

Deconstructing d'Indy, or the Problem of a Composer's Reputation

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The story of a life, like history, is an invention. Certainly the biographer and historian have roles in this invention, but so too does the composer for whom making music necessarily entails building and maintaining a reputation. Reputation is the fruit of talents, knowledge, and achievements that attract attention. It signals renown, the way in which someone is known in public or the sum of values commonly associated with a person. If it does not imply public admiration, it does suggest that the public takes an interest in the person in question. The ordinary sense of the word refers to the public's

notion of someone well after their death—the social consensus articulated by the biographer—as well as the quasi-historical judgment that we make with the distance of time. This often produces the semblance of authority, the authority of one manifest meaning.

In reality, reputation is also the result of the steps taken during a professional life to assure one's existence as a composer, a process involving actions, interactions, and associations as well as works. This includes all efforts to earn credibility, respect, distinction, and finally prestige. As Pierre Bourdieu has pointed out, these inevitably take place in a social space, be it of teachers, friends and enemies, social and professional contacts, institutions, jobs, awards, or critics any of whom may influence the conception, creation, or reception of art.¹ Involving individual as well as collective strategies, a reputation, then, is the result of the process

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¹For example, Pierre Bourdieu, "Espace social et pouvoir symbolique," in *Choses dites* (Paris: Minuit, 1987), pp. 147–66.

that helps form an individual. It is also a construction based on presuppositions and purposes. The projection of aesthetic coherence in a composer's work or ideological identity in his or her life, however, tends to minimize ambiguities and paradoxes. To understand a composer better, we must unveil the ambiguities underlying their actions, associations, and compositional choices and consider the ironies and paradoxes in what we may have expected.

This is particularly important when a composer's renown is linked with that of a group or a certain lineage, as is true of Vincent d'Indy. Disciples have a stake in the preservation of difference, as do adversaries. While the former can build a composer's visibility and clarify a composer's value, both can also harden a composer's position into dogma or obscure significant aspects of a composer's life. When this happens, a composer's reputation is not an accurate reflection of the life or work and may actually impede us from a fuller comprehension of them. It is important, therefore, to examine critically a composer's attempt to project or protect a certain reputation, others' contributions to this legacy (especially those with a stake in preserving, enhancing, or demeaning it), and the different contexts that can lead us to rediscover an artist. Questioning the stability of a composer's identity and studying the dynamic relationship between composer and culture offer a way to rethink the processes of identity formation and agency in a composer's life.

The case of d'Indy provides an important example of the ways in which the actions of a composer, his disciples, and even his enemies can lead to the construction of a reputation that prevents us from understanding significant aspects of his life and music. In this article, I attempt to throw new light on d'Indy's reputation before 1900 by examining what has been omitted by his disciples and their successors, including his little-known works, and by deconstructing the attitudes that have accumulated about him over time. To understand how the composer became a major player in the musical world of the Belle Époque, despite the limited public taste for his music, we need a more nuanced view of his politics, one based on his practices before and even during the

Dreyfus Affair rather than on the ultra-conservatism that has since become associated with him.²

The principal image we have today about Vincent d'Indy (1851–1931) comes from his reputation for opposition. A wealthy aristocrat as well as organ pupil at the Paris Conservatoire where most enrolled students were from humble or middle-class backgrounds, he undoubtedly felt himself an outsider. Watching how his principal teacher there, César Franck, was treated, isolated as a professor of organ rather than composition, bred frustration and contempt for official circles.³ D'Indy also had a

²In his "Les Chapelles musicales en France," *La Revue* (15 Nov. 1907), 179–93, Camille Mauclair predicted a certain frustration with d'Indy as he compared d'Indy with Manet. At first, he writes, "people attack them because they bring something new for their time . . . then it is recognized that basically their works are classical and refer to a certain classicism that had been forgotten when they were starting out." As a result, they are treated as old-fashioned by their young successors. In the 1920s, perhaps because he was growing bitter about his limited success as a composer, d'Indy began to use the press to articulate increasing hostility to contemporary music. In his "Le Public et son évolution," *Comoedia* (1 Oct. 1923), he railed against the public of his past, current listeners who think of themselves as "modern" or "advanced" and practice a "cult of curiosity," and composers who are "slaves to fashion." Mauclair, for his part, in "Matière et forme dans l'Art musical moderne," *Comoedia* (28 Jan. and 11 Feb. 1924) and in Pierre Maudru, "Où en est la musique française?" *Comoedia* (21 Feb. 1928), attacked Schoenberg as a "fool" and young French composers for supposedly adapting his procedures, for forgetting French clarity and logic, and for "not acquiring the necessary skills [*métier*]" before composing their music. In his "Réponse à M. Vincent d'Indy," *Comoedia* (25 Feb. 1924), Jean Wiener defended his generation, noting that they were not imitating Schoenberg, and wonders why a composer "so temperate and profoundly intelligent could publicly, and without fear of appearing ridiculous, denounce the 'impotence' of a period that possessed, among other artists, Stravinsky and Picasso." See also Guy Davenel, "Vincent d'Indy contre l'Avant-garde musicale," *Le Matin d'Anvers* (20 April 1924). When d'Indy died in 1931, Émile Vuillermoz, long an ardent adversary, wrote of d'Indy's "intellectual elevation" but also of his "courageous and magnificent intolerance" and noted, "it would be an injustice to reproach his intransigence, which originated in his absolute certitude about going in the right direction." As one of d'Indy's only contemporaries to write a *Histoire de la musique* (Paris: A. Fayard, 1949; reissued in 1973), Vuillermoz insured that these attitudes would cast a long shadow over d'Indy's earlier accomplishments (pp. 344–47).

³This was especially the case after 1878, when Franck put himself up for professor of composition at the Conservatoire only to lose to Massenet.

personal taste for struggle, as if it was an emblem of credibility or a prerequisite for success, and he practiced his own form of self-appointed distinction. His conception of Franckism as an oppositional current in French music, a parallel to Wagnerism, eventually fashioned him as *the* disciple of Franck by helping a group identity coalesce and a lineage begin.⁴ Later by pitting the music school he helped found, the Schola Cantorum, against the Paris Conservatoire, d'Indy was able to increase his public visibility and the distinction associated with his students.⁵

Theorists such as Jacques Derrida and Jonathan Culler have pointed out that difference is often produced by such differing.⁶ Reality is more ambiguous. Elsewhere I have shown that while both the Debussys and d'Indys used a discourse of opposition, this did not tell all, for important affinities, personal alliances, and collaborations linked graduates of the

Conservatoire and the Schola.⁷ D'Indy's Catholic religion and his own texts, especially when filled with anti-Dreyfusard ideas, have also veiled his relationship with the secular, Dreyfusard Republic, for they allowed the composer to downplay its importance in his career. If we have not grasped this, it is in part because we have understood the Republic of the 1880s and 90s no more than we have d'Indy's apparent contempt for it. To further a more nuanced understanding of the composer, I deconstruct d'Indy's relationship with the state. The task is not to deny his difference, but instead to examine it carefully. In many ways, he and the Republic profited from his attitude of opposition, the basis of mutually productive interactions. D'Indy was a man of alliance as much as opposition, I argue, in part because in the 1880s and 90s republican leaders engaged with the diversity he represented as a stimulus for progress.

LEARNING *LE MÉTIER* AND ACHIEVING DISTINCTION

Like most French composers, d'Indy was formed by Conservatoire professors, even if he worked privately with most of them.⁸ Franck's organ class, which he audited in 1873 and attended as an enrolled student in 1874–75, functioned as an alternative composition class for many at the Conservatoire (including Debussy) and introduced d'Indy to like-minded peers and future collaborators.⁹ Under Franck's tutelage,

⁴See Joël-Marie Fauquet on Franck and his son's disdain for these constructions in his *César Franck* (Paris: Fayard, 1999), chap. 1, "Au nom du père."

⁵Two forces contributed to this. First, as Henry Malherbe explains in his eulogy upon d'Indy's death, published in *Le Temps* (12 Dec. 1931): "His pupils were not ordinary pupils. They formed a group of exalted disciples, novices who were preparing for proselytism. . . . The master was less a professor than a preacher and *suzerain* [sovereign]. He didn't instruct his listeners, he preached to them, indoctrinated them." Second, whatever their perspective, critics contributed to the promotion of differences between the Scholists and students of the Paris Conservatoire. These included Jean Marnold, "Le Conservatoire et la Schola," *Mercury de France* (July 1902), 105–15; Maclair, "Les Chapelles musicales en France"; Louis Laloy, "Les Partis musicaux en France," *La Grande Revue* (25 Dec. 1907), 790–99; Émile Vuillermoz, "La Schola et le Conservatoire," *Mercury de France* (16 Sept. 1909), 234–43. In "La Schola et le Conservatoire," *Courrier musical* (15 Oct. 1909), 575–78, the Belgian correspondent G. Urbie, a critic who got it right (perhaps because he did not live in Paris), pointed out many errors in this discourse. See also Christian Goubault, "Les Chapelles musicales françaises ou la querelle des 'gros-boutiens' et des 'petits-boutiens'," *Revue internationale de musique française* 5 (June 1981), 99–112; and Fabien Michel, *La Querelle des d'Indystes et des Debussystes*, Université de Bourgogne (UFR Littéraires), December 2000 (unpublished). In *French Cultural Politics and Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), Jane Fulcher takes this opposition at face value in her portrayal of the musical world of Paris as characterized by ideological "battles."

⁶Jacques Derrida, *L'Écriture et la différence* (Paris: Seuil, 1967) and *Positions* (Paris: Minuit, 1972); Jonathan Culler, *On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), pp. 50, 150.

⁷In "La Schola Cantorum et les Apaches: l'enjeu du pouvoir artistique, ou Séverac médiateur et critique," in *La Musique: du théorique au politique*, ed. Hugues Dufourt et Joël-Marie Fauquet (Paris: Klincksieck, 1991), pp. 313–44, I show that, while they differed over the importance of Franck and the direction of French music, the Debussys and the Scholists shared an almost religious devotion to music, the sense of having a mission and "apostles" to lead them, a distaste for commercial success, similar means of unifying their group, and similar political tactics for advancing their ideas. Moreover, the group most closely associated with the Debussys, the Apaches, had representatives from both the Schola and the Conservatoire as members and co-collaborators.

⁸In the 1860s d'Indy studied privately with Diemer, Marmontel, and Lavignac. He began private lessons with Franck in 1872.

⁹Julien Tiersot audited this class in 1876, Ernest Chausson in 1879, Paul Vidal in 1880, Claude Debussy in 1880–81, and Paul Dukas ca. 1885. Other enrolled peers of d'Indy included Camille Benoit (1875–77), Georges Hüe (1878),

d'Indy concentrated on fugues, even as he continued to write orchestral music and conceived two opera projects. These lessons also helped to shape his taste. Before studying with Franck, for example, d'Indy considered Meyerbeer "the greatest musical genius."¹⁰ In 1873 he came to prefer Beethoven, Weber, and Berlioz; later, after he had been to Bayreuth and found *Die Walküre* "the greatest masterpiece he'd even seen," Meyerbeer became for him a "skillful jeweler, a jeweler of genius, who had the talent to pass off false jewels as real ones."¹¹ D'Indy left the Conservatoire in 1875 after earning only a premier accessit in Franck's class (no premier prix). This *disinclined* him from competing for the Prix de Rome, the most significant competition of a young French composer's career.

Although he later told his own students they didn't need competitions, d'Indy went on to pursue some of the most important state-subsidized prizes and awards of his day. After leaving the Conservatoire, he immediately began a one-act opéra-comique, *Attendez-moi sous l'orme*, what many French of the period considered "le genre français."¹² To enter the state-sponsored Concours Cressent, he hurriedly completed it in fall 1877, although, having made his first trip to Bayreuth the year before, he

admitted: "I will finish this because I *want* to finish it, but the genre disgusts me profoundly."¹³ The opera failed in competitions. At the premiere of a fragment by the Société des Auditions Lyriques (20 April 1879), juxtaposed with works with which it had little in common (plate 1), the work was reproached for being too simple and not "recherché" enough.¹⁴ Example 1 gives an idea of its style. Just after its Opéra-Comique premiere in 1882, d'Indy explained: "I have tried to react against those who say that for a 17th-century [*sic*] subject, one should take inspiration from Rameau or Campra." He also admitted, "I mistakenly thought I could express human feelings in a human way in spite of their powdered wigs."¹⁵ As one might imagine, his friends told him the genre did not suit him.¹⁶ D'Indy never returned to it, although the next year he published a piano reduction of Destouches' *Les Éléments* in Théodore Michaelis's series, *Les Chefs d'oeuvres classiques de l'opéra français*.¹⁷

and Gabriel Pierné (1880–82). For the complete list that includes his private students, see Appendix 7 of Fauquet, *César Franck*, pp. 960–64.

¹⁰In his letter of 28 February 1870, d'Indy called Meyerbeer's *Le Prophète* "sublime" and "the great masterpiece of all masterpieces"; in that of 5 April 1870, he praised the composer as "the greatest musical genius in modern times"; and in that of 25 March 1871, he explained that he knew "nothing as beautiful in dramatic music" as the end of its act IV. These letters are published in Vincent d'Indy, *Ma Vie*, ed. Marie d'Indy (Paris: Séguier, 2001), pp. 103, 109, 129.

¹¹See his letters of 17 January 1872, 8 March 1873, 23 September 1873, and 15 September 1876, and July 1877 in *Ma Vie*, pp. 158, 193, 256, 318, 323.

¹²D'Indy acquired practical knowledge of the stage by playing timpani in eight performances of Massenet's *Marie-Magdeleine* in 1874 and timpani and organ in twenty-one performances of Saint-Saëns' *Timbre d'argent* at the Théâtre-lyrique in 1877. During this period, he also worked as choral conductor for the Concerts Padeloup in 1874. Beginning in 1875, he held the same position for the Concerts Colonne, where he also competed, albeit unsuccessfully, to become the assistant conductor of the orchestra in 1876. Later, in 1887, he prepared the chorus for the first French production of *Lohengrin* at the Eden-Théâtre.

¹³"Je le finirai parce que *je veux* le finir, mais ce genre me dégoûte profondément" (letter to Charles Langrand, 8 June 1876, *Ma Vie*, p. 303). Around the same time d'Indy also began to search for a subject to enter a competition for a prize of 10,000 francs at the 1878 Exposition, but this project did not materialize. See a letter to Langrand, November 1876, *Ma Vie*, p. 321.

¹⁴Henri Moreno, "Semaine théâtrale," *Ménestrel* (27 April 1879), 171. On this program were *Jeanne d'Arc* by Amand Chevé, a composer more known for his contribution to musical education than for his composition; *Les Trois Parques* (1860) by a little-known composer, Wilhelm (he did not use a first name and should not be confused with Guillaume Louis Wilhem, pedagogue and founder of the orphéon movement); and *Le Bois* by Albert Cahen, one of Franck's students. Even though d'Indy directed the chorus in Cahen's *Endymion* at the l'Opéra-Comique in 1873, he had little respect for Cahen's music (see his letter to his cousins, the Pampelannes, 8 Jan. 1873, *Ma Vie*, p. 187). In 1880 *Le Bois* was performed at the l'Opéra-Comique.

¹⁵"J'avais essayé . . . de réagir contre ceux qui disent que pour un sujet XVIIe [*sic*] il faut s'inspirer de Rameau et de Campra. . . . Je me suis trompé dans la tentative de vouloir exprimer humainement des sentiments humains malgré leur perruques et leur poudre" (letter to Adolphe Jullien, 21 Feb. 1882, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris [henceforth **F-Pn**, Opéra], l.a. d'Indy 3).

¹⁶Letter to Isabelle d'Indy, July 1877, *Ma Vie*, p. 323.

¹⁷Letter to Adolphe Jullien, 28 March 1883, **F-Pn**, Opéra, l.a. d'Indy 5. In 1883 d'Indy also made a reconstruction of *Les Bayadères* (1810) by Charles-Simon Catel, a composer of Revolutionary hymns, marches, and military symphonies and opera in the Napoleonic empire style. This opera allowed him to put recurring musical motives in the service of dramatic continuity. In "Enroute to Wagner: Explaining d'Indy's Early Music Panthéon," in *Vincent d'Indy*

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PREMIÈRE AUDITION
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À 8 HEURES 1/2 DU SOIR

PROGRAMME



Marche Orientale J.-D. WERRELIN.

JEANNE D'ARC
(SCÈNE)

Poésie d'A. DE MUSSET, Musique de M. AMAND CHÉVÉ.

Jeanne d'Arc, M^{lle} BRUNET-LAFLEUR.

1^{re} Introduction. — Jeanne, poursuivi par ses sombres pensées, ne peut trouver le repos (SOLO ET CHŒUR).

2^e Air de Jeanne.

3^e La nuit dans la campagne, le lever du soleil (CHŒUR).

4^e On entend sonner le réveil au camp anglais.

5^e Les villageois effrayés se précipitent hors de leurs habitations (CHŒUR ET PRIÈRE).

6^e Vision de Jeanne.

7^e Air et invocation de Jeanne.

8^e Cri de guerre. Final (SOLO ET CHŒUR).

LE BOIS
Poème en un acte d'AL. GLATIGNY.
Musique de M. ALBERT CARÉN.

Mozille (jeune femme) M^{lle} PESCHARD.
Doris M^{lle} PECHTEL.

FRAGMENT DE
ATTENDEZ-MOI SOUS L'ORME
Opéra-comique en un acte
de M. ROBERT DE BONNIÈRES (d'après RICHARD)
Musique de M. VINCENT D'INDY

Dorante MM. BONJEAN.
Pasquin A. PICCALUGA.
Lisette M^{lle} BURTON.
Agathe PENIÈRE-POUGÈRE.



LES TROIS PARQUES
Opéra-comique en un acte, paroles de M. X.
Musique de M. WILHELM.

Louisotto M^{lle} X.
Paul MM. LANDAU.
Panardot TROY.
Barthélemy GUILLOT.

Chef d'Orchestre : M. J. DANBÉ

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Plate 1: *Attendez-moi sous l'orme*, Salle Herz (20 April 1879).

Allegretto LISETTE

Je veux gar - der ma li - ber - té Et mon hu - meur fol -

Allegretto *f* *pizz.* *p*

let - te Mon jeu - ne coeur n'est point ten - té Du jar - gon d'a - mou -

9 ret - te Gar - dons les mou - tons Li - ret - te li - ron Li - ron li - ron li -

pp

13 rit. ret - te Gar - dons les - mou - tons Li - ret - te li - ron Li - ron li - ron li - ret - te rit.

Example 1: "Ronde poitevine" from *Attendez-moi sous l'orme* (1876–82).

Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Musée de l'Opera, Paris.

It may seem surprising then that for the next state-sponsored composition competition he entered, that of the City of Paris, he won first

prize in 1885 and with a symphony with soloists and chorus of extreme complexity, *Le Chant de la cloche*. To comprehend this, we must revisit the early Third Republic. In the 1870s the government recognized the need for something that would play the role of the annual salon for painters, a prize in music that would compete with the Prix de Rome in stature and importance but escape control by members of

et son temps, ed. Manuela Schwartz (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2006), pp. 111–21, Katharine Ellis shows that in the preface he wrote to this work, d'Indy saw it as a "precursor" to Wagner [p. 113].

the Académie des Beaux-Arts, one of the groups in the Institut de France. Ernest L'Epine suggested a jury modeled on the Conseil supérieur des Beaux-Arts, an organization conceived to institutionalize greater democracy in arts administration. Comprised half by artists chosen to reflect aesthetic diversity, half by politicians and arts administrators, the Conseil supérieur sought to break the monopolies held by the Institut over educational policy and public awards. By encouraging the confrontation of diverse opinions, the Conseil sought to master both the inevitable ideological contradictions of the Republic's double heritage (the Revolution and the ancien régime) and the social antagonisms between its conservative and progressive forces.¹⁸

The City of Paris prize was created in this spirit. When it was finally funded in 1876, politicians decided the work should be a "symphony with soloists and chorus," a genre not taught per se at the Conservatoire. Politicians considered this "the most pure, abstract and powerful of the various expressions of musical genius." With the addition of the human voice, they hoped composers would be able to "explore new effects as in Handel's *Messiah*, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, and Berlioz's *Enfance du Christ*." In the tradition of Berlioz, there could be a program or story. The idea was to address "feelings of the highest order" without recourse to religion or politics. The winning composer would receive 10,000 francs, and a subsidy of 10,000 francs would be given to support a performance in a major venue.¹⁹

¹⁸Since 1874 the Conseil municipal de Paris had been studying a proposal by L'Epine for a government-sponsored series of concerts featuring works by living composers. The Prix de Rome and the Prix de Salon, also called the Prix de Paris, had complementary purposes. The former, meant to put artists in touch with their origins, rewarded "Italian imitation"; the latter, focused on European trends, recognized "French originality." See Gustave Larroumet, *L'Art et l'État en France* (Paris: Hachette, 1895), pp. 52–53 and Marie-Claude Genet-Delacroix, *Art et État sous la IIIe République* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1992), pp. 130–31.

¹⁹Ville de Paris, *Concours pour la composition d'une symphonie, soli, et chœur* (Paris: Chaix, 1876), and three articles in *Journal de musique*: "Nouvelles de Partout" (4 Nov. 1876), 4; "Le Prix de 10,000 francs" (11 Nov. 1876), 1; and "Un rapport de M. de Chennevières" (25 Jan. 1879), 3–4.

The first such prize was awarded on 7 December 1878. Six separate votes were not enough to break the tie between two composers: Théodore Dubois and Benjamin Godard. Dubois's *Le Paradis perdu*, supported by Gounod, was praised for its "pure" style, vast proportions, and clear musical construction.²⁰ Godard's *Le Tasse*, promoted by Massenet, had lively orchestration, "picturesque" symphonic writing, effective choruses, and resemblances to Berlioz's *Damnation de Faust*, a hit in concert halls beginning in spring 1877. Godard appealed to Wagnerians as well as fans of Berlioz, though some thought his unusual harmonies "curious" if not "bizarre," his instrumentation sometimes overdone, and his ideas too conventional.²¹ That the jury rewarded both works reflects the conflicting tastes of the jurists and the ongoing battle over the direction French music.

These results—together with the poor reception given his *Attendez-moi sous l'orme* and the public enthusiasm for Padeloup's premiere of *Lohengrin*, both on 20 April 1879—may have encouraged d'Indy to begin work on *Le Chant de la cloche* that July.²² With its focus on the symphony, this project intersected better with d'Indy's interests. Before *La Cloche*, d'Indy had written six orchestral works, including a symphony. He long admired Berlioz's orchestration treatise and had prepared Berlioz's choruses for the Concerts Colonne. Based on Schiller's dramatic poem, *Das Lied von der Glocke* (1799) that relates the casting of a bell by a master craftsman to the possibilities of human life, *La Cloche* reflects d'Indy's enthusiasm for Germany (which he had visited three times²³), Wagner's music, medieval times, and German

²⁰Reviews of *Paradis perdu* are cited in Georges Favre, *Compositeurs français méconnus* (Paris: Pensée universelle, 1983), pp. 122–23.

²¹Adolphe Jullien, in a review of *Le Tasse* (Dec. 1878), rpt. in his *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie de l'art, 1894), pp. 427–34.

²²See *Ménestrel* (27 April 1979), 175–76.

²³See Manuela Schwartz, "Die 'pèlerinage à Bayreuth' als Brennpunkt des europäischen Kulturtransfers: Französische Komponisten auf dem Weg nicht nur zu Richard Wagner," in *Le Musicien et ses voyages: Pratiques, réseaux et représentations*, ed. Christian Meyer (Berlin: BWV, 2003), pp. 427–52.

Volkslieder.²⁴ The story of an artist misunderstood and not recognized until his death may have recalled his feelings for César Franck, to whom he dedicated the work. Conceived as “the exact expression of what I want to do in a dramatic genre, no concessions, nothing for women nor for members of the Institut,” he accepted that the work would be “quite a pain in the neck for the audience about which I could care less.”²⁵ However, *La Cloche* addressed the jury’s concerns and the public’s emerging taste for Berlioz and Wagner in effective ways.

Members of the jury for the City of Paris prize in 1885 again represented diverse aesthetic preferences: previous winners Godard and Dubois (1878), Holmès and Duvernoy (1880), and Hillemacher (1882); Conservatoire professors Delibes, Guiraud, Dubois, and Franck; a member of the Institut, Saint-Saëns; Lefebvre; the conductors Colonne and Lamoureux; plus the rest appointed by prefect.²⁶ Seventeen works were submitted, including those by three Prix de Rome winners. For the first time in the competition, composers were allowed to submit their music without the veil of anonymity; only five competitors chose to remain anonymous, and d’Indy was among the twelve who indicated their names. Each of three committees examined one-third of the scores and established a short list on which the entire jury voted. Eliminated in the first round were two works by Prix de Rome winners, three that used Prix de Rome librettists (Edouard Guinand and Paul Collin), and works with patriotic subjects, *Jeanne d’Arc* and *Gloria Victis*. These

probably would have been defended by Massenet and Lenepveu had they been on the jury.²⁷ Whatever the criteria used to reject the scores, at this crucial stage the jury lived up to the city’s expectation: they proved they were not interested in duplicating what the Prix de Rome rewarded.

For the next round, one jurist presented each of the four remaining works: *Merlin enchanté* by Georges Marty, *Rübezahl* by Georges Hüe, *Les Ancêtres* by Auguste Chapuis, and *Le Chant de la cloche* by d’Indy. Augusta Holmès was responsible for presenting, analyzing, and organizing the performance of *Le Chant de la cloche*.²⁸ Another Franck student, Holmès recognized the importance of this moment. Winning a close second prize in 1880 had launched her career and had led to numerous high-profile performances of her music, and, that January, to the title, Officier de la Légion d’honneur. On the first vote, d’Indy tied with Hüe, 9 to 9; on the second vote, d’Indy won, 10 to 9. Saint-Saëns, Dubois, and Colonne’s negative votes were balanced by support from Franck, Holmès, and Lamoureux, who consented to perform *La Cloche* if it were to win.

We can understand why d’Indy’s work tied with that of Hüe and then prevailed if we compare the situations of the two composers. Neither represented the emerging dominance of Massenet at the Conservatoire. A student of Reber, Hüe had won the Prix de Rome in 1879, the last competition before Massenet’s students began to dominate in the 1880s.²⁹ Hüe, like d’Indy, represented “modern tendencies” and successfully negotiated an alliance between Wagner and Berlioz, composers gaining wide-

²⁴D’Indy had seen German Volkslieder at the Bibilothèque Nationale.

²⁵“L’expression exacte de ce que je veux faire dans le genre dramatique, pas de concessions, rien pour les femmes ni pour les membres de l’Institut . . . fort embêtant pour le public ce dont je me fiche absolument” (letter to Ernest Chausson, 2 March 1883, *Ma Vie*, p. 369).

²⁶F. Hattat, “Rapport au nom du jury classant des partitions,” in Ville de Paris, *Concours pour la composition d’une symphonie avec soli et chœur* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1885), pp. 1–5. See also “Nouvelles diverses,” *Ménestrel* (8 Feb. 1885), 78–79 (22 Feb. 1885), 94, and (15 March 1885), 119. Among the composers, Duvernoy was chosen by the prefect, Holmès, Colonne, and Lamoureux by the Conseil municipal, and Saint-Saëns, Guiraud, Hillemacher, Delibes, Dubois, Franck, Lefebvre, and Godard by the competitors.

²⁷*Gloria Victis* was by Rabuteau, a Prix de Rome. Libretti by Edouard Guinand were used in Prix de Rome competitions in 1878, 1881, 1882, and 1884, and those of Paul Collin in 1898 and 1912.

²⁸See the archives for this competition at the Archives de Paris. An analysis of the works Holmès composed for this prize (*Lutèce* in 1878 and *Argonautes* in 1880) can be found in my article, “The Ironies of Gender, or Virility and Politics in the Music of Augusta Holmès,” *Women & Music* 2 (1998), 1–25.

²⁹In a letter of 18 May 1885, d’Indy wondered why Saint-Saëns voted against him when d’Indy had “rendered him services in the past” (see n. 12 above) (*Ma Vie*, pp. 326, 385). In a conversation of 26 September 2002, Yves Gérard suggested to me that Saint-Saëns had probably voted for Hüe because he was Reber’s last student.

spread acceptance with Parisian concert audiences.³⁰ On 1 February, when the City of Paris competition announced its jury, d'Indy and Hübner had important premieres, both warmly reviewed albeit with some mixed sentiments. Pougin called one of Hübner's works composed in Rome and performed by Colonne "inspired and in a grandiose style," even if another such *envois* seemed like "the work of a good schoolboy," without any main idea and with only a vague structure."³¹ Some enjoyed his sense of orchestral color and thought his *envois* one of the best things composed in recent years, while others felt he still had a lot to learn about connecting orchestral timbres and wished for more personal distinction in his style. Similarly, reviewers praised the orchestral effects in d'Indy's *Saugefleurie*, performed by Lamoureux, with some calling them "very studied, very new" and the work composed by a "master of the genre."³² In the final discussions about the City of Paris prize, the jury found similar differences between the two competitors. While they praised Hübner's *Rübezahl* for its "brilliant style, always easy, knowledgeable, and well-organized," they found d'Indy's *Cloche* "original" with "a clever symphonic section that shows real personality."³³

Coming from the jury of the City of Paris prize, such words were meant to signal the Republic's encouragement of individuality and originality. Jules Ferry, who between 1880 and 1885 alternated between being *Ministre de l'instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts* and

Président du Conseil, was firmly opposed to the conservative Moral Order that had determined the policies of government and the arts during the 1870s. In his speeches, he insisted on "independence," "individuality," and the "revolt" of artists against conventions. As Michael R. Orwicz has pointed out, this permitted the State to "represent itself as the liberator of artists' professional concerns, safeguarding art and culture in the interests of the nation at large, by constructing its aesthetic values against the Academy, rhetorically produced as the symbol of a pre-Republican order."³⁴ At the same time as he reformed national education, calling for "exciting and evoking spontaneity in the student" rather than teaching by rote, and encouraging students "to pursue their own moral development" rather than "imprisoning them in fixed rules," Ferry wished to encourage an aesthetic individualism. Rejecting the idea of any "official doctrine" or aesthetic, seeking to weaken old hierarchies, and highly attentive to equality and fraternity in French society, he was determined to help individual initiative thrive.³⁵ He wished to encourage aesthetic diversity as a counterbalance to academic traditions and to broaden representation on the *Conseil supérieur des Beaux-Arts* and the jury of the *Composition Prize of the City of Paris*. With its elevation of a humble bell-maker, its worker choruses, and its triumphant "people's festival" suggesting universal fraternity, d'Indy's dramatic symphony spoke to republican preoccupations.

Change too was in the air. In 1884, when Debussy won his *Prix de Rome*, some Academicians agreed with the government's openness to innovation. Just before a performance

³⁰*Ménestrel* featured articles about Wagner in almost every issue of spring and summer 1885. In the 1880s, his music as well as that of Berlioz was played regularly in Parisian concerts. See my "Building a Public for Orchestral Music: Les Concerts Colonne," in *Le Concert et son public: Mutations de la vie musicale en Europe de 1780 à 1914*, ed. Hans Erich Bödeker, Patrice Veit, Michael Werner (Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2002), pp. 209–40; and Manuela Schwartz, *Wagner-Rezeption und französische Oper des Fin de siècle: Untersuchungen zu Vincent d'Indy's Fervaal* (Sinzig: Studio, 1999), pp. 19–25.

³¹*Ménestrel* (1 Feb. 1885), and Arthur Pougin, "Audition des Envois de Prix de Rome au Conservatoire," *Ménestrel* (8 March 1885), 109.

³²G. M., "Concerts et soirées," *Ménestrel* (1 Feb. 1885), 71.

³³Hattat, "Rapport au nom du jury classant des partitions," p. 5. See also reviews in *Ménestrel* (14 March 1886) and *Journal des débats* (28 March 1886).

³⁴Michael R. Orwicz, "Anti-Academicism and State Power in the Early Third Republic," *Art History* 14/4 (Dec. 1991), 573–74.

³⁵Ferry's reforms affected who ran the primary and secondary schools (including the choice of teachers, inspectors, and school directors), what was taught there, and how it was taught. In a speech given in 1880 before 250 school directors, he outlined his plan to replace memorization with the development of judgment and initiative in students and to turn instructors into educators through a more interactive teaching style. For more extended discussion, see my *Useful Music, or Why Music Mattered in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, forthcoming).

of Debussy's winning score at the Académie des Beaux-Arts, Eugène Guillaume—sculptor, member of the Institut, and Director of the École des Beaux-Arts (1868–78)³⁶—explained the new values permeating their chambers:

We are aware that the conditions in which art is made have changed. We need movement, novelty, and even visionary qualities. We like to discover the artist in his work, we prefer him to his subject, and if he turns up something truly from himself, if he is original, there is much we are prepared to forgive him for. . . . Today, respect for personality [prevails] . . . individual feeling is now more recognized than it used to be.³⁷

Increasing respect for Franck may also have helped d'Indy to win. In August 1884 Franck received the Légion d'honneur and in February 1886 he was elected to serve as a member of the Prix de Rome jury. Also, d'Indy's reputation was not yet threatening. He was praised for his great skill, but it was seen as commanding respect, not yet emulation.

Even if the public reception of *La Cloche* in February and March 1886 was not what d'Indy may have hoped—mixed reviews and a financial disaster³⁸—winning the prize gave d'Indy his first claim at public distinction and the confidence to take several important steps. That year he returned to his opera, *Fervaal*, pursued

his interest in the past with a *Suite dans le style ancien*, and initiated plans to build his chateau, Les Faugs, based on German Gothic models. Winning the prize, despite Saint-Saëns's and Dubois's negative votes, also perhaps made him willing to confront Saint-Saëns on the direction of the Société nationale in November (and later Dubois on that of the Conservatoire).³⁹ The City of Paris prize, therefore, set an important precedent for d'Indy. It rewarded his advocacy for reform, not despite his disagreement with what was supported by the Conservatoire or rewarded by the Institut, but precisely because of this disagreement.

COLLABORATING WITH REPUBLICANS

Whether or not it was the result of Wagner's encouragement to seek out French equivalents for what attracted him to German culture,⁴⁰ d'Indy shared with certain republicans an interest in provincial peoples. In 1887, like Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray, J. B. Weckerlin, and Julien Tiersot—the former, professor of music history, the latter two, administrators at the Conservatoire—d'Indy began to collect French chansons populaires. Like them, he heard in these songs the memory and history of the

³⁶Guillaume was also the Director of the Fine-Arts in the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine-Arts (1878–79, 1883) and, beginning in 1882, professor at the Collège de France.
³⁷"Nous ne l'ignorons pas, les conditions de l'art ont changé. . . . Nous avons besoin de mouvement, de nouveauté, et même de qualités voyantes. Nous aimons découvrir l'artiste dans son œuvre . . . s'il est original, nous lui pardonnons beaucoup. Aujourd'hui le respect de notre personnalité . . . le sentiment individuel acquiert maintenant plus d'autorité" (Eugène Guillaume, "Discours," *Séance publique annuelle de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts* [18 Oct. 1884], 15).

³⁸The same day that H. Barbedette called *Rübezahl* "one of the best works produced in recent times," another *Ménestrel* critic thought that d'Indy was only a "wonderful craftsman," not yet a composer. "Concerts et soirées" (14 March 1886), 119. In a letter to Henri Heugel reproduced in *Ménestrel* (16 May 1886), 193, Charles Lamoureux explained that he found the press coverage of the work unusually harsh, and that for this reason it was his duty to give two performances at his own risk. Because ticket sales were not strong, he lost 10,000 francs. Lamoureux also notes that d'Indy had to contribute some of his commission to help pay the deficit not covered by the official subsidy. See also *Ménestrel* (9 May 1886), 186.

³⁹The composers and performers of this private music society had helped d'Indy to define, articulate, and develop what Bourdieu might call a taste public for Franck's music as well as his own, performing eleven of his works on fourteen of their concerts between 1871 and 1881. In 1886, as a protectionist spirit gripped the country after an economic recession, Saint-Saëns wished to continue the tradition of performing little to no foreign music, while d'Indy sought to change this. In the draft of a letter to Bussine, d'Indy says he will ask for a revision of the Société Nationale's statutes at their November 1886 meeting, noting: "it seems to me the moment has come" (see Michael Strasser, *Ars Gallica: The Société nationale de musique and Its Role in French Musical Life, 1871–1891* [Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1998], p. 404). When Saint-Saëns resigned over this revision, d'Indy became secretary of the organization and took control, while Franck functioned as a sort of honorary president until he died in 1890.

⁴⁰"Se procurer un poème simple, humain, expressif, conforme avant tout au génie de votre nation. Tout un folklore, riche trésor national est à votre disposition. Sur un poème vraiment français si vous ne vous inspirez que de la vérité des mœurs vous ferez de la musique vraiment française. . . . Vous ferez pour la France ce que j'ai fait" (Richard Wagner to Louis Fourcaud, cited in *Ma Vie*, p. 360).

racés, including those that were lost or had disappeared, even though he disagreed with them as to the origins of the songs. (Bourgault-Ducoudray pointed to what the songs owed to ancient Greek melodies, whereas d'Indy credited plainchant.) D'Indy wished to use them to create a French basis for his compositions. With this in mind, he built his entire *Symphonie sur un chant montagnard français* (1886), otherwise known as his *Symphonie cévenole*, from the thematic transformation of a chanson populaire he had heard in the mountains of his ancestors.⁴¹ For his own collecting, d'Indy turned to regions where no one had yet done extended work—the Vivarais and the Vercors.⁴² This attracted the attention of republicans including Julien Tiersot, who became his collaborator and contributed extensive critical commentary to the edition.⁴³ While the Parisian-born d'Indy may have been interested in studying his ancestral origins and exploring the regional identity of music, Tiersot, like other republicans, concentrated on showing how these songs reinforced republican notions of a shared musical tradition throughout the country and could be used as part of Ferry's educational agenda to link the disparate populations of the provinces. To this end, the government funded many song-collecting missions. D'Indy received one of these in 1897 to collect songs in the Ardèche. His three versions of "La Bergère et le Monsieur" in his *Chansons populaires du*

Vivarais (1900)⁴⁴ recalls d'Indy's interest in rural simplicity and a story similar to that which he recounted in his *Attendez-moi sous l'orme*.

In the late 1880s and early 1890s, d'Indy's interest in exploring the distant origins of France also found sympathy with state administrators. In 1888 when Gustave Larroumet became Director of Fine-Arts and in 1891 when Henri Roujon took over, the state was determined to impose changes on the Conservatoire. This time it was not personality or originality that they wished to support. In official speeches at the Conservatoire, while they explained that students should "welcome and profit" from Wagner, they also asserted the importance of tradition and advocated studying the origins of French music.⁴⁵ After making d'Indy a Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur in January 1892, Léon Bourgeois, the Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts, in March asked d'Indy to be one of five composers (with Guiraud, Massenet, Reyer, and Thomas) to serve on a committee to reform the Conservatoire. There were also ten politicians among the thirty-two members. D'Indy's inclusion can be seen as a result of the new politics of *ralliement*. When Pope Leo XIII encouraged Catholics to accept the Third Republic and participate in it, he made possible a conservative alliance between moderate Catholics, especially aristocratic elites, and republicans opposed to socialist gains in the government.⁴⁶ The political reconciliation had major repercussions on the musical world. During this period, contrary to the image we tend to have of him today, d'Indy was known for being a "dedicated and

⁴¹D'Indy also wrote a *Fantaisie sur des thèmes populaires français* (1888) for oboe and orchestra.

⁴²The *Revue des traditions populaires*, founded in 1885 and published by la Société des traditions populaires, reproduced in 1887 some of the folk songs d'Indy had collected; in 1892 the *Revue* published his volume of these songs, *Chansons populaires recueillies dans le Vivarais et le Vercors*, arranged and with preface and notes by Julien Tiersot. For fuller discussion of the meaning of these songs for diverse groups in France, see my two articles, "The Chanson Populaire as Malleable Symbol in Turn-of-the-Century France," in *Tradition and Its Future in Music*, ed. Y. Tokumaru et al. (Tokyo: Mita Press, 1991), pp. 203–10, and "Race and Nation: Musical Acclimatization and the Chansons populaires in Third Republic France," in *Western Music and Race*, ed. Julie Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⁴³D'Indy got to know Tiersot on a trip to Bayreuth in 1886. Tiersot had just finished his *Histoire de la chanson populaire*, which won the Prix Bordin.

⁴⁴In his *Chansons populaires du Vivarais* (Paris: A. Durand, 1900), d'Indy's stated intention was to "unveil the Vivarais soul" and explore regional identity, as well as to show the origin of songs such as "La Pernette" in the Gregorian musical liturgy (pp. 15–19).

⁴⁵For an analysis of these speeches, see my "State Politics and the 'French' Aesthetics of the Prix de Rome Cantatas, 1870–1900," in *Musical Education in Europe (1770–1914): Compositional, Institutional and Political Challenges*, vol. 2, ed. Michel Noiray and Michael Fend (Berlin: BWV, 2005), pp. 585–622.

⁴⁶In his *Rerum Novarum* of 15 May 1891, Pope Leo XIII criticized workers' associations and rejected socialist demands concerning public property; in *Au milieu des solitudes* of 16 February 1892, he instructed French Catholics to prefer peace in the country to political conflict.

conscientious worker, never uncompromising or closed-minded . . . excessively modest and welcoming to all, above any kind of scheming."⁴⁷

This committee constituted another opportunity for the composer to collaborate with the state to promote change. D'Indy profited from the occasion to propose some truly innovative notions, even if few of them were accepted. His idea to "divide musical instruction into two levels corresponding to technical and artistic concerns" would have brought about a "total remaking of the Conservatoire," involving an increase in teaching staff and other resources. This was voted down. With the exception of two members, the entire committee also voted against his idea to separate symphonic composition from dramatic composition. The idea went against the contemporary taste for forms that mixed symphony and theater. Nevertheless, his presence on this committee was significant. Like Larroumet, he encouraged young composers to analyze great works from the past, and he supported the Committee's decision to enhance the artistic interest in counterpoint: students were to harmonize in chords not just chorale tunes, but also chansons populaires in four to eight parts. It is possible that these ideas originated with d'Indy. He would also have agreed with the proposal that the orchestra class should read new works by young composers, even if the committee ultimately found this unrealizable. Moreover, he probably had a strong influence on their decision to separate the teaching of counterpoint from that of the fugue, defending the argument that "free-style fugue can be regarded as the form from which symphonic development originated" and thus should be taught with composition. The committee agreed with this even though it meant creating two new classes. With d'Indy and Larroumet in agreement on the importance of the symphony, the committee concurred unanimously that the next composer hired at the

Conservatoire should be a symphonist.⁴⁸ Honoring this desire and perhaps also d'Indy's work on this committee, when Guiraud died in May of that same year, 1892, Roujon proposed that d'Indy take over Guiraud's position as professor of composition at the Paris Conservatoire. D'Indy refused, but some thought that he had such a great influence on the Minister that, if he had wanted to, he could have brought about Thomas's retirement and replaced him as Director of the Conservatoire.⁴⁹

For the next decade, d'Indy articulated and enacted his belief that art's function was to serve to such an extent that in 1897, right in the middle of the Dreyfus Affair, this anti-Dreyfusard musician confessed: "I'm becoming an official musician . . . and it's disgusting."⁵⁰ Being an "official musician" had several meanings, each of them touching on music's social purpose. The very republicans who set the foundations for the Third Republic, such as

⁴⁸In Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation: documents historiques et administratifs* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900), see Vincent d'Indy, "Projet d'organisation des études du Conservatoire national de musique, 1892," pp. 373–76; Henry Marcel, "Rapport présenté au nom de la Sous-Commission de l'Enseignement musical, 1892," pp. 376–83; and Bardoux, "Projets de décret et d'arrêté préparés par la Sous-Commission de la musique," pp. 383–93.

⁴⁹Malherbe, perhaps among others, had the impression that d'Indy wanted this position. D'Indy explained his decision in a letter to his wife Isabelle on 18 Novembre 1892, in *Ma Vie*, p. 482: "Comme on ne peut pas supposer qu'un Monsieur agisse autrement que par intérêt personnel, le bruit courant est que je veux forcer le Ministre à mettre à la retraite Ambroise Thomas afin de me mettre à sa place. Il y a vraiment des gens bien bêtes dans le monde artistique et il ne peut pas entrer dans ces esprits bornés qu'un individu puisse combattre pour l'art d'une façon désintéressée. . . . Je n'en suis que plus content de n'avoir pas accepté la place de professeur de Composition qui m'était offerte, outre l'embêtement de l'attache, ça aurait été leur donner en quelque sorte raison et tu vois ma position, seul au milieu de ces 74 ennemis jurés."

⁵⁰"Je deviens musicien officiel . . . c'est dégoûtant" (letter to Octave Maus, 1 Sept. 1897, *Ma Vie*, p. 568). This letter came after his announcement that he had been charged by the Committee organizing the 1900 Exhibition to collect and organize chants populaires in the Ardèche. During the late 1890s, d'Indy often articulated this desire to serve. In his 1896 speech about the Schola cantorum, "Une école de musique répondant aux besoins modernes," later published in *Courrier musical* (15 Nov. 1900), 8–9, d'Indy asserted that the goal of art was to serve. In his opera *l'Etranger* (1898–1901), the hero sings, "Aider les autres, servir les autres, voilà ma seule joie, mon unique pensée."

⁴⁷"Un apôtre, poursuit son but en travailleur convaincu et consciencieux, sans intransigeance ni parti-pris . . . modeste à l'excès et accueillant pour tous, au dessus de tout espèce d'intrigue" (Henry Eymieu, *Études et biographies musicales* [Paris: Fischbacher, 1892], p. 30).

Table 1
Works for Amateur Choruses, Civic Ceremonies, and Military Bands

1885	<i>Sainte Marie-Madeleine</i> , soprano, women's chorus, and piano or harmonium
1888	<i>Sur la mer</i> , women's chorus, piano
1893	<i>Cantate de fête pour l'inauguration d'une statue</i> , baritone, men's chorus, orchestra
1894	<i>L'Art et le peuple</i> (Hugo), four-voice men's chorus
1897	<i>Ode à Valence</i> (Genest), soprano, men's chorus
1897	Mosaique on <i>Fervaal</i> , military band
1903	<i>Marche du 76e régiment d'infanterie</i> , military band

Jules Ferry, Jules Simon (Minister of Public Instruction and Fine-Arts and later Senator), and their successors, believed that musicians, at least those who received a free education at the Conservatoire, should serve their country and their music should contribute to its glory. D'Indy shared some of their beliefs. Like them, he saw art as the spirit of progress and yearned to educate the masses, to elevate them and give them a sense of liberty through their experience of music. With these ideas in mind, he once performed for the Cercle des ouvriers, a workers' group on the rue Montmartre.⁵¹ More important, he also made some of the same compositional choices as his republican peers (see Table 1). Like Léo Delibes, composition professor at the Conservatoire until 1891, d'Indy wrote choruses for amateurs, for example, *Sur la mer* (1888), even if his were more difficult than many others (see ex. 2).

Although he did not share their political convictions, d'Indy, like his republican colleagues, also wrote music for official ceremonies and other activities subsidized by the government, and, even if he criticized them as being useless and characterized by mediocrity,⁵² he too served on the jury of numerous orphéon competitions involving amateur singers, many of them workers, including those of the 1889 and 1900 Expositions (see Table 2). In 1894 his setting of Victor Hugo's *L'Art et le peuple* was premiered

at one such competition by the Enfants de Lutèce, one of Paris's best working-class choruses (ex. 3). In addition, like Charles Lenepveu, Delibes' successor at the Conservatoire, d'Indy wrote ceremonial works for civic occasions, two of them at Valence: his *Cantate pour l'inauguration d'une statue* (1893) and an *Ode à Valence* (1897) commemorating President Félix Faure's visit to Valence.⁵³ In 1897 he also made his own fantasy for military band from selected excerpts of *Fervaal*, and, like Saint-Saëns, he composed a military march for a regiment of the French infantry (1903).⁵⁴ His continued alliance with Henri Roujon assured him of not only ongoing participation in major juries but also support for his preferences.⁵⁵ In 1900, in despair over the organization of orphéon performances, he concluded that they should be eliminated; still he dreamed of an "Art of the people truly worthy of the name."⁵⁶

⁵³He wrote to Octave Maus: "Sais-tu que j'ai été une journée *musicien officiel*! . . . à Valence, ou j'ai été chargé de recevoir le Président Félix Faure [Félix Faure] à coups de trombones et de cymbales" (letter of 1 Sept. 1897, *Ma Vie*, p. 567).

⁵⁴*Le Petit Poucet*, a journal distributed to the public of military-band concerts in Parisian parks, published a front-page article on d'Indy and his music in all their issues for the last week of June 1896. By 1910 Parisian military bands were also performing a transcription of his *Le Camp de Wallenstein*.

⁵⁵According to d'Indy, it was due to the "tacit connivance of Roujon" and "against the wishes of Conservatoire and Institut composers" that he was able to obtain a place for Chausson, Debussy, and Dukas in the orchestral concerts of 1900 Exposition (letter to Octave Maus, 22 April 1900, *Ma Vie*, p. 605).

⁵⁶Letter to Charles Malherbe, 27 December 1900 (F-Pn. Opéra, I.a. d'Indy 34). See also d'Indy, "Le Régionalisme musical," 249.

⁵¹D'Indy mentions this in a letter of 24 November 1873, *Ma Vie*, p. 262.

⁵²Vincent d'Indy, "A propos du prix de Rome: le régionalisme musical," *Revue musicale* 2 (1902), 248.

The musical score is for a chorus piece titled "Sur la mer" by Théodore Dubois, composed in 1888. It is written for Soprano (Sop.), Alto, and Piano accompaniment. The time signature is 3/4, and the tempo is marked "Modéré". The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The lyrics are: "Sur la mer, sur la mer! sur la mer! sur la mer!". The piano accompaniment features a recurring melodic motif in the right hand and a more active bass line. Dynamic markings include *p* (piano), *f* (forte), *più sfz* (pianissimo fortissimo), and *m.g.* (mezzo-giochiato). The score is divided into measures, with measure numbers 4, 7, and 10 indicated.

Example 2: *Sur la mer*, chorus for women's voices (1888).

In portraying Théodore Dubois as d'Indy's strongest opponent, the latter composer, his successors, and recent scholars have given short shrift to what they shared.⁵⁷ Certainly they had different backgrounds and personalities, but both started out in the 1870s as choral conduc-

tors (Dubois for the Société des Concerts and d'Indy for various Parisian orchestras) and as organists (Dubois at Saint-Clothilde and la Madeleine, d'Indy at Saint-Leu near Montmorency); both won the City of Paris prize in composition; and besides being composers and professors of composition, both went on to direct music schools. As "integrated professionals," they could hold and express strong opinions, but ultimately were good team players,

⁵⁷One of the texts that vigorously opposed Dubois and d'Indy was Marnold, "Le Conservatoire et la Schola."

Table 2
Orphéon Competitions (selection)

1889	Committee	Wind and brass bands	Paris Universal Exhibition
August 1894	Vice-President	Orphéon competition	Lyon
1897	Jury	Orphéon competition	Valence
1898	Jury	Music competition	Roanne
August 1899	Jury	Orphéon competition	Saint-Étienne
August 1900	Committee	Wind and brass bands	Paris Universal Exhibition
August 1902	Jury	Orphéon competition	Geneva

Ten. I *f* *Lent.* L'art c'est la gloire et la joie. *Modérément animé*

Ten. II *f* L'art c'est la gloire et la joie.

Bass I *f* L'art c'est la gloire et lu joie. L'art c'est la gloire et la

Bass II *f* L'art c'est la gloire et la joie. L'art c'est la gloire et la

6 *f* L'art c'est la gloire et la joie, la gloire et la joie; Dans la tem-pête il flam-

L'art c'est la gloire et la joie; Dans la tem-pête il flam-

joie, la gloire et la joie; Dans la tem-pête il flam-boie, Dans

joie, c'est la gloire et la joie; Dans la tem-pête il flam-boie, Dans la tem-

Example 3: *L'Art et le peuple*, chorus for four male voices (1894).

able to build a consensus around their positions.⁵⁸ They also shared some musical tastes. Both were interested in Gregorian chant and in chansons populaires of the same region. Well

before it was taught at the Schola, in 1884 Dubois published *L'Accompagnement pratique du plainchant*; and in 1895, recalling d'Indy's use of such a tune in his *Symphonie cévenole*, Dubois incorporated a chanson cévenole into his opera *Xavière*. Both also wrote religious and liturgical music for use in Catholic services. Dubois wrote eight masses, including one in the style of Palestrina (1900), and more

⁵⁸Howard Becker explains the concept of integrated professionals in his *Art Worlds* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 228–33.

than seventy motets; d'Indy, six Latin motets, beginning with *Deus Israel* (1896) and *Sancta Maria* (1898). In addition, the correspondence between d'Indy and Dubois from 1894 to 1909 demonstrates a much more cordial relationship than we have been led to believe. Even if d'Indy admitted that the two composers did not conceive of art in the same way, they went to concerts of one another's music, they exchanged words of appreciation, and in 1898 they recognized that their "goal remained the same," as d'Indy wrote somewhat elliptically.⁵⁹

DECONSTRUCTING DIFFERENCES AT THE SCHOLA CANTORUM

With his role in the Schola Cantorum, the aura of difference surrounding d'Indy reached an apex. Free vs. official, Catholic vs. secular, private vs. public—yes, the Schola differed from the Conservatoire. Its statutes, its conditions of admission (no age limit), and the everyday life of its students contrasted with those of the Conservatoire.⁶⁰ But can we really oppose their attitudes through such binarisms as art vs. skills, morals vs. virtuosity, counterpoint vs. harmony? Whether used to gain visibility, attract students, or enhance d'Indy's importance as its Director, certain oppositions have been exaggerated.⁶¹ Certainly d'Indy used the Schola to instigate reforms he had proposed for the Conservatoire. When he took over the direction of the Schola in 1900, he divided the classes into two sections, leaving to the first the classes of "special technique and the mechanics of writing . . . in a word, craft [*métier*]." He compared these to the warm-up drills of military exercises. To the second, he allocated "all that concerns interpretation, knowledge of style, study of important works . . . in sum, art."⁶² In reality, however, Dubois, Director of the Conserva-

toire from 1896 to 1905, saw musical instruction not that differently. He too believed that "all art is composed of two equally important parts, aesthetics and technique."⁶³ And when he took over the Conservatoire, republican administrators like Gustave Larroumet expected Dubois to incorporate much of what the reform committee had proposed but was unable to enact while Thomas was still alive. Larroumet too felt that the Conservatoire attached "too much importance to virtuosity and not enough to art" and needed to give more attention to masterpieces of the French past and the symphony.⁶⁴

D'Indy's first sentence in his manifesto for the new school—that the Schola would not function as a professional school because art is not a *métier* (that is, a profession or trade, as well as a craft)—is ironic as well as misleading. His early reputation up through *Le Chant de la cloche* was based on his craft more than his art: reviewers found him a "wonderful worker [*merveilleux ouvrier*]" but not yet "a composer," and they noted: "If his inspiration and ideas can raise to the level of his prodigious skill, France would consider him another great master."⁶⁵ With his next major success, *Fervaal* (1886–95) at the Opéra-Comique, critics again referred to his "patient and relentless labor" and continued to recognize his knowledge (*science*) and his masterful skills. Yet while some saw him as a leader of the French school of composition, others found this music overly complex and difficult to listen to—one critic compared the experience to "a cerebral accident analogous to a vehicle accident [*accident de voiture*] for the body." They also stressed the almost insurmountable difficulties in per-

⁵⁹On 17 February 1909, d'Indy wrote to Dubois that he would be "happy to work on [Dubois's] motets in the vocal ensemble class" he directed (F-Pn, Musique, I.a. d'Indy 379); see also I.a. d'Indy 374 to 380 to Théodore Dubois.

⁶⁰For more details on these differences, see Ladislav Rohozinski, *Cinquante ans de musique française*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie de France, 1925), pp. 220–22.

⁶¹See nn. 5 and 7 above.

⁶²D'Indy, "Une École de musique répondant aux besoins modernes," pp. 8–9.

⁶³Vincent d'Indy, "La Schola Cantorum (1904)" and Théodore Dubois, "L'Enseignement musical," in *L'Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, vol. XI, ed. Albert Lavignac (Paris: Delagrave, 1931), pp. 3623, 3437, 3439.

⁶⁴Gustave Larroumet, "La Direction du Conservatoire," *Le Temps* (3 March 1896). See also André Maurel, "Le nouveau Directeur et la réforme du Conservatoire," *Le Figaro* (7 May 1896).

⁶⁵"Vincent d'Indy est d'ores et déjà un merveilleux ouvrier. Il lui reste maintenant à devenir un compositeur. Si son inspiration et ses idées peuvent un jour monter au niveau de son faire prodigieux, la France comptera un grand maître de plus" (*Ménestrel* [14 March 1886], 119).

forming it.⁶⁶ In the program notes for a 1897 performance in which d'Indy conducted four of his works at the Concerts Colonne, again he was praised above all for his "*science*."

At the Schola, d'Indy stressed art over skills in part to shift instructors' attention away from the production of virtuosi and opera composers, long the Conservatoire's focus. However, he devoted much of his own compositional efforts in the 1890s to writing dramatic music and, ironically perhaps, selected texts quite similar to those used by Conservatoire students preparing for the Prix de Rome. The opposition between love and duty in *Fervaal* was not only a recurrent theme throughout music history (as in the works of Lully and Gluck) and the basis of French classical drama (as in Corneille), but also a quintessential republican preoccupation. Composers who competed for the Prix de Rome often had to set it to music—e.g., *Jeanne d'Arc* (1871), *Calypso* (1872), *Geneviève* (1881), *La Vision de Saül* (1886), *Didon* (1887), and *Velléda* (1888). In the early 1890s, the theme was also popular at the Opéra, where three works based on the Judith story were premiered—Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Dalila*, Reyer's *Salammbô*, and Bourgault-Ducoudray's *Thamara*. During the same period that d'Indy was at work on *Fervaal*, a good number of Prix de Rome libretti—from *Velléda* (1888), *L'Interdit* (1891), and *Amadis* (1892) to *Frédégonde* (1897) and *Radegonde* (1898)—also focused on medieval myths and old French history. The subjects went hand in hand with the growing public taste for Wagner and also reflected the politics of *ralliement*, which led conservative republicans and traditional aristocratic elites to look for shared values in the French past. Later, when he wrote the incidental music for Catulle Mendès' play, *Médée* (1898), d'Indy returned not only to the subject his archrival Georges Hüe set to music for his Prix de Rome in 1879, but also to one used by Conservatoire students in their January can-

tata exercises in 1891 and 1893.⁶⁷ D'Indy thus had all the preparation he needed to teach dramatic music at the Schola.

In fact, the Schola did function as a professional school, albeit not for the production of opera composers, and it received a State subsidy as such. Like the Conservatoire, it promoted its traditions and values with similar means and taught students just as rigorously, even if these students, a certain number of which were aristocrats like d'Indy, did not need to make a living from their art. And while the Schola did not give prizes, it gave semester exams just as at the Conservatoire, used the same terminology to evaluate students' work,⁶⁸ and awarded diplomas at the end of classes. In their hiring of professors, their teaching of fundamentals and music history, their promotion of symphonic music, and their performance of early music, the two institutions shared important elements that have too often been ignored.⁶⁹

First, when they concentrated on composition at the Schola, d'Indy and his disciples neglected how other disciplines were taught, such as singing and instrumental performance. All students had to learn Gregorian chant and participate in the choral ensemble. Although the Minister did not accept it, a proposal for mandatory universal participation in a choral ensemble was also made in 1892 at the Conservatoire.⁷⁰ Moreover, d'Indy said that all professors should try "to form not virtuosi infatuated with their talents, but artists conscious of their mission of complete devotion to the work of art that they have the honor of performing."⁷¹ However, half the professors at the Schola were prizewinners from the Conservatoire. For example, Mlle Jaeger (Mme

⁶⁶See Léon Kerst's review of an excerpt from *Fervaal* in *Le Petit Journal* (18 Sept. 1895), F. Régner's review of the same in *Le Journal* (18 Sept. 1895), Bruneau's review of *Fervaal* in *Le Figaro* (13 March 1897), and Kerst's review of *Médée* in *Le Petit Journal* (29 Oct. 1898).

⁶⁷See the discussion of these cantatas in my "State Politics and the 'French' Aesthetics of the Prix de Rome Cantatas," pp. 593, 612–13, 618.

⁶⁸"Très bien, bien, assez bien." Compare *Le Tribune de Saint-Gervais* (Sept. 1903), 306, 312, with the exam notes at the Conservatoire, Archives Nationales, AJ³⁷, 234.

⁶⁹For those who might have discussed these, see Vincent d'Indy et al., *La Schola cantorum: son histoire depuis sa fondation jusqu'en 1925* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1927); and Louis Laloy, *La Musique retrouvée, 1902–1927* (Paris: Plon, 1928).

⁷⁰Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, pp. 373 and 385.

⁷¹See d'Indy, "La Schola cantorum" in Lavignac, *Encyclopédie*, XI, 3624.

1

B. D.
(1910)

2

C. D.
(1910)

Example 4: Vincent d'Indy, "Examples of elementary exercises,"
Cent thèmes d'harmonie (1907–18).

Jossic), who had studied composition with Guiraud and Massenet and received first prizes at the Conservatoire in solfège, organ, harmony, piano accompaniment, and counterpoint/fugue, was hired to teaching solfège at the Schola after teaching it at the Conservatoire from 1896 to 1899. The same was true of the Schola's professors of piano, woodwinds, string instruments, and voice.⁷² Eléanore Blanc, its voice teacher, received her first prize at the Conservatoire in 1890 where she specialized in opéra-comique.⁷³ It is not clear that the methods and repertoires used by these professors were different from those used at the Conservatoire.

Second, Scholists such as Louis Laloy and

even adversaries such as Vuillermoz have asserted that harmony was not taught at the Schola, that "counterpoint was supposed to be enough for Scholists," and that d'Indy was "responsible for this position."⁷⁴ However, the Schola, like the Conservatoire, did begin students' training with harmony. D'Indy published a collection of exercises for harmony exams at the Schola, his *Cent thèmes d'harmonie* (1907–08) (see ex. 4), showing students how to harmonize bass lines and given melodies. The material of this volume closely resembles that not only of Franck's classes at the Conservatoire,

⁷²Woodwind teachers (Mimart [clarinet], Letellier [bassoon], Bleuzet [oboe]) tended to come from the Conservatoire and were members of some of the major orchestras in Paris—the Opéra, Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, the orchestras of Colonne or Lamoureux. So too for the string teachers like Casadessus (viola) and Nanny (bass), as well as the piano teachers Grovlez and Mlle Prestat.

⁷³In a performance of the Easter Cantata on the Concerts Lamoureux (31 March 1899), Eléanore Blanc had proven she could also sing Bach.

⁷⁴Vuillermoz, "La Schola et le Conservatoire," and Laloy, *La Musique retrouvée*, pp. 77–78. Laloy went so far as to admit that musicians who graduated from the Schola had a characteristic problem with chordal succession and modulation. He noted that he had occasion to study Reber and Dubois's harmony treatise, used at the Conservatoire for decades, which was a "great help." In his "La Schola et le Conservatoire," Urbie attempts to correct Vuillermoz, noting specifically that harmony was taught at the Schola (p. 577). Fulcher accepts d'Indy's reputation for "dismissing" harmony and assumes its "total exclusion from the Schola" (*French Cultural Politics and Music*, p. 149).

but also of the harmony classes there, as documented in Dubois's 87 *Leçons d'harmonie* (1891) and Lenepveu's *Cent leçons d'harmonie* (1898).

Similar misperceptions cloud our understanding of counterpoint at these two institutions. Scholists promoted the idea that they taught counterpoint while the Conservatoire taught harmony. But although it is true that, where studies at the Conservatoire began with solfège and harmony, and those at the Schola programmatically included counterpoint, counterpoint was also taught at the Conservatoire, integrated with harmony and composition.⁷⁵ In excerpt no. 7 from his *Cent leçons d'harmonie* (ex. 5), Lenepveu shows how students might use permutations of a two-measure contrapuntal model to connect one part to another. This is not too different from d'Indy's exercise no. 31, again from his *Cent thèmes d'harmonie* (ex. 6). In both cases, the pedagogues were interested in imitative and canonic procedures associated with instruction in counterpoint. That is, they wished to encourage students to study how lines combine and voices interact in functionally harmonic fields. Moreover, like d'Indy, Dubois considered counterpoint (as well as harmony) "the best exercise [*gymnastique*] for composers."⁷⁶ D'Indy recognized Dubois's talent as a teacher of counterpoint. In a letter of 1 June 1901, he thanked Dubois for sending his new counterpoint and fugue treatise in which d'Indy found "precisely the French qualities that are lacking in those of his predecessors . . . clarity and precision."⁷⁷ Also, as at the Schola, the study of fugues was an important part of composition lessons at the Conservatoire. Fugues

were sometimes submitted by students for their exams and always required as part of the Prix de Rome competition.⁷⁸

Third, even if d'Indy gave more attention to pre-Revolutionary music history and integrated it into his composition classes more than at the Conservatoire, many of his educational policies were extensions of Conservatoire traditions, not their opposites, as has recently been suggested. This was especially true in matters of teaching music history and training conductors.⁷⁹ At the Conservatoire Ambroise Thomas saw the importance of teaching history to musicians. In 1871 he instituted a history and aesthetics class. This class addressed music from its origins to the present, musical paleography, sacred as well as secular music, diverse musical systems, and the critical study of individual works. When Bourgault-Ducourday was hired as music historian in 1878, Thomas made these classes obligatory for all harmony and composition students.⁸⁰ From 1873 to 1885, Deldevez taught an orchestra class at the Conservatoire to train future conductors and to perform works by student composers. Afterwards Godard taught an instrumental ensemble class. Similar training continued in the piano accompaniment class, one of whose goals was to teach orchestral score reading, among other skills. (This is the class in which Debussy earned his first premier prix and the right to enter the composition class.) Ironically, despite the importance of orchestral music for d'Indy, the Schola had a hard time attracting enough

⁷⁵For a discussion of when counterpoint entered the Paris Conservatoire and how the different fields of craft were divided and taught, see Renate Groth, *Die französische Kompositionslehre des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1983). See also François Bazin, *Cours de contrepoint: théorique et pratique* (Paris: Lemoine, ca. 1871), Théodore Dubois, *Traité de contrepoint et de fugue* (Paris: Heugel, 1901), and André Gédalge, "Les Rapports de l'harmonie et du contrepoint: définitions et considérations générales," *Revue musicale* (April 1904), 326–29.

⁷⁶Dubois, "L'Enseignement musical," in Lavignac, *Encyclopédie*, XI, 3439; also in the introduction to his *Traité de contrepoint et de fugue*.

⁷⁷Letter to Théodore Dubois, 1 June 1901 (F-Pn, Musique, l.a. d'Indy 377).

⁷⁸In the semester exam of 13 January 1891, for example, all six of Massenet's composition students presented fugues. See Archives Nationales, Paris, AJ³⁷, 234 (3). Elsewhere I've shown the importance of counterpoint in works by Debussy, specifically the counterpoint of timbres. See my "Timbre, Voice-leading and the Musical Arabesque in Debussy's Piano Music," *Debussy in Performance*, ed. James Briscoe (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 225–55.

⁷⁹In her *French Cultural Politics and Music*, Fulcher asserts that "the Conservatoire placed little value on music history or the performance of works from the distant past" and implies that a "class on music history" was among Gabriel Fauré's reforms in 1905. She concludes: "This would eventually change, but only in response to the Schola's challenge and to the escalating assaults on the institution in the next decade by the nationalist Right" (pp. 27–28; see also p. 151).

⁸⁰Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national*, p. 310.

Moderato

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C. D.

Example 5: Charles Lenepveu, "No. 7, bass and melody in alternation,"
Cent leçons d'harmonie (1898).

string players to have an orchestra, and in 1903 it was still not yet fully functional.

Contrary to what d'Indy and others have implied, there was also a wide array of genres taught to composers at the Conservatoire. They included religious and instrumental music, although not systematically. In a survey of the Conservatoire archives from 1888 to 1893, for example, I found student compositions in religious vocal genres (such as an Ave Maria, a

Bénédictus, an Agnus Dei from the Catholic Mass, and a good number of motets) presented in several of their exams (see Table 3). Student composers also had the option to present purely instrumental works for their exams, for instance, a movement of a piano sonata, a violin solo, a quartet, or an orchestral piece.⁸¹ What

⁸¹See Archives nationales, A]37, 234 (3).

Canon a

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b

Th. a

B. D.
(1911)

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Im. a

Example 6: Vincent d'Indy, "No. 31," *Cent thèmes d'harmonie* (1907–18).

was expected of composers in preparation for the Prix de Rome competition also evolved during this period to include more orchestral music. Beginning in the late 1890s, the libretti used in the Prix de Rome competitions called for symphonic music from composers in the first significant way. It was not just a matter of functional marches or imitative music, but rather of program music meant to take full responsibility for the expression of charm in certain sections of the work.

Most important, in comparing the Schola's training of composers with the Conservatoire's, we have ignored that the direction of a composer's work and its oversight by Conservatoire processors continued with the annual *envois* composed in Rome. These works, requirements for the fellowship, were submitted to the Académie des Beaux-Arts for its review and performed at the annual fall meeting of the Institut. Since most music members of the Académie were also composition teachers at the Conservatoire, these required *envois de*

Rome should be considered as part of composers' institutional training.⁸² As Table 3 shows, the genres taught at the Schola follow the same sequence as that required of Prix de Rome composers if one takes these *envois* into account: after writing melodies and choruses, fugues and sonatas, they were to turn to chamber music, then symphonic works, and finally oratorios and dramatic scenes. Under the influence of the politics of *ralliement*, with its increased attention to the French past, by a decree of 21 July 1894 winners of the Prix de Rome were also required to work on *la musique ancienne* (early music). That is, "in French libraries

⁸²In the late nineteenth century, of the six members of the Académie des Beaux-Arts at any one time, Thomas (1851–96), Reber (1853–81), David (1869–76), Massé (1872–84), Bazin (1873–78), Massenet (1878–1912), Delibes (1884–91), Guiraud (1891–92), Dubois (1893–1924), and Lenepveu (1896–1910) were also composition professors at the Conservatoire. Only Gounod (1866–93), Reyer (1876–1909), Saint-Saëns (1881–1921), and Paladilhe (1892–1926) were not professors.

Table 3
Teaching of Composition at the Conservatoire

Religious music composed for Conservatoire exams

COMPOSITION AT THE CONSERVATOIRE, 1888–93	PROFESSOR	EXAM DATE
Handel, Fugue subject	Massenet	1888
Ave Maria	Guiraud	1890
Pavane	Guiraud	1890
Bénédictus	Guiraud	1891
Salva Regina	Dubois	1892
Agnus Dei	Guiraud	1893
Ave Verun	Dubois	1893

Composition sequence after 1894 (subjects taught at both the Conservatoire and the Schola)

SUBJECT	CONSERVATOIRE (CLASS)	SCHOLA	(YEAR)
Plainchant	Organ	I	(1)
Harmony exercises	Harmony	I, II: 1	
Counterpoint exercises	Counterpoint	I	
Melodies, choruses, motets	Composition	II: 1	(1)
Fugues, sonatas	Composition	II: 2	(2)
Chamber music, especially quartets	1st year, Rome	II: 3	(3)
Early music	2nd, 4th year, Rome	II: 1, 2, 4	
Motets	2nd year, Rome	II: 2	
Symphonic works	2nd, 3rd year, Rome	II: 3	(3)
Sacred or secular oratorios	3rd, 4th year, Rome	II: 4	(4)
Dramatic scenes	Composition; 2nd year, Rome	II: 4	(4)

Early music copied by Prix-de-Rome winners in Rome¹

André Bloch, *Magnificat* by Arcadelt and a *Kyrie* by Claudin de Sermisy, 1896
Charles Silver, *La Naissance d'Osiris* by Rameau, 1896
Henri Rabaud, *Magnificat* by Goudimel, 1897
Henri Büsser, *Mass* by Campra, 1897
Omer Letorey, *Credo* by Magliadri, 1898
Bloch, *Mass* by Du Caurroy, 1898
Jules Mouquet, *Mass* by Alessandro Scarlatti, 1899
Rabaud, *Missa pro defunctis* by Étienne Moulinié, 1899
Max d'Olonne, madrigal with organ, *Entra di Maesta* by Francesco Anerio, 1900
Mouquet, *Psaume L* for two choruses and orchestra by Lully, 1901
Letorey, *Mass* by Sermisy, 1901
Charles Levadé, manuscript by Monteverdi, 1902
Florent Schmitt, *Dialogo musicale dell'anima et del corpo* by Cavalieri, 1903
Edmond Malherbe, *Salve Regina* and *Magnificat* by Charpentier, 1903
André Caplet, chorus and finale of act V from *Orfeo* by Monteverdi, 1904

¹Registres des séances de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts, 2-E-20, Institut de France, Paris. Alexandre Dratwicki and I interpret the years associated with these envois differently. Whereas he takes the year they were assigned (e.g., June 1904–June 1905), I here refer to the year they were delivered to the Institut (September–October 2005). See Dratwicki, "Les 'Envois de Rome' des compositeurs pensionnaires de la Villa Médicis (1804–1914)," *Revue de musicologie* 91/1 (2005), 99–193.

among the works of the French School of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, both vocal and instrumental," they were "to seek out an interesting work, to copy it or make a score of it, or, if need be, to translate into modern notation." Beginning in 1903, they could choose Italian early music for their exercise, as did the composers Florent Schmitt in 1903 and André Caplet in 1904.⁸³

Fourth, d'Indy, together with his biographer Léon Vallas and others, have overstated the Schola's importance in introducing early music to French audiences through assertions such as the one made in 1903: "Bach, Rameau, Gluck . . . one never plays them in France."⁸⁴ Before it was sung at the Schola, this music had an ongoing presence in France, and especially in Paris.⁸⁵ When d'Indy was a young composer

studying in Paris, excerpts from opera by Rameau and Gluck were in many pianists' repertoire and in manuals used in elementary schools, both public and religious, throughout the country. During the 1880s and 90s, scores of *la musique ancienne* and new music written *dans le style ancien* (like Debussy's *Sarabande*, Fauré's *Pavane*, and Ravel's *Pavane*) were included in a great variety of publications destined for use by workers as well as elites. As Table 4 shows, one could hear instrumental and vocal excerpts from such works in many orchestra concerts of the time—those of the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, Padeloup, Colonne, Lamoureux, and d'Harcourt—as well as the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique.⁸⁶ D'Indy was even involved in some of these. In 1888 the composer-run Société nationale premiered his *Schumanniana* in a concert framed by a scene from Rameau's *Dardanus* and act I of Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride* (with Gluck's original orchestration); and in 1895 the Opéra premiered an excerpt of *Fervaal* on the same concert as a scene from Gluck's *Alceste*, a work done frequently by the Concerts Colonne at the turn of the century. Selections from Gluck's operas could also be heard at concerts by military bands between 1889 and 1899. Moreover, just as in these other venues, Schola performances presented only selected excerpts and individual acts until their production of *Dardanus* in 1907.⁸⁷

D'Indy's assertions also ignore amateur chorus performances of cantatas by Handel and Bach as well as airs and choruses by Rameau. Besides the Société Bourgault-Ducoudray that sang numerous Handel cantatas in the 1870s, the Société d'Harmonie sacrée, directed by Lamoureux, performed the *St. Matthew Passion* in 1874; the Société chorale des amateurs,

⁸³Winners of the Prix de Rome and graduates of the Conservatoire, Schmitt copied a fragment of Cavalieri's *Dialogo musicale dell'anima e del corpo*, Caplet a fragment of Monteverdi's *Orfeo* the same year as d'Indy published his edition of the opera. For a thorough study of this genre, see Alexandre Dratwicki, "Les 'Envois de Rome,'" 99–193.

⁸⁴"Bach, Rameau, Gluck . . . le propagande par le concert est nécessaire, puisqu'on ne les joue jamais en France" (letter of 23 Nov. 1903, published in *Les Tablettes de la Schola* [15 Jan. 1904] and in *Ma Vie*, p. 650). See also n. 59 above. Among the works d'Indy specifically names earlier in this letter as examples of works "performed nowhere else," three of the four works by Rameau, and all of those by Gluck are listed in Table 4. See also Léon Vallas, *Vincent d'Indy*, vol. 2 (Paris: Albin Michel, 1950), which claims that these works became known "grâce aux expériences scholistes" (p. 47).

⁸⁵From different perspectives, others have also worked on early music in nineteenth-century France. In her article, "Die Wiederentdeckung Rameaus in Frankreich im 19. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 50/2 (1993), 164–86, Christine Wassermann concentrates on Rameau in the 1840s and 50s, the new Rameau edition (1895–1924), and the presence of Rameau in Schola concerts after 1900. In her Ph.D. dissertation, *The Schola Cantorum, Early Music, and French Cultural Politics from 1894 to 1914* (McGill University, 2006), Catrina Flint de Médecis focuses on early music at the Schola. In her *Interpreting the Musical Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), Katharine Ellis discusses the cultural meaning of Palestrina, Handel, and other composers for French listeners. For a perspective on Bach's popularity in nineteenth-century France, see Joël-Marie Fauquet and Antoine Hennion, *La Grandeur de Bach: l'amour de la musique en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2000). The topic is also discussed in my *Useful Music, or Why Music Mattered in Third Republic France* and was addressed in my paper, "Forging French Identity: The Political Significance of *la musique ancienne et moderne*," at the national meet-

ing of the American Musicological Society, Washington, D.C. (28 Oct. 2005).

⁸⁶This list is selective. I have left out Gluck's *Orphée*, performed at the Opéra-Comique, as its popularity was not in question, as well as other works not performed in the vocal classes of the Conservatory, including those by J. S. Bach. The latter had an increasing presence in Parisian concert halls beginning in the late 1890s.

⁸⁷I would like to thank Catrina Flint de Médecis for allowing me to compare my work on the Schola's concerts with hers.

Table 4
Performances of *la musique ancienne* in Paris (selection)

WORKS	CONSERVATOIRE VOCAL EXAMS, 1880–1903	PUBLIC CONCERTS*	SCHOLA
Gluck, <i>Iphigénie en Aulide</i>	1881, 1886 (2x), 1889 (3x), 1891(2x), 1899	SC 1880, 82, 83, 84, 85, 1890, 97, 98, 99; SN 1888; CC 1887, 89, 97; CL 1894, 1900	1907, ed. d'Indy 1908
Gluck, <i>Iphigénie en Tauride</i>	1888, 1899 1900 (3x)	CC 1885, 87; SN 1888 (1 act); SGA/OC 1893; CL 1894; CC 1897, 99; TR, mil bands 1899; OC 1900	1901, 02, 04
Gluck, <i>Armide</i>	1888, 89, 90, 1894, 1900	CP 1881, 90; CC 1882, 87, 89, 1890, 1900; SN 1889; SG 1893, 1899; SC 1884, 1901; Opéra 1905	1901, 02, 1903, 05
Gluck, <i>Alceste</i>	1886, 1897 1900 (3x), 1901, 1902	SC 1887; mil bands 1889; CC 1886, 87, 88, 89, 91, 97, 1900, 01; CO 1895; SC 1895; CL 1897; SG 1898	1900, 02, 03
Sacchini, <i>Oedipe à Colonne</i>	1889		
Lully, <i>Alceste</i>	1898, 1900	SC 1886; CC 1891; CH 1893	
Cavalli, <i>Xerxes</i>	1899		
Rameau, "Le Rossignol"	1899		
Rameau, <i>Hippolyte et Aricie</i>	1899	CH 1894; CC 1899; SC 1902; Opéra 1908	ed. d'Indy 1900 1900, 01, 03, 04
Rameau, <i>Dardanus</i>	1902 (3x), 1903	CP 1881; SC 1887; SN 1887, 89; SG 1895	1900, 01, 03, 1904, 07, ed. d'Indy 1905
Rameau, <i>Castor et Pollux</i>	1902	CC 1880, 84, 88; SC 1883, 88, 89, 1900; CH 1894	1902, 03, 04
Handel, <i>Jules César</i>	1889, 1899 1900, 1903		1900, 04
Handel, <i>Judas Machabée</i>	1899, 1902	SA 1869; HS 1874; SC 1886; CH 1894, 96; SG 1901	1901, 02
Handel, <i>Hercules</i>	1902 (2x)		
Handel, <i>Xerxes</i>	1902, 1903	CC 1900	
Handel, <i>Rinaldo</i>	1902		

*Abbreviations: CC: Concerts Colonne; CH: Concerts d'Harcourt; CL: Concerts Lamoureux; CO: Concerts de l'Opéra; CP: Concerts Pasdeloup; HS: Société chorale l'Harmonie sacrée; mil bands: military bands; OC: Opéra-Comique; SA: Société des amateurs Guillot de Sainbris; SC: Société des Concerts du Conservatoire; SGA: Société des grandes auditions, SG: Saint-Gervais, Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais; SN: Société nationale; TR: Théâtre de la Renaissance.

directed by Guillot de Sainbris, performed Bach cantatas in 1875, 1881, and 1884, along with airs and choruses by Rameau. The Société Chorale, la Concordia, directed by Widor, professor at the Conservatoire, sang Bach in 1884 and in 1888 put on the *St. Matthew Passion*. Another choral group, L'Euterpe, sang Bach cantatas in 1896 and 1897. Finally, in February 1900 d'Indy himself conducted a chorus of amateurs in Bach's Mass.

This taste for musical "archaeology" was also embraced in official republican circles. In 1895 a group of Conservatoire professors created a Société des instruments anciens. Its founder, Louis Diémer, included early music in his keyboard classes at the Conservatoire, as did teachers of the vocal classes there, some of which d'Indy accompanied in the 1880s.⁸⁸ Such cultivation of early music provided a precedent to the early music taught at the Schola. Table 4 outlines the extent to which this music was taught to singers at the Conservatoire and performed on Conservatoire exams in the 1880s and 90s, some of it long before it was studied and performed at the Schola.⁸⁹ Instruction included the very works d'Indy mentioned as unknown in 1903: Gluck's *Iphigénie en Aulide*, *Armide*, and *Alceste* as well as Rameau's *Hippolyte et Aricie*. Handel also found his place. Beginning in 1895, it was the republican Saint-Saëns who directed a new edition of the works of Rameau for which d'Indy later contributed one volume. This music was thus studied and performed long before the Schola became an alternative to the Paris Conservatoire, and by numerous predecessors. By 1900 *la musique ancienne* was literally in fashion.⁹⁰

D'Indy was thus much less marginal and removed from republican institutions and their ideologies than the composer, his disciples, and some recent scholars have led us to believe. Especially before 1900 his actions and works

reveal a man who built alliances, and these alliances served both the composer and the state well. Winning the City of Paris prize, despite opposition from Saint-Saëns and Dubois, taught d'Indy early in his career the power of his difference. In the 1880s and 90s, state administrators recognized the value of this difference as a way to combat against two monopolies, that of the Académie des Beaux-Arts over the most important composition prizes, and that of professors at the Conservatoire over the advanced teaching of music. In other words, d'Indy helped the government confront and stand up to the academicians and professors who controlled the conventions that were impeding progress in French music. One need only recall that *Le Chant de la cloche* introduced music of extreme complexity in a competition subsidized by the city of Paris. To reward it was, for the government, to encourage aesthetic individualism, even if that meant coming to grips with the influence of Wagnerism in French music.

D'Indy's differences also helped bridge conflicts within the Republic and contributed to growth and change in the musical world. Although he shared with republicans an appreciation for the simple and the naïve as essential aspects of the French temperament—as illustrated by Massenet in his *Scènes alsaciennes* (1882) and Saint-Saëns in his *Rapsodie d'Auvergne* (1884)—d'Indy demonstrated how a composition could integrate multiple worlds. Through his incorporation and treatment of a chanson populaire, his *Symphonie cévenole* (1886) symbolically mitigated the emerging conflict between regional and national identity in France and, through its leitmotivic-like treatment of the chanson, it linked national musical material to international taste and stylistic trends. During the political *ralliement* of the early 1890s (which made possible the alliance between conservative republicans, Catholics, and traditional elites), the government turned to d'Indy as someone who understood the importance of tradition and could help it to reform pedagogy at the Conservatoire. Participating in state-sponsored activities—the Cressent competition, the City of Paris prize, juries of various orphéon competitions, and especially the committee to reform the Conservatoire—gave the composer significant inside knowl-

⁸⁸D'Indy's job accompanying singing classes at the Conservatoire is pointed out in Malherbe's program notes for a Concerts Colonne performance of his works on 12 December 1897.

⁸⁹See the end-of-the-year competitions at the Conservatoire, Archives Nationales, Paris, AJ³⁷, 255 (3) and AJ³⁷, 234 (3).

⁹⁰As further evidence of this taste, consider that the music prizes sponsored by the Société des Compositeurs were for a motet in 1896 and a madrigal in 1897.

edge about how such institutions functioned. At the Schola under his direction after 1900, d'Indy turned this knowledge to his own benefit. While to all appearances he conducted a war with the Conservatoire and played down what they shared, he put into place educational reforms that he conceived while working on their committee, and, moreover, showed how these could work. It should not be surprising, then, that in 1912 d'Indy was again honored with the Légion d'honneur, and, after the Minister cast the deciding vote, he was soon thereafter offered a position teaching an orchestra class on the Conservatoire's faculty.⁹¹

Thereafter, in the opposition most associated with d'Indy today—his hostility to the avant-garde—d'Indy ironically resembled his old adversaries, Dubois and Saint-Saëns. Just as they once defined the role of music as to “translate and transform ideas into feelings,” d'Indy found the music of Stravinsky, Schoenberg, and Bartók “too much for the mind and not enough for the heart, which is for me the only purpose of a work of art.”⁹²

In studying French composers, it is important to scrutinize any reputation that depends on an oppositional discourse. Even if many French love to distinguish themselves through an oppositional opinion or stance—a heightened version of Bourdieu's *distinction*—the reality is that politics in France have long been a complex web of highly interconnected relationships. Many wish to dramatize their ambivalence about the state, stand apart from the masses, escape that most despicable of bourgeois sins, mediocrity, and test the limits of dissension. Opposition in France, especially since the Revolution, has never been simple or easy for outsiders to grasp. At the end of the nineteenth century, it was all the more complex as the Dreyfus Affair fanned the flames of difference within the smallest family unit. In this article,

I have tried to shift the discourse from focusing on the opposition that d'Indy represented for the Republic to d'Indy's role in various forms of opposition within republican institutions: within the “family” of the Conservatoire (e.g., Franck vs. Massenet); between the Conservatoire under the musically conservative Ambroise Thomas and the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine-Arts under the politically moderate Jules Ferry, who sought to support progress in all forms; between Thomas and a Ministry determined that the Conservatoire incorporate pre-Revolutionary music in its curricula; and lastly between the Committee to reform the Conservatoire, appointed by the Minister in the spirit of *ralliement* politics, and the Minister himself, who in the end was willing to institute only a portion of the suggested reforms.


Vincent d'Indy understood this world and the dynamic of oppositional politics. He played an important role in each of these manifestations of difference, using his own to support the republican state in its efforts to effect change within its institutions. He also understood the currency of distinction produced by competition and recognized that competition was one of the Republic's most important principles. Since 1875, when France embarked on its first lasting democracy, the state held up competition as a way to further social equity and, through the struggle of difference, to build individual renown. Preferring to keep their distinction under the umbrella of the school, d'Indy told his students that they need not take part in external competitions. Yet, he himself engaged in competition to gain attention and notoriety throughout his professional life, beginning with the City of Paris prize. Taking control of the Schola Cantorum and turning it into an alternative to the Paris Conservatoire allowed d'Indy to situate himself and his students as a counterculture and thus to compete with the state in the realm of music education even though, as I have shown, this institution shared much with the Conservatoire. As a sign that this oppositional discourse was successful, d'Indy won a position there while running the Schola.

To broaden our understanding of the composer then, we need to situate the oppositional aspects essential to d'Indy's reputation in the

⁹¹According to Albert Bertelin, in his “M. Vincent d'Indy au Conservatoire,” *Courier musical* (15 Nov. 1912), 613–14, d'Indy applied for this position. On the need for the Minister's vote to have a majority, see *Courier musical* (1 Dec. 1912), 657.

⁹²See J.-L. Croze, “La Musique à l'Académie de Médecine,” *Le Soir* (21, 22 July 1895) and d'Indy's letter of 19 June 1914, *Ma Vie*, p. 740.

context of his achievements. With the armor of his students' devotion, in his later years d'Indy may have felt comfortable airing his private prejudices through his music and publications, but that does not mean that we should understand his life before the age of fifty or his legacy in those terms.⁹³ If we misconstrue the nature and function of political differences in France and their relationship to strategies by which

reputations were built, we risk projecting our own ideas and ideology onto d'Indy and may miss the composer's importance in French musical life of the Belle Époque. 

Abstract.

Perhaps more than any of his contemporaries in turn-of-the-century France, the composer Vincent d'Indy fashioned an identity based on opposition. Understanding the dynamic of oppositional politics, he defined himself, his music, and the music school he directed, the Schola Cantorum, through difference. This has led both his successors and his critics up through the present to associate him with defiant ultra-conservatism. However, d'Indy was also a man of alliances, alliances that served the composer and the state well. In "Deconstructing d'Indy," I throw into question the attitudes that have accumulated about him and suggest a more nuanced view of the man and his politics based on his practices, particularly before 1900. I show how he allowed government officials to use his difference to help them combat monopolies and bridge conflict with the Republic. The article argues that in misconstruing the nature and function of political differences in France and their relationship to reputation-building strategies, we risk substituting ideology and our own projections of its meaning for a composer's identity and importance in his or her times.

Key words: Vincent d'Indy, reputation, Schola Cantorum, Third Republic France, political alliances.

⁹³The most egregious of these was his anti-Semitic book, *Richard Wagner et son influence sur l'art musical français* (Paris: Delagrave, 1930), written the year before he died. In his paper, "D'Indy and Barrès: A Parallel Aesthetic?" at the conference, "Vincent d'Indy and His Times," Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., 12 May 2001, James Ross argued that d'Indy was not anti-Semitic in any public way before the late 1890s. He found that neither d'Indy nor Barrès had referred to the other in their surviving correspondence and construed this lack of references to mean that d'Indy hardly knew the politically extremist Maurice Barrès. In a subsequent article, "D'Indy's 'Fervaal': Reconstructing French Identity at the 'Fin de Siècle,'" *Music & Letters* 84 (2003), 209–40, Ross also argued that d'Indy was not as politically active as we have imagined—"there is scant evidence that his politics moved far from his piano stool" (p. 224). He concluded that d'Indy's musical choices were motivated instead by idealism and practical regionalism. For an in-depth study of this problem as it relates to differences between the private and public aspects of d'Indy's anti-Semitism, see Manuela Schwartz, "Nature et évolution de la pensée antisémite chez d'Indy," in *Vincent d'Indy et son temps*, pp. 37–63.

Conference Announcement

Fordham University announces a two-day international conference, "Musical Meaning and Human Values: A Colloquium with Lawrence Kramer," to be held at the University's Lincoln Center Campus, 113 W. 60th Street, New York, New York, on Friday and Saturday, 4–5 May 2007. The conference is free and open to the public. Featured speakers include Walter Bernhart (University of Graz), Marshall Brown (University of Washington), Keith Chapin (Fordham University), Peter Franklin (Oxford University), Walter Frisch (Columbia University), Lawrence Kramer (Fordham University), Richard Leppert (University of Minnesota), and Susan McClary (UCLA). For further information, please go to the conference web page, www.fordham.edu/musiccolloquium, or contact Stephanie Pietros at pietros@fordham.edu.