



Review

Reviewed Work(s): *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* by Jann Pasler

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organ (p. 128). This assertion begs the question: could not the monophonic chant have been embellished by both the organ and other voices? Indeed, the *Te Deum* is a chant that was traditionally embellished with vocal lines even in the earliest treatises devoted to organum. Dante's lines read, "I turned, intent on a new resonance, / and thought I heard "*Te Deum laudamus*" / in voices mingled with the sweet sound, / giving me the same impression / one has when listening to singers / accompanied by an organ" (*Purg.* IX.139–44). Furthermore, the *Te Deum* was traditionally subjected to polyphonic treatment. "Tu patris sempiternus es filius," one of the *Te Deum*'s verses, is found in the *Musica enchiridis* (c. 900), an instructional manual on the subject of organum, in an example of organum at the fifth (Willi Apel, *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*, 2d ed. [Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 1969], 834).

By far the most vivid musical passage discussed by Ciabattoni in relation to polyphony appears in *Paradiso* XXVIII.115, 118–20, which Ciabattoni quotes: "The second triad . . . / ever sings hosannas, the threefold [melodies] / resounding in the threefold ranks / of bliss by which they are intrined" (p. 167). Ciabattoni calls it an "interweaving of three melodic lines" and demonstrates that commentators, such as Benvenuto da Imola, have also described

the passage emphasizing the number three. The *Osanna* text is found in the *Sanctus* of the mass, where texts are repeated three times to symbolize the trinity. "The occurrences of polyphony in *Paradiso* express the attainment of complete harmony and concord, on both musical and spiritual levels" (p. 168). Indeed, I would argue that it is the "threeness" of the aforementioned polyphonic singing that makes this passage unique—and symbolizes the concord and harmony described by Ciabattoni—where the numbers one and three are reconciled in the Creator. After all, Dante does mention the singing by a group of voices of *Osanna* in the *Purgatorio* on several occasions (*Purg.* XI.10–12 and XXIX.49–51).

Whether realized as beautiful strands of polyphony or not, chant remains the foundation of devotion for the Church. Musical scores that preserve the chant, and scores that preserve early polyphony, provide only opaque pictures of what the music might have sounded like. For this reason musicologists rely on art historians, philosophers, and literary scholars to fill in the picture through their examinations of musical practice. Ciabattoni has provided scholars with a vivid picture of the practice of singing improvisational polyphony in the *Commedia*.

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NINETEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France. By Jann Pasler. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009. [xxi, 789 p. ISBN 9780520257405. \$60.] Music examples, illustrations, appendices, index.

In the minds of many, the idea that a government would use music as a tool to help shape public attitudes and behavior raises the specter of twentieth-century totalitarian states, whether in the literary guise of Orwell's *1984* or in the all-too-real histories of Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia. As a result, the use of music to promote values deemed important to the state seems a rather malevolent exercise, one far removed from the principles of a modern democracy.

But the totalitarians of the twentieth century were not the first to recognize music's

usefulness in the promotion of government policy, and the various manifestations of government involvement in music are not necessarily sinister, as Jann Pasler demonstrates in her monumental new study, which traces the myriad ways in which the republicans of fin-de-siècle France used music to promote their values and further their agenda. Drawing on her many years of research into French music and musical life, taking account of the contributions of virtually every scholar currently working in the field of late-nineteenth-century musical studies, and employing a dizzying array of

primary and secondary sources, the author presents a wide-ranging and insightful examination of music and musical life in the first three decades of the Third Republic, roughly 1870–1900, as seen through the lens of a fascinating and ever-shifting political, social, and cultural context.

The book contains many contemporary photographs and illustrations, reproductions of programs and cover sheets, twenty-nine music examples, and three appendices. The first of these presents a time line of important political and musical events in the early Third Republic (1870–1902). The other two are related to specific topics covered in the text: a list of references in *Le Ménestrel* to performances of French operas in other countries from 1872–88, and a list of publications on music of the French Revolution published after 1870.

Unfortunately, there is no bibliography. Instead, authors' names appear in the index. Given the number of entries a bibliography would have contained and the resulting bulk it would have added to an already very thick volume, one can certainly understand the omission while, at the same time, lamenting the absence of what would have been a very useful tool for scholars eager to broaden their knowledge of both primary and secondary sources. One could reasonably argue that a bibliography might have been more beneficial to most readers than the latter two appendices.

Arranged into four large sections, the book follows a basically chronological scheme. The first section opens with a detailed history of the concept of "public utility" in France and then moves on to an examination of the musical legacy of the Revolution and the various ways in which republicans sought to recreate the success of the grand public spectacles that had been such an important feature of public life in Revolutionary France. Each of the remaining three sections roughly covers a decade, but the approach and the range of topics vary according to the issues and concerns of the decade under consideration. One finds in section 2, for example, a discussion of the debates that raged in the 1870s over the relationship of French music to that of other countries (particularly Germany) and an examination of the ways music was used in early republican attempts to reform the educational system. In the

third section (the 1880s), there is a chapter devoted to the role of music in the controversy over French colonial policy and the impact that music from various colonial lands had on French composers and listeners. Another examines the place of music in the consumer culture that began to emerge in that decade, symbolized by the grand new department stores that sprang up in Paris. The last section includes, among others, a chapter on music at the 1889 Universal Exposition and one that explores the political and cultural factors influencing the emergence of the musical avant-garde in the 1890s, a development that helped shape the course of music in the following century.

Over the course of some seven hundred densely packed pages, these topics, and many others, are explored in great depth. Although the impact of various internal and external forces on the nation's art music runs like a thread throughout the investigation, equal attention is paid to the music of school children, café-concerts, military bands, amateur choruses, and other features of French musical life in the last decades of the nineteenth century. But the reader is also introduced to the intricacies of government policy debates, the ideas of philosophers and other intellectuals, and the politics surrounding various issues. One cannot help but marvel at the range of the author's interests and the obvious enthusiasm with which she explores the relevant primary and secondary sources in order to create an accurate and detailed context for her examination of French musical life.

One could argue that, at least in some cases, the amount of detail offered might be excessive, and that the author's arguments could have been more forcefully delivered if the amount of background information had been reduced, but the writing is always clear and engaging and, in the end, the seemingly loose ends are always brought together in a convincing fashion. Moreover, the extensive exploration of the intellectual arguments that underlay republican ideas and policies will be of interest to anyone interested in the relationship between government and the arts. Pasler's examination of the arguments used by French educational reformers to justify an increased role for the arts would certainly

be useful to present-day advocates of arts education. And the ideas of Henri Baudrillart, who argued in 1880 that music was a “national luxury” (as opposed to what he characterized as “private luxury”) that could actually serve to “diminish the distance” between classes, will be of interest to anyone involved with the formulation of public arts policy (p. 325). Nevertheless, this book demands a great deal from the reader, most particularly the ability to maintain focus and take the long view while navigating through pages of background information.

The unifying theme of the book, so concisely spelled out in the title, is the use of music by the government of the young Third Republic to promote its values and create the kind of active, engaged citizenry that would ensure the success of republican democracy. (Given French history in the years since the Revolution, such success could by no means be assumed.) One finds many instances throughout the book of direct government involvement that helped shape musical life. The use of music in schools, for example, extended beyond the teaching of songs promoting democratic values; arts education was deemed essential to the formation of an enlightened, sensitive citizenry. The promotion of low-cost concerts that would be accessible to workers was another goal that directly influenced government policy and spending decisions. The rationale was that teaching citizens to be “active” listeners would help them to become “active” citizens, an essential element in the success of a democracy. The French state had long served as an important patron of the arts, most notably through its subsidies to various opera houses and theaters. This continued under the republican government, but there were ongoing debates throughout the late nineteenth century over the use of such funding to promote particular artistic and cultural values that were deemed worthwhile, with direct implications for the direction of musical life.

Pasler views the rise of symbolism in the 1890s and the new music of Debussy, Satie, and others as, in part, a reaction against two decades of such republican policies, which stressed “the need to train citizens, build a coherent *esprit public*, and expand France’s presence abroad.” She points out

that republican ideology had “never really addressed the inner domain of humans,” hoping instead that “people would achieve self-growth through education and educational practices such as musical performance,” and concludes that “to the extent that republicans validated the public aspects of music and music-making, they undervalued and failed to understand what music contributed to one’s internal universe” (p. 545).

But the connections between politics and music that Pasler discusses go beyond the realm of government policy. For example, she links the growing popularity of music from the Ancien Régime in the early 1870s to efforts by some to “prepare” the citizenry for a return to monarchy, and argues that such concerts might in the end have helped republicans consolidate their power by reminding the public that the threat of counterrevolution was indeed real. And she notes many instances when the programming at opera houses and orchestral concerts reflected political currents or public concerns.

Throughout, the author draws interesting connections between music and political or cultural trends, as when she compares the way composers modified indigenous tunes from various lands to the actions of colonists imposing their laws and social norms on subjugated peoples. Later, she observes that the Société des concerts du Conservatoire, the oldest and most exclusive of Parisian orchestral societies, was immune to competition from the new popular orchestral series for the same reason that the exclusive specialty shops in upper class neighborhoods did not suffer from the presence of the new department stores.

Pasler’s analyses of specific music examples are relatively brief but insightful, displaying much sensitivity to potential motivations behind various compositional decisions. It would be possible to argue, however, that she occasionally reaches a bit too far in her search for meaning in the music. She notes, for example, that French music of the 1870s featured “inventive use of the orchestra and creation of new sound colors” and wonders “if this was heard as a metaphor for the kind of liberty republicans envisaged for individuals who could live in harmony within the structure of an ordered society” (p.242). But was French

interest in orchestral color a new phenomenon? Would listeners at the premiere of Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique* have heard such a metaphor in his inventive orchestration?

Given the scope of the book and the number of provocative ideas and insights presented, it is inevitable—indeed, desirable—that many observations or conclusions would prompt such questions and stimulate the formulation of counterarguments, and this fact does nothing to lessen the quality of the scholarship or diminish the author's achievement.

In sum, this volume is a significant contribution to the field of French musical studies, one that will lead to new perspectives and inspire new avenues of research into the music of this most fascinating period of French musical history. It will serve as an example for those interested in the intersection of political life and music in other countries and in other times, and it will prove useful to anyone searching for ways in which the arts can play a positive role in promoting democratic values.

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Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830–1914. Edited by Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. [ix, 439 p. ISBN 9780226239262. \$55.] Music examples, illustrations, tables, appendix, bibliography, discography, filmography, index.

Writing about French theater and music in nineteenth-century Paris is an enormous task. The multiple and interacting cultural, economic, and aesthetic contexts—each essential to the success of a theatrical or musical work—complicate a historical study. Imagine finding a path among the tangled multitude of theaters, each regulated by specific legal receipts and assigned to a distinct genre; understanding particular administrators and opera directors and their definite aesthetic and political agendas; appreciating the vast number of talented and famous performers and their demands; and, of course, placing the numerous composers and their variety of styles in this mul-

tifaceted context. It is not an easy undertaking. In addition, keeping track of the ever-changing political and socioeconomic scene from monarchy to republic and the resulting shifts in both taste and administration are the makings of any scholar's torment.

Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer, however, attends to all these concerns with clarity, reliability, and cleverness. A collection of sixteen studies on French opera and ballet, it focuses on Parisian opera institutions and their cultural and administrative contexts to explain the development of music and theater in Paris between 1830 and 1914, and how artistic works (mostly operas) were adapted to the circumstances of that time period. These collected works are the elaborate result of the 2004 international symposium "The Institutions of Opera in Paris from the July Revolution to the Dreyfus Affair," co-organized by Annegret Fauser and the late M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet.

The approach of the book's sixteen renowned contributors is neither formal, since the focus is not predominantly on scores' and librettos' structures; nor purely biographical, since the persons in question are viewed in a broad context. Instead, the history of the institutions is portrayed as a mosaic in which the manifold influences and contexts play a role in the creation and production of operas. The contributing scholars skillfully explain how individuals (composers, performers, critics, administrators, and audience members), as well as the place and time in which they lived and worked, played pivotal roles in the success or failure of theatrical and operatic productions. To do so, they source and refer to original documents (e.g., minutes, annals, and correspondence), nineteenth-century publications (journals and newspapers), unpublished and published scores and librettos, and recent studies on opera and dance. Carefully and knowledgeably edited, the book contains beautiful pictures of theaters, portraits, journal clippings, and useful graphics.

Editors Fauser and Everist cleverly framed the volume in three parts: "Institutions," "Cultural Transfer," and "The Midi and Spain, or *Autour de Carmen*." Part I illustrates the intriguing histories and stories of the most important Parisian opera