Introduction

Critical Responses to Nineteenth-Century French Music

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Review has published a steady stream of reception research since its start in 2004. As music criticism research flourishes, long-held assumptions about the art, as well as its musicians, composers and contexts, gradually evolve and expand while new ideas abruptly emerge.

Why has music criticism attracted so much attention? Published responses to artistic activities represent interpretable evidence regarding circumscribed aesthetic values, corresponding cultural issues, and consequential sociological matters, as well as changing composer images, characteristic repertorial preferences and conspicuous aspects of localized reception. Sources certainly include scholarly books and journals, but concert reviews and topical articles from daily newspapers and popular periodicals often are crucial to music criticism research, providing immediate yet also multi-layered accounts that complement and vivify more formal reflection. Many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century publications from cultural capitols around the world now are much more easily accessed and systematically searched online. These collections and search engines are able to reveal interesting trends and backstories, while eliciting intriguing questions that are unlikely to have arisen before. As magnificent as the long nineteenth century’s musical heritage may seem now, reception research based on contemporary criticism has the potential to deepen the meaning and magnify the impact of the compositions we love well beyond current estimation and comprehension.

Why devote a special issue of Nineteenth-Century Music Review specifically to French music criticism? This question merits a more expansive yet sensitive answer. While nineteenth-century French musical culture was astonishingly resplendent, ardently engaging and absorbingly complex, research on its rich

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5 ‘Popular periodicals’ are publications whose articles address general audiences, avoid technical terminology, omit scholarly documentation, and lack external peer review.


7 For example, see the final article in this issue, “Distant Reading” in French Music Criticism’, by Estelle Joubert, which demonstrates the functionality of Voyant and enables online readers to view and manipulate search results.
legacy was marginalized within many English-speaking musicological circles throughout much of the twentieth century.\(^8\) Attitudes faced by some French music specialists in the not-so-distant past may surprise some musicologists today.\(^9\) In turn, what critics had written about French music attracted relatively little interest.

Fortunately, foundational work on French music, musicians and aesthetics during the long nineteenth century—continuously pursued to an admirably high standard by scholars in France—began to proliferate elsewhere in the last decades of the twentieth century.\(^10\) Simultaneously, new research illuminative of other worthy yet under-examined repertoires and environments aligned to weaken long-entrenched preferences favouring certain subjects within musicology.\(^11\) Eventually—and

\(^8\) See Ralph Locke’s comments regarding the perception of ‘mediocrity’ associated with French music within the first article of this special issue of *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*. See also Ralph Locke’s ‘Introduction’ to the special double issue, ‘Music in Nineteenth-Century France’, *Journal of Musicological Research* 13/1–2 (1993): 1–2, as well as its articles by Stephen Heubner, Lesley A. Wright, Andrew G. Gann, Hugh Macdonald, Daniel Albright, and Louise Goldberg. This essay collection captures the emergence of a determinedly advocative attitude among English-speaking French music specialists at the end of the twentieth century and represents a stimulating precedent for the present project.

\(^9\) While research on the music of Hector Berlioz, Claude Debussy and Maurice Ravel found favour within most musicological communities during the twentieth century, inquiry involving other French composers received significantly less collegial encouragement within many musicological circles during that time. Indeed, pursuit of then-lesser-known French figures often met with disinterest and condescension, even from other French music specialists. For instance, as recently as three decades ago, the English-language translation of Jean-Michel Nectoux’s magisterial biography of Gabriel Fauré began with a personal reflection: ‘I have often been asked, during the many years I have spent in research on Fauré, the basic question: why Fauré? The way this question was asked often contained, as well as curiosity, a touch of astonishment, even of regret, that I should have devoted so much time and effort to a man still often considered as a marginal or minor composer’; Jean-Michel Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, trans. Roger Nichols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991): xvii. Fortunately, circumstances change when a compelling cause attracts an able advocate who makes a convincing case. Esteem for Gabriel Fauré’s music has risen dramatically in the last four decades, due in no small part to Nectoux’s voluminous publications, intellectual leadership and generous collegiality, which have fostered interest and nurtured understanding worldwide. The two Fauré-focused articles in this special issue of *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* reflect this still-expanding influence. They also remind that the English-language version of Nectoux’s superb biography of Fauré is long overdue for a revised edition for service to several generations of twenty-first-century readers.

\(^10\) It would be impossible to provide a satisfactory survey of noteworthy English-language research on nineteenth-century French music from the last 50 years within a single footnote, even if the list were limited to a specific area such as opera. However, some landmarks should be mentioned here, including Elaine Brody, *Paris: The Musical Kaleidoscope, 1870–1925* (New York: George Braziller, 1987); Jane F. Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); and Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009). More references to significant literature appear in footnote 12 of this Introduction, as well as elsewhere in this issue.

\(^11\) For example, British music has elicited considerable amounts of research in recent times, increasing significantly beginning around the end of the twentieth century. See the Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies series, Volume 1, ed. Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), and Volume 2, ed. Bennett Zon and Jeremy Dibble (Aldershot: Ashgate,
auspiciously – attitudes and circumstances began to change, particularly when French music specialists around the world recognized themselves as members of an advocative community.

Resisting the status quo, French music specialists worked collaboratively as well as independently, and research on French music has grown steadily during the past four decades.\(^{12}\) Composer-centred conferences, contextualized monographs
and creative anthologies have contributed to the elucidation of French music from the ‘long nineteenth century’, particularly since the start of the twenty-first. So have increasingly receptive programme committees and sympathetic editorial boards, which began to welcome work on previously under-represented nineteenth-century French topics, and perhaps most importantly, began to present them in positions of prominence. More recently, the ‘France: Musiques, Cultures, 1789–1914’ network, a professional association initiated in 2006 whose members now number well over 250, has nurtured engaging and stimulating research on this repertoire in many significant ways. And since 2009, the Palazzetto Bru Zane – Centre de Musique Romantique Française has championed French music from the long nineteenth century via its frequent conferences as well as its books, scores, compact discs and web radio. Finally, Gallica, the digital library of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, now enables easy online access to images of manuscripts, scores, books and newspapers essential to research on the country’s cultural patrimony from that era. Dedicated advocative musicologists are thoroughly rewriting the story of this artistic efflorescence, revealing a very different, deeply intriguing and tremendously appealing image of French musical culture in the long nineteenth century.

The broader scholarly community’s acquaintance with and appreciation for nineteenth-century French music finally has risen to where reception research on respected repertoire, based on critical evidence from precise timespans in particular places, can be adequately and appropriately appreciated by a non-specialist readership in a globally circulated forum like Nineteenth-Century Music Review. In turn, such studies can further our collective understanding of the Gallic legacy’s

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13 For more on the ‘France: Musiques, Cultures, 1789–1914’ network, which was initially known as the ‘Francophone Music Criticism, 1789–1914’ network, see [www.fmc.ac.uk](http://www.fmc.ac.uk). On its Collections page ([www.fmc.ac.uk/collections/](http://www.fmc.ac.uk/collections/)), the FMC website currently avails 26 text collections – over 3,000 digitally edited and searchable documents – relating to mostly nineteenth-century French music and musical culture, including collections of reviews, each group prefaced by a helpful overview.

14 For more on the Palazzetto Bru Zane – Centre de Musique romantique française, visit [https://bru-zane.com/en/](https://bru-zane.com/en/).

enduring appeal and profound influence. With sufficient context now established, we are ready for probing investigations that elucidate the diverse world of nineteenth-century French music criticism. This special issue offers five illuminative essays to the journal’s widely dispersed readership.

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Critical Responses to Nineteenth-Century French Music begins by presenting two pairs of correlated case studies. These are followed by another that shows how new digital resources may elicit intriguing questions and insightful answers which can complement such findings.

More specifically, the first pair of essays examines the nature of communication within music criticism, focusing on two composers, Félicien David (1810–1876) and Georges Bizet (1838–1875). These artists’ works were publicly addressed at different times by the same two composer-critics – Hector Berlioz (1803–1869) and Ernest Reyer (1823–1909) – whose public responses bore subtle subtexts.

The second pair of enquiries explores the critical reception of Gabriel Fauré’s (1845–1924) music on opposite sides of the Atlantic – in Boston and in Paris – at overlapping times. Each depicts the determined cultivation and diffusion of Fauré’s image and reveals how those processes were driven by different forces and distinct desires in those contrasting contexts.

Finally, the closing contribution to this themed issue illustrates how ‘distant readings’ of relevant corpora using an innovative search tool called Voyant can complement close readings by providing new perspectives. Through coordinated web addresses linked to visual evidence, online readers of this essay are able experience and even manipulate the technology first-hand.

Together, these five articles demonstrate just some of the depth and diversity distinguishing French music of the long nineteenth century that may be revealed through the thoughtful interpretation of relevant music criticism. They also represent models for future investigations.

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Inaugurating Critical Responses to Nineteenth-Century French Music is Ralph Locke’s ‘How Reliable Are Nineteenth-Century Reviews of Concerts and Operas?: Félicien David’s Le Désert and His Grand Opéra Herculanum’. Responding to the question posed by his title, Locke explores issues relative to the qualifications, objectivity, independence and vindictiveness of mid-century Parisian critics, as well as the educative and advocative roles they played. Of course, it will come as no surprise that Berlioz and Reyer had personal agendas and ulterior motives for shaping public perception and audience opinion in the ways they did. As Locke demonstrates, such music criticism engaged their readers’ imaginations, involved them in a wider conversation, and thus stimulated the thriving cultural community of Paris.

Next, Lesley A. Wright’s article, ‘Critical Allusion and Critical Assessment: Berlioz’s and Reyer’s Reviews of Bizet in the Journal des débats’, examines how allusion, innuendo, nuance and subtext served critical and communicative purposes. The Journal des débats was a long-running (1789–1944) and widely read Parisian weekly that offered extended articles on politics, literature and other arts. Its features could be conversational and discursive, and their effects could be stimulative and reciprocative. Readers were moved to fill in the blanks, interpret shades of meaning, recognize irony and wit, decode subtle implications, perceive intertextual threads and thus engage in imaginary intellectual exchanges with critics and composers. Perhaps most notably, Wright demonstrates how Berlioz and
Reyer covertly advised and encouraged their younger colleague Bizet via public commentary.

Heather de Savage’s contribution, “‘Under the Gallic Spell’: Boston’s Embrace of Gabriel Fauré, 1892–1924”, explores the American city’s affinity for the French composer’s music, an appreciation that coincided with the last three decades of Fauré’s life. Focusing on the local reception of three works, including the First Violin Sonata, Op. 13 (1877), the mythological scene La Naissance de Vénus, Op. 29 (1882) for soloists, choirs and orchestra, and the orchestral suite formed from the incidental music for Maeterlinck’s play Pelléas et Mélisande, Op. 80 (1898), de Savage demonstrates why Fauré’s refined and exquisite art was welcomed so far from its origin and – most significantly – affectionately adopted without its author’s personal promotion. It appears that genuine admiration and fondness for French music arose within Boston’s cultural community during an extended span around the start of the twentieth century, a preference that distinguished it from rival New York. Within that environment, ardent championing by prominent musicians and university professors, whose sentiments were amplified by the public press, helped to make Fauré’s work a cherished community resource. De Savage concludes by providing evidence from the memorial concert presented by the Boston Symphony Orchestra a month after the composer’s death, wherein Fauré’s Ouverture to Pénélope (1913) and Elégie for cello and orchestra (1883) stood alongside selections from Ravel’s Daphnis et Chloé (1912) and Beethoven’s Eroica symphony (1804). By examining this previously little-known instance of cultural transfer, de Savage adds new dimension to Fauré’s artistic stature. In turn, her work now prompts study of Fauré reception in other parts of the Americas, like Canada and Brazil.

Christopher Moore’s offering, ‘Three Versions of Classic: The Construction of Gabriel Fauré in the 1920s’, asserts that different stakeholders portrayed the

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16 For more details regarding the music of Gabriel Fauré, see Jean-Michel Nectoux, ed, Gabriel Fauré: Catalogue des œuvres, Gabriel Fauré Œuvres complètes, Série VII, Vol. 1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2018), which has been reviewed by Heather de Savage in Nineteenth-Century Music Review, 2020, FirstView, doi:10.1017/S1479409820000051.

composer as a ‘classic’, using different means applied toward different ends. More specifically, Moore argues that after the First World War – and while the artist was still alive and active – some government officials sought to represent Fauré as a ‘classic great man’ in order to exalt the French state while adding lustre to their own public images. A little later, Moore contends, certain young and ambitious Parisian composers, including Les Six, characterized Fauré as being ‘classically French’, which enabled them to distinguish their work from his while drawing power from it through their common Gallic heritage, thus positioning themselves against foreign competition. Finally, Moore holds that Fauré’s former student, assistant and biographer, Charles Koechlin, cast his maître as ‘classically Greek’ in what may have been a revisionist gesture, perhaps for the resulting social and/or political implications as well as the ramifications it might have for Koechlin’s own music.18 All of these early twentieth-century ‘reputational entrepreneurs’,19 as Moore terms them, aimed to appropriate the composer’s prominence for individuated reasons, but their efforts had the beneficial effect of drawing new attention to the creative accomplishments of a septuagenarian whose latest music still seemed energetic and innovative. In turn, they rendered ridiculous any lingering notions of Gabriel Fauré as a mere ‘salon composer’ – at least in France – while expanding and reshaping the artist’s image for decades to come.20 Indeed, they laid a firm foundation for the decisive publications of Jean-Michel Nectoux that began appearing in the 1970s.21


20 This process of refining Fauré’s image would continue steadily during the twentieth century, spurred by the publication of Philippe Fauré-Fremiet’s intimate biography of his father, Gabriel Fauré (Paris: Éditions Rieder, 1929), and by a volume of the composer’s own music criticism, Opinions musicales (Paris: Rieder, 1930), selected and edited by Pierre-Barthélemy Gheusi. In subsequent decades, Fauré research would be sustained by a multiply revised study by Vladimir Jankélévitch initially called Gabriel Fauré et ses melodies (Paris: Plon, 1938), and then by the first English-language biography of the composer, Norman Suckling’s Gabriel Fauré (London: Dent, 1946), which was part of The Master Musicians series. Later, a collection of Fauré’s letters to his wife Marie, Lettres Intimes, ed. Philippe Fauré-Fremiet (Paris: La colombe, 1951), and a book of recollections by Marguerite Long, Au piano avec Gabriel Fauré (Paris: Julliard, 1963), added greater fullness to the composer’s portrait. Despite such illuminative work, many musicians still erroneously dismissed Fauré as a ‘salon composer’ during these decades.

Completing this collection, Estelle Joubert’s “‘Distant Reading’ in French Music Criticism’, demonstrates how the digital search tool Voyant may provide new perspectives on research topics pursued via traditional close readings of source materials. Proceeding from the notion of ‘distant reading’ developed by literary theorist Franco Moretti, Joubert presents a series of applications that illustrate how Voyant can identify unexpected connections, elicit fresh questions and project new corroboration by contextualizing research objectives within wider corpora from which an inquiry’s primary evidence is drawn. Joubert’s contribution innovates in two intriguing ways: Voyant’s capabilities are applied to matters raised within its companion essays, and weblinks are provided within the article to enable online readers of the journal article to manipulate research results themselves. Thus, the concluding article of our special issue is both integrative and instructive.

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Critical Responses to Nineteenth-Century French Music is the third themed issue of Nineteenth-Century Music Review for which I have served as a guest editor.22 I thank Bennett Zon for the many opportunities accorded me since 2004, especially his suggestion to curate this collection, as well as his sincere support of my Schubert and Fauré research. Ralph Locke has been exceedingly generous during the preparation of this project, providing preliminary peer review to two contributors as well as invaluable advice to me. Lesley Wright kindly offered insightful suggestions for the Introduction and warm encouragement throughout this venture. During the development of all three special numbers for Nineteenth-Century Music Review, communication among the authors established connections among the articles while internally enhancing the content of each. Such ‘intellectual conversation’, as Susan Youens put it in a personal communication,23 characterizes each collaboration, conferring integration and enrichment. Indeed, such cooperation should seem particularly evident here. Of course, cordial collegiality distinguishes the corresponding musicological sub-communities – the Schubertian and the Francophilic – which may explain their robust and innovative achievements thus far in the twenty-first century.

Critical Responses to Nineteenth-Century French Music offers five imaginative case studies that elucidate environments within which the Gallic aural art prospered. Each surely furthers the practice of French music criticism interpretation. However, it is equally likely that these articles will motivate this journal’s widely dispersed readers to pursue reception research that focuses on other repertoires, composers, timespans and locales. We welcome work that illuminates our shared humanistic heritage, recognizing that the diversity of our cultural endowment strengthens us as global citizens while nourishing our interior lives.


22 For these predecessors, see ‘Schubert Familiar and Unfamiliar: New Perspectives’, Nineteenth-Century Music Review 5/2 (2008), and ‘Schubert Familiar and Unfamiliar: Continuing Conversations’, Nineteenth-Century Music Review 13/1 (2016).