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Book Author(s): Jann Pasler

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By 1890, the Third Republic had survived for twenty years, the longest period without political upheaval in France's history since before the Revolution. The 1889 Exhibition had proven to the world France's commitment to progress and made its people feel confident and proud. Plans were afoot to forge a military alliance with Russia that would shift the balance of power in Europe, giving France the capacity to stand up to Germany. Yet republican leaders were anxious about social tensions, government corruption, and the rise of socialism. Crime, syphilis, alcoholism, and suicide increased as the nation's birthrate declined. In 1892, a scandal erupted over the Panama Canal concerning bribes to ministers and deputies. The *républicains opportunistes* fell from power, and socialists blamed the financial world. In 1893, almost fifty socialists, including Jean Jaurès, entered the *Chambre des députés*, and more, municipal councils. Besides their May Day demonstrations and calls for union strikes, socialists threatened republican values. In cities such as Marseille, they cut funding of the local Conservatoire, ignoring the fact that many students were from poor families and intended to pursue careers in music.¹ Meanwhile, anarchists, individualists hostile to institutions, protested throughout France with random acts of violence—in 1893, one boldly threw dynamite into the *Chambre*. To make matters worse, these movements were growing across Europe, and in 1894, an Italian anarchist assassinated the French president, Sadi Carnot. The concept of public utility faced its greatest challenge.

In this context, from the establishment's perspective, deviance of any kind could be dangerous, even artistic deviance. The conservative music critics rejected Debussy's opera *Pelléas et Mélisande* (begun in 1892) when they found his music full of "disorder" and "confusion," "the notes merely repelling and detesting each other." Arthur Pougin and Camille Bellaigue deemed him the "head of the

1. *Méneſtreſ*, 2 October 1892, 319.

anarchists in music.”² As we know, the musical world split under the pressure of the Dreyfus Affair, although composers rarely got involved in politics. Supporting Emile Zola’s defense of Dreyfus, Alfred Bruneau stood by his collaborator and continued to set Zola texts to music. On the other side, d’Indy joined the *Ligue de la patrie française* with Jules Lemaître, François Coppée, and others who believed in “values higher than the individual: God, the Nation, the Army, the State, the party.”³ However, the emergence of musical modernism had little to do with the response to Dreyfus per se. Debussy, arguably the most musically progressive of his generation, was probably anti-Dreyfusard.⁴ D’Indy, conservative and anti-Semitic, was admired by socialists. To find “human grandeur” and “moral truth” in music, the *Revue socialiste* looked, not to the wind band music of the people, but to d’Indy’s opera *Fervaal*, a “social drama.”⁵ Debates over the nature of French music and the notion of the musically progressive were infused with politics, but did not play out along predictable antagonisms, in part because the political world itself after 1890 was still less characterized by clear binary oppositions than before.

Why, then, were the 1890s one of the richest, most exciting, and most productive periods of French music history? To understand this, we must examine other powerful cultural forces that both predated the Dreyfus Affair and influenced music and its meanings throughout the *fin de siècle*. Here, it is not Debussy’s oft-cited disdain for republican values or moderate republicans’ desire for stability amid such turbulence that orients the inquiry. Rather, I explore changes in the nature of both the Left and the Right as they impacted music and the musical world. At stake were certain cherished notions of Frenchness, especially as understood by those controlling the Académie des beaux-arts, the two opera houses, and the Conservatoire. Certainly, this establishment was a conservative force that promoted a canon, some of it long beloved. When *Mignon* was given its one-

2. Jann Pasler, “*Pelléas* and Power: Forces behind the Reception of Debussy’s Opera,” *19th-Century Music* 10, 3 (Spring 1987): 262, rpt. in id., *Writing through Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

3. Jean-Denis Bredin, *The Affair: The Case of Alfred Dreyfus*, trans. Jeffrey Mehlman (New York: Braziller, 1986), 541. See also Jane Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

4. James Ross, in his “Crisis and Transformation: French Opera, Politics, and the Press, 1897–1903” (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 1998), chap. 4, presents a nuanced view of Debussy’s attitudes toward the affair, citing his ironic comments and arguing for a lack of political engagement.

5. Alphonse Richard, discussed in Jann Pasler, “Paris: Conflicting Notions of Progress,” in *The Late Romantic Era*, ed. Jim Samson (London: Macmillan, 1991), 389, and James Ross, “D’Indy’s ‘Fervaal’: Reconstructing French Identity at the ‘fin de siècle,’” *Music and Letters* 84, 2 (May 2003): 215–17, 221.

thousandth performance on 13 May 1894, free to the public, fifteen hundred people were turned away at the door.⁶ Tunes from the work, especially “Connais-tu le pays où fleurit l’oranger,” had become so popular that they were sung at weddings and village ceremonies throughout the country.⁷ In 1890, Saint-Saëns himself called progress a *leurre* (delusion, also a trap).⁸ He disdained those who wished to “question everything for the sake of questioning because this is the taste of the day, because modernism wants it so.” He argued that the general public’s “resistance” to change was a crucial moderating force and an “essential aspect of civilization.”⁹ But the Académie’s values were not the same as the government’s.¹⁰ As in the early 1880s, when Jules Ferry had sought to counterbalance their power with reforms and more openness to private enterprise, in the 1890s, a new generation of republican leaders took steps to ensure a commitment to progress. As in the mid 1870s, however, no one political group could act on its own. Arguably the most important context for change came from complex new alliances, as moderate republicans reached out to both radicals and conservatives, including monarchists, ex-monarchists, and Catholics. Leaders of such alliances realized that decisions and actions impacting the musical world would set a context for exploring not only shared interests, but also shared visions of the future.

MANDATING CHANGE

Supporting new music and living French composers was central to reforms promoted by alliances on both the Left and Right, because both radicals and certain conservatives shared an intense desire for change and regeneration. It was as if new music could help people transcend their political differences and focus on the future. Of course, the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique were expected to maintain their traditional repertoire. But some criticized their directors for running these

6. “Le Millième de *Mignon* à l’Opéra-Comique,” *Art musical*, 17 May 1894, 154. In 1891, *Manon* received its one hundredth performance there and *Carmen* its five hundredth.

7. Julien Tiersot, “*Mignon* et la chanson populaire,” *Ménestrel*, 20 May 1894, called two songs from *Mignon* and one other the “only works of contemporary music that penetrated the countryside.” He credits their “natural, intimate, and spontaneous accents” and “simple, clear feelings” (155–56).

8. Michel Faure, *Musique et société du Second Empire aux années vingt* (Paris: Flammarion, 1985), notes that republicans were becoming disillusioned that their institutions and freedoms had not done away with social antagonisms (99).

9. Cited in A. Héler, “Drame lyrique et drame musical,” *Art musical*, 31 January 1890, 10.

10. Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Phaidon, 1971), discusses the differences and conflict between academic and official art throughout the nineteenth century (15–21).

organizations in a bourgeois manner, more preoccupied with saving money than with trying something new.¹¹ To combat stagnation and respond to complaints—theater being an “institution of general interest” that had constantly to be called into question, and criticism being eminently “useful”—when he came into office in 1890, the radical minister Léon Bourgeois called for reform.¹² In 1891, he altered the Opéra’s mandate (*Cahier de charges*). Whereas it had formerly been officially expected to function as a museum (the Louvre of music), it was henceforth to achieve its distinction based on its “choices, variety, and talents.” Bourgeois specifically authorized the Opéra to perform, not just *grand opéra* and ballet, but all kinds of *dramas lyriques*, thereby making space for Wagner.¹³ Besides calling annually for world premieres of two new works by French composers, he addressed a long-standing desire of French composers in requiring its director every other year to produce a work by a Prix de Rome winner.¹⁴ In 1891, again after a good deal of public consternation, the Opéra finally put on Wagner’s *Lohengrin*. Before it opened, as far away as Germany, the public knew that Boulangists were threatening the Opéra with “patriotic” demonstrations by up to 3,000, inside and outside the theater, if *Lohengrin* was performed.¹⁵ Police arrested over 500 protestors, but Lamoureux and his musicians prevailed. After the Opéra’s production of *Die Walküre* in 1893, Wagner soon became its most frequently performed composer, surpassing Meyerbeer and Gounod.¹⁶ In 1892, Bourgeois also amended the Opéra-Comique’s *Cahier de charges* to require ten new acts per year, all of them by French composers, with no one represented by more than one work.¹⁷

11. Charles Darcours [Charles Réty], “Le Mois musical,” *Figaro musical*, January 1892, 2.

12. Léon Bourgeois, *Discours prononcé par le Ministre de l’Instruction publique et des beaux-arts: Séance publique annuelle, 3 août 1892* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1892). The son of a clock manufacturer, Bourgeois studied law and became a natural conciliator; he was minister of public instruction and fine arts (1890–93), leader of the radical republicans (1893–98), and head of government (1895–96). A Freemason who rejected the dichotomy between utilitarian and classical education, he sought to reform both vocational and university education.

13. Ministère de l’Instruction publique et des beaux-arts, *Théâtre nationale de l’Opéra: Cahier de charges* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1891).

14. The minister would choose this work from a list of five presented by the Académie des beaux-arts.

15. Telegrams between 8 and 14 September 1891 from the critic Drumont to various newspapers in Berlin and Cologne. Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Paris, Affaires diverses politiques, Allemagne, 1891.

16. In the 1890s, while Gounod’s *Faust* remained the most frequently performed work at the Opéra, Wagner’s *Lohengrin* was second and *Die Walküre* seventh. Meyerbeer’s *Huguenots* came in fourth, but his *Le Prophète* disappeared from its repertoire between 1894 and 1897, and his *Robert le diable* and Halévy’s *La Juive* after 1893.

17. The Opéra-Comique could also produce a translation of a foreign *opéra-comique*, but only once every other year, and it would not count as a new work.

Finding that the Conservatoire did not reflect “current necessities” either, and in 1892, calling for more varied instruction reflecting “the evolution of our democratic *mœurs*,” Bourgeois appointed a committee to respond to public critique and propose changes.¹⁸ This came on the heels of a speech at the school the previous August in which his director of fine arts, Gustave Larroumet, observed, “Music and theater, like painting, sculpture, and literature, are going through a period of transition and crisis. I’m one of the first to recognize a need for innovation [*nouveauté*] . . . the desire for innovation is the necessary stimulus of each generation.”¹⁹ The radical deputy Antonin Proust also felt that the Conservatoire “no longer responds to our current needs.” But beyond reforming student training, he also called for changing the system whereby government subsidies were awarded. Pointing to how the English system recognized and rewarded merit, he proposed seeing results before writing checks, and, specifically, more private initiative in the arts.²⁰ Even, the conservative director of fine arts Henry Roujon told students in 1895 that “immobility” at the Conservatoire would be “death” to the institution.²¹

While, as in the early 1880s, radical republicans took important steps to modernize the country, others, too, including monarchist and republican aristocrats, began to invest in musical progress in view of its public utility. Pondering this, Paul Leroy-Beaulieu linked luxury to “the taste for novelty and change,” seeing it, not as “immoral and useless,” but as “legitimate, commendable, and useful.” For him, the function of wealth was to serve as “one of the principal agents of human progress” and “father of the arts.”²² The wealthy could commission products and invest in what looked useful, even if its value had not yet been ascertained. Because the state tended to be rigid, inflexible, and biased, private entrepreneurs were in a better position to take risks, which could result in progress in the arts as well as in science, industry, and agriculture. Leroy-Beaulieu also argued that private enterprise was better suited to “public luxuries” than state-subsidized institutions.²³

18. “Paris et départements,” *Ménestrel*, 3 April 1892, 111, and Léon Bourgeois, speech at the Conservatoire reproduced in Arthur Pougin, “Semaine théâtrale,” *Ménestrel*, 7 August 1892, 251.

19. Gustave Larroumet, *Discours prononcé par M. le Ministre de l’Instruction publique et des beaux-arts: Séance publique annuelle du 3 août 1891* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1891).

20. Antonin Proust, *L’Art sous la République* (Paris: Charpentier, 1892), 62–63, 76. Proust was appointed the head of the reform committee for music at the Conservatoire in 1892.

21. Henry Roujon, *Discours prononcé par le Ministre de l’Instruction publique et des beaux-arts: Séance publique annuelle, 3 août 1895* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1895).

22. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, “Le Luxe: La Fonction de la richesse,” *Revue des deux mondes* 126, 1 (1 November 1894): 78, 88–90.

23. *Ibid.*, 97–98, and *id.*, “Le Luxe: La Fonction de la richesse,” *Revue des deux mondes* 126, 2 (1 December 1894): 555–73.

With investment strategies borrowed from business and finance, people of means could organize self-sufficient institutions that promoted whatever they chose. With their political ambitions severely curtailed after 1889, many monarchists looked to culture, not only to preserve their values, but also to help them imagine and enact change. Meanwhile, the haute bourgeoisie in finance and big business saw culture as a way to integrate with the aristocracy through shared taste. New musical societies such as Société des grandes auditions built a constituency of these groups that was similar in terms of members' social class, although mixed in terms of their politics. In investing their own money in premieres and the production of major works ignored by the Opéra and Opéra-Comique, members were betting on the future and a national legacy they intended to help shape.

With both the Left and the Right focused on the merits of new music, not surprisingly market-driven organizations, such as the Concerts Colonne and the Jardin zoologique d'Acclimatation, began to put on more contemporary music than ever before, especially works by living French composers. While Lamoureux concentrated on Wagner, giving fewer French premieres, Colonne put on twenty-nine premieres in both 1890–91 and 1891–92, 83 percent of them by living French composers.²⁴ Moreover, he gave 35 percent of these new works multiple performances. In fall 1893, the Jardin zoologique initiated a Wednesday night orchestral series addressed to those interested in the “progress of art.” These concerts too featured a good deal of new music by young French composers. The interest in contemporary French music even permeated wind bands. Ensembles, such as that of the Bon Marché department store, popularized transcriptions of new works sometimes before their premieres in national theaters, often in Saturday evening concerts in the square outside the store (fig. 86). In the 1890s, 47 percent of the repertoire of the Bon Marché wind band was by living French composers.²⁵ Military bands in the colonies presented more contemporary music than what audiences could hear in local theaters or played by amateur ensembles. As Bruneau wrote in January 1892, listeners were open to the modern, feeling the “need for the new, the not-yet-heard, and the not-yet-seen.”

24. Counting works called *premières auditions* (which meant first performances for their audiences), Colonne premiered 144 works in the 1890s, the vast majority of these by living French composers. In 1893, Lamoureux and a group of fifteen composers founded a new association, “Concerts de l'école moderne,” specifically to give second performances of premieres done by the Concerts Lamoureux. It is not clear how long this lasted. *Ménestrel*, 7 May 1893, 150.

25. Jann Pasler, “Material Culture and Postmodern Positivism: Rethinking the ‘Popular’ in Late Nineteenth-Century French Music,” in id., *Writing through Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 442–48.

SAISON D'ÉTÉ

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SOUS LA DIRECTION

de M. Paulus ☼ *ex-chef de musique de la Garde Républicaine*

PROGRAMME

- 1^o **Marche du Figaro** G. WITTMANN.
- 2^o **Samson et Dalila**. SAINT-SAËNS.
- 3^o **Anna Bolena** DONIZETTI.
- 4^o Fragments de **Rienzi**. R. WAGNER.
- 5^o **Solo de Cornet**, par M. PRIALOUX . . J. MELLÉ.
- 6^o **Mystères des bois** L. ITASSE.

FINALE

*La prochaine audition aura
lieu le Samedi 4 Août*



FIG. 86 Bon Marché wind band program for its concert in the square outside the store on 21 July 1894.

This ensemble first performed a wind-band transcription of *Samson et Dalila* on 6 June and 25 July 1891, seventeen months before it was produced at the Paris Opéra. From July 1892 through 1894, there were over sixty-one military-band performances of *Samson et Dalila* in more than a dozen Paris parks.

Gone is the day when *Carmen* was dragged down to the bottom of inkwells [i.e., got terrible reviews] and when every decent family was called on to censor it. The wind of progress that has been spreading over all things has swept away the old witty clichés of yesteryear, inciting young reviewers to replace facile pleasantries with detailed, thoughtful, and benevolent study of the works at hand. . . . The masses think that, as everything keeps changing, so should our music, as long as it remains French. . . . Never have the masses been so curiously attracted to modernity, and never has their education been so complete in this respect.²⁶

Such attitudes served as a tremendous stimulus to composers and provided innumerable opportunities for performances of their works.

What motivated this pronounced interest in new music throughout the 1890s? What did people expect from it? And what impact did this have on composers' musical choices? Publics, patrons, and composers negotiated both the fear of change and the perceived necessity for it. This meant facing intense differences over the nature of French society, with some people demanding more social evolution and others banding together in resistance. In this context, people of all political persuasions looked to music to articulate continuity with the French past as well as help them envision the future. As a way of reinvigorating French music, composers responded by integrating *musique ancienne et moderne*. By the century's end, there was more agreement on the value of French traditions than one might have expected, given the fault lines of the Dreyfus Affair.

THE NEW LEFT'S HOPES

In the late 1880s, as fear mounted for a return to monarchy, the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts reached out to the musical establishment. Directors of Fine Arts Gustave Larroumet in 1888 and Henri Roujon in 1891 embraced the conservatism of the Académie des beaux-arts.²⁷ While they understood the importance of innovation and explained that students should “welcome and benefit” from Wagner, they also believed that “instruction, by definition, can only take place far from revolutions in taste.” Stressing personality or originality at the Conservatoire, they concurred, should not be major educational goals. Larroumet

26. Alfred Bruneau, “La Jeune Musique française,” *Figaro musical*, January 1892, 5.

27. They both later became members of the Académie des beaux-arts.

encouraged students to “assimilate the simplest and most modest elements . . . to learn before practicing their art.” Yet, even as he and Roujon preached the importance of “understanding” and “accepting” French traditions,²⁸ they also considered those taught at the Conservatoire “too recent, too exclusively from the middle of the century, without taking into account the origins of French music . . . Lully to Gluck and Philidor to Méhul.” Building on republicans’ new histories, Larroumet and others sought to integrate more “classical repertoire” into studies.²⁹

When Léon Bourgeois became minister in 1890, he supported this agenda in part to encourage solidarity among the French. He also thought that “in view of its past and in the interest of its future,” the Conservatoire needed reform.³⁰ So in putting together a committee to study possible changes at the Conservatoire in 1892, Bourgeois invited, not only ten politicians and four establishment composers (Guiraud, Massenet, Reyer, and Thomas), but also Vincent d’Indy, associated with the monarchists. Perhaps he hoped d’Indy would challenge his cohorts and push more vigorously for change.³¹ D’Indy too supported the study of more masterpieces from the distant French past. At the same time, Bourgeois had his own notions of what aesthetic might emerge from these reforms. In his 1892 speech at the Conservatoire, he referred to the *qualités maîtresses de la musique française* in Ernest Reyer’s *Salammô*, not as charm, elegance, or grace, but rather as the “clarity of style, sincerity of thought, and spontaneous character of the inspiration.”³² He told young composers to develop “simplicity” and “naturalness” in

28. For an analysis of the speeches they and other ministers gave at the Conservatoire, see Jann Pasler, “State Politics and the ‘French’ Aesthetics of the Prix-de-Rome Cantatas, 1870–1900,” in *Musical Education in Europe, 1770–1914: Compositional, Institutional, and Political Challenges*, ed. Michel Noiray and Michael Fend (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 2: 585–622.

29. Larroumet reiterated ideas from his 1891 speech in an essay (August 1895) published in his *L’Art et l’Etat en France*, 271–73. Likewise, the republican deputy Agénor Bardoux pointed to the importance of teaching declamation students the classical repertoire in theater, inasmuch as it embodied the “simplicity, appropriateness, and measure” that constitute “the essential qualities of our national genius.” “Rapport présenté au nom de la sous-commission de déclamation,” in Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900), 391.

30. Bourgeois, cited in *Ménestrel*, 7 August 1892, 251.

31. Before making the appointment, in January 1892, Bourgeois made d’Indy a *chevalier* of the Légion d’honneur. During this period, unlike the image we tend to have of him today, d’Indy was known as a “dedicated and conscientious worker, never uncompromising or closed-minded . . . excessively modest and welcoming to all, above any kind of scheming.” Henri Eymieu, *Etudes et biographies musicales* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1892), 30.

32. Gustave Larroumet, in his *Discours prononcé par le Ministre de l’Instruction publique et des beaux-arts: Séance publique annuelle, 2 août 1900* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900), also points to the “spontaneity of the French genius” as one of its primordial qualities.

their music.³³ Because such words signified *le peuple*, Bourgeois's aesthetic of simplicity and spontaneity may have been politically motivated.³⁴ For the sake of national "solidarity," republicans needed to regain the petit bourgeoisie's interest and trust, lost to the idealistic promises of the Ligue des patriotes and the charms of General Boulanger.

The winner of the 1893 Prix de Rome in composition, André Bloch (a Massenet student and son of a rabbi), responded explicitly to Bourgeois's 1892 speech. His *Antigone* (1893) articulates this aesthetic of simplicity and clarity of expression, although in utterly banal ways. Simple tremoli in the introduction's timpani hark back to those in 1870s cantatas, as does the thin orchestration, with two woodwinds per part. Accompaniments either double the vocal parts, or consist of endlessly recurring rhythmic patterns. The voices articulate the downbeat, and in the trio, the same rhythms alternate every other measure. Even the handwriting is awkward—such a contrast from Bruneau's precise hand and Debussy's elegant one.³⁵ Such music defies the increasing influence of Wagner. Yet it also exposes serious limitations in the radical Left's musical aesthetic and notions of musical progress.

REENACTING REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICES

Beginning in 1892, the Left also sought to build unity among republicans through agreement on the merits of the revolutionary past. The Opéra-Comique produced two works glorifying peasant revolts, another on the military victories of 1794, and two on the First Republic's military heroes.³⁶ This meant also getting to know the repertoire that had so powerfully affected revolutionary crowds and had led to a "national school" of composition as strong as German and Italian music. Republican music scholars hoped that the revival of revolutionary music might inspire a regeneration of French music in touch with the people.

33. Bourgeois, cited in *Ménestrel*, 7 August 1892, 251–52.

34. Without this political connotation, other new works, such as Maeterlinck's *Pelléas et Mélisande*, produced by Lugné-Poë at the Théâtre Libre in May 1893, and later Debussy's opera also embraced a certain simplicity in terms of a reduction in artistic means of expression.

35. The Académie later criticized Bloch's first Envoi de Rome, a quartet, for its "childlike simplicity that deprives it of any interest." His melodies also were found to be "pale and a little banal." "Rapports sur les envois de Rome en 1895," Archives de l'Académie des beaux-arts, carton 131.

36. Delibes's *Kassya* (1893), Lalo's *La Jacquerie* (1895), Benjamin Godard's *La Vivandière* (1895), Albert Cahen's *La Femme de Claude* (1896), and Camille Erlanger's *Kermaria* (1897). André Michael Spies, in *Opera, State, and Society in the Third Republic, 1875–1914* (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), also sees the staging of Zola and Bruneau's *L'Attaque du Moulin*, which suggested 1793 rather than 1870, as tied to interest in the Revolution at its centenary (61–65).

Hoping to elicit nostalgia for revolutionary festivals and recapture some of their power, the republicans staged a huge festival in Paris on 22 September 1892 (a date that resulted from a compromise).³⁷ *Ménestrel* announced the program and the eleven participating amateur ensembles.³⁸ It opened with a performance of the “Chant du départ” at the Panthéon by Opéra singers and the National Guard wind band. Everyone joined in on the refrain. As in 1792, *Figaro* reported, “men and women, singing in unison, seemed to have only one voice.” Next came a procession through the streets to various sites for speeches, music performances, and collective singing (fig. 87). Near the Opéra, unfortunately, coordination went awry, as groups from various Paris neighborhoods simultaneously performed the “Marseillaise,” the “Chant du départ,” and selections from Augusta Holmès’s *Ode triomphale*, written for the 1889 Exhibition. Still, elsewhere one could hear new transcriptions of music by Gossec, Méhul, Gounod, and Adam.³⁹ Paris theaters put on free or cut-price matinées, the Comédie-Française presenting *Valmy* and the “Marseillaise” along with Molière’s *Malade imaginaire*, and the Théâtre de Belleville, *IX Thermidor*. The Opéra-Comique included performances of the “Marseillaise” and “Chant du départ.” As during the Revolution, Charles Rearick reminds us, organizers of such events “hoped somehow to erase class antagonisms and, as though by magic, to carry a happy unity over into daily life.”⁴⁰ However, its organizers lacking in imagination and ignoring the anxieties of the time, the event failed to generate much enthusiasm.⁴¹

Two weeks later, the town of Givet erected a statue of Méhul, whose “Chant du départ” had nonetheless so excited listeners in Paris in September (fig. 88). Not only did Thomas, Massenet, and Joncières show up to give speeches, so did Léon Bourgeois and Paris music critics. Bourgeois used the occasion to promote his idea of “solidarity.” He found in Méhul’s warrior song “the entire history of the great Republic . . . the first Republic that has shown us our goal, our path, and our duty.” Arthur Pougin pointed to the virility of the song as important in its role in national education. Julien Tiersot hailed it as “the beginning of a national art.” Both critics

37. Radical socialists wished to celebrate the anniversary of the storming of the Tuileries and removal of the king on 10 August 1792. *Républicains opportunistes* preferred to commemorate the centennial of the First Republic on 21 September, when the Convention had abolished the monarchy and universal male suffrage began. Others, such as Déroulède, wanted to remember the French victory at Valmy on 20 September 1792, which some have seen as initiating French nationalism. Olivier Ihl, *La Fête républicaine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 129–30.

38. “Paris et départements,” *Ménestrel*, 18 September 1892, 303.

39. *Ménestrel*, 25 September 1892, 310, and *L’Illustration*, 1 October 1892.

40. See Charles Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Epoque* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986), chap. 5.

41. Charles Rearick, “Festivals in Modern France: The Experience of the Third Republic,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 12 (1977): 451–52.

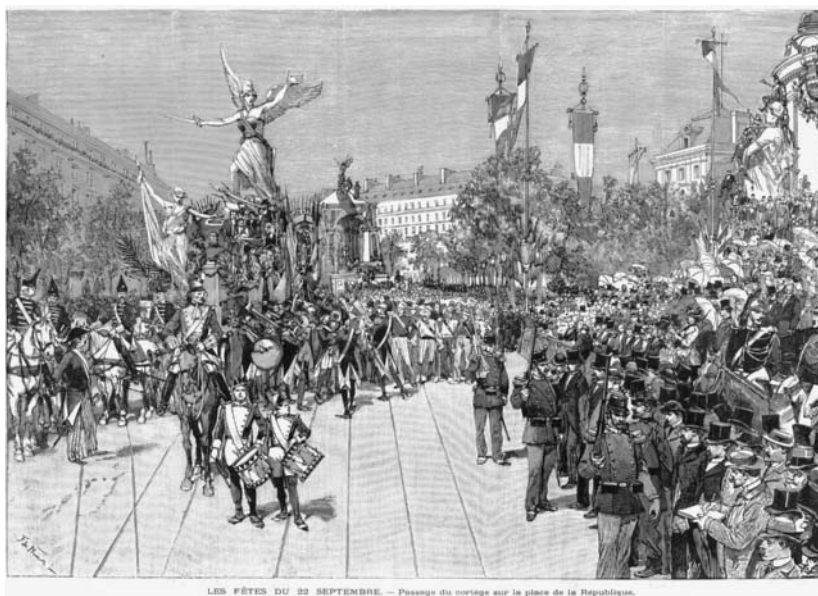


FIG. 87 Revolutionary-inspired festival in Paris, 22 September 1892. *L'Illustration*, 1 October 1892.

Here, traversing the Place de la République, the procession, led by two drummers, features numerous floats, including, in the distance, one called “Le Chant du départ,” after Méhul’s famous song. The latter was featured on the cover of *L'Illustration* that week.

used it to lay claim to a new French superiority in European music at the time, and called for something similar again.⁴²

Scholars used these occasions to investigate the revolutionary predecessors of French theater and the Conservatoire and to excavate the history of revolutionary festivals (see app. C). In 1892, Aulard devoted an entire volume to the cults of Reason and the Supreme Being. Like Robespierre, he thought the Revolution’s festivals showed “how rapidly the public spirit forms and spreads,”⁴³ especially through its music. In almost every issue of *Ménestrel* from December 1893 through September 1894—forty in all—Tiersot assembled detailed descriptions of revolutionary festivals from period documents, hoping that such festivals and their “national music” might serve as an “example and lesson.”⁴⁴ Because they

42. “Inauguration de la statue de Méhul,” *Ménestrel*, 9 October 1892, 322–25.

43. François-Alphonse Aulard, *Le Culte de la raison et le culte de l’être suprême* (Paris: Alcan, 1892), 321.

44. His book from these essays won the Prix Kastner-Bourgault and 2,000 francs for the best publication examining the influence of music on the development of civilization.



FIG. 88 Statue of Méhul in Givet in the Ardennes, his birthplace, inaugurated 2 October 1892. *L'Illustration*, 1 October 1892.

understood revolutionary music as a reflection of and key to understanding *l'esprit populaire*, Tiersot and Constant Pierre also published scores, most of which were either lost or existed only in parts, to establish a musical tradition on which their contemporaries could build.⁴⁵

Unfortunately, outside of certain circles, little of this music was performed. Some revivals addressed specialists, such as those organized by Constant Pierre for the Société de l'histoire de la Révolution française.⁴⁶ Singers from the Opéra,

45. In his "Quelques hymnes et faits de la Révolution," *Ménestrel*, 28 August 1898–25 September 1898, Constant Pierre notes that in fifteen years he had gone through 300 boxes of archives, 1,000 volumes of memoirs and newspapers, transcribed for piano 120 vocal and instrumental works, and catalogued around 3,000 hymns and songs. See his *La Musique exécutée aux fêtes nationales* (1893), *Le Magasin de musique à l'usage des fêtes nationales* (1895), *Musique des fêtes* (1899), *Les Hymnes* (1904), and Julien Tiersot, *Les Fêtes et les chants de la Révolution française* (Paris: Hachette, 1908) as well as the essays in *Ménestrel* noted in app. C.

46. *Ménestrel*, 28 March 1897. Three programs survive from these Soirées littéraires et musicales: 13 March 1897, 26 March 1898, and 28 April 1900. In April 1897, Constant Pierre also organized "reconstructions" for the Association of Parisian Journalists.

Opéra-Comique, and Conservatoire there performed mostly lesser-known revolutionary songs by Méhul, Gossec, Catel, Jadin, Cherubini, Martini, Lesueur, Piccini, and Lefèvre alongside poetry and comic scenes (fig. 89). The historical reconstruction of Gossec's "Marche lugubre," conducted by Tiersot in Romain Rolland's play *Le Triomphe de la Raison* at the Théâtre de l'Œuvre on 21 June 1899, accompanied the funeral procession of Marat to lend an air of authenticity and truth to the performance.⁴⁷

In the late 1890s, with the country divided by the Dreyfus Affair, Robert Gildea suggests, radical republicans kept the memory of the Revolution alive to justify the position of the Dreyfusards. In literature, the point may be accurate. Aulard, their "in-house historian," continued to publish volumes of old documents, and Rolland "transformed the debate between justice for an individual and the national interest" in plays on revolutionary subjects—not just *Triomphe de la Raison* and *Les Loups*, set in 1793 (1898), but also *Danton* (1900) and *Le Quatorze Juillet* (1902).⁴⁸ However, just as in the late 1790s, the public wearied of republican festivals. Some complained about their "lack of originality."⁴⁹ Others felt that festivals were losing their connection to the "popular soul." Revolutionary enthusiasm erupted momentarily with the inauguration of Dalou's monumental statue *Le Triomphe de la République* in the Place de la Nation in 1899, followed by a banquet and concert at which music by Gossec and Méhul alternated with Berlioz and Saint-Saëns.⁵⁰ Radical republicans maintained an association with the Revolution to help them come to power in 1902. However, socialists used the Revolution to express their discontent. Interrupting the inauguration by singing the revolutionary "Carmagnole" and the "Internationale" (written by a Communeur in 1871), they saw it as a bourgeois revolt and sought to focus on class struggles rather than the Rights of Man and the Citizen.⁵¹

When it came to Méhul and Grétry, the discourse was far less political, and if this music served a political function, it was not to divide but rather to unite. First, in the 1890s, Méhul and Grétry offered audiences opportunities to relate to a heritage the country shared. In 1892, the committee to reform teaching at the Conservatoire

47. Act 3 incorporated a rondo from Gossec's opera *Triomphe de la République* (1793) and his "Chant patriotique" (1793). See *Ménestrel*, 18 June 1899, 199. The work includes a blond woman as Reason and a role for *le peuple*, who participate in the drama and sing songs.

48. Robert Gildea, *The Past in French History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994), 40–41.

49. *L'Illustration*, 13 July 1901, cited in Ihl, *Fête républicaine*, 355.

50. See the program in *Ménestrel*, 19 November 1899, 376.

51. Jean Jaurès wrote a *Histoire socialiste de la Révolution française* in 7 vols. See Gildea, *Past in French History*, 46–48.

SOCIÉTÉ DE L'HISTOIRE DE LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE

3, Rue de Furstenberg. — PARIS

SOIRÉE LITTÉRAIRE & MUSICALE

DU SAMEDI 13 MARS 1897

Organisée par MM. J. TRUFFIER, de la *Comédie Française*, et CONSTANT PIERRE, du Conservatoire de Musique

AVEC LE CONCOURS DE

M^{me} AMEL et M. Charles ESQUIER, de la *Comédie Française*; Mesdemoiselles Jane KESLY, de l'Odéon, et Marthe ADOLPHE-BELOT, de la Renaissance

POUR LA PARTIE LITTÉRAIRE

M^{me} ARVYL-EYGUEYSIER, de l'Opéra Comique; MM. HANS, DUMONTIER, A. ALLARD, lauréats du Conservatoire, et Eugène PIFFARETTI,

Chef de Chant au Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique, Accompagnateur au Conservatoire

POUR LA PARTIE MUSICALE

PROGRAMME

PARTIE MUSICALE

1. Le Chant du 14 Juillet (1790), paroles de Marie-Joseph CAILLIER, musique de GOSSEC.
Trio par MM. HANS, DUMONTIER et A. ALLARD.
2. Le Chant du Départ (1794), paroles de Marie-Joseph CAILLIER, musique de MÉHUL.
Solo par M^{me} ARVYL-EYGUEYSIER et M. HANS.
3. Chant dithyrambique pour l'entrée triomphale des objets de science et d'art recueillis en Italie (1798), paroles de La Bruin, musique de LÉONCEUR.
Chœur à 4 voix avec solo, par Madame ARVYL-EYGUEYSIER, MM. HANS, DUMONTIER et ALLARD.
4. Chant du Banquet républicain pour la fête de la victoire (1790), paroles de La Bruin, musique de CATEL.
Chanté par M. ALLARD.
5. Chant pour la fête de l'agriculture, paroles de La CHAREAUSSIÈRE, musique de H. JADON.
Chanté par M. HANS.
6. Hymne funèbre sur la mort du général Hoche (1797), paroles de Marie-Joseph CAILLIER, musique de GIERLIN.
(a) *Marche funèbre*, par M. E. PIFFARETTI.
(b) *Hymne*: strophes, par Madame ARVYL-EYGUEYSIER; *trio* par MM. HANS, ALLARD et DUMONTIER.
7. Hymne à la Victoire (1796), paroles de FLUSS, musique de GIERLIN.
Chœur à 4 voix; *solo* par M. DUMONTIER.
8. Hymne à la République, chant du 1^{er} vendémiaire (1798), paroles de Marie-Joseph CAILLIER, musique de MARTINI. *Chœur à quatre voix*.

9. (a) *L'orage*, poésie de COLARDEAU, sur l'air d'*Albanais*.
(b) *Il pleut, il pleut, bergère...* par FARRÉ d'EGLENTINE.
Chanté par M^{me} AMEL, de la *Comédie Française*.

PARTIE LITTÉRAIRE

10. *La Jeune Captive*, par André GUÉNIER.
Dite par M^{me} Marthe ADOLPHE-BELOT.
11. *La Jeune Tarentine*, par André GUÉNIER.
Dite par M. Charles ESQUIER.
12. *Histoire du Chapeau*, poésie de LAZARE CARNOT.
Dite par M. J. TRUFFIER.
13. *La Loi des Enfers*, adaptation d'après SENECA.
Contée par M. J. TRUFFIER.

Le Masque de Janus

Comédie en un acte, en vers, par MM. PAUL BÉRAUD et Jules TRUFFIER

Le Vicomte M. J. TRUFFIER.
La Comtesse Mlle Jane KESLY.
La Baronne Mlle Marthe ADOLPHE-BELOT

Le piano, de la maison *Erard*, sera tenu par M. Piffaretti

FIG. 89 Société de l'histoire de la Révolution française soirée program, 13 March 1897.

At this concert, organized by Constant Pierre, singers from the Opéra, Opéra-Comique, and Conservatoire performed revolutionary songs alongside poetry and comic scenes. The first work, Gossec's "Chant du 14 juillet" (1790), was a prototype for other such songs, including the "Marseillaise." Besides this and Méhul's "Chant du départ" (1794), most of the other songs were written between 1796 and 1798, which might suggest that in the late 1890s, amid anarchist attacks, the Société wished to divert attention from the violent aspects of the Revolution.

included both composers on the list of those whose works all young composers should know and analyze.⁵² And in 1892–93, when *Richard Cœur de Lion* returned to the Opéra-Comique, *Figaro musical*, a publication with largely upper-class readers, reproduced excerpts from revolutionary works: Méhul's *Stratonice* (1792) and Grétry's *La Rosière républicaine* (1794). Indeed it was becoming increasingly possible to embrace both composers with or without dwelling on their politics.

52. Vincent d'Indy, "Projet d'organisation des études du Conservatoire" (1892), reproduced in Pierre, *Conservatoire*, 376.

Second, both composers, despite their differences, were valued for foreshadowing current musical values. Radicals particularly admired Méhul, from humble roots and of uneven health, who, a precursor to modern art, had brought polyphony into the theater.⁵³ But in his report on French music in the official concerts of the 1900 Exhibition, the radical republican Alfred Bruneau praised both Méhul and Grétry as predecessors and in language that would have elicited sympathy from diverse constituencies, political and otherwise. Appealing to Wagnerians, Bruneau contends that Grétry invented the leitmotif to unify a long complex dramatic work.⁵⁴ At the same time, pointing to values embraced by republicans, he notes that Grétry also envisioned a theater without boxes, like the Bayreuth Festspielhaus, which would thereby have deemphasized social hierarchies among the public, and that Grétry believed in liberty and truth. Bruneau and others also perceived Méhul from a contemporary perspective. Referring to his revolutionary works for multiple orchestras and multiple choruses, Bruneau saw Méhul as a predecessor of Berlioz. With his *Joseph*, produced in two versions in late spring 1899—at the Opéra with new recitatives replacing its spoken dialogues,⁵⁵ and at the Opéra-Comique in its original version—critics also compared *Joseph*'s severe beauty with that of Franck's *Panis Angelicus* and "one of those beautiful antique marble sculptures to which we give respect and veneration." *Joseph* too benefited from contemporary admiration for Gluck's music, enjoying an important revival in the 1890s.⁵⁶ At the Opéra, *Joseph* balanced virile and tender, austere and human elements, while at the Opéra-Comique, it expressed "freshness, grace, and beauty."⁵⁷ Above all, however, as with Grétry, critics pointed to Méhul's sense of

53. René de Recy, "Chronique musicale: La Statue de Méhul," *Revue bleue*, 12 December 1892, 475–76.

54. Alfred Bruneau, *La Musique française* (Paris: Charpentier, 1901), 47. Gaston Carraud, writing in *Petit Poucet*, no. 21 (1900), also echoes earlier Wagnerians who saw Grétry as a precursor of Wagner's.

55. Armand Silvestre wrote the lyrics and Bourgault-Ducoudray the music for these recitatives. Some critics, such as Hugues Imbert, acknowledged Bourgault-Ducoudray's "desire to assimilate his writing to that of Méhul." This led to borrowing themes from the opera and Méhul's solfège exercises; however, others rejected his tampering with this masterpiece to get it staged at the Opéra.

56. Gluck's *Orphée* was first performed at the Opéra-Comique on 6 March 1896 and repeated fifty-seven more times that season, becoming its most frequently heard work. The Concerts Colonne took part in the interest in this work, performing a scene from it on 27 March 1898. *Orphée* remained among the most popular works performed at the Opéra-Comique through 1900.

57. See Alfred Bruneau, "Les Théâtres," *Figaro*, 28 May 1899; Henri Gauthier-Villars, "Les Premières," *Echo de Paris*, 28 May 1899; Pierre Lalo, "La Musique," *Le Temps*, 20 June 1899; and Hugues Imbert, "Joseph," *Guide musical*, 18 June 1899.

drama and passion as anticipating Wagner. One cited Wagner's letter of 16 March 1870 to Champfleury in which he claims Méhul as among his "mentors" and calls *Joseph* a masterpiece he planned to produce himself one day.⁵⁸

Yet, if Méhul and Grétry's dramatic music laid a strong foundation for the *drame lyrique*, few nineteenth-century composers took inspiration from revolutionary festivals or their music. After Berlioz—the most important heir to this tradition with his orchestration of the "Marseillaise," "Hymne à la France," and *Symphonie funèbre et triomphale*—the crisis of the Franco-Prussian War had revived interest in patriotic music and its utility for the nation. Still, such works as Gounod's *Gallia*, Saint-Saëns's "Marche héroïque," and Franck's *Paris* were few and far between.⁵⁹ Despite Tiersot's and Pierre's many publications, few composers responded explicitly to this tradition. Besides Holmès's *Ode triomphale* (1889), Massenet and Henri Litolf wrote incidental music for Revolution-inspired plays that expressed "all the anguish, convulsions, and patriotic hopes of this period."⁶⁰ Gustave Charpentier's *Le Couronnement de la Muse* (1897), conceived for outdoors (the Place Blanche in Montmartre) and involving amateur choruses, real street cries, and marching bands, alone resembles a revolutionary festival. Unlike most such festivals, it addresses working-class aspirations.⁶¹ On the surface it's all gaiety, a festival of youth celebrating pleasure. At the center are two allegorical characters, the Muse and Beauty. It begins with a "march-parade" through a vegetable market, with merchants hawking their products and a distant fanfare accompanying the procession of the Muse. A "Ballet of Pleasure" follows, with popular dances and an exuberant bacchanale, Beauty's dance, and her Crowning of the Muse, "daughter of the people," a proletarian woman representing the workers of Montmartre. A poet then celebrates her as "our soul in the form of a flower." Unlike many others, Charpentier was aware that festivals usually ignored the "eternal suffering and anguish" of the poor, but he saw the *petits miséreux* as "symbolizing the Future." In the opening march, "to explain the bitter irony of human gaiety, alas, incapable of making us forget eternal misery," he incorporates the theme of his song, "the dream of universal happiness," while mocking it, asking for dynamic oppositions

58. Wagner, letter to Champfleury, cited in *Guide musical*, 28 May 1899.

59. Tiersot, *Fêtes*, viii.

60. "Paris et départements," *Ménestrel*, 19 November 1899, 376. See Massenet's overture to Edouard Noël's play *Brumaire: Scènes historiques de l'an VIII* (1799) (1899) and Henri Litolf's overture to *Robespierre* (1892).

61. Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Epoque*, 1–24. For an excellent analysis of the context for this work and its use in the composer's opera, *Louise*, see Steven Huebner, *French Opera at the Fin de Siècle: Wagnerism, Nationalism, and Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 455–61.

and exaggerated nuances.⁶² In the final scene, Pierrot interrupts the cries of joy with gestures that remind everyone of human suffering. However, even he listens when the chorus then calls on the Muse, the “eternal hope of mankind,” to bring universal happiness. The work ends symbolically, with her reaching out to the crowd, now in fraternal union through music. Huebner sees this as “a celebration of the salutary effect of Art and Beauty on *le peuple*.”⁶³ It was a huge success and was repeated at the centennial celebration of Michelet’s birth in 1898. Charpentier’s opera *Louise*, into which he incorporated it, revisits these same musical and social issues, but did not spawn imitators.

Saint-Saëns, Fauré, and others conceived works for outdoor arenas in southern France, such as Orange’s ancient Roman theater and Béziers’s bull-fighting arena (see fig. 97). Choral unison singing abounds in Saint-Saëns’s *Déjanire* (1898), composed for Béziers, with the orchestra often doubling the singers. With huge choral sections for 200 singers (most of them workers and local artisans) and three orchestras of 250 instrumentalists with eighteen harps and thirty-five trumpets (some belonging to local military bands), the composer was forced to think of sound production and a conscious simplicity of means as had revolutionary composers. The patron who had commissioned the work and transformed the arena for the performances saw this as an opportunity for artistic democratization.⁶⁴ When reviewers deemed the work a populist response to Wagner and the venue the “French Bayreuth,”⁶⁵ it was because the composer appealed to the “taste of the crowd” and, in attracting ten to twelve thousand enthusiastic spectators, offered a republican-inspired alternative to the elite and fashionable public who frequented Bayreuth. Various government ministers traveled to performances in subsequent years not just in support of this effort at artistic decentralization, but also, Brian Rees suggests, because they saw the participation of so many local people and military bands as an opportunity to bridge the growing divide between citizens and the military and, amid social divisiveness over the Dreyfus Affair, to encourage civic patriotism.⁶⁶

62. These two notes appear on pp. 13 and 17 of the piano-vocal score. The song, Charpentier notes, is from his *Impressions fausses*.

63. Huebner, *French Opera*, 434.

64. Brian Rees, in *Camille Saint-Saëns: A Life* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1999), suggests that the work’s patron, Castillon de Beauxhostes, conducted his own band, La Lyre bitteroise, and considered municipal bands and choral societies as a good social alternative to trade unions (326). Ironically, Léon Kerst, writing for this class in the *Petit Journal*, 10 November 1898, did not like the work when he later heard it in Paris.

65. Gustave Samazeuilh, “Les Fêtes de Béziers,” in *Le Guide musical*, 1898; “Après les fêtes,” *La Liberté*, 18 April 1898.

66. Rees, *Camille Saint-Saëns*, 332.

The only venue where the revolutionary aesthetic thrived was in military band concerts. There festivals remained vitally significant in recalling the French military's glorious past. Perhaps for this reason, in 1903, *Le Petit Poucet*, addressed to the mass audiences of military-band performances, published a twelve-part series on revolutionary festivals as the predecessors of military-band concerts in city parks. Included were descriptions from revolutionary-era newspapers, period engravings, and, for the first time in this journal, musical scores, reduced for piano from Constant Pierre's publications: Gossec's "Marche lugubre," "Hymne à Voltaire," and "Peuple, éveille-toi," as well as three popular songs, "Ça ira," the "Carmagnole," and an excerpt from a Dalayrac *opéra-comique*. *Le Petit Poucet* reminded readers that the Paris Conservatoire had begun as a school for military musicians organized by Sarrette, conductor of the National Guard, the interpreter of music performed during the festivals. Focus was on the Festival of Federation (1790) through the first Festival of Freedom (1792), when exuberant popular participation had played a large role, before the government imposed rigid formats. The magazine's editor underlined the role music played in the revolutionary project of *fraternité* and stressed the experience of equality encouraged by festivals, perhaps to make the *classes populaires* feel part of a glorious history—a critical part of republicanism.⁶⁷

THE NEW RIGHT'S PROGRESSISM IN POLITICS AND MUSIC

With the demise of General Boulanger, the success of the Exhibition, and the October 1889 elections, France's monarchists had to acknowledge defeat.⁶⁸ Marquis Henri de Breteuil, a monarchist deputy, aristocrat (and Marcel Proust's Marquis de Bréauté), ended his long diary with the results of the elections. On 4 October, he writes, "Having never thought that a *courant d'opinion* could restore monarchy in our country, I was convinced that a daring coup was our only chance. But that card played, I do not see anything in front of us except a somber future going nowhere." On 7 October, his final words: "The results of the vote give 130 seats to republicans and 50 to conservatives or Boulangists. . . . The republican majority consists therefore of 366 deputies and the opposition 210, of whom 43 Boulangists."⁶⁹ After

67. Henri Radiguer, "Les Jours d'enthousiasme: Les Fêtes et la musique de la Révolution," *Petit Poucet* nos. 3–12 (1903), esp. 3: 1–3 and 12: 3.

68. This was also encouraged by the deaths of the "Prince Napoléon" (first cousin to Napoléon III) in 1891 and the comte de Paris in 1894.

69. Marquis Henri de Breteuil, *Journal secret, 1886–1889* (Paris: Mercure de France, 2007), 348.

many pages of thoughtful notations on his diplomatic and political activities, no commentary. Just the numbers. For someone so hopeful, so *engagé*, this must have been devastating.

In March 1890, a new political group, the Constitutional or Independent Right, came into being. Its members opposed radical anticlericalism and progressive income taxes, but accepted democracy, existing institutions, and the nation.⁷⁰ Moderate republicans reached out to this new Right, recognizing that they shared with it a deep concern about socialism. Their *ralliement* (reconciliation) had religious as well as international dimensions, the latter inasmuch as they sought monarchists' help in their foreign relations. This rapprochement, however, was not just politically motivated. As Debora Silverman points out, it was also a "manifestation of a more general effort by bourgeois republicans to find a basis for unity with the older aristocratic forces, an ongoing quest to solidify the ranks of one elite."⁷¹ With music an important way to explore and express commonalities, this emerging alliance had a significant impact on the musical world of the 1890s.

AN IRONIC RELIGIOUS REVIVAL

The process of building this alliance was, ironically, greatly facilitated by two Catholic leaders, Cardinal Lavigerie, the archbishop of Algiers, and Pope Leo XIII himself. On 12 November 1890, the cardinal told the visiting French Navy that with the country on the brink of disaster (i.e., socialism), everyone had to pull together. He then toasted the French Republic. Parisian monarchists and religious leaders were stunned and strongly objected. The following May, the pope, in his manifesto *Rerum novarum*, rejected socialist demands concerning public property

70. Founded by Jacques Piou, a monarchist deputy, Boulanger supporter, and friend of the comte de Paris, this group included such diverse members as Prince d'Arenberg, Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, and Francis Magnard, editor in chief of *Le Figaro*. See Philippe Levillain, "Les Droites en République," in *Histoire des droites en France*, vol. 1: *Politique*, ed. Jean-François Sirinelli (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 198. Robert Kaplan, in *Forgotten Crisis: The Fin-de-Siècle Crisis of Democracy in France* (Oxford: Berg, 1995), analyzes the wealthy's fear of revolution between 1893 and 1897, as based, in part, on whether deputies would replace consumption taxes, viewed as inequitable, with income taxes that would touch the wealthy and thus "destroy" civilization as they knew it. Kaplan sees not the Dreyfus Affair, but the wealthy "few" feeling threatened by the non-wealthy "many" of universal suffrage and the conflict over graduated income taxes as "the most intense political crisis in the history of the Third Republic" (5, 7). Paul Leroy-Beaulieu's 1894 essay defending luxury and explaining the social function of wealth, discussed above, addresses this concern.

71. Debora Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 48.

but called on the state to practice Christian social justice. Then on 16 February 1892, in his text *Au milieu des sollicitudes*, he told French Catholics to devote themselves to peace. This was a way of asking them to accept the French Republic, to change its anticlerical laws, but from within. Because the pope was believed to be infallible, although many still rejected this idea, numerous Catholics bowed to his wishes. Among these was the prince d'Arenberg, who, although elected as a monarchist deputy from 1877 to 1881 and again in 1889, ran as a republican in 1893. In December 1892, the government responded to this new openness of the Catholic Church by moving *les cultes* (religion) from the Ministry of Justice, where it had been since 1888, back to the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts.

In many ways, the musical world provided a medium for both resistance and public reconciliation of the republicans with Catholics. Interest in chant skyrocketed. Congresses on religious music in September 1892 in Grenoble and in July 1895 in Rodez and Bordeaux led to resolutions recommending free courses in Gregorian chant in each French town and an annual competition for its performance. Dom Mocquereau published his five-volume *Paléographie musicale* (1889–96), with photographic facsimiles of old chant, as well as an inexpensive *Liber Usualis* (1896) to make chant available to the general public. Some presented chant as a way to attract people to church to reestablish “this union and solidarity among the classes that is the first condition of social peace.”⁷²

In the early 1890s came not only regeneration in liturgical music but also new acceptance of religious music in secular contexts. In 1891 and 1892, *Figaro* reproduced short excerpts of this music to draw attention to performances, some in very distinguished venues: on 4 March 1891, the *Agnus Dei* from Bach's Mass in B minor, performed at the Société des concerts; on 10 June 1891, an air from Handel's *Israel in Egypt*, just after being produced by the Société des grandes auditions at the Trocadéro; on 22 July 1891, a Mozart Ave Verum; and on 13 April 1892, a Palestrina motet, the latter pointing to the Holy Week repertoire at the Eglise de Saint-Gervais. The latter was particularly important, for in some ways the Holy Week performances too were a revival of a kind of festival—“ceremonies” associated with the Sistine Chapel. The choir at Saint-Gervais, under the direction of d'Indy and Charles Bordes, sang its repertoire over five days—Palestrina, Victoria, and long litanies, to which they added Josquin des Prés, Lassus, Handel, and Bach to accompany matins and lauds each day and a Mass on Holy Thursday. Camille Bellaigue found “more poetry and emotion in the liturgy of Holy Week than in all the repertoire of the Opéra.” With the singers invisible in an upper gallery, their songs about divine and

72. “Le Chant grégorien jugé par l'Univers,” *Revue du chant grégorien*, 15 October 1892, 34.

human suffering seemed to “float in the atmosphere, like light veils, or resembled the atmosphere itself, because one only breathed in harmony.” Unaccompanied, they reminded listeners that there is “no intermediary more direct or more pure between the soul and God than the voice.”⁷³ Catholics welcomed this celebration, some of them perhaps initiated into the religious cult of music by Wagner’s *Parsifal*. Mallarmé, Gounod, and Sâr Péladan could also be seen attending.

Performances by the choir quickly became fashionable as evidenced by numerous elegant carriages parked outside the church, despite the working-class neighborhood (fig. 90).⁷⁴ Certain republican critics, too, appreciated the performances. Although Tiersot recognized that Palestrina had broken all ties in music to secular forms, he considered his genius “pure and sincere” and enjoyed his music’s “truly primitive simplicity.” In 1892, *Figaro* fanned the enthusiasm by publishing a Victoria motet from the choir’s repertoire, and in 1893, a Lassus Kyrie from a new collection of “primitive religious masters,” edited by Bordes. When the young composer Déodat de Séverac first heard this choir, he experienced its religious music as a “real revelation,” strong enough “to bring men of superior minds back to religion.” He wrote to his sister: “Huysmans, who is one of most eminent writers and a man of wonderful talent, would have remained a sectarian enemy of Catholicism had he not had the good fortune to hear this Gregorian chant and the Palestrinian masters!”⁷⁵

Ironically, composers got heavily involved in religious music after the pope’s *Rerum novarum*, as if it constituted an invitation to revive music for the Church. On 28 January 1892, the Société nationale, under d’Indy as president, collaborated with the Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais in a concert at their church (fig. 91). The performances took place in the context of a religious ceremony, the “Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament” (*Salut du Saint-Sacrement*). The presence of the Eucharist, brought out especially for the occasion, diminished the secular nature of the typical concert experience and legitimated the performance of religious music.⁷⁶ This concert, which suggests a particularly interesting relationship between new and old religious music, included four premieres of motets and Mass movements by Société members *before* motets by four old masters. New music thus sets the context

73. Camille Bellaigue, “Revue musicale: La Musique sacrée pendant la semaine sainte,” *Revue des deux mondes* 111 (1 May 1892): 221, 223.

74. Julien Tiersot, “La Semaine sainte à l’Eglise Saint-Gervais,” *Ménestrel*, 24 April 1892, 132–33.

75. Séverac, dated “Monday.” Stelly Delecourt Collection, Lille.

76. Thierry Favier and Jean-Yves Hameline (personal communication, 15 May 2008) have furthermore suggested that holding such a concert in a church, and particularly in the context of a religious service, was a way of avoiding payment of rights to living composers and the poor tax, while still charging for tickets.



FIG. 90 Fan-shaped program of a Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais benefit concert, 22 October 1899.

On the back of this fan, beautifully decorated with flowers and a little girl, is the program of works by ten composers, including Palestrina mass movements, Victoria motets, Jannequin and Lassus *chansons*, *chansons populaires* transcribed by Tiersot, the finale of Carissimi's oratorio *Jeptha*, airs by Bach and Weber, and movements from Mendelssohn's violin concerto.

for hearing old music. The division of the concert into three parts—"before the benediction, during the benediction, and after the benediction"—suggests a narrative situating new music as fitting preparation for the holy ceremony to come, and Palestrina's music (the sole work in part 3) as the only music worthy to follow it.

In 1894, Bordes, joined by some Church leaders, the organist Alexandre Guilmant, and d'Indy, started a religious music society, a "propaganda society for the revelation of religious masterpieces," to reform liturgical music.⁷⁷ This led to the composition and publication of numerous new motets, cantiques, and other religiously inspired

77. Catrina Flint de Médicis, "The Schola Cantorum, Early Music, and French Cultural Politics from 1894 to 1914" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2006), discusses the complexities of Catholicism after 1892 as they impacted the beginning of the Schola Cantorum. She points out that most of the Schola's early support came from bishops and archbishops in French provincial cities rather than in Paris, which had proportionately far fewer Catholics (225–33).

218^e AUDITION

Judi 28 Janvier 1892

à 4 heures 1/2 du soir



EGLISE St. GERVAIS

derrière l'Hôtel de Ville

AUDITION DE MUSIQUE RELIGIEUSE

(Soli, Chœurs et Orchestre)

(AVANT LE SALUT)

1 — LE SYMBOLE DE NICÉE P. de BRÉVILLE
(extrait de la messe à 3 voix) (1^{re} aud.)
Ténor solo: M. MAUGIÈRE

2 — PATER NOSTER E. CHAUSSON
Ténor solo: M. MAUGIÈRE (1^{re} aud.)

3 — DEUX OFFERTOIRES (inédits) C. FRANCK
a, DOMINE NON SECUNDUM (pour le carême) (1^{re} aud.)
Trio
Soprano: M. R... Ténor: M. MAUGIÈRE Baryton: M. DIMITRI
b. QUARE FREMUERUNT GENTES (pour la fête de Ste Clotilde)
Solo et Chœurs
Basse solo: M. DIMITRI.

4 — TOTA PULCHRA ES. R. SCHUMANN
Solo M. R.— Violoncelle Solo: M. DRESSEN

5 — LIBERA ME G. FAURÉ
Solo et chœurs: (1^{re} aud.)
Baryton solo: M. BALLARD

(PENDANT LE SALUT)

O JESU DULCIS Th. da VITTORIA
(Motet à 4 voix) (1570 — 1640)

AVE VERA VIRGINITAS Josquin DE PRÈS
(Motet à 4 voix) (1450 — 1521)

Antienne pour le Souverain Pontife (Chant grégorien)

TANTUM ERGO J. S. BACH
(Choral à 4 voix) (1685 — 1730)

(APRÈS LE SALUT)

SUSCEPIT ISRAEL PALESTRINA
(Verset du Magnificat) (1524 — 1590)

CE PROGRAMME SERVIRA D'ENTRÉE POUR DEUX PERSONNES

Le 219^e Audition aura lieu le samedi 6 Février: SALLE PLEYEL.

FIG. 91 Société nationale with the Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais concert program, 28 January 1892.

In ceremonies such as the “Benediction of the Blessed Sacrement” (*Salut du Saint-Sacrement*), what took place before and after the “Benediction” was open. In this case, part one included an orchestra and solos by a tenor, a baritone, and a cellist. In contrast, during the “Benediction,” a priest in ceremonial vestments officiated, assisted by a deacon and using incense. In between choral motets and Gregorian chant, he would give a sermon, pray to the Eucharist and for the pope, and offer a final blessing.

works by Bordes, d'Indy, and others, many setting Latin texts.⁷⁸ Two years later, this group and some aristocratic supporters, such as the composer Prince Edmond de Polignac, turned this into a "School of Music responding to modern needs"—I read this to mean the "modern needs" not only of young musicians, but also of their elder supporters. The "mission" of this Schola Cantorum, another so-called propaganda society, included reviving forgotten musical traditions and religious music (including Gregorian chant, Palestrina, and *chansons populaires*), creating new music inspired by it, and teaching the "elements of modern art."

Carlo Caballero argues that Fauré was among those resistant to the Schola, perhaps because of the "historical injustice" of such claims, which ignored the teaching and practices of the Ecole Niedermeyer, where he had studied. René de Castéra tried to dismiss these predecessors who performed the "Palestrinan repertory before Saint-Gervais," because, in admitting "in their broad eclecticism, ephemeral works beside immortal ones," their practices were "far from pure." In this context, the word "eclecticism" signified far more than diversity and a certain attitude toward the past, and had political implications suggesting critique of republicanism. "Among certain *scholistes*," Caballero notes, it was associated "not just with aesthetic integrity but with ideas about ethnic and national purity." D'Indy tied eclecticism to the "deleterious influence of Jewish art" (Meyerbeer?). In a 1922 interview, Fauré, firmly embracing the concept and echoing Saint-Saëns's words in 1885, declared, "I am an eclectic in the province of music, as in all others."⁷⁹

Perhaps above all, the Schola's priorities constituted a challenge to the importance of theatrical studies and the development of virtuosi at the Conservatoire. There, the institutional hierarchy articulated by state subsidies resulted in an analogous hierarchy among musical genres. Although it increasingly recognized the value of other genres, the Conservatoire was dedicated to producing composers of opera. Moreover, in the provinces, elementary schools were required to devote two hours a week to singing, while instrumental study was relegated to private lessons. Composers were not in a position to undermine this hierarchy, for reputations and royalties accrued from writing operas, not instrumental music, and music publishers, motivated by financial return, reinforced this situation.

78. For example, d'Indy wrote six Latin motets, beginning with *Deus Israël* (1896) and *Sancta Maria* (1898). This included publishing anthologies of Josquin, Palestrina, Lassus, and other *primitifs*, as well as harmonizing Gregorian masses and writing new musical "paraphrases" of texts used in Catholic services.

79. Carlo Caballero, *Fauré and French Musical Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 179, 292nn38–39, also discusses Fauré's "distance from the Schola" in the composer's approach to chant in his music, and in differences over the ultramontane politics of liturgical music.

To spread their “gospel,” the Schola built branches all over the country and rapidly became a serious rival of the Paris Conservatoire. The regional Scholas did not entirely threaten the centralization of power in Paris, for there were also regional music conservatories. If these followed directives from Paris and were subject to regular review by national inspectors, probably the Schola branches took inspiration from the Paris Schola as well. However, this alternative educational system did train a different type of student (many of them young aristocrats from the regions), introduced new audiences to their repertoire, and created a context for touring musicians and ensembles. By 1903, the Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais had traveled to more than 100 French towns and boasted they were in demand abroad. Such concerts led to the growth in student numbers at the Schola (from 21 in 1896 to 300 in 1904) and the formation of related choral societies in the regions. The Schola’s “lieutenants,” as they were called, formed a veritable “discipleship” (*apostolat*), assembling hundreds in the performance of the masterpieces by such composers as Palestrina, Bach, and Rameau.

This religious movement among Catholic conservatives may seem to have been a major affront to the republican establishment, but one should note that, after Massenet declined, the minister appointed not another opera composer as director of the Conservatoire in 1896, but Théodore Dubois. Dubois, a modest, hardworking man and committed republican, was best known for his oratorio *Les Sept Paroles du Christ* (1867), performed widely on Good Friday for decades. As organist at the Madeleine (1877–96), he also composed eight Masses, including one in the style of Palestrina (1900), and more than seventy motets. Well before it was taught at the Schola, in 1884, Dubois published *L’Accompagnement pratique du plainchant*. Differences between the Schola and the Conservatoire did exist—free versus official, Catholic versus secular, private versus public. And certainly d’Indy used the Schola to implement reforms he had proposed for the Conservatoire. But many of these oppositions have been exaggerated. The Schola functioned as a professional school, albeit not for producing opera composers, and received a state subsidy as such. Like the Conservatoire, the Schola promoted its traditions and values with similar means and taught students just as rigorously, even if these students, a certain number of them aristocrats like d’Indy, did not need to make a living from their art.⁸⁰ In other words, the musical impact of the religious revival can be seen as a response to the political rapprochement between the new Right and the moderate republicans, embraced in the republican establishment as well as in institutions set up to contest its hegemony.

80. See Jann Pasler, “Deconstructing d’Indy, or the Problem of a Composer’s Reputation,” *19th-Century Music* 30, 3 (Spring 2007): 230–56, and in id., *Writing through Music*.

Also motivating the *ralliement* alliance was republicans' desire for French aristocrats' help with monarchist support abroad and important diplomatic agreements. Most pressing was the need for a military alliance with Russia. Czar Alexander III wanted French aid in russifying Russia's western provinces—which would antagonize Germany—and in standing up to Britain in Central Asia and the Far East. France sought a counterforce to Germany and the Triple Alliance and help in regaining Alsace-Lorraine. Tensions grew in the late 1880s, with increasing border incidents, espionage, and mutual insults, and 1889 brought rumors of impending war.⁸¹ Some have argued that the pope recognized the French Republic in order to push the Russians into that alliance, many of them Catholics. French monarchists had been courting the czar throughout the late 1880s, welcoming an alliance with an autocrat as a way of restraining republican policy and possibly preparing the way for a return to monarchy.⁸² The marquis de Breteuil did much to facilitate communication and good will between the Russian czar and French republicans, helping arrange the first French loans in 1888.⁸³ Just before the Franco-Russian alliance was solidified, Comtesse Elisabeth Greffulhe also did her part. After a long stay in Paris (August to November 1891), the Grand Dukes Vladimir and Alexis, brothers of the czar, went hunting at Rambouillet with French President Carnot and then at Bois-Boudran, the Greffulhes' elegant provincial château. Vladimir, a painter and future court patron of Diaghilev's projects, enjoyed it so much he remained with the countess for the evening.⁸⁴ Such friendly rapport undoubtedly laid the foundations for Countess Greffulhe's subsequent patronage of various Russian artistic exports to Paris.⁸⁵

Republicans also sought monarchist backing in their imperialism. After Déroulède was elected in 1889 and kept up pressure on those making colonial policy, a new force arose. Whereas earlier most monarchists scorned overseas

81. See the extensive documents of the *Affaires politiques* divers for 1887–91 in the archives of the Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Paris.

82. Georges Michon, *L'Alliance franco-russe, 1891–1917* (Paris: Delpeuch, 1927), 20.

83. See his *Journal secret*. Furthermore, in 1881, Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, the future King Edward VII, met with Léon Gambetta, the prime minister, and the marquis de Breteuil at the Château de Breteuil, anticipating the Entente cordiale between England and France, eventually signed on 8 April 1904.

84. *La Vie de famille*, 29 November 1891, paints this portrait to suggest an emerging friendship between the czar's family and the French.

85. These included a concert of Russian music in 1892, the five historic concerts of Russian music in 1907 and, beginning in 1909, the Ballets Russes.

expansion, after 1892, both Prince d'Arenberg and Comte Greffulhe subsequently became members of the Groupe colonial in the Chambre. Perhaps seeing French economic as well as political interests growing there, this group took an active role in French imperial expansion in Africa.⁸⁶ Thereafter, the socialists presented the only serious opposition to colonialist politics.⁸⁷

The ideal of political reconciliation was difficult to realize. In the 1893 elections, *ralliés* candidates did not do well, reactionaries lost considerable seats, and the socialists quadrupled their number. With Jules Ferry's death in 1893, and numerous *républicains opportunistes* discredited by the Panama Canal scandal, moderate republicans, many of them from the younger generation, then regrouped under a new political doctrine, *progressisme*. Willing to eschew some of Ferry's idealism, they sought to incorporate the monarchist Right and the Catholic Church. Responsive to this, the Independent Right became the Republican Right and called for an "open, tolerant, and honest Republic."⁸⁸ Eugène Spuller called for an *esprit nouveau* that aspired to "reconcile all citizens" bonded by "good sense, justice, and charity." The Republic's seal in the 1890s reflects this idea: on the cartouche is a ship, symbolizing the Republic, under rows of fleur-de-lis and a crown. As Debora Silverman points out in her penetrating study of art and politics from 1889 to 1900, "the image and legend of the ship of state skillfully navigating the rough waters was appropriate for a Republic whose strength in this decade lay in its very resiliency, its capacity to chart a fluid course, shifting and gliding according to changing conditions of political winds and weather."⁸⁹ Such an image can still be seen on each of the lampposts illuminating the Pont Alexandre III, inaugurated in 1900 to commemorate the Franco-Russian alliance.

A more malleable terrain in which to seek similarities and compromise, to assert values and assure their survival, was culture. As Silverman suggests, a striking cultural analogue to political progressivism was the Union centrale des arts décoratifs. Formed in 1864 to revitalize the arts and crafts, "to industrialize art for a broad public," after 1889, its social composition, ideology, and programs changed to reflect the confluence of politicians, cultural leaders, and educators from among

86. Prince d'Arenberg was president of the Committee for French Africa, the Suez Canal Company, and the Paris-Lyon-Mediterranean railway, as well as vice president of a mining company. See C. M. Andrew and A. S. Kanya-Forstner, "The *Groupe colonial* in the French Chamber of Deputies, 1892–1932," *Historical Journal* 17, 4 (1974): 837–66.

87. Jean Meyer, Jean Tarrade, Annie Rey-Goldzeiguer, and Jacques Thobie, *Histoire de la France coloniale: Des origines à 1914* (Paris: A. Colin, 1991), 640.

88. Jacques Piou's manifesto of the republican Right appeared in *Figaro*, 8 January 1893, and is reproduced in Robert Gildea, *France, 1870–1914* (London: Longman, 1996), 98–99.

89. Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 45, 48; see also 322n6.

the republican administration as well as the aristocracy.⁹⁰ Under leadership of the progressist deputy Georges Berger, elected to the *Chambre* after successfully directing the 1889 Universal Exhibition,⁹¹ the *Union centrale* sought to revive the “distinguishing features of the French race.” Instead of seeking, in Silverman’s words, “to democratize art,” it aimed to “aristocratize the crafts.” Its members agreed that assuring the quality of French goods was France’s best defense against the rapid ascendancy of German and American industrial power. As Silverman puts it, “The quality of French artisans’ work, not industrial technology, would provide the basis for French economic invincibility.”⁹² Despite their political differences, members agreed that the aristocratic French past was the best model for studying inherently French characteristics such as elegance and grace.

Progressivist politics engaged aristocrats in increased support of music, perhaps to ward off attacks by radical republicans on inherited wealth. Several of the women on the Women’s Committee of the *Union centrale des arts décoratifs*—republicans and monarchists, aristocrats and *bourgeoises*—became among the most important music patrons of the day: Comtesse Greffulhe, Madeleine Lemaire, Princesse Bibesco, Comtesse René de Béarn, and Duchesse d’Uzès.⁹³ They subscribed regularly to the *Opéra* and held concerts in their homes, where they sometimes performed. In the 1890s, these women also took an increasingly active role in musical societies, founding new ones.⁹⁴

Elisabeth de Caraman-Chimay, Comtesse Greffulhe, perhaps best represents the musical benefits of *progressiste* politics. In 1890, after her successful production

90. The republican deputies Antonin Proust (president in 1882), Raymond Poincaré, Eugène Spuller, Léon Bourgeois, Paul Doumer, and René Waldeck-Rousseau, the arts administrator Gustave Larroumet, and the museum inspector Roger Marx all supported the aims and purposes of the *Union centrale*. *Ibid.*, 135–40.

91. Georges Berger (1834–1910) was an engineer by training. He served on the parliamentary committee for fine arts and was reelected to the *Chambre des députés* in 1893, 1898, and 1902.

92. Silverman notes, “by 1896, France had descended from the 1885 rank of second most powerful industrial producer to that of fourth. . . . Between 1885 and 1895, heavy industrial production quadrupled in the United States and tripled in Germany while France’s output increased by only one-fourth. . . . In 1895 France alone among the major European nations had fewer industrial exports than in 1875 and 1883.” *Art Nouveau*, 52–53.

93. One of the most important activities of this Women’s Committee was to organize and take part in its exhibitions beginning in 1892. Comtesse Elisabeth Greffulhe, for example, contributed to the 1895 Exhibition. Although Madame de Saint-Marceaux, who held one to the most important music salons of the 1890s, apparently did not serve on the Women’s Committee of the *Union centrale*, she participated in its 1892 exhibition.

94. In 1890, all of this group except Duchesse d’Uzès (a staunch monarchist and Boulanger supporter) founded the *Société des grandes auditions musicales de France*, and in 1895 Duchesse d’Uzès was founding member of the *Société des instruments anciens*.

of Handel's *Messiah* during the 1889 Exhibition, a benefit for the Société philanthropique, she was determined to create her own musical society. Although noblewomen were allowed to organize charity events, normally they were proscribed from having any direct contact with theater directors, conductors, or musicians. In renting the hall and hiring the performers for a public event, Greffulhe had broken through the barriers of her class and gender. Earning a huge profit fueled her ambitions.⁹⁵ Six months later, she approached the executive committee of the Société nationale, a composers' organization.⁹⁶ Suggesting that with her help they could take on larger, more expensive projects, she proposed merging the Société nationale and the Société philanthropique. Her friend Fauré, organist at her church, the Madeleine, and the Société nationale's secretary, was enthusiastic. Perhaps feeling a threat to his emerging power as the Société nationale's president, d'Indy, however, was reluctant to take on greater financial responsibilities. He explained that the Société's statutes made such collaboration impossible.⁹⁷

Not deterred, Greffulhe gathered friends and family from the world of business and finance, assembled honorary and advisory committees with some of the country's most prestigious musicians, and then put out a call for subscribers and contributors to what she called the Société des grandes auditions musicales de France (Great Musical Performances Society of France). Her intent, both patriotic and educational in nature, was to "attract all who love art and France" and "to fortify the musical education of everyone from the most humble to the most fortunate."⁹⁸ The Société's grandiose name and her promise to perform "first and foremost great composers from yesteryear"⁹⁹—complete works never before done in their entirety in France—appealed to titled aristocrats focused on past French glories.¹⁰⁰ The patriotic tone of

95. Anne de Cossé Brissac, *La Comtesse Greffulhe* (Paris: Perrin, 1991), 84–85. For a more extended discussion of Greffulhe's musical activities, see Jann Pasler, "Countess Greffulhe as Entrepreneur: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation," in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 221–55, and in id., *Writing through Music*.

96. The Société nationale had about 250 members in the 1890s and produced eight or nine concerts per year. Composers were expected to bear the costs of concerts of their music except when their administrative committee decided otherwise. Women were welcome in the society but could not serve on any committees.

97. Gabriel Fauré to Comtesse Elisabeth Greffulhe, 3 February 1890, and Vincent d'Indy to Greffulhe, 17 January 1890. D'Indy attached the statutes of the Société nationale to this letter to serve as a model for the organization she was conceiving. Comtesse Greffulhe Archives, Archives nationales, Paris (hereafter cited as CGA).

98. Cited in a review of their first concert in *Liberté*, 16 April 1890. Clipping in CGA.

99. Cited in *Figaro*, 26 May 1890. Clipping in CGA.

100. Baron Adolphe de Rothschild and the princesse de Scey-Montbéliard, for example, made substantial donations.

her announcements and her projected French premieres of Berlioz and new French works drew support from republicans. Membership in the Société thus included the same political mixture as that characterizing the Union centrale des arts décoratifs after 1889 and many of the same people. Two monarchists on the Union's administrative council in the 1880s and 1890s, Charles Ephrussi and the comte de Ganay, served on its administrative council.¹⁰¹ Princesse de Broglie, vice president of its Women's Committee, also served as a *dame patronesse* of the Société.¹⁰² At the same time, Georges Berger, the republican president of the Union, wrote, "In reading your name as president of the Société des grandes auditions de France, I'm rushing to become a permanent subscriber."¹⁰³ Félix Faure, the future French president, interested as he was in any society "able to elevate and ennoble the country," was enlisted as well.¹⁰⁴ The press understood that "this society is not a reunion of dilettantes confined in a corner of our divided social world," but rather an "eminently national association," one serving a "public need" and having "public utility."¹⁰⁵ In comparison with the state-supported theaters, which, because of "the apathy of government and the workings of government," were increasingly considered "useless [*inutile*] to the artistic cause," the Société des grandes auditions was also praised by the magazine *Art musical* for being "eminently useful" and by the monarchist newspaper *Le Gaulois* explicitly for its "national utility."¹⁰⁶ With such a response, it took the countess only six weeks to raise 163,000 francs—the equivalent of 20 percent of the state's annual Opéra subsidy and 50 percent of the state's annual Opéra-Comique subsidy.

This overwhelmingly receptive response to a woman who had previously only

101. Ephrussi was one of the organizers of the First Women's Exhibition in 1892, and Comte de Ganay was the Union centrale's vice president in the 1890s.

102. Albert de Broglie, her brother, was the French prime minister under the Moral Order.

103. Georges Berger to Comtesse Elisabeth Greffulhe, 7 May 1890, CGA. Perhaps inspired by Greffulhe, recognizing women's efforts to "realize the beautiful in the useful," especially "the moral beauty represented by their charitable tendencies," Berger called on more women to be involved in the arts as an "act of patriotism." See his "Appel aux femmes françaises," *Revue des arts décoratifs* 16 (1896): 97–98.

104. Gabriel Fauré, letter to Comtesse Elisabeth Greffulhe, 13 June 1890, reporting his visit to Félix Faure on Greffulhe's behalf (CGA). Faure, president of the Republic from 1895 to 1899, evidently thought of himself more as an aristocrat and an emperor than as the bourgeois son of a chair maker. His behavior earned him the nickname "Le Président Soleil [The Sun President]." See Theodore Zeldin, *France, 1848–1945*, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 596.

105. *Liberté*, 16 April 1890; Henri Moreno [Henri Heugel], "Semaine théâtrale," *Ménestrel*, 13 April 1890, 114. "Il faut que tout Paris contribue au succès de cette fondation éminemment française; ce n'est pas une question de personnes en effet; ce n'est pas une question d'école; c'est une question d'utilité publique" (*Figaro* quoted in Moreno, "Semaine théâtrale," 115).

106. *Art musical*, 15 April 1890, 51; *Art musical*, 31 August 1890, 21; and *Gaulois*, 24 May 1892.

run salon concerts at her home begs explanation. She hailed from a powerful family. Greffulhe's father was the Belgian minister of foreign affairs, and her husband was the wealthy grandson of a man whose financial backing of the Bourbons had led to a title. She had strong connections to both monarchists and republicans—titled aristocrats, the haute bourgeoisie, and the republican establishment. Many appreciated her extraordinary beauty and intelligence, falling under the sway of her charm. Her brother-in-law, Prince d'Arenberg, president of the Société philanthropique, became a member of her administrative committee, as did Prince Pierre de Carman-Chimay and Prince Edmond de Polignac. Comtesse d'Haussonville (wife of the representative of the comte de Paris), Comtesse de Pourtalès, Princesse Joachim Murat, and many other monarchists agreed to serve as *dames patronesses*. Given this entourage, Comtesse Greffulhe's republican political sympathies were perhaps surprising. Yet through her husband's campaign to become deputy, she had befriended moderate republican political leaders, including Jean Casimir-Perier, another future French president.¹⁰⁷ Her interest in all things modern, including symbolist poetry and Wagner, contributed to her reputation as a progressive woman in an era when the "new woman" was rising to demand a greater role in society.

The Société des grandes auditions signals the rising power and interest of the aristocracy in the musical world after 1889. Class differences were becoming increasingly fluid, defined more in terms of money than of title. By the end of the century, anyone could buy or assume a title without fear of breaking the law. Concert attendance allowed for the expression of taste and the display of distinction but, with the masses attending concerts and, more rarely, opera certain days a week, the upper classes felt they needed their own venues. Part of Greffulhe's success came from the allure of elitism and prestige with which her productions were surrounded. The musicians she hired—the Concerts Lamoureux, the Concerts Colonne, and soloists from the Opéra—were first-rate and, as we have seen, Lamoureux had long been a favorite among the elites. That the cost of attending the Société's concerts was double that of the Colonne's concerts meant a substantial concentration of wealthy in the audience, undoubtedly also part of the appeal. Calling on fashion, a liminal area between private desire and public display, Greffulhe successfully interested the upper classes in "serious art," something, as the monarchist music critic Louis de Fourcaud snidely observed, "for which they had rarely had any concern."¹⁰⁸

107. Casimir-Perier was elected president after Sadi Carnot's assassination in 1894.

108. Louis de Fourcaud, "L'Art dans les deux mondes" (13 June 1891). Clipping, CGA.

From the perspective of its public utility, perhaps more important was the extent to which musical performances became a medium for reconciliation among social elites, a context for transcending political differences. With broad participation in the Société by republicans and monarchists, progressives and reactionaries, their concerts gave social elites a sense of themselves as a group with shared values, not just a class divided by old rivalries or antagonistic to republicans. Attending concerts allowed them to perform a shared identity. This philosophy permeated the Société's programming. Although some of their early choices may have reflected what works were successful in attracting the elites to musical performances in England (Handel and Bach oratorios), in their original fund-raising letter, Greffulhe underlined her commitment to new French music. She promised to start with the French premiere of Berlioz's *Béatrice et Bénédicte*, followed by a festival dedicated to Saint-Saëns's music.¹⁰⁹ In 1892, the Société sponsored a competition for two new one- or two-act dramatic works¹¹⁰ and scheduled a production of Berlioz's *Les Troyens*. The press appreciated this commitment. Implicitly referring to the suffering of French princes in exile since 1886, *Figaro* praised the Société's "public utility" in ending the "exile" of French composers whose operas were premiered abroad.¹¹¹ On 2 June 1892, the Société showed its support of the Franco-Russian alliance by putting on a concert at the Trocadéro. Gabriel Marie shared the podium with the Muscovite Alexander Ziloti in performing music by Glinka, Tchaikovsky, Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakov, and others.

Greffulhe also wished to produce Wagnerian operas, which opera officials were reluctant to support. Encouraged by Minister Léon Bourgeois, in December 1892, the countess requested and received permission from Cosima Wagner to produce the French premiere of *Tristan und Isolde* at the Opéra-Comique.¹¹² She also proposed to Léon Carvalho, director of the Opéra-Comique, two eighteenth-century

109. CGA. The Saint-Saëns festival never materialized, nor did a projected performance of *Le Déluge* after 1900. The composer felt the organization was too international in nature for him to get involved.

110. According to the announcement in *Figaro musical*, July 1892, the Société would also produce the winning work. Apparently, this project never materialized.

111. Among those works cited are Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Dalila* (Weimar), Massenet's *Hérodiade* (Brussels) and Charles Lenepveu's *Velléda* (London), ironically all by republicans. Still, the republican editor of *Ménestrel* did not find that Comtesse Greffulhe's advisory committee represented enough eclecticism to be a truly national project and feared the *esprit de coterie* associated with the Société nationale. Moreno, "Semaine théâtrale," 114–15.

112. D'Indy advised Greffulhe on how to approach the director of the Opéra-Comique, Carvalho, and suggested singers for each role. For the details on why this never came to pass, see Pasler, "Countess Greffulhe as Entrepreneur," 240–41.

SOCIÉTÉ
DES
Grandes Auditions Musicales de France

PROGRAMME 1893

La Société donnera :
Le 25 Mai 1893, à l'Opéra-Comique
de concert avec M. Carvalho

Iphigénie en Tauride
Opéra de GLÜCK

Le 20 Décembre 1893, à l'Opéra
de concert avec MM. Bertrand et Gailhard

TROIS REPRÉSENTATIONS EXTRAORDINAIRES DE

Tristan et Yseult
de Richard WAGNER.

Les répétitions générales sont exclusivement réservées aux Membres de la Société.

L'ouverture du bureau de la Société, 8, rue Favart, sera annoncée spécialement aux Membres de la Société pour la remise des billets.

Les personnes qui désirent faire partie de la Société sont priées d'adresser leur adhésion à M. EHRET, secrétaire de la Société, 4, rue Combes, à Paris, en indiquant le montant de leur souscription.

Mille francs une fois versés ou cent francs annuellement donnent le titre de Membre fondateur et droit à 4 places à chacune des œuvres exécutées.

Vingt-cinq francs annuellement donnent le titre de Membre souscripteur et droit à une place à chacune des œuvres exécutées.

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FIG. 92 Société des grandes auditions promotional flyer for the 1893 season.

Despite its advertisement for the opera, Cosima Wagner prevented the society from giving the French premiere of *Tristan und Isolde* until 1899. The society's conditions of membership are noted at the bottom: founding memberships cost 1,000 francs, or 100 francs annually, with the right to four tickets for each work performed; an annual subscription of 25 francs entitled one to a single ticket for each work.

works—André Grétry's *Les Avars* and Pierre Monsigny's *Le Déserteur*.¹¹³ He agreed to produce them if she both underwrote the performances and subsidized a new production of Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride* (fig. 92). With its interest in old and new music, tastes associated with both conservatives and progressives, the Société emerged as a cultural analogue to the political realignment and progressivism of the early 1890s.

As musical organizations run by aristocrats grew in strength and number, the presence of their differing agendas began to diffuse the power of the state, its values, and its traditional subsidies. Out of such societies emerged a counterculture to bourgeois culture, a counterforce to the establishment that questioned, challenged, and offered alternatives to state institutions as it occasionally worked with them. In implementing her own agendas, Greffulhe blurred the lines between individual and institution. With its money and connections, the Société des grandes auditions wielded a power resembling that of the state. As such, in vaunting its public utility and promoting its work as patriotic, this music society claimed the prestige associated with the nation.

The growth and importance of such music organizations in the 1890s is a little known but significant corollary to the renaissance in French music at the time. Inspired by the patriotic call of their leaders, French elites joined musical societies and attended concerts as never before. People of varying hopes and dreams turned to music not merely as an “absinthe” to help them displace their desire for power or forget their lack of it, but also as a means of imagining change through the metaphor of music. Through Greffulhe, the Société des grandes auditions became a context in which not only gender but also politics, class, and nation could be articulated in new ways.

REVISITING *MUSIQUE ANCIENNE ET MODERNE*

In the 1890s, the republicans controlled the government and alliances between traditional adversaries arose, not from the need to tolerate coexistence of conflicting political values, but from the importance of solidarity in face of new threats to the Republic. Under this *ralliement*, the musical world again created contexts for listeners to explore new relationships between the past and present through *musique ancienne* and *musique moderne*. But this time the taste for *musique ancienne* was

113. The Théâtre de L'Athénée had performed the latter work in fall 1873, and the Opéra-Comique on 3 November 1877, but then it was forgotten. See Pougin, *Ménestrel*, 18 June 1893: 194–96.

closely linked to the taste for *musique moderne*. That is, instead of juxtaposing the old and the new as distinct, composers and concert organizers found ways in which the two could be integrated within the same music, metaphors for both the nation under the *ralliement* and the social integration elites were seeking in French society.¹¹⁴

In some ways, the attraction to Wagner helped motivate this look backward and forward in French music. Wagner challenged French listeners' perceptions of their musical needs and desires. Addicted to its packaging of the sublime, its excesses, and its delights, social and intellectual elites gravitated to Wagner's music in increasing numbers. Numerous anti-Wagnerian manifestos of vanquished Boulangists and press headlines like "The Country in Danger" warned of sinister consequences should the Opéra take Wagner into its repertoire. But resistance to Wagner's music was a losing battle in the 1890s. Large numbers of the elites made the pilgrimage to Bayreuth, as did the most important French composers and conductors, directors of the Paris opera houses, and the future Conservatoire director Théodore Dubois. Many of the first patrons of the Société des grandes auditions were among the earliest such pilgrims; the Polignac and Montesquiou families—with representatives on the society's first Administrative Committee—sent someone virtually every year. This group and the provincial aristocrats who controlled the regional opera houses made performing Wagner at the Paris Opéra virtually risk-free. Not only could the Opéra administration wait for Wagner's works to be premiered either in a provincial opera house or in some other Paris theater, paid for with private funding, but the Opéra was guaranteed an audience for Wagner's music. Between 1891 and 1894, *Lohengrin* had over a hundred performances at the Opéra, most nights earning the maximum receipts. Wagner was soon perhaps the only composer in France, besides Massenet, whose popularity was assured by market-driven forces, political and aesthetic considerations aside. Wagnermania also forced the Opéra to open its doors to French music inspired by Wagner. Again with the help of Comtesse Greffulhe,¹¹⁵ in December 1893, just after *Die Walküre*, the Opéra put on Chabrier's *Gwendoline*, premiered in Brussels in 1886 and in Lyon that April. Audiences were enthusiastic and Catulle Mendès spoke of the composer, his intensity, and his talent in terms usually reserved for Wagner—"beyond comparison with any other modern musician."¹¹⁶ Reviewers

114. For an expanded study of this genre, see Jann Pasler, "Forging French Identity: The Political Significance of *la musique ancienne et moderne*" (paper presented at the National Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Washington, D.C., 28 October 2005).

115. Huebner, *French Opera*, refers to a letter of July 1892 from Greffulhe in which she promoted the work to the new Opéra director (266).

116. Catulle Mendès, "Emmanuel Chabrier," *Echo de Paris*, 27 December 1893.

noted the Wagnerian references in this Celtic drama to the duo in *Tristan*, but also underlined Chabrier's originality and the music's quintessential French qualities of clarity and sincerity.¹¹⁷

When it came to exploring and defining French identity in other genres, music of the French past emerged as eminently useful, particularly in the context of new music. Marmontel's manual of singing exercises for second-year music students, which sold 200,000 copies in its first years, begins with an illustrated history of music, including discussion of biographies, instruments, and genres, but then goes on to include excerpts of contemporary music.¹¹⁸ From 1891 to 1893, *Figaro musical* each month published one hundred pages of music *des maîtres anciens ou modernes*. This included forgotten works in their original form—"the pure masterpiece"—as well as new, unpublished works.¹¹⁹ The magazine considered these not only in the "public interest," but also in the "national interest."¹²⁰ In addition, along with motets by Palestrina and Victoria, a Kyrie by Lassus, and airs by Grétry, Monsigny, Gluck, and Handel, the newspaper *Figaro* reproduced new music modeled on old music by contemporary French composers. In 1896, for example, the Conservatoire composer Widor wrote a *Composition dans le style ancien* expressly for *Figaro*. Other composers, too, took an interest in such juxtapositions. Under d'Indy's leadership beginning in 1890 (and with Greffulhe and some of her administrative committee as supporters), the Société nationale increasingly included *musique ancienne*, particularly Bach, with premieres of new works. Building a relationship to music of the distant past meant articulating a heritage of which contemporary composers were the heirs.

As both republicans and conservatives increasingly looked to French tradition as the basis of French cultural identity, the taste for *musique ancienne* became important in the perception and creation of new works. Young Turks like Debussy

117. See, e.g., Henry Bauër, "Les Premières Représentations," *Echo de Paris*, 29 December 1893, and Scudo, "Nos Théâtres," *Echo du Rhône*, 20 April 1893. Having earlier premiered Massenet's Wagner-influenced *Esclarmonde*, the Opéra-Comique produced his *Werther* in 1893, after its premiere in Vienna. For the nature of Wagner's influence on these works, see Annegret Fauser, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair* (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 62–78, and Steven Huebner, "Massenet and Wagner: Bridling the Influence," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 5, 3 (1993): 223–38.

118. A. Marmontel, *La Deuxième Année de musique, solfèges et chants* (Paris: Colin, 1891).

119. In February 1891, *Figaro musical* published music for a ballet, *La Tentation de Saint Antoine*, performed by a women's orchestra in Louis XV-period clothing; in October 1891, a Saint-Saëns minuet and Rameau gavotte; in October 1892, *Vieilles gavottes françaises*; and in September 1893, a Satie *Gnossienne*, as if dances from an imaginary past, alongside bourrées, contes d'autrefois, and gavottes (see ex. 22).

120. Introductory statement, *Figaro musical*, October 1891, 1.

and Ravel, popular composers like Louis Ganne and Desormes,¹²¹ and even the powerful establishment figure Saint-Saëns borrowed the forms of *musique ancienne*, clothing them in modern rhythms and harmonies. Saint-Saëns's dance suite for piano (1892) features a prelude and fugue, a *menuet*, a gavotte, and a gigue, which, given the cover image, suggests the eighteenth century (fig. 93). Rees compares Saint-Saëns's *menuet* to a waltz, and his gavotte to a polka, as in Godard's 1887 suite, with its polka and waltz.¹²² The gavotte adopts the meter and preference for upbeats in eighteenth-century gavottes, but on the second beat, like the Sarabande of d'Indy's *Suite*, emphasizes seventh and ninth chords. At the same time, unlike in d'Indy's *Suite*, the reference here seems to be Bach—considered at the time to be the father of Western music¹²³—perhaps more than music of the French Ancien Régime. In the gigue, Saint-Saëns imitates many Bach giges in triple meter that start off with an extended, almost rhapsodic solo in the right hand, followed by its imitation in two other parts, as if in a fugue, and in part 2 present the theme in the left hand at the dominant and with melodic inversion. A crucial difference, however, comes in the nature of Saint-Saëns's theme, which traces chordal arpeggios. When in counterpoint with itself, this results in chordal movement more than linear arabesques. Moreover, the imitation in part 2 takes place on the tritone, that is, from the major triad on C to a diminished triad on F#. Composers at the time took inspiration from old vocal music as well. The Catholic composer Charles Bordes apparently modeled his “Madrigal à la musique” on a Palestrina madrigal.¹²⁴ During this period, both conservatives and republicans also took part in making new editions of early music. D'Indy prepared one of Monsigny's *Le Déserteur* for Greffulhe; Saint-Saëns worked on a revised score of Gluck's *Armide* and edited music by Lully and Charpentier, both performed in 1892, and later

121. In his *Suite bergamasque* (ca. 1890), Debussy included a *passepied* (advertised by the publisher as a pavane) and a minuet. The *passepied* may have been inspired by one in Delibes's *Airs de danses dans le style ancien* (1882; 1885). Besides his *Menuet antique* (1895), perhaps inspired by Chabrier's *Menuet pompeux* (1881), Ravel also wrote his *Pavane pour une infante défunte* (1900), commissioned by Princesse Edmond de Polignac and performed often at salons. See also Godard, *Suite de danses anciennes et modernes* (1887), dances by the popular composers Louis Ganne (*Pavane à danser* [1892]) and Desormes (*Pavane Henry III* [1895]), and dance suites *dans le style ancien* by Albéric Magnard (1889) and Georges Enesco (1898).

122. Rees, *Camille Saint-Saëns*, 290.

123. According to Joël-Marie Fauquet and Antoine Hennion, *La Grandeur de Bach: L'Amour de la musique en France au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2000), Bach was one of Saint-Saëns's favorites, and Saint-Saëns was among those who had most transcribed Bach's music at the time, including two gavottes (85–86).

124. These two madrigals were performed on 15 February 1896 at the Société nationale, their texts juxtaposed in the program.



FIG. 93 Saint-Saëns, *Suite pour le piano*, op. 90, cover (1892).

In submitting this *Suite* to his publisher, Auguste Durand, Saint-Saëns asked that the cover make reference to the period of Louis XV with a female musician playing the harpsichord (letter of 14 November 1891 from Algiers, Bibliothèque Gustav Mahler, Paris).

Rameau.¹²⁵ Reviving interest in a work popular in the mid 1870s, Gabriel Fauré wrote new incidental music for Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*.

Recognizing the merits of this emerging genre for a range of composers, in May 1894, the Société des grandes auditions sponsored a particularly interesting program of recent French music in the newly opened Palais d'hiver, a giant greenhouse with moveable chairs, at the Jardin zoologique. Greffulhe hired Colonne and five famous opera singers (fig. 94). Colonne most likely chose *Penthésilée*, the new symphonic poem by the young radical republican Bruneau that his orchestra had premiered in 1892. The rest of the program, from the repertoire of the Société nationale, reflects the deepening influence of *musique ancienne* and its utility for composers. Included were works written in old modes (Pierre de Bréville's *Hymne de Vénus*, in the Phrygian mode), as well as old forms (Fauré's madrigal and *Pavane* for orchestra, Charles Bordes's *Dansons la gigue*, and Magnard's *Suite dans le style ancien*). These suggest a kind of musical *ralliement* between the aesthetic values of past and present.

In 1895, as radical politicians called for solidarity in the populace and more

125. According to Sabina Ratner, "Saint-Saëns," in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie et al. (New York: Grove, 2001), "Saint-Saëns restored Lully's music to *Le Sicilien, ou L'amour peintre*, staged at the Comédie-Française in 1892, and Charpentier's music to *Le Malade imaginaire*, performed at the Grand-Théâtre, Paris, later that year."

Société des Grandes Auditions Musicales de France

SALLE DU PALMARUM

(Jardin d'Acclimatation)

Le Mardi 29 Mai 1894, à 2 heures et demie

CONCERT
d'Œuvres Françaises Modernes

Sous la Direction de M. Edouard COLONNE

AVEC LE CONCOURS DE

M^{me} DESCHAMPS-JEHIN, M^{lle} BRÉVAL

M^{me} AUGUEZ de MONTALANT

M. VERGNET, M. AUGUEZ

PREMIÈRE PARTIE

1. Polyeucte, ouverture pour la tragédie de Corneille.. P. DUKAS
2. Deux Mélodies..... X. PERREAU
a Chanson d'autrefois (V. Hugo)
M. VERGNET
b Recueillement (Ch. BAUDELAIRE)
M. AUGUEZ
3. Penthesilée (poème symphonique)..... A. BRUNEAU
Poésie de M. CATULLE MENÈS
M^{me} BRÉVAL

- a Fragilité (G. COLLIN)..... L. DE SERRES
M^{me} AUGUEZ de MONTALANT
- O b Hymne à Vénus, en mode phrygien..... P. DE BRÉVILLE
Poésie de VILLIERS DE L'ISLE-ADAM
M^{me} DESCHAMPS-JEHIN, de l'Opéra
M^{me} AUGUEZ de MONTALANT
- O c L'Ondine et le Pêcheur..... P. DE BRÉVILLE
Poésie de Th. GAUTIER
M^{me} DESCHAMPS-JEHIN
- d Dansons la Gigue (P. VERLAINE)..... Ch. BORDES
Mélodie avec orchestre
M. VERGNET

DEUXIÈME PARTIE

1. Suite d'Orchestre, dans le style ancien..... A. MAGNARD
i. Française. — ii. Sarabande.
iii. Gavotte. — iv. Menuet. — v. Gigue.
2. La Caravane (Th. GAUTIER)..... E. CHAUSSON
M. VERGNET
3. a Clair de Lune (P. VERLAINE).....
M. VERGNET
b Pavane pour Orchestre..... } GABRIEL FAURÉ
c Madrigal à 4 voix (A. SILVESTRE)..... }
M^{me} DESCHAMPS-JEHIN
AUGUEZ de MONTALANT
MM. VERGNET et AUGUEZ
4. La Forêt enchantée (légende symphonique)..... VINCENT D'INDY

4224 Imp. A. MATHIAS et C^e, 144, rue de Rivoli.

FIG. 94 The program of a concert of modern French works sponsored by the Société des grandes auditions at the Jardin zoologique d'Acclimatation, 29 May 1894.

Promenade concerts, free with admission, were held five afternoons a week at the zoo, beginning in March 1893, in "a huge salon," 50 by 25 meters, "that gives the impression of eternal springtime since the temperature is always mild, the trees always green, and the big plants always full of new flowers." This performance would have been unusual in that it was neither organized by the zoo nor put on by its in-house orchestra.



FIG. 95 Concerts de l'Opéra program, 9 February 1896, published by *L'Illustration*.

tolerance of differences, the musical establishment addressed this taste as well as criticism that so many French premieres were taking place abroad. As in 1869 and 1880, the Concerts de l'Opéra in 1895 and 1896 presented a series of programs featuring both *musique ancienne* and *musique moderne*.¹²⁶ Held on Sunday afternoons, these were billed as new music concerts featuring premieres by young as well as established composers, Prix de Rome winners alongside those who had never won the prize, as suggested by the photos on the covers (fig. 95). Each performance consisted of three parts. At the center, *danses anciennes* took up all of part 2, a metaphor

126. Two young composers, Georges Marty and Paul Vidal, conducted these concerts. The latter won the conducting position at the Opéra. See Elinor Olin, "Les Concerts de l'Opéra: New Music at the Monument Garnier," *19th-Century Music* 16, 3 (Spring 1993): 253–66.

TABLE 4. Concerts at the Opéra and the Jardin zoologique d'Acclimatation, 1895–96

<i>Concerts de l'Opéra</i> 29 December 1895	<i>Zoo concerts</i> 29 December 1895
PART 1	
Le Borne, <i>Le Temps de guerre</i> , première audition	Rossini, <i>Guillaume Tell</i> , overture
Piccini, <i>Iphigénie en Tauride</i> , air, recitative	
Marty, <i>Le Duc de Ferrare</i> , extract, première audition	
PART 2: <i>Danses anciennes</i>	
Rameau, <i>Zoroastre</i> , sarabande	Delibes, <i>Airs de danses dans le style ancien</i> ,
Fauré, <i>Pavane</i>	gaillarde, [pavane], Scène du bouquet,
Lully, <i>Ballet du Roi</i> , gavotte	Lesquercarde, madrigal, passepied
Handel, Minuet in D	Monsigny, chaconne, passepied
Rameau, <i>Dardanus</i> , rigodon	
Rameau, <i>Castor et Pollux</i> , passepied	
PART 3	
Pierné, <i>Nuit de Noël 1870</i> , première audition	Gounod, <i>Hyme à Sainte Cécile</i>
Spontini, <i>La Vestale</i> , act 2 finale	Meyerbeer, <i>Struensee</i> , polonaise
	Gounod, <i>Polyeucte</i> , orchestral suite

(continued)

for their importance (table 4). Up to twenty dancers with four soloists in period costumes performed these dances. Fauré's and Paladilhe's pавanes came between dances by Rameau, Destouches, and Lully, as if modern aesthetic equivalents. Possibly organizers counted on the fashion for these dances to attract audiences. And they were right. If some reviewers felt their appeal was too "decorative," they also noted that audiences asked for encores of the dances in part 2, finding them the "most exquisite" part of the program because of the "elegant French choreography" that recalled the "aristocratic formula of old court dances."¹²⁷ Other

127. H. Fierens-Gevaert, "Chronique de la semaine: Les Concerts de l'Opéra," *Guide Musical*, 24 November 1895, 893–94.

TABLE 4 (continued)

<i>Concerts de l'Opéra</i> 9, 16 February 1896	<i>Zoo concerts</i> 9 February 1896
PART 1	
Silver, <i>Poème carnavalesque</i> , première audition	Bizet, <i>Patrie</i> , overture
Lefebvre, <i>Sainte Cécile</i> , première audition	
Huë, <i>La Belle au bois dormant</i> , première audition	
PART 2: <i>Danses anciennes</i>	
Destouches, sarabande	Rameau
Paladilhe, <i>Patrie</i> , pavane	Campra
Rameau, <i>Les Fêtes d'Hébé</i> , musette	Grétry
Gluck, <i>Orphée</i> , menuet	
Rameau, <i>Castor et Pollux</i> , passepied	
PART 3	
Bourgault-Ducoudray, <i>L'Enterrement d'Ophélie</i>	Saint-Saëns, Concerto for piano in g
Bourgault-Ducoudray, <i>Rapsodie cambodgienne</i>	Lefort, <i>Suite à la hongroise</i> , violin and orchestra
Gluck, <i>Alceste</i> , act 1, scene 2	Rubenstein, melody in F
Grandval, <i>Mazepa</i> , triumphal chorus	Liszt, Rapsodie no. 6
	Bizet, <i>Carmen</i> , suite for orchestra

juxtapositions, more thematic, were equally provocative, such as on 17 November 1895, when an excerpt of d'Indy's new opera *Fervaal* (with Fervaal ready to die to save the country) was premiered alongside the prelude of Franck's *Rédemption*, a scene from Gluck's *Alceste*, and Gounod's *Mors et Vita*.¹²⁸ These performances were so successful that twenty-one were given over two years. They also had imitators. On the same Sunday afternoons, the Jardin zoologique structured its

128. With another shared theme, the concert on 29 December 1895 began with the premiere of Fernand Le Borne's *Le Temps de guerre* and ended with Gabriel Pierné's *Nuit de Noël* 1870. Set in wartime on Christmas eve, both recall a distant church bell, the former signaling triumph and peace, the latter initiating a moment of "fraternal appeasement" between French and German soldiers, who simultaneously sing an old carol on the battlefield.

orchestral concerts in the same manner, juxtaposing old dances and French contemporary music, albeit without many premieres (see table 4). As at the Opéra, contemporary dances *dans le style ancien*, such as Delibes's *Airs de danses*, appeared uniquely in part 2 with other old dances, such as ones by Rameau, Campra, and Grétry, whereas other recent music came in parts 1 and 3. This kind of programmatic imitation recalls the performance of *Parsifal*'s prelude by three major Paris orchestras on the same Sunday afternoon in October 1882.

Numerous concert organizations recognized the appeal of such juxtapositions.¹²⁹ In 1891 the Société de géographie performed *musique ancienne* on period instruments alongside *musique moderne*. Also in 1891, the Société de musique nouvelle presented *concerts historiques*, with Bach, Destouches, and Schütz next to Scriabin, Massenet, and other living composers. Such juxtapositions could also be found at the Concerts Colonne,¹³⁰ in concerts at the Théâtre Ambigu in 1897–98, in salon concerts such as those of the marquise de Queylard in 1896, and in the *concerts populaires de musique vocale ancienne et moderne* of the Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais. Possibly inspired by the *séances historiques* the Concerts d'Harcourt offered on Thursdays in 1895, the Concerts Colonne began a new series on Thursday afternoons from 1897 to 1901, conceived explicitly as a “music history course.” Part 1 was dedicated to *musique ancienne* and part 2 to *musique moderne*, with Beethoven dividing the periods. Three new concert societies specializing in this were also founded—the Société des quatuors anciens et modernes (1891), La Sonate ancienne et moderne (1896–97), and the Cercle artistique de musique ancienne et moderne (1898).

Interest in *musique ancienne* and new music inspired by the *style ancien* continued through the end of the century. The elegance and grace of this music reinforced the *mœurs* of the upper classes and became associated with a certain fashionable *snobisme*.¹³¹ Noting that composers such as Rameau were becoming popular among the middle class, in 1896 Pougin referred to his music as *bon marché* (cheap), while still a significant source of national pride (fig. 96).¹³² The taste for this music

129. This was equally true of poetry, as with the Samedis populaires de poésie ancienne et moderne, organized by Gustave Kahn and Catulle Mendès in 1897.

130. On 24 January 1892, at the Concerts Colonne, Louis Diemer played Couperin and Rameau on the harpsichord surrounded by premieres of new works by Pauline Viardot and Benjamin Godard.

131. Adolphe Jullien, *Journal des débats*, 24 May 1896, criticized audiences at concerts of the Société des instruments anciens for applauding this music like a paid claque. See Catrina Flint de Médicis, “Nationalism and Early Music at the French *Fin de Siècle*: Three Case Studies,” *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 1, 2 (2004), 47, and Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 91–96.

132. Arthur Pougin, referring to Rameau in *Ménestrel*, 24 May 1896, cited in Flint, “Nationalism and Early Music,” 51.

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PRIX : 30 Centimes

Samedi 25 Janvier 1890



RAMEAU, d'après une gravure du XVIII^e siècle.

FIG. 96 Engraving of Rameau on the cover of *La Musique populaire*, 25 January 1890.

grew so strong that between 1898 and 1903, *L'Illustration* published numerous such pieces. They ranged from sarabandes, minuets, and gavottes—one of them a *pantomime-mélodie* with photographs of how it should be danced—to medieval carols, a fifteenth-century song *mise en musique* by Pauline Viardot, a “modern” madrigal as well as one *dans le style ancien* in d’Indy’s *Etranger*, and other music *dans le style ancien* such as in Enesco’s Suite, Tiersot’s *Andromède*, and the prelude of Saint-Saëns’s *Déjanire*. Debussy’s Sarabande appears in their 9 November 1901 issue, to be performed *avec une élégance grave et lente*. By 1902, *musique ancienne* had become a criterion for judging contemporary music, including that of Debussy and Dukas.¹³³

Fascination in the late 1880s with old dances as nostalgic reminders of the Ancien Régime thus intensified in the 1890s. Increasing interest in the past led republicans and royalists alike to search for ancestors long before the eighteenth century. Many embraced Palestrina as the origin of Western harmony, Gregorian chant as the origin of Western music, and ancient Greece as the origin of Western civilization. Incorporating these diverse definitions of *musique ancienne* made old music relevant to a wide range of contemporary musical concerns.

The performance of *musique ancienne* with *musique moderne* remained integral to many French concerts, from those of the Schola Cantorum and Princesse de Polignac’s mid-century salon to Boulez’s *Domaine musical* in the 1950s.¹³⁴ These juxtapositions root French identity in a relationship to the past. They also suggest the important role music can play in negotiating differences over that past and in coming to agreement on its value. In this sense, *ancien* is not just what the French inherited, but also what they made for themselves of their inheritance. At the same

133. For example, Louis Laloy, in “La Musique moderne,” *Revue musicale*, October 1902, compares Debussy’s text setting to those of Gregorian chant, early motets, Bach chorales, and Gluck’s drama.

134. This fashion continued in garden parties at Versailles and the Bois de Boulogne organized by the Société des grandes auditions in 1908 and 1909. In her “Performing Autonomy: Modernist Historiographies and the Concerts of Nadia Boulanger” (paper presented at the National Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Washington, D.C., 30 October 2005) and her “Nadia Boulanger and the Salon of the Princesse de Polignac,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46 (1993), Jeanice Brooks discusses a similar organization of Boulanger’s concerts for the princess, for example, in pairing Gabriel Fauré’s *Requiem* with Heinrich Schütz’s *Auferstehung* in 1936 and with excerpts from Rameau and Monteverdi in 1937 (441–45). Jesus Agila, in *Le Domaine musical: Pierre Boulez et vingt ans de création contemporaine* (Paris: Fayard, 1992), discusses how Boulez chose to pair old with new works with a view to suggesting the “roots of contemporary music.” Interested in their “formal rigor” and “complexity,” in the 1950s, he juxtaposed his own *Structures* for piano, book 1, with Bach’s *Art of the Fugue*; Stockhausen’s *Kontrapunkte* with Bach’s *Musical Offering*; Stravinsky’s *Symphony of Wind Instruments* with Gabrieli’s *Canzone*; Nono’s *Canti* with the Mass of Notre Dame (152–54).

time, juxtapositions within the same work imply an “encounter with ‘newness’ that is not part of the continuum of past and present,” as Homi Bhabha writes of border cultures in the postcolonial world. Their purpose is not just to express continuity of past and present, whether for social or aesthetic reasons, but to renew the past, “refiguring it as a contingent ‘in-between’ space, that innovates and interrupts the performance of the present.” For the French, then as today, this music suggests that “the ‘past-present’ can be part of the necessity, not [just] the nostalgia, of living.”¹³⁵ As such, *musique ancienne et moderne* represents and embodies an identity that is never singular, even when construed as a prescription for the future.



If concern about decadence and commitment to the new could be found among radical republicans as well as moderate and progressive monarchists, if both the Left and the Right looked to the past to revive ideals and refine aesthetic identity, and if both understood the potential for music to further cultural diplomacy, particularly with France’s allies, then some aspects of modernism can be understood as widely embraced in French culture of the 1890s. The public at large was hooked on *l’inédit*—the unpublished, the previously unheard, although this often meant more of the same in new clothes. The whims and seductions of fashion kept competition lively and the musical market thriving. And if the poetic conception and musical realization of Debussy’s opera differed too much from what most of the public was accustomed to, the *chercheurs de l’inédit* appreciated how works like *Pelléas* articulated French values in new ways. As the next decade proceeded, Camille Mauclair went so far to call the French “mania for the new” a “prejudice,” particularly in the years before World War I.¹³⁶ Anything “new” would sell, as if innovations would give the French an edge in conflict with their neighbors. In some ways, fashion posed a challenge to art as utility unless “art constitutes in and of itself a superior form of utility.”¹³⁷

The struggle over French identity, however, was resolved neither by political alliances nor by various ways of negotiating a role for past values in the present. New private institutions challenged institutional sources of republican power—

135. Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 7.

136. On the marketing of modernism by fashion, see Pasler, *Writing through Music*, 411–12; Nancy Troy, *Couture Culture: A Study in Modern Art and Fashion* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003), chap. 1; and Mary Davis, *Classic Chic: Music, Fashion, and Modernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

137. Adrien Mithouderd, “Déclaration,” *Occident*, February 1902, 120.

especially centralization and a hierarchy of genres. Some promoted alternatives. Conflict remained, deepening the fault lines of difference although hostility between competing groups contributed to building cooperation, cohesion, and solidarity within them. While both taught music from the past, conflicting notions of progress even permeated the educational philosophies of the two principal music schools. The Conservatoire's director, Dubois, espoused the idea of art as evolutionary, with each step forward necessarily built on the preceding one. By contrast, d'Indy, in his speech at the inauguration of the Schola Cantorum in 1900, explained art as a spiral that always rises, but turns back on itself to propel itself forward.¹³⁸ Ironically, perhaps because of d'Indy's politics and his desire to root contemporary music in relationship to the distant French past through chant and the *chansons populaires*, the Schola did not take a lead in the avant-garde. Still, for others, such as Debussy, aristocratic pretensions and the need for distinction strongly influenced the forms modernism took in France. As we reflect on how the modernist aesthetic grew dominant, it is important to understand whose and which interests it addressed, as well as what was left behind.

138. For fuller discussion of these differences, see Pasler, "Paris: Conflicting Notions of Progress," 389–416. Albert Lavignac, *La Musique et les musiciens français* (Paris: Delagrave, 1895), also writes of art as an "ascending spiral" that moves closer and closer to its ideal (439). The idea of a structural spiral recalls cyclical form in the music of d'Indy's teacher César Franck. However, it describes Debussy's music more than Franck's, in that Debussy's return to musical material never involves exact repetition. Roy Howat, in *Debussy in Proportion* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983), argues that Debussy's form is sometimes spiral in his use of Golden Section proportions. For cyclical form in his late sonatas, see Marianne Wheeldon, *Debussy's Late Style* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008).