Lane
Carmel, IN 46032

Dear Ms. Lindsay,

I have your fax letter of March 27, requesting permission to use musical examples from Grohg and a "diplomatic" translation of Petites Valses in your doctoral dissertation.

Permission is granted as requested. I understand that you should also clear this with Carolyn Kalett of Boosey & Hawkes.

This permission does not imply consent for any other use.

Sincerely,

Ellis J. Freedman

Ellis J. Freedman
Dear Roberta Lindsey:

Thank you for your letter. This is in response to your request for permission to use a quotation from transcripts of Aaron Copland interviews in the collection of Oral History, American Music. You are granted permission for use of the sentence cited in your letter of 3/27/96.

I am pleased that you have found the first volume of the Copland/Perlis publications useful.

I trust you will properly credit the sources of quotations from the book and from Oral History, American Music. I look forward to having copy of your dissertation.

Sincerely,

Vivian Perlis, Director
Oral History, American Music
May 8, 1996

Roberta L. Lindsey
2218 Burning Tree Lane
Carmel, IN 46032

RE: GROHG/ Aaron Copland
PETITES VALSES/ Aaron Copland

Dear Ms. Lindsey:

We hereby grant permission for you to include in your dissertation excerpts from the above referenced work. As we assume that your paper will not be distributed beyond that required for the degree no fee will be charged. We do, however, ask that you include in your paper the complete copyright notice as it appears in our printed edition, adding thereto:

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We also grant permission for you to deposit one copy of your paper with University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan, for single reproductions for scholarly use only. Should you wish to place your paper elsewhere, you will need to contact us in advance as a royalty may be payable.

With kind regards,
BOOSEY & HAWKES, INC.

[Signature]

Leanne Seabright
Business Affairs Assistant
APPENDIX B: DATA RELATIVE TO CHAPTER II

Example of Koussevitzky Concert Programs
First Concert for 1921 and 1923

November 10, 1921
with Vira Janacopulos, soloist

Ouverture d'Obéron
Nocturne (a. Nuage, b. Fêtes)
Introduction de l'Opéra
Khovantchina
La Légende de l'invisible Ville de Kitiey et la Vierge Févroie
(a. Introduction, b. La Bataille de Kerjenietz)
Le Vol du Bourdon
Scherzo de l'Opera "Le Conte du Tzar Sultan"
Shéhérazade
(a. Asie, b. La Flûte enchantée, c. L'Indifférént)
Symphonie en ut mineur (5)

Weber
Debussy
Moussorgsky
Rimsky-Korsakov
Rimsky-Korsakov
Ravel
Beethoven

225Serge Koussevitzky, Grands Concerts Symphonique Serge Koussevitzky 1921. Théâtre National de l'Opéra. [Program for 1921 season.]

Serge Koussevitzky, Grands Concerts Symphonique Serge Koussevitzky 1923. Théâtre National de l'Opéra. [Program for 1923 season.]

226According to Copland's Travel Diary, he attended the first concert for the 1921 season. Aaron Copland, Travel Diary, (Washington, D.C.: Copland Archive, Library of Congress).
Example of Koussevitzky Concert Programs
First Concert for 1921 and 1923
(continued)

October 11, 1923
with G. Maier and L. Patteson, pianists

Ouverture de Benvenuto Cellini
Symphonie, Op. 23
Double-Concerto pour Deux pianos
et Orchestre
Alborada del Graciosa
La Valse, Poème chorégraphique

H. Berlioz
A. Roussel
W. A. Mozart
M. Ravel
M. Ravel
Partial Listing of Concerts Copland Attended
While in Paris: 1921-1922

1921

Pelleas et Melisande
L’Homme et Son Desir
Mariées de la tour Eifell

Oct
Antar (Dupont)
Quatuor Lener
Thais
Phi-phi
Le Cocu Magnifique
La Belle Aventure
Flonzaly Quartet
Ta Navette, Testament de Perefelen, Un Caprice
L’Or du Rhin
Ah, Oui (Boeuf sur la Tout)
Amantis
Chock Russe

Nov
Un Emmeni in Purfoll
Pasdeloup Orchestra
Le Parsé
Colonne Orchestra
Envers d’une Sainte
Fauré Concert
Concert Koussevitzky
L’amoureaux Concert
Le Roi d’ys
Souise
Grandjamy et Grey (Harpist)
Koussevitzky Concert

Concerts Attended by Copland

(continued)

1921
(continued)

(Nov)
Jean Wiener—Jazz Concert
Colonaise Concert
Paise de Mort
L'Oiseau de Feu

1922

Ariane et Bank Bleue
Don Juan
Le Manquer des Reves
Freres Karamazov
Chorales de Rochlin
Pelleas et Melisande (2nd time)
L'âme en Folié
Salomé
Lai Mesantrope
Androcles et le Lion
Penelope
Koussevitzky Concert

Listing based on Copland's Travel Diary. Titles are spelled as they appear in the journal.
1921

Cuadro flamenco. Ballet.
Chout. Ballet with music by Prokofiev.

1922

Le Renard. Ballet with music by Stravinsky.
Le Mariage de la Belle au Bois dormant (one-act version of "The Sleeping Princess." Ballet with music by Tchaikovsky reorchestrated by Stravinsky.  
Mavra. Opera with music by Stravinsky.

1923

Les Noces. Ballet with music by Stravinsky.

1924

Les Tentations de la Bergère. Ballet with music by Montéclair arranged by Henri Casadesus.
Les Biches. Ballet with music by Poulenc.
Casse-Noisette. Ballet.
Le Lac des cygnes. Ballet with music by Tchaikovsky.
Une éducation manquée. Opera with music by Chabrier and recitatives by Milhaud.


230 Also referred to as Aurora's Wedding (Le Mariage d'Aurore), by Garafola. Garafola, Diaghilev, 409.
Ballets Russes Paris Premieres 1921-24 Seasons
(continued)

1924
(continued)

Le Train bleu. Ballet with music by Milhaud.
Pulcinella. Opera with music by Stravinsky.
Cimarosiana. Ballet with music by Cimarosa.
Ballets Suédois Premieres 1921-24 Seasons

1921

La Boîte à Joujoux. Music by Debussy.
L'Homme et son Désir. Music by Milhaud.
Danses Villageoises.

1922

Skating Rink. Music by Honegger.

1923

Offerlunden. Music by Haquinius.
Marchand D’oiseaux. Music by Tailleferre.

1924

Le Jarre. Music by Casella.
Le Porcher. Music—Swedish Folktunes.
Within the Quota. Music by Cole Porter.
Relâche. Music by Satie and Poulenc.

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Diplomatic Transcription of the Script for
Grohg: ballet en un acte
with Translation

Décor—Une place vide entourée d'une grande muraille aux sorties cachées. Des escaliers irréguliers qui semblent sans issue, descendent de deux côtés de la muraille. Un rayon de clair de lune illumine une partie de la scène. Le reste est obscur.

C'est le domaine du Sorcier N—. Il est grand, décharné, terrible. Sa figure, au long nez crochu, aux yeux géants, est tragique en sa laideur, tragique—et pitoyable. ... Le Sorcier N. n'aime que les morts! Par son pouvoir occulte il ressuscite [sic]...
les morts qui vivront au fur et à mesure qu’ils dansent. Mais son voeu suprême est de trouver parmi ces morts quelqu’un [sic] qui l’aime malgré son aspect repoussant.

Les serviteurs du Sorcier entrant en cortège solennel apportent six cœurs. À la suite de ce bizarre cortège vient le Sorcier lui-même. Les serviteurs déposent leurs

[End Page 1]

[Page 3] Les serviteurs font leur possible pour le consoler. Tout à coup, il se met debout et il ordonne qu’on apporte le quatrième cadavre.

Dans le quatrième cadavre— (une femme— du

dead who will come to life as they dance. But his supreme wish is to find among the dead someone who will love him in spite of his repulsive appearance.

The Sorcerer’s servants enter in a solemn (march) bringing six coffins. Following this bizarre march comes the Sorcerer himself. The servants put down their

[End Page 1]

[Page 3] The servants do their best to console him. All at once, he stands up and he orders that they bring the fourth corpse to him.

Dance of the fourth corpse— (a woman— of the
monde)—Découragé par son dernier échec le Sorcier s’intéresse à peine à cette femme. Elle ne le regarde pas; on la conduit à son cercueil.

quatrième Danse du cinquième cadavre—(un jeune artiste) à l’entrée du Sorcier le jeune artiste s’arrête comme pétrifié mais quand le Sorcier se retire le jeune artiste recommence sa danse jusqu’à ce que les serviteurs l’arrêtent.

cinquième Danse du sixième cadavre (une belle jeune-fille). Elle danse comme dans un rêve. La vue [sic] du Sorcier ne l’effraie pas. Prenant courage, il l’accompagne dans sa danse mais

world)—Discouraged by his last failure the Sorcerer is hardly interested in this woman. She does not look at him; they take her to her coffin.

fourth Dance of the fifth corpse—(a young artist)—At the Sorcerer’s entrance/appearance—the young artist stops as if he were petrified but when the Sorcerer withdraws the young artist resumes his dance until the servants stop him.

fifth Dance of the sixth corpse (a beautiful young girl). She dances as in a dream. The sight of the Sorcerer does not frighten her. Taking courage, he accompanies her in her dance but obeying the
obéissant à l'élan de sa passion toujours croissante il l'embrasse. À peine a-t-il effleuré les lèvres de la jeune-fille qu'elle semble se réveiller et le repousse avec un frisson d'horreur. Dans sa frénésie il empoigne la jeune-fille et la contraint à danser avec lui.

Affolé, il imagine qu'il voie les autres cadavres sortant de leurs cercueils en le raillant. À ceux-là s'ajoutent [End Page 3]

spirit of his ever growing passion, he kisses her. Scarcely had he brushed the young girl's lips than she seems to wake-up and pushes him away with a shudder of horror. In his frenzy he grabs the young girl and forces her to dance with him.

Maddened, he images that he sees the other corpses leaving their coffins to mock him. After these come [End Page 3]
APPENDIX C: DATA RELATIVE TO CHAPTER III

List of All Scores Pertaining to Grohg in the Copland Archive, Library of Congress

The scores named below are listed two ways. The first column begins with RL and reflects either the importance of the document(s) to this dissertation or the chronology of the work. The second column is the Library of Congress file number, designated with the initials LC followed by a folder number.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RL</th>
<th>LC</th>
<th>Name/Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| RL-1a | LC-Arco 8.A1 | Cortège Macabre  
Full score. Dated 1923.          |
| RL-1a1 | LC-Arco 8.A2 | Cortège Macabre  
Full score (photocopy RL-1a)          |
| RL-1b | LC-Arco 11.3 | Dance Symphony  
Full score (pages missing). This is the original Grohg score dated 1922-1925 with a few pages missing. Those pages are found in RL-1a and RL-1c. |
| RL-1c | LC-Arco 26.3 | Hear Ye! Hear Ye!  

171
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Call Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RL-1cl</td>
<td>LC-Arco 26</td>
<td><em>Hear Ye! Hear Ye!</em> Conductor’s score (2 volumes) Dated 1934.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RL-3</td>
<td>LC-Arco 8.5</td>
<td><em>Petites Valses</em> (Origin of ballet Grohg) Piano sketches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RL-4</td>
<td>LC-Arco 8.3</td>
<td>Grohg: <em>Ballet in one act</em> <em>Cortège Macabre.</em> Two-hand piano arrangement. Dated 1925.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RL-4a</td>
<td>LC-Arco 8.4</td>
<td>Grohg: <em>Ballet in one act</em> <em>Cortège Macabre.</em> Two-hand photocopy of manuscript. Bound. Long-boy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RL-5</td>
<td>LC-Arco 8 misc.</td>
<td><em>Grohg (Cortège Macabre): Ballet in one act</em> Preliminary note (script) from score.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RL-5a</td>
<td>LC-Arco 8 misc.</td>
<td>Miscellaneous pages from full score, two piano arrangements, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RL-5b</td>
<td>LC-Arco 8 misc.</td>
<td>Title page with Copland’s New York address.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RL-5c</td>
<td>LC-Arco 8 misc.</td>
<td>Miscellaneous pages from full score.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RL-5d</td>
<td>LC-Arco 8 misc.</td>
<td>Miscellaneous pages from two piano arrangement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RL-6</td>
<td>LC-Arco 8-A.3</td>
<td><em>Cortège Macabre</em> Draft score for two pianos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RL-7</td>
<td>LC-Arco 8-A</td>
<td><em>Cortège Macabre</em> Full score sketch. Dated 1923.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RL-7a</td>
<td>LC-Arco 8 A.4</td>
<td><em>Cortège Macabre</em> Full score (incomplete).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RL</td>
<td>LC-Arco</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b</td>
<td>8 A.5</td>
<td>Cortège Macabre First violin part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>Grohg: Ballet in one act Full score sketches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>Grohg: Ballet in one act Full score sketches with report from R. Caltabiano.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>Trois Dances du ballet &quot;Grohg&quot; Two piano arrangement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>Three Dances from Grohg Two piano arrangement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>8 B</td>
<td>Dance of the Adolescent from Grohg Two piano transcription.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11a</td>
<td>8 B.1</td>
<td>Dance of the Adolescent from Grohg Two piano transcription.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11b</td>
<td>8-Ba</td>
<td>Dance of the Adolescent from Grohg Two piano published score. Original</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>copyright 1931 by Cos Cob Press, Inc. Copyright renewed 1958 by A. Copland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>for Boosey &amp; Hawkes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>A Dance Symphony Full score.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12a</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>A Dance Symphony Full Score (incomplete). Reverse negative photocopy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12b</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>A Dance Symphony Arrangement for piano, four hands.</td>
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<td>12c</td>
<td>misc.</td>
<td>Dance Symphony Miscellaneous pages from full score.</td>
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<td>Ref.</td>
<td>LC-Arco</td>
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| RL-12d | LC-Arco 11a | *Dance Symphony*  
Full published score.  
Copyright 1931 by Cos Cob Press. |
| RL-12e | LC-Arco 11b | *Dance Symphony*  
Miniature published full score.  
Copyright 1931 by Cos Cob Press, Inc. Reissued through Arrow Music Press, Inc. |
| RL-12f | LC-Arco-8 B.2 | *Dance of the Adolescent from Dance Symphony*  
Two piano transcription.  
In the Title, Grohg is crossed out and replaced with the words *Dance Symphony.* |
| RL-12g | LC-Arco 11-Aa | *Dance of the Adolescent (from Dance Symphony)*  
Two piano published version.  
Copyright 1931 by Cos Cob Press, Inc. Renewed 1958 by A. Copland for Boosey & Hawkes. |
| RL-13 | LC-Arco 26.2 | *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!*  
Two piano version. |
| RL-13a | LC-Arco 26.7 | *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!*  
Photocopy of two piano score. |
| RL-13b | LC-Arco 26.1 | *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!*  
Bound Full Score (Photocopy). |
APPENDIX D: DATA RELATIVE TO CHAPTER IV

Diplomatic Transcription of Petites Valses
Petites Valses (Origin of the Ballet Grohg)
by
Aaron Copland

Jan 21-22
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