
Concert Programs and their Narratives as Emblems of Ideology

Author(s): Jann Pasler

Source: *International Journal of Musicology*, 1993, Vol. 2 (1993), pp. 249-308

Published by: Peter Lang AG

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24617987>

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

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *International Journal of Musicology*

Jann Pasler (San Diego, California)

Concert Programs and their Narratives as Emblems of Ideology*

Summary: Important and virtually ignored sources of reception history, concert programs tell the history of musical taste and a society's values. From 1890 to 1914, Parisian programs document a series of radical transformations in how music was represented to the public and, analogously, how the French thought of music. Studying not only the notes but also cover imagery, print typefaces, and advertisements reveals that during this period there was a gradual repudiation of one form of modernism, commonly associated with feminine imagery, art nouveau design, and Beauty with a capital B, for another, more male-oriented, abstract, and valued for embodying the new.

How did the French at the turn of this century understand their music? What did it represent for them? What did they do to construct and manipulate its meaning? Concert programs from the period give some fascinating answers to these questions. French critics commonly referred to concerts as "consommation musicale", a form of musical consumption. Along with the other food metaphors they used, this image refers not so much to the public's participation in the emerging market for music as to their concern that music *nourish* the population. Many composers, patrons, and even State officials too believed that "concerts have a mission to accomplish ... they are educators and it is they who have the honor of forming *musical taste*."¹ "Music is not only an art, it is a means of education ... a discipline, a way to cultivate feeling, in any case healthy recreation when physical play is impossible."²

Linked as it was with education, music easily became associated with whatever values different social groups wished to promote. From this perspective, I examine the concert programs of various musical groups. Important and provocative sources of reception history that have been virtually ignored by scholars, these programs tell a story about musical taste and the society's values. Studying them, year by year from the 1890s to 1914, we can trace the

* A shorter, earlier version of this paper was presented at the national meeting of the American Musicological Society, Chicago, Illinois, November 8, 1991, and subsequently in Paris, France, and at Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts.

1 "Lettre de Marseilles", *Courrier Musical* (26 November 1899): 7.

2 Paul Landormy, "L'enseignement de la musique", *Courrier Musical* (1 February 1908): 78.

gradual repudiation of one form of modernism, commonly associated with feminine imagery, art nouveau design, and Beauty with a capital B, for another, more male-oriented, abstract, and valued for embodying the new. The story is not without its surprises.

Musical Associations, their Repertoires and their Publics

After 1884 and 1901, when new laws overturned the Napoleonic code that forbade meetings of over 20 people without explicit police permission,³ numerous associations of all kinds formed in France. With the growing interest in music, there arose increasing numbers of concert-giving organizations. In addition to the opera companies in Paris at the turn of the century, there were five full-time professional orchestras (two of which performed seven days a week), other amateur and part-time orchestras, and innumerable music societies satisfying amateurs of religious music, Bach and Handel's music, those who wished to hear only old music, music on only old instruments, only new music, and only French music. There were quartets and choruses, those serving the mandolinists and guitarists, together with all sorts of contexts in which to perform.

Because my intention here is to examine changing conditions not motivated principally by State intervention, I focus this study on a selection of the major private musical organizations of the period, leaving aside the heavily subsidized opera companies and the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire because of the significant role State employees played in their musical decisions. Three types of private organizations concern me here – the large orchestras, the music societies, and the musical salons.

The Concerts Lamoureux and the Concerts Colonne were associations of orchestra players both started by violinists who became conductors.⁴ Both advocated for the recognition of performers as artists.⁵ Although each received a small State subsidy (15,000 francs/year),⁶ their support came largely from sub-

3 Theodore Zeldin, *France 1848-1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 573.

4 Both Lamoureux and Colonne studied in Bordeaux with the same violin teacher, M. Baudoin.

5 It is interesting to note that in a letter of 29 October 1904 to Gabriel Astruc, Chévilard refers to the musicians in the Association Lamoureux as "artistes" rather than as "interprètes." Archives Nationales 409 AP 29.

6 To qualify for this stipend, the orchestra had to perform a certain number of new works by French composers. Their correspondence with the Minister concerning which works counted as "new" and would thereby qualify them for their annual subsidy is a fascinating footnote in French musical history. In a letter of 12 August 1897

scriptions and a few donations.⁷ Ticket prices were relatively low, 2 to 6 and later 10 francs, and program booklets were normally small, free, and on inexpensive paper. Their repertoire reflected not only public taste but also performer preferences. Sometimes they were criticized for predictable programming, especially Lamoureux's orchestra, but both accomplished their most important goal, consistently excellent performances.

Charles Lamoureux, then conductor of the prestigious Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, founded the Concerts Lamoureux in 1881 (it became an officially recognized Association in 1897). After hearing *Tristan* in Munich, he decided he needed his own organization to bring Wagner to the French because the Conservatoire's concerts were too "invariable" to accommodate this music.⁸ From the beginning, the Concerts Lamoureux almost always had Wagner on their programs, sometimes several Wagnerian fragments. This presence characterized their concerts even after Lamoureux's son-in-law Camille Chéviillard took over upon Lamoureux's death in 1899. Perhaps to defend their support of German music, in the program notes – which remained virtually the same from year to year – the annotators made every effort to appropriate Wagner as one of their own. From the 1880s through the 1910s program notes about *Tristan*, for example, begin with the sentence, "The Tristan legend, so famous in the middle ages, is by origin celtic and by consequence essentially French" or "*Tristan* is borrowed from a cycle of French myths" or "*Tristan* is the son of Brittany. ..." *Parsifal*, they write, "is borrowed from the Christian legends of France."⁹ As for Wagner's other works, such as the *Faust overture* and *Rienzi*, they cite the composer's various stays in France, meticulously describing which parts he composed in Paris. When it comes to other composers, the program notes likewise point out any association the composers might have had with France. For example, we're reminded Gluck wrote

to the Minister of Fine-Arts, Charles Lamoureux explains his perspective on the arrangement as he complains of losing more money on the performance of new works that year than they received in State subsidy (28,000 lost compared to the 15,000 received). "Isn't there anything interesting in music other than the composers? And the performers who make sacrifices to give their country beautiful performances that do honor to Paris, don't they too deserve some support?" Archives Nationales, F21 4626 (28). I am grateful to Annegret Fauser for bringing my attention to this archive.

7 When he retired, Lamoureux wrote to the Minister that, in good times, he passed on all the profits of their concerts directly to the musicians, never taking a centime for himself: in difficult times, however, he carried the group at his own expense. Ibid.

8 Victor Debay, "Charles Lamoureux", *Courrier Musical* (31 December 1899): 1.

9 This same sentence also introduces *Parsifal* in the programs of the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire. See the program of 10 January 1897. Edouard Risler Collection.

his masterpieces for the French, Tchaikovsky had a French mother, and so on. This kind of information invariably comes in the first sentence of the notes.

The Concerts Colonne began in 1873. Georges Hartmann, a wealthy music publisher, hired Edouard Colonne to conduct a series of "Concerts Nationaux" intended to promote works he published. When this venture did not make enough money, he abandoned Colonne but Colonne kept the orchestra together with the goal of "popularizing French and foreign music." As Wagner became associated with Lamoureux's concerts, Berlioz became linked with Colonne's concerts. Colonne, a disciple of Berlioz and Franck (with whom he studied organ¹⁰), performed Berlioz's music 448 times during the first 30 years of the orchestra, that is, more than Beethoven, his second choice (374 times), Wagner (366 times), and Saint-Saëns (338 times). Berlioz's *Damnation of Faust* appeared on the Concerts Colonne every year an average of four to six times, normally on the first several concerts of the fall season, before and after Christmas, and several times each April. By December 11, 1898, the Concerts Colonne had performed it 100 times!

The success of such a work is difficult to explain. For each of these performances, program annotator Charles Malsherbe never fails to explain in detail how Berlioz was shunned during his lifetime and, in spite of having won the Prix de Rome, was ignored by critics and most of the public, that he had to fight for whatever support he received and pay for many of his own performances. (Malsherbe was inclined to defend works that initially were not well received. In other notes, he makes a similar argument for Gluck's *Alceste*, Bruneau's *Messidor*, and Wagner's *Meistersingers*.) Perhaps Malsherbe felt people measure a composer's heroism by the extent of his struggle. Or perhaps Malsherbe, like many others, thought the French had a patriotic duty to reappropriate a composer who had had more success in Germany than in his own country. Only after the 1870 defeat when the French began to search for models of national genius did the republicans reevaluate his importance, like that of Victor Hugo. By 1890, Berlioz had become a republican hero with statues erected to his memory.

There were other differences between the Concerts Lamoureux and the Concerts Colonne besides this preference for one composer or another. In 1903, when asked which series he preferred, Saint-Saëns responded, "Oh these gods! One is more precise and more cold; the other is more free and inspired."¹¹ A critic predisposed to Colonne wrote similarly: "At the Lamoureux concerts (where the programs change so rarely!) you will often encounter

10 Colonne replaced Franck as organist at the Eglise Saint-Clothilde when Franck died in 1890.

11 Balsan de la Rouvière, "Edouard Colonne", *Musica* (November 1903): 216.

more meticulous, careful, and precise performances; sometimes they achieve perfection. But this perfection is not without some coldness and some dryness. Their beauty is academic. ... At the Concerts Colonne, the marble becomes flesh."¹²

Their repertoires, however, share notable similarities – after all, they were competing for the same audiences. Both performed long programs on Sunday afternoons to large crowds (the Théâtre de Châtelet had 3000 seats, the Château d'Eau at the Place de la République, about the same). Until around 1905, both series normally consisted of an overture, a symphonic work, a vocal work sometimes by a French contemporary, and some Wagnerian fragments. (Sometimes one can find the same Wagnerian fragments performed on a given day by both organizations as if in competition for the Wagnerians.¹³) The Lamoureux programs also typically included a concerto and some 19th century program music. (See Illustration 1.) When there were new works, they normally came in the middle of concerts in both series. The organizing principle, in both cases, was to include as many genres as possible. This preoccupation reflects both the late 19th-century French desire to democratize as much of the society as possible, and the widespread belief in progress as boundless expansion.¹⁴

The repertoire of these concerts also reflects another notion of progress that was slowly gaining proponents. This is particularly evident in a second series of the Concerts Colonne which took place on Thursday afternoons in the Nouveau Théâtre. (See Illustration 2.) Like the Sunday series in the Théâtre du Châtelet, the Thursday one presented as many genres as possible on each concert; unlike them, however, the Thursday concerts concentrated on chamber music. From 1897 through 1901, each of the programs on this series had two parts, the first called "musique ancienne", the second "musique moderne." Among the music considered "ancienne" were not only transcriptions of 16th-century chansons populaires, Schütz, Lully, Rameau, Bach, Händel, and Mo-

12 Julien Torchet, excerpt from his article in *Semaine française* (March 1903), cited in Charles Malsherbe, *Trente Ans de Concerts 1873-1903* (Paris: Kugelmann, 1903), p. 17.

13 For example, on 31 March 1899, both associations performed excerpts from *Parsifal* and *Götterdämmerung* in addition to other Wagnerian fragments. On 30 November 1913, the Concerts Lamoureux did *Parsifal* while on 14 December 1913, the Concerts Colonne performed it. On the thirtieth anniversary of the Concerts Colonne in March 1903, possibly so as not to lose their audience, Chéviillard invited Siegfried Wagner to conduct the Concerts Lamoureux.

14 I discuss this idea at length in my "France: Conflicting Notions of Progress", in *Man and Music: The Late-Romantic Era*, ed. Jim Samson (London: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 389-416.

CONCERT - LAMOUREUX

du 30 Octobre 1898

PROGRAMME

1. **Symphonie en ut (n° 36)** MOZART.
Allegro — Adagio — Minuetto — Finale.
2. **Penthésilée (Reine des Amazones).**
Poème de M. CATULLE MENDÈS.
Musique de M. A. BRUNEAU.
(2^e Audition aux Concerts Lamoureux).
Chantée par M^{lle} Lina PACARY.
3. **La Procession** C. FRANCK.
Chantée par M. J. GOGNY.
4. **Concerto en sol majeur (n° 4)** BEETHOVEN.
Cadences de SAINT-SAËNS.
M. Louis DIÈMER.
5. **Grand Duo du Crépuscule des Dieux.** R. WAGNER.
Traduction Française de Alfred ERNST.
Brunchilde : M^{lle} Lina PACARY.
Siegfried : M. J. GOGNY.
6. **Ouverture du Freischütz.** WEBER.

PIANO DE LA MAISON ERARD

Illustration 1 Illustrations 1-16 and 18-24, Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

UNION MUSICALE ASSOCIATION ARTISTIQUE DES AMIS
Siège de la Société : 47, rue de Berlin

NOUVEAU-THÉÂTRE
13, rue Mouche, 13

CONCERTS-COLONNE

Jeudi 20 Janvier 1968, à 8 heures précises
Bâtiment Moderne du Théâtre-musique

MUSIQUE ANCIENNE

Ouverture d'« Iphigénie en Aulide » **GLUCK.**
(Terminé par R. Wagne). (1791-1799)

Rigodon de « Dardanus » **RAMEAU.**
(1683-1764)

Adagio de la Sonate en Ré pour violoncelle .. **BOCSETTI.**
W. Herce **URITT.** (1808-1901)

Sextuor (op. 91) **BEETHOVEN.**
I. Andante et varié. — II. Scherzo. —
III. Fugue (adante) terminée par toutes les voix. (1770-1828)

MUSIQUE MODERNE

Sonata pour piano et violon **ED. DRIED.**
I. Adagio molto et appassionato. — II. Allegretto
spontaneo alla russa. — III. Fugue
Piano : M. Joseph **THIRAYD.**
Violon : M. Jacques **THIRAYD.**

Pastorale variée (dans le style ancien (18^e siècle)) .. **B. PIENÉ**
Flûte : M. **CASTIG.**
Hautbois : M. **LOUAT.**
Clarinette : M. **TERRIER.**
Trompette : M. **Alexandre PETIT.**
Cor : M. Y. **DELMANSE.**
Basson : M. **HAMBURG et SIMON.**

et Marine .. **ED. LALO.**
et Nocturne (romantique) **A. MAGNARD.**
et Invitation au voyage (impressionnisme) .. **DUPARC.**
Mlle Jeanne **RAENAY.**

Paëli de Callirhoe, Scherzando **C. CHIRINADE.**
LE CONCERT SERA DIRIGÉ PAR M. ED. DRIED

LES NOTES EXPLICATIVES seront lues avant chaque morceau
par M. **RAMEAU**, de l'Orchestre

CE PROGRAMME EST DISTRIBUÉ GRATUITEMENT

Prévoir de ne pas oublier de se rendre à l'heure des concerts

Illustration 2

zart, but also Beethoven, Rossini and Glinka. Their definition of "old music" thus extended from the 16th century through the mid-19th century (Glinka died in 1857). Recurring "moderne" composers on the list included Chopin, Schumann, Brahms, Grieg, and their French contemporaries, some of whose works were here given first performances. This conscious juxtaposition of the "ancienne" and the "moderne", each given equal place, implies a similar valuing of the old and the new. Such coexistence also suggests an emerging notion of progress as a spiral. In 1901 the aristocratic composer Vincent d'Indy began to promote an image of art as a spiral that must turn back to propel itself forward. He sought to draw on traditions predating the 19th century, the French Revolution, and the French Republic. Such a notion of progress became increasingly important in the new century. Gluck, Rameau, and their predecessors had been performed on these series since the 1880s, but, as we shall see, they played an increasingly prominent role in the concert programs of the first decade of the new century.

Two other orchestras, the Concerts Rouge and the Concerts Touche, attracted a somewhat different public than the Concerts Lamoureux and the Concerts Colonne.¹⁵ Their ticket prices were all less than 2 francs and their venue, the back of brasseries. The atmosphere here was much more relaxed – concert admission entitled everyone to one drink (coffee, beer, liqueur or, for an extra 50 centimes, champagne). Both series presented concerts every evening of the week, sometimes twice a day, and by 1907 were highly praised for their excellent performances.

The Concerts Rouge began in 1889 at the Café Rouge, a left-bank café frequented by students at 6 rue de Tournon. The café was owned by Monsieur Rouge, considered a sort of Napoleon II with a long beard. While playing in the small orchestra of 5 musicians at one of these concerts in 1897, the not-yet-famous violinist Jacques Thibaud met the conductor Edouard Colonne. In his memoirs Thibaud notes that even though the Concerts Colonne paid less than the Concerts Rouge (who offered about double, i.e. 10 francs/concert), he left to join Colonne because of their "enriching" repertoire – Berlioz, Franck, Saint-Saëns, and Lalo.¹⁶ At the time that of the Concerts Rouge was certainly more limited; later, however, this series presented all kinds of music and a different genre every night. In 1908, for example, concerts on Tuesday and Friday were billed as "classical music", which could include Wagner and

15 I have not yet located the archives of these two series, only a few programs in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and some reviews and articles in *Courrier Musical*. Consequently what I have to say is limited to what I have learned from these sources.

16 Jean-Pierre Dorian, ed. *Un violon parle. Souvenirs de Jacques Thibaud* (Paris Éditions Du blé qui lève, 1947), p. 270-282.

Debussy; on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday, it was symphonic music, on Thursday chamber music. Once a month they devoted a concert to foreign music. By 1910 they were putting on entire Wagnerian operas after having performed major works like *La Damnation de Faust* the night before and difficult chamber music such as Franck's the same afternoon. With the "moral support" and financial help of a patronage committee¹⁷ formed in 1912, the repertoire of the Concerts Rouge in any one week could extend from Gluck's *Armide* to Beethoven symphonies and operas by Debussy and Wagner. (See Illustration 3.) The music journal *Courrier Musical*, whose director took over the administration of Concerts Rouge in 1907-1908, reviewed their concerts regularly and in 1913 praised them not only for having performed all Beethoven, all Mozart, all Wagner, all Debussy, and all the great works of Russian music (for orchestra and chamber groups), but also for not allowing their eclecticism to overshadow their consistently excellent performances.¹⁸

The Concerts Touche was started by Francis Touche, a virtuoso cellist and premier prix from the Paris Conservatoire like most of the players in these two brasserie orchestras. Touche began his career as a cellist-conductor at the Concerts Rouge.¹⁹ At age 23, audience enthusiasm encouraged him one day to do an entire Beethoven symphony with only 8 musicians! His success there from 1894 to 1906 led him to found his own concert series in back of another brasserie, this time on the right bank at 25 boulevard de Strasbourg. The rectangular hall had the orchestra at its center, 16 musicians or more as the occasion required. It also contained a Cavaillé-Coll-Mutin organ and held 394 seats. Like the Concerts Rouge, the Concerts Touche played every day, ten months a year. Unlike them, however, the Concerts Touche apparently did not have separate chamber music concerts, preferring instead to intersperse chamber works among orchestral ones.

The program booklets of the Concerts Touche, like the Concerts Rouge, consisted of an entire week's programs. The format too was similar. Rarely were there explanatory notes unless the work was an opera, although sometimes the Concerts Touche, more often than the Concerts Rouge, provided a

17 Among those asked to serve on this committee was Gabriel Astruc. See his secretary M. Masselay's letter of 9 January 1912 to him. Archives Nationales 409 AP 29.

18 "Salles Diverses", *Courrier Musical* (1 March 1913): 139-140.

19 Born the son of a highly respected piano maker in Avignon, Francis Touche was destined for commerce. However, his studies of piano and cello at the Marseilles Conservatoire were so strong that his family sent him to the Paris Conservatoire where in 1892 he received his premier prix. Later that year he was offered a job as professor of cello at the Nîmes Conservatoire but after eighteen months, unhappy with provincial life, he quit to return to Paris where he took the job at the Café Rouge. "Francis Touche", *Courrier Musical* (1-15 September 1910): 604-605.

CONCERTS-ROUGE
 6, Rue de Tournay, 6 Métro, Autobus : Opéra-Luxembourg
 1880-1913

Tous les soirs, à 8 heures 3/4

GRANDS CONCERTS SYMPHONIQUES

Jeudis, Dimanches et Fêtes **MATINÉE à 3 h.** **PLACES 3 h. 2 h. 1 h. 25**

Jeudi 30 Octobre,
MATINÉE à 3 h. 30 consacrée à
MENDELSSOHN
 Histoire de la Musique de Chambre et du
 Solo instrumental depuis BACH à nos jours.
 à 9 heures
Festival FRANCK-WAGNER

Vendredi 31 Octobre, à 9 heures,
Grand Gala
DEBUSSY
PELLEAS ET MELISANDE
 M^{me} Marcella DORIA M. BELLET
 des 2^{es} théâtres de Monte-Carlo à la Ville de Tournay

A l'occasion des Fêtes de
 la "TOUSSAINT"
 Samedi 1^{er} Novembre à 3 heures
Matinée: GRAND CONCERT SYMPHONIQUE
 à 9 heures
TANNHAUSER
 (R. Wagner)
 M. CHANOINE-DAVRANCHES
 des Concerts Lamoureux

Dimanche 1 Novembre, à 3 heures
MATINÉE
 Le Soir à 8 heures
Festival WAGNER-DEBUSSY
LA WALKYRIE
 (R. Wagner)
 Les plus belles pages des 1^{re}, 2^{de} et 3^{de} Actes
L'ENFANT PRODIGE
 (Cl. Debussy)
 AUDITION INTÉGRALE
 M^{me} Frédéric BOYER, de l'Opéra de Nice
 M. Honoré SNELL
 M. CHANOINE-DAVRANCHES

Lundi 2 Novembre, à 8 heures,
Soirée BEETHOVEN

Mardi 4 Novembre, à 8 heures
ARMIDE
 (Ch. Gluck)
 Actes III. Scènes 3 et 4
 (1^{re} audition aux Concerts-Rouges)
 M^{me} La Princesse BARATOFF-GERANDO
 de l'Opéra-Comique
 M^{me} URBANEK
 des Théâtres Impériaux de Russie

Tous les Concerts seront dirigés par M. Georges RITANI
 Location sans augmentation, 5, rue de Tournay
 (prochainement transférée avec grande assistance de jour)

14-15 Paris — Rue de Valenciennes 114, rue St-Jacques.

Illustration 3

sentence or two about first performance dates or the like. One of the few exceptions is a paragraph on Debussy's *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* performed at the Concerts Touche on 11 November 1909 – exactly the same paragraph that appears in the notes accompanying the piece in the Concerts Lamoureux programs around the same time!

The Concerts Touche used a number of innovative techniques to attract audiences. In December 1907 they inaugurated a series in which composers (such as Camille Erlanger and Henri Rabaud) conducted their own work. They also initiated various marketing endeavors – listing the three metro stations nearby and their telephone number on the programs, allowing people to receive the weekly programs through the mail for 1 franc/week or 5 francs/season, and selling reduced price ticket coupons (15 at a time) that could be used at the same concert, for the same seat at 15 concerts, or for concerts later that year or the following year. Like the other orchestral organizations of the time, they helped enhance their listeners' experience of the music by occasionally selling miniature scores of the works performed at their concerts (usually at a cost of only 1 to 3 francs).

Of the private music societies in Paris, the most well-known to scholars are the Société Nationale and, to a lesser extent, the Société Musicale Indépendante. Both were formed by composers to present first performances of their works, the first in 1871, the second in 1909. After 1890, when Vincent d'Indy became president of the former, their membership eventually included composers both at the Conservatoire and the Schola Cantorum, Debussy, Ravel, and most of their contemporaries. Ravel and his friends broke off to form the Société Musicale Indépendante when d'Indy's control of the Société Nationale became intolerable. Composers in these groups were expected to pay for their own production expenses, but could call on performing members to participate. Although each society might hire an orchestra once or twice a year, most of what they performed in their less than a dozen concerts per year was chamber music.²⁰

Much less well-known are the societies started by non-musicians who depended for their existence on issuing stock and paying interest on investments to stockholders. The most important of these was the Société des Grandes Auditions Musicales de France, very little known by scholars because the archives have remained in a private collection.²¹ This society was started by a coalition of republicans and aristocratic elites for the purpose of performing "first and foremost great composers from yesteryear whose masterpieces, too

20 I discuss these societies and their repertoires in detail in another article, "The Social Roots of Innovation" (forthcoming).

21 Ibid.

often expatriated, are unknown to thousands of French." The overtly patriotic tone of the initial announcements and the projected premieres of important French works brought in republican support; the older works attracted the wealthy aristocrats. Conservatoire composers Amboise Thomas, Ernst Reyer and Jules Massenet served on its honorary committee, while Vincent d'Indy, Pierre de Bréville, and Gabriel Fauré advised its president, Countess Gref-fulhe, on which works to perform. The choice of Berlioz's *Béatrice et Bénédict* as the first production of the Société des Grandes Auditions in June 1890 reflects the politics of ralliement that motivated the group's existence. By that time Berlioz had become a symbol of French greatness upon which republicans and aristocrats could agree.²²

As nationalism grew throughout the first decade of the new century, there also appeared in this Société's programs an increasing interest in foreign music per se and in its national identity. When it comes to which foreign music to perform and which visiting composers to invite, these notes make it clear the organizers have chosen what their peers in Russia, Germany, Austria, England, and Italy consider their best. In this spirit they produced the Parisian premieres of *Götterdämmerung* and *Tristan und Isolde*, sponsored various Diaghilev productions of Russian art and music, brought Mahler for the first time to France, and introduced the music of Vaughan Williams and Schoenberg. As such, their concert programming functions as subtle flattery of their peers in other countries and an expression of support for nationalist energies.

The Société Musicale, founded in 1905 by Gabriel Astruc, is an example of a profit-oriented, market-driven organization whose purpose was to present concerts and theater in France, the French colonies, and abroad. Founded with 500,000 francs against which stock was issued and a 6% return promised, this society was an outgrowth of Astruc's earlier musical activities, notably the journal *Musica*, which he founded in 1902, and the publishing house he started in 1904. Through the Société Musicale, Astruc sought to attract and respond to the desires of a wealthy public. On his patronage committee were not only French aristocratic names like Uzès, Murat, Ganay, Broglie, and Polignac, but also the Americans Vanderbilt, Whitney, Gould, Hyde and Kahn as well as a number of Italians. The Société's ticket prices ranged up to 20 francs, double those of the Concerts Lamoureux and Colonne, and often went even higher in the case of galas. Astruc printed his own programs, using expensive

22 The closing scene of the opera reflects this emerging coalition. After years of fighting, Beatrice and Benedict are tricked into thinking the one loves the other and they join in marriage. Their final duet, however, betrays the irony of the situation: "Better be mad than foolish./So let's fall in love ... For today we'll sign a truce/And be enemies again tomorrow!"

paper and many full-page photographs. They were among the most luxurious in Paris.

As for the Société des Grandes Auditions, sometimes co-producer of their events, many of the concerts of the Société Musicale were devoted to foreign music and foreign musicians. During their first season in 1905 were an impressive four-day Beethoven Festival with Félix Weingartner conducting the Colonne orchestra, an English Festival of the London Symphony, an Italian opera season, a Mozart Festival, and prestigious recitals by Wanda Landowska and Ricardo Viñes. Over the years Astruc also brought such visitors as Strauss, the New York Metropolitan Opera and the Ballets Russes.²³

Musical salons, sometimes in homes and other times in public venues, are the most difficult to study, for in general most did not keep good record of their concerts. Music magazines and the newspaper *Le Figaro* are the best source of their activities. Those few programs which remain range from being hand-written to, more rarely, full-scale printed ones with notes. Some musical salons, such as that of Countess Greffulhe, founder of the Société des Grandes Auditions, were musical evenings organized for friends to perform for one another at home. Their programs tended to be mere lists of works and performers. Other salons occasionally went public, renting public halls in which to perform. Jean Girette, the architect who designed a sunken orchestra pit for the Château d'Eau theater so that the Société des Grandes Auditions might give the Parisian premiere of *Götterdämmerung*, was a very capable amateur singer who, with his cousin, the pianist Edouard Risler, performed entire Wagnerian operas together. On 30 March 1895, Girette, Risler, Alfred Cortot and their friends put on Wagner's *Das Rheingold*, according to their program notes "for the first time in Paris in private performance in its absolute entirety from the first to the last measure."²⁴ This concert performance with four-hand

23 In addition, Astruc managed Saint-Saëns' American tour in 1906 and presented Parisians with English musical comedy. The next year, with the help of the Société des Grandes Auditions, he produced Strauss' *Salomé* and the Five Historic Russian Concerts. In 1908 he brought the Berlin Philharmonic, in 1909 a French-English Festival, in 1910 the New York Opera and a series of music organized by nationality at the Théâtre Fémina. From 1907 to 1913 he managed seven Russian Seasons (Russian opera and the business affairs of the Ballets Russes), and in 1911 the Debussy-d'Annunzio collaboration, *Le Martyre de Saint-Sebastian*. Astruc opened the Théâtre des Champs Elysées in 1912, and there began four seasons of music, ranging from opera to ballet to operettas.

24 This same group, including Thérèse Roger, Mlle Lundh, M. Bagès, M. Girette, M. Humbert, and E. Risler, also performed other Wagnerian operas and sometimes in public venues which charged admission. For example, they did *Die Meistersinger* at the Hotel des Sociétés Savantes, with the Director of Beaux-Arts, Henri Roujon, present on 5 January 1897 and in a private salon on 7 April 1897; on 27 March and 26

piano accompaniment was evidently also the first time the new prose translation by Alfred Ernst was used (it later became the standard). The program booklet for this concert, 8 printed pages, provided extensive notes and excerpts from the libretto.

Among the most long lasting, strictly organized, and well-documented of the private concert series is ironically one of the least well known. Founded in 1861 by the engineer Emile Lemoine who enjoyed playing quartets with three fellow polytechnician students, the *Soirées* of "la Trompette"²⁵ began as an amateur quartet series for entertaining friends. When increasing numbers wished to hear this music, it became a weekly private concert series and the organizers began to hire young artists and rent halls. In 1878, finding other spaces too small, they moved into that of the Société d'Horticulture at 84 rue de Grenelle on the left bank. It had 850 seats. There, from late December to early May, they gave 17 to 18 concerts a year. The series was continued by Lemoine's wife even after he died in February 1913.

The audience, most of whom Lemoine knew, came to these concerts by invitation only. Lemoine considered them "very musical and ultra-select, with distinction and intellectual value but without snobbery."²⁶ To attend these "sophisticated, almost intimate" concerts, guests paid 50 francs/year. No children were allowed, except at Carnival. Concerts began at 9 p.m., often with a quartet. They lasted around two hours, reputedly among the shortest in Paris in the 1880s.²⁷ Performers ranged from Conservatoire professors (Diémer, Delsart, and Taffanel) to the Chanteurs de Saint Gervais to visiting foreigners such as Weingartner in 1902, Koussevitsky in 1907 and 1908, and Maria Freund in 1911, 1912, and 1914. Local virtuosi such as Risler, Lando-wska, Viñes, Bathori, Féart and in 1901 Francis Touche performed there as well. The series presented chamber works ranging from old music, sometimes on old instruments and usually by French composers, to the classics, to new works by Conservatoire composers,²⁸ Scholists, and foreign composers such

April 1897 at the Salle Pleyel, audiences could pay 3 to 10 francs to hear Bagès, Girette, and Engel sing the first act of *Siegfried* with Risler and Cortot accompanying on the "piano-double Pleyel, système G. Lyon." I am grateful to Madame Risler for granting me permission to study the extensive archives of Edouard Risler.

- 25 The name "la Trompette" was adopted from a non-sympathetic remark a teacher once made to try to quiet the quartet.
- 26 Program of 26 March 1909. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- 27 In the program of the 12 January 1895 concert, Lemoine apologizes for the concert having to go past 11:00 p.m. "which is the extreme limit that experience has taught me for 'la Trompette.'"
- 28 The program of 3 January 1891 notes that at Lemoine's request Saint-Saëns wrote his Septet, opus 65, for "la Trompette." Also written for Lemoine's series was a Sonata

as Strauss, Wolf, Grieg, and Mahler. Most concerts combined a variety of styles, periods, and genres – songs, quartets, and other mixed ensembles. In the late 1880s, Lemoine was conscious of placing both "la musique ancienne" (or in 1896 "la musique archaïque") and "la musique moderne" on the same programs, as was the case ten years later at the Concerts Colonne. During Carnival each year, the audience was encouraged to come dressed up and, along with "serious" chamber music, they were treated to "light fare" and chansons populaires from various countries.

The printed programs of "la Trompette", mailed to patrons a few days before the concerts, are a treasure for what they reveal about private music making. Rather than giving notes about the pieces performed, these programs contain personal messages from Lemoine and responses to letters from guests (sometimes there were also translations of sung texts on separate pink sheets). Lemoine considered the concerts his "daughter" and his tone shows it. Sometimes he makes announcements, for example, informing them of the building of a Beethoven monument in spring 1905. More often than not, however, and especially after 1900, he scolds people for misbehaving during concerts and reminds them of his explicit rules: absolute silence during performances, no saving seats for one's friends, no moving around during the performances, and no leaving early.²⁹ "La Trompette", he insisted, "is a salon where courtesy is necessary among the guests."³⁰

Such instructions to the audience concerning their behavior at concerts appeared as well on the programs of the orchestral series and public recitals throughout the 1890s and first decade of the new century. In the middle of the first page of most Lamoureux and Colonne programs, one finds something to the effect that no one will be allowed to enter or leave during the performances (Concerts Colonne, 31 March 1898) or "the public is informed that moving around in the hall during the performances is strictly forbidden" (Concerts Lamoureux, 1899-1906). At the Concerts Lamoureux people are told in 1885 not to clap until the end of each act of *Tristan* and in 1901 and 1909 that no one will be allowed to leave the hall during *Das Rheingold*. Likewise on

for trumpet by Frédéric Lentz "dans le stile ancien", performed there on 25 April 1896.

29 In the note of 22 March 1881, for example, he recounts how angry he was when, after Brahms' Sextet in B flat was announced at 10:40 p.m. the previous week, half the audience stood up to leave and another third of the room left after its first movement. They should realize, he writes, that performers are paid for only one rehearsal and that, despite how busy they are, this group had rehearsed the work three times. If such things continue, as they do in other concerts, he says he will be forced to discontinue the concerts for no one would want to play at the end of one of their concerts.

30 Program of 28 February 1908. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

many of the recital programs at the Salle Pleyel during this period one finds the request, "Please do not enter or leave during the performance of the pieces." These ever-present statements suggest that, in spite of the difficulty of training the public to act in certain ways, a specific kind of comportment was increasingly expected at concerts. In another article, I will examine the meaning of this behavior and its importance for the ritualistic aspect of concert going (especially for the Wagnerians), the "sermon" symphonies³¹ that were being written, and the composition of increasingly distanced, abstract music in later years.

Concert Programs: Changing Representations of Music

From the 1890s to World War I, concert programs document a series of radical transformations in how concert organizers represented music to the public and, analogously, how the French thought of music. The program annotator of the Concerts Colonne, Charles Malsherbe, once commented on these changes in his notes for Strauss' *Don Juan*, a work initially criticized for having "color" but "few ideas." Comparing this response to its Parisian premiere in 1891 with its enthusiastic reception a decade later, he writes,

Since 1891 the public brings to concerts a different spirit and some other perspectives. Without daring to say that their taste has been perfected, at least it has become more refined. They ask of music something more than pleasure for the ear. Their eyes are opening to new beauties. There where obscurity used to reign, clarity is now emerging ...³²

Exploring what concert programs of the time reveal about fluctuations in French musical taste leads us to Malsherbe's perceptions, to question our eyes as well as our ears, to take note of new musical and cultural priorities as they emerge in these programs as well as reflect on the conventional practices of the time. Our focus then will be: (1) the visual design of these programs, especially that of the covers, as well as the typefaces used for works', composers', and performers' names, (2) the order of works on the concerts, the genres preferred, the composers played, and the size of the orchestra, (3) the descriptive notes, (4) the extent and nature of the advertising in the programs,

31 I am grateful to Brian Hart for this suggestive description. In his recent dissertation (Indiana University), Hart uses this notion to discuss music written by composers at the Schola Cantorum.

32 These notes for *Don Juan* appear in all Concerts Colonne programs that featured the work from the turn of the century until World War I.

and (5) what changes in these visual, musical, and marketing choices might mean in terms of taste and ideology.

In the 1890s, the programs of the large orchestral series as well as the salon concerts shared important similarities. (See Illustrations 1 and 2.) Besides mixing many composers, genres, and styles on each concert, the most common attribute was a certain visual design. For the most part during this period, this design expresses little hierarchy of importance among the works performed. Compositions tend to be numbered in a vertical list and their titles printed in the same typeface and size, whether they be popular excerpts – like the Overture to *Freischütz*, Berlioz's *Marche Héroïque*, or opera arias such as the "Grand Duo" from *Götterdämmerung* – or symphonies, concertos, and program music. There is also little hierarchy implied in the typefaces that might rank some works, composers, or performers as more important than others. Typefaces are few in number and almost the same size, although music titles are normally somewhat larger and in bolder print than the names of the composers and performers, and performers' names are often the smallest during this period.

The exception to this non-hierarchical arrangement is in certain programs of the Concerts Colonne. Unlike other concert programs during the 1890s, those of the Concerts Colonne use a wider variety of typesizes and typestyles, perhaps to draw attention to well-known favorites on the program. On that of 16 January 1898, for example, large thin type spells out Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and wide bold type, Wagner's *Rheingold*, while a contemporary work given its first performance between them, d'Indy's *Istar*, appears in much smaller print (Illustration 4). Still, d'Indy must have had some importance, for his name appears in bold type and somewhat taller than the print used for Beethoven and Wagner's names.

The images of women on many of these programs is their most striking aspect. In the late 1890s on the covers of the Concerts Lamoureux, for example, there are proud women with long hair, enormous wings, flowing gowns, a laurel wreath, and sometimes one breast bared.³³ Each holds an ancient lyre. For the season programs of 1898-99, the winged woman is a barely clothed blond playing the lyre (Illustration 5). Over her head a star shines down on her closed eyes, as if to suggest inspiration. The next year the woman on the cover

33 Charles Lamoureux probably took an active interest in the design of these programs, for he himself was an amateur painter. In a letter to Vincent d'Indy of 17 June 1893, he writes, "I have thrown myself into my oil painting. I'm making wonderful countryside, I've found some very unusual greens and I promise to decorate your study in Paris with one of my Dauphinois products. If you will, please make some room next to the impressionist masters that I admire for my next visit." I.a. Lamoureux, Département de Musique, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

24^e ANNÉE ASSOCIATION ARTISTIQUE 24^e ANNÉE
Siège de la Société : 43, rue de Berlin

CONCERTS-COLONNE

THÉÂTRE DU CHATELET

Dimanche 16 Janvier 1898, à 2 h. 1/4 précises

Treizième Concert de l'abonnement

PREMIÈRE PARTIE

SYMPHONIE AVEC CHŒURS

N° 9

BEETHOVEN

Traduction de l'ode de SCHILLER, par M. Alfred ERNST

I. *Allegro maestoso*. — II. *Scherzo*. — III. *Adagio*. — IV. *Finale avec soli et chœurs*.

Soprano M^{me} LEROUX-RIBEYRE.
Contralto M^{lle} Louise PLANÈS.
Ténor M. CAZENEUVE.
Basse M. AUGUEZ.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE

ISTAR, variations symphoniques (1^{re} audition). V. D'INDY.

L'OR DU RHIN

(LE RHEINGOLD)

De Richard WAGNER

Traduction de M. Alfred ERNST

1^{er} Tableau. — *Alberich et les trois Filles du Rhin*.

2^e Tableau. — *Wotan et Fricka*.

3^e Tableau. — *Scène finale : Entrée des Dieux aux Walhall*.

Alberich M. AUGUEZ.
Loge M. CAZENEUVE.
Froh M. CAZENEUVE.
Donner M. BALLARD.
Wotan M. CHALLET.

Fricka M^{lle} QUIRIN.
Woglinde... M^{me} AUGUEZ DE MONTALANT
Wellgunde . M^{me} DE RUNA.
Flosshilde .. M^{lle} LOUISE PLANÈS.

LE CONCERT SERA DIRIGÉ PAR M. ED. COLONNE

Orchestre et chœurs : 250 exécutants.

CE PROGRAMME EST DISTRIBUÉ GRATUITEMENT

Prière de ne pas entrer ni sortir pendant l'exécution des morceaux

Illustration 4



Illustration 5

has dark hair, open eyes, and the lyre hanging from her arm (Illustration 6). The curves of her hair and her gown imitate those of the incense smoke rising beside her and out of which she herself seems to emerge. Over the woman the smoke clears to reveal a halo full of other symbols – stars, small harps and lyres, hearts, and sun/moon circles.

These images suggest that woman was an allegorical representation of music during this period – the program of a private soirée on 23 May 1891 makes this perfectly clear, as the female is covered with musical notes and G clefs. Images of women frequently served as allegories during this period. They were linked with the idea of beauty per se at a time when Beauty with a capital B was perhaps the primary aesthetic criteria in the arts.³⁴ Women and particularly their hair were also typical symbolist and art nouveau icons signifying mystery and seduction. And, as represented in Emile Zola's novel *Fécondité*, written in 1899, they stood for fertility, so important to the Republic undergoing a population crisis.³⁵ But it is not beauty in general, physical eroticism, nor maternal fertility that the women on these programs conjure. They, after all, are not real – they have wings – and they are encircled with incense, a symbol of inspiration and the transformation of the physical into the spiritual. In such a context, their exposed breasts refer to music's capacity for spiritual nourishment and its power to seduce the imagination more than to arouse the body.³⁶ The long and flowing hair likewise signifies vitality more than seduction, especially given that it is crowned with laurel, an ancient Greek symbol of inspiration, physical and moral cleansing, artistic achievement, and immortality. On the 1899-1900 covers, the images emanating from the woman's halo suggest that the program designer associ-

34 Throughout journals such as *Courrier Musical* in the late 1890s, many critics used Beauty as their buzz word for judging favorably or discrediting entirely all kinds of music.

35 In her "Depopulation, Nationalism, and Feminism in Fin-de-Siècle France", *American Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (June 1984): 663-664, Karen Offen explains the numerous organic metaphors in Zola's *Fécondité* as part of his vision for a new republic, one based on defining women as "goddesses of fertility."

36 In reviewing Armand Dayot's *L'Image de la femme* (1900), the theater critic Paul Flat points out that woman's ideal function is to "incite the desire to paint not only with lines and colors, but also with words and sounds." Dayot's book, he explains, gives many examples of "the dream that this beauty brings to life in the most impressionable, the most sensitive of men." "Notes d'Art", *Revue Bleue* (13 January 1900): 56-57.

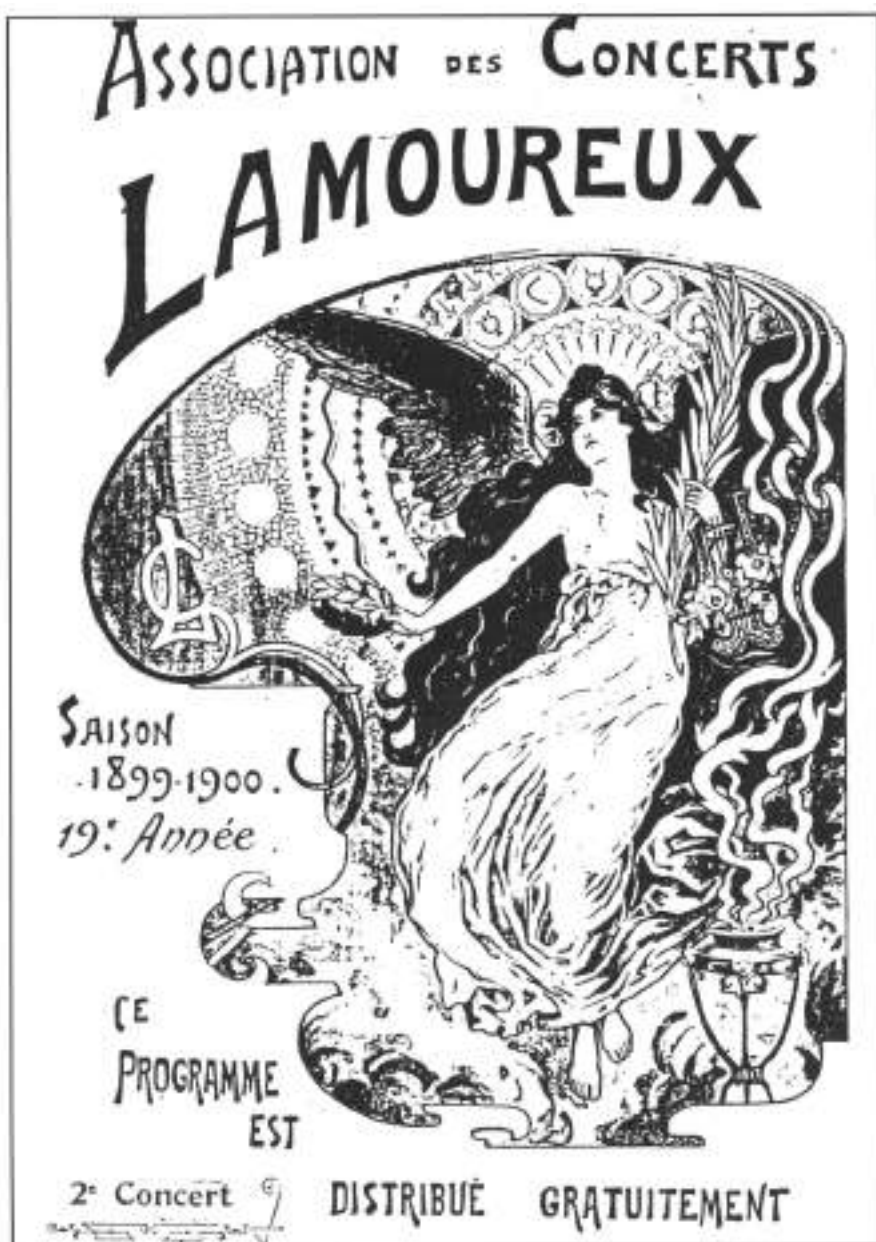


Illustration 6

ated music with its roots in ancient Greece, with spiritual light penetrating the darkness, and with love itself.³⁷

Interpreted in this way, such women, like the music they stand for, are spiritual sources. In the words of symbolist scholar Robert Goldwater, they serve as a "gateway to the imagination", an image of the "tension between representation and idea", and a "symbolic expression of the moral force which, for good or evil, woman exercises over the will and psyche of man."³⁸

During this same period, the Concerts Colonne also put women on the covers of their programs, but not exactly the same kinds of women. At the Nouveau Théâtre chamber music series, the covers show simple line-drawings of female performers. In 1897-98, these are two women in simple dresses playing small portable harps (Illustration 7). Three birds in flight and some trees in the distance together with a flowering plant in the foreground place them in nature where they seem to be wandering in no specific time or place. Unlike the allegorical women on the Concerts Lamoureux program covers of the time, these have their hair tied up, perhaps signifying the disciplined restraint that music requires of performers.³⁹

On the 1898-99 covers of the Concerts Colonne, four women are standing in a courtyard, the same women as before but in unisex tunics and their bound hair now covered with laurel wreaths. Two carry small lyres and one some rolled-up music. The woman in the foreground is waving to the others, as if bidding adieu to the end of the 19th century. The following year, by contrast, the image on the program covers is completely different, an anomaly in that it

37 Three good sources that can be used to interpret the symbolic meaning of the imagery on these program covers are: Boris Matthews, *The Herder Symbol Dictionary* (Wilmette, Illinois: Chiron, 1986); Steven Olderr, *Symbolism: a comprehensive dictionary* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1986); and Barbara Walker, *The Woman's Dictionary of Symbols and Sacred Objects* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1988). In her study on the allegory of the female form, *Monuments and Maidens* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985), Marina Warner discusses the symbolism of breasts, particularly in sculpture on public architecture. Her discussion of Jules Dalou's "The triumph of the Republic" (1899) and the female imagery on the Grand Palais (1900) and the Pont Alexandre III (1896) echoes some of my own points on the program covers of the period.

38 Robert Goldwater, *Symbolism* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), p. 67.

39 While it is not entirely clear why some of these women have long, flowing hair and others bound, tied up hair, the difference is significant. In *The Woman's Dictionary* (p. 313-314), Barbara Walker interprets Saint Paul's insistence that women cover their hair at religious services "because of the angels" to mean that "the spirits were supposed to be attracted or controlled by unbound hair." In Oriental religions, she explains, Tantric sages associated the binding of women's hair with cosmic powers of creation and its unbinding with destruction.



Illustration 7

is very localized in time and place with little left to the imagination (Illustration 8). The woman is a buxom lutist in 18th-century attire with long curly locks under a flamboyant plumed hat. She is performing for a man of noble allure who listens in admiration. They are outside in the grass under a tree that encircles them and she is smiling as she reads the musical score before her. The specificity of this reference to the 18th century – a Watteau-like "fête galante" – suggests that perhaps with the advent of the new century, concert organizers were eager to remind audiences of how music connects them to the past. The reference also underlines the organization of this concert series wherein "la musique ancienne" – largely from the 18th century – takes up half of every program in this series from 1897 to 1901.

In 1900-01, the Nouveau Théâtre programs return to depicting a woman in a generalized way (Illustration 9). This time she is a winged conductor, her hair tied up, an angel in a night sky full of stars under a crescent moon. She is directing a little angelic singer who faces her, reading from a score. In 1901-02, the covers show two more female performers, a violinist and cellist this time in modern gowns and playing in duet – an especially appropriate image as there were sometimes concerts of duos on this series (Illustration 10). On the score next to these women (who have flowers in their bound hair), two small birds are singing simultaneously. The cellist looks up at the violinist as she plays, just as the birds face each other. Behind them are some green branches, symbol of honor, fame, and immortality, and a lyre that is somewhat larger than the performers and serves as a framework for their music-making. Like most images from the chamber music programs of the Concerts Colonne, this one suggests that music is something human-sized, a context for collaborative human expressive activity. It is not just an abstract art of symbols, represented by the lyre and the illegible score. The performers embody the music and give it life. Such an image suggests that chamber music at the time conjured a very different notion of music than did orchestral music. According to these program designs, the former was generally associated with actual performers, usually more than one; the latter, with its often undifferentiated sounds, more easily served as a "gateway to the imagination."

At the orchestral series of the Concerts Colonne (performed at the Théâtre du Châtelet), the program covers also feature images of women musicians. But unlike those on their chamber series' programs, the images are not just performers. The 1897-98 covers show a prim and proper woman in contemporary dress, her long hair tied on top of her head, playing the full size modern harp with pedals. Her face betrays no emotion, while her hands on the strings suggest grace and sensitivity. The imagery on the 1898-99 covers is more timeless and allegorical, like that of the Concerts Lamoureux program covers of the time (Illustration 11). Here, with lyre at her side, is a Grecian-



Illustration 8

*Illustration 9*



Illustration 10

*Illustration 11*

dressed woman again with flowers in her bound-up hair and breasts partially exposed. With quill in hand and a score on her lap, she is composing music. At her feet is flowing water which might symbolize the music she is imagining, abundant with possibilities and the power to renew and transport elsewhere. A star hovers over her forehead, guiding her struggling spirit, and behind her are tree branches and a full moon whose light, symbolizing intuition and imagination, is permitting her to write.⁴⁰ The city, with its bridges and churches, is far away in the distance. She seems oblivious to it, enraptured as she is, her arms outstretched and a contemplative smile on her face.

On the 1899-1900 covers, the female is both a performer in modern dress, a violinist, and an imaginary character with those immortalizing laurel leaves atop her long hair. A lyre crowns the scene (Illustration 12). Like the 1898-99 figure, the 1899-1900 one is standing on water, this time a quiet pond. She appears to be emerging from the water itself, like the lily pods and grass which encircle her and which the bottom of her dress resembles. In back of her is the outline of a large moon in which are reflected a forest (symbolizing the unconscious, fertility, and enchantment), three listeners (two females and one male), three swans (symbolizing the ancient Muses), and a small edifice with columns resembling a Grecian temple. Such an image suggests that music is a beautiful flower of nature, an emanation of life's source, represented by the water, as well as a mirror of the unconscious and the spirit of ancient Greece. As in the 1898-99 image, the trees provides a backdrop to the metaphorical light of the music, the shade of the trees also serving as a place of refuge and seclusion from the world.

On the 1900-1901 covers, the forest and pond reappear, but there are only two women, each dressed in the unisex tunics as on the covers of the Colonne chamber music programs the year before (Illustration 13). Since they are at the edge of the water staring off, seemingly caught up in their own musing, they recall the listeners in the background of the previous year's design. There are other reminiscences as well in this otherwise very stylized art nouveau drawing. One of the trees has arched around the women as the moon shape did on the 1898-99 and 1899-1900 covers. The only musical image on this cover is a tiny "flûte de pan" [panpipes], silent and hidden among the grass in the lower right corner.

40 Walker points out two additional meanings associated with the moon that bear consideration here: first, that the Greek name Europa, mother of continental Europe, means "full moon", and, second, that in Central Asia the moon was seen as a mirror reflecting everything in the world. *Ibid.*, pp. 344-345.



Illustration 12



Illustration 13

When an institution of high art turns to folk instruments to represent music in general, it is worth pondering the possible reasons, especially when the reference continues the next season. On the 1901-02 covers, the forest and pond are still there, the birds are now in flight, perhaps alluding to the movement of the music, and the idealized female, with hair up and one breast exposed, returns as a performer (Illustration 14). This time, however, she is playing the panpipes. Did the Colonne program designers feel that depicting music in such a humble way was the most appropriate response to the beginning of the new century. After all, who could imagine what music might become? Or, more likely, was it that their replacement of the lyre of classical Greek society by the panpipes associated with the Greek god of the forests, Pan, followed a corresponding aesthetic change in their concept of music? Both the design with the panpipes as well as the chamber music program covers showing the 18th century couple put music in a rural context. This suggests that around 1900 the Colonne program designers came to associate music with nature more than the imagination in general or performance in particular.⁴¹

The advertisements in the Concerts Colonne programs also depict females and in similar ways. On the back of the 1900-01 covers is an ad for Pianos A. Bord (Illustration 15). In it a contemporary woman musing in the lower right and across from a scene depicting Paris dreams of feeling like a queen, represented in front of her by the image of "la Parisienne", the statue of the quint-essential modern woman built for the 1900 Exhibition atop the Porte Binet.⁴² She not only reigns over all Paris but has the entire globe at her feet when she imagines movers carrying an upright piano toward her. The ad for Pianos A. Bord the following year is completely different (Illustration 16). Like the image on the program cover that year, it shows a woman with her hair tied up, one breast exposed, surrounded by green branches and stars suggesting inspiration and immortality. Smiling, she plays the lyre. At her feet is little Pan, a mythological faun with goat ears and feet who accompanies her on the panpipes. Even though this is an ad for new and used pianos, the only modern instrument represented is the cello at their side, shown from behind. The point is that one can sell pianos by selling music itself, whether represented by performing women, ancient instruments, or modern ones – all shown here simultaneously.

41 Brooks Toliver is currently writing a dissertation at U.C.L.A. on Debussy and his ideas about nature, especially as reflected in his orchestral *Images*.

42 Compare this image with a drawing of "la Parisienne", reproduced in Debora Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 292.

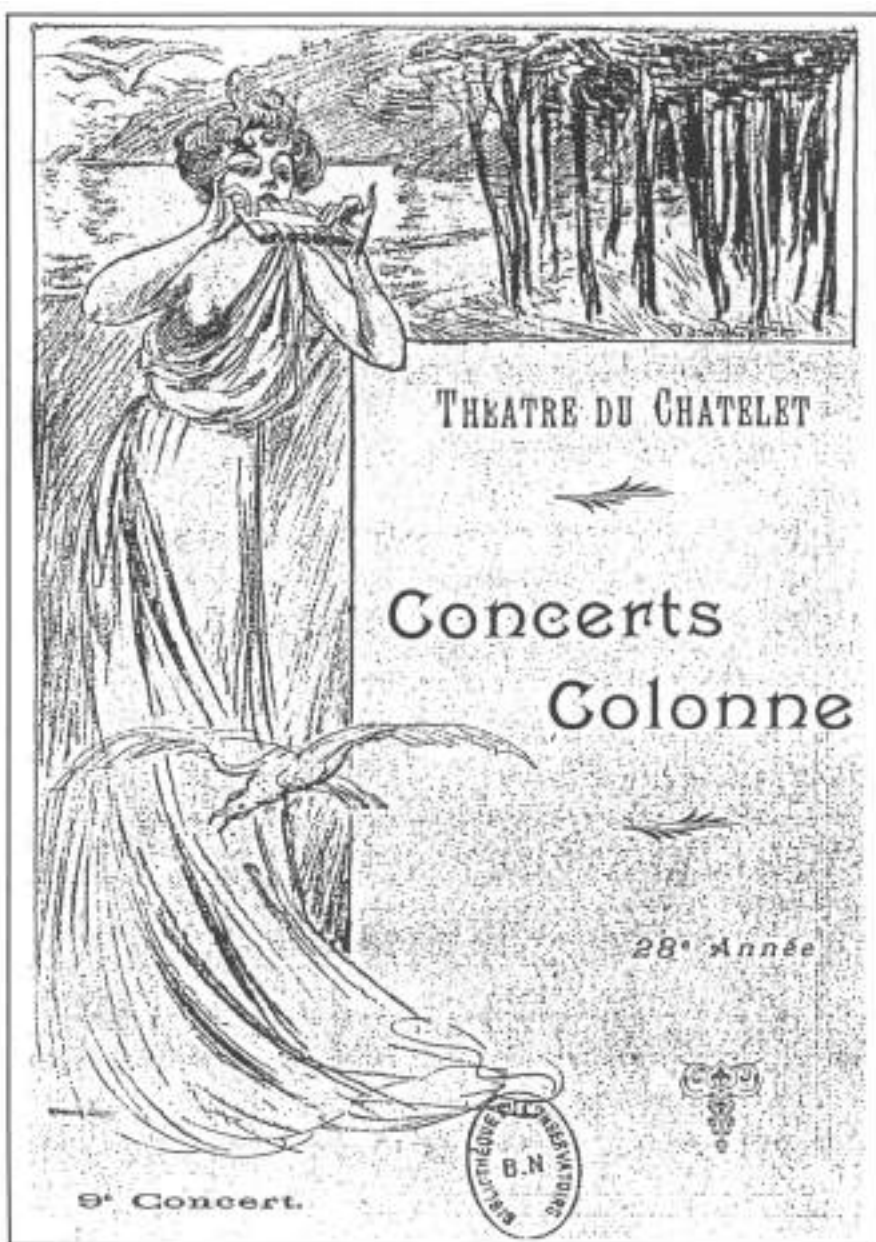
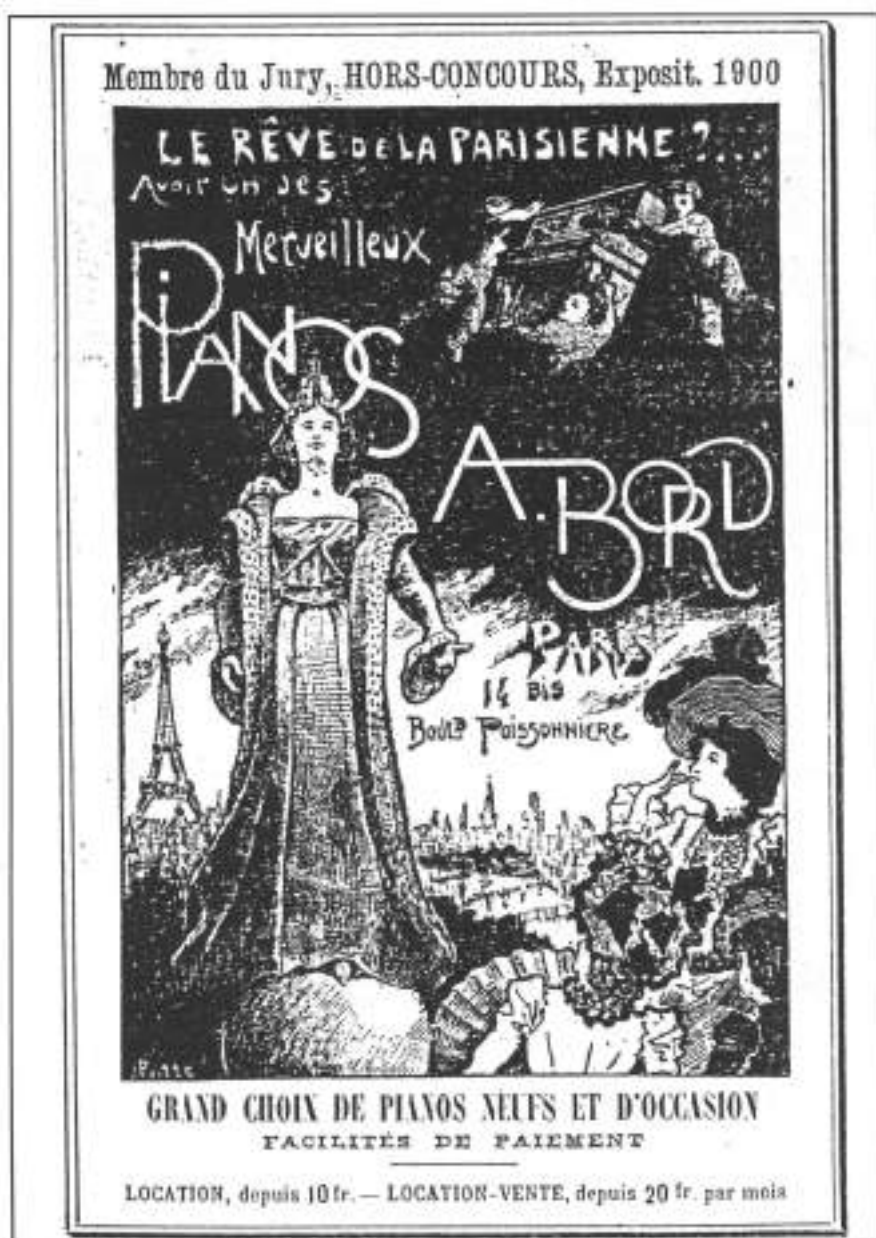


Illustration 14

*Illustration 15*

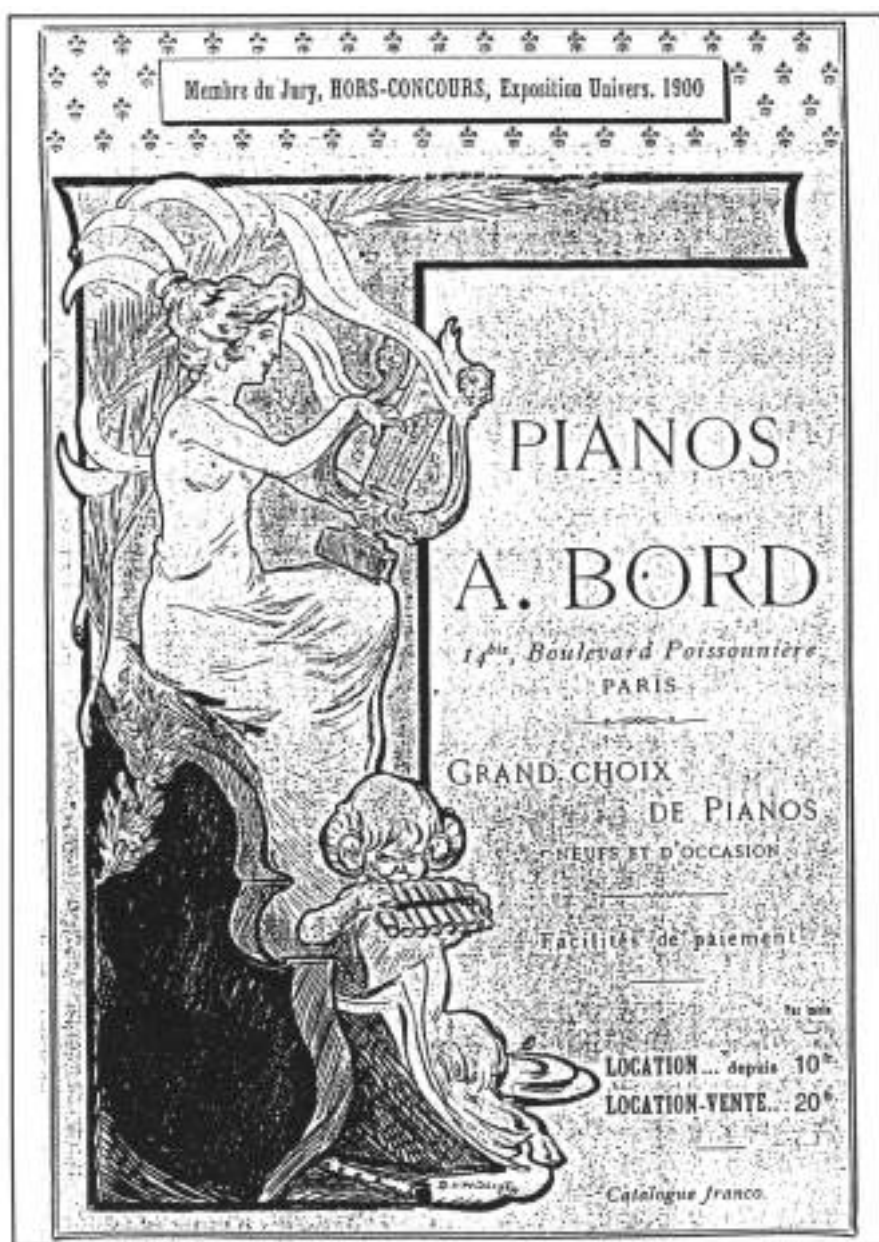


Illustration 16

Around 1900, concert programs began to change in many ways. The covers of the Concerts Lamoureux programs in 1900-01 and 1901-02, which are identical, no longer present images of women, but are plain sober designs of a lyre over an open score. At the same time there are many more typefaces used in the printing – fifteen in 1900-01 as opposed to six in 1898-99. And, although the relative size of the names of works, composers, and performers is the same as on the preceding years' programs, there are occasions in which one or two works are singled out for a larger typestyle than that of the other works especially in the middle of concert programs. For example, Liszt's *Faust Symphony*, fourth on the program of 3 March 1901, stands out in this way, as does Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*, likewise fourth on 27 October 1901, Lalo's *Symphony in G minor* on 16 February 1902, Schumann's *Fourth Symphony* and Beethoven's *Seventh* on 13 April 1902, the first performance in this series of Ropartz's *Symphony on a Breton chorale* on 22 February 1903, Mozart's *Symphony No. 38* on 8 November 1903, and Borodin's *Symphony in B Minor* on 16 December 1906.⁴³ It is interesting that in each case the program designers have used a larger typeface for symphonies, whether classical or contemporary, in repertory or in first performances. Even though this differentiation does not hold for all symphonies performed during this period at the Concerts Lamoureux, it does argue for the increasing importance of the genre during this period⁴⁴ and suggests that, in spite of the staggering variety performed on each concert, it is the symphony that the Association des Concerts Lamoureux saw as their most important genre.⁴⁵

The year 1900 also marks a remarkable change in the size of the program books, especially those of the Concerts Lamoureux. Whereas previously they were no more than four to six pages in length, after 1900 they expanded dramatically, often including up to thirteen pages of advertising – ads for pianos, organs, perfumes, train travel, and clothes. Over the next few years, the number of advertisements in these programs increased even more as various con-

43 The 3 March 1901 concert also included Weber's Overture to *Freischütz*, a Saint-Saëns work for violin, Lalo and Saint-Saëns songs for voice and orchestra, a Berlioz aria from *Les Troyens*, and a Wagner march; on 27 October 1901 the Beethoven was preceded by the Overture to Wagner's *Meistersingers*, an excerpt from Borodin's *Polovtsian Dances*, and the first performance of Debussy's complete *Nocturnes*; the concert on 13 April 1902 started with Berlioz's Overture to *Benvenuto-Cellini*, and later included a Saint-Saëns' violin solo, Chabrier's *Espana*, a minuet from Gluck's *Orfeo*, and an excerpt from Wagner's *Tannhäuser*.


44 See Brian Hart's dissertation for an analysis of this genre at the time.

45 This practice of singling out one or two works appeared only rarely in the programs of the Concerts Lamoureux in later years, unlike at the Concerts Colonne where different size type was common both before and after this period.

cert organizations and music publishers inserted flyers announcing specialized events and newly published scores.

The most significant change in concert programs after 1902 is again on the covers. At both the Concerts Lamoureux and the Concerts Colonne as well as at some salon concerts, male figures gradually replace women on the cover designs. The gender of the lutist pictured on Louis Diémer's private program of 12 May 1902, for example, is androgenous, for the shapely legs and delicate fingers suggest a woman while the short pants and medium length hair, a man (Illustration 17). Perhaps she is lady music masquerading as a male bard, but gone are her traditional lyre and laurel wreath. On the cover of the Concerts Lamoureux programs for 1903-04, however, the figure is unmistakably male (Illustration 18). Head in hand, possibly relaxing in a corridor outside a concert hall, the man seems lost in a dream. The smoke which rises over him contains an image of that dream, its sinuous lines recalling the incense encircling the woman on the 1899-1900 programs. Out of the smoke and functioning visually and symbolically as an intermediary between the man's thoughts and the dream itself is a woman with flowers in her hair and breasts exposed, lady music. From her arm extended behind her, women warriors on horses emerge. With wing-shaped helmets, breasts exposed, and their hair flowing behind them, they are lady music given an explicit form, an obvious reference to the Walkyries. For the first time then, the reference here is not music in general, but Wagner's music with which the Concerts Lamoureux had been associated since the 1880s.

The Concerts Colonne introduce men on their program covers beginning in 1902-03. Gone are the references to ancient Greek instruments and nature. In their place are a cherubic girl playing the violin on the upper half of the cover and a photograph of the conductor Edouard Colonne on the lower half. This is the first time an actual performer appears on program covers of the time, and the first time there is a photograph instead of a line drawing. Probably responsible for this change was the manager of *Musica*, Gabriel Astruc. Astruc began publishing the Colonne programs that year along with the first issues of his monthly music magazine. In taking on the Colonne programs, perhaps he hoped to enhance the magazine's visibility and readership. Astruc was a promoter of performers and someone intent on capitalizing on modern life; he understood the market perhaps better than anyone else in the musical world. To distinguish his magazine from others, he used photographs on virtually every page. For the next three years the covers of *Musica* as well as the Colonne programs present the same image – the drawing of the idealized young violinist over a photograph of some eminent performer – Edouard Colonne on the Colonne programs and a different performer each month on the cover of *Musica* (Illustration 19). Woven into the lines encircling these images on both



PROGRAMME
DU 12 MAI 1902

1. *Quadrille, pour Piano et Instruments à Cordes*..... SAINT-SAËNS
MM. Jules BOUCHÉROT, G. CATHERINE, EVOLEBERT,
Ferdie THIBAUD et Louis DIÉRIER.
2. « *Devotion Noces (A. Fournier ou Vaut)*..... L. DIÉRIER
« *Quart (Fournier)*..... L. DIÉRIER
M. G. MAUGUÉRE.
3. « *Les Cloches de la Mer*..... SAINT-SAËNS
« *Feuille de Toupier*..... SAINT-SAËNS
Mme la Comtesse de HALPHROD.
4. *Berceuse, pour Violon*..... SAINT-SAËNS
M. Jules BOUCHÉROT.
5. *Cavatine du Bachier de Seville*..... ROSSINI
Mlle SAGE.
6. « *Plainte*..... SAINT-SAËNS
« *Enlèvement*..... SAINT-SAËNS
M. G. MAUGUÉRE.
7. « *Variations sur un thème de Schubert*..... SAINT-SAËNS
« *Scherzo, pour 2 Pianos*..... SAINT-SAËNS
MM. Louis DIÉRIER et Edmond WIELER.
8. « *Le Meyer*..... SCHUMANN
« *Brévaude*..... STRAUSS
Mme la Comtesse de HALPHROD.
9. *Romance, pour Violoncelle et Piano*..... L. DIÉRIER
M. Fouché THIBAUD et FALTRICH.
10. *Air de la Fidé amoureuse*..... MOZART
Mlle SAGE.
11. *Final de la 1^{re} Sonate*..... SAINT-SAËNS
MM. Jules BOUCHÉROT et DIÉRIER.

Illustration 17. Courtesy of the Edouard Risler Collection



Illustration 18



Illustration 19

covers are two excerpts of a musical score and written overhead on both is "La Musique et les musiciens." This text suggests that while the young female violinist still represents music in general, the scores and the actual performers, be they men or women, begin to represent themselves.⁴⁶

The following year a more scholarly journal, the *Revue Musicale*, took over publication of the Colonne programs and all generalized references to music disappear, including the idealized violinist and the scores. Over the same photograph of Colonne and in the place of the violinist is a drawing of a smiling angel holding a plaque on which the names of one or two composers appear. This drawing is identical to that which appears with the magazine's table of contents and announces one of the subjects to be discussed in each issue. It is as if the music critics and historians who directed the *Revue Musicale* thought of the composers performed on the concerts as they did the topics addressed in their journal. That is, the names point to specific music, as the image of the Walkyries do on the Lamoureux programs that same year. But because the references remain unchanged for the whole season, as with the Lamoureux design, regardless which music is performed at the concerts, the composers' names here function as examples of music in general rather than signifiers of particular music.

When *Musica* resumed publication of the Colonne programs in 1904-05, the cover imagery reverts to that of 1902-03, though with some variation (Illustration 19). Here we again have the entwining scores as well as the little violinist; however she is now much smaller and relegated to the upper right corner while the photograph of Colonne takes up almost the entire page.

What led to this change on the program covers between 1902 and 1904 from women to men, from generalized images of music to scores, photographs of illustrious performers, and even references to popular composers? In this limited context, we can only begin to suggest some answers. Feminism was clearly on the rise especially after the international women's congresses in 1889, 1896, and 1900 and with the formation of the Conseil national des femmes françaises in 1901. By 1900 there were seven women's organizations in France and twenty-one feminist periodicals.⁴⁷ Political writers who considered "the feminist movement a historical necessity" pushed women to consi-

46 Women as well as men appear on the covers of *Musica* during this period. On that of the December 1902 issue, for example, there is a photograph of the Swedish Opera singer Aïno Ackté.

47 La Société pour l'amélioration du sort de la femme et pour la revendication de ses droits, la Solidarité, la Ligue pour le droit des femmes, l'Union universelle des femmes, l'Avant-Courrière, l'Egalité, and le Féminisme chrétien. See Gaston Choisy, "Le Féminisme en Europe", *Revue bleue* (January-June 1900): 271, 273. For a list of some of the feminist journals, see Offen, 655.

der themselves "a class."⁴⁸ Still, even though there were numerous changes in women's social, civil, and economic rights, most laws remained rigorously male-oriented.⁴⁹ In 1903, husbands continued to own everything of their wives, including whatever art they might produce.⁵⁰ The music critic Willy's treatment of his wife Colette exemplifies the problem and points to the legal battles yet to be fought. (For years Willy published and advertised Colette's works under his own name.)

In the musical world, two significant changes may have contributed to the transformation of the program designs. Beginning in 1902, women were allowed to compete in the prestigious Prix de Rome competitions in the arts. And in 1904, with much public debate, the Minister of Fine-Arts opened the string classes at the Conservatoire to women for the first time. Perhaps as feminism became an increasingly important force and female musicians were more broadly accepted, everyone was less likely to idealize women, to use them to represent something other than themselves.

The design decisions made inside concert programs between 1900 and 1904 reveal other changes as well, especially the rising status of performers. Beginning in 1900, the names of important soloists begin to appear in larger and larger type on the programs of both Colonne series. Sometimes they are in big, bold type above the list of works performed. Here they can take up one third of the page, such as was the norm in recitalists' programs. By 1903 a performer's relative renown begins to determine the size of type used for his/her name. For example, on the orchestral program of 22 March 1903, the name of the famous opera singer, Ernest van Dyck, is even larger and bolder than that of the Concerts Colonne, after which in decreasing size come two female opera singers' names, followed by those of two additional male soloists (Illustration 20). At the same time composers begin to get less and less space devoted to their names on these programs. For example, on that of 24 January 1901, the name of the director of the Conservatory, Théodore Dubois, appears in the large-type list at the top of the page directly under Aïno Ackté and over the other singers' names, whereas on the program of 22 March 1903, his name is noticeably missing from an analogous list and appears only in small type next to the works performed.

During this period, the Colonne program designers also begin to use type-face size to indicate the relative importance of the conductor and the number of performers. In 1901, Colonne's name appears very small on the bottom of

48 Léon Parsons, "Les Congrès de l'Exposition", *Revue bleue* (July-December 1900): 59.

49 For a list of laws enacted between 1880 and 1914 that increased women's rights, see Jean Rabaut, *Histoire des féminismes français* (Paris: Stock, 1978), pp. 240-242.

50 Louil Delzons, "Le Féminisme et la loi", *Revue bleue* (1 August 1903): 137-144.

CONCERTS-COLONNE
THEATRE DU CHATELET

Dimanche 22 Mars 1903, à 2 h. 1/4
(Vingt-troisième Concert de l'abonnement)
AVEC LE CONCOURS DE M.

ERNEST VAN DYCK
DE M^{ME}

ADINY, DE L'OPÉRA
KORSOFF, DE L'OPÉRA-COMIQUE
ET DE M^{ME}

CLAUDE JEAN ET GUILLAMAT

OUVERTURE D'EGMONT..... BEETHOVEN.

PARYSATIS, Opéra de M^{ME} J. DUBUAT (2^e Audition) C. SAINT-SAËNS.
PROLOGUE. — a) Prélude — b) Musique de scène.

1^{er} ACTE. — a) CORO — b) DUO ET CORO. — c) ENTRÉE DE PARYSATIS
d) MARCHÉ ET CHOEUR. — e) ENTRÉE D'ASPAÏE — f) FINAL AVEC CHOEUR.

2^e ACTE. — a) CHANTON AVEC CHOEUR.
b) SCÈNE ET BALLET (Entrée du Ballet). — 1. *Allègre non troppo*.
2. *Le Ruisseau et la Rose*. — c. *Moderato*.

3^e ACTE. — CHOEUR FINAL (*O soleil de justice*).

Soprano solo : **M^{ME} KORSOFF.**
Ténor solo : **M. CLAUDE JEAN.**
Baryton solo : **M. GUILLAMAT.**

LA DAMNATION DE FAUST..... R. BERLIOZ
Invocation à la Nature.
M. VAN DYCK.

ADONIS, Poème symphonique (2^e Audition)..... TH. DUBOIS.
I. *Mort d'Adonis* (Deuil d'Aphrodite).
II. *Déploration des Nymphes*.
III. *Récit d'Adonis* (Récit de la vie. — Le Printemps).

Sous la direction de l'AUTEUR.

a) **L'OR DU RHIN**. — Récit de Loge..... R. WAGNER.
M. VAN DYCK.

b) **LA WALKYRIE**. — Chant d'amour..... R. WAGNER.
M. VAN DYCK.

c) **SIEGFRIED**. — Chant de la Forge..... R. WAGNER.
M. VAN DYCK.

d) **LE CRÉPUSCULE DES DIEUX**..... R. WAGNER.
Duo du 1^{er} Acte.
Brunnhilde : **M^{ME} ADINY.**
Siegfried : **M. VAN DYCK.**

Orchestre, soli et chœurs : 250 exécutants dirigés par
M. ED. COLONNE

CE PROGRAMME EST DISTRIBUÉ GRATUITEMENT

Prendre de ne pas entrer ni sortir pendant l'exécution des morceaux

Illustration 20

each program; on 22 March 1903, however, it is equal in size to some of the performers' names on the top of the page. The Concerts Colonne also give increasing attention to the number of performers on stage when that number is larger than normal. On 22 March 1903, for example, they note 250 performers under Colonne's direction. Two years later the typeface used to indicate the number of performers at a concert grows so large and bold that it begins to dwarf all other type on the page. When it comes to the participation of 200 children and 500 other performers on 22 January 1905, for example, the program uses print for these numbers that exceeds the size of everything but the typefaces of the work, Gabriel Pierné's *The Crusade of the Children*, and Colonne himself.

The Concerts Lamoureux programs also increasingly draw attention to performers after 1900. Whereas the conductor's name is absent from their 1898 programs (Illustration 1), it is in bold on the bottom of the 1900-01 programs. The name of the concert organization also increases in size and importance. By 1903-04 it takes up one fifth of the page, significantly larger than any other element of the design. For most of the first decade, their name, the place, and the date occupy one-half of the page, relegating the list of works to the other half.⁵¹ This is quite different from the Concerts Colonne where the list of works far outsizes the space for the name, date, and location. But like the Colonne programs, the Lamoureux programs too begin to feature well-known performers, placing their names in large bold type over the list of works.⁵² It is also significant that the Concerts Lamoureux for the first time in fall 1903 and the Concerts Colonne somewhat later begin to list the names of the orchestra members and their instruments in their programs. In their notes, they also start listing previous performers of noted roles, such as the four or five best known singers who sang in Gluck's *Armide* between 1777 and the revivals of 1905 and 1906.

This is the beginning of star performers, not the advent of virtuosi, of course, but of performers' names used as a marketing tool. Without the organizers changing the basic concert formula of multiple composers, genres, and styles, they apparently believed that performers would attract audiences more than works or composers.⁵³ It should be no surprise, then, that just as Colonne's

51 The name of the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, Lamoureux's old employer, together with the date and location of their concerts, could take up to two-thirds of the page on their programs in 1902, leaving only one third to the list of works.

52 Other concert series, such as the Société Nationale, the Schola Cantorum, and the Concerts Le Rey, treat major participating artists' names similarly just after the turn of the century.

53 Performers' salaries also rose significantly during this period, especially for those who traveled abroad.

photograph remains on the covers of his orchestral concert programs until the war, Francis Touche put a drawing of himself on the programs of his orchestral series from its inception in 1907 and eventually even the Concerts Lamoureux used this design tactic. On their 1912-13 program covers, they placed a photograph of Lamoureux, the association's founder, next to that of Chéviillard, its conductor since 1899. Concurrently throughout this period, presenting organizations such as Gabriel Astruc's Société Musicale sponsored increasing numbers of solo recitals.

Keyboard manufacturers also begin to use performers rather than allegorical women to sell their merchandise. In the fall 1902 programs of the Concerts Lamoureux, the ad for Steinway pianos, for example, consists of a list of performers who have played or intend to play Steinways – Busoni, Godowski, and Paderewski, among others. Their 1903 ads reproduce letters from various performers praising the beauty, power, and solidity of the instruments. In 1904-05 their ads feature not only laudatory citations from Berlioz, Paderewski, and Liszt, but also their photographs; in 1907 only photographs of famous pianists appear in these ads in the Concerts Colonne programs. Estey Organ ads during this period consist of a similar list of praising remarks as do the Bechstein piano ads which reproduce endorsements from Liszt, Saint-Saëns, and Pablo de Sarasate.⁵⁴

The enormous variety on most programs eventually began to wear on listeners and complaints from critics, together with the example of a few performers, gradually stimulated programming that diverged somewhat from the traditional fare. In the 5 January 1901 issue of the influential political and literary journal, the *Revue bleue*, the music critic Adolphe Boschot rails that "the big concerts have stopped adapting to the tastes of true music-lovers. ... At least half the room already knows by heart the music it will hear." The overabundance of variety at concerts, he argues, makes them more exhausting than pleasurable. And it encourages composers to use the "most regrettable spices" to get attention. To counterbalance this, he suggests "composing" programs "as a poet composes a stanza, or as a woman puts together her apartment", that is, presenting works that bear some relationship to one another, whether all by the same composer or all written during the same period.⁵⁵ The success of Edouard Risler's six piano recitals "in historical form" in 1900 and 1901 encouraged this new approach to programming, as did Colonne's concerts

54 Unlike their competitors during this period, the ads for Pianos Alphonse Blondel keep the idealized woman playing a lyre next to water.

55 Adolphe Boschot, "Quinzaine Musicale. L'art des programmes", *Revue bleue* (5 January 1901): 29-30.

dedicated entirely to Massenet on 6 November 1898, to Saint-Saëns on 4 November 1900,⁵⁶ and to a Berlioz cycle in 1900.⁵⁷

Between 1901 and 1905 Chéviard infused slightly more coherence in the Concerts Lamoureux by performing some composers' symphonies in chronological order. In November 1901, December 1902, and May 1905 he conducted the symphonies of Beethoven, in November 1902 those of Schumann, and in November 1903 a set of five Mozart symphonies. In fall 1902 Colonne presented all four Brahms symphonies. These symphonies continued to share the concerts with other composers' music; however, there were more and more exceptions. Compare, for example, the experience of two visiting composer-conductors: at the Concerts Colonne on 25 March 1900 Siegfried Wagner conducted works not only by himself and his father, but also by Liszt, whereas when Richard Strauss came in March 1903, he conducted a concert of his own works exclusively. On 21 April that same year the Schola Cantorum presented an all-Debussy concert. Still it was not until 1905 that only one composer's music appeared on regularly scheduled orchestral concerts. The Concerts Lamoureux presented all Beethoven on 1 January 1905 and all Wagner on 24 December 1905 (still in the conventional assortment of an overture, three vocal excerpts, and six orchestral ones). Astruc reinforced this new practice when, during the first season of his Société Musicale that same year, he sponsored an all-Mozart Festival and an all-Beethoven one.

Arguably the most unusual development in 1905 were two concerts that focused on one genre. On 19 November the Concerts Lamoureux presented only program music. And in February Wanda Landowska offered a concert entitled "voltes and vales" in which she performed 17th-century voltes on the harpsichord and 19th-century waltzes on the piano.⁵⁸ In the notes, Landowska explained the history of this genre. That year she and the pianist Ricardo Viñes also gave concerts in the tradition started by Risler, that is, organized by historical period. Viñes did four spanning the history of music, organized by

56 Although this concert focused entirely on Saint-Saëns, it included all the genres one might expect on a typical mixed program, beginning with a march, followed by a piano concerto, a symphony, a vocal work in first performance, a violin concerto, and a symphonic poem. In his notes for this concert, Charles Malherbe praises Saint-Saëns for having written for all genres and thus knowing "everything that one can know."

57 The Société Nationale put on two such concerts as commemorative gestures, the first of all Franck's music on 24 March 1900 and the second of all Chausson's on 9 April 1900. These, however, were rare exceptions and the only concerts they presented between 1890 and 1910 without any premieres of new works.

58 This concert, which included Schubert's noble and sentimental waltzes, perhaps inspired Ravel to write his own set.

nationality and style, and Landowska one called "J.S. Bach and his Contemporaries."

In 1904-05 and 1905-06, the covers of the Concerts Lamoureux changed again, this time totally eschewing allegorical imagery in favor of an increasing simplicity or abstraction (Illustration 21). The covers for both years, as well as 1907-08, have a very plain border edged with stylized identical flowers that change slightly each year. Absent is any reference to music. The program booklets are smaller than before and on less expensive mat paper, although still published by the concert organization, unlike those of the Concerts Colonne during this period.

Some of the program notes also depart from conventional formulas during this period, changing their focus at times to argue similar points. On 8 January 1905, for example, instead of giving the usual biographical and performance history of the works performed, which had been the norm at the Concerts Lamoureux and Colonne, the annotator uses Beethoven's Sixth Symphony, Florent Schmitt's *Etude symphonique pour le "Palais hanté" d'Edgar Poe*, and Richard Strauss' *Tod und Verklärung* to question the genre of program music. For the Beethoven, he cites Victor Wilder who, in a book on the composer, asserts that Beethoven was averse to programmatic music and believed more in "the expression of feeling than in musical painting." Then, just as the covers of these concerts had abolished references to women and music, he cites Wilder as promoting a similar tactic: "Abolish the program and the musical framework of the symphony is not less clear." The notes for the Schmitt work also diverge from conventional practice and seem intended to rebut anyone who might be tempted to assume a program in it. Before giving the text on which the work is based, the notes say (perhaps in the words of the composer), "This music makes no attempt to follow the poem literally. It only wants to give an impression of the fantastic and imprecise vision that the Mallarmé translation suggests." After such an introduction, it is hard to read both the Poe text that follows and the argument given for the Strauss work without reconsidering the relationship between the music and its program.

The notes accompanying the 1906-07 Concerts Lamoureux signal another aesthetic change – an increasing interest in the 18th century and a sympathetic nod to aristocratic preoccupations. The covers, printed on pale green shiny paper, are a complete departure from those of the two previous years (Illustration 22). Like the Concerts Colonne programs with the 18th-century luteist in 1899-1900, they are a complete anomaly. On the top is a drawing of an 18th-century man in a wig playing the violin. A neoclassical garden design surrounds the image. The notes, introducing a new perspective, underline not the performance history of the works but the international experience of the composers performed. In the six lines given to Florent Schmitt for the first

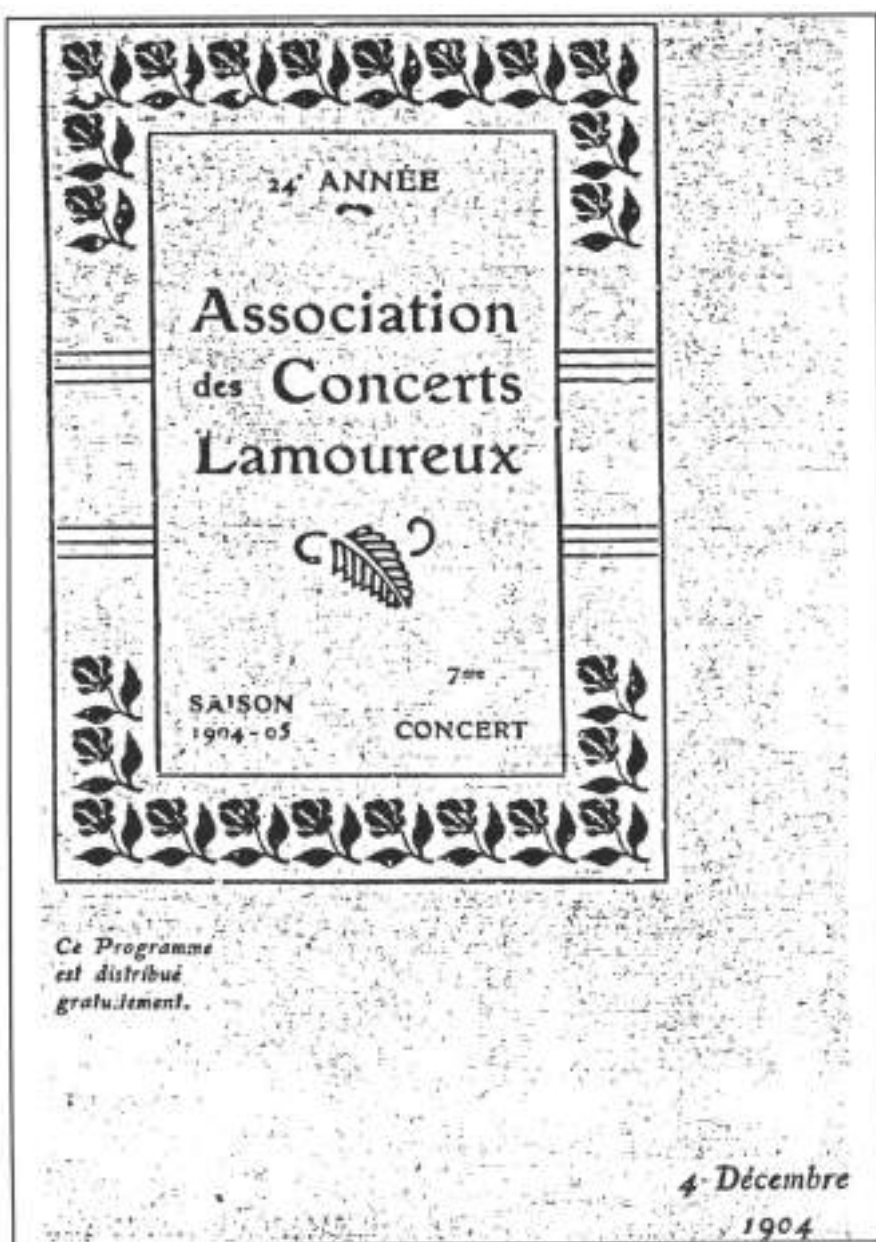


Illustration 21

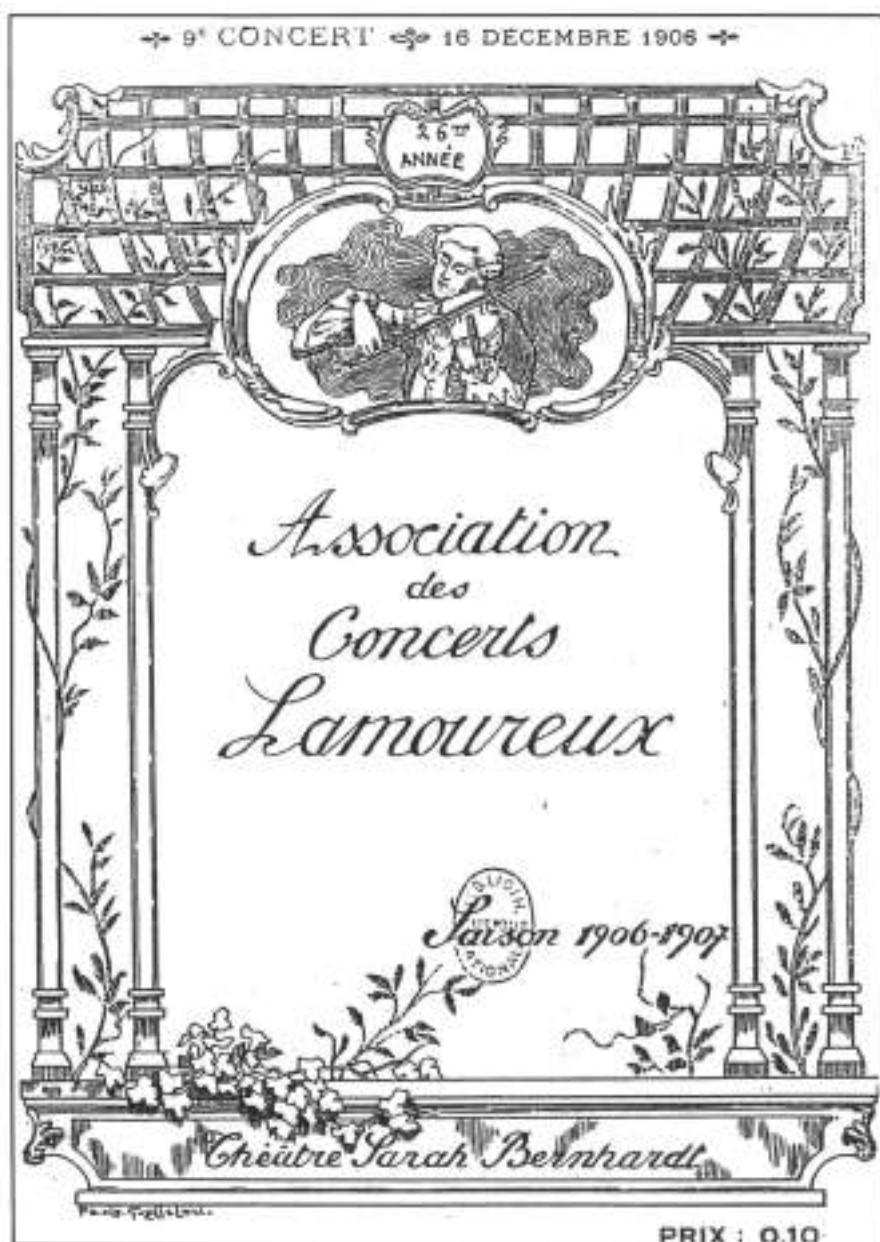


Illustration 22

performance of his *Musiques de plein air* on 16 December 1906, for example, we learn of his travels to Spain, Germany and Turkey; and of Edward Elgar whose *Serenade* was given its first performance on the same concert, we're told only that he is the most well-known of the Modern English School and that his works are often performed in England and Germany. This concert began with Gluck's overture to *Iphigénie en Aulide*, a work often performed with a coda written by Wagner in 1854.

In 1907-08, the covers return to the abstract designs of 1904-06, but the interest in 18th-century music and in the juxtaposition of 18th-century music with late 19th/early 20th-century music becomes even more prevalent.⁵⁹ On 19 January 1908, for example, the *Concerts Lamoureux* began with the popular Gluck overture to *Iphigénie en Aulide* and presented the predictable array of genres – an overture, two tone poems, some vocal excerpts, short dances, and a symphony. The music, however, is limited to Gluck and Rameau representing the 18th century and to Franck and d'Indy, the late 19th/early 20th century.⁶⁰ (cf. Illustrations 2 and 23.)

The extensive notes for Rameau's *Dardanus* on this program provide a provocative window onto the contemporary fascination with 18th-century music. In them, ideology takes precedence over the works' performance and reception history. Excerpted from Louis Laloy's analysis of the work in the *Tablettes de la Schola*, the notes present *Dardanus* as an example of music that turns its back on "the modern musical drama since Wagner, full of symbols and moral or social ideas." Laloy remarks,

The opera of the 18th century is a festival [or a feast, "fête"], not an instructive lesson ["enseignement"]. Everything here breathes of joy, magnificence; everything is more beautiful than nature; everything happens in a happy dream and perpetual enchantment. If the plots seem conventional to us, the episodes predictable ... the feelings expressed in too florid a language to be sincere, let us not forget that these heroes ... these gods ... these temples ... gave the public of the period what the dry literature denied them, that is, the emotions of tenderness and heroism ... in a word, poetry. ... There is no music that feels like his great lord more than that of Rameau, none that approaches this elegant liberated pride, none that gives the idea of a man so sure of himself and his thought, so perfectly born for leadership ["commandement"]. The entrance of the warriors in the first act of *Dardanus* is of a heroism without equal. ...

59 In a way, this juxtaposition builds upon the tradition begun by the chamber music series of the *Concerts Colonne* in 1898-1900, wherein each concert presented "la musique ancienne" in the first half and "la musique moderne" in the second half.

60 D'Indy conducted this concert, as he did several others of the *Concerts Lamoureux* during this period. Typical of the kind of programs he put together is the juxtaposition of his music with that of Gluck, Rameau, and a few contemporaries.

Association
DES
Concerts Lamoureux

QUATORZIÈME CONCERT
(Série B)
Dimanche 19 Janvier 1908

PROGRAMME

1. *OUVERTURE D'«IPHIGÉNIE EN AULIDE»*. GLUCK
2. *LES ÉOLIDES*, Poème symphonique..... CÉSAR FRANCK
3. *DARDANUS (Fragments)*..... RAMEAU
 - I. TROISIÈME ACTE: Scène 1^{re} et Air.
M^{me} Marthe PHILIPP.
 - II. QUATRIÈME ACTE: Scène III et Air.
M. Louis BOURGEOIS.
- III. AIRS DE BALLET: a. Menuet. — b. Rondeau du sommeil. — c. Rigaudon.
4. *SAUGEFLURIE*, Légende p^r Orchestre... VINCENT D'INDY
5. *DEUXIÈME SYMPHONIE* en si bémol
(en quatre parties)..... VINCENT D'INDY
 - I. Introduction et premier mouvement (très vif).
 - II. Modérément lent.
 - III. Interimède (modéré et très animé).
 - IV. Introduction, Fugue et Finaie (assez vif).

Le CONCERT sera dirigé par M. Vincent d'INDY



PARFUM ULTRA PERSISTANT
La Corrida
ED. PINAUD
18, PLACE VENDÔME, PARIS

Illustration 23

With time, Rameau's music has lost the harmonic and tonal obscurities that so shocked the large public of the time; it has become entirely clear and luminous. In this way, with unerring certainty, the genius of Rameau has revealed the path in which our music should proceed if it is to satisfy the new demands of our own sensibility.

Laloy was not alone in thinking of Rameau as a model from which his culture could learn, even if this music did recall the old world of "great lords", i.e. aristocrats.⁶¹ He and another respected critic, Lionel de la Laurencie, both published books about Rameau in 1908 and in May that year the music journal *Courrier Musical* devoted an entire issue to the composer. After hearing *Hippolyte et Aricie* at the Opéra on 14 July 1908, the music critic Pierre Lalo wrote to the Minister of Fine-Arts in January 1909, "There is a lot more novelty in such a work than in the combined operas of most of the musicians of our time."

Program annotators of this period also give increasing attention to Gluck's music and gradually its novelty for them takes precedence over classical beauty or universal appeal. In 1899, for example, the Concerts Colonne programs describe this music as the cover designers depict women, that is, "as a pure and beneficial source in which the dramatic art of all times and all countries can drench itself." In 1900 they write of it as "full of unending beauty." In 1906, however, the notes detail a performance history of his works – *Armide*, they say, was performed 382 times since its premiere in 1776. And in the 20 October 1912 program of the Concerts Colonne (when three Gluck works were interspersed with Debussy, d'Indy, Moussorgsky, and Wagner), the annotator goes even further, explaining the differences between the Italian and French versions of his music, summarizing Berlioz's appreciation of it, and describing the revolutionary nature of its innovations, especially in the overtures.

Whether this 18th-century music was actually "novel" to 20th century ears or part of a ploy to reinvigorate 18th-century values at the expense of 19th-century ones, interest in novelty per se rose steadily after 1905 and eventually became an important marketing tool. On 13 August 1906 J. Guyot, director of the Société moderne des instruments à vent, wrote to Gabriel Astruc, who was fast becoming an expert in music marketing, "We have done a lot of premieres and have the merit of being innovative. Don't you think this is a genre to exploit in our time?"⁶²

61 In his *Musique et société du second empire aux années vingt* (Paris: Flammarion, 1985), Michel Faure argues that Rameau's music was an emblem of the Right (pp. 280-285). He cites Wanda Landowska and Romain Rolland as among those who pushed for aristocratic art through Rameau.

62 Gabriel Astruc Archives, Archives Nationales 409 AP 29.

Concert organizations too began to focus on the new, or pretense of the new. The first "Concerts d'Avant-garde", produced by Astruc for *Musica* on 9 December 1907, presented five premieres of recent works along with d'Indy's *Symphony on a Mountain Air* (1886). Although the title might imply otherwise, however, this concert was no more adventurous than the typical programs of the Société Nationale, none of the music particularly "avant-garde" for the time. The orchestral series, too, occasionally departed from their normal fare around this time. On 26 January 1908, the Concerts Colonne performed a concert entirely of late 19th-century and early 20th-century music. Debussy's *La Mer* was given its second Colonne performance at this concert. In the notes, the program annotator Malsherbe presents these works as exploring new territory. In *La Mer*, he writes, "fantasy takes precedence over rules;" in Franck's symphonic poem, *Psyche*, "the ideal dream of the soul reaches for the unknown."

Public taste was changing. Even the advertisements in the programs followed this increased interest in the new. In the 26 January 1908 program described above, there is an ad for pearls showing a half-naked female inside of half an oyster shell under which is written, "Novelty" [sic]. Likewise an ad for Belgian furs in a May 1909 program features in large type the words, "To Innovation". At the same time, the number and variety of ads published in concert programs, especially those sponsored by Astruc, grew dramatically, sometimes at the expense of space for program notes. Ads not only for clothes, pianos, train travel, and music publishers as before, but also for furniture and food. The quality of these ads demanded that they often take up full pages. Photographs in ads became equal in size or larger and certainly as good in quality as those of star performers or composers. This was especially true in the programs of the expensive series to which Astruc wished to attract high-class audiences. A 1908 concert organized by Astruc and called "Performance of modern works" features full page ads for hats by Amicy and something else new – ads for banks such as the Société Générale.

The taste for luxury and luxurious programs grew as aristocratic audiences increased, drawn by the increasing presence of music composed during the ancien regime. With its "Evening at Versailles" on 11 July 1908 and its "Evening at the Bagatelle Gardens" on 20 June 1909, the Société des Grandes Auditions sought to attract those with family dating back to the ancien regime as well as contemporaries with aristocratic pretensions. The entertainment consisted of musical and literary analogues to this audience. At Versailles, music by Gluck and Rameau was interspersed with "danses anciennes" by Fauré; excerpts from Molière were followed by poems of Robert de Montequiou and Henri de Régnier. At the Bagatelle gardens, Charles Bordes conducted Rameau's *Anacréon*. The programs and invitations consisted of very

elaborate lithographs on thick textured paper. The cover of the Versailles program was printed in color.

Concert organizers conceived of luxury in specifically musical terms too. Note the number of performers listed on the cover of the program for the Festival Franco-Anglais in May 1909. At this concert organized by aristocrats and those in power for the purpose of increasing communication between the English and the French and acknowledging their political and social alliances, a thousand from the two countries participated. The year before at a concert called "La France héroïque" and organized by Astruc for a Countess, there were 2000 performers, many of them children from Parisian schools.

By 1910, the number of ads in concert programs grew to overwhelm whatever musical information they contained and critics, marketing managers, and the public began to think of music increasingly in terms of ever-changing fashion and fashion in terms of trends in music. That year the music journal *Courrier Musical* published a regular column among the advertisements at the back of each issue, "Fashion by way of the arts [La Mode à travers les arts]." In it, Jan de la Tour rails against the constantly new and ever more bizarre fashions which he blames on certain women's taste for avant-garde music:

This title, chosen to flatter feminists, ambitious for the right to vote [ambitieux de suffrages, même universels], would become even more true with the variant, "Fashion by way of the artists." Three-fourths of all women have become worshippers of Debussy under pressure from fashion, which has made a god of this musician of troubling and perverse harmonies. Proud of their solid majority, the clothes of these devotees boldly celebrate the new cult.

In the May issue, he writes more of the same about Ravel and his admirers "whose hats have the characteristics of his music. ... When searching for new sensations and rare invention, when declaring Wagner 'finished' and Franck 'without any skill', one does well to affirm a personal aesthetic even in one's coiffure."

Just as a woman's taste in hats and dresses might reflect her musical tastes, marketing managers sometimes borrowed names from successful musical works to use with their newest products. Writing of the spring 1911 programs of the Ballets Russes in *Comoedia illustré*, a critic takes particular notice of certain perfumes he smelled in them to explain the extent of their beauty, elegance and luxury: "Exquisite emanations of the perfume *Mary Garden* by Rigaud mixed in with those of *Prince Igor* and the hall was a veritable bouquet of the most rich colors and rare perfumes." Of course, one imagines that only very luxurious programs such as these could have actual perfumes emanating from their ads, but even the most modest concert series such as the Concerts Rouges featured fashion ads in their programs. These ads suggest that there

were significant socio-economic differences among the concert-going public during this period.

Increasingly certain concerts demonstrate not only an alliance between fashion and the new in music, but also shared concerns and even collaborative relationships between aristocrats and avantgarde musicians. On 17 April 1910, the Société des Grandes Auditions headed by the Countess Greffulhe sponsored the first French performance of Mahler's Second Symphony by the Concerts Colonne. (Among the many fashion ads in their program one finds an unusual one for American shoes!) Among the first concerts given by the newly-formed Société Musicale Indépendente was one on 4 May 1910 in which John Bull's 17th-century harpsichord pieces were performed along side Javanese transcriptions, De Falla's music, and seven premieres. And then on 22 June 1913, the Société des Grandes Auditions joined forces with the Société Musicale Indépendente to present a concert which was not only international in flavor but also dedicated to the newest trends in contemporary music (Illustration 24). Beecham conducted first French performances of works from five countries, including Maria Freund singing the final scene of the first part of Schoenberg's *Gurrelieder*, the final chorus based on an Indian chant from Delius' *Appalachia*, and excerpts from the symphonic suite of Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé* and a work by Casella. This concert was also the occasion for the first concert performance of an excerpt from Stravinsky's *Sacre du Printemps*.

Conclusion

Concert programs thus help us trace the history of musical taste and the changing values embedded in musical reception. Physical documents handled by many, many people, they are important links between, on the one hand, concert organizers and their musicians and, on the other, marketing managers and their designers. They reflect the decisions and compromises made by these groups, their competing practical concerns and shared need for a public, the confluence of taste and ideology.

The conclusions suggested by this study are numerous. The most obvious and perhaps most revealing is what the program covers suggest about what music meant to French audiences and how this meaning changed over time. In the late 1890s, as I have shown, music was associated with allegorical women and other images that suggested fertility, spirituality, and the imagination. In the first decade of the new century, however, males, performers, musical scores, and specific male composers' names replaced this allegorical and feminine imagery. Such a transformation not only offers documentary sub-

THÉÂTRE DU CHATELET
SOCIÉTÉ DES
GRANDES AUDITIONS MUSICALES
DE FRANCE
Présidente: Le Compositeur GREFFULHE

Le Dimanche 22 Juin 1913 à 9 heures précises

CONCERT

d'Œuvres Inédites Européennes
AVEC LE CONCOURS ARTISTIQUE

S. M. I.

PROGRAMME

1. - NORFOLK RAPSODY (1 ^{re} aud.).....	VAUGHAN WILLIAMS (Angleterre)
2. - APPALACHIA, variation avec un chœur final sur un ancien chant Indien (1 ^{re} aud.).....	FREDERICK DELIUS (Angleterre)
3. - IBÉRIA.....	CLAUDE DEBUSSY (France)
4. - Scène finale de la 1 ^{re} partie des " GURRE LIEDER " (1 ^{re} aud.) chantée par M ^{me} Maria FREUND.....	ARNOLD SCHÖNBERG (Autriche)
5. - Introduction au 2 ^{me} Tableau du " SACRE DU PRINTEMPS " (1 ^{re} aud.).....	IGOR STRAVINSKY (Russie)
6. - Prologue pour une Tragédie (1 ^{re} aud.) sous la direction de l'auteur.....	ALFREDO CASELLA (Italie)
7. - 1 ^{re} suite symphonique d'après " DAPHNIS ET CHLOË " avec chœurs (1 ^{re} aud.).....	MAURICE RAVEL (France)

Orchestre et Chœurs, 200 exécutants sous la direction de
MM. BEECHAM & FRIED

Illustration 24

stantiation for the notion that high modernism increasingly repudiated femininity in preference for a male-orientation;⁶³ it also helps us to date this change and to expand the context for such a conclusion.

Program covers document a variety of other cultural and ideological fluctuations as well. While at the end of the 19th century imaginary imagery and the cosmos permeated these designs, after 1900 nature begins to prevail. This shift, however shortlived, parallels an emerging fascination with nature at the time. The *Revue naturiste*, founded in 1897, as well as Debussy's "plein air" articles in 1901 and 1903 issues of the *Revue Blanche*⁶⁴ link a concern for nature with an increasing nationalism in the culture. They refer to nature, for example, as "le culte du sol"⁶⁵ and discuss it alongside old French traditions, be they, for Debussy, the "old masters of the French Renaissance," or, as suggested on the covers of the programs for the large orchestral series, the wiggled musicians of the classical era. This positive attention to nature also draws attention to the merits of abstract formal beauty, devoid of iconic value, especially as Debussy understands it. By the middle of the first decade then, images characterized by abstract designs and neoclassical references gradually replace nature imagery on concert program covers as well as those signifying ancient Greece (laurel wreaths, lyres and panpipes, Greek temples and swans) and the implication that Greece is the source of western culture. Many of these changes, I suggest, coincide with the increasing role that aristocrats and would-be aristocrats played in the musical world of the period.

Changes in concert programming between the late 1890s and 1914 and in the manner in which works are presented also reflects the flux in cultural values. As critics began to complain and audiences to tire of an overwhelming number of genres and types of music on each concert, many began to reject the notion of progress, especially progress as boundless expansion and its

63 Andreas Huyssen makes such an argument in his *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), especially chapter 3.

64 In his dissertation-in-progress on Debussy and nature at U.C.L.A., Brooks Toliver suggests that Debussy considered nature "a source of artistic renewal." At the same time as we find changes from allegorical to natural imagery on the concert program covers, Toliver shows that critics of the time found a similar change in Debussy's own aesthetics, one that evolved from presenting "idealized images" of nature (in such works as "Sirènes" from *Nocturnes* [1900]) to translating nature's "shivering totality, [her] multiple life in all of its complexity" (in later works such as *La Mer*). See Daniel Chennevière, *Claude Debussy et son œuvre* (Paris: Durand, 1913), 37.

65 Bouhélier, "Manifeste," *La Revue naturiste* (March 1897): 1; as cited in Toliver's dissertation.

equivalent in the arts.⁶⁶ Around 1905, just before Georges Sorel published the articles that became *Les illusions du progrès* and Wanda Landowska published her book, *Musique ancienne*, arguing against the idea of musical progress, we find increasing numbers of concerts that are more "composed," be it more limited in scope or more focused on an individual composer or genre. Throughout this period, we also find increasingly the juxtaposition of ancien (pre-19th-century) and modern works on the same programs, particularly those of the chamber music concerts of "La Trompette" and the Concerts Colonne. And we find an increasing assertion of the value of the old even as the very new attracted more and more support, especially among the wealthy class. Vincent d'Indy argued for this coexistence by proposing a notion of progress as a spiral that, in life as well as in art, must return to the past to propel itself toward the future. With some common goals then, eventually the old-world aristocracy and the avant-garde began to collaborate, Charles Bordes from the Schola Cantorum helping to produce operas by Ramau at aristocratic garden parties, and S.M.I. composers co-sponsoring premieres of contemporary works by composers whom the aristocrats thought their peers in other countries most esteemed.

These concert programs reveal how the market system came to influence the presentation of music, how, after 1900, concert organizations began to use star performers and secondary material – fashion and even perfume – to attract their public, and how the worlds of fashion and music became more and more responsive and reflective of one another. At the same time, they also intimate that the public had a deep appreciation for music, although it might have needed constant reminders about what would come to be considered proper concert behavior. The fact that miniature scores of the works performed were sold both at large orchestral concerts and at brasserie concerts suggests that much of the public could read music and approached it seriously, no matter what the setting. That the program notes of many of the concerts take great pains to recount the performance history of each of the works performed implies that the public also took seriously their own critical responses to the music and were interested in comparing their perceptions with their predecessors' judgements, especially when a work was previously ignored or critically rejected.⁶⁷

Because this article attempts to offer a picture of those aspects of concert life that could adapt to shifting cultural values, I have chosen to leave aside

66 For further discussion of this idea, see my "France: Conflicting Notions of Progress," *op. cit.*

67 Scholars should note that the program notes for concerts during this period offer excellent histories of performances of works and their previous receptions.

concert organizations directly tied to the State and decisions that may have resulted from public policy. I have also under-emphasized music societies run by composers, such as the Société Nationale, because in the past scholars have tended to overrate their importance in the French musical scene. It is true that such organizations presented many important premieres, but the state considered these premieres private – perhaps because of the limited size of their audiences (i.e. works premiered at the Société Nationale could be performed again in one of the State-supported orchestral series and these performances "count" as among the new works the state obliged in return for its subvention). Composer-run concert organizations also presented a very limited number of concerts and tended not to be able to afford orchestral concerts, except perhaps once a year.

If more materials had been available, it would have been useful to have studied in much more detail the programs of brasserie orchestras. The Concerts Rouge and the Concerts Touche were far more active in the concert life of Paris than the composer-run organizations, and certainly as involved as the large orchestral series. They performed chamber, orchestral, and operatic literature almost daily despite the often limited number of musicians. They also presented repertory in ways that reveal what were the "greatest hits" and who were the favorite composers. (By 1908, for example, Concerts Rouge administrators had already categorized Debussy as a "classical" composer.)

More systematic study of individual salon concerts than has here been possible would also be very helpful. The salon concert programs I was able to consult suggest that many reinforce patterns we find in the larger public series. In the 1890s, for example, we find the same motley variety of genres and works listed without any hierarchical importance implied in the programs' layout or use of typestyles. Imagery of women and/or flowers decorate the few that use visual imagery, but most are mere lists of works. After 1902, as Illustration 17 shows, male imagery appears on occasional salon programs around the same time that Colonne's photograph appears on his concert programs. And by 1908, the programs for concerts given by aristocrats become increasingly luxurious, just as advertisements, especially for fashion, grow increasingly numerous in the various orchestral concert programs. Those for concerts organized by Countess Greffulhe and Princess de Polignac, for example, are often printed on expensive oversize paper and exude opulence. At the same time, their design, like that of the covers of the orchestral concert programs, embodies a classical restraint.

The setting these salon concerts give to works, however, is obviously quite different from that of the orchestral series. Because of the possible influence of a patron, salon concerts can sometimes shed light on the context of a composition's creation or its intended audience. In 1914, for example, Debussy's

song cycle, *Trois Chansons de Charles d'Orléans*, was performed at the Princess de Polignac's home after chansons by Josquin, Lassus, LeJeune, Janequin, "Chansons et Madrigaux" by Reynaldo Hahn, and two madrigals by Palestrina and Monteverdi. Both the forms used and the language of the texts here link the twentieth century with the sixteenth – they also foreshadow the *Domaine Musical* concerts of the 1950s.

Such a study can never be exhaustive nor complete, nor its conclusions true without exception. Of those concert programs from the turn of the century that still exist, rarely is there a complete set – even the *Bibliothèque Nationale* does not own a copy of all the programs of the most important orchestral organizations of the time, the *Concerts Lamoureux* and the *Concerts Colonne*. Moreover, their collection of other programs, as well as the private collections I have consulted, are also incomplete, reflecting the interests and idiosyncrasies of the original collectors. Still, especially as a group, concert programs are precious documents. When read carefully, they open as Pandora's box, revealing a wealth of information about the contexts for music-making at the time, what music signified to the French, how that understanding changed, and how modernism became embedded and accepted as integral to French culture.